

# TEACHING SOCIAL STUDIES

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



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 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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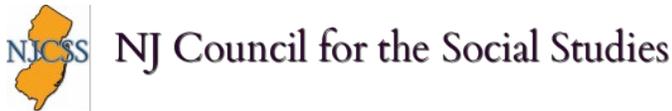
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<p>NJCSS Annual Fall Conference</p>	<p><i>One Small Step for Mankind and One Giant Leap for Educators!</i>  Monday, October 21, 2019  Busch Student Center – Rutgers University  <a href="http://www.njcss.org">www.njcss.org</a></p>
<p>NYSCSS 82nd Annual Conference</p>	<p>March 12 - 14, 2020  Albany Capital Center  Albany, NY.</p>
<p>NCSS/CUFA 99th Annual Conference</p>	<p>November 22-24, 2019  Austin, TX  Austin Convention Center (Headquarter Hotel: JW Marriott Austin)</p>
<p>New Jersey Historical Commission  Conference</p>	<p><i>New Jersey Women Make History</i>  November 1, 2019  Douglass Residential College  Rutgers University  New Brunswick, NJ</p>
<p>NCSS/CUFA Future Conferences</p>	<p>2020 – Dec. 4-6 - Washington, D.C.  2021 – Nov. 19-21 – Minneapolis  2022 – Dec. 2-4 - Philadelphia</p>
<p>NCHE Annual Conference</p>	<p>Theme is Past, Present, and Future. NCHE at 30.  Cleveland, OH  March 14-16, 2020  <a href="https://www.nche.net/conference">https://www.nche.net/conference</a></p>
<p>Massachusetts Council for the Social  Studies annual conference</p>	<p>49th Annual Northeast Regional Conference for the Social Studies (Nerc49)  MARCH 18 &amp; 19, 2019  (with snow date of March 20, 2019)  Framingham State University  <a href="http://www.masscouncil.org/">http://www.masscouncil.org/</a></p>



## New Jersey Council for the Social Studies Exhibitors/Vendors October 2019

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Capstone Classroom/Crabtree Classroom: <https://www.capstonepub.com/classroom/>

Choices Program at Brown University: <https://www.choices.edu/>

Constitution Center: <https://constitutioncenter.org/>

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Inquire Ed: Inquiry-based Learning for Every Classroom: <https://www.inquired.org/>

New Jersey Center for Civic Education: <http://civiced.rutgers.edu/>

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New Jersey Historical Commission: <https://nj.gov/state/historical/>

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One Liberty Observation Deck: <https://phillyfromthetop.com/>

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# Teaching Social Studies

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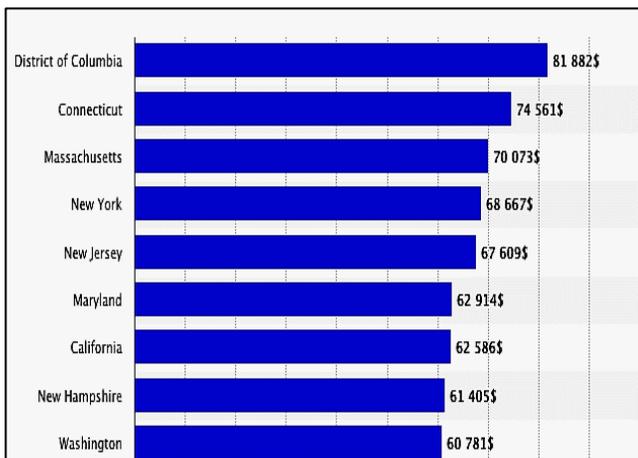
## The Importance of Teaching Financial Literacy in Middle Schools

Hank Bitten

Executive Director, New Jersey Council for the Social Studies

The new state mandate to teach financial literacy in middle schools was passed on January 3, 2019 and becomes required instruction in September. The law passed 38-0 in our State Senate and 76-1 in the New Jersey Assembly. The most likely reason for an almost unanimous vote is the multiple financial crises affecting all income areas of residents in our state. Although New Jersey has the fifth highest per capita income in the United States at \$67,609 and some of the highest property values, residents are struggling with debt at \$62,300 per capita.

Figure 1: Per capita personal income in the United States in 2018, by state (in U.S. dollars)  
(<https://www.statista.com/statistics/303555/us-per-capita-personal-income/>)



### Reasons for the New Financial Literacy Law

The alarm was sounded by a report in July 2014 from the Federal Reserve Bank that perhaps 52% of Americans have less than \$400 in emergency savings: *“Only 48 percent of respondents said that they would completely cover a hypothetical emergency expense costing \$400 without selling something or borrowing money.”*

Although statistics can be distorted, they are still important and helpful. The data supports the need for financial education in grades K-12. Retirement savings are low and almost non-existent by younger workers, identified as “Millennials” (1980-2000) who are likely the parents of our students. According to a 2019 survey by Merrill Lynch 7 out of 10 millennials ages 18-34 received financial support from their parents in the last year. The primary reason for this is personal debt.

As a retired baby boomer, I remember when

- the owner of the corner grocery store would total the prices on a paper bag
- my parents received S&H green stamps as a reward for shopping
- my grandparents did not have a checking account and kept their savings in the basement

- only male students on my college campus had credit cards
- leaving school during my lunch hour to bring my pay check to the bank.

Financial matters were simpler, the line to deposit or cash a check was long, and money changed hands less frequently than it does today.



The technology of the ATM, direct deposit, PayPal, Apple Pay and a host of other fee-based services takes our money with its “invisible hand.” We are faced with up to 20 automatic deductions from our salaries within hours or days from earning it. For example, a person who uses an ATM machine with a fee of \$3.00 a transaction is likely to pay more than \$150 on weekly withdrawals over a year. If an organization collects \$40,000 through PayPal or another provider, they will pay 2.9% per transaction or almost \$1,200 in fees!

New Jersey required the teaching of financial literacy K-12 in the 2009 Learning Outcomes and mandated a semester course as a requirement for high school graduation. New Jersey has 117 Learning Outcomes for teaching financial literacy in Grades K-12 in seven content areas of income and careers, money management, credit and debt, planning, saving, and investing, being a critical consumer, civic

financial responsibility, and insuring and protecting.

Based on a survey of 65,000 college students administered by *USA Today* in 2014:

*“Students who took a class did better on the survey's financial knowledge questions, were found to be more averse to debt, more likely to pay credit card bills on time, and less likely to go over their credit limit...The study, which is in its second year, is the first comprehensive analysis of the impact of high school financial literacy education on not only knowledge but attitudes and behaviors.”*

The National Financial Literacy Report compiled by Champlain College (2017) identified only five states with a requirement of a ‘stand alone’ semester course and an effective curriculum that includes activities, relevance,

and specific benchmarks. New Jersey received a grade of “B” while 27 states and the District of

Columbia, a majority, received grades of C, D, and F.

GRADE	# OF STATES	% OF STATES*	STATES
A	5	10%	Alabama, Missouri, Tennessee, Utah & Virginia
B	19	37%	Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Maine, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, South Carolina, Texas & West Virginia
C	12	24%	Colorado, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Mississippi, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Oregon & Washington
D	4	8%	Louisiana, Montana, Vermont & Wyoming.
F	11	22%	Alaska, California, Connecticut, Delaware, District of Columbia, Hawaii, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota & Wisconsin

As you will see in this report (<https://www.champlain.edu/centers-of-experience/center-for-financial-literacy/report-national-high-school-financial-literacy>), a B grade does not necessarily mean that a state requires an adequate level of instruction. The Center estimates that half of “Grade B” states allocated less than one-quarter of a half-year course in high school to personal finance topics. This means that students in 8 of these “Grade B” states received between 7 and 13 hours of personal finance instruction in four years of high school. The report identified only 11 states that required 15 or more hours of personal finance education in high school.

### What Does the New Financial Literacy Law Require?

The legislation mandates that students receive instruction based on the NJ Learning Outcomes for Financial Literacy (9.1) in Grades 6, 7, and 8. The new mandate does not quantify the number of hours of instruction and it specifically requires

instruction in each grade level rather than a semester or year course in any one grade. Schools should embrace this as an opportunity to establish positive student behaviors and engage students in decision-making and problem solving. In a school with a curriculum focusing on the application of real life situations, students in Grades K-5 are learning to respect money and understanding how our economy functions, middle school students are applying personal financial lessons to what they are studying in social studies and math and using the tools of technology to analyze their decisions and solutions to problems, and high school students are demonstrating competence as financial planners using scenarios and presentations.

### Where Should Financial Literacy be Taught?

Many districts teach financial literacy in social studies, business or family and consumer science courses, math classes, or computer technology courses. The new law suggests a fragmented approach by requiring instruction for a few days or weeks in Grades 6, 7, and 8 without

identifying the courses where it will be implemented or the amount of instructional time that is appropriate. Another perspective on this limited approach is to translate five days of instruction in 40-minute periods to about three hours of instruction. The research suggests that effective instruction is best taught in a semester course with 15 or more hours of instruction. There are currently 58 mandated Learning Outcomes for teaching financial literacy in Grades 6-8 and if one class period was allocated for each Learning Outcome, students would need over 30 hours of instruction, instead of 9 hours over three years! The National Financial Literacy Report is critical of instruction that is limited to one quarter or less, or the equivalent of 30 hours of instruction.

A study by The Financial Industry Regulatory Authority (FINRA) in January 2015 of three states (Georgia, Texas, Idaho) cited evidence of changes in financial decision-making by students in Texas and Georgia which required a half-year course for graduation, teacher training, clearly stated learning outcomes, and state and/or national assessments:

Based on our analysis, we conclude that exposure to the types of high school personal financial education mandated by these three states improves credit scores and reduces delinquency rates for young adults.

The research strongly indicates that it is important to talk about money with students, provide activities that encourage problem solving and decision-making, application of math skills, and relevance to what is taught or a student's personal situation. Although credit cards, auto insurance, college loans, savings, and developing a personal budget are the most likely financial

decisions for high school students in the next five years, there are also opportunities for personal application in a history or economics course which includes lessons on inflation, trade, national debt, and the inequality of income. Their parents are likely discussing banking, budgeting, mortgages, college expenses, investments and their grandparents are concerned with Social Security, retirement planning, and insurance. Even if students are not directly involved with these personal matters, they are aware of them.

### **How Should Financial Literacy be Taught?**

After accepting the importance of financial education and its relationship to your district's mission statement, the first step is for the curriculum team in your district and school to decide the best way to effectively deliver instruction on the required NJ Learning Outcomes. Piaget's theories provide a significant understanding that middle school students are exploring and challenging theories about how the world works. Effective instruction leading to changed behaviors must be relevant, make applications to their prior knowledge and provide opportunities for inquiry, research, debate, and presentation. Instead of a checklist based on core content or the completion of a number of activity sheets, consider how scenarios, simulations, speakers, decision-making, and problem-solving impact enduring understandings and new behaviors regarding saving, spending, investing, and planning.

The second step is to identify the resources for these strategies. Consider planning your curriculum with the assistance of college professors, professional organizations, local banks and entrepreneurs. They require

discernment, planning and customizing to your student population. Although there are many resources available on the internet and from banks, investment firms, and entrepreneurs, a serious concern is that some of these resources are simply not effective, do not support student inquiry and are missing applications to prior knowledge. The Council on Economic Education has developed lessons with application to economics and history that are also adaptable to financial literacy concepts. An organization in New York City, Working in Support of Educators (W!SE) has developed a best practices curriculum with assessments. A benefit of the W!SE program is that its effectiveness is demonstrated in many different states and in urban and suburban districts. The New Jersey Council on Economic Education offers professional development programs, webinars, and assistance. See the Works Cited section at the end of this article for their websites.

The third step is to provide meaningful and effective professional development for your teachers. When possible, professional development opportunities should be offered to every teacher in the district. Professional development is affordable and practical by using experienced teachers of financial literacy and economics in your district. Also, banks are required under the Community Reinvestment Act to support financial education in the areas where they are located and colleges and investment firms (real estate, insurance, Chamber of Commerce, etc.) have extensive experience and resources that can lead to a best practices model curriculum for your students. Consider a partnership or collaborative dialogue to get started.

## **The Importance of Assessments**

A critical part of a best practice curriculum on financial literacy includes assessments that engage students in demonstrating their level of competency in addressing problems relating to financial decision making. One concern of the critics who are opposed to requiring financial literacy in schools is that it is not effective and has not produced significant changes in student's behavior because it lacks relevance to the decisions that make in middle school and high school. A recent article in the *Washington Post* (April 23, 2019) stated that financial literacy is a "waste of time" and a poor financial decision:

"That's because financial education simply doesn't work. It doesn't change behavior — as numerous studies have shown. Indeed, the fact that giving people information does not, by itself, change how they act is one of the most firmly established in social science, whether the subject is the dangers of drug use, the value of getting vaccinated or the calories in a restaurant's bacon cheeseburger. The same is true of finance."

Assessments can provide important answers to the debate on the efficacy of financial literacy instruction in grades K-12, especially when assessments involve more than one classroom or school and are validated by an outside professional organization or college faculty. Questions requiring an explanation are best for assessing what students have learned and how they are thinking. An example that includes multiple scenarios is:

Select three (3) scenarios below and answer the question with a complete explanation as to which type of insurance policy (if any) is

covered and a detailed explanation of the reasons.

- **Scenario No. 1:** A fire from another apartment destroys much of your apartment and your belongings. Whose insurance (yours or your landlord's) pays for what?
- **Scenario No. 2:** You are negligent and leave food on your hot stove, starting a fire. Whose policy pays and what is covered? Are you liable for damage to the apartment building?
- **Scenario No. 3:** Your landlord is negligent in not repairing a plumbing problem you've been reporting, and a pipe bursts. Whose insurance (yours or your landlord's) pays and what is covered?
- **Scenario No. 4:** Someone trips and falls in your apartment and is injured. Does your renter's liability pay for the injury, or your landlord's?
- **Scenario No. 5:** Your apartment is broken into and your computer, television, and some jewelry are stolen. Are you covered?
- **Scenario No. 6:** Your landlord claims you have damaged the apartment and is keeping part of your security deposit. Will the renter's insurance cover this loss?

- **Scenario No. 7:** Your washing machine overflows, flooding the basement.

Although multiple choice questions may not always represent higher cognitive skills, Working in Support of Educators (W!SE) provides valuable multiple choice assessments as part of their financial literacy certification test for students. The depth of learning comes with their rich data base of practice questions because the choices lead to deeper student inquiry and research. One benefit of using their multiple choice assessments is that these questions have been tested for reliability and validity and can be used objectively to measure local performance with other classes, schools or states.

Educators should also think about the importance of a longitudinal study of students taking financial literacy classes over time. Even if the evidence collected is anecdotal, it is helpful to collect data about financial decisions while students are still in school. For example, if financial literacy is taught in Grades 9 or 10, students in Grades 11 and 12 might be administered some of the questions they answered in Grades 9 or 10 to see if their answers remained consistent or if they improved or regressed.

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## **Purpose Matters in Teaching: Leveraging Purpose to Transform Teaching and Learning**

Todd S. Hawley, Kent State University; Michael Levicky, Kent State University; and Adam W. Jordan College of Charleston

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To be a teacher today is to be confronted with the constant pressure to both defend the work you do in your classroom and to advocate for the ways schools improve the lives of students and families in local communities. The reality is that in many political spaces the very institution of public education itself is under attack. This can be seen from the ideology of Betsy DeVos on the Right to pro-charter advocates like Cory Booker on the Left. Add to this recent attempts by state governments and textbook companies to mute the power of social studies teachers, we argue that rationale-based, purposeful practice matters now perhaps more than ever. Research has demonstrated ways social studies teachers can improve their practice by explicitly and systematically developing the purposes that guide their everyday practices and decision-making (Jordan, Jordan, & Hawley, 2017). By first making their purposes visible, teachers can begin to enact those purposes in engaging, thoughtful ways. Having a systematically articulated rationale can serve as the foundation for teacher decision-making and empower social studies teachers to feel more professionally confident, thus establishing classroom choices on solid ground (Hawley, Pifel, & Jordan, 2012). In this paper, we intend to offer teachers a

systematic approach to analyzing their purposeful practice.

To help prompt teachers to begin thinking about the purposes that drive their practice, we always encourage teachers to consider Todd Dinkelman's (2009) question, "What are you teaching *for*?" (emphasis in original, Dinkelman, 2009, p. 91). This seemingly simple question is one that every teacher should be able to answer explicitly. A clear and articulated answer to this straightforward question has the power to serve as a foundation for purpose-based teacher decision-making. Depending on the positionality of the professor, social studies teachers are sometimes invited to formally articulate the purposes that are most important to them as teachers in their introductory methods courses. While purpose finds its way to many methods courses, however, the formal and written process of purpose articulation and analysis may not.

Fortunately, rationale development, and rationale-based teaching, is now an emerging trend with a historical foundation in social studies education (Hawley & Crowe, 2016). In considering this trend, social studies educators can serve as a strong example among their colleagues. As former teachers, and current teacher educators, we understand that how

teachers utilize their time has an influence on their continued development as professionals. Our goal within this paper is to encourage teachers to formally articulate the purposes that drive their practice, and to provide support for teachers as they articulate their rationales. We believe the formal rationale development process holds the potential to empower teacher agency and advocacy by expertly articulating priorities of their practice. With that, we hope this paper succinctly outlines the formal rationale development process and also serves as a tool for teacher self-empowerment.

### **Purposeful Versus Neutral: Why Purpose Matters in Social Studies Teaching**

While working with social studies teachers on the process of articulating and developing their purposes, we routinely hear concerns about remaining neutral and being unbiased. We understand these concerns. Too often today, policy-makers are more concerned with value-added outcomes than in developing engaged citizens. We know teachers face pressures to stick to pacing guides and to teach to the test. We also recognize and honor the fact that there is a strong group of teachers working “against the grain” (Cochran-Smith, 2004). The rationale development process is designed to inspire those who feel pressure to follow a script and to begin teaching against the grain.

Teaching with purpose does not mean to teach with selfish intent. We are not advocating that teachers start class by telling students about their political stance on key issues, then moving into a lesson focused on historical facts and dates. At the same time, we know that purposeful social studies teaching and learning is never neutral, nor could it be. In our vision of rationale-based practice, a social studies teacher is teaching

students to confront racism while exploring persistent social issues as part of a U.S. History, Economics, Government, or Sociology course. As part of enacting the purposes that guide their work, social studies teachers turn to their rationale and make pedagogical decisions that are intentional. These pedagogical decisions are not made to simply present all sides of an issue, but to create spaces for students to engage with social studies content in complex ways that lead to deeper thinking and deliberation, while recognizing the role they can play in developing a more just society when coupled with intentional social action.

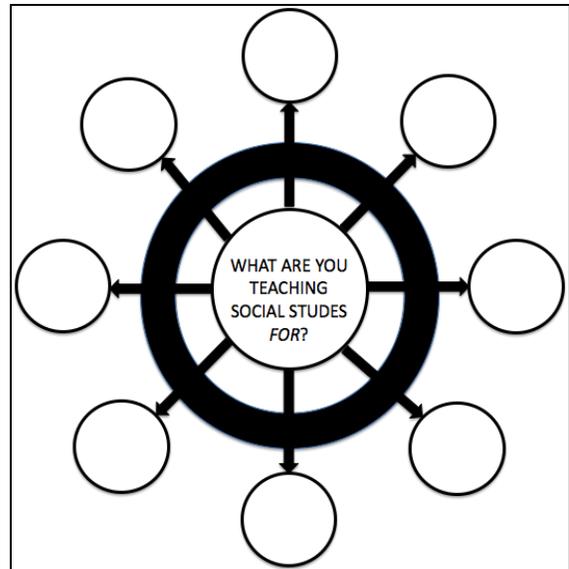
Purposeful practice has a long history in social studies, and current research supports the development of a teaching rationale to support purposeful practice in social studies classrooms (Hawley, 2012). Stanley (2005) examined the debate over the purpose of social studies teaching and learning as “transmission versus transformation” (p. 282). Barr, Barth and Shermis (1977) developed three traditions that have historically characterized social studies teaching: Citizenship Transmission, Social Studies as a Social Science and Reflective Inquiry. Finally, Westheimer and Kahn’s (2004) research into approaches to citizenship education found in social studies classrooms, outlined three types: Personally Responsible Citizenship, Participatory Citizenship and Justice-Oriented Citizenship.

According to the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) (1994), “the primary purpose of social studies is to help young people make informed and reasoned decisions for the public good as citizens of a culturally diverse, democratic society in an interdependent world” (para. 3). We highlight this work to present

examples of different purposes that have been presented for teaching social studies. While we recognize that teachers might pursue a rationale that is different from the ones presented above, we are more inclined to believe that social studies teachers are committed to teaching future citizens to be active and engaged. In the remainder of the manuscript, we focus on the process of developing and articulating the purposes that guide teachers' practices, followed by an exploration of ways to enact these purposes in powerful, engaging ways.

### **Making Your Purpose(s) Visible to Yourself**

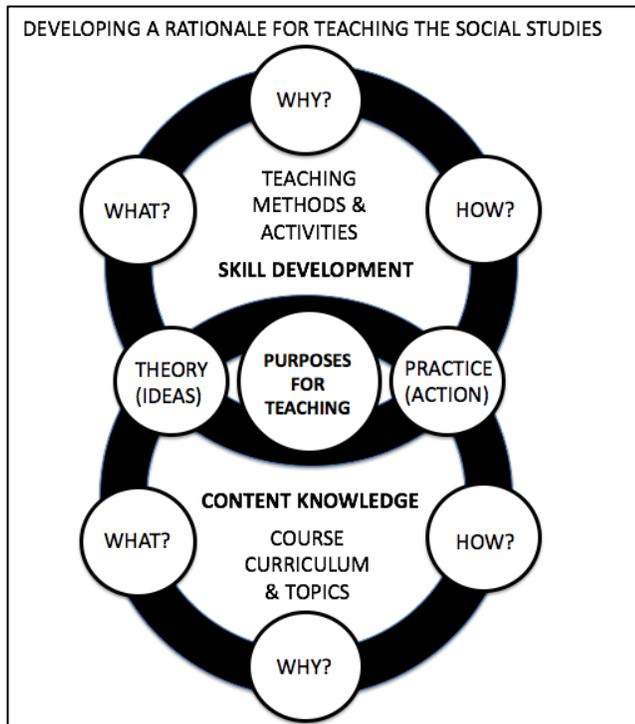
The first step in the rationale development process is to make your purposes visible to yourself. We suggest using a word-wheel to brainstorm all of the ideas, thoughts, and goals you have for your work as a social studies teacher. We have included a blank version of the word-wheel for you to use and one example word web that represents versions we often see when working with teachers to articulate their purposes. In the center of the word web is the question that started this article, "What are you teaching Social Studies *for*?" From here teachers can use the attached thought bubbles to articulate their answers to the central question.



In the example word-web, we have provided responses that are characteristic of teachers who worked through this exercise for the first time. "I love History"; "To solve problems"; "Prepare students to be good people"; "So students don't embarrass themselves when asked questions about US History"; "Answer difficult questions"; "My students are the future." These initial responses are common, and are a great place to start. After working on an initial word-wheel, we ask teachers to explain how these initial purposes can help them engage students in their social studies classes. For example, how does loving history or having a desire to prepare students to answer difficult questions lead to engaging teaching and learning? When pressed, teachers expand their thinking to explain that their love of history is more than just a love of facts. Rather, their love of history translates into a love of thinking historically and learning through history to make better decisions and to recognize how social change has occurred. The same goes for wanting to teach students to be good people. In this case, teachers are expressing a desire to connect the social studies content with the habits and skills of democratic citizens to help their

students learn to be engaged participatory citizens.

thinkers, books, ideas, teachers/professors, artists, etc.)



### Exploring Your Purposes On a Deeper Level and Connecting Your Purpose(s) to Teaching in a Democratic Society

To position teachers to expand their initial thoughts about what they are teaching social studies for, we also provide prompts designed to help teachers further consider insights and details germane to their teaching rationales. The following set of prompts and questions have been helpful for teachers to consider while writing their social studies rationale (purposes for being a social studies teacher):

1. What is your purpose or purposes for teaching social studies?
2. Discuss the influences that contributed to your thinking as you were developing your social studies rationale (influential

3. What connections does your purpose for teaching the social studies have to living in a democratic society or teaching in a democratic classroom?
4. What curricular choices, teaching practices, and classroom experiences will you make available for your future students based on your purpose?
5. How will you make future students, administrators, and parents aware of the purposes that guide your curriculum choices and teaching practices as a social studies teacher?

### What? Why? How?

In pushing to expand teacher thinking about how their purposes for teaching social studies connects with democratic citizenship, we discuss the “Developing a Rationale for Social Studies” Venn Diagram. This Venn Diagram is designed to provide a visual representation of how a rationale for teaching social studies is related to both Ideas and Action in teaching. Additionally, the Venn-Diagram also demonstrates how a rationale can assist teachers as they work to bring together their course curriculum with their teaching practice. Finally, it introduces the idea of the “What? Why? How?” Framework. The “What? Why? How?” Framework is designed to enable teachers to make necessary connections between theory and practice, as well as connections between their work as a curriculum developer and their teaching as a practitioner. As a framework, What? helps define aims for teachers and students. Why? requires teachers to make and

share value judgements with students. How? engages teachers and students in taking action to collaborate and learn together. This positions the Venn-Diagram as an overlapping, infinite and recursive loop that demonstrates how social studies teachers can continuously consider the purposes of their rationale throughout their career whether they are just beginning or are an experienced veteran educator. In this respect the Venn-Diagram becomes a tool to develop, reflect and alter “What?” they want to teach and have students do, “Why?” they want to teach specific content, habits and skills and, “How?” they plan on teaching to accomplish the “What?”.

After discussing the “Developing a Rationale for Social Studies” Venn Diagram, teachers can begin the work of connecting their purpose with their planning and practice. To

make this initial leap, teachers should develop their own responses in the “What? Why? How?” Framework. The diagram and framework are designed to give teachers a clear sense of the many ways their purpose is connected to everything they do in their classes and how they can work toward integrating their purpose into their teaching. The following diagram and framework provides an example from U.S. History focused on teaching students about the Black Codes. The chart focuses on both the What? Why? And How? as related to both Course Curriculum and Topics and Teaching Practices and Activities.

**U.S. History Example What? Why? How? Chart**

	<b>WHAT?</b>	<b>WHY?</b>	<b>HOW?</b>	<b>C3 COMPELLING QUESTION</b>
<b>Course Curriculum and Topics</b>	Teach about the black codes	I would like students to develop the ability to confront racist policies and practices.	Primary Sources to teach multiple perspectives and the skill of document analysis.	Evaluate public policies in terms of intended and unintended outcomes and related consequences.  Analyze historical and contemporary and emerging means of changing societies, promoting the common good and protecting rights.
<b>Teaching Practice and Activities</b>	Silent Discussion with a debrief in small groups	Brings in students’ “real world” understandings and experience into the classroom and connects with the content.	Begin with inquiry question, allow students to respond silently on dry-erase board, debrief the content of the silent discussion in small groups.	How does government policy in society impact the ideas of liberty and justice for all?

## **Conclusion: Pulling it all Together, Rationale Development and Purposeful Practice**

Social studies teachers face multiple demands on their time and attention. These demands take the form of increasing levels of accountability, pressures to teach to the test and to demonstrate the value of their teaching as connected to their students' learning. At the same time, social studies teachers have the opportunity to honor their students' lived experiences while preparing them to be active, engaged, and participatory citizens. Fortunately, teachers still have the freedom to make content and pedagogical choices that benefit their students (Evans, 2012). We agree with Thornton (2006), who argued that "teachers' purposes matter more and in a different way from assembling a standardized product." (p. 418). We believe that social studies teachers can improve their practice by developing and being explicit about the purposes that guide their decision-making by engaging the question prompts and other tools offered in this piece toward rationale development. Despite the pressures to conform and simply teach to the test, social studies teachers have the opportunity to articulate a rationale for their work, and in doing so, transform their practice, engage students on a deeper level and bring meaning to their work.

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## Conscientious Educators under Fire

Charles F. Howlett and Patricia Howlett

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On matters of teacher loyalty and conscience, World War I marked a legal watershed in the United States. During this conflict, schools became seminaries of patriotism and teachers had to promote loyalty and allegiance to the government. On the local level, the New York State Legislature passed a 1917 law mandating that teachers would be subject to dismissal for “the utterance of any treasonable or seditious word” and even created a commission to hear and examine complaints about “seditious” textbooks in subjects like civics, history, economics, and English literature. In elementary schools, teachers were instructed to teach the themes of patriotism, heroism, and sacrifice as well as learning about the differences between German autocracy and the American democratic way of life.

New York City, the nation’s largest school system, became the flash point for conflict over conscience. One Board of Education member, General Thomas Wingate, displaying the bluntness of a drill sergeant rather than the aplomb befitting his retired military rank, proclaimed in the *New York Times* that “It is time to read the riot act to some of these teachers . . . [T]he teacher who teaches pacifism and that this country should not defend itself is a

thousand times more dangerous than the teacher who gets drunk and lies in the gutter.” Despite elaborate hearings, defense counsel and all the appearances of a trial, the decision to fire teachers had been largely predetermined by the hysteria and overzealousness of the educational officials in charge of conducting the proceedings. Throughout the city’s school system, teachers were suspended, transferred to another school, or dismissed for questioning American military involvement, refusing to teach patriotism in their classes, or not taking the recently enacted loyalty oath.

At first, the New York City Board of Education denied certificates of morality and loyalty to probationary teachers which they needed for permanent licensure and tenure. This became the backdoor method for avoiding a school hearing or trial. Anyone in the classroom who was suspected of disloyalty or sympathetic to socialist ideas or pacifism risked an investigation that would determine if they could keep their certificate. High school teachers such as Harrison C. Thomas at De Witt Clinton High School were denied their certificate even though Thomas had been classified as a conscientious objector. Because he would not enthusiastically promote Liberty Bonds with his students and

proclaimed “he would do anything but fight,” the high school committee of the Board of Education found him unfit to teach. Although not a conscientious objector, Bernard M. Parelhoff of George Washington High School was also denied his certificate “because he did not believe in teaching patriotism in the schools and had no reverence for the uniform.” Thomas and Parelhoff were just two of many teachers from city high schools, including Girls’ Commercial, Stuyvesant, Brunswick, and Julia Richman, to have their certificates not renewed.

Teachers faced much the same on the elementary level. Alexander Fichlander of Public School 165 in Brooklyn was denied his certificate. At Public School 62, twenty-four teachers were grilled by their immediate supervisors and then their cases were referred to the board of education for a public hearing about their fitness for certification in January 1918. In all of these cases of certificates denied, no trial or hearing took place.

A number of secondary and elementary teachers possessing licenses and accused of disloyalty resisted; they were willing to go to trial (such proceedings were classified as a hearing before school administrators and board officials, which were conducted in legal fashion with both the board’s attorney and defense counsel for the accused, so it really was a trial). One of the most notable cases occurred at De Witt Clinton High School in the northern part of The Bronx. Three teachers — Samuel Schmalhausen, Thomas Mufson, and A. Henry Schneer — were dismissed from their teaching positions. A trial was held for all three in early December 1917.

Schmalhausen, an instructor in English, was charged with “unbecoming conduct”

because he gave a writing assignment asking students to compose “a frank letter to Woodrow Wilson commenting on his conduct of the war against the government of Germany.” Schneer, a mathematics teacher, was found guilty because he insisted that if uniformed soldiers came in to address students so, too, should pacifists be invited to speak as well as his opposition to military training in schools. Mufson, also an English teacher, was accused of discussing anarchism in class and for taking a neutral position on the war — during his testimony he refused to answer any questions pertaining to active support for the war.

After the day-long trial they were discharged, according to the City Board of Education, for “holding views subversive of good discipline and [sic] undermining good citizenship in the schools.” They were fired because of their socialist opposition to the war and alleged “radicalism”; Mufson also felt that anti-Semitism played a role since all three were Jewish.

Whatever the precise combination of factors, school officials quickly became obedient servants to the state and followed orders. Gustave Straubenmuller, acting superintendent of the city’s schools, instructed principals to submit to his office the names of any teacher whose patriotism was questionable. Investigations throughout the city school system were rampant. Given the nationalistic climate at that moment, the superintendent had numerous supporters within the teaching ranks. Many teachers were quite vocal in demanding the dismissal of any colleague who criticized the war effort.

One of the clearest examples occurred in December 1917, when a large contingent of

teachers gathered at the respected Stuyvesant High School in lower Manhattan for a “loyalty meeting.” They called for the firing of “disloyal” teachers, demanding their immediate dismissal from the classroom. The meeting concluded with teachers loudly proclaiming a loyalty pledge which stated in part: “We declare ourselves to be in sympathy with the purposes of the government and its efforts to make the world safe for democracy, and believe that our highest duty at this moment is to uphold the hands of the President and Congress in this crisis.”

What quickly followed was the New York “Teachers Council” establishing an investigative arm to sanitize every school of “disloyal” and “unpatriotic” teachers. A questionnaire was sent to all 23,000 teachers ascertaining their beliefs about the war as well as undertaking an effort to remove from the classroom German alien teachers who had not taken out citizenship papers. Such action prompted the Teachers Union to counter with a petition opposing the signing of such loyalty pledges under compulsion. Some eighty-seven teachers endorsed it; the union also wrote President Wilson requesting that he draft a pledge, which teachers could sign “without violating their consciences.” It never materialized.

John Dewey, sympathetic to the union’s position and seeing the rise of Prussianism at home, lashed out at the Board of Education by calling them “self-righteous patriots” who impugned other people’s loyalty. He also stated that the three teachers at De Witt Clinton were treated unfairly in being “charged with a lack of that active or aggressive loyalty which the state has a right to demand, in wartime particularly,

from its paid servants.” Putting it bluntly, he referred to it as an “Inquisition.”

These condemnations addressing compulsory loyalty fell on deaf ears. The momentum for total obedience continued unabated despite the 1897 New York State statute enacting tenure to protect teachers from unfair firings or political pressures. Creating a loyalty pledge provided a convenient pathway for charges “unbecoming a teacher” as allowed under the governing tenure statute.

America going to war created an inconvenient truth for teachers when it came to matters of conscience. One of the earliest victims in this regard was Brooklyn elementary teacher Miss Fannie Ross of Public School 88; she was benched for six months. On December 27, 1917, according to the *Flushing Evening Journal*, Ross “had been found guilty of opposing the draft and of having used her influence against military enlistment.” As reported in the education journal, *School and Society*: “It was charged that while acting as a census agent, she advised persons not to enlist in the military service, and induced them to claim exemption and that she was opposed to the drafting of men to wage war against the German government, and openly approved of the action of persons who refused to render military service.” However, after her hearing before the Committee on Elementary Schools, though found guilty of the charges, it “expressed the opinion that her utterances were tactless and not made in a spirit of disloyalty.” She accepted her suspension without pay.

A German-born elementary school-teacher, also from Brooklyn, became a clear-cut victim of legal injustice in the chapel of patriotic obedience. Unlike Ross, she was not so fortunate to keep her job. Gertrude Pignol, was fired after

a Board of Education hearing on May 7, 1918, on the grounds of “conduct unbecoming of a teacher,” an all too familiar and hard to overcome charge. Pignol immigrated to the United States from Germany when she herself was school aged and in 1911 applied for U.S. citizenship. A strong critic of German autocracy, she taught German and French at Brooklyn Manual for twelve years. In the fall of 1917, amid the patriotic hysteria sweeping the city schools she came under fire when an anonymous letter written by zealous teachers was sent to the board of education accusing her of being pro-German. In the spring of 1918, after she told her principal that she did not support U.S. military involvement but kept her personal beliefs to herself. She never once spoke about it to her students, yet her fate was nevertheless sealed. As evidence of her so-called “disloyalty,” disciplinary charges were brought against her for “wearing a locket engraved by her father and having a picture of the Kaiser’s grandfather on one side and the cornflower on the other.”

Pignol could have challenged her dismissal in a court of law. This was a teacher’s last resort if the Commissioner did not overturn the school board’s ruling. Some dismissed teachers did file a claim in court, but the time and expense made this course of action prohibitive to most. When considering the wartime climate of opinion, moreover, the chances were most unlikely that a sympathetic judge or jury would rule in favor of the dismissed teacher. Still, there were a few teachers who chose to take their case to court in the name of conscience and to stand up to the loyalty craze. One of the most famous cases in this regard was the dismissal of Phi Beta Kappa, Swarthmore College graduate, and Quaker Mary Stone McDowell from Brooklyn’s Manual

Training High School, the same high school as Pignol. When she refused to take the loyalty oath because of her Quaker faith, school officials promptly gave her a hearing and then fired her anyway. Little consideration was given to the right to conscience claimed by the Society of Friends’ religious opposition to war. Grounds for her dismissal in terms of insubordination were that she turned over her homeroom responsibilities for participation in student fundraising for the war and leading students in the pledge of allegiance to another teacher while she remained respectfully silent as well as not joining in supporting the teachers’ loyalty pledge formulated by the “Teachers Council.”

McDowell, encouraged by attorneys for the New York Religious Society of Friends, chose to challenge her dismissal in state court, but she lost. Ironically, the reason she lost was because her attorneys, believing that this case was of such great magnitude in terms of religious freedom, decided to bypass the normal appeals process with the state Commissioner of Education and, instead, sought immediate relief in the state courts. The court ruled that she should have first appealed to the commissioner as part of the established due process procedure before filing suit. When they did take her case to the Commissioner, he also stood by the board’s decision. Her counsel then chose not to file a brief in the Court of Appeals, perhaps because no procedural error could be found meriting a review of the lower court ruling; the tactical strategy her attorneys employed bypassing established state education department procedures in such matters involving teacher discipline ultimately backfired. Her legal challenge, nonetheless, was the first case in American history involving the issue of religious

freedom in public education that went to a state court.

To a certain extent, the anti-preparedness efforts of pacifist-socialist Brooklyn schoolteacher Jessie Wallace Hughan made teachers prime targets for loyalty zealots. Before the United States entered the conflict, Hughan was active in speaking out against the war. When the war first broke out she joined forces with other female pacifists Tracy Mygatt and Frances Witherspoon to initiate a number of peace groups that joined pacifism, Christianity, and socialist politics. In 1915, she organized the Anti-Enlistment League, which enrolled 3,500 men who were willing to sign a declaration against military enlistment. After the country entered the war and three of her students signed an Anti-Enlistment pledge, Hughan immediately became the subject of intense investigation by the city board of education for her antiwar activities. Fired up by the Wilson administration's call for loyalty in schools her superintendent proclaimed, "We expect to bring before the Board of Education a resolution that will put a stop to Miss Hughan's utterances and to those other teachers who have adopted a similar attitude."

Hughan was not intimidated. She insisted that as long as she separated her role as teacher from her actions as a citizen she was free to express her position on matters related to war and social injustice — the same defense Pignol raised to no avail. "The whole question it seems to me," she vigorously argued, "centers not about war or peace, but about the right of an individual to express a personal opinion in public . . . I has never expressed my views in the school in which I teach and have never spoken as a teacher. So I cannot have been 'taking advantage of my position as a teacher.'" Despite tremendous

pressure from the local press, public, and school board Hughan was not dismissed because her actions occurred prior to American entrance into the war. However, it was her case that "was partly responsible for the [subsequent legislation on loyalty] that enabled New York school boards to fire teachers, such as Pignol and McDowell, who did not fully endorse the war effort."

In the years right after the war, fear and suspicion among teachers regarding the demands of state continued, with New York as its flashpoint. On March 26, 1919, the state legislature established a joint committee of six under the chairmanship of Senator Clayton R. Lusk. Although created as an investigating and not prosecuting body, this committee went out of its way to sponsor two new school laws. The first required a loyalty oath of all teachers and compelled any educators deemed guilty of advocating "a form of government other than the government of the United States or of this state" be removed from the classroom. In taking this oath, a teacher swore "that I am, have been and will be loyal and obedient to the government of this State and of the United States; that I have not while a citizen of the United States advocated, either by word of mouth or in writing, a form of government other than the government of the United States and of this State, nor have I advocated, either by word of mouth or in writing, a change in the form of government of the United States or of this State by force, violence or any unlawful means." The second law required all private schools to be licensed by the state education department and stipulated that no license be granted to any school "where it shall appear that the instruction proposed to be given including the teaching of the doctrine that organized governments shall be overthrown by force, violence or unlawful means." It was only

after Al Smith became governor that these laws were repealed. "I firmly believe," Smith proclaimed, "that I am vindicating the principle that, within the limits of the penal law, every citizen may speak and teach what he believes."

Between the world wars, numerous states, including New York, required schoolteachers to sign an allegiance pledge supporting the Constitution of the United States. The residual effects of the war's patriotic impulse, apart from the imposition of newly enacted loyalty oaths, also resonated long after the Armistice was signed on November 11, 1918. Teachers were still being held accountable for their remarks and positions on war and peace. Again, New York took center stage. A teacher in Public School 83 in New York City, Louis Jacobs, had been drafted but because of his conscientious scruples was declared "a sincere objector by the Board of Inquiry, and had been furloughed to the Friends' Reconstruction Union [Unit] for service in Russia." His conscientious objection to war made no difference in the eyes of Superintendent William Ettinger. His reinstatement was denied in 1919 on the grounds that the Superintendent "deemed him unfit for further teaching once the War was over." On May 28, 1919, Louis H. Blumenthal of Public School 148 in Brooklyn was officially terminated "because as a conscientious objector to war, he refused to enter the Army." Morris High School German and Spanish teacher Fritz A.H. Leuchs, in one of the strangest cases, was originally suspended on October 30, 1918, right after he decided to enlist in the Army. He was officially tried after the war for "unbecoming conduct" — sympathy for Germany, avoiding assemblies involving the flag salute, and lack of participation in War Savings Stamps and Liberty Bond drives. At his trial, the *New York Times*

reported, "he appeared in the uniform of a United States soldier and showed his honorable discharge from the army. The only thing that he did not deny was that he had tried to enter the German army as a non-combatant before the war was declared by the United States." The charges for dismissal were not upheld, his suspension removed, and his reinstatement immediately went into effect. Because of hostility expressed toward him by fellow teachers, he was transferred to another school due to his perceived lack of "respect to the war programme at Morris." English teacher Garibaldi LaPolla, at De Witt Clinton High, the focal point of numerous investigations, and Stuyvesant High history teacher Charles Hamm found themselves scrutinized for possible dismissal in 1922 because four years earlier they "signed a letter . . . urging that men with conscientious scruples against killing be permitted to serve in non-combatant work." In 1922, history teacher Simon Goldblum, again from De Witt Clinton, had to defend himself "because of a reputed remark in 1918 that reports of German atrocities had been exaggerated."

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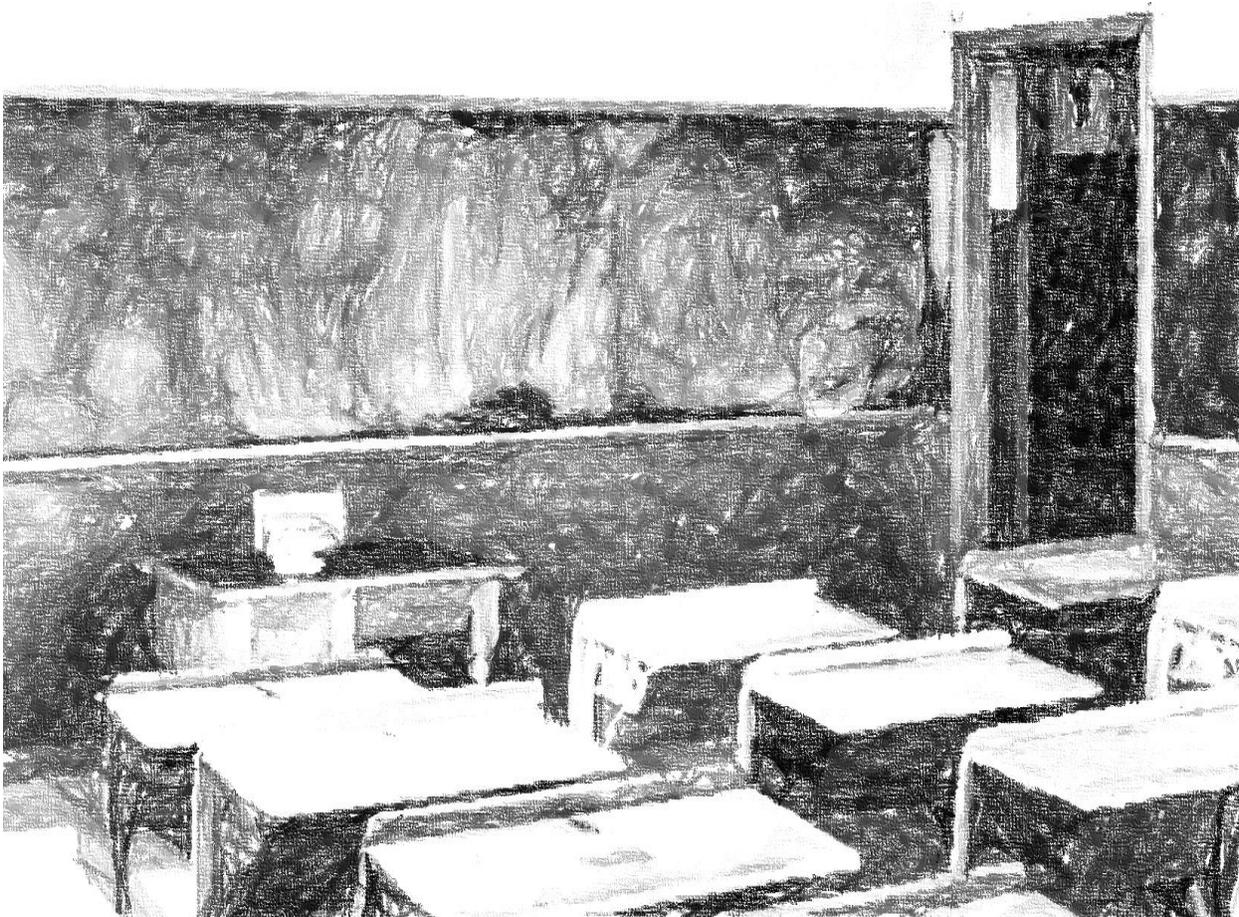
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## Should Student Volunteerism be Voluntary?

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In his November 19, 1863, address at the dedication of the Gettysburg National Cemetery, Abraham Lincoln defined *democracy* as “government of the people, by the people, for the people.” The National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) *College, Career, and Civic Life (C3) Framework for Social Studies State Standards* (NCSS, 2013) expands on this notion of democracy as government by the people by specifically endorsing student activism. According to the framework:

“Civics is not limited to the study of politics and society; it also encompasses participation in classrooms and schools, neighborhoods, groups, and organizations . . . In civics, students learn to contribute appropriately to public processes and discussions of real issues. Their contributions to public discussions may take many forms, ranging from personal testimony to abstract arguments. They will also learn civic practices such as voting, volunteering, jury service, and joining with others to improve society. Civics enables students not only to study how others participate, but also to practice participating and taking informed action themselves” (p. 31).

The NCSS C3 framework is also rooted in John Dewey’s progressive educational philosophy that is concerned with the need to educate people for life in a democratic society. Key concepts for

Dewey were experience, freedom, community, and “habits of mind.” Dewey believed that there was an “organic connection between education and experience”; that effective teachers are able to connect the subject matter to the existing experience of students and then expand and enrich their lives with new experiences.

According to Dewey, students learn from the full spectrum of their experiences in school, not just the specific thing they are studying in class. They learn from what they are studying, how they are studying, who they are studying with, and how they are treated. In racially segregated or academically tracked classes, students learn that some people are better than others. In teacher-centered classrooms, they learn that some people possess knowledge and others passively receive it. When teachers have total control over classrooms, even when they are benevolent or entertaining, students learn to accept authoritarianism. When schools remain isolated from communities and exist to rank and stratify the student body, students learn to seek individual rewards and ignore the needs of others; values that are the antithesis of democratic citizenship.

During his career, John Dewey continually examined the experiences educators need to create for students so they become active participants in preserving and expanding government of, by, and for the people. For Dewey, the exercise of freedom in democratic

societies always involves education. He identifies freedom with “power to frame purposes” or achieve individual and social goals. This kind of freedom requires a probing, critical, disciplined “habit of mind.” It includes intelligence, judgment, and self-control - qualities students never acquire in classrooms where they are subject to external controls and are forced to remain silent. In schools that use a Deweyan approach, students engage in long-term thematic group projects, where they learn to collectively solve problems, and classrooms become democratic communities where “things gain meaning by being used in a shared experience or joint action.” If Dewey is right, students only learn about democracy and the values of citizenship in classrooms where they experience them. They only learn to take responsibility for society, when schools engage them in taking responsibility.

Because of my understanding of Lincoln’s view of democracy and Dewey’s ideas on learning, I am arguing, in a way, against the basic concept of volunteerism, *that it be voluntary*. I am suggesting that active involvement in community affairs by students must be a basic educational requirement and integrated throughout the social studies curriculum. But I want to take this proposal even one step further.

Paulo Freire, a Brazilian educator, was born in Recife in northeastern Brazil where his ideas about education developed in response to military dictatorship, enormous social inequality, and widespread adult illiteracy. As a result, his primary pedagogical goal was to provide the world’s poor and oppressed with educational experiences that make it possible for them to take control over their own lives. Freire shared

John Dewey’s desire to stimulate students to become “agents of curiosity” in a “quest for . . . . the ‘why’ of things” and his belief that education provides possibility and hope for the future of society. But he believed that these can only be achieved when students are engaged in explicitly critiquing social injustice and actively organizing to challenge oppression.

For Freire, education is a process of continuous group discussion that enables people to acquire collective knowledge they can use to change society. The role of the teacher includes asking questions that help students identify problems facing their community, working with students to discover ideas that explain their life experiences, and encouraging analysis of prior experiences and of society as the basis for new academic understanding and social action.

This concept of active education as preparation for political activism and active citizenship is not unique to Paulo Freire. In 1787, Thomas Jefferson wrote: “The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time, with the blood of patriots and tyrants. It is their natural manure.” Thomas Jefferson believed that freedom and republican government rest on two basic principles: “the diffusion of knowledge among the people” and the idea that “a little rebellion now and then is a good thing.” Jefferson supported the right to rebel because he recognized that the world was constantly changing. The crucial question was not whether it would change, but the direction of change. Education was essential so that ordinary citizens could participate in this process, defending and enhancing their liberties.

In the United States, there has frequently been a close connection between advocacy for mass public education and demands for

expanding democracy, social equity, and political reform. For example, in the mid-19th century, Horace Mann championed public education because he believed that the success of the country depended on “intelligence and virtue in the masses of the people.” He argued that, “If we do not prepare children to become good citizens,... then our republic must go down to destruction.”

John Dewey saw himself within this intellectual tradition. He believed that democratic movements for human liberation were necessary to achieve a fair distribution of political power and an “equitable system of human liberties.”

As a high school social studies teacher, I promoted transformative goals through direct student involvement in social action projects as part of New York State’s “Participation in Government” curriculum. In New York City, periodic budget crises, ongoing racial and ethnic tension, and the need for social programs in poor communities provided numerous opportunities to encourage students to become active citizens. Class activities included sponsoring student forums on controversial issues, such as requiring parental consent before a teenager can have an abortion, preparing reports on school finances and presenting them as testimony at public hearings, writing position papers for publication in local newspapers, and organizing student and community support for a school-based public health clinic.

During each activity, social studies goals included making reasoned decisions based on an evaluation of existing evidence, researching issues and presenting information in writing and on graphs, exploring the underlying ideas that shape our points of view, giving leadership by

example to other students, and taking collective and individual responsibility for the success of programs.

The following are excerpts from a speech presented by a student in my Participation in Government class at a public hearing organized by the New York Pro-Choice Coalition and from an opinion editorial written by students and printed in *New York Newsday* on January 14, 1990.

In her speech, a student wrote: “I think it is a good idea to talk to your parents about a pregnancy and an abortion. But I also understand that you may not be able to do this. Some teenagers are afraid to tell their parents. Some teenagers have good reasons why they cannot tell them . . . A law cannot take a distant relationship and make it a close one. That’s why there are hot lines to call and all sorts of counselors, so that a pregnant teenager does not end up boxed into a corner unable to get out . . . My mom has said to me, “If you make mistakes in your life, you are the one who has to live with them. But always remember that I am here for you.” I think all teenagers should be able to talk with their parents. I wish all parents were like my mom, but I know that it’s not that way. That’s why I am fighting against parental consent and parental notification laws.”

The op-ed piece, a collective effort, said: “The members of the Forum Club strongly disagree with the behavior of some of the pro-choice demonstrators at Saint Patrick’s Cathedral. We believe that it was uncalled for and inexcusable to disrupt the mass and interfere with communion. We believe that the demonstrators who entered the church were wrong and hurt the ability of the pro-choice

movement to win people over to our ideas on human freedom and the rights of Americans.

However, we also believe that the newspaper coverage of events on that day misrepresented the pro-choice movement. Out of 5,000 people who demonstrated at Saint Patrick's Cathedral on that day, only 43 were arrested inside the church. Furthermore, only one person disrupted Holy Communion.

Meanwhile, the media buried reports about another demonstration that took place on the same day. In New Jersey, 125 members of Operation Rescue, an anti-abortion group, were arrested at a health clinic. They had blocked the entrance to the clinic to prevent women from choosing to have safe and legal abortions. Six of these demonstrators had chained themselves together.

We believe that on this Sunday, both the pro-choice and anti-abortion groups did things that violated the rights of other Americans. What we don't understand is why the pro-choice group was singled out for the harsher criticism."

These activities represent a very different concept of volunteerism, a concept with deep roots in educational theory and the United States' democratic heritage. Implementing this approach is not simple. It means combating resistance from school boards and parents. But if John Dewey and Thomas Jefferson are right, and I think they are, it is the best way to insure the habits of mind that are the goals of volunteerism and essential for the preservation and expansion of a democratic society.

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## **A Slow Burn:**

# **The Incendiary Politics of Race and Violence in Antislavery Conflict and the Effects on the Civil War Draft Riots in Richmond County, New York 1855-1865**

Debbie-Ann Paige

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Richmond County during the antebellum period was a microcosm of the United States. The residents of the pro- and antislavery communities found themselves struggling through similar issues of racism and violence that plagued the nation as a whole. Throughout the late antebellum period, the ubiquitous political arguments traversing the island eventually led to an environment replete with fear and resentment. Although the antislavery community was stigmatized by the Northern supporters of slavery, somehow they still managed to create an environment whereby they could become an essential part of the abolition movement, possibly shaping antislavery ideology and politics towards the single goal of abolishing the institution of slavery.

Richmond County, in the early republic, had more than 20 percent of its entire population held in racial bondage, and as such, the county became one of several New York communities with a strong proslavery position. County delegates tactically voted against the first round of gradual abolition measures which resulted in the defeat of the earliest earnest emancipation legislation proposed in New York in 1785. Richmond County slaveholders were repeatedly among those who helped develop strategies and policies that ensured the perpetuation of racialized slavery in the newly chartered state. By the late eighteenth century, the abolition of chattel slavery and what would become known as “the Negro problem” became a significant political and legal concern to New Yorkers

On July 5, 1827 nearly every African American man, woman and child gathered in Richmond County at the Swan Hotel to celebrate the official end of slavery in New York. To commemorate the long anticipated event, “the more prominent colored men” of the island arranged one of the largest emancipation day celebrations in the state. To help celebrate the historic occasion the local African American community was joined by their brethren from Long Island and New Jersey on the banks of the Kill Van Kull in West New Brighton to participate in the celebrations that lasted the “better part of two days.” The jubilant celebrations were made possible with the execution of the New York State gradual emancipation law.

After emancipation, African Americans established two communities in Richmond County: the Sandy Ground settlement and what would later become known as the McKeon Street neighborhood. Although newly freed African Americans returned to the homes of former slaveholders to labor on their previous farms and oyster vessels after the Emancipation Day celebrations, some as freedmen, others to finish their debt of indenture, a small number became heads of households by the 1830 census. Both communities were partially integrated, but the vast majority of Richmond County African Americans called one of these communities home. This is not to say that African Americans did not live in the other towns and villages of Richmond County; but more to the point that during the antebellum period

African Americans were most often found in one of these two neighborhoods.

Richmond County African American residents were involved in the burgeoning Underground Railroad of the 1830s through 1840s. Freedom-seekers departing the Chesapeake were reported to have found assistance from the African American community when they reached the South Shore of Richmond County. On the North Shore, tails of escape from southern ports through the Quarantine Station were recounted in several slave narratives. African Americans took huge risks to assist self-emancipators under threat of harsh reprisals from an intensely proslavery white population.

The African American Methodist communities participated in annual religious camp meetings and antislavery picnics called “First of August” celebrations which corresponded with the end of slavery in British colonies and invited prominent abolitionists to be the keynote speakers. In 1855, Staten Island hosted one of the largest August First celebrations with more than five thousand, mostly African American celebrants from New York and New Jersey. Alexander Crummell and James McCune Smith, two prominent African American abolitionists, coordinated the event with invited keynote speaker Stephen Myers of Albany, also a prominent abolitionist and Underground Station Master.

Dr. Samuel McKenzie Elliott, a distinguished oculist, was the first of the prominent abolitionists to arrive in Richmond County. Beginning in the 1840s, Dr. Elliott purchased property across the north shore, much of it overlooking the beautiful Kill Van Kull. He later named the area Elliottsville. Over time, several parcels of land were made available to his abolitionist friends and collectively the neighborhood evolved into an enclave of literary Unitarians, Free-soilers and radical abolitionists in what is now called West New Brighton.

By the mid-1850s, the principal abolitionists living in Richmond County can be characterized as

mainly expatriates from New England including philanthropist Francis George Shaw and family; journalist Sydney Howard Gay and family; George William Curtis; George A. Ward and son George C. Ward; Frederick Law Olmsted; William Emerson, brother of Ralph Waldo Emerson, and for a short period time Henry David Thoreau. Others were important New York names including the DePeyster and Willcox families. Captain Frederic Augustus DePeyster and his daughter Maria; Albert O. Willcox and his three sons Hamilton, Albert Jr. and David; Dr. Samuel McKenzie Elliott, Lewis Brownell, George Bechtel, the Bard, Delafield, and Minturn families were lesser known supporters of the antislavery movement. A good number of these local abolitionists were ardent supporters of the American Anti-Slavery Society and its literary arm, the National Anti-Slavery Standard. Their financial contributions to the organizations were faithful and consistent and were an integral part of keeping the organizations running.

By the 1850s the once reverent believers of Garrison’s antislavery ideology turned their attention to electoral possibilities. The political affiliations began by experimenting with memberships in the Whig, Know Nothing, Liberty and Free Soil parties. For the elections of 1856 the reformers joined forces with the Republican Party and by the 1860 elections the Richmond County antislavery defenders became solid Lincoln Republicans. Moral suasion was combined with political arguments of antislavery theory that continued the demand for unconditional immediate emancipation.

Eventually, Richmond County abolitionists and Republicans set their sights on the 1860 election of Abraham Lincoln. Sydney Gay left his position as editor of the National Anti-Slavery Standard and took the position of managing editor with the New York Tribune. The Tribune was transformed into a substantial pro-Lincoln voice for the Republican Party, sometimes to the dismay of Horace Greeley,

its founder and editor. Shaw, Curtis and Gay had visibly influential roles within the Party. Based on their considerable involvement as political activists and role as Republican “insiders” the trio exerted a good deal of influence within the Party. Gay and his companions settled on the certainty that a win for Lincoln was a win for the abolitionist cause.

Gay, Shaw and Curtis purportedly opened their West New Brighton homes, lives and resources to freedom seekers during the antebellum period as a part of the Underground Railroad, but lacked the commitment to accept the local African American communities into the antislavery fold. For this reason James McCune Smith regularly accused Gay and Garrison of racism. Smith incessantly challenged Garrison’s abolitionist press about disparities in salary, lecture and journalism opportunities between white and black abolitionists, and on more than one occasion he openly accused William Lloyd Garrison, Gay and the National Anti-Slavery Standard of discrimination and favoritism.

During the mid-nineteenth century, Richmond County’s white community regardless of social class or ethnic origin, on countless occasions exhibited a clear racial bias against African American communities. On the North Shore, the Irish immigrant community continuously disparaged the African American community as inferior, in an attempt to escape the anti-Irish torment leveled against them by the WASP (White Anglo-Saxon Protestant) community of the island. A good number of new Irish residents lived in relatively close proximity to the African American community of McKeon Street and Rocky Hollow. Clashes occurred between African American and Irish residents on a fairly consistent basis up through the end of the Civil War.

White Staten Islanders had a penchant for using violence to resolve difficult problems. In 1858, a Staten Island mob of more than one thousand men attacked and burned the Quarantine buildings to the

ground. Threats of physical violence abounded on the island and verbal attacks on abolitionists and Republicans became commonplace in the local newspaper. For this reason, both local and national abolitionists acknowledged a need for new strategies if they were going to be successful in the approaching 1860 elections.

The 1860 elections in Richmond County hinged on two key issues, the presidential race of Abraham Lincoln and the question of unencumbered suffrage for African Americans. Richmond County residents viewed a Lincoln presidency with vastly different lenses. On one hand, Lincoln represented the long awaited, although symbolic conclusion to slavery the abolitionists had worked tirelessly towards. On the other hand Republican supporters looked to Lincoln to fulfill the Party’s agenda prohibiting the expansion of slavery into the western territories. In the meantime, Richmond County conservatives began organizing in preparation for the pending elections. They readied themselves for what they believed would become a nasty fight during the election period to ensure Lincoln did not get elected.

Also on the ballot in New York was a referendum on “Negro suffrage.” The intent of this measure was to remove the two hundred and fifty dollar freehold qualification for African Americans and centralize the black-white dichotomy of equality and the rights of full citizenship without encumbrances in nineteenth-century New York. The combination of all these issues represented the complexities of putting ideological beliefs into practice and the inability of radical abolitionists and Garrisonian Republicans to follow through on the idealisms of equality at a critical moment in Northern antebellum politics.

Despite the antislavery violence and racial politics exhibited throughout the late 1850s, by 1860 the new Republican leaders of Staten Island still maintained a general belief in equality and offered their support for the referendum on equal

suffrage for African Americans. However, not all Republicans agreed with the suffrage measure. A considerable number of Republicans held beliefs in the ideologies of white supremacy and flat out refused to support the suffrage referendum. By 1860, many Staten Islanders still held fast to their deep-seated anti-black feelings, which presented a serious problem for the Republican Party. Racial prejudice and exclusionary practices towards African Americans had the potential to tear the party apart and the possible loss of the presidency. Republican abolitionists had to find a way to create an atmosphere of tolerance between the friends and opponents of African American suffrage, so that the focus could remain on acquiring the votes needed to place Lincoln in office.

Republicans held large rally-styled meetings to ratify the presidential and gubernatorial nominations previously established by party members. The meetings met predominantly on the North Shore in the towns of Castleton, Northfield and Middletown because Republicanism had not extended past these three towns with any substantial significance. One mass meeting convened in the North Shore neighborhood of Clifton scheduled George W. Curtis, Horace Greeley and Gustav Struve as guest speakers. The simple purpose was to address the crowd and fire them up for the upcoming elections. Tremendous fanfare preceded the meeting, with the participants marching to music in the streets amidst great fireworks. The *New York Times* described the procession as, “headed by bands of music, marched with banners, torches, and amid a display of rockets, to the place of the meeting. A Great degree of enthusiasm was manifested.” Republican Party officials aimed this extraordinary event, filled with pomp and circumstance, primarily towards the working-class members of the Staten Island community. Ideally, such an expressive show of enthusiasm and energy would attract the highly sought after working-class demographic to the party.

The 1860 election returns were truly disappointing for Richmond County Republicans. While Lincoln received nearly 60 percent of the electoral votes and secured the presidency, not one of his Staten Island contemporaries were able to capitalize on the momentum of a Lincoln presidency in Richmond County. The Republicans failed to reach far enough across party lines in the general elections as they had done for Frank Shaw earlier that year in the local elections and consequently failed to get themselves elected to any post in any of the island’s statewide districts.

At the same time, opponents of the suffrage proposal managed to have the measure defeated by sizeable margins in all five towns of Richmond County, which makes it unmistakably clear that Richmond County abolitionists and their Republican friends failed to support the suffrage referendum. The referendum returns, especially those in Staten Island, delivered a powerful message to antebellum African Americans: white New Yorkers would not offer their black brethren the opportunity for equality. This was just one more incident that reinforced the growing complaints by African Americans regarding the inability of their Republican supporters to reconcile race and prejudice. Of the total votes cast on Staten Island, less than 5 percent of the voting populace cast a ballot in the affirmative. While the rest of the New York overwhelmingly elected a new Republican president, Staten Islanders were proud to have voted for a straight Democratic ticket and their ability to overwhelmingly reject the referendum on “Negro Suffrage.”

Lincoln’s policies certainly found little favor in Richmond County, where his decision to free southern slaves was met with open resentment by the county’s mostly Irish working-class communities. By 1862, White residents began openly attacking African Americans on the North Shore. White abolitionists and the various African American communities of Richmond County were

terrorized for several days during the sweltering July summer of 1863. By July 17, news of the draft riots raging in New York City trickled into Richmond County from various places and filled the county residents with unprecedented anxiety. In the early hours of July 17, rioters spilled out into the streets and lashed out at anyone or anything that got in their way. By many accounts, members of the Irish community roamed the island, laying siege to the homes and businesses of North Shore abolitionists and the African American communities..

When the riots first began, the participants were a disorganized group. Dis-jointed gangs sprang up in several townships across the island with the intention of causing harm to abolitionists, Republicans and the general African American population whom rioters blamed as the sole cause for the war. During that first night of rage, a crowd gathered in Factoryville and began to make its way towards New Brighton creating mayhem as they moved through the streets. In New Brighton the crowd's intended target was the confectionary business of a man named "Green," who was an African American businessman from Virginia that lived in the town of Castleton and ran a successful ice cream saloon in New Brighton. As rumors of the crowd's intent became clear, George Green closed the store, gathered his family and fled for his own safety. Having discovered the store closed and Green gone, the crowd then turned its anger on the

neighboring drug store they believed must also have had an African American owner. They attacked the store and went after its proprietor, whom they mistakenly believed was George Green. However, as the mob dragged the druggist named Christie from his hiding place in the cellar, they soon realized he was indeed white and released him without inflicting any further harm.

At the same time, another portion of the mob launched an attack on the home of an African American named David Wormsley, who lived in the McKeon Street neighborhood. The mob targeted Wormsley in part based on rumors that he had been an especially vocal advocate for the government to arm African Americans to enforce the draft.

In the dawning hours of July 18, Staten Island's draft riots began to wane, and by the day's end, the violence had completely subsided. The mobs dissipated, the streets cleared and the fires which set structures ablaze were extinguished. Staten Island abolitionists, white and African American alike, were stunned by the previous days of rioting, but began to quietly rebuild their lives. Overall, the island's white abolitionists fared far better than the African American community and emerged from the riots relatively unscathed. Horace Greeley and Wendell Phillips quietly endured the riots at George W. Curtis' home on Staten Island; but some, like Elizabeth Gay, lost a piece of themselves during those fearful nights and were forever changed by the event.

## Whose Country is This? Trump, Coolidge, and Immigration

Bruce W. Dearstyne

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The current divisive debate over national immigration policy has two sets of confrontational positions. On one side, advocates of immigration favor a liberal policy of admitting sizable numbers of immigrants, no discrimination based on ethnicity, religion, or national origin, and protection of undocumented immigrants. On the other side, President Trump is the leading spokesperson and advocate for building a wall on our southern border with Mexico, banning certain immigrants from entering the country, and deporting those living here illegally, many of whom, he insists, are criminals.

The debate in some ways echoes discussions in the nation a century ago.

In 1921, the vice president published an article entitled "Whose Country Is This?" in the popular magazine *Good Housekeeping*. "We are confronted by the clamor of multitudes who desire the opportunity offered by American life," the author noted. But America has no place for "the vicious, the weak of body, the shiftless or the improvident . . . Our country must cease to be regarded as a dumping ground." People accorded the privilege of immigrating to the U.S. should become productive, patriotic citizens. "It would not be unjust to ask of every alien: What will you contribute to the common good, once you were admitted through the gates of liberty?"

"There are racial considerations too grave to be brushed aside for any sentimental reasons," the author continued. "Biological laws tell us that certain divergent people will not mix or blend. The Nordics propagate themselves successfully. With other races, the outcome shows deterioration on both sides."

What was needed was "the right kind of immigration."

That sounds a bit like some government leaders who are demanding immigration restriction today. Actually, it was Calvin Coolidge (R, Vice President, 1921-1923, President 1923-1929).

He became President on August 2, 1923, upon the death of President Warren G. Harding, and was elected in his own right the next year. Coolidge was bland and taciturn. He tried to avoid controversy. But Coolidge had strong views on immigration, some with parallels to today.

In his first address to Congress on December 6, 1923, he struck a theme of limited, selective immigration: "New arrivals should be limited to our capacity to absorb them into the ranks of good citizenship. America must be kept American. For this purpose, it is necessary to continue a policy of restricted immigration."

In 1924, he signed the Johnson-Reed Immigration Act which severely limited immigration, imposed a quota system based on

the 1890 census which in effect favored northern Europeans over others, continued a long-standing ban on Chinese immigration, and imposed a new one on Japanese immigration.

His views on immigration were complicated. Speaking to a delegation of labor leaders on September 1, 1924, he asserted that "Restricted immigration has been adopted by this administration chiefly for the purpose of maintaining American standards. It undoubtedly has a very great economic effect. We want the people who live in America, no matter what their origin, to be able to continue in the enjoyment of their present unprecedented advantages. This opportunity would certainly be destroyed by the tremendous influx of foreign peoples if immigration were not restricted. Unemployment would become a menace, and there would follow an almost certain reduction of wages with all the attendant distress and despair which are now suffered in so many parts of Europe. Our first duty is to our own people."

The Republican Party platform that Coolidge campaigned on that year put the economic case this way: "The unprecedented living conditions in Europe following the world war created a condition by which we were threatened with mass immigration that would have seriously disturbed our economic life. The law recently enacted [the Johnson-Reed Act] is designed to protect the inhabitants of our country, not only the American citizen, but also the alien already with us who is seeking to secure an economic foothold for himself and family from the competition that would come from unrestricted immigration."

Putting the jobs argument more directly, immigration restriction "saves the American job for the American workman," as Coolidge said in a speech in December of that year.

On the other hand, he opposed some immigration restrictions and celebrated America as a melting pot. For instance, he lobbied Congress not to include the Japanese provision in the immigration act, and instead to continue a longstanding, informal agreement by which Japan voluntarily limited the number of its citizens emigrating to America. Congress included it anyway. In his formal signing statement on May 26, 1924, an angry Coolidge called the provision "unnecessary and deplorable" and asserted that Americans had a "sentiment of admiration and cordial friendship for the Japanese people" despite the new law.

He told the American Legion convention in 1925 that "Whether one traces his Americanism back three centuries to the Mayflower, or three years [ago in] the steerage, is not half so important as whether his Americanism of today is real and genuine. No matter by what various crafts we came here, we are all now in the same boat."

In a 1926 speech, he said "when once our feet have touched this soil, when once we have made this land our home, wherever our place of birth, whatever our race, we are all blended in one common country. All artificial distinctions of lineage and rank are cast aside. We all rejoice in the title of Americans."

In Calvin Coolidge's public utterances and his actions on immigration, several themes emerge. Some have reverberations for today.

Coolidge emphasized that America has prospered and excelled in the past. Times were good then. But things seem to be slipping. Principles and values seemed in danger and future prospects appeared dimmer. Coolidge thought Americans had to be on guard. That sentiment sounds similar to Trump's slogan of "Make America Great Again."

Coolidge encouraged assimilation. He believed that most past immigrants adopted American values and assimilated with the population already living here. Race, religion, and a consensus about the importance of family, hard work, and patriotism were important parts of that process. But, he went on, people now clamoring for admission were of different races and religions, and were determined to hold onto their own cultures and values. These new immigrants tended to stay together rather than assimilate and blend in and, to Coolidge, that made them a threat to the nation. Coolidge's views in this area seem similar in some ways to Trump's and other immigration restrictionists.

Economics was a critical issue in Coolidge's thinking. The economy was expanding but there were only so many jobs to go around, he implied. Letting in too many immigrants would take jobs from citizens already here. America's capacity to absorb newcomers was therefore limited. That sounds a lot like immigration restrictionists' arguments that immigrants (particularly undocumented immigrants) compete with American citizens for jobs, especially low-paying positions.

Coolidge felt that Americans need not be concerned with conditions in other countries or the fate or prospects of people who wanted to come in as immigrants but were not allowed to do so. That was not something for which Americans had responsibility. It was up to those countries, and to the individuals living there, to fend for themselves. That, too, parallels the view expressed by immigration restrictionists today that unemployment, poverty, and violence elsewhere in the world, e.g., Central and South America, do not justify people from those nations seeking sanctuary here in the United States.

We have to keep to "America First!" -- a vague and undefined but popular slogan among Coolidge and conservatives in those days and occasionally used by President Trump. It has overtones of American exceptionalism, nationalism, and patriotism but also undertones of nativism and racism.

*Whose country is this?* It was a central question a century ago, and still is today. President Coolidge and President Trump might have similar answers to the question.

#### **Whose Country is This?**

By Calvin Coolidge, Vice-President elect of the United States

*Good Housekeeping*, volume 72 number 2, February 1921, pages 13-14, 109

Men and women, in and of themselves, are desirable. There can't be too many inhabitants of the right kind, distributed in the right place. Great work there is for each and every one of them to perform. The country needs all the intelligence, and skill, and strength of mind and body it can get, whether we draw such form those within our gates, or from those without, seeking entrance. But since we are confronted by the clamor of multitudes who desire the opportunity offered by American life, we must face the situation unflinchingly, determined to relinquish not one iota of our obligations to others, yet not be so sentimental as to overlook our obligations to ourselves. It is a self-evident truth that in a healthy community there is no place for the vicious, the weak of body, the shiftless, or the improvident. As professor Sumner of Yale, asserts in his book, "The Forgotten Man," "every part of capital which is wasted on the vicious, the idle, and the shiftless, is so much taken from the capital available to reward the

independent and productive laborer.” We are in agreement with him in his conviction that the laborer must be protected “against the burdens of the good-for-nothing.

We want no such additions to our population as those who prey upon our institutions or our property. America has, in popular mind, been an asylum for those who have been driven from their homes in foreign countries because of various forms of political and religious oppression. But America cannot afford to remain an asylum after such people have passed the portals and begun to share the privileges of our institutions.

These institutions have flourished by reason of a common background of experience; they have been perpetuated by a common faith in the righteousness of their purpose; they have been handed down undiminished in effectiveness from our forefathers who conceived their spirit and prepared the foundations. We have put into operation our faith in equal opportunity before the law in exchange for equal obligation of citizens.

All native-born Americans, directly or indirectly, have the advantage of our schools, our colleges, and our religious bodies. It is our belief that America could not otherwise exist. Faith in mankind is in no way inconsistent with a requirement for trained citizenship, both for men and women. No civilization can exist without a background—an active community of interest, a common aspiration—spiritual, social, and economic. It is a duty our country owes itself to require of all those aliens who come here that they have a background not inconsistent with American institutions.

Such a background might consist either of a racial tradition or a national experience. But in its lowest terms it must be characterized by

a capacity for assimilation. While America is built on a broad faith in mankind, it likewise gains its strength by a recognition of a needed training for citizenship. The Pilgrims were not content merely to reach our shores in safety, that they might live according to a sort of daily opportunism. They were building on firmer ground than that. Sixteen years after they landed at Plymouth, they and their associates founded Harvard College. They institutionalized their faith in education. That was their offering for the common good. It would not be unjust to ask of every alien: What will you contribute to the common good, once you were admitted through the gates of liberty? Our history is full of answers of which we might be justly proud. But of late, the answers have not been so readily or so eloquently given. Our country must cease to be regarded as a dumping ground. Which does not mean that it must deny the value of rich accretions drawn from the right kind of immigration.

Any such restriction, except as a necessary and momentary expediency, would assuredly paralyze our national vitality. But measured practically, it would be suicidal for us to let down the bars for the inflowing of cheap manhood, just as, commercially, it would be unsound for this country to allow her markets to be over flooded with cheap goods, the produce of cheap labor. There is no room for either the cheap man or the cheap goods. I do not fear the arrival of as many immigrants a year as shipping conditions or passport requirements can handle, provided they are of good character. But there is no room for the alien who turns toward America with the avowed intention of opposing government, with a set desire to teach destruction of

government-which means not only enmity toward organized society, but toward every form of religion and so basic an institution as the home.

If we believe, as we do, in our political theory that the people are the guardians of government, we should not subject our government to the bitterness and hatred of those who have not been born in our tradition and are willing to yield an increase to the strength inherent in our institutions. American liberty is dependent on quality in citizenship. Our obligation is to maintain that citizenship at its best. We must have nothing to do with those who undermine it. The retroactive immigrant is a danger in our midst. His purpose is to tear down. There is no room for him here. He needs to be deported, not as a substitute for, but as a part of his punishment. We might avoid this danger were we insistent that the immigrant, before he leaves foreign soil, is temperamentally keyed for our national background. There are racial considerations too grave to be brushed aside for any sentimental reasons. Biological laws tell us

that certain divergent people will not mix or blend. The Nordics propagate themselves successfully. With our races, the outcome shows deterioration on both sides. Quality of mind and body suggests that observance of ethnic law is as great a necessity to a nation as immigration law.

We must remember that we have not only the present but the future to safeguard; our obligations extend even to generations yet unborn. The unassimilated alien child menaces our children, as the alien industrial worker, who has destruction rather than production in mind, menaces our industry. It is only when the alien adds vigor to our stock that he is wanted. The dead weight of alien accretion stifles national progress. But we have a hope that cannot be crushed; we have a background that we will not allow to be obliterated. The only acceptable immigrant is the one who can justify our faith in man by a constant revelation of the divine purpose of the Creator.



Figure 1: A 1921 political cartoon portrays America's new immigration quotas, influenced by popular anti-immigrant and nativist sentiment stemming from World War I conflict. Source: Library of Congress

## **Educators, Technology and Social Media: Tips to Tread Carefully**

Michael Nitti

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For the past decade or so, as a school administrator and adjunct professor of school law, I have had the opportunity to talk to educators about the particular pitfalls posed by technology and social media use by teaching staff. Unfortunately, I have been witness to far too many neophyte teachers getting into trouble on digital platforms, and I like to view these talks as sort of a preemptive measure. As I often say to young, enthusiastic educators who have grown up as digital natives, paraphrasing an old appliance commercial that none of them have ever heard of; “You can listen to me now, or you could potentially listen to someone else in my position later.”

Now, without question, it is essential that teachers are preparing students to be successful in a global digital world, and there are considerable benefits that come from being a wired professional. By no means do I intend to diminish those important points, but our interconnected world of technology and social media seems to give teachers new and innovative ways to get into trouble each year, so I like to share the following fifteen key points with them:

1. Educators can be active, visible and accessible with their private life on social media but it’s kind of like Chris Rock says; you can also drive a car with your feet, but that doesn’t make it a darn good idea.
2. As soon as an educator assumes their duties, they are public figures, they get paid with tax dollars, and people hand over to them what they care about most in the world-their children. There is an expectation that educators will be role models. Some may think that is unfair, and perhaps do not feel the need to carry themselves like a role model, but it is probably not a good idea to broadcast that to the world on social media.
3. It is very hard work, takes a lot of time, and costs a bunch of money to become a teacher. But the brutal truth is that in this modern digital era, a whole career and the work that went into it can disappear in the blink of an eye.
4. Educators who are active and visible with their private lives on social media are a lot like that NFL player who was fooling around with fireworks. It may be fun, and it may be cool, but it is also pretty dangerous, and can have a disastrous impact on your career.
5. On one occasion, I was dealing with a teacher whose inappropriate Facebook postings got them in a bit of professional hot water. The teacher defiantly stated, “That’s my private life!” The wise superintendent that I worked for responded, “I agree, and I wish it stayed there.”

6. Educators are, of course, citizens in a democratic society, and have the right to have political views and opinions. But if you ever post something that makes a student think that this person does not like me because of how I am, or what I believe, or what I look like, then that impacts your ability to teach that child, and to do your job. That is simply unacceptable.
7. It may not be the best idea to leave a trail of your thoughts, musings, observations, events and festivities on any kind of digital platform. And always keep in mind; a picture is a right-click from being somebody else's property forever.
8. If an educator is going to be active on social media, they should follow this proverbial smell test before they post: "Yep, my grandmother would be okay with this." Also, make sure all your privacy settings are appropriate, and remember, nobody has 900 true friends, and some of these so-called social media friends, may not even like you.
9. If you are a teacher of elementary students, the parents will track down and scrutinize your digital footprint, because they want to know all about the person who will be taking care of their babies. By the time kids get to high school and parents just want these darn teenagers out of their house, it is the students who will investigate your internet presence.
10. Remember certain tweets, photos and postings don't age well. Society changes, values change, attitudes change. To quote the late-20th century philosopher Homer Simpson, "Everything looks bad if you remember it."
11. Never post anything negative about your students on social media. I once encountered a teacher who shared a student's writings with mocking commentary on Facebook. It eventually got back to the parents of the child. As you could imagine, the consequences were very bad for that educator. Also, don't complain about your job as a public servant online. Nobody wants to hear it.
12. Dance like nobody is watching. Email like it one day may be subpoenaed and read in court. Emails live forever on some server somewhere. If global nuclear Armageddon ever occurs, the only things left will be cockroaches and that inappropriate joke you never should have forwarded.
13. Emails are also a treacherous form of communication, As someone who has seen the dreaded misuse of "Reply All," and witnessed "This mother is as dumb as her kid," being emailed to said alleged stupid mother, all I can recommend is to look closely before hitting send. It is also very difficult to distinguish tone or sarcasm in an email. Keep things brief, specific and focused on information only.
14. With every student having a camera and recorder in their pocket, it is a dangerous time to be a teacher, and losing your temper or doing something stupid could have disastrous consequences. This "teacher-baiting" ploy, where one student gets the teacher mad while another student records it, is a very real danger. In this day and age, you always have to carry yourself like you are being recorded, because you very well may be.
15. Never hand your personal smart phone, containing pictures and other private information, to a student. I have seen this go remarkably bad.

## Whose Story is it, *Now*?

### Re-examining Women's Visibility in 21st Century Secondary World History Textbooks

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At the start of the twenty-first century, Clark, Ayton, Frechette, and Keller (2005) conducted a content analysis study focusing on the visibility of women in social studies textbooks and published their findings in the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) publication *Social Education*. In their article, "Women of the World, Re-write!," Clark et al. discussed how their study specifically analyzed popular United States secondary world history textbooks in order to determine whether or not women's inclusion in the texts had increased or decreased between 1960s, 1980s, and 1990s editions of each textbook. The purpose of conducting their study was to investigate whether or not a previous report by Sadker and Sadker (1994) concerning the invisibility of women in a 1991 world history textbook applied to most 1990s texts and to see if world history textbooks had improved in promoting women's inclusion (Clark et al., 2005).

As a result, Clark and his colleagues did find evidence that women were severely marginalized in world history texts despite the fact that the percentages of women's inclusion had increased over the three decades. For example, Clark et al. reported that women's inclusion increased in five of their six coding indicators: (1) Ratio of Women to Men in Index; (2) Percent of Pages Mentioning Women; (3)

Women about Whom a Paragraph is Devoted; (4) Percent of Sentences Mentioning Women and (4) Percent of Pictures with Women. Yet the highest percent Clark et al. found was 37.9% in the Percent of Pictures with Women indicator, demonstrating a woeful imbalance between male and female representation in textbooks throughout the twentieth century. The question now is has female inclusion increased in *twenty-first century* world history textbooks since the study by Clark et al.?

Our professional positionalities as females in secondary social studies education encouraged us to delve deeper into this question. Erica is a former secondary social studies teacher and currently serves as a pre-service social studies methods assistant professor. She is well aware that the NCSS updated the 1994 National Curriculum Standards and the ten newly revised standards provide educators with a more focused framework for constructing a more holistic social studies curriculum (NCSS, 2010), however, she wondered if textbook publishers had followed that educational trend as well. Jenna is currently a secondary social studies pre-service teacher and Melonie is currently in her second year as a full-service secondary social studies teacher. Both Jenna and Melonie wondered to what extent they, as twenty-first century social studies educators, would need to find additional

curriculum and historical documentation of women's accounts and experiences if textbooks still contained male-biased content.

The following article outlines how we conducted a replication study from a feminist research lens of the content analysis performed by Clark et al. (2005) and analyzed 2000 and 2010 editions of nationally available secondary world history textbooks. Unfortunately, our findings revealed that the call put forth by Clark et al. for women to "rewrite" has been largely ignored as very little to no progress has been made towards the equitable inclusion of women in twenty-first century secondary world history textbooks. We conclude by re-emphasizing the need for social studies educators of *all* genders to join the movement for women's inclusion and that all of us, as a collective whole, should strive to achieve this goal by advocating for gender-based reforms in state and national social studies exam content in addition to the on-going call for textbook content revisions.

### **Review of the literature**

Our literature review consisted of a two-step process. First, we reviewed the studies pertaining to women's visibility noted by Clark et al. (2005) to ground our study. These included the published findings of Commeyras and Alvermann (1996), Sadker and Sadker (1994), Tetreault (1989), and Trecker (1971), all of which indicated a distinct pattern of women's omission and/or marginalization in textbooks. Another study cited by Clark et al. (2005), however, indicated significant statistical increases in percentage comparisons of women's visibility in textbooks textual lines discussing women and textbook pages devoted to women in textbooks published in the latter part of the twentieth century (Clark, Allard, & Mahoney,

2004). These findings deviated greatly compared to studies from earlier decades (Arlow & Froschl, 1976; R. Lerner et al., 1991; Trecker, 1971; Weinbaum, 1979). Yet none of the increases found in Clark et al. (2004) brought female visibility to an equitable balance with that of males.

Studies also confirmed textbooks' use of the contributionist theory (Commeyras & Alvermann, 1996; Sadker & Sadker, 1995). The contributionist theory, commonly referred to as fragmentation or the contributionist method, occurred most frequently as a solution to quell calls from Women's Movement activists concerning gender-biased textbooks. This method attempts to incorporate women into texts by inserting a picture, a vignette, or a textbox isolating the information and suspending them in a "fragmented" form that is separated from the main body content (Sadker, Sadker, & Long, 1989; Sadker & Zittleman, 2007; Stalker, 1998; Trecker, 1971). The segregated nature of fragmentation reinforces gender stereotypes of women's minimal influence in history and dismisses any regard for women's cultural significance as a group (Sadker et al., 1989; Sadker & Zittleman, 2007).

In the second part of our literature review process, we searched for and reviewed additional content analysis studies regarding women's visibility and/or agency in secondary world history textbooks published between 2005 and 2014 in peer-reviewed journals to see how the topic of women in textbooks had progressed since the study by Clark et al. (2005). We used the term agency because it allowed us to expand our review and because of its use in both anthropology and feminist research. From an anthropological perspective, agency consists of

the study of why an individual chose to act in the manner they did, including what cultural influences might have contributed to the act(-ions) (Geertz, 1973). And, according to feminist researchers Abu-Lughod (2008) and McNay (2000), the term “agency” further serves as an explanation of how gender identity is formed and potentially malleable in social contexts; all of which directly connect to how textbook content (social artifacts) are interpreted from a gendered perspective.

Searching for additional content analyses that matched the above criteria produced two important outcomes. The most significant outcome was that no content studies emerged from this search, including any study that attempted to replicate and/or build upon the study conclusions found by Clark et al. (2005) regarding women’s inclusion in twenty-first century secondary world history textbooks. In this capacity, our study helps fill this void by providing social studies educators with a continuum of how the newest editions of previously analyzed textbooks have - or have not - addressed the marginalization of women.

The second outcome is that two other peer-reviewed articles regarding women’s visibility in textbook imagery (Woyshner, 2006) and gender bias (Blumberg, 2008) did emerge and spoke to the breadth of omission of women’s historical agency. Woyshner (2006), for example, notes that students may see only one or two pictures of women in textbooks yet they are supposed to cobble together an understanding of women’s overall impacts and contributions in history based on just this meager representation. Blumberg (2008) analyzed textbook and educational testing data from countries and regions all over the world, including the United

States, and concludes that Gender Bias in Textbooks (GBIT) is worldwide and can play a role in diminishing girls’ achievements. These post-2005 sources help contextualize the historic and continued struggle of women’s (equitable) inclusion in social studies textbooks by pointing out the ever-prevalent scarcity and marginalization of female agents.

### **Research questions**

The primary research question for this study builds off of the study performed by Clark et al. (2005) in that we investigated whether or not women’s visibility in world history textbooks had increased in the 2000s and 2010s editions in comparison to the 1960-1990s editions of the same textbooks (as published by Clark et al.). To answer this research question, we deliberately selected four gender indicators used by Clark et al.: (1) Ratio of Women to Men in Index; (2) Percent of Pages Mentioning Women; (3) Ratio of Named Women to Men in Pictures; and (4) Percent of Sentences Mentioning Women.

Although not noted as an indicator, Clark et al. also included findings and discussion on the ratio of female to male textbook authors in their study, tentatively proposing that textbooks with female authors - specifically those with a female lead / primary author - were inclined to have higher ratings of women’s visibility. Our second research question, therefore, asked whether the number of female textbook authors could continue to serve as an indicator of women’s visibility in textbooks.

### **Method**

Feminist theory and research served as the theoretical lens for this study because it focuses on “women’s issues, voices, and lived

experiences” (Hesse-Biber, 2014, p. 3). Feminist theory and research also aims to investigate areas of power contention between genders and advocates for social transformations if unequal divisions of power exist (Crotty, 1998; Hesse-Biber, 2014). Clark et al. (2005) did not directly mention the use of this paradigm as the foundation of their study; however, their research was, indeed, feminist-based. Clark et al. also specifically referenced other content analysis studies that utilized a feminist research lens such as Commeyras and Alvermann (1996) and Trecker (1971). Additionally, Commeyras and Alvermann (1996) used Offen’s (1988) definition of feminism in that feminism serves as a method for analyzing the levels of cultural influence wielded by the sexes to determine where balance should be celebrated and where the presence of female societal subordination, due to male privilege, should be changed. Offen’s definition provides a succinct and relevant description of feminism that Commeyras and Alvermann (1996) used to ground their content analysis. We believed this definition to be highly applicable to our replication study as well and feminist theory served as our theoretical framework. This framework recognizes the female-male (sex) binary concept aligned with the idea of creating

equality between the sexes through research and political transformations, a shared goal among second and third wave feminists (Ashcraft, 1998; Evans, 1995; Hesse-Biber, 2014; Hoffman, 2001; Lerner, 1986; Mann & Huffman, 2005).

### Study design

For their study, Clark et al. (2005) used the lists of recommended textbooks or rankings of nationally adopted textbooks published by the American Textbook Council. Unfortunately, the American Textbook Council no longer houses these lists due to a severely reduced pool of textbook publishers (American Textbook Council, 2018). Currently only three major publishers exist: Pearson, McGraw-Hill, and Houghton Mifflin Harcourt (American Textbook Council, 2018). We therefore could not get the exact twenty-first century editions of all twelve textbooks originally analyzed by Clark et al. because some of the texts no longer exist. Instead we compiled a sample of five 2000 and 2010 editions of secondary world history textbooks previously analyzed by Clark et al. (2005), or the closest version possible, in order to model our content analysis study as closely as possible to that of Clark et al. (Table 1).

Table 1: Textbook sample

- Beck, R. B., Black, L., Krieger, L. S., Naylor, P. C., & Shabaka, D. I. (2005). *World History: Patterns of Interaction*. Evanston, IL: McDougal Littell.
- Beck, R. B., Black, L., Krieger, L. S., Naylor, P. C., & Shabaka, D. I. (2012). *World History: Patterns of Interaction*, Orlando, FL: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.
- Ellis, E. G., Esler, A. (2005). *World History: Connections to Today*. Boston, MA: Pearson Prentice Hall.
- Farah, M. A., & Karls, A. B. (2001). *World History: The Human Experience*. Columbus, OH: Glencoe/McGraw-Hill.

- Judge, E. H., Langdon, J. W. (2012). *Connections: A World History*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Education, Inc.

Prior to coding the textbooks, we conducted an independent pilot coding test to ensure all of our coding variables were identified appropriately with foundational and concrete coding descriptions using as much insight from Clark et al. (2005) as possible. Jenna and Melonie, our designated textbook coders, then also completed a Cohen's kappa statistic to ensure an intercoder agreement statistic of 85% or above. These steps followed recommended content analysis study research protocol in regards to strengthening coder training and increasing the reliability of our study (Neuendorf, 2011; 2017). Upon completing these tasks successfully, the designated coders proceeded to code the textbooks on the following predetermined indicators that previously used by Clark et al. (2005): (1) Ratio of Women to Men in Index; (2) Percent of Pages Mentioning Women; (3) Ratio of Named Women to Men in Pictures; and (4) Percent of Sentences Mentioning Women.

As in Clark et al. (2005), we relied on the index of each textbook when coding data for all indicators and, if gender proved ambiguous in a name listed in the index, we referenced the surrounding text and/or supplemental text for pronoun context clues on pages that cited the historical agent in question. If gender still could not be determined after referencing all of the noted textbook pages, we listed the agent as "gender neutral" rather than seeking gender confirmation in other resources (e.g., internet, books). We followed this procedure based on the rationale that if a high school student reads the text and had no prior background knowledge of

the agent in question, the student would not be able to determine the agent's gender either. In consideration of indicator four, and deviating from the 1-in-10 systematic sample process used by Clark et al., we counted every line that mentioned women in each textbook using the index as our guide. In each index, for example, we found "Catherine the Great" listed and examined each corresponding textbook page listed after her name for our line (sentence) counts. We counted each line only once, even when an agent and the same page number was listed more than once in the index, to prevent skewed data. We felt this process of sentence data collection was appropriate since we had a much smaller sample to analyze compared to Clark et al. and because this provided the most accuracy in regards to data collection and for analysis purposes. We housed all of our data in Google Spreadsheet grids that we specifically created for this study.

## Findings

We reviewed the results of our study in a two-tiered process. First, we examined the results generated from each twenty-first century textbook in comparison with the other texts in our sample. Then we compiled the results and compared them by decades with the findings of Clark et al. (2005).

### Women's visibility in 2000 and 2010 world history textbook editions

Our findings, like those of Clark et al, revealed that twenty-first century secondary

world history textbooks continue to marginalize female historical agents (Table 2). We found in the Ratio of Women to Men in Index indicator that twelve women were listed for every 100 men listed at best (Ellis & Esler, 2005) and only eight for every 100 at worst (Judge & Langdon, 2012). The Percent of Pages Mentioning Women never rose to even a quarter (25) percent and, at worst, was less than ten percent (Beck, Black, Krieger, Naylor, & Shabaka, 2012). Regarding the Ratio of Names of Women to Men in Pictures, approximately 15 women were mentioned for every 100 men in three of the texts

(Farah & Karls, 2001; Beck, et al., 2012; Judge & Langdon, 2012) and in one text 17 women to every 100 men were noted (Ellis & Esler, 2005). Only 11 women per 100 men were found in the last text (Beck et al., 2005). Concerning the Percent of Sentences Mentioning Women indicator, four textbooks attributed approximately one percent of content to sentences about women (Beck et al. 2005; 2012; Ellis & Esler, 2005; Judge & Langdon, 2012) and one textbook attributed two percent (Farah & Karls, 2001).

*Table 2: Findings of 2000 and 2010 Editions Secondary World History Textbooks*

Textbook Title	Textbook Author (Year)	Ratio of Women to Men in Index	Percent of Pages Mentioning Women	Ratio of Named Women to Men in Pictures	Percent of Sentences Mentioning Women
<i>World History: The Human Experience</i>	Farah & Karls (2001)	11.6 / 100	23.3%	15.4 / 100	2.4%
<i>World History: Patterns of Interaction</i>	Beck, Black, Krieger, Naylor, & Shabaka (2005)	9.4 / 100	9.5%	11.5 / 100	1.1%
<i>World History: Connections to Today</i>	Ellis & Esler (2005)	12.7 / 100	22.1%	17.3 / 100	1.9%
<i>World History: Patterns of Interaction</i>	Beck, Black, Krieger, Naylor, & Shabaka (2012)	9.5 / 100	9.5%	15.6 / 100	1.1%
<i>Connections: A World History</i>	Judge & Langdon (2012)	8.8 / 100	11.7%	14.2 / 100	1.3%

When we compiled our sample findings into decade statistics (Table 3) we discovered

that the Ratio of Women to Men and Pages Mentioning Women indicators in textbooks

published in the 2000s increased since the 1990s, continuing a trend from the 1980s to the 1990s as noted by Clark et al. (2005). Unfortunately, these two indicators decreased in textbooks from the 2000s to the 2010s. This decreasing trend also occurred in the Names of Women to Men in

Pictures and Sentences Mentioning Women indicators from the 1990s to 2010s.

Table 3: Comparison of Women and Men’s Visibility in Textbooks through the Decades

Decade	Ratio of Women to Men in Index	Percent of Pages Mentioning Women	Ratio of Named Women to Men in Pictures	Percent of Sentences Mentioning Women
1960s*	3.2 / 100	3.8%	10.0 / 100	2.1%
1980s*	<b>5.9 / 100</b>	<b>11.4%</b>	<b>22.1 / 100</b>	<b>2.5%</b>
1990s*	<b>10.6 / 100</b>	<b>16.3%</b>	<i>20.5 / 100</i>	<b>5.7%</b>
2000s	<b>11.2 / 100</b>	<b>18.3%</b>	<i>14.7 / 100</i>	<i>1.8%</i>
2010s	<i>9.2 / 100</i>	<i>10.6%</i>	<b>14.9 / 100</b>	<i>1.2%</i>

\*1960s – 1990s Data Source: Clark et al. (2005)

**Bolded** text indicates an increase in women’s inclusion for that category in comparison to the previous decade

*Italicized* text indicates a decrease in women’s inclusion for that category in comparison to the previous decade

Additionally, Clark et al. conducted t-tests in their 2005 study based on decade (i.e., averaged data from the 1960s, 1980s, and 1990s) and reported that eight out of the twelve tests found statistically significant differences between the decades when comparing the indicators of female visibility in textbooks. Specifically, four t-tests found statistically significant differences between the 1960s and

1980s textbook data and four t-tests found the same results between the 1980s and 1990s textbook data. Although our sample was considerably smaller than that used by Clark et al., we also performed t-tests to determine whether differences between our 2000 and 2010 indicator data was statistically significant. Not surprisingly, the results of our t-test between the 2000 and 2010 textbook editions of *Patterns of*

*Interactions* and the t-test between the 2000 and 2010 textbook editions of *Connections* were not significant at the .01 level.

**Female Textbook Author(s) as an Indicator of Women’s Visibility in Textbooks**

Finally, Clark et al. noted that any increases in female visibility in textbooks across the study’s indicators might be attributed to female authorship of the texts. We also examined the number of female and male authors for each text in our sample to see if any potential similar patterns surfaced. We found that the 2000 textbooks had four female and five male authors, while the 2010 textbooks had two female and five male authors (Table 4). Two of the 2000s textbooks, *World History: Connections to Today* and *World History: The Human Experience*, had an equal ratio of female to male authors

including the sole lead female author (Ellis & Esler, 2005). These two texts also had the highest percentages in the Women to Men in Index and Named Women to Men indicators; *Human Experience* also had the highest percent regarding Sentences Mentioning (Table 2).

When comparing women’s inclusion via decade, the 2000s clearly show an increase in women’s visibility in three of the four indicators since the 1990s (Table 3). In this case, both the 1990s sample had four female authors, including one lead author (Clark et al.), and the 2000s sample had four female authors, including one lead author (Table 4). Between the 2000s and 2010s, however, the female to male author ratio dipped to an unequal balance of two females and five males and women’s visibility decreased in three of the four indicators. The sole indicator that increased only did so by 0.2 percent.

Table 4: Comparison of Women and Men Textbook Authors in 2000 and 2010 Textbooks

Textbook Title (Year) <i>Authors</i>	Number of Women Authors	Number of Male Authors
World History: The Human Experience (2001) <i>Farah &amp; Karls*</i>	1	1
World History: Patterns of Interaction (2005) <i>Beck, Black*, Krieger, Naylor, &amp; Shabaka*</i>	2	3
World History: Connections to Today (2005) <i>Ellis* &amp; Esler</i>	1	1
World History: Patterns of Interaction (2012) <i>Beck, Black*, Krieger, Naylor, &amp; Shabaka*</i>	2	3

Connections: A World History (2012) <i>Judge &amp; Langdon</i>	0	2
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\* Indicates female author

**Discussion**

Based on the findings of our study, it is evident that women’s visibility in world history textbooks has decreased in the 2000s and 2010s editions in comparison to the 1960-1990s editions of the same textbooks (as published by Clark et al.). Individually, 2000 and 2010 editions of secondary world history textbooks continue to grossly marginalize female historical agents as women were represented less than a quarter of the time in each of the four indicators. Drawing once again from Offen’s (1988) definition of feminism, this indicates a distinct level of *imbalance* between the levels of cultural influence wielded by the sexes due to male privilege exists in secondary world history textbooks and this further legitimizes female societal subordination.

Equally depressing were the compiled decade findings of our study in comparison with the findings of Clark et al. (2005). Clark et al. reported increases in four indicators between the 1960s and 1980s data and increases again in three indicators between the 1980s and 1990s data, although none of the increases resulted in more than a 22% representation of women. Our findings, unfortunately, indicated only increases in two indicators between the 1990s and 2000s data and a 0.2% increase in one indicator between the 2000s and 2010s data. Clearly, the distinct pattern of women’s omission and/or marginalization in textbooks found by Commenyras and Alvermann (1996), Sadker and

Sadker (1994), Tetreault (1989), and Trecker (1971) has continued well into the twenty-first century. As Blumberg (2008) states, Gender Bias in Textbooks (GBIT) is worldwide and can play a role in diminishing girls’ achievements and such socio-gender patterns are detrimental to all students’ well-being as well as their understanding of social studies.

**Gender of textbook author: A questionable indicator of women’s visibility**

In 2005, Clark et al. stated that

“Trecker’s (1971) Social Education article or the women’s movement (or both) did, in fact, have an impact on the way world history books have been written. [...] We notice, however, that an influx of women authors for the books may have also played a role.” (p.44)

We believe that this statement made by Clark et al. continues to be a good discussion point concerning the potential positive correlation between female textbook authors and female visibility in textbook content, especially in studies grounded in feminist theory. Examining the possible power hierarchies between genders and advocating for social transformations if inequitable power divisions exist comprises the focus of feminist research (Crotty, 1998; Hesse-Biber, 2014). It is important, however, to be extremely mindful of all the data when examining potential gender power hierarchies. In our study, for example, we found that the two

textbooks with equitable female to male author ratios (and one with a lead female author) had higher percentages in almost all four indicators of women's visibility. Yet it is equally important to note that 23.3% was the highest percentage found in all four indicators for these two textbooks, which is despairingly low, and this is more than 10 percent points below 37.9%, the highest indicator percentage reported by Clark et al. (2005).

In addition, both *Patterns of Interaction* textbooks had the same authors for the 2005 and 2012 editions and, despite having two female authors for each edition, the findings in Table 2 show that women's visibility only advanced in the Named Women to Men in Pictures indicator; all other 2012 indicators mirrored the same percentages as the 2005 edition. To expound on this comparison, *Connections: A World History* was the only textbook in our sample with no female authors, yet this textbook had higher percentage findings than both editions of *Patterns of Interaction* in all indicators except one.

Finally, it is important to note that while textbook publishers typically hire academics and experts as authors, publishers can also perform a considerable amount of editing and content revisions after authors have submitted their respective contributions (Jobrack, 2012; Lowen, 2007). In this regard, the published textbook content may not accurately reflect the original content contributed by the hired authors so author gender data may not be a very accurate measure of gender-balanced content. We believe that our study's t-test findings supports the idea of textbook publishers' hesitation to alter text content from edition to edition since no statistically significant progress was made in

women's inclusion in content between the 2000 and 2010 editions of our sample textbooks. At this point, we believe that there needs to be further exploration in this area prior to determining whether a positive correlation exists between female authorship and the amount and degree of female inclusion in textbooks.

### **Implications for practice**

Well over a decade has passed since Clark et al. published their study and our findings indicate that women's inclusion in textbooks remains pitifully low in twenty-first century secondary world history textbooks. Solutions put forth by other women's agency advocates, such as asking educators to supplement the textbook with women's agency resources (Blumberg, 2008; Woyshner, 2006), only place additional curriculum burdens on educators and they do not incite uniform change in textbook content. This raises the question of whether women's exclusion from secondary history textbooks continues to occur because of *gender* or because of the *traditional emphasis* on historically "male" events, such as war, since the reduction of this content would require extensive and expensive revisions by textbook publishers (Jobrack, 2012; Noddings, 1997). To complicate matters further, the selection of world history textbooks has shrunk dramatically to include only the products from three major publishers (American Textbook Council, 2018). This small pool of textbook publishers can negatively affect social studies teachers' availability to secure the gender-diversified curriculum materials, which could enable teachers to implement a more gender inclusive, and holistic social studies curriculum. This, of course, also affects teachers' abilities to scaffold learning opportunities for their students so that students can successfully

meet the updated NCSS National Curriculum Standards (NCSS, 2010).

To address this dilemma, we believe that there must be a “high stakes” goal to revive and revitalize the agenda of gender equality in textbooks and, more importantly, to succeed indefinitely in providing social studies students with more holistic - and *realistic* - historic perspectives. In this vein, we propose a push by social studies educators for national and state social studies *test* revisions, rather than “just” textbook revisions, as the high stakes goal moving forward in the twenty-first century.

### **National and state social studies tests: A “rigged” system**

Companies that produce textbooks are also often involved in the creation and production of national and state test materials. In our state, for example, McGraw-Hill has been a test/assessment design partner with the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction (DPI) in Wisconsin since 1975 (Wisconsin Department of Instruction, n.d). As a co-designer, McGraw-Hill representatives helped determine the assessment questions that would evaluate the subject-proficiency of Wisconsin students in grades 4, 8, and 10 in the areas of social studies, reading, science, math, and language arts/writing (Wisconsin Department of Instruction, n.d.). The 2017 Wisconsin Forward Exam Social Studies Grade 10 Item Samplers (2017) offers 17 sample questions and in these 17 questions the term “women” is only mentioned twice: once as an incorrect answer to a question about (male) veterans’ benefits in the 1950s and once in a sample document that students need to read in order to answer two sample questions (“women” were not mentioned in either of the questions’ text or multiple choice

answers). No questions specifically noted an individual woman or named a woman. In contrast, six of the questions referenced male dominant groups (e.g., veterans, mid-1800s European Leaders, Congress) and five individual men were referenced by name in four questions (i.e., Henry Ford, Albert Beveridge, Roland Damiani, Muhammad, Jesus) (Wisconsin Department of Instruction, 2017.). This example demonstrates the reinforcement of distorted gender patterns found in textbook content on a deeper and more extensive level with *required* state exams rather than being confined to “just” the classroom.

### **Protest against testing materials: Use AP art teachers as a model**

It is imperative for us, as an educational community, to consider *all the angles*, including protesting and/or boycotting state and national testing materials, when advocating for an equitable increase in women’s visibility *and* agency in world history textbooks. As an example, we could look to implement a movement similar to what artists and art educators did when they protested against the Advanced Placement (AP) College Board’s high school AP Art Exam. In this movement, the artists and art educators banded together and advocated for the inclusion of traditionally marginalized groups of artists in the AP Art History curriculum (Urist, 2016). In response to the social and educational pressure, the AP College Board revised its AP Art History curriculum from a predominantly Eurocentric focus to curriculum of artwork diversified by race and gender. The revised, more holistic curriculum allowed AP art teachers to provide more meaningful discussion opportunities with their students and, by extension, allowed

students to make meaningful cultural connections to the art, too (Urist, 2016).

### **Conclusion**

In sum, the results of our study exemplifies how Clark et al.'s (2005) call "Women of the world, re-write!" has not been answered in almost two decades. Instead, women's visibility in secondary world history textbooks remains discouragingly low in comparison to men's, despite the presence of female textbook authors, serving only to reaffirm the traditional and marginalized position of women as "observers of history" rather than as equitable contributors of history. The lack of women's visibility in history within textbooks perpetrates doubt and confusion among students while simultaneously calling into question women's ability to thrive in all cultural components of their society (Sadker & Sadker, 1995). Instead, we as social studies educators need to present a more accurate historical understanding of social studies through multiple perspectives in world history texts, especially gender, to ensure that our students can meet state and national social studies standards. To accomplish this, we need to begin *strongly* advocating for equal gender representation in national and state social studies *tests* as an extension of textbook revision. With test revision as our "high stakes" education goal, we might also see goal of second and third wave feminists - to create equality between the sexes via political transformation - finally come to fruition in the twenty-first century (Ashcraft, 1998; Evans, 1995; Hesse-Biber, 2014; Hoffman, 2001; Lerner, 1986; Mann & Huffman, 2005).

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## **No Perfect Patriotism:**

### **Encouraging Students to View Patriotic Processes from Multiple Perspectives**

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Patriotic processes and the learning of patriotism as a concept have long histories in American schools and classrooms (Martin, 2008; Mirga, 1988; Mowry, 1888). Lamenting the state of patriotic education in schools in 1888, Mowry suggested:

It is to be regretted that larger attention has not been given to instilling sentiments of patriotism into the minds of the children in the schools by means of patriotic readers, and selections from the writings of the great men connected with our political history. (p. 197)

Recent, intense public debate regarding the actions of professional athletes during the playing of the Star-Spangled Banner and subsequent responses has brought the concept of patriotism to the forefront of public consciousness in a way not seen since the immediate aftermath of events on September 11, 2001. This debate, on whether players should be required to stand or be allowed to kneel in protest of social injustices, is only the most recent chapter in a long history of discussion and debate regarding patriotism in society.

To better understand the complex political, cultural, and value-laden landscapes of patriotism and patriotic display, students need

opportunities to analyze their own understandings of patriotism and how different approaches to patriotism might inform societal dialogue. Further, to more deeply and proactively engage in this dialogue, students need opportunities to consider how their approaches to patriotism might be seen from various perspectives. Having experience in various perspectives can increase the contextual flexibility students need to navigate the politically charged waters of various settings while remaining open to new ways of thinking. This work can deepen students' thoughtful patriotism and bridge diverse cultural views on patriotism (Zong, Garcia, & Wilson, 2002). Given deep experiences in analyzing approaches to patriotism, students will be more informed in their future conceptualizations regarding this enduring debate.

This article discusses questions and role-playing scenarios that may be used to assist students in grappling with the complex nature of patriotism. It begins by encouraging students to consider how they define patriotism and how their own personal beliefs correspond with their definition. Once a working definition has been established, students are encouraged to view patriotism from multiple, diverse perspectives through role play techniques. Students then

consider what role schools, teachers, and they themselves do and should play in relation to patriotism and patriotic exercises.

### **Working toward an operational definition of patriotism: Defining “love”**

To deeply discuss the concept of patriotism, students need understanding in the different ways it is conceptualized. While patriotism is often defined simply as “love of country”, stopping at this definition without further operationalization, explanation, analysis, or critique demonstrates a shallow and blind type of patriotism (Busey & Walker, 2017; Hand & Pearce, 2009; Kodelja, 2011; Martin, 2012; Schatz, Staub, & Lavine, 1999; Westheimer, 2009).

To reflect the multiple, often more nuanced beliefs surrounding patriotism, definition and operationalization of it beyond “love of country” is needed. Indeed, for students to describe the role they believe schools should take in patriotic education, they first need to conceptualize it beyond this tagline. A common discussion point centers around two broad operationalizations of patriotism. The first, described as “authoritarian patriotism”, is patriotism as deep, or even blind, adherence to specific social and governmental structures (Busey & Walker, 2017; Westheimer, 2006, 2009, 2014). This view of patriotism is often conflated with concepts counter to basic democratic processes such as debate, dissent, and protest. Employing this view of patriotism, activities such as flag-waving, pledging allegiance, and “country first” social policies are often seen as examples of shallow and exclusionary activities. Critics of these characterizations argue that in order to maintain

sense of community and self, these displays and actions are necessary, if not to be embraced.

The other broad operationalism of patriotism, “democratic patriotism”, is described as a process in which patriotic citizens engage in critique, political action, and social change (Busey & Walker, 2017; Westheimer 2014). Actions associated with this view of patriotism are often characterized as demonstrating disrespect to established authorities, customs, and social norms, minimizing the achievements of a society, and working to disrupt national and individual identities. Kneeling during the Star-Spangled Banner, refusing to fight in wars, and deep questioning of civil authorities are often seen as divisive, agitative, and counterproductive economically and legislatively. Critics of these characterizations argue that these actions work to improve society through creative criticism and creative destruction.

Nested within each of these two conceptualizations of patriotism are actions that are seen both as desirable and undesirable. Certainly, individuals who demonstrate their patriotism by waving flags at civic events or standing with hand over heart during the playing of the national anthem would not view these demonstrations as blind adherence to authoritarian structures. Likewise, individuals who believe protest and questioning are patriotic would not necessarily characterize their actions as disrespectful. Though these two broad categories are often used in social discourse, the “America, love it or leave it” and the “protest is patriotic” dichotomy underestimates the complexity and the context-specific nature of how patriotism is manifested. To reflect this complexity and to deepen their understanding of how patriotism is conceptualized, students need

experiences that move them beyond these de-contextualized mottos.

Assisting students in considering the complexity of patriotism, beyond these two broad categories of “authoritarian patriotism” and “democratic patriotism” can help them better navigate different contexts in which patriotic acts take place. Using these categories as starting points, rather than end points, students can begin to define and operationalize for themselves the concepts of patriotism and “love of country”. While the broad categories of “authoritarian patriotism” and “democratic patriotism” as described here are both limited in philosophy and application, they serve as an introduction to the complexity of patriotism for students who may just be beginning to analyze the nature of patriotism.

### **Defining and conceptualizing patriotism—beyond the authoritarian/democratic dichotomy**

Providing experiences in which students are challenged to consider the complexities and context-specific nature of patriotism can grow their understanding of this concept and encourage them to deeply consider the implications of their beliefs. Starting with the simple discussion question; “What does it mean to be patriotic?” can open the door to the complexity of patriotism for many. This introduction to the discussion of patriotism can quickly lead students to the exploration of different views of patriotism, perhaps even before they are aware of the labels described above. As they flesh out their definitions and corresponding examples of patriotism in action, students may find the dichotomy of authoritarian vs. democratic patriotism to be insufficient in describing the complex nature of the concept.

That individual actions fall into one or the other category might be discarded as they create nuance with descriptions of context and situational factors that play a role in how patriotism is manifested. For example, the stating of the Pledge of Allegiance can be viewed as an authoritative practice, but if it is done by an individual who believes in, but does not see realized, the statement “...justice for all”, elements of democratic patriotism are applied to the action.

Asking students to describe examples of the manifestation of patriotism—what it looks like in practice— and then asking them to describe why their responses can be viewed as both patriotic and unpatriotic can work to deepen their understanding of the context specific nature of patriotic display. For example, a student may say that flag waving at a sporting event leans toward authoritarian patriotism because it does not closely link to action beyond the immediate context. A flag waving display during the funeral procession of a fallen soldier, on the other hand, can be closely tied to deep action and sacrifice. Similarly, if a student states that protest in front of the US Capitol is patriotic, that individual might say that protest during the funeral of a fallen soldier is unpatriotic and should be discouraged, if not outlawed. Encouraging students to consider and discuss the questions in Table 1 can assist them in refining their definitions of patriotism, articulating how their definitions are manifested, and contextualizing the “patriotic-ness” or “unpatriotic-ness” of those manifestations.

Table 1: Discussion questions—Defining and contextualizing patriotism

1. How do you define the terms “patriotism” and “patriotic”?
2. What are ways your definitions of “patriotism” and “patriotic” are demonstrated?
3. Describe actions that individuals engage in to demonstrate their patriotism.
4. Under what conditions might the actions you describe be seen as un-patriotic?
5. Describe whether there are “absolute” demonstrations of patriotism that cannot be viewed as unpatriotic.
6. Why might people disagree about which actions are patriotic and which actions are unpatriotic?
7. Describe what factors play a role in determining whether an action is patriotic or not.

A major aim of these questions and subsequent discussions is to disrupt the commonly understood dichotomy of authoritarian or democratic patriotism. As students work to refine and operationalize their definitions of patriotism, recognizing that patriotism is also deeply informed by contextual considerations reflects the complex nature of the concept. Understanding that specific practices can be viewed as both patriotic and unpatriotic, given the context, students can more deeply view patriotism from multiple perspectives, adding to their conceptualization of this complex concept.

### Viewing patriotism from multiple perspectives—Adding context to the complex

Once students have deeply considered the complexities and various manifestations of patriotism, they can be encouraged to grow in their understanding by working to view it from various perspectives. Working to view patriotism and patriotic display from various perspectives put into practice, and up for further debate, the various definitions and operationalizations of the concepts.

Key to thinking beyond the dichotomy of authoritarian vs. democratic patriotism is experience in context and perspective. Role playing, in which they are given a specific context and action combined with various perspectives, can stretch students’ conceptualization of patriotism beyond this dichotomy. Though role playing does not completely reflect the complex positioning of individuals, it can be an effective step in working to break the false dichotomy of authoritarian patriotism and democratic patriotism and deepening understanding of the nature of patriotism itself.

Layering on top of previous discussions regarding the context-specific nature of patriotic display, students are asked to articulate the perspectives that various community members may have. Shown in Table 2 are role-playing prompts that can be used with students to apply their conceptualizations of patriotism, then put those conceptualizations to practical test.

Table 2: Role play scenarios—Multiple perspectives of patriotic display

A citizens group has requested the local school perform a flag-raising ceremony, national anthem, Pledge of Allegiance, and short speech by the principal on the values of American unity. They request this ceremony to take place on Patriot Day, September 11. This group has made the request at a recent school board meeting. The community is located near a military base and many service members send their children to the school.

You will be assigned one of the following roles: citizen’s group member, school board member, parent of child (active military), parent of child (no direct military connection), school principal, student in support of the ceremony, student against the ceremony. Please respond to the following questions:

1. Describe, from your assigned perspective, whether or not the requested ceremony is appropriate for the school to conduct.
2. Describe, from your assigned perspective, the reasoning for your support or critique of the requested ceremony.
3. Describe, from your assigned perspective, why your critics are incorrect.
4. Describe, from your assigned perspective, the shortcomings of your perspective.
5. Now released from your assigned perspective, describe your thoughts on the situation, the various perspectives, and what insights you have gained regarding patriotism.

There is word going through the school that a group of students want to conduct a walk-out protest during the morning recitation of the Pledge of Allegiance. When asked, an identified member of this student group states that it is to bring awareness to the lack of justice for minority citizens in the community. Their plan is to leave class, march around the outside of the school building with signs, then return to class within 20 minutes. The community has diverse ethnic and socioeconomic characteristics and, according to recent election data, is well divided between Republican, Democrat, and independent voters.

You will be assigned one of the following roles: student group member, school board member, parent of child (in support of protest), parent of child (in opposition to protest), school principal, teacher in support of protest, teacher in opposition to protest. Please respond to the following questions:

1. Describe, from your assigned perspective, whether or not protest is patriotic or unpatriotic.
2. Describe, from your assigned perspective, the reasoning for your support or critique of the protest.
3. Describe, from your assigned perspective, why your critics are incorrect.
4. Describe, from your assigned perspective, the shortcomings of your perspective.
5. Now released from your assigned perspective, describe your thoughts on the situation, the various perspectives, and what insights you have gained regarding patriotism.

Rather than come to definitive conclusion on the particular scenarios, the process of working to better appreciate various perspectives of patriotism applied in different contexts is a major

goal of this activity. As students work to view the scenarios from perspectives they may not share, the requirement to articulate both the strengths and weaknesses of the perspectives

encourages them to broaden their understanding of the concepts of patriotism and patriotic display. Additionally, the inclusion of brief descriptions of the contexts in which the situations take place encourage students to consider how environmental characteristics may inform the patriotism discussion.

A challenge with the role-play activity lies in the potential stereotyping of perspectives. Spending adequate time with question 5 in Table 1, in which students are encouraged to discuss their thoughts on the various roles, can work to address this concern. Single-dimension perspectives can be discussed in hindsight and grown into more nuanced and complex positions. Discussion of stereotypical views, after the role-playing questions, can also work to counter the false dichotomy of authoritarian vs. democratic patriotism by deepening understanding of the intricacies of the positions.

### **Patriotism in schools—Student analysis of their environments**

Because many states mandate patriotic education and demonstration in public schools, students are afforded opportunity to put their understandings of patriotism to immediate test through analysis of their own environments. The deeply embedded and often emotional nature of how patriotism is manifested in schools are testaments to the importance of its study by the students who experience them. In analyzing the patriotic displays of their own school settings, students are encouraged to bridge a perceived gap between societal discourse and their day-to-day educational experiences. Discussion questions in Table 3 focus on students' own school settings and the patriotic processes therein.

[Table 3]

### **Conclusion**

Applying the complex and context-specific nature of patriotism and patriotic display through role-play scenarios and discussion questions, students are encouraged to more deeply understand various perspectives through specific examples. Rather than lock students into a single definition and views on how “good” patriotism is shown, deep analysis of the concept and its practices, combined with role playing activities, uncovers the situational nature of what it means to be patriotic. Layering a more sophisticated understanding of patriotism and how it is manifested with experiences in viewing these concepts from various perspectives, students are in better position to engage in societal debate regarding this complex and intimately contextual concept.

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## The Historic Link between Horace Mann and John Dewey in Support of Public Schooling: A Lesson in Democracy

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Each day millions of students attend the nation's public schools. Yet how many teachers and students have asked why we have public schools and what is their essential function? So much attention is devoted to distinct subjects within the classroom that teachers and students rarely look at learning holistically. Most schools are made of brick and mortar while classrooms have whiteboards and neatly arranged desks. But what does all this mean in terms of acclimation, socialization, and accommodation? Public schooling is more than brick buildings, whiteboards, and desks within a classroom. In order to appreciate that observation it is important to look at the views of two of the country's most famous educators: Horace Mann and John Dewey. Both were instrumental in promoting the concept of public schooling as the most valuable mechanism for furthering our democratic way of life. Educators today must re-establish the call for public education on behalf of students, families, and local communities.

From the 19<sup>th</sup> to mid-20<sup>th</sup> centuries, Mann's Common School and Dewey's Progressive Education considered public schooling as the foundation for access to education for *all*, which stands in stark contrast to this decade's erosion of public education with a push for privatization and elite boards with

little or no connection to the communities of children, which they serve. Dewey, especially, carried further Mann's arguments at the turn of the twentieth century when public schools were being established as the "one best system" in America. Dewey's call for public education is recognition that the early twentieth century marked a key period in the development of his views about education as a progressive movement tied to an individual's and community's experiences. Largely, this was in response to the rapid industrialization and urbanization of American society, which witnessed millions of new immigrants coming to the nation's shores. In fact, when the twentieth century began, a total of 16,920,687 children were attending the nation's schools; by 1920 the number rose to 23,360,164; by 1930 it was 28,388,346. Thus, Dewey's support for public education was in direct response to the need for assisting immigrant children and the throngs of new students in our cities adapt to American society and become productive democratic citizens. Public schools were to become the pathway for opportunity. Dewey wrote in 1938, "I take it that the fundamental unity of the newer philosophy is found in the idea that there is an intimate and necessary relation between the processes of actual experience and education" (p.

20) in a publication for Kappa Delta Pi, the international honor society.

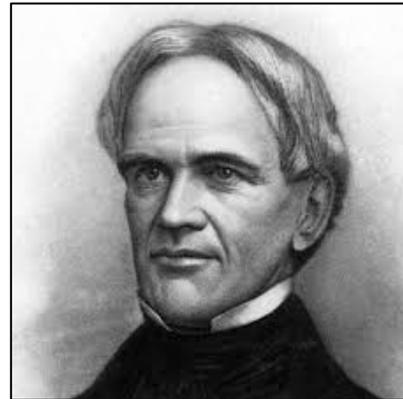
### **The Common School Movement as the Historical Path for Dewey's Philosophy**

Dewey's development of his educational philosophy was influenced earlier by Horace Mann. A famous early nineteenth century educational innovator, Mann was also a product of his environmental surroundings. He embodied the reformer's belief in progress—engendered through education—and believed that education was the basis for active citizenship. Mann postulated that Common Schools practice self-government. He believed that educational reform is a “pressing necessity of democratic government” (Welter, 1965, p. 98). As a pedagogical liberal, Mann was critical of the Prussian educational system, despite its efficiency, for depriving its subjects of an opportunity to exercise democratic freedoms. What inspired Mann's call for a Common School system in the United States was the fact the European nations ignored the fundamental principle that all citizens have a natural right to education. These concepts were later adopted by Dewey, particularly his own criticisms of German education at the turn of the twentieth century. The German “educational process,” Dewey concluded, “was taken to be one of disciplinary training rather than of personal development” (Dewey, 1915, p. 95).

### **Mann's Influence in Promoting the Idea of Public Education**

Horace Mann, was dedicated to the belief that public schools were a vehicle for education that would foster social mobility in this country. It was with this objective, that Mann led reform activities in many states appealing to the working class to support the Common School

Movement. His ideas were premised on egalitarian principles and Jeffersonian political concepts. What Mann did was transpose Thomas Jefferson's democratic agrarianism and apply it to the emerging industrial way of life in the northeast and subsequently the emerging middle states.



*Figure 1: Horace Mann*

### **Northern States**

The development of education in the Northern states has been well documented (Cremin, 1951; Kaestle, 1983; Urban & Wagoner, 2004) and was the home to the Common School Movement. Many people, especially large numbers of wage earners, join the movement for public schools. It is well known that Mann was referred to as the “father of the public school” based on his praise for the common person as well as his efforts to reform education. He became a crusader for the people's schools and was instrumental in establishing normal schools for teachers in effort to make classroom teaching more effective. Specifically, Mann helped form the Massachusetts State Board of Education and used *The Common School Journal* to support his message that public elementary schools were the basis of democracy and an educated society. He “decried the rifts between rich and poor” (Sadker &

Zittleman, 2009, p. 143) and countered the arguments for having religious practices in the schools. Prior to the American Civil War a system of free, public education was created. Nearly all children, at least in the Northern states, were provided a free elementary education.

### **Middle States**

The Middle States, and later the Midwest, were more diverse in language, traditions, religion, and cultures than the South. This led to growth of both parochial schools as well as charity schools. The Middle colonies were, therefore, aptly named an “assimilationist common-school system” (Kaestle, 1983, p. 216). Furthermore, the Middle States benefited from industrialization, trade routes, and marketing—along with urbanization—which eventually led to the need for a more educated working class through free public education.

### **Southern States**

The education available for children in the South relied on tutors or boarding schools and colleges in the Northern states. The development of schools in the South was impacted by large plantations and farms which made it difficult for students to be educated together as in the Northern state models. Additionally, there were anti-Northern sentiments which “reinforced the opposition to Northern-style common school systems” (Kaestle, 1983, p. 213). Historically, the Southern states were mired in discourse about abolition and this hindered integration in public schools. Kaestle (1983) referred to Horace Mann as “a timid integrationist” (p. 215) in his analysis of regional differences in Common School development.

Moreover, those that opposed the Common School Movement of the 1800’s had arguments which reflect today’s attacks on public education. Regardless of where you lived in the nation, the groups that criticized a free education for all were people without children, those with grown children, or those whom send their children to private school, including the very affluent. The momentum of the Common School Movement was generated between 1820 and 1860 and by the end of this period, the notion of public education for “all” was widely accepted in the North, Middle, and Midwest. With the successful growth of the Common School Movement it is easy to forget the political struggles that set the stage for the Progressives and John Dewey to welcome additional reforms.

### **Focus of the Curriculum: Connections between Mann and Dewey**

In his new role as Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, Mann tried to influence others regarding his political, economic and educational goals. Urban and Wagoner (2004) contend that “he already had well-developed views about the social problems of his day but had only a little knowledge about educational problems and issues” (p. 99). Mann was a fast learner and sought to influence others with his defined moral views and expressed ideas about overcoming economic divisiveness. Horace Mann and other educational reformers of the time, including Henry Barnard, believed that “moral education was at the heart of the curriculum” (Urban & Wagoner, 2004, p. 105). This line of thinking advanced Mann’s ideology that school should be more child-centered than teacher-centered (Urban & Wagoner, 2004) and built a foundation for Dewey’s exposition within his educational philosophy.

Specifically, in terms of curriculum, Mann (1844) was influenced by Heinrich Pestalozzi and embraced his pedagogical leanings in his “Seventh Annual Report” to the Massachusetts Board of Education. Mann encouraged the reformers of the time to incorporate a pedagogy that valued young children and their ideas and interests, rather than focus strictly on memorization and routinization. He stated,

Experience has now proved that it is much easier to furnish profitable and delightful employment for all these powers, than it is to stand over them with a rod and stifle their workings, or to assume a thousand shapes of fear to guard the thousand avenues through which the salient spirits of the young play outward. (pp. 116-117)

Despite Mann’s (1840, 1989) ardent views on how to teach the young child, many educators of the time believed in discipline and conformity as the central focus of a quality education (Association of Masters of the Boston Public Schools, 1844) and further believed that a child-centered focus was a weak and ineffective way to instruct children.

Like Mann, Dewey’s views on curriculum are interwoven in many of his theses. (Boydston, 1969-1991; Dewey, 1897, 1899, 1902, 1938). Dewey often focused on the community and incorporated socialization as part of the school curriculum. In *Experience and Education*, Dewey (1938) opined,

A genuine community life has its ground in this natural sociability. But community life does not organize itself in an enduring way purely spontaneously. It requires thought and planning ahead. The educator is responsible for a knowledge

of individuals and for a knowledge of subject-matter that will enable activities to be selected which lend themselves to social organization....(p. 56)

Similar to Mann’s views, moreover, Dewey’s educational philosophy emphasized the importance of activity, not a fixed system of doctrines. As part of his progressivist outlook, factors such as time, place, and culture were central to a distinctive mode of thinking. Intelligence, nourished by an educational system open to all, would further cultural development and communal participation. A curriculum that represents a continuous reconstruction of experience, one designed not for the preservation of the social order but for its improvement, was just as critical in Mann’s time as it was in Dewey’s—Mann’s working class constituency and Dewey’s immigrant-urban populace. Thus current attempts to establish charter schools, for instance, can only serve to perpetuate the concept of segregated communities while reinforcing the dominant social order.

Furthermore, in terms of curriculum content, Dewey argued for what one might call a *democratizing* educational process designed to build a global culture that was socially, economically, and culturally-based on the concept of justice and education for all. This was clearly expressed in his magnum opus, *Democracy and Education* (1916). Theoretically, the central theme contained in Dewey’s educational writings is that the Common School—which we refer to today as the public school—best represents the quest for community in American society. Throughout Dewey’s long and distinguished career, he consistently sought to reconcile the dualism between school and society. In doing so, he also attempted to use public education as the instrument for achieving

the necessary balance between the demands of individuality and the demands of community within our democratic framework. How public schools communicate what knowledge we, as Americans, hold in common, along with what values, skills, and dispositions, Dewey argued, represented the kind of society we want our children to live in and educational system required to achieve this desired end.

### **Dewey's Ideas Built upon Horace Mann's Call for Common Schools**

The concept of the Great Community (Curti, 1959) as described by John Dewey (1927), is built on the foundation of the Common School Movement. Dewey's pragmatic philosophy and continued focus on active participation of students, parents, and teachers in the quest for equitable educational opportunities are aligned with Mann's prescription for early public schools (Cremin, 1957), which were tax-supported and locally controlled. One important historical connection between Mann's educational efforts (Kaestle, 1983; Reese, 2011) and Dewey's progressive philosophy was how they addressed the issue of an emerging industrial society and how public schooling could best assist in furthering the democratic way of life.

In the early nineteenth century in New England schools were not entirely free. All parents who could afford to do so paid tuition fees so their children could attend school; the local town itself paid for only the poor, or "charity" students. The situation in the Middle and Southern states was even worse; the only access to public elementary education was provided by church schools. In the South, of course, children of slaves were entirely excluded.

Throughout the various states parents had to declare themselves paupers in order to send their children to schools without paying a fee. However, in the 1820s and 1830s, particularly in the North where textile factories were prevalent, the crusade for free, tax-supported public schools was launched. Mann would lead this crusade and by the end of the century Dewey continued this campaign for public schooling as the nation's life became more influenced by science and industry, and as more people were directly impacted by urban industrialism. Public schools were now an extension of democratic equality.

Furthering the democratic way of life was important to both Mann and Dewey. It was also tied to their belief in the importance of education for social justice. Mann promoted the concept of the Common School as a means for establishing good in society; it was better to serve the community than being fixated on profit and status. His educational philosophy was tied to moral instruction aimed at promoting proper human behavior to counter social indifference to human suffering. His influence on Dewey's later thinking was profound. According to Curti (1959), "Mann did uphold the ideal that the true interests of the schoolroom were identical with the great interests of society—an ideal which John Dewey was much later to advocate with telling force" (p. 132). As Dewey would later insist at the turn of the new century, Mann argued for an education directed at social purposes and one for a changing world marked by the advent of industrialization. His development of the Common School idea, furthermore, was built upon the concept of political democracy, which would only succeed through a free and universal school system.

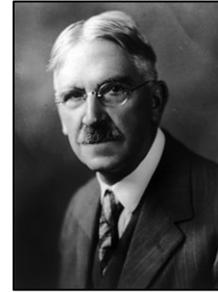
Moreover, critical to Dewey's reconstruction of philosophy was Mann's

argument for the Common School as a social center encouraging moral development for social justice. Dewey was indebted to Mann, according to Curti (1959), because he expanded upon Mann's initial thoughts and adapted them to his own time and place during the Progressive era:

In its function as a social center the school must...develop morality by interpreting to the individual the intellectual and social meaning of the work in which he is engaged; it must further provide for bringing people and their ideas and beliefs together in such ways as to lessen friction and to introduce deeper sympathy and understanding. (p. 524)

Dewey took Mann's Common School for social justice one step further and popularized it with his own brand of progressive education. In a very important article "Horace Mann Today" (1936), Dewey noted that "Mann checked his faith in republican institutions by full acknowledgment of the multitude of evils in the conduct of government, the state of the electorate, and the corruption of business, which he saw growing all about him" (Dewey, 1936, p. 41). How Dewey framed his progressive education theories as a means for social justice was rooted in Mann's own actions. Mann, according to Dewey, did not join "in urging restriction of popular government, [instead] he made the facts the basis of his passionate plea and his aggressive activity in the cause of universal free education. He saw intellectually and he felt emotionally a direct correlation between the...corrupt state of political life and the backward state of political life and the backward state of public education" (p. 41). The problem of defining the meaning of democracy and republican self-government "depended upon

institution of a system of free schools" just as it was "in Mann's time" (p. 42). Maintaining and reinforcing the public school system, Dewey insisted, "concerns every citizen who cares for the establishment of a truly democratic ways of life" and should be taken "as seriously as Mann took it in his day" (p. 42).



*Figure 2: John Dewey*

Moreover, applying his pragmatism to education, Dewey noted that the mind of the individual pupil was an instrument shaped by the public school. Thinking is an activity, a symbolic activity as well as an embryonic act born out of an idea. What public schooling fosters is a rejection of the notion of elitism—associated with Charter Schools in which pupils begin to view themselves as different or better than those in the public system—while acquainting students with the problems of the day and encouraging the need to interact with ordinary people, the plain people as part of a classless society. This was the American experience he called for and one that, today, is being challenged by the Charter School Movement.

In turn, Dewey ran with Mann's earlier views that the educational process carried out through public schooling was the greatest force in changing society since its primary goal was to have students continually focus on democratic ends as one community. Public schools, catering to all its pupils, were the best mechanism for

allowing each student to realize his/her full potential only by cooperation within the community. Dewey stated (1916), "It is often well in considering educational problems to get a start by temporarily ignoring the school and thinking of other human situations" (p. 52). His belief that democracy extended beyond schools and incorporated an appreciation for all people, regardless of race, culture, gender, socioeconomic status or ethnicity.

### **Dewey's Focus on Peace Education and Connection to Mann**

One of the clearest examples of the Mann-Dewey education connection, moreover, was their like views on the importance of world peace and criticisms of any efforts to introduce militarism in public schools. Militaristic values are autocratic and while there were private military academies to provide such training public schools act as a safeguard for preserving democratic openness of ideas. Mann insisted that schoolchildren should be taught that war is not necessarily heroic and demanded that school history textbooks devote less of their pages to the heroes of war. "What can save us, and our children after us, from eternal, implacable, universal war," Mann queried, "but the greatest of all human powers—the power of impartial thought?" (Mann, 1855, p. 53) The issue of war, he strongly believed, "will never be settled, until we have a generation of men who are educated, from childhood, to seek for truth and to revere justice" (p. 53).

In numerous lectures and essays, Mann condemned the art of war and questioned the need for huge military expenditures (Howlett & Harris, 2010). In later years, while serving as a member of the U.S. House of Representatives from Massachusetts, he addressed cadets at the

United States Military Academy at West Point, New York. In that speech, he informed his audience that the growth of world trade, advanced technology, and greater human enlightenment portended the demise of modern warfare. In Mann's estimation, "The object of the common Normal School is to teach teachers how to teach: so the object of the Academy is to teach killers how to kill" (Stomfay-Stitz, 1993, p. 23).

Mann's views were certainly in keeping with Dewey's own perception on how education should approach matters related to war and peace. That was certainly made clear in one of Dewey's pre-Columbia University lectures. "Yes it is true," he told his University of Chicago students, "I think, as Horace Mann said, that one reformer is worth a thousand reformers." "In other words," he continued,

...the education that originally forms the mental attitude in a way which is helpful and significant, toward the desirable ends, is a much more economical and efficient way of getting the result than this more tentative and blind education which comes after habits and attitudes have become relatively fixed and set, and where the friction, the disturbance, the violence—emotional if not physical—and the uncertainty, the blundering, is more or less due to the premature fixation of disposition and habit. (p. 129)

The clearest evidence of Dewey's connection to Mann's views on peace education was Dewey's direct participation in the 1920s and 1930s Committee on Militarism in Education. Like, Mann, Dewey opposed the authoritarian practices of military training as well as the emphasis on rigid conformity to drill. He found little educational value with respect to

enlightened reason. Dewey, in keeping with Mann's views, considered education as a creative and self-developmental process; any form of strict discipline, which was being introduced in the form of the Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) on college campuses and the junior ROTC program in high schools, was considered counter-productive to his progressive education theories. It did little to advance Mann's arguments that education seek truth and revere justice.

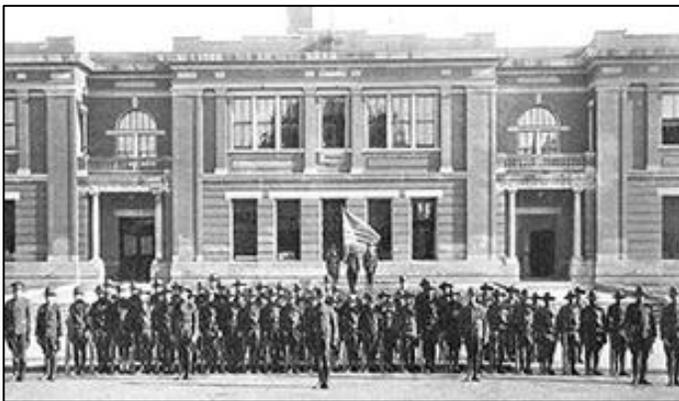


Figure 3: Leavenworth (KS) HS, JROTC, 1919

So concerned was Dewey about this movement to militarize the tone and temper of the nation's life that he felt it his duty and obligation to acquaint the American public with the facts at hand. Is the reader aware, he wrote, "that the effort of this vested interest to militarize the country is operating deliberately and knowingly through the medium of our schools and colleges? Is he aware that the vested interest resorts to methods of aspersion and overt attack in order to intimidate those persons and organizations who oppose its efforts to get a strangle hold on our schools and in order to prevent students from being influenced by the facts and arguments these opponents present?" (Dewey, 1927a, p. 3) In his opinion, "Peoples do not become militaristic or imperialistic because

they deliberately choose so to do. They become militaristic gradually and unconsciously in response to conditions of which militarism is the final consequence" (p. 4).

"Under the name of discipline and good order," Dewey (1933/1971) also wrote in *How We Think*, "school conditions are often made to approximate as nearly as possible to monotony and uniformity. Desks and chairs are set in positions; pupils are regimented with military precision" (p. 53). Promoting militarism in schools posed a serious threat to democracy." An education with "its passivity of attitude, its mechanical massing of children, its uniformity of curriculum and method" mirrors the type of training required of soldiers but does little to enhance student independence and free will (Dewey, 1899, p. 72).

Mann also complained that the state was willing to pay a militia bounty of \$30,000 to soldiers for three or four training sessions, which sum easily could have "sustained the sinking hearts of those females who keep school for a dollar a week or for nine pence a day" (Stomfay-Stitz, 1993, pp. 23-24). Mann strongly believed that future generations should be "educated to that strength of intellect which shall dispel the insane illusions of martial glory" (Stomfay-Stitz, 1993, p. 23). The continuing dilemma facing American society remains how do we as a nation address the role of military expenditures versus human needs?

Dewey raised this very same argument in the 1930s prior to America's involvement in a second world war. He questioned why 80 percent of the national budget was allocated to paying for past and future wars in light of the War Policies Commission request for the conscription of four million men, with seven million more in reserve. Less than fourteen years after the

armistice ending World War I was signed Dewey distressingly observed that “our military, naval and other future war expenditures are several hundred million dollars a year larger than before the ‘War to End War’” (Howlett & Cohan, 2016, p. 175).

Even though Dewey believed that such social institutions as the home, local government, and church, rather than the school, were the basic force in shaping minds, he did not agree with the opinion of more conservative-minded educators that the school must passively accommodate itself to external exigencies, including those promoting military training in the nation’s schools and colleges. He envisioned the school as a basis for energetic change. He argued that the school could indeed become a dynamic rather than a reflexive agency—one that would search out and reinforce concrete patterns to remake society. This reconstructivist view acknowledges that society can transform itself while at the same time enabling students and communities to realize full potentiality in the process of change. According to Dewey,

It is not whether the schools shall or shall not influence the course of future social life, but in what direction they shall do so and how. In some fashion or other, the schools will influence social life anyway. But they can exercise such influence in different ways and to different ends, and the important thing is to become conscious of these different ways and ends, so that an intelligent choice may be made....(p. 351)

Public schooling will become less public, less democratic, less social and more selective if the martial spirit took hold of the consciousness of impressionable young minds.

### **Dewey’s Call for Public Education in the Spirit of Mann**

Dewey’s (1916) *Democracy and Education* is perhaps the strongest and most articulate call for public education as the foundation of democracy. Dewey (1916) stated “Since a democratic society repudiates the principle of external authority, it must find a substitute in voluntary disposition and interest; these can only be created by education” (p. 83). Public education, for both Mann and Dewey, was the means for preparing citizens for democracy. They both believed that the engagement of children and parents in the community was the basic lesson for future participation in governance. Examples of this were the citizenship curriculums promoted by both Mann and Dewey in which schools—and their democratic processes—were microcosms of society. Nelson, Palonsky, and McCarthy (2013) noted that, “in recent years, political theorists and education scholars have reiterated the significance of public education to democracy” (p. 100).

The objectives of public education have been undermined by the more recent growth in charter schools and the call for privatization by advocates. Many educators see the demand for charter schools as a deliberate dismantling of public education. The last three Presidents—George W. Bush, Bill Clinton and Barak Obama—supported charter schools as well as our current President, Donald Trump. Nelson et al., (2013) view the growth of private schools as a response to funding issues:

Over time, the idea of a public school system that deserved funding because it prepared citizens has been replaced by the idea that tax dollars should be used to

improve the chances of individual children to obtain an education that will make them economically successful. Schooling was no longer seen as a way to achieve the 'common good.' Instead, its purpose was the 'private good' of individual children. (p. 59)

As the debate between public and private continues, Stitzlein (2017) underscores the responsibility of citizens in "upholding a commitment to schools as a central institution of democracy" and defines this as "democracy in action" (p. 106). She notes that Dewey connects "the means and ends of preserving democracy" (p. 106) as highlighted in Dewey's (1937) work, "Democracy is Radical."

Dewey's commitment to public education for all as an extension of democratic citizenship also drew inspiration from noted social activist and settlement house reformer Jane Addams in the 1890s. Her attempts to reinforce the positive nature of liberal values with respect to adjustment for immigrants and wholesomeness for children become the basis for Dewey's Laboratory School while teaching at the University of Chicago in the 1890s. "I cannot tell you how much good I got from my stay at Hull House," he wrote to Addams. "My indebtedness to you for giving me insight into matter there is great....I think I got a pretty good idea of the general spirit and methods. Every day I stayed there only added to my conviction that you had taken the right way" and "I am confident that 25 years from now the forces now turned in upon themselves in various churches and agencies will be finding outlet largely through just such channels you have opened" (Dewey, January 27, 1892). Those channels also applied to how he would formulate his own progressive education theories in the new century.

Using more recent terminology such as community service and socially transformative activity, schools are still able to make a direct connection to Dewey's call for "reorganizing, reconstructing, transforming" (Dewey, 1916, p. 48). In *The School and Society*, Dewey (1899) argued that the role of school and education represented the best "means of seeing the progress of the human race" (p. 48). Similarly, in Dewey's (1916) classic work, *Democracy and Education*, he postulated that

...it is the business of the school environment to eliminate, so far as possible, the unworthy features of the existing environment from influence upon mental habitudes. It establishes a purified medium of action. Selection aims not only at simplifying but at weeding out what is undesirable. (p. 20)

Certainly, what Mann argued in the early part of the nineteenth century—and Dewey articulated at its conclusion and into the twentieth century—is that the fundamental bedrock for promoting the democratic way of life was through public education. The bond that ties Mann and Dewey was their steadfast faith in the Jeffersonian tradition. Mann saw it through the lens of an agrarian society, which was gradually being transformed into an industrial one; Dewey saw it during its mature industrial phase marked by rapid urbanization. In both cases, they rested their argument on the principle of egalitarianism; that is, the general diffusion of knowledge "should be the paramount concern of a republic society" (Cremin, 1965, p. 41).

### **Dewey's Progressive Education Tied to Public Schooling**

Dewey developed his view of progressive education following the forty years of the

Common School Movement. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and throughout the Common School Movement, arguments about the role of morality were fought with schools as the backdrop. For example, levels of moral education (no longer based solely on religion), as well as a focus on community values, patriotism, and pledges were found in the tax-supported, locally controlled schools developed during the Common School Movement. Stevens, Wood, and Sheehan (2002) noted that “Dewey and his followers tried to leave the religious battles of the nineteenth century behind and engage school morality in the problems of the twentieth-century industrial society” (p. 153). Dewey’s progressivism, as reflected in classrooms, encouraged the students to be the facilitators of their own learning with respect for culture, interests, and preferences. Public schooling was the perfect experimental laboratory to carry out this mission. Much of the criticism launched at Dewey related to his progressive views on schooling were often labeled as overly permissive and too child-centered.

Such criticism, however, was unwarranted, especially with respect to Dewey’s charges against the child-centered wing of the progressive education movement. Throughout his career, Dewey cautioned his fellow educators to be wary of fragmented curriculum. He encouraged progressive educators to establish an intellectual, coherent, and rigorous curriculum tied to life experiences. “The school is the one form of social life,” he wrote to his first wife, Alice Chipman Dewey, which is abstracted and under control—which is directly experimental, and if philosophy is ever to be an experimental science, the construction of a school is its starting point” (Dewey, November 1, 1894). Such construction, nevertheless, required that the

curriculum be structured to highlight an associated way of life as part of defining the real meaning of public education.

Furthermore, he laid out his objections to a faulty curriculum in a 1930 article that appeared in *The New Republic*. Dewey’s (1930) “How Much Freedom in New Schools?” noted sternly that

some of these [progressive] schools indulge pupils in unrestrained freedom of action and speech of manners and lack of manners. Schools farthest to the left (and there are many parents who share this fallacy) carry the thing they call freedom nearly to the point of anarchy. (p. 220)

More disconcerting, he added, is that

Ultimately it is the absence of intellectual control through significant subject matter which stimulate the deplorable egotism, cockiness, impertinence and disregard for the rights of others apparently considered by some persons to be the inevitable accompaniment, if not the essence, of freedom. (p. 220)

Educational historian Karier (1986) points out that “Dewey conceived human nature as plastic and learning as a rationally organized experience.” Consequently, he continues, “Neither conception is compatible with the romantic, child-centered educator who generally assumed the child’s nature to be innately good and thought of the learning process as unrestrained, real-life experience” (p. 147). In a very revealing speech to the Japan Education Association Dewey’s second wife, Roberta Lowitz Grant Dewey, wrote: “Now I shall tell you here what has never before been said, John Dewey did not put a label on his ideas of education—he never called it ‘progressive education.’ He told me that he never knew who

initialed the phrase ‘progressive education’ because he regarded all education which was education in the real sense of the word, as ‘progressive’ (Roberta Dewey, April 7, 1955). In his view “progressive” meant “public.”

### **How to Define a Democratic Classroom?**

Dewey’s (1916) *Democracy and Education* is the treatise for public education within a democratic society. When reading Dewey’s work, it becomes clear that he has tied together his vision for public education and a democratic way of life; highlighted in “democratic classrooms.” Dewey may have defined democratic classrooms differently than we do today—but how did he envision a democratic classroom? One interpretation is that democratic classrooms are safe classrooms which are free from bullying, teasing, or harassment. Carpenter (2018) argued that “democratic classrooms are safe classrooms in which students are free from intolerance and abuse” (p. 37).

Other aspects to this definition that Dewey proposed remain relevant today. He raised several important questions critical to sustaining a democratic classroom. Dewey’s (1930) writing, “The Duties and Responsibilities of the Teaching Profession” posed the following: (1) “Should criticism of the existing social order be permitted?” and “Can pupils really be educated to take an effective part in social life if all controverted questions are excluded?” (p. 226); (2) “Do students go forth from the school without adequate consciousness of the problems and issues they will have to face?” (p. 226); (3) “Can a vital professional spirit among teachers be developed” unless there is “a greater degree of realization of the responsibility that devolves upon educators for the social knowledge and

interest which will enable them to take part in social leadership?” (p. 227); (4) “Can the power of independent and critical thinking...be attained when the field of thought is restricted by exclusion of whatever related to controverted social questions?” (p. 227); (5) “How far does this principle imply—that learning goes on most readily...when it grows out of actual experience—that the structure of economic and political activities, which affect out-of-school experience, should receive systematic attention in school” (p. 228)?; (6) “How far is the working purpose of present school work...compatible with the professed objective of democratic cooperation?” (p. 228); (7) “How can and should the schools deal with such questions as arise from racial color and class contact and prejudice?” and “What can and should the schools do to promote greater friendliness and mutual understanding among the various groups on our population?” (p. 228); and, lastly, (8) “Does the teaching of patriotism tend toward antagonism toward other peoples?” and “How far should the teaching of American history be designed to promote ‘Americanism’ at the expense of historical facts?” (p. 228). Most importantly, Dewey observed, “the isolation of the school from life is the chief cause for both inefficiency and lack of vitality in the work of instruction,” which mitigates an effective and meaningful democratic classroom when tackling “the larger issues and problems of our time” (p. 229).

### **The Historical Link of Public Education through the Lenses of Mann and Dewey**

Mann, committed to the idea of education for all as well as equal educational privileges, laid the groundwork for the progressives. Mann

stated, “Society does not exhibit a more instructive or salutary lesson, than those inequalities of actual condition which result from an unequal use of equal opportunities” (as cited in Stevens et al., 2002, p. 29). The concepts of equality and fairness resonated half a century later with the Progressivists led by Dewey. Involvement of the state(s) into the field of education, as well as the development of normal schools, were notable outcomes of the Common School Movement. The trajectory for state controlled educational policies and practices, as well as pre-service and in-service teacher preparation and certification are lasting initiatives of the Common School era and are benchmarks in the quest for public education.

One lesser known initiative by Mann and discussed by Reese (2011) was his preference for standardized testing. “Despite his romantic leanings, Mann anticipated the standardized testing of the future by sponsoring citywide examinations in Boston in 1845 to demonstrate what children had learned at school, knowledge acquired by memorizing facts in textbooks” (p. 86). Years later, Dewey responded to this formalized curriculum by criticizing the memorization of facts from textbooks without critical thinking. However, Reese’s (2011) interpretation of Dewey stated, “Despite what some people believed, Dewey was never a romantic educator” (p. 140). Rather, Dewey’s extensive writing attacks the economic equalities and social injustices of the time. Yet Reese’s interpretation also brings up another important aspect to the historic arc of public education as seen through the lenses of Mann and Dewey.

Critical to any understanding of public education in American history has been its direct connection to a common culture, which, in turn, is tied to Mann’s and Dewey’s understanding of

democracy. Both educational theorists recognized the need for social integration: Mann with the emerging working-class families of the textile mills in the northeast and Dewey with the immigrant populations in modern urban America. Both called for Common Schooling—one bringing together pupils from all economic classes, “creeds, and ethnic backgrounds into little ‘embryonic communities’” (Cremin, 1965, p. 61). What Mann introduced, Dewey concluded when he defined democracy as “primarily a mode of associated living” (Cremin, 1965, p. 62).

The noted educational historian Lawrence Cremin in his analysis of Mann and Dewey’s contributions to public schooling, points out that the key arc not to be overlooked is the “integrative power” of public education. What remains crucial today in terms of the new challenges presented by charter schools is that public schools exist for unification, not segregation and not separatism. As Cremin (1965) stated:

For one thing, it [common schools] generated the kind of political support for public education that could and did easily cross class line. And for another, it led educators to attempt to make the schools ever more attractive to widely disparate groups. (p. 63)

What public schooling accomplished was building those community relationships crucial to the democratic way of life.

## **Conclusion**

Dewey’s twentieth century vision for democratic education was a critical component to his philosophy and educational theories and possibly one reason that over 100 years after his publication of *The School and Society* (1899),

the necessity of public education is still at the center of scholarship. He continued the line of argument first promoted by Mann in order to further the democratic way of life. The legacy of Dewey as an educator, social justice activist, writer, and philosopher (Martin, 2003; Rockefeller, 1991) can be summed up by his quest for democratic public schools and equitable educational opportunities for all. His outstanding contributions to public education can be traced to the foundation for public education for all as championed by Horace Mann. The call for a “gentler philosophy” aligned—and perhaps led—to the core message of Dewey’s early writing. He is perhaps the nation’s greatest spokesperson championing the virtues of public schooling as the foundation for democratic values. What this research reveals is that without strong support for public schooling, the search for equitable access to learning for *all* will put in jeopardy the democratic way of life both Mann and Dewey envisioned for this “Great Community.”

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## **Should New Jersey have a Presidential Caucus?**

### **Comparing and Contrasting Caucuses and Primaries in a Political Machine State**

Bertin Lefkovic

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When Barack Obama began to build his delegate lead over Hillary Clinton in 2008 and Bernie Sanders performed much better than expected, a significant amount of the coverage focused on Obama and Sanders doing much better than Clinton in states that held caucuses and less so in states that held primary elections, and the prevailing wisdom (also known as spin) made by Clinton supporters was that caucuses were inherently less (small-d) democratic than primary elections, because they presented prospective caucusgoers significantly higher barriers to participation than primary elections.

After the contentious and controversial nomination process in 2016 that led to Clinton winning the Democratic presidential nomination amidst recriminations over the Democratic National Committee creating an unfair playing field for the insurgent candidacy of Sanders and her eventual loss in the general election to the Republican nominee, Donald Trump, which some observers attributed to feelings of disillusionment and disenfranchisement by Sanders supporters, even though exit polls showed that Sanders primary election voters voted for Clinton in the 2016 general election at a higher rate than Clinton primary election voters voted in the 2008 general election, representatives from both camps within the Democratic National Committee met to reform the Presidential nomination process for 2020. One of the two of the most potentially impactful reforms that were instituted focused on the role of caucuses

versus primary elections. It was agreed that states that historically held caucuses would be encouraged to instead hold primary elections. The other was banning superdelegates from voting on the first ballot at the Democratic National Convention (Seitz-Wald, 2019).

Clearly, reducing the role of elected officials and party leaders, who historically have been free to vote for any Presidential candidate of their choosing at the Democratic National Convention, regardless of the outcome of the nominating contest in their state, which effectively nullified many of the contests in many states that Sanders won by significant margins while only marginally winning or in some cases losing the total delegate count from those states, makes the nominating process more democratic, although it remains to be seen if that will be the actual outcome in 2020, as an exceedingly large field of over 20 presidential candidates with a significant number of them possessing the fundraising prowess to remain in the race much longer than candidates have been able to do so in the past raises the question as to whether or not any single candidate can win enough pledged delegates in the caucuses and primary elections to reach the 50% plus one delegate required to win the nomination on the first ballot. If not, all pledged delegates will be unbound and superdelegates will be allowed to vote on the second ballot, rendering the will of the people moot and replacing it with backroom machinations in an effort to cobble

together a compromise if not a consensus ticket (Klein, 2019).

It is unclear, though, if caucuses are truly less democratic than primary elections or if they are just differently democratic. One lesson that is taught in nearly every social studies class is the difference between participatory democracy and representative democracy with participatory democracy requiring the active involvement of citizens in government decision-making processes and representative democracy requiring citizens to elect representatives who make all of the decisions.

However, as modern society has become more technologically advanced and lives have become more active and complicated, people have become far less politically engaged the opportunities to participate in how they are governed have become fewer and further over time, leaving most, if not all, of the decisions in the hands of elected representatives, who over time have become more representative of the interests of their donors and pollsters than the needs and will of their constituents.

Even as the internet age has increased the quantity of information dramatically and made that information far more accessible than ever before, the quality of that information has decreased even more dramatically as the credibility and integrity of mainstream information sources like newspapers, radio, and television have become compromised to varying degrees by corporate interests and outside information sources, utilizing questionable and unreliable editorial and reporting methodologies, have proliferated.

Thus, as our governments have become almost exclusively representative in nature, while representing external interests (donors and pollsters) more than internal interests (their constituents), the electorates being represented have become less informed than they ever were in the past.

***Recognizing these trends, can an argument be***

***made that more rather than less should be demanded from electorates in how they are governed and that participatory democracy should have an increased role in governance?***

Some have argued that the 2016 election was already a step in that direction as a populist response to dissatisfaction with both the Democratic and Republican establishments fueled both the Sanders surge and the Trump victory and it was only because the Democratic Party had a President in power at the time and a Democratic National Committee that was loyal to him putting the brakes on the former while the latter had no concentrated institutional opposition that led to their disparate outcomes.

If populism continues to fuel our politics, it would make sense that reintroducing opportunities for participatory democracy would be a better way to manage the conflict between establishment and insurgent elements than simply allowing the conflict to consume them. Nowhere else is this more true than New Jersey where powerful political machines have enabled party establishments to dominate the political landscape for decades and where the lack of competitive primary elections due to the utilization of the ballot to influence the outcome of elections have produced record levels of voter apathy and disengagement (O’Dea, 2019).

This is especially true when it comes to presidential primary elections in New Jersey. With the exception of 2008 when legislation was passed to move the date of the state’s presidential primary election to an earlier date in the calendar with the hope that it would be more relevant to the outcome of the nomination process, it has historically been one of the last to vote and has only been impactful on the outcome of the most closely contested of elections. In the past, it has also usually shared the date on the calendar with California, drawing even more attention away from New Jersey.

The party establishments with their parochial interests at the local, county, and state

level fueling its political machines have relished this dynamic, which enables party leaders and their donor base to leverage their influence with presidential campaigns as one of the most significant sources of fundraising without having to spend a significant amount of capital getting the vote out for a presidential primary election whose outcome has already been determined in most cases.

Primary elections in New Jersey are already as undemocratic as any in the country, because of the way that the party establishments use the ballot to influence the outcome of elections. The party line ballot, where all of the candidates from President down to committeeperson (a local party office that is involved to varying degrees in the endorsement of candidates) that are endorsed by county party organizations appear on a single line of candidates and receive a preferential ballot position and any other candidates that are not bracketed together under the same slogan are placed elsewhere on the ballot at the discretion of county clerks, who are more often than not party loyalists, provides these endorsed candidates with a nearly insurmountable advantage over any opposition that they rarely ever have.

This advantage becomes even greater during presidential election cycles, because of the presence of a presidential candidate at the top of the party establishment line, increasing turnout and ensuring that downticket candidates on that line get the lion's share of those additional voters, particularly since by the time that New Jersey votes, there are almost never any other presidential candidates on the ballot that might anchor an opposition line. 2016 was the first time since 1984 that there was a June presidential primary election in New Jersey and the nomination had not yet been clinched.

An argument could be made to do what was done in 2008 and move the state's presidential primary election to a stand-alone date earlier in the calendar such as April 28, the same date that other northeastern states like Connecticut, Delaware,

Maryland, New York, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island will hold their primary elections. In addition to ensuring the state's relevance to the nomination process, it would not be impacted by or have an impact on downticket primary elections. However, elections in New Jersey are very expensive, costing taxpayers tens of millions of dollars, which is one of many reasons why, historically, presidential primary elections have been done on the same day as other downticket races. There is also the matter of some New Jersey school districts holding board elections on the third Tuesday of April, although this could be addressed by moving them to the November general election ballot as many school districts have already done or having the school board elections on the same April 28 ballot as the standalone Presidential primary election.

That said, a caucus, similar to what occurs in Iowa and other states like Maine and Nevada, would be significantly cheaper to operate than a stand-alone presidential primary election. Opponents to this idea will inevitably argue that caucuses, which require participants to arrive at a specific time and stay until the end, which could be an hour or two or even three, are less (small-d) democratic than primary elections, which allow a voter to arrive on the day of the election at a time that is convenient for them, cast their vote, and leave. In most parts of New Jersey, it doesn't take more than five minutes to cast a vote. At worst, it might require a 30-minute wait, but that is rare.

While it is fair to argue that it is harder for people who work more than one job or work irregular hours to participate in a caucus than a primary election, it would be possible to do things to mitigate these concerns. A ranked choice vote-by-mail ballot could be created to allow someone who cannot be physically present for a caucus to participate virtually with the actions that they might have taken if they were present represented by the ranked choices on their ballot.

Another solution could be to do what a few other states like Texas and Washington do, which is to hold both a caucus and a primary election and allocate some of the state's pledged delegates based on the outcome of the caucus and the rest based on the outcome of the primary election. It has been argued in the past that spreading out the caucuses and primary elections over several months disenfranchises some states and enfranchises others and that there should be a national primary election on a single day just like there is a national general election on a single day.

Maybe the appropriate compromise would be to hold caucuses in several states every weekend from the beginning of February until the end of April and a national primary election in early June. The outcome of the caucuses could distribute a quarter to a third of the pledged delegates and the outcome of the national primary election could distribute the remaining two-thirds to three-quarters of pledged delegates.

The argument for every state having both caucuses and primary elections is that they measure support for a candidate very differently. Candidates like Obama and Sanders performed as well as they did in caucuses, because they measure the level of passion that a candidate's supporters have for their chosen candidate, while Clinton performed better in primary elections, because they measure the organizational strength of her candidacy.

In both 2008 and 2016, Clinton tended to perform better in states that had stronger Democratic party organizations (aka blue states), while Obama and Sanders tended to perform better in states that had weaker Democratic party organizations (aka red states). This ability to perform better in caucus states and red states might have been part of what enabled Obama to win his general elections in 2008 and 2012 and what cost Clinton the general election in 2016 (Prokop, 2015).

Even though she received more than three million more votes than Trump, she narrowly lost

several "purple" states that gave Trump his Electoral College margin of victory. In 2020 and beyond, using both caucuses and primary elections to measure both the breadth and depth of a candidate's support as well as the passion that their supporters have might possibly be the best way to identify a candidate that will win both the Electoral College and national popular vote.

By providing students (and possibly their parents if done as a community event rather than a school event) with an opportunity to experience something akin to the Iowa caucuses, the following simulation will give them the opportunity to decide for themselves if they are less or more democratic than primary elections as well as whether or not they provide a valuable measure for the purpose of awarding delegates to national party conventions. Most primary election voters (and their children who have joined them in voting booths) in New Jersey may have heard or read about the Iowa caucuses in the news every four years, but very few know how different they are from their familiar experience of walking into a voting booth, pulling a lever, and casting their vote.

Some participants would play the role of candidate advocates, who will each make a brief (3-5 minutes) speech on behalf of their candidate and also be responsible for herding caucusgoers into their respective camps once the caucusing begins, while the other participants would play the role of caucusgoers, who may or may not already know who they intend to support at the beginning of the caucus. After the speeches have been completed, the caucusgoers will be instructed to go to a designated place where their presence will support their chosen candidate.

Candidate advocates and caucusgoers can engage each other during this process to try and convince one another to support their chosen candidate. If the participants consist of both students and their parents, the parents should be instructed to allow their children to take the lead

during this process and only provide guidance that helps them make these decisions on their own, not for them. Once all of the caucusgoers have chosen a candidate, the number of caucusgoers supporting each candidate are counted. In order to be considered viable, a candidate must have the support of at least 15% of the participating caucusgoers.

After viability has been determined, caucusgoers for inviable candidates are free to join with the caucusgoers of viable candidates or unite with the caucusgoers of other inviable candidates to achieve viability for one candidate. Caucusgoers for viable candidates are also free to leave their originally chosen candidate for another candidate to strategically enable another candidate to be viable. Once all of the caucusgoers have chosen a candidate, the number of caucusgoers supporting each candidate are counted again to determine viability. Once a candidate has been determined to be inviable in two consecutive rounds, that candidate is officially eliminated from being able to be considered by caucusgoers. This process is repeated until every caucusgoer is associated with a viable candidate.

If these simulations can take place in enough communities/schools, each community could be approximate an individual precinct. Depending on the number of participating communities/schools and an estimated number of participants at each “precinct”, each “caucus” can be assigned a different number of pledged delegates to be distributed amongst the viable candidates based on their final percentage of caucusgoers, which would be communicated to all of the participating communities/schools.

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## One-to-One Layered Curriculum: Differentiation in the 21st Century

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As usual, Mr. Lockwood enters the classroom with a spring in his step and a smile on his face greeting his 7th grade students. He usually makes a figure eight around the classroom saying, “thank you, Julie, for having your AR book out. Thank you, Joe, for having your notebook out and working on the bell ringer,” which gets the students organized for the day and ready for social studies. However, today in class, instruction will look different. For one, all students will participate in one-to-one technology (their school is not one-to-one) and two, students will choose their own adventure (CYOA) for the Ancient Egypt unit. Students are coupled together, each checking out a computer from the cart borrowed from the library in back of the classroom. Mr. Lockwood enthusiastically tells the students they are going on an adventure and to get to the end destination, they must CHOOSE their own way to learn! The students are confused but excited to see how this new unit will play out.

### Differentiated Instruction

Mr. Lockwood is about to engage his students in differentiated instruction through

layered curriculum. Differentiated instruction was developed by Carol Ann Tomlinson and can be defined “as an approach to teaching in which teachers proactively modify curricula, teaching methods, resources, learning activities, and student products to address the diverse needs of individual students and small groups of students to maximize the learning opportunity for each student in a classroom” (Tomlinson, et al. 2003). Mr. Lockwood is demonstrating the basic level of differentiation, shaking up the curriculum to fit his students’ needs and moving away from a unitary approach of teaching (Tomlinson, 2017). Described as a *Little House on the Prairie* one room schoolhouse situation, differentiated instruction uses whole-class, small-group and individual instruction to teach the curriculum. In a 2003 article titled *Differentiated Instruction in Response to Student Readiness, Interest, and Learning Profile in Academic Diverse Classrooms: A Literature Review*, Tomlinson and colleagues found that teachers do not adjust their instruction to the needs of the students in order to reach a diverse population of learners (p. 131). Instead teachers will switch instructional strategies throughout the lesson but all students will do the same activities no matter their ability.

As stressed over and over throughout Tomlinson's publications, differentiation is not individualized but allows the teacher to use multiple avenues for students to learn, "attending to students as individuals" (Tomlinson, 2017, p. 3). One way Tomlinson suggests that teachers focus on differentiation is through tiered lessons. Through tiered lessons "everybody works with essential knowledge and skills but at different degrees of difficulty or different levels of complexity" (Wu, 2013, pg. 130). Enter Layered Curriculum.

### **Layered Curriculum**

A layered curriculum is differentiated through tiers and "integrates the three keys: choice, accountability and increasingly complex thinking" (Nunley, 2003, pg. 35). This type of differentiation allows the teachers to change delivery of instruction, student product and content throughout an entire unit. Organized into a four-step process, Nunley (1996) discusses it in a publication from the *Science Teacher*. Her first step is the unit sheet consisting of various assignments with point systems attached to the assignments. Second, she then divides her curriculum into layers C, B and A and uses Bloom's Taxonomy to create the layers and assignments. The letter represents the letter grade and score range a student could receive on that certain layer. Roughly, C layer represent basic knowledge and comprehension, B layer represents application and A layer is critical thinking. After assignments are completed Nunley explains that she would speak to each student about their assignment giving them an oral evaluation. She does not give them a paper/pencil test at the end of the unit. The last step is the learning stations. These learnings stations consist of audio lectures, physical props,

TV shows/documentaries, etc. Throughout the layers, students are given choices and different avenues to learn the content from the curriculum. In the unit, differentiation occurs through process, product and content. Using Nunley's layered curriculum, three separate empirical studies (Gun, 2013; Kilincaslan & Simek, 2015; and Uzum & Pesen, 2019) showed that when students engaged in layered curriculum their motivation and attendance increased but also academic achievement increased with respect to a controlled group.

### **21st Century Layered Curriculum**

Thinking about the definition of differentiated instruction from Tomlinson and the four-step process of Layered Curriculum from Nunley, how can Mr. Lockwood have the same outcomes as the empirical studies from layered curriculum? Taking inspiration from Nunley (1996) when she stated, in layered curriculum "technology should be used whenever possible" (pg. 55), Mr. Lockwood and Dr. Nance go on their own adventure to create a one-to-one differentiated layered curriculum of Ancient Egypt. They had to manipulate the four-step process to adjust for 21st century skills, district requirements, data collection, a common curriculum map and common assessments. The result was a one-to-one Google Site that included all the parts discussed by Nunley but placed in different order to adjust to Mr. Lockwood's building and district requirements. The new four-step framework was implemented in a 7th grade world history class and called Choose Your Own Adventure (CYOA). The unit lasted about 6-7 days of a block scheduling AB schedule.

The CYOA format includes a four-step process used for one-to-one layered curriculum

differentiated instruction. It includes an introduction, the level tabs, assessment and technology. First, Students are introduced to the unit that is called Choose Your Own Adventure. They login to their Google Classroom to find a web address. All students proceed to the Google Site and stop at the homepage. The homepage gives specific directions to take a diagnostic or pretest on Google Forms. After all these are submitted, the students click on the level C tab. At this time, the teacher explains the concept of CYOA, the classroom expectations during CYOA and how to locate all levels, assignments, assessments on the Google Site. Second, the Google Site consists of a Homepage tab, Level C tab, Level B tab and Level A tab. On the front of each level are directions for that particular level, a Google Slides Screencast Informational Video, a Graphic Organizer, a Formative Assessment and CYOA Assignments. Students have written directions on each level that include points required, tentative due dates and step-by-step directions through each individual level (See Appendix A). For example, directions on each level read, “the graphic organizer, video(s) and formative assessment are required in every level of the CYOA and must be completed first. Remember, you must complete the graphic organizer while watching the video(s) (5 points) and make an 80% (5 points) before you can move forward to the adventure.” The teacher checks each formative assessment. If the student scores an 80%, then they move forward to their adventure. If the student makes below 80%, the teacher re-teaches on the spot. If the teacher is also satisfied with its graphic organizer and oral assessment, the student re-tests. If the teacher is not, the student will listen to the video(s) again and redo the graphic organizer. Then the student will retest to get the appropriate benchmark to

move to the adventure. Levels B and A have a skills video with a graphic organizer along with the informational/lecture video and its graphic organizer. Two graphic organizers will be required for levels B and A. Each level also includes “How To” videos from Google Classroom, Google Suite and some assignment examples from YouTube. Each assignment is posted separately with total points required, assignment points and directions for the assignments. After students complete levels C-A, a summative is given. The teacher facilitates and answers questions during the assignment phase constantly assessing the students. Third, students are assessed for the collection of data specifically for data teams and district requirements. The assessments used are diagnostic/pretest, formative assessments and summative evaluation. The diagnostic assessment is on the first day of CYOA and is taken on Google Forms. The formative assessments are quality questioning from the teacher and multiple-choice questions (objectives/targets) located on Google Forms. The formatives are built into each level and have a required benchmark. This allows the teacher to have one-on-one instruction with each student and use the Google Forms to follow the student’s progress through the unit. Fourth, technology is implemented throughout the CYOA using a Google Site. Using Google Sites is optimal for this type of instruction. All videos from screencasts to YouTube can be uploaded to the site. The students can complete all assignments through Google Suite and turn them into Google Classroom.

### **Colleague Reflection**

After the unit was complete, I sat down with Mr. Lockwood and debriefed. Because this

was not an empirical study, the conversation is just two colleagues' reflections of what transpired in the classroom. First, both of us thought it went well. The flow of the classroom remained the same and the students followed procedures without major incidents. The students' interaction with each other was excellent. They relied on their partner for clarification questions and used their small group and sometimes an impromptu larger group to discuss the assignments and get help with content. Overall, the students enjoyed the choices they had in the different levels and liked that they could go back to the videos for help if they needed it. They enjoyed the "How To" videos because they could go at their own pace to learn the skill and could rewatch as many times as they needed to get it right. It looked like the students were taking responsibility for their own learning and Mr. Lockwood liked watching his classroom environment change to student-centered. We also agree with the empirical articles that layered curriculum increased motivation and academic achievement. Mr. Lockwood saw significant progress from the diagnostic test to the summative test. The students took a survey about CYOA and they overwhelmingly liked how it was done in the class, and they had freedom to go at their own pace. The problems that occurred were all

technological and could be fixed in a matter of minutes. There were not problems with the differentiated instruction layered curriculum philosophy that Mr. Lockwood brought to his classroom. Overall, Mr. Lockwood is happy with CYOA and will be implementing it in more units in his classroom this next school year. I also want to add that Mr. Lockwood and I cannot take credit for the clever title of CYOA. That was borrowed from MrRoughton.com as were many of the assignments the students completed. His website is amazing, and I hope you go visit it when you put your CYOA together.

### **Conclusion**

Differentiation is not individualized lessons for each student but looking at the needs of your students and offering different pathways to learn the objectives/content so each student can achieve success. Layered curriculum is tiered differentiation that can accomplish the goal of giving students different avenues to learn in the classroom. Moving layered curriculum to one-to-one is optimal for students to learn new skills but also to be able to move at their own pace and enjoy a major advantage of individual instruction with the teacher most days of the week.

## Appendix A

EGYPT CYOA
Home LEVEL C LEVEL B LEVEL A



Change image
Reset
Header type

# ALL DIRECTIONS

**40 points required from the assignments**

**10 points required from the Graphic Organizer and Formative Assessment**

**TOTAL: 50 POINTS**

1.) Complete your required 10 points with the Graphic Organizer and Formative Assessment.

2.) You can choose up to 6-10 activity assignments listed below. You must have 40 activity points to total 50. What activities you do is UP TO YOU!

*\*\*The graphic organizer, video and formative assessment is required in every level of the CYOA and must be completed first. Remember you must complete the graphic organizer while watching the video (5 points) and make an 80% on your formative assessment (5 points) before you can move forward to the adventure.\*\**

**Learning Goal #2**  
*Can describe the government of Egypt and compare and contrast it to government today.*

**Objectives:**

- 1) by defining democracy, monarchy, and theocracy
- 2) by identifying who and what roles of ancient Egyptians

**You will use the graphic organizer to successfully accomplish the 2 objectives listed above. Please draw this Graphic Organizer in your NOTEBOOK and fill it out after watching the video for LEVEL C.**

Ancient Egypt
Define Democracy:
Define Monarchy:
Define Theocracy:



In the pyramid, write the social structure as seen on the informational video and write their jobs next to their social role.



A form of government in which God or other religious figure is in power.

Theocracy

### Form Level C

\* Required

First Name \*

Your answer \_\_\_\_\_

Last Name \*

Your answer \_\_\_\_\_

Graphic Organizer

5 Points

1. Get your NOTEBOOK and the copy of the graphic organizer. (DO NOT GLUE IN NOTEBOOK UNTIL TOLD TO)
2. After you finish, please watch the Video Information.

Informational Video

5 Points

1. Watch the video and listen to the information carefully.
2. Write the appropriate information in the graphic organizer in your notebook. Remember, you can pause the video or replay parts you need to in order to complete the graphic organizer.
3. Once completed use your graphic organizer to take the formative assessment.

Formative Assessment C

5 Points

1. Complete the Formative Assessment C.
2. Remember, you **MUST** make an **80%** on your Formative Assessment C **or you will need to watch the video, correct your graphic organizer and retake the Formative Assessment until you receive an 80%.**
3. Raise your hand when you complete the Formative Assessment C.

The image shows a grid of differentiated assignments for Level C students. The assignments are:

- Advertisement (5 points):** Instructions: Create an advertisement for one of the forms of government. This should be a one-page ad. Tasks: 1. Choose the form of government. 2. Why people should be interested in your advertisement of Ancient Egypt. 3. At least three forms of government done at least once every chapter. 4. At least one form of government done at least once every chapter. 5. At least one form of government done at least once every chapter. 6. At least one form of government done at least once every chapter.
- Be The Forms of Government (5 points):** Instructions: Write your thoughts on each of the three forms of government discussed in the advertisement above. Your response should include when the form of government is used how people are governed. Images you see in the government. 100-150 words.
- BUMPER STICKER (5 points):** Instructions: When you're not driving with your family you probably see cars with bumper stickers. They are usually colorful, funny, and make an interesting point. Tasks: 1. Create your bumper sticker. Make sure it is: a. Funny b. Clever c. Thoughtful. 2. On the page, write an explanation of what your bumper sticker means and why you create it.
- Countdown!** Complete each section of the graphic organizer with information about Ancient Egypt.
- Day Planner (10 points):** Instructions: Imagine you were a time traveler and you had a day planner that would allow you to see the past. You will create a day planner that includes what you will be doing each hour of the day. Tasks: 1. Create a chart like the one below for every hour between 8 AM and 8 PM. 2. In each box write a... 3. If an event lasts... 4. Each section needs to be...
- Diary (5 points):** Instructions: Choose one of the jobs from Ancient Egypt. Write a diary entry of at least 3 paragraphs of the day in the life of the job that... Tasks: 1. Choose one of the jobs from Ancient Egypt. 2. Write a diary entry of at least 3 paragraphs of the day in the life of the job that... 3. Explain what type of government Ancient Egypt is.

Below the assignments are three boxes labeled 'Level C Assignment 1', 'Level C Assignment 2', and 'Level C Assignment 3', each with the instruction 'Choose Assignments to add up to 40 points.'

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## Using Malala's Story to Develop Student Agency

Monisha Moore

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The National Council of the Social Studies (NCSS) suggests that social studies instruction in the elementary classroom should offer opportunities for students to recognize societal problems, investigate those problems through questioning, consider the possible solutions and consequences, and act upon their learning (NCSS, 2017). Nonetheless, Heafner and Fitchett (2012) documented the diminishing role of social studies in the elementary curriculum in a notable meta-analysis. Further analysis of the literature (Hubbard, 2013; Britt & Howe, 2014; Heafner & Fitchett, 2015) indicates that social studies instruction in the elementary grades is marginalized as a direct result of the attention required in high-stakes tested subject area such as English language arts (ELA) and math. Even though tenets of equity are set forth in Common Core State Standards, the emphasis on teaching to standardized test still undermine quality efforts to teach social justice issues in most classrooms (Dover, 2015; Agarwal, 2011; Alsup & Miller, 2014). Although the focus on ELA and math are deemed necessary, so are the skills introduced to elementary students through quality social studies instruction. It is often through this instruction that students learn to investigate structural inequities, analyze multiple perspectives, critically examine history, and envision how they can enact social change in

their world (Nieto, 2000; Sleeter, 2015; Picower, 2012)

Rethinking the curriculum could benefit students significantly. Using culturally sustaining trade books to supplement the curriculum benefits students in important ways (Tschida & Buchanan, 2017). Providing opportunities for students to learn historical context of subject matter through inquiry based curricular activities allow students to construct deeper knowledge of subject matter introduced in core reading programs. That deeper knowledge positions students to do history through hands-on activities rather than just receive it through transmission from the teacher (Levstik & Barton, 2015).

In elementary core reading programs, there are often stories that show main characters in leadership positions. Each of these lessons is an opportunity to expound upon the concept with additional material which makes the learning personal while providing historical context. The addition of well-thought out activities supplemented with developmentally-appropriate trade books encourage students to delve deeper into the curriculum. Students need to examine these topics to more fully understand acts of resistance such as organized protest. They benefit by gaining a firmer grasp of the historical

context of children advocates so they can better understand how they are capable to effect comparable change (Witherspoon, Clabough & Elliott, 2017). The activities in this article introduce a method of extending a reading lesson on leadership with a trade book, *For the Right to Learn: Malala Yousafzai's Story*.

### **The value of trade books**

Students must be able to utilize the inquiry process, collect and analyze data, and collaborate with others in decision-making and problem-solving activities as described in the NCSS C3 Framework (NCSS, 2013). To ensure that students develop agency, they must be intentionally introduced to texts which are rich in historical value. Trade books are an excellent means to provide such experiences (Moore, 2018).

Trade books allow students to explore historical events in depth through factual accounts (Clabough, Wooten & Turner, 2014). Trade books are usually leveled (Bickford & Schuette, 2016) so they readily offer themselves to teachers for differentiated lessons (Schwebel, 2011). Paperback versions of trade books are economical and they are often used in elementary classrooms as independent and read-aloud options. Such developmentally appropriate opportunities allow students to learn about historical events through the integration of social studies and literacy instruction (Bickford & Schuette, 2016; Agarwal-Rangnath, 2013).

Rather than experiencing leadership through a singular perspective, trade books allow students to connect to literature through multiple perspectives. Trade books also provide students

with a springboard from which they can critically evaluate those perspectives as begin to formulate and analyze their own position (Allen, 2018). Trade books tap into the emotional elements of events in ways that textbooks often lack (Krey, 1998). Culturally-sustaining trade books allow students to see themselves and their cultures represented in positive ways which affect their emotions, attitudes and connections to information (McCarty, 2007). Students are drawn to characters and themes which are relatable to them (Bickford, 2018). These relatable experiences allow students to understand the value and importance of their history within the larger history of America. The following activity for working with trade books afford students the ability to develop personal agency.

### **Engagement**

I begin the lesson by writing the overarching question on chart paper so that it visible for the duration of the lesson. The question is “How can children act as leaders to effect change?” I explain that all of the activities in this lesson are based on this question. Further, I explain that events in the past have allowed young children to act as leaders on behalf of themselves or others. Their actions at specific moments in history had implications for others which are still felt today. Next, we work collaboratively to define leaders, effect, and change. The definitions are added to the chart paper with the inquiry question. We discuss synonyms, and I elicit synonyms for the word leaders so that students understand the meaning of other words they may hear that define leaders (i.e. advocate, agent).

I ask students to describe their education by completing the left portion of a t-chart entitled “My Education.” This activity allows students to thoroughly examine their feelings about the educational process they experience as they formulate their own thoughts and ideas. When students are expected to speak on an issue, they should be able to determine their perspective based on their background, their culture, and the empathy they may either share with others or that will stand in defiance to the voice of others. This is an integral step in students connecting themselves, their emotions, and their attitudes to information they encounter (Ladson-Billings, 1995; 2014). Students will share and explain their responses with the larger group.

Next, I explain to students that they will have the opportunity to research the life of Malala Yousafzai. They are told that they should consider the ways their educational experience parallels or differs during the reading. Students read the book, *For the Right to Learn: Malala Yousafzai’s Story*. For students with reading difficulties, the text can be read aloud by the teacher, pre-recorded and independently accessed by a QR code, or peer-read with a reading buddy. This ensures that each student

has the opportunity to read and comprehend the story before extending the learning.

Students work collaboratively with peers to identify the person(s) being discriminated against in the text. The graphic organizer that follows allows students to chart their ideas as they work. Their responses should include text evidence. The text evidence should indicate a quote from the story or a paraphrase of the author’s words along with a page number from which those words were taken. This facilitates students’ ability to cite specific textual evidence when writing or speaking so they can support conclusions they have drawn from the text. Students meet together to discuss their findings. The teacher serves to clarify information disclosed using prompts such as “Tell me how you arrived that that conclusion” or “Can you tell us more about your thinking?” This activity is important as students learn how to substantiate their claims with textual information. Having students attend to textual information and applying that information to authentic discussions call for higher order thinking. Higher order thinking skills associated with such text analysis has been related to better comprehension in elementary students (Deeney, 2016).

Figure 1: Graphic organizer for text analysis

How did the main character(s) act as agents of change? Include text evidence in your response. Text evidence includes quotes from the story along with page numbers.

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Summarize the steps taken to address the restrictive policy highlighted in the text.

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Next, students summarize the steps taken in the text to address the restrictive policy. This step ensure that students recognize advocacy. Further, it ensures that students are able to distinguish how they can act as agents of change. This benefits students as they further develop comprehension skills through determining central ideas and summarizing key ideas and details from text.

When students complete their graphic organizer, they share and discuss their findings with their group through Socratic activities. These activities encourage students to think critically and ask questions about the text they have read. Further, students engage in questioning their perspectives and the

perspectives of those in the larger communities in which they live. This discussion is instrumental in aiding students in participating effectively in conversations with diverse partners as they listen to the ideas of others and express their own ideas persuasively.

An example of a Socratic activity engages students in analysis of the text. As young students may be novice participants in these types of discussions, the teacher leads the whole group discussion by asking questions such as:

1. Analyze how the educational expectations for students in the text differ from those in your community.

2. In what ways are students that you may know prevented from attending school?
3. What are some reasons people may have for keeping children out of school?

The teacher listens to the responses and asks students to clarify necessary information by using prompts such as “Tell me more about that” or “Can you explain what you mean?” The teacher charts the students’ responses and encourages students to evaluate or connect to them.

Next, the teacher explains the importance of the Nobel Peace Prize. She acknowledges that in 2014 Malala was the youngest recipient of the award. Students then watch a short clip of the video at accessible at <https://youtu.be/MOqJotJrFVM>. The teacher explains that characters in books can impart multiple perspectives. She asks students to think about the ways in which Malala’s perspective may differ from the perspective of her father or her mother. Then, students choose one of the following prompts and work in pairs or small groups to discuss and write about their prompt through perspective writing.

1. What does it mean when Malala says “Thank you to my father, for not clipping my wings, and letting me fly?”
2. Malala thanks her mother for inspiring her to always speak the truth. Discuss how someone has inspired you to speak the truth. What was that truth?
3. Malala thanks her teachers for inspiring her to believe in herself and be brave. How have teachers (or others) inspired you to believe in yourself or to be brave?

This activity benefits students as they learn to acknowledge the importance of multiple

perspectives. Such diverse perspectives encourage students to acknowledge how values and cultures other than their own are represented and experienced by those around them. Further, students are able to construct knowledge about the world in which they live (Bickford & Rich, 2017). Students are also able to distinguish their own point of view from the author’s.

After working through the activities, students move into a whole group area. Collectively, they summarize prior learning by highlighting their group work. I chart the students’ responses. Then, I ask the group to evaluate if the restrictive policies they have identified are still problematic for individuals or groups today. I chart the responses and facilitate the discussion as necessary. Facilitation of the discussion includes clarifying erroneous presumptions that young students may offer through supplemental discussion or primary source information. For the policies identified by the students, I ask them to evaluate the ways in which they can act to effect change. I facilitate a discussion in which students plan their next steps as agents of change to restrictive policies they have identified.

Finally, students will complete the T-chart they completed at the beginning of the activity. As students have been immersed in the learning, they have encountered multiple perspectives through independent, small group, and whole group efforts. Completion of the graphic organizer allows students to compare and contrast their educational experience with Malala. Most importantly, it allows students an opportunity to recognize and address internal conflicts they may have encountered through this learning. Students will have choice in how they utilize this segment of the activity. They may

choose evaluate the comparison privately. Otherwise, they may choose to expound upon their learning by constructing a poem, composing a song, producing a video response or writing a letter to Malala. Options such as these are important to students. Although some students may be emotionally ready to delve into such important works, others may require more time to analyze how their feelings align with those they have encountered.

## **Conclusion**

Students need to understand that children can act as advocates for change. They need to understand that even as young students, they have the ability to address restrictive policies in important ways. Doing history rather than learning facts allows students to delve deeply into historical content as they read expository and narrative text, collaborate with peers, and write about their learning (Levstik & Barton, 2015). Through identification of policies and appropriate actions, students have the ability to create more equitable communities.

Presenting students with opportunities to learn about children in other parts of the world or at other times in history allows them to understand other cultures and multiple perspectives. In doing so, students learn to question the decisions and choices of others as well as their own. Developing the ability to understand issues from multiple perspectives allow students to better understand the complex society in which they live. Through social studies literacy skills, students learn to engage in practices which are transformational.

Students can use social studies literacy skills to challenge and change systems they view as oppressive. Participatory actions such as those discussed in this article encourage students to develop developmentally appropriate responses to these systems which benefit themselves and others. As students become more aware, they are more capable of acting upon socially constructed rules which serve some while marginalizing others.

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## Teaching about Race and Racism with Springsteen Songs

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At first thought, it might seem odd to teach about race and racism in the United States with the music of Bruce Springsteen. One of the more famous long-time musicians in this country and around the world, Springsteen is likely not often associated with these topics, perhaps foremost because he is White. Yet race and racism are important topics in and across his music. Further, many of his musical influences—like James Brown and Curtis Mayfield—were Black, as was his most influential musical collaborator, Clarence Clemons, his longstanding friend and band-mate known as “the Big Man.”

For decades, Springsteen has written and sung about race and racism, particularly America struggling with racism. Yes, he writes about cars and love and the Jersey Shore, too, but race and racism are, importantly, also there in the mix. He has often uttered a line in interviews that his music charts the gap between the American dream and everyday living in America (e.g., Pelley, 2007). In doing this he takes up the question, what does it mean to be an American? This work includes—sometimes explicitly, sometimes implicitly—race and racism. Shortly after the death of Clemons in 2011, Springsteen biographer Dave Marsh noted that “Springsteen set out to write about the heart of the country,

and race was central to what he found there” (2011, paragraph 7).

With Springsteen’s voice as one of the more prominent American cultural voices over the past several decades, it is relevant to most all social issues, but this doesn’t mean it’s the lone voice to consider about race and racism. Indeed, the voices of people of color must be central to social studies teaching about race and racism. The curriculum cannot be directed solely by White voices, especially those attached to great fame and wealth.

Yet, famous, wealthy, White voices are not useless. Racial justice cannot come about without progress in all corners of society, including—maybe even particularly—White America. Toward this end, White voices calling for racial justice need to be heard and considered (and undoubtedly not just those of famous, wealthy, White men). Springsteen’s voice reaches the ears of many, particularly in White America, in ways that most other voices do not. It can be an important model for White students to learn to speak out against racism, and it can be an important example for students of color of how some well-known White people do speak out in favor of racial justice.

## Teaching about Race and Racism—with Music

In *Between the World and Me*, Ta-Nehisi Coates writes about learning to “ruthlessly interrogate” (2015, p. 29) his social world. Such critical investigation is central to powerful social studies teaching and learning. The United States was founded on—and today, in 2019, remains structured by—racism. The evidence is strewn across the country’s history (e.g., Kendi, 2016; Lepore, 2018), including 400 years ago, when the first ship with Africans landed at the Jamestown colonial settlement. The evidence is also strewn across contemporary America, in the form of staggering gaps in wealth, education, incarceration, housing, and other areas between White and non-White (e.g., Alexander, 2012; Rothstein, 2017). Social studies teachers have the precious responsibility of shining a light on this evidence and wrestling with questions of why and how.

Because teaching about race and racism is not easy, music is a great avenue for inquiring into and discussing these topics. Songs introduce stories, characters, and ideas that make us feel and think, consider and investigate. For example, for many teachers addressing the U.S. Civil Rights Movement of the mid-Twentieth Century, spirituals and protest songs—freedom songs—sung primarily by the participants themselves are foundational resources in their lessons. Songs like “Oh Freedom” and “We Shall Overcome” are examples of the larger theme that music has a long and important history (and present) in the United States of calling for and activating wheels of social change.

## Race and Racism in Springsteen’s Life and Songs<sup>i</sup>

Born in 1949, Springsteen grew up in Freehold, New Jersey. Issues of race and racism were not foreign to him. In “My Hometown” (1984) he writes and sings,

In '65 tension was running high at my  
high school  
There was a lot of fights between the  
black and white  
There was nothing you could do  
Two cars at a light on a Saturday night in  
the back seat there was a gun  
Words were passed in a shotgun blast  
Troubled times had come to my  
hometown

Freehold, like many others, was a struggling American town and racial tension was one of its struggles. Like his hometown, Springsteen personally struggled. In “Tenth Avenue Freeze-Out” (1975) he writes and sings,

Tear drops on the city  
Bad Scooter searching for his groove  
Seem like the whole world walking pretty  
And you can't find the room to move

Scooter is Springsteen, a working-class White male trying to find his way as a young musician (“stranded in the jungle,” he sings in the next stanza), not buying into the rhetoric of his father, schooling, or the mainstream establishment calling for him to cut his hair and get a traditional job. His prospects seemingly change when he partners up with an older, massive, saxophone-blowing Black male—Clarence Clemons, the Big Man. As “Tenth Avenue Freeze-Out” turns triumphant, Springsteen exclaims,

When the change was made uptown  
And the Big Man joined the band  
From the coastline to the city  
All the little pretties raise their hands  
I'm gonna sit back right easy and laugh  
When Scooter and the Big Man bust this  
city in half

To be sure, the E Street Band, Springsteen's band, was not simply Scooter and the Big Man but it revolved around and was built upon their dynamism. The cover of Springsteen's breakout album, *Born to Run*, in which a bemused Springsteen with his guitar leans on Clemons as he plays his sax, is telling. Year later, reflecting on the relationship between Clemons and Springsteen in a society marked by racism, the biographer Marsh wrote,

Bruce and Clarence could not pull down the tower in which America is shackled, no two humans could do that, but they inflicted their share of damage... They were these two guys who imagined that if they *acted* free, then other people would understand better that it was possible to *be* free. (2011, paragraph 15)

### **“Gonna be a judgment that's a fact”**

Hurricane Katrina ravaged New Orleans and the surrounding Gulf area in late August of 2005. The aftermath of the hurricane was environmentally and socially disastrous. Not only was New Orleans flooded, social relations within the city were characterized by utter disregard of the city's poorest people, particularly people of color. Nine months after Katrina hit, Springsteen and his accompanying group of musicians known as the Seeger

Sessions Band played the New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival. Reviewing the performance for the *Times-Picayune*, music writer Keith Spera wrote,

“No other artist could have spoken to, and for, the city of New Orleans at this most important of Jazzfests more purposefully, more passionately and more effectively than Bruce Springsteen and the Seeger Sessions Band” (Spera, 2012).

One song Springsteen sang was “How Can A Poor Man Stand Such Times and Live,” an adaptation of Blind Alfred Reed's Great Depression-era song of the same name. After singing Reed's opening stanza about a doctor and his “humbug pill,” Springsteen departed from Reed's story in order to tell a story about New Orleans post-Katrina:

"Me and my old school pals had some  
mighty high times down here  
And what happened to you poor black  
folks, well it just ain't fair"  
He took a look around, gave a little pep  
talk, said "I'm with you" then he took a  
little walk  
Tell me how can a poor man stand such  
times and live

There's bodies floatin' on Canal and the  
levees gone to Hell  
Martha, get me my sixteen gauge and  
some dry shells  
Them who's got out of town and them  
who ain't got left to drown  
Tell me how can a poor man stand such  
times and live

Got family scattered from Texas all the  
way to Baltimore  
Yeah and I ain't got no home in this

world no more  
Gonna be a judgment that's a fact, a  
righteous train rollin' down this track  
Tell me how can a poor man stand such  
times and live

The second stanza focuses on the response by then-President George Bush. The president metaphorically takes a walk, signifying the way in which the people most struggling in New Orleans, many of whom were poor and Black, were left behind by all levels of government.

In the third stanza, the folks who “got (money)” fled the town. Those who “ain’t got (money)” were left to drown. As I read this stanza, the simple Black-White binary is troubled. The speaker, as I imagine, is a small business owner, or even simply a homeowner, of any race who is looking to protect his business or home, and family. All who “ain’t got,” of all races, were left behind. Importantly, though, those who “ain’t got” were overwhelmingly Black.

The fourth stanza faces the reality of the exodus from New Orleans from the point of view of someone who was able to flee. The reality of families and communities scattered to the winds is plainly acknowledged. Springsteen sings “I ain't got no home in this world no more,” echoing Woody Guthrie’s lament (“I ain’t got no home, I’m just a ramblin’ round”) during the Dust Bowl and westward migration that John Steinbeck’s *The Grapes of Wrath* characterizes. But there is also a hope expressed in the idea of a “righteous train”: a judgment is coming. It may not be present yet but it’s coming.

### “It ain’t no secret”

In February of 1999, a 23-year old Guinean immigrant named Amadou Diallo was shot 19 times by four police officers while he stood in the entryway of his apartment building in the Bronx in New York City. Diallo was unarmed. The officers shot 41 times. Diallo died.

At the time, Springsteen and the E Street Band were in the midst of a reunion tour. In the wake of Diallo’s shooting, Springsteen wrote a song titled “American Skin.” The subtitle is “41 Shots.” He writes/sings:

Lena gets her son ready for school  
She says "on these streets, Charles  
You've got to understand the rules  
If an officer stops you  
Promise you'll always be polite,  
that you'll never ever run away  
Promise Mama you'll keep your hands in  
sight"

The chorus repeats:

Is it a gun, is it a knife  
Is it a wallet, this is your life  
It ain't no secret  
It ain't no secret  
No secret my friend  
You can get killed just for living  
In your American skin

Springsteen first played “American Skin” in Atlanta, during the reunion tour. It was big news, particularly in the New York press as the tour concluded with a 10-night stand at Madison Square Garden in New York City (Barnes, 2000). Springsteen played “American Skin” each night at the Garden despite protests from the New York City Police Department and the

Police Benevolent Association. A recording of the song from one of these performances, which is serious and haunting, was included on a DVD released after the tour. The repetition of “41 Shots” by Springsteen and other members of the band—seemingly 41 times, even if not really—serves as the song’s heartbeat.

In 2012, Trayvon Martin, a 17-year old Black male, was murdered by George Zimmerman, a 28-year old biracial (Latino and White) male, in a gated community in Sanford, Florida, where Zimmerman was the neighborhood watch coordinator. After the shooting, Springsteen began regularly singing “American Skin” during his ongoing tour, including at shows in Florida. Two years later, just months before Eric Garner was strangled in New York City and Michael Brown was shot in Ferguson, Missouri—two of the events that precipitated the Black Lives Matter movement—Springsteen released the album *High Hopes*, featuring a first-ever studio version of “American Skin.”

### **Ideas for Teaching with Springsteen Songs**

The songs featured above are just several of many Springsteen songs that engage race and racism. I chose these both for their personal significance to Springsteen (“Tenth Avenue Freeze-Out”; “My Hometown”) and their relevance, including commentary, on important cultural and political events (“My Hometown”; “How Can A Poor Man Stand Such Times and Live”; “American Skin”). These songs can be engaged in the classroom in numerous ways. Here are curricular possibilities for each one. I intentionally do not affix grade levels to these suggestions as I believe they could span across

many grade levels with appropriate adaptation. As a beginning, a teacher might play audio (and possibly video) for the song and hand out a copy of the lyrics so that students can examine and annotate them.

#### *“Tenth Avenue Freeze-Out”*

- Focus: Personal Reflection
- Context: Our personal experiences shape how we interact with the world. They also provide the boundaries around our imagination for what might be possible. Thinking about the relationship of Bruce and Clarence, students can examine in their own lives the influences and roles of people from different backgrounds.
- Guiding Questions: What are your experiences with people from different racial and ethnic backgrounds than you? Thinking about what Bruce and Clarence meant to each other, how has your life been bettered, directly or indirectly, by the actions of people from different backgrounds than you?
- Additional Considerations: Student might write narratively in response to these questions; they might also gather artifacts related to their experiences and compile them in a scrapbook or memory box

#### *“My Hometown”*

- Focus: Attending to the Local
- Context: So much attention in the social studies curriculum is focused on the national level, sometimes obscuring more local levels. While learning about race and racism across the United States, it’s

important for students and teachers to study these topics locally.

- Guiding Questions: What are ‘race relations’ (or ‘struggles for racial justice’) like in your local community? What is the history of ‘race relations’ in your local community, including during the 1950s and 1960s when Springsteen was growing up in Freehold, New Jersey?
- Additional Considerations: Local libraries can be a wonderful resource for such investigations, as well as local newspaper archives; interviews with community elders can also be quite powerful

*“American Skin (41 Shots)”*

- Focus: Studying Examples of Racial Injustice
- Context: The murder of Amadou Diallo is one of many instances in U.S. history of people being killed “just for living in [their] American skin.” Students might study two instances of this kind of injustice, one historical and one contemporary.
- Guiding Questions: What social context precipitated each instance? What happened in each instance? What were the ramifications of what happened? How do the instances compare and contrast?
- Additional Considerations: Having both national and local dimensions to this investigation can be quite meaningful as students come to see that injustice is not solely ‘here’ or ‘elsewhere’

*“How Can a Poor Man Stand Such Times and Live”*

- Focus: Extending the Tradition
- Context: Many folks songs, including freedom songs sung during the Civil Rights Movement, are adapted across time and place to speak to new contexts. Just as Springsteen adapted Blind Alfred Reed’s song to the context of New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina, students can write an adaptation of the song (or any song) for a new, present-day context.
- Guiding Questions: What is a justice issue that needs particular attention? What details of the issue are important and should be worked into the song? Who is the audience for the song and what particular words, phrases, or ideas will be meaningful to that audience?
- Additional Considerations: Students can record and/or perform their songs to bring awareness to, and spur action of, others in their schools and/or communities

Additionally, in working with each of these songs, I encourage teachers to ask students to find other songs, especially in other musical genres, which have similar themes and bring them into the inquiry.

### **Conclusion**

Social studies teachers must grapple with the history and present of race and racism in the United States and across the world. This is simply non-negotiable if we are to take seriously our charge to create effective citizens, as stated by the National Council for the Social Studies (2010). In doing this, we must work with and see to it that our students hear many voices; Bruce Springsteen’s is one of so many potential

curricular resources. While his voice cannot stand alone in the inquiry, it can be a powerful part of it, particularly as it is firmly rooted in the places of New Jersey and New York.

Thinking about the significance of place, and what it might mean for students learning about their places, I am reminded of something that Springsteen said to me when I was able to an interview him about Woody Guthrie's song "This Land Is Your Land":

[“This Land Is Your Land” is] enormously beautiful. It’s one of the most beautiful statements of ownership of your own Americanness. The insistence of your place, that this is your place. That you have a place, not just geographically, but by birthright you are a player in history. By your belonging to this place, at this time, and making your claim of ownership of this place, at this time, marks you as a player in this moment in history. As such you are empowered, rather than disenfranchised. (Author, 2018, p. 14)

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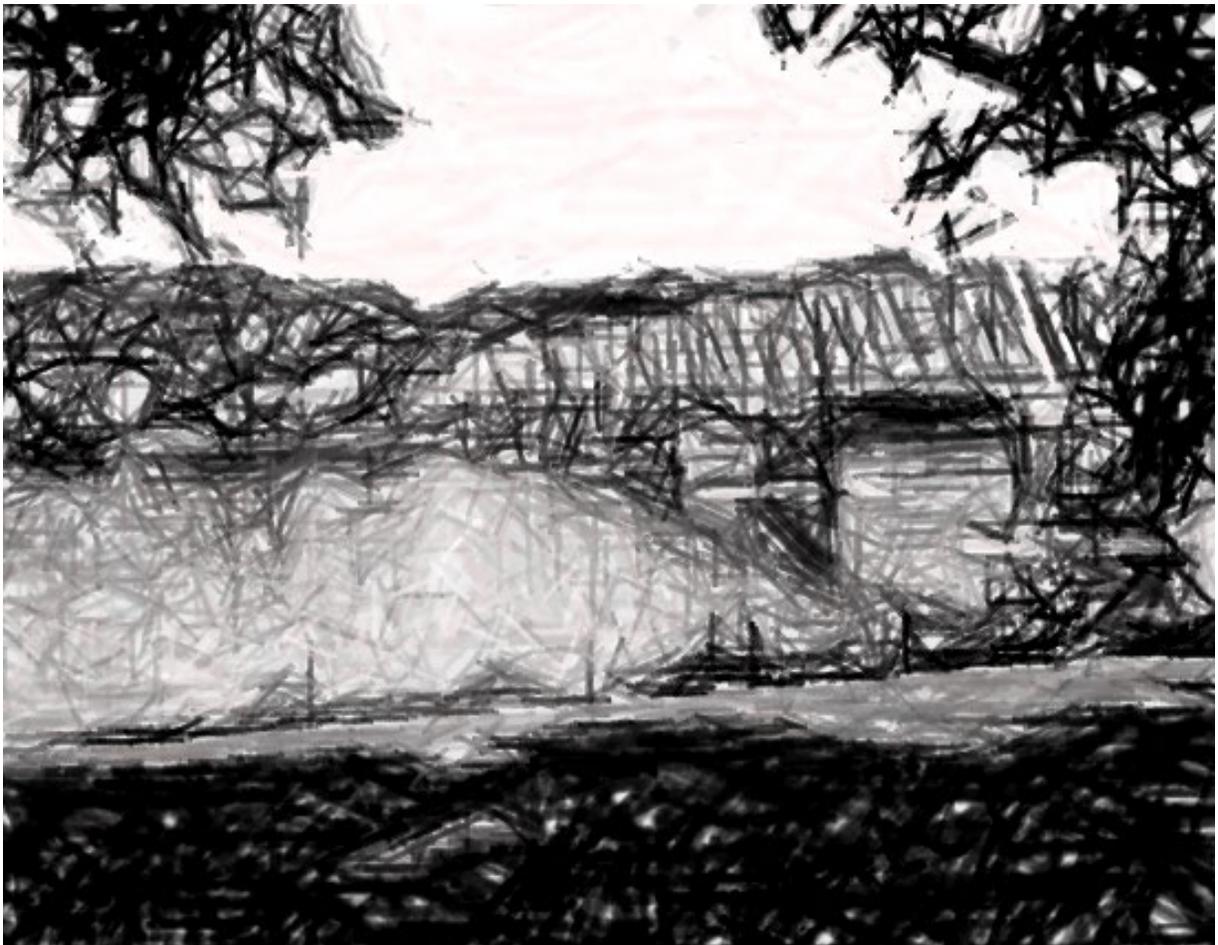
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## Teaching the Young Lords Party: The Civil Rights Movement in New York City

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The social studies curriculum positions the Civil Rights Movement as an era when individuals and groups promoted the collective rights of marginalized individuals. Yet, the Civil Rights Movement is often viewed as a Southern-based campaign (Fernandez, 2003). This awareness has been solidified in social studies classrooms with a focus on civil rights leaders such as Dr. Martin Luther King and Rosa Parks (Brown Buchanan, 2015). While other individuals such as Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta, civil rights leaders in California, have been included in the study, social studies neglects to mention movements in other geographical settings (Loewen, 2018). New York State and New Jersey social studies curricula maintain this perspective. The limited geographical scope implies that the Civil Rights Movement did not happen in a setting like New York City. The inclusion of the Young Lords Party (YLP) in social studies (SS) curricula expands the view of the Civil Rights Movement.

The YLP advocated for the civil rights of Puerto Ricans and other Latinos living in New York City and New Jersey. This article provides: 1) a concise overview of the YLP during this time period, 2) explanations on how the New York State (NYS) and New Jersey (NJ) curricula fail to mention local civil rights movements, and 3) support for the inclusion of

the YLP. Incorporating the YLP into the NYS and NJ SS curricula will help students learn how one aspect of the Civil Rights Movement occurred in the heart of New York City.

### Overview of the Young Lords Party

The Young Lords Party of New York City officially existed from 1969 to 1972. The YLP leadership consisted of college-educated individuals, such as Juan Gonzalez, Pablo Guzman, Felipe Luciano, Mickey Melendez, Iris Morales, and Denise Oliver. The YLP originally worked as the New York chapter of the Young Lords Organization (YLO). Based in Chicago, the YLO backed civic empowerment and self-determination for Puerto Ricans in the United States (Enck-Wanzer, 2010). However, political differences led to their separation. Pablo Guzman (1998) argues that the YLO maintained a street gang mindset, relying on violence as a movement tactic. Mickey Melendez (2003), contends that the YLP maintained a different level of social understanding than the YLO. The YLP cited community dialogue as the driving force in their movement. The YLP, after separating from the YLO, created the *Young Lords Party: 13 Point Program and Platform*. The declaration called for the “liberation of all third world people,” “equality for women,” “community control,” and “self-determination

for all Latinos” (The Young Lords Party & Abramson, 1971, p. 150). The YLP addressed the plight of Puerto Ricans and Latinos in New York City through community-based actions.

Three major actions reveal the scope of the YLP movement. The Garbage Offensive was the first major act of the YLP. Residents living in *El Barrio*<sup>1</sup> complained about the inconsistent garbage pick-up and vermin infestations (Melendez, 2003). After listening to their concerns, the YLP leadership attempted a dialogue with city officials. The city officials, however, refused to change their policy. On August 17, 1969, the YLP lined up hundreds of garbage bags across Third Avenue and burned it for hours (Enck-Wanzer, 2006). While the garbage burned, residents interviewed by local reporters verbally supported the YLP (Negron-Muntaner, 2015). The results from the Garbage Offensive led to an agreement with the Mayor’s Office. The sanitation department restarted regular garbage pick-ups in *El Barrio* (Melendez 2003).

The YLP also learned that anemia was a chronic health issue affecting residents. The YLP developed the idea of implementing a free-breakfast program for children to combat anemia (Enck-Wanzer, 2010). However, finding a location posed to be a problem. The Young Lords started communications with Reverend Humberto Carranzana, leader of the First Spanish Methodist Church. Reverend Carranza was a Cuban refugee who established the church on the premise of providing community outreach in *El Barrio* (Enck-Wanzer, 2010). The church, with a renovated basement and meeting rooms, sat unused during the week (Morales, 1996).

However, Reverend Carranzana routinely refused to open the church up to the YLP during the week. The leadership decided to attend one Sunday service where members of the congregation could offer public testimonials. Reverend Carranzana notified the police upon hearing the plan. Felipe Luciano, during the testimonial portion of the service, asked the congregation for support (Morales, 1996). As Luciano tried to engage in dialogue with the congregation, police attacked YLP members inside the church (Morales, 1998). While members of the YLP were assaulted by police in house of worship and jailed for their actions, the publicity from the action gained new supporters for the YLP. The new-found support encouraged the formal take-over of the same church weeks later.

The church occupation lasted eleven days. The YLP renamed it the First People’s Church (The Young Lords Party & Abramson, 1971). The YLP used the space to run a free daily breakfast program, clothing drives, a day care center, lead poisoning tests, and other community-based initiatives (De Jesus, 2015). The YLP also engaged with local and national media. The leadership disclaimed any pre-misconceptions about the movement or the takeover of the church, focusing on city institutions oppressing communities of color (Morales, 1996). By the 12<sup>th</sup> day, the YLP and the church leadership agreed to end the occupation. The potential for regional influence existed when the YLP expanded into New Jersey in 1970. Internal divisions, however, led to the disintegration of the YLP.

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<sup>1</sup> At the time of the movement, it was the largest Puerto Rican neighborhood in New York City.

A combination of government intrusion and debates on future actions led to the collapse of the YLP. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (F.B.I.) had infiltrated the movement. The F.B.I. positioned Latino subversives within the movement as part of its COINTELPRO program (Morales, 1996). The YLP leadership split on expanding the movement outside the NYC area. The dissension centered on the idea of opening YLP branches in Puerto Rico as part of a focus on liberating the island from U.S. control. The decision to expand to Puerto Rico forced Juan Gonzalez, Pablo Guzman, and Denise Oliver to exit the YLP (Guzman, 1998).

The subsequent focus towards the island and the loss of original leaders fortified the disintegration. One branch closed, and the second branch struggled to maintain a presence within six months of expanding to Puerto Rico (Melendez, 2003). The YLP's hyper-focus on Puerto Rico caused an erosion of support in New York City (Melendez, 2003). By 1972, the YLP officially changed their name to the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization (Enck-Wanzer, 2010). While the organization continued to advocate the liberation of Puerto Rico from the United States, the name change signaled the end of the movement.

### **The Curricula on the Civil Rights Movement**

Analyses of the NYS SS frameworks and the NJ SS curriculum suggest two interpretations: the absence of civil rights movements happening in New York and New Jersey and minimal representations of Latino civil rights movements.

The New Jersey Student Learning Standards for Social Studies (2014) advocates the analysis of “the successes and failures of

women’s rights organizations, the American Indian Movement, and La Raza in their pursuit of civil rights and equal opportunities” under Standard 6.1 (p. 30-31). This statement suggests that La Raza represented all Latinos in the United States during this time period. According to Mintz and McNeil (2018), La Raza supported voting drives, rights for agricultural workers, and the appropriation of land stolen from Mexican landowners. It also suggests a view of New Jersey Latinos not participating in the Civil Rights Movement. The statement excludes other Latino movements during this time period. A similar view is found in the two New York State social studies curricula.

The NYS K-8 Social Studies Framework (2016) omits direct references of Latinos in the Civil Rights Movement. For 5<sup>th</sup> grade, Standard 5.6c, students “examine at least one group of people, such as Native Americans, African Americans, women, or another cultural, ethnic, or racial minority in the Western Hemisphere, who have struggled or are struggling for equality and civil rights or sovereignty” (p. 77). For 8<sup>th</sup> grade, Standard 8.9b, the curriculum states that “the civil rights movement prompted renewed efforts for equality by women and other groups” (p. 109). The standards imply that Latinos were not part of the movement. The standards do not mandate a specific examination of Latino civil rights movements. The standards lack references to movements taking place in New York State, such as the YLP, during this time. The 9-12 framework is more specific.

The NYS 9-12 Social Studies Framework (2016) formally references Latino movements. Standard 11.10 encourages the study of “Brown Power (Chicano) movement” who “sought to bring about change in American society through

a variety of methods” (p. 43). This curriculum again positions Latino movements as an experience outside New York State. However, the standard provides some flexibility in introducing other Latino civil movements into the curriculum. In a study of New York City high school students engaging with culturally responsive teaching, Epstein, Mayorga, and Nelson (2011) note that the majority of students in humanities classes selected different movements that aligned with their racial/ethnic identities. Students who identified as Latino chose the YLP. The potential exists for thoughtful study of the Young Lords Party in New Jersey and New York in social studies classrooms.

### **Including the Young Lords Party in the Curriculum**

Including the Young Lords Party in the New Jersey and New York State curricula as part of the learning does the following: 1) positions Latinos as diverse, active participants during the Civil Rights Movement era, 2) redefines the geographic scope of the Civil Rights Movement to include New York and New Jersey, and 3) examines the legacy of a Latino civil rights movement.

### **Positioning of Latinos as Active and Diverse Participants**

Including the YLP positions Latinos as a diverse group of individuals addressing social problems in the United States following World War II. First, the YLP represented Puerto Ricans and other Latinos who experienced systemic

prejudice. The leadership saw their *comunidades*<sup>2</sup> suffer under government policies. They sought to be a collective voice for them, similarly to the Black Panther Party (The Young Lords Party & Abramson, 1971). Second, the YLP worked within urban contexts. The Puerto Rican diaspora, escaping rural poverty in Puerto Rico brought on by U.S. colonialism, resulted in Puerto Ricans moving to cities such as Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, and Boston (Lee, 2014; Korrol, 2010). Finally, the YLP promoted gender equality. While internal struggles over gender equality are documented (Enck-Wanzer, 2010; Nelson, 2001), the YLP publicly advocated for the rights of women. *Palante*, the YLP newspaper, included section on women’s rights on every issue (Enck-Wanzer 2010). The YLP also established the Men’s Caucus, a sub-organization aimed at eliminating male chauvinism within the movement (The Young Lords Party & Abramson, 1971). Along with expanding the view of Latinos during this time, the YLP also helps redefine the geography of the Civil Rights Movement.

### **Redefining the Geography of the Civil Rights Movement**

The YLP provides the curricula with local contexts. Standard 6.1 in the New Jersey curriculum states that thinking analytically about the past develops “knowledge and skills” need to “make informed decisions that reflect fundamental rights and core democratic values as productive citizens in local, national, and global communities” (p. 30). Only Strand A (Civics, Government, and Human Rights) positions New Jersey as a local community. The YLP enhances New Jersey as a local setting under Strand D

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<sup>2</sup> Spanish for communities

(History, Culture, and Perspectives). The YLP opened branches in Newark and Jersey City in 1970 (The Young Lords Party & Abramson, 1971). In the New York State K-8 social studies curriculum, Standard 8.8b calls on students to “examine migration and immigration trends in New York State and New York City such as the increase in Spanish-speaking...populations and the contributions of these groups” (p. 108). In Standard 8.8a, students need to “examine the effects of suburbanization, including urban decay,...both nationally and with New York State” (p.108). Students studying the history of the YLP learn how the promise of employment and white flight created an environment where Puerto Ricans became the dominant social group living in urban poverty (Berman, 1982). While poverty continues to affect millions of residents in New York and New Jersey, the recent popularity illustrates the need to examine the legacies of the YLP.

### **Examining the YLP Legacy**

Books, museums, and cultural centers in recent years have illustrated the lasting societal impact of the Young Lords Party. Scholars such as Darrel Enck-Wanzer, Johanna Fernandez, and Yasmin Ramirez have introduced the words and images of the YLP to new generations of students and scholars. Darrel Enck-Wanzer edited *The Young Lords: A Reader*, a collection of YLP writings on the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the movement’s founding. Johanna Fernandez is current writing a historical narrative on the YLP. The Bronx Museum of the Arts and El Museo del Barrio coordinated exhibitions on the YLP in 2015, curated by Johanna Fernandez and Yasmin Ramirez (Lo Wang, 2015). The Caribbean Cultural Center African Diaspora Institute and the King Juan Carlos I of Spain Center in New

York City hosted lectures with former YLP leaders. The public appeal for the YLP extends to members of the YLP leadership.

Former leadership members transitioned to the public stage in different ways. Juan Gonzalez became an award-winning journalist for the *New York Daily News* and author, writing *Harvest of Empire: A History of Latinos in America*. Pablo Guzman became an award-winning television reporter for WCBS-TV in New York City. Iris Morales became an award-winning author and documentarian, most notably *Through the Eyes of Rebel Women, The Young Lords: 1969-1976*. Denise Oliver-Velez co-founded WPFW-FM, a radio station serving communities of color in Washington, DC (She’s Beautiful When She’s Angry, n.d.). The continued public interest in the YLP translates into learning opportunities for K-12 students studying the Civil Rights Movement.

### **Conclusion**

The Young Lords Party invokes new views and interpretations of the Civil Rights Movement. The YLP created a civil rights movement based on the experiences of Puerto Ricans and other Latinos. The YLP established urban contexts, such as New York City, as pivotal locations in the overall narrative on the Civil Rights Movement. The continued public involvement of former YLP members and recent historical exhibitions demonstrate a wide appeal for the YLP in contemporary times. Social studies students, especially students of color, would benefit from learning about the Young Lords Party.

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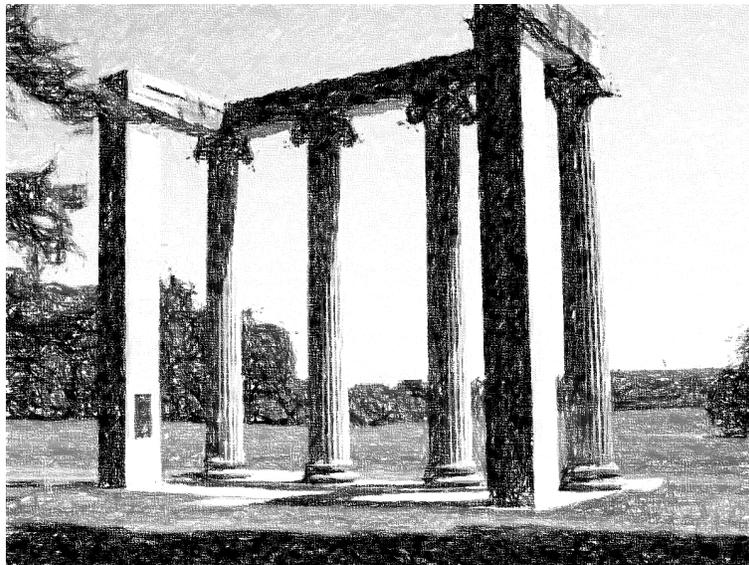
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## Culturally Responsive-Sustaining Education Framework

New York State Department of Education

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*The entire Framework is available online at <http://www.nysed.gov/common/nysed/files/programs/crs/culturally-responsive-sustaining-education-framework.pdf>*

For more than a century, education providers throughout the United States have strived and struggled to meet the diverse needs of American children and families. A complex system of biases and structural inequities is at play, deeply rooted in our country's history, culture, and institutions. This system of inequity — which routinely confers advantage and disadvantage based on linguistic background, gender, skin color, and other characteristics — must be clearly understood, directly challenged, and fundamentally transformed. The New York State Education Department (NYSED) has come to understand that the results we seek for all our children can never be fully achieved without incorporating an equity and inclusion lens in every facet of our work (see also New York State's Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) Plan).

This understanding has created an urgency around promoting equitable opportunities that help all children thrive. New York State understands that the responsibility of education is not only to prevent the exclusion of historically silenced, erased, and disenfranchised groups, but also to assist in the promotion and perpetuation of cultures, languages and ways of knowing that have been devalued, suppressed, and imperiled by years of educational,

social, political, economic neglect and other forms of oppression.

In January 2018, the New York State Board of Regents directed the Office of P-12 Education and Higher Education to convene a panel of experts, engage with stakeholders, and develop from the ground up a framework for culturally responsive-sustaining education. The New York University Metropolitan Center for Research on Equity and the Transformation of Schools, under the leadership of Dr. David Kirkland, drafted a robust guidance document that served as a springboard for this initiative. The New York State Education Department presented this guidance document to students, teachers, parents, school and district leaders, higher education faculty, community advocates, and policymakers. The guidelines in this document represent the collective insight of this work.

The Culturally Responsive-Sustaining (CR-S) framework is intended to help education stakeholders create student-centered learning environments that affirm cultural identities; foster positive academic outcomes; develop students' abilities to connect across lines of difference; elevate historically marginalized voices; empower students as agents of social change; and contribute to individual student engagement, learning, growth, and achievement through the cultivation of critical thinking. The framework was designed to support education stakeholders in developing and

implementing policies that educate all students effectively and equitably, as well as provide appropriate supports and services to promote positive student outcomes. Historically, education debates have been polarized, with difference sometimes being viewed as an individual deficit. The CR-S Framework marks our journey forward and begins the evolution toward leveraging difference as an asset. The framework is grounded in four principles:

- Welcoming and Affirming Environment
- High Expectations and Rigorous Instruction
- Inclusive Curriculum and Assessment
- Ongoing Professional Learning

Each principle is illustrated by a set of features rooted in elements of quality education that illustrate how CR-S might look in practice across a range of domains, from the State Education Department to the classroom. The framework represents an opportunity for stakeholders to continue to work together and plan for the unique needs of their communities. The New York State Education Department recognizes much of this work is already happening across the state and looks forward to an even deeper understanding of culturally responsive sustaining education in New York State schools, districts, and communities. This framework reflects the State's commitment to improving learning results for all students by creating well developed, culturally responsive-sustaining, equitable systems of support for achieving dramatic gains in student outcomes.

The New York State guidelines for culturally responsive sustaining education are grounded in a VISION of an education system that creates:

### **I. Students who experience academic success.**

Students are prepared for rigor and independent learning. Students understand themselves as contributing members of an academically rigorous, intellectually-challenging school and classroom

community. Students demonstrate an ability to use critical reasoning, take academic risks, and leverage a growth mindset to learn from mistakes. Students are self-motivated, setting and revising academic personal goals to drive their own learning and growth.

### **II. Students who have a critical lens through which they challenge inequitable systems of access, power, and privilege.**

Students acknowledge the limitations of their own perspectives. They have empathy for others while they appreciate and respect others' differences. They demonstrate cooperation and teamwork, using active listening and communication skills to resolve conflict. They use interpersonal skills to build and maintain strong relationships, including those along lines of difference, in their class and school communities. All layers of the environment in which students learn (classroom, school, family, and community) affirm and value the various aspects of students' cultural identities (i.e. race, ethnicity, age, gender, sexual orientation, disability, religion, socioeconomic background). Role models in the classroom, school, family, and community recognize student strengths and offer opportunities for students to grow and learn.

### **III. Students who are sociopolitically conscious and socioculturally responsive.**

Students bring a critical lens to the world as they study historical and contemporary conditions of inequity and learn from historically marginalized voices. Students learn about power and privilege in the context of various communities and are empowered as agents of positive social change.

This vision is grounded in Gloria Ladson-Billings' early work on culturally relevant teaching, specifically the three criteria for culturally relevant pedagogy she puts forth in Ladson-Billings (1995). The New York State Culturally Responsive-

Sustaining Framework includes guidelines for students, teachers, school leaders, district leaders, families and community members, higher education faculty, and Education Department policymakers. For guidelines to be effective, all stakeholders must work together, prioritize and implement systems

and structures that facilitate the scale of culturally responsive-sustaining practices, and hold each other accountable to short- and long-term goals. When stakeholders work together to implement culturally responsive-sustaining practices, educators will grow in their ability to be:

<b>Sociopolitically Conscious</b>	<b>Socioculturally Responsive</b>
Demonstrate excellence by being inclusive-minded and asset-focused	Commit to understanding the role of culture in education as flexible, local, and global
Identify and critically examine both historical and contemporary power structures	Act as agents of social change to redress historical and contemporary oppression
Reflect, honor, value, and center various identity perspectives as assets in policies and practices	Build alliances across difference to eradicate all forms of discrimination
Engage in critical conversations	Engage current and historical issues
Recognize that personal, cultural, and institutionalized discrimination creates and sustains privileges for some while creating and sustaining disadvantage for others	Practice mutual respect for qualities and experiences that are different from one's own



## Albany's Underground Railroad Walking Tour

Underground Railroad History Project of the Capital Region

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The mission of the UGRRHP is to research and preserve the local and national history of the anti-slavery and Underground Railroad movements, their international connections, and their legacies to later struggles, engaging in public education and dialogue about these movements and their relationship with us today. They sponsor an annual conference and the restoration of the he Stephen and Harriet Myers Residence on Livingston Avenue in Albany. In 2004 it was listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Stephen Myers was probably the most important leader of the Albany

Underground Railroad movement from the 1830s through the 1850s. Albany was a thriving port city on the Hudson River near its junction with the Erie Canal. By the 1850s the port could dock at one time fifty steamboats and a thousand canal boats. Albany was home to seven daily newspapers and twenty-four hotels. From 1830-1850, Albany's population doubled to 48,000 people. The picture below is an 1853 lithograph *Birdseye View of Albany*, depicting the port of Albany and providing a view of the vitality and activity of the port.



The first stop on your tour is at the Albany Heritage Area Visitors Center at 25 Quackenbush Square, which was built in the 1870s as a water

pumping station. Today this building is a staffed tourist center that houses gallery exhibits related to Albany's history. Locate the Underground Railroad

exhibit in the Albany Business and Capital City Exhibit Area. This exhibit provides some introductory information about the Underground Railroad in Albany and its relationship with Underground Railroad efforts in other parts of New York State.

Walk west of Clinton Ave. to N. Pearl St. Cross to the west side of N. Pearl St. and arrive at your second tour stop at First Church in Albany located at 110 N. Pearl St. Sam Schuyler of the Black Schuyler family was a member of First Church. Sam Schuyler was enslaved until he purchased his freedom in 1805. Schuyler owned a home at Westerlo and Ashgrove Streets and established himself as a successful, sought after towboat operator. Schuyler provided contributions that supported local Underground Railroad activities.

Continuing south along N. Pearl St., your third tour stop will be at the pedestrian walkway across from 67 N. Pearl and alongside the Steuben Club. Look up at the front facade and you should see Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) which used to be housed in this building after the days of the UGRR movement. A previous building on this location was a boarding house managed by Quaker sisters Lydia and Abigail Mott. The sisters assisted Freedom Seekers, organized abolition meetings, and Lydia Mott taught Frederick Douglass' daughter Rose. At this stop we like to recognize the work of women in the Underground Railroad movement. Women, like Sarah Johnson worked together to organize bazaars at which they would raise money that was used to meet the needs of Freedom Seekers. While they held their knitting and sewing circles they would discuss their plans for working together to abolish the institution of slavery. They organized the Lundy Society and Lovejoy Society and the Albany Female Anti-Slavery Society as a means to work together and network with other women outside the local area in

educational, fundraising, and advocacy pursuits. Lundy and Lovejoy were respected abolitionists.

Continue south on N. Pearl St. to Pine. Turn right (west) onto Pine and walk up to Eagle St. turn left (south) on Eagle to your fourth stop, Albany City Hall located at 24 Eagle Street. At this location, though in another City Hall building torn down in the 1890s, the Eastern NY Anti-Slavery Society was formed in 1842 and the Jerry Rescue trial was conducted in 1851.

The Eastern NY Anti-Slavery Society was composed of members from the Mohawk and Hudson River Valleys and from the neighboring states of Vermont, Rhode Island and Massachusetts. This organization provided the network support throughout New York State that was essential for abolitionists to have an impact at the state and national levels of government. It also provided the network necessary for providing effective assistance to Freedom Seekers in their journeys.

The Jerry Rescue was an effort by abolitionists in Syracuse to protect William Jerry Henry from being apprehended and returned to enslavement. Although William Jerry Henry was ultimately able to escape to freedom in Canada, those involved in the rescue were prosecuted under the 1850 Federal Fugitive Slave Law. The trial was held in Albany's City Hall, bringing to the city abolitionists from around the state and nation, where the abolitionists won their case!

As you walk east down Pine St. to N. Pearl St., take a right at N. Pearl St. and proceed toward State St. At the corner of N. Pearl and State St. is a building that today is home to a Starbucks and Citizens Bank. This is your fifth tour stop. The *Albany Evening Gazette* newspaper used to be published at this location.

Crossing over State St., continue straight ahead on S. Pearl and turn left (east) onto Hudson Avenue. Walk on to the intersection of Green Street and Hudson. You should be standing in front of a parking garage. This is the sixth tour stop. You are

standing at the spot where the *Northern Star and Freeman's Advocate Newspaper* was published in the 1840s. Spearheaded by Stephen Myers, a man born enslaved in New York State and given his legal freedom in 1818, this newspaper was used to educate readers about the real experiences of people who were enslaved, to provide public information about Freedom Seekers' and abolitionists' activities, and encourage the uncommitted to join the cause of abolition. Stephen Myers was assisting Freedom Seekers as early as 1831, four years after he married Harriet Johnson and New York State abolished the institution of slavery. However, the Underground Railroad work in which he engaged, along with wife Harriet and other colleagues, put them at risk for prosecution under the New York State and Federal laws that protected the enslaver-enslaved relationship even in New York State. These laws did not deter them from doing what they believed was right, working to abolish the institution of slavery.

To arrive at your seventh tour stop walk east on Hudson Avenue toward S. Pearl St. Turn left (north) onto S. Pearl St. and walk past the SUNY

Administration building and the Old Post Office. On your right is a small parking area. You will also see a plaque with the name Exchange Street on it. At the end of the parking area once stood a red brick, three-story building which housed The Eastern New York Anti-Slavery Society. Interviews of Freedom Seekers would take place here and arrangements made to meet their needs.

Cross to the west side of S. Pearl St. and continue walking north until you arrive at Tricentennial Park where you will find a bronze statue of Mayor Whalen III with his dog Finn McCool, a monument commemorating Dutch and Native American heritage and industry This is your eighth UGRR tour stop. Look across the street to Peter D. Kiernan Plaza and you are looking at the site where the Delavan House once stood, a grand, five story full-service hotel at which abolition meetings were held and Stephen Myers worked as Head Waiter. Meetings were intense, tempers would flare, but eventually strategies would be agreed to on what to do to abolish the institution of slavery, and the meeting would close with song.

## Historians Debate: Was the Electoral College Designed to Protect Slavery?

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Three historians debate whether the Electoral College was written into the United States Constitution to provide a defense of slavery. Sean Wilentz is a professor of history at Princeton and the author, most recently, of *No Property in Man: Slavery and Antislavery at the Nation's Founding*. Akhil Reed Amar is a professor at Yale Law School. Alan Singer is a historian and teacher educator at Hofstra University. Their essays are briefly edited for length (each entire essay is available online). Read the three positions and write a Letter-to-the-Editor of approximately 250-words explaining your view using supporting evidence from the essays, the Constitution, and other sources.

### The Electoral College Was Not a Pro-Slavery Ploy

By Sean Wilentz

<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/04/opinion/the-electoral-college-slavery-myth.html>

All q1tyyp0767,5

Like many historians, I thought the evidence clearly showed the Electoral College arose from a calculated power play by the slaveholders. By the time the delegates at the Constitutional Convention in 1787 debated how the president ought to be chosen, they had already approved the three-fifths clause — the notorious provision that counted slaves as three-fifths of a person to inflate the slave states' apportionment in the new House of Representatives. The Electoral College, as approved by the convention in its final form, in effect enshrined the three-fifths clause in the selection of the president. Instead of election by direct popular vote, each state would name electors (chosen however each state legislature approved), who would actually do the electing.

The framers' own damning words seem to cinch the case that the Electoral College was a pro-slavery ploy. Above all, the Virginia slaveholder James Madison — the most influential delegate at

the convention — insisted that while direct popular election of the president was the “fittest” system, it would hurt the South, whose population included nonvoting slaves.

On further and closer inspection, however, the case against the framers begins to unravel. First, the slaveholders did not need to invent the Electoral College to fend off direct popular election of the president. The convention, deeply suspicious of what one Virginian in another context called “the fury of democracy,” crushed the proposal on two separate occasions.

The winning plan, which became known as the Electoral College only some years later, certainly gave the slaveholding states the advantage of the three-fifths clause. But the connection was incidental, and no more of an advantage than if Congress had been named the electors. Most important, once the possibility of direct popular election of the president was defeated, how much did the slaveholding states rush to support the concept of presidential electors? Not at all. In the initial vote over having electors select the president, the only states voting “nay” were North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia — the three most ardently proslavery states in the convention.

When it first took shape at the convention, the Electoral College would not have significantly helped the slaveowning states. Under the initial apportionment of the House approved by the framers, the slaveholding states would have held 39 out of 92 electoral votes, or about 42 percent. Based on the 1790 census, about 41 percent of the nation's total white population lived in those same states, a minuscule difference.

There are ample grounds for criticizing the Constitution's provisions for electing the president. That the system enabled the election in 2016 of precisely the kind of demagogic figure the framers designed the system to block suggests the framework may need serious repair. But the myth that the Electoral College began as a slaveholders' instrument needs debunking — which I hope to help with in my book's revised paperback.

### **Actually, the Electoral College Was a Pro-Slavery Ploy**

By Akhil Reed Amar

<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/06/opinion/electoral-college-slavery.html?action=click&module=RelatedLinks&pgtype=Article>

As James Madison made clear at the Constitutional Convention in 1787 in Philadelphia, the big political divide in America was not between big and small states; it was between North and South and was all about slavery. Behind closed doors at the Constitutional Convention, when the idea of direct presidential election was proposed by the Northerner James Wilson, the Southerner James Madison explained why this was a political nonstarter: Slaves couldn't vote, so the slaveholding South would basically lose every time in a national direct vote. But if slaves could somehow be counted in an indirect system, maybe at a discount (say, three-fifths), well, that might sell in the South. Thus

were planted the early seeds of an Electoral College system.

Some have argued that direct election was doomed because the Philadelphia delegates disdained democracy. Behind closed doors these elites did indeed bad-mouth the masses (as do elites today). But look at what the framers of the Constitution did, rather than what they said. They put the Constitution itself to a far more democratic vote than had been seen before. They provided for a directly elected House of Representatives (which the earlier Articles of Confederation did not do). They omitted all property qualifications for leading federal positions, unlike almost every state constitution then on the books.

So why didn't they go even further, providing direct presidential election? Because of Madison's political calculation: Direct election would have been a dealbreaker for the South.

When George Washington left the political stage in the mid-1790s, America witnessed its first two contested presidential elections. Twice, most Southerners backed a Southerner (Thomas Jefferson) and most Northerners backed a Northerner (John Adams). Without the extra electoral votes generated by its enormous slave population, the South would have lost the election of 1800, which Jefferson won.

When the Constitution was amended to modify the Electoral College after 1800, all America had seen the pro-slavery tilt of the system, but Jefferson's Southern allies steamrolled over Northern congressmen who explicitly proposed eliminating the system's pro-slavery bias. As a result, every president until Abraham Lincoln was either a Southerner or a Northerner who was willing (while president) to accommodate the slaveholding South. The dominant political figure in antebellum America was the pro-slavery Andrew Jackson, who in 1829 proposed eliminating electors while retaining pro-slavery apportionment rules rooted in the three-fifths clause — in effect creating a system

of pro-slavery electoral-vote counts without the need for electors themselves.

Today, of course, slavery no longer skews and stains our system — and maybe the Electoral College system should remain intact. The best argument in its favor is simply inertia: Any reforms might backfire, with unforeseen and adverse consequences. The Electoral College is the devil we know.

But we should not kid ourselves: This devil does indeed have devilish origins.

### **James Madison Responds to Sean Wilentz**

By Alan Singer

<http://historynewsnetwork.org/article/171666>

If I understand Sean Wilentz's new position on the origin of the Electoral College, it, like slavery, was an undemocratic element of the new Constitution endorsed by writers from the North and South who feared slave insurrection, democratic insurgencies like Shay's Rebellion, and popular government, who represented slave states (there was still slavery in most of the North) or commercial interests tied into the slave trade, and probably got a slaveholder elected President in 1800, but historians shouldn't conclude that they considered that the Electoral College, like the 3/5 clause, the fugitive slave clause, and the ban on banning the slave trade for 20 years, might protect slavery.

On July 25, 1787, the Constitutional Convention debated a series of proposals for selecting a national "Executive." According to James Madison in his *Notes of the Constitutional Convention*, "The Option before us then lay between an appointment by Electors chosen by the people — and an immediate appointment by the people." The idea of an Electoral College was reintroduced by Pierce Butler, a South Carolina rice planter, one of the largest slaveholders in the United

States, and one of slavery's strongest defenders. Butler also introduced the Fugitive Slave Clause into the Constitution, supported the Constitution provision prohibiting regulation of the trade for twenty year, and demanded that the entire slave population of a state be counted for Congressional apportionment. According to Butler, "the Govt. should not be made so complex & unwieldy as to disgust the States. This would be the case, if the election should be referred to the people. He liked best an election by Electors chosen by the Legislatures of the States."

The issue of selecting an Executive was then referred to a special Committee of Eleven, also known as the Brearly Committee. On September 4, the Brearly Committee reported its recommendation that "Each State shall appoint in such manner as its Legislature may direct, a number of electors equal to the whole number of Senators and members of the House of Representatives, to which the State may be entitled in the Legislature." Pierce Butler defended the recommendation, although "the mode not free from objections, but much more so than an election by the Legislature, where as in elective monarchies, cabal faction & violence would be sure to prevail." The motion was then put on hold while the committee considered objection, not to the selection of the Executive, but to the process for removal. The Brearly Committee's recommendations for the organization of the Executive branch and acceptance of the Electoral College was finally accepted by the Constitutional Convention and submitted to the states for approval.

What I find most suggestive in the debate is the role played by Pierce Butler, one of the Convention's greatest slavery champions. The Electoral College may not have been expressly designed only to protect African slavery, but based on Madison's notes, it was the mode most preferred by pro-slavery forces

## **Global History Mini-Unit on the Dangers of Climate Change**

Anthony Richard and Maria Efstratiou

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**Background:** Climate change may be the major issue of the 21st century as industrialized societies have contributed to the wastes and emissions that are deteriorating the conditions of Earth's atmosphere and environment. A greater acknowledgement of the natural and human-made dangers of climate change, as well as information on how to improve the environment, could greatly improve efforts to prevent any further damage from occurring. Lesson 1 introduces the concept of climate change through the investigation of the natural disaster of the Krakatoa eruption and Hurricane Katrina. Students work individually and cooperatively to analyze images, texts, and video clips. In Lesson 2, students work independently on a document assessment of the Paris Climate Accord and cooperatively through a gallery walk illustrating impacts on the climate. In Lesson 3, students examine different forms of climate change protest that have occurred over recent years. Activist events such as the Anti-WAAhnsinn festival, the Plane Stupid Protest, the UN Protest, and the March 2019 student strike are investigated through individual and cooperative efforts.

### **NYS State Frameworks for this mini-unit:**

10.9 Globalization and a Changing Global Environment (1900-Present): Technological changes have resulted in a more interconnected world, affecting economic and political relations and in some cases leading to conflict and in others to efforts to cooperate.

10.9c Population pressures, industrialization, and urbanization have increased demands for limited natural resources and food resources, often straining the environment.

### **Lesson 1 Aim: Is climate change a threat to humanity?**

#### **Main ideas:**

1. Climate Change is a present day issue that could threaten humanity if not taken seriously.
2. Daily actions could be taken by individuals to evade the dangers of climate change.
3. Natural disasters of the past between the 1883 Krakatoa eruption and Hurricane Katrina in 2005 exemplify.

#### **Next Generation Skills:**

- Cite textual evidence to support conclusions on how natural disasters have come about due to natural or human activities.
- Determine central ideas about how Climate Change could bring forth harmful effects on the Earth's environment.
- Analyze events and ideas and causality of the damage done by various natural disasters.

#### **Vocabulary:**

*Climate Change:* A change in global or regional climate patterns due to increased levels of carbon dioxide produced by the use of fossil fuels.

*Greenhouse Effect:* The trapping of the sun's warmth in Earth's atmosphere due to the infrared radiation emitted from the planet's surface.

*Renewable Energy:* Energy produced from a source that is not depleted when used such as wind power or solar energy.

*Fossil Fuels:* A natural fuel such as coal or gas formed from the remains of living organisms.

**Do Now:** Students will be given a handout with a political cartoon that characterizes the transparency of a country's political absence of climate change. Four questions will be provided for students to answer as well as they observe the image. After the students are given a few moments to individually answer the questions, the class will come together to assess the importance of the cartoon. Remaining inactive toward putting forth actions to combat Climate Change will equate to nothing but the continued destruction of Earth's environment. The sooner countries shift their focus to the issues of climate, the more efficient future actions can be taken to preserve the planet.

**Do Now: Defining Climate Change**

Examine the political cartoon and answer the following questions. Be prepared to share your observation to the class.

**Questions**

1. What does the sun represent?
2. What is the character saying?
3. In your opinion, what is the cartoonist's point of view about climate change?



**Motivation:** The lesson will open with discussion unfolding with each question answered from the do now. I will gauge observations from the students about what they saw from the political cartoon and then facilitate their understandings in accordance to the questions that have been provided for them to answer. After this, I will provide students with a questionnaire that indicates if their daily actions contribute to the preservation of the environment. The questions provided for students will connect the actions that could be taken by common individuals to promote the health of the Earth's conditions.

**Individual/Team/Full Class Activities:** Cooperative groups will be formed for students to read and analyze together the two short texts that present differing effects from Climate Change. Students will fill in their graphic organizer with significant evidence on either the natural or human causes of damage from the natural disasters of the 1883 Krakatoa eruption and Hurricane Katrina. The class will then examine a video clip that assesses the

conditions of Climate Change, what properties perpetuate its influence on the environment, and its potentially devastating effects on the planet.

**Differentiation and Multiple Entry Points:** Multiple entry points include political cartoon analysis, discussion, textual analysis, evaluating arguments, and video analysis. Students will work individually and in teams to support different learners and learning styles.

**Compelling Questions:**

- Do global countries tend to make Climate Change their number one focus?
- Are the consequences of greenhouse gases forever irreversible?
- How can the individuals communicate with one another to protect the environment?

**Assessment:**

Informal: Teachers work as an ex officio member of student groups and review work as teams conduct research and reach conclusions.

Formal: Collect and evaluate an exit ticket where students answer the question: Is climate change truly a threat to humanity? Form your answer while using a specific example.

**Closure:** The class ends with student discussion of the question: Is Climate Change truly a threat to humanity? I will link the question back to the focus of the Do Now political cartoon and ask students to determine if it is difficult for countries to direct their efforts to resolving Climate Change.

**Classroom Applications:** Students will have access to other images and video of Climate Change and its influence on natural disasters.

**Your Personal Carbon Footprint**

**Directions:** Do you care for your planet? Prove it. Answer the questionnaire below to see how much action you take daily to prevent climate change. Count every question you answer “Yes” and tally your total “I care about the environment” score. Once you finish the poll, answer the additional question below.

- 1) Does your household utilize any renewable energy source (Solar Panels, Wind Energy, etc.)?  
Y\_\_\_\_\_ N\_\_\_\_\_
- 2) On your way to school today; have you walked, biked, or taken the bus?  
Y\_\_\_\_\_ N\_\_\_\_\_
- 3) Do your lamps use energy-efficient light bulbs?  
Y\_\_\_\_\_ N\_\_\_\_\_
- 4) Do you regularly turn off all electronics and lights when you leave your house?  
Y\_\_\_\_\_ N\_\_\_\_\_
- 5) Does your family own an electric or hybrid vehicle?  
Y\_\_\_\_\_ N\_\_\_\_\_
- 6) Do you recycle plastic, glass, and cans on a regular basis?  
Y\_\_\_\_\_ N\_\_\_\_\_
- 7) Do you regularly take showers shorter than 5 min?

Y \_\_\_\_\_ N \_\_\_\_\_

8) Do you consume organic food (fruits, vegetables, grains) more so than processed foods (frozen foods, cereal, canned foods)?

Y \_\_\_\_\_ N \_\_\_\_\_

9) Have you ever volunteered for an organization that is devoted to helping the environment?

Y \_\_\_\_\_ N \_\_\_\_\_

10) Have you ever contacted your local congressman to voice your concerns about climate change?

Y \_\_\_\_\_ N \_\_\_\_\_

Why do you believe it is essential for individuals to keep their environment clean using methods such as the ones listed above?

### “Causes and Effects of Climate Change”

**Instructions:** View the video “Causes and Effects of Climate Change” then answer the following questions. Be prepared to share your interpretations to the class.

Source; National Geographic (3 min) [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G4H1N\\_yXBIA](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G4H1N_yXBIA)

Questions

- 1) How does the Greenhouse Effect impact the temperature of Earth’s surface?
- 2) Describe the various consequences of Climate Change.
- 3) How can humans combat the harmful effects of Climate Change?

**Exit Ticket:** Based on evidence presented in this lesson and your knowledge of the issues, in your opinion, is climate change truly a threat to humanity? Explain citing evidence.

### Natural or Human Disaster?

**Directions:** Read the historical context below and analyze the following sources. Examine how the Earth’s environment can be altered from natural or human causes then interpret how climate change has influenced the damages accrued from natural disasters.

**Historical Context:** Climate Change refers to the change in global climate patterns from sea level rises to ice glacier losses. It has existed for the past hundreds of thousands of years as the conditions of the Earth have been adjusted due to natural alterations of the environmental properties. However, recent human activity since the Industrial Revolution has been severely influencing Earth’s environment to the point of no return. If further human activity remains unmonitored for the consideration of Earth’s properties, unforeseen consequences could result in negative impacts for all living beings.

<b>Krakatoa and its Threats to Civilizations (1883)</b> Sources: <a href="https://phys.org/news/2016-04-volcanoes-trigger-crises-late-antiquity.html">https://phys.org/news/2016-04-volcanoes-trigger-crises-late-antiquity.html</a> ; <a href="https://www.livescience.com/28186-krakatoa.html">https://www.livescience.com/28186-krakatoa.html</a>	<b>Hurricane Katrina Disaster (2005)</b> Source: <a href="https://thesocietypages.org/socimages/2011/08/28/profits-over-people-the-human-cause-of-the-katrina-disaster/">https://thesocietypages.org/socimages/2011/08/28/profits-over-people-the-human-cause-of-the-katrina-disaster/</a>
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<p>Natural phenomenon like volcanic eruptions give scientists clues to how climate can rapidly change and the impact of these changes on human civilizations. Krakatoa is a volcanic island in the Sunda Strait between Java and Sumatra. It is about 3 miles wide and less than miles long. Prior to a massive eruption in 416 A.D., it was actually an isthmus connecting the other two islands. There were also volcanic eruptions in 535, 850, 950, 1050, 1150, 1320, 1530, 1680, and 1883. The 1883 eruption spewed so much volcanic ash into the atmosphere that average global temperatures fell by 2.2 °F the following year and weather patterns did not return to normal until 1888. The 535 eruption combined with suspected volcanic activity in Central America and Iceland in 540 to low average global temperature by 3.6°F producing the coldest decade in the last 2,000 years. A sun-blocking blanket of sulfur particles in the stratosphere led to famine across much of Europe, the continents first recorded pandemic of Bubonic Plague, and may have been the final blow causing the end of the Roman Empire. The eruptions also contributed to crop failure and mass starvation in China where it snowed in August, drought in Peru, a dense fog covering North Africa and Southwest Asia, the decline of native civilizations in Mesoamerica, and the migration of Mongolian tribes westward.</p>	<p>The political and engineering failures that caused the devastation in New Orleans were decades in the making. First, the storm surge was amplified by years of oil and natural gas companies degrading the integrity of the wetlands with pipelines, causing the land to sink at an alarming rate. The Mississippi River levee system was created in response to the sinking wetlands, but this system actually compounds the problem by preventing much of the river’s silt from being deposited in the ocean where it creates a natural buffer. Combined, these factors have eroded one million square acres of Bayou since 1930, bringing the coastline 30 miles closer to New Orleans and leaving only a 20 mile buffer from hurricanes. Katrina surges of 10 – 20 feet in New Orleans would have been 0 – 9 feet with better oversight of corporations carving up the wetlands – not big enough to breach the levees.</p> <p>Another preventable human aspect of Katrina was a network of levees suffering from poor design and disrepair from bureaucratic bickering; an 80% cut to levee repair funds under the Bush Administration and misspent money. After Katrina, the Corps admitted that “the hurricane protection system in New Orleans and southeast Louisiana was a system in name only,” “an inconsistent patchwork of protection, containing flaws in design and construction, and not built to handle a hurricane anywhere near the size of Katrina.”</p>
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<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Krakatoa Eruption (1883)</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Were damages caused by natural or human activity? Explain using evidence.</li> <li>2. How does this article provide evidence to support concerns about climate change?</li> </ol>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Hurricane Katrina (2005)</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Were damages caused by natural or human activity? Explain using evidence.</li> <li>2. How does this article provide evidence to support concerns about climate change?</li> </ol>
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**Lesson 2 Aim: How do a country’s policies influence climate change?**

**Main Ideas:**

1. The governments of the world must take active and responsible actions to support the sustainability of Earth’s environment.

2. Collaborative efforts amongst countries can be a constructive approach to advance the world's actions to limit the wastes emitted onto Earth's atmosphere such as the composition of the Paris Climate Deal.
3. Irresponsible actions of various countries such as the commencement of the Syrian Civil War equate to worsening conditions of the Earth's climate.

**Next Generation Skills:**

- Determine central ideas of a government's influence on the conditions of Climate Change.
- Compare viewpoints and assess reasoning on the differing advantages and disadvantages of the Paris Climate Deal.
- Use of multiple sources of information to assess the various consequences of actions on the environment as exhibited through the Syrian Civil War.

**Vocabulary:**

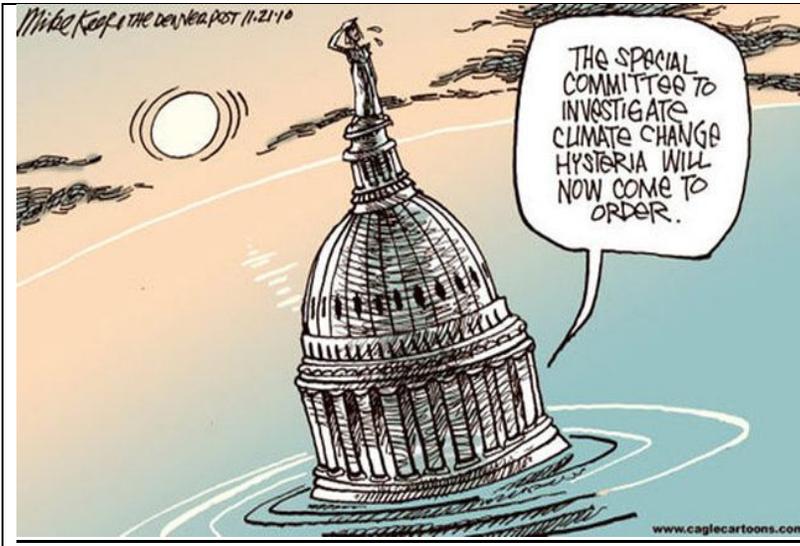
*Paris Climate Accord:* An agreement within the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change to limit the amount of greenhouse gases produced by each individual country.

*Syrian Civil War:* An ongoing armed conflict between the forces of the Ba'ath government who is determined to remove its current government.

*Emissions:* The Greenhouse gases released into the air produced by human activities, including the burning of fossil fuels.

*Carbon Footprint:* The amount of carbon dioxide produced due to the consumption of fossil fuels by a particular group, person, etc.

**Do Now:** Students will be given a handout with a political cartoon that characterizes the inactive state country governments may take prior to the escalation of harmful Climate Change effects. Four questions will be provided for students to answer as well as they observe the image. After the students are given a few moments to individually answer the questions, the class will come together to assess the importance of the cartoon. A country's agenda should be devoted to preventing any disasters from occurring that could harm the safety of a country's people. This notion should also pertain to the threat Climate Change could potentially have if it is not properly addressed in an urgent matter.



**Do Now: Government Influence on Climate Change:** Examine the political cartoon and answer the following questions.

**Questions**

1. What building is submerged underwater?
2. How did Climate Change influence the events in the cartoon?
3. What is the significance of the “Special Committee” meeting?
4. In your opinion, what is the cartoonist’s point of view concerning government and climate change?

**Motivation:** The inactivity of a country’s government toward Climate Change can be related to a student’s decision to procrastinate from a school assignment. Although it may be tempting to focus on matters that can be viewed more significant at the moment, the failure to execute a task in a timely matter could evolve into an urgent matter that is rushed and not properly taken care of. A poor grade on a rushed assignment can signify a future result of a deteriorating environment of the planet if government officials do not take the necessary actions that are needed. This connection can communicate to students the current state of the political issue of Climate Change and how significant it is for the world’s leaders to collaborate their efforts to formulate a solution before it is too late.

**Individual/Team/Full Class Activities:** Individuals will view the article on the Paris Climate Accord, formulate their interpretations, and then offer their findings to the class. Differing views will be opened to a class discussion for all to contribute. Cooperative groups will then be formed to participate in a gallery walk of the three sources related to the Syrian Civil War. Groups will observe each source and then answer the guiding questions provided to them. Once each source has been observed by the groups, all students will participate in a class discussion to discuss the significant qualities from each source and how it relates to the issue of a government’s irresponsible actions toward Climate Change.

**Differentiation and Multiple Entry Points:** Multiple entry points include political cartoon examination, document analysis, discussion, and evaluating opinions. Students will work individually and in teams to support different learners and learning styles.

**Compelling Questions:**

- What are the dangers of leaving decision makers unaccounted for?
- Could government acts with good intentions be as ineffective as taking no action at all?
- How could the wars of foreign countries indirectly influence our world?

**Assessment:**

**Informal:** I will be an ex officio member of student teams and review work as teams conduct research and reach conclusions on the various consequences of good and bad government action to combat Climate Change.

**Formal:** Teacher collects and evaluate an exit ticket where students answer the question: how could the actions of countries positively and negatively influence Climate Change?

**Closure:** The class will end with an exit ticket student discussion of the question: how could the actions of countries positively and negatively influence Climate Change? I will allow students to evaluate for themselves how government actions are capable of the best and worst possible results possible in regards to the monitoring of Climate Change.

**Classroom Application:** Students will have access to other images and videos that analyze the consequences of climate change on a society.

### **Paris Climate Accord of 2015**

**Directions:** Analyze the article excerpt below on the details surrounding the ratified Paris Climate Accord to stop Climate Change, then answer the following questions. Be prepared to present your findings.

**Source:** <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/earth/paris-climate-change-conference/12047909/Paris-climate-change-agreement-a-major-leap-for-mankind.html>



The world has agreed the first universal, legally binding deal to tackle global warming, in a move that David Cameron said marked “a huge step forward in helping to secure the future of our planet”. The deal, agreed at UN talks in Paris, commits countries to try to keep global temperature rises “well below” 2C, the level that is likely to herald the worst effects of climate change. It also commits them to “pursue efforts” to limit warming to 1.5C

– a highly ambitious goal that could require the U.K. to take even more radical action than under its existing Climate Change Act.

Amber Rudd, the Energy Secretary, admitted that the world did not “have the answers yet” as to how it would meet the long-term goals of the Paris deal, which would require carbon to be extracted from the atmosphere by the second half of this century. The deal requires countries to set increasingly ambitious targets for cutting their national emissions and to report on their progress – but, crucially, leaves the actual targets, which are not legally binding, for countries to decide for themselves. The deal also requires developed nations to continue to provide funding to help poorer countries cut their carbon emissions and adapt to the effects of climate change – but does not set a legally binding level of money.

**Questions:**

1. What was decided by the Paris Climate Accord?
2. How could the agreement benefit the world’s efforts to stop Climate Change?
3. Why would politicians oppose the Paris Climate Deal?
4. In your opinion, do you believe the Paris Climate Deal is an effective measure for the entire world to combat Climate Change?

**Climate Change and War**

**Directions:** Read the historical context below and then analyze the following sources. Consider the information from each source then answer the following questions.

**Historical Context:** In recent time, governments of various countries have become more mindful of their actions regarding Climate Change to prevent environmental conditions from worsening. Some governments have taken progressive steps through actions devoted to stop climate change, such as the Paris Climate Deal. Other countries, however, have committed questionable actions that threaten the health of the environment as well as the conditions of their society, such as the Syrian Civil War.

**Source #1: Water, Drought, Climate Change, and Conflict in Syria**

<https://journals.ametsoc.org/doi/full/10.1175/WCAS-D-13-00059.1>

**Questions**

1. What were the main causes of the Syrian War?
2. How have environmental conditions been affected as a result of the Syrian war efforts?



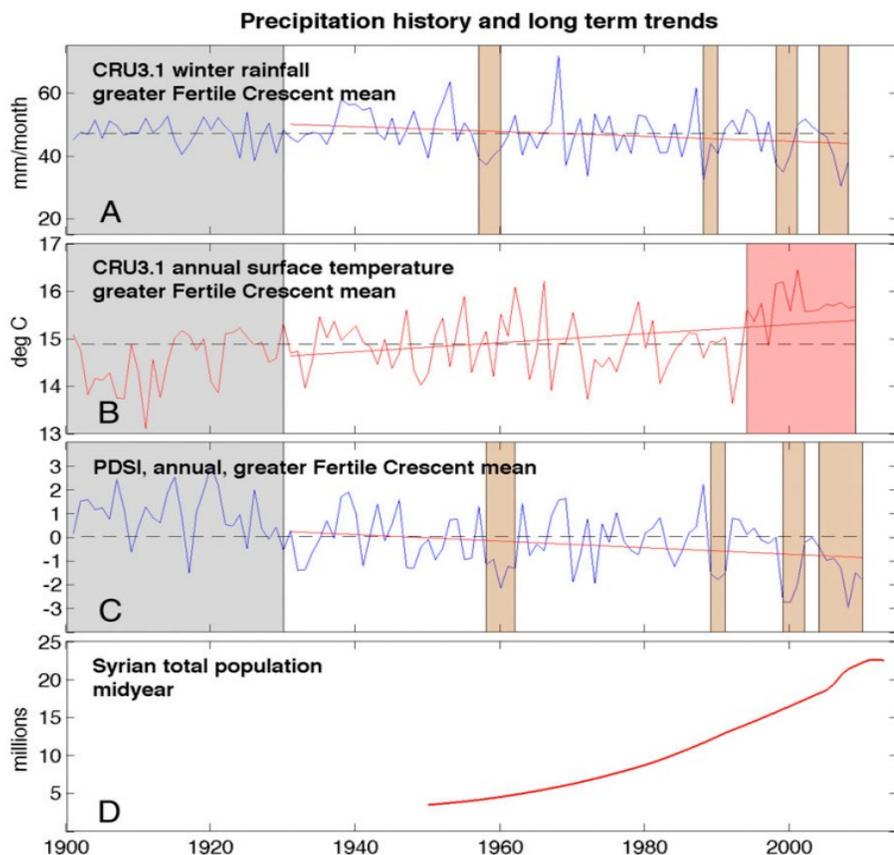
The devastating civil war that began in Syria in March 2011 is the result of complex interrelated factors. The focus of the conflict is regime change, but the triggers include a broad set of religious and sociopolitical factors, the erosion of the economic health of the country, a wave of political reform sweeping over the Middle East and North Africa region, and challenges associated with climate variability and change and the availability and use of freshwater. Water and climatic conditions have played a direct role in the deterioration of Syria's economic conditions. There is a long history of conflicts over water in these regions because of the natural water scarcity, the early development of irrigated agriculture, and complex religious and ethnic diversity. In recent years, there has been an increase in incidences of water-related violence around the world at the subnational level attributable to the role that water plays in development disputes and economic activities.

### Source # 2: Syrian Civil War Climate Change Graphics

(<https://www.carbonbrief.org/scientists-discuss-the-role-of-climate-change-in-the-syrian-civil-war>)

### Questions

1. In Box A and B, respectively, how have the conditions of precipitation and surface temperature reacted since 2006?
2. How will Syrian war efforts influence the climate conditions already present in Syria?

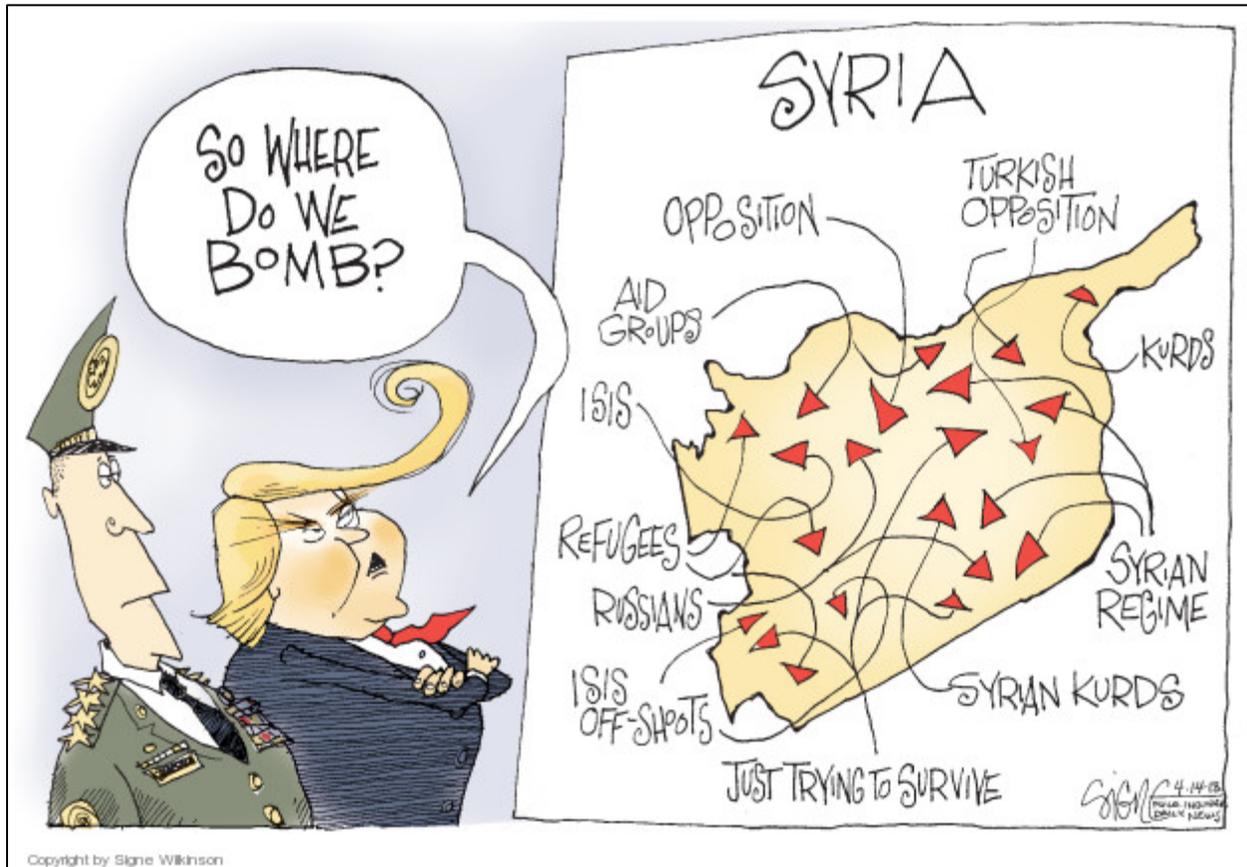


Source #3: Syrian Political Cartoon

<http://www.cartoonistgroup.com/subject/The-Kurd-Comics-and-Cartoons.php>

Questions

1. What does the map implicate about the targets in Syria as well as the act of making war advancements in general?
2. How could foreign influence in war efforts be detrimental toward Climate Change efforts?



**Exit Ticket:** Based on the information from today's lesson, how could the actions of countries positively and negatively influence Climate Change? Use specific examples in your answer.

**Lesson 3 Aim: What actions can individuals take to stop or reduce the threat of climate change?**

**Main Ideas:**

1. Activists across the world have the capability to influence an organization's actions on issues; including Climate Change.
2. Not all activist efforts are peacefully negotiated and must be considered with care.
3. The simple act of informing the public can qualify as an honest activist effort.

**Next Generation Skills:**

- Determine central ideas of the influences of activism on the agendas of organizations toward Climate Change
- Compare the different viewpoints of varying activist efforts and consider why certain protests ended more viciously than others.

**Vocabulary:**

**Activism:** The policy or action of using vigorous campaigning to bring about political or social change.

*Anti-WAAhnsinn Festival:* Protest involving a series of rock concerts to raise awareness to stop the construction of Power Plants in Germany.

*Plane Stupid Protest:* Protest involving the blocking of airplanes from leaving the Heathrow Airport to prevent further construction that could induce Climate Change to increase.

*2018 UN Protest:* Protest effort from young adults to coerce national leaders to shift their agenda focuses on stopping Climate Change

**Do Now:** Students will view a video on the "Rise for Climate" March and assess the characteristics of the protest. Students will be asked to investigate the qualities of the protest from the attitude, the protest itself, and the end results, This evaluation will provide a proper introduction to the nature of activism and how it influences the decisions of lawmakers and the public.

**Do Now:** View the following video clip of San Francisco’s “Rise for Climate” March and answer the questions down below. Be sure to take additional notes of what you observe from the video.

<https://abc7news.com/society/thousands-march-against-climate-change-in-san-francisco/4187174/>

**Questions**

1. Describe the general attitude of the protesters.
2. What is the goal of the protesters in this march?
3. In your opinion, would you consider a protest such as the “Rise for Climate” March a success? Explain why.



**Motivation:** Students discuss if they have ever participated in or witnessed a protest. Once experiences are shared, the class will discuss if they believe activist efforts influenced government policy. This will transition into the conversation of activism in general and how it plays a pinnacle role in advocating for Climate Change reform.

**Individual/Team/Full Class Activities:** Students will form into cooperative groups read and analyze three protests across history around the world and assess the significant qualities from each protest. The class will then come together to assess their findings from each source and determine the overall effectiveness of each protest. Students will discuss the process that creates an effective protest and how its success differentiates itself from the efforts of individual contributors with personal agendas.

**Differentiation And Multiple Entry Points:** Multiple entry points include document analysis, discussion, evaluating opinions, image analysis, and video. Students will work individually and in teams to support different learners and learning styles.

**Compelling Questions:**

- When should people engage in activism and protest?
- What makes a protest effective or ineffective?
- How do we decide if a protest achieved its goals?

**Assessment:** Informally: I will be an ex officio member of student teams and review work as teams conduct research and reach conclusions on the various protests that have been conducted regarding Climate Change. Formally: I will collect and evaluate an exit ticket where students answer the question: what kinds of actions can individuals take to stop Climate Change?

**Closure:** The class will end with an exit ticket student discussion of the question: what kinds of actions can individuals take to stop Climate Change? I will allow students to evaluate for themselves if it is logical to make act differently from a country's status quo if a collective interest is achieved to alter the decision of the private majority.

**Classroom Application:** Students prepare a "protest campaign" to stop or reduce climate change.

### PROTESTS TO SAVE THE ENVIRONMENT

**Historical Context:** The concept of activism has existed for centuries as individuals aim to voice their concerns about the current state of their country's government. Whether it intends to spread awareness on a certain matter or bring about immediate change to an issue, activism has been an essential tool for the common public to influence the state of their societal rights. In regard to Climate Change, plenty of individuals have taken activist action throughout the years to preserve the health of the Earth's environment.

Event	Background	Activism
1. Anti-WAAhnsinn Festival (1980s)		
2. Plane Stupid Protest (2016)		
3. UN Protest (2018)		
4. Global Student Climate Strike (2019)		

**1. Anti-WAAhnsinn Festival (1980s)** <http://www.spiegel.de/kultur/musik/20-jahre-anti-waahnsinn-campino-gegen-die-kernschmelze-a-428824.html>

Because the Upper Palatinate in Wackersdorf wanted no nuclear waste, they organized in 1986 the "anti-WAAhnsinns" festival. 120,000 spectators and the first league of German rock musicians gathered for a unique protest event. The grounds of the "Anti-WAAhnsinns" rock festival on 26 and 27 July 1986 in Burglengenfeld is surprisingly well documented. In Wackersdorf in Upper Palatinate, a reprocessing plant for nuclear waste was planned, and the resistance benefit concert with the then top staff of Deutschrock, held by youth center activists in the nearby Burglengenfeld, is still the second largest music festival with 120,000 spectators. The rallies offered the bands unimaginable publicity, in return brought the new stars the much needed by citizens' initiatives anthems on the radio. But above all, the "Anti-Waahnsinns" festival is a monument to a huge civic movement.

**2. Plane Stupid Protest (2016)**

<https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-london-35403577>

Thirteen activists who cut through a fence at Heathrow Airport and chained themselves together on a runway have been told to "expect jail sentences". The protesters, part of action group Plane Stupid, were found guilty at Willesden Magistrates' Court of aggravated trespass and entering a security restricted area. They oppose the planned expansion of the Heathrow Airport and its environmental impact. District Judge Deborah Wright said all the defendants were people of integrity who were concerned about climate change and Heathrow expansion. The activists previously admitted to being on the runway but said such action was necessary to stop people dying from the effects of pollution and climate change.

### **3. UN Protest (2018)**

<https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2018/dec/17/climate-change-activists-vow-step-up-protests-around-world>

The summit [agreed rules](#) for implementing the 2015 Paris agreement, which aims to keep global warming as close to 1.5C (2.7F) as possible, but it made [little progress](#) in increasing governments' commitments to cut emissions. The world remains on track for 3C of warming, which scientists says will bring catastrophic extreme weather. National leaders at the summit, however, had failed to address the urgency of climate change, which is already making [heatwaves](#) and [storms](#) more frequent and intense, harming millions of people. [May Boeve](#), the executive director of the [350.org](#) climate change campaign group, said: "Hope now rests on the shoulders of the many people who are rising to take action: the inspiring children who started an unprecedented wave of [strikes in schools](#) to support a fossil-free future; the [1,000-plus institutions](#) that committed to pull their money out of coal, oil, and gas, and the many communities worldwide who keep resisting fossil fuel development."

### **4. Global Student Climate Strike (2019)**

[https://www.dailykos.com/stories/2019/3/11/1841160/-Global-Student-Climate-Strike-Friday-March-15?\\_r=2019-03-11T03:50:03.433-07:00](https://www.dailykos.com/stories/2019/3/11/1841160/-Global-Student-Climate-Strike-Friday-March-15?_r=2019-03-11T03:50:03.433-07:00)

On March 15, 2019 hundreds of thousands of high school and middle school students around the world will walk out of school to demand immediate government action to reverse the global climate crisis. As of Sunday March 10, over 950 protests were planned in more than 80 countries. In an op-ed published in the British newspaper *The Guardian*, the global coordination group of the youth-led climate strike wrote: "We, the young, are deeply concerned about our future. Humanity is currently causing the sixth mass extinction of species and the global climate system is at the brink of a catastrophic crisis. It's devastating impacts are already felt by millions of people around the globe . . . The youth of this world has started to move and we will not rest again."

### **Political Documentary Activism**

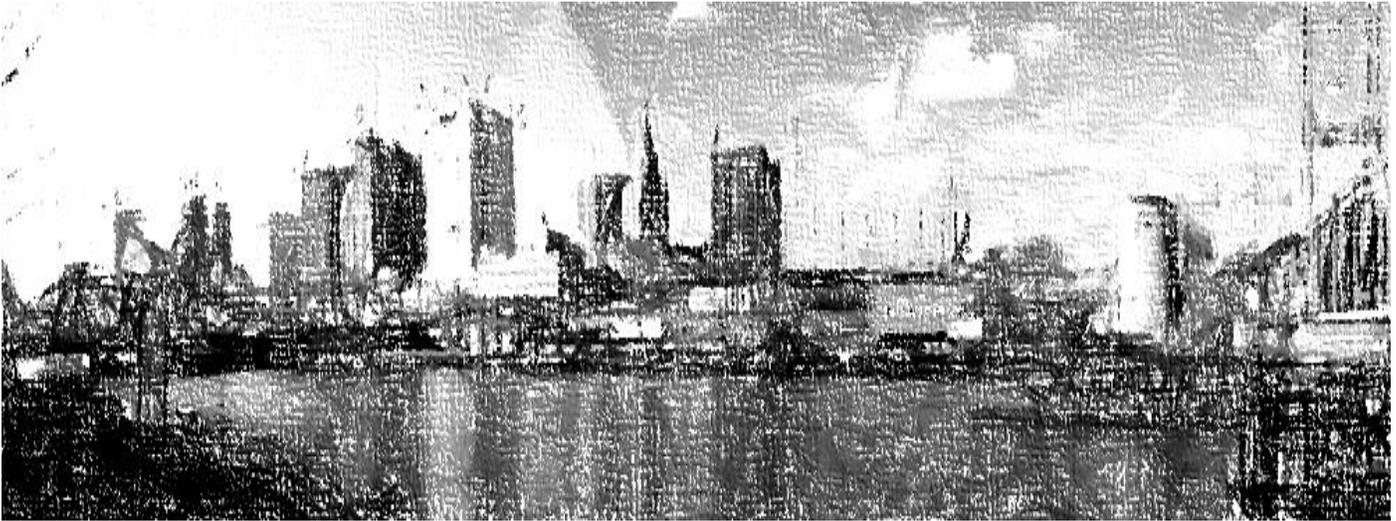
**Instructions:** Sometimes, activism can take place simply by informing the public of a present-day issue. View the clip from the Harrison Ford documentary "Last Stand" and then answer the following questions. Prepare to share your answers to the class.

Last Stand Clip (2 min) [https://www.youtube.com/watch?time\\_continue=9&v=1RFP0B\\_gdv8](https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=9&v=1RFP0B_gdv8)

**Questions**

1. How does deforestation impact the environment?
2. How is the production of palm oil related to Climate Change?
3. What was this documentary piece successful in communicating?

**Exit Ticket: Based on the information from today's lesson, what kinds of actions can individuals take to stop Climate Change? Compose your answer with a specific example.**



## 4th Grade NYS and Slavery Inquiry

### Putnam | Northern Westchester BOCES Integrated Social Studies/ELA Curriculum

April Francis

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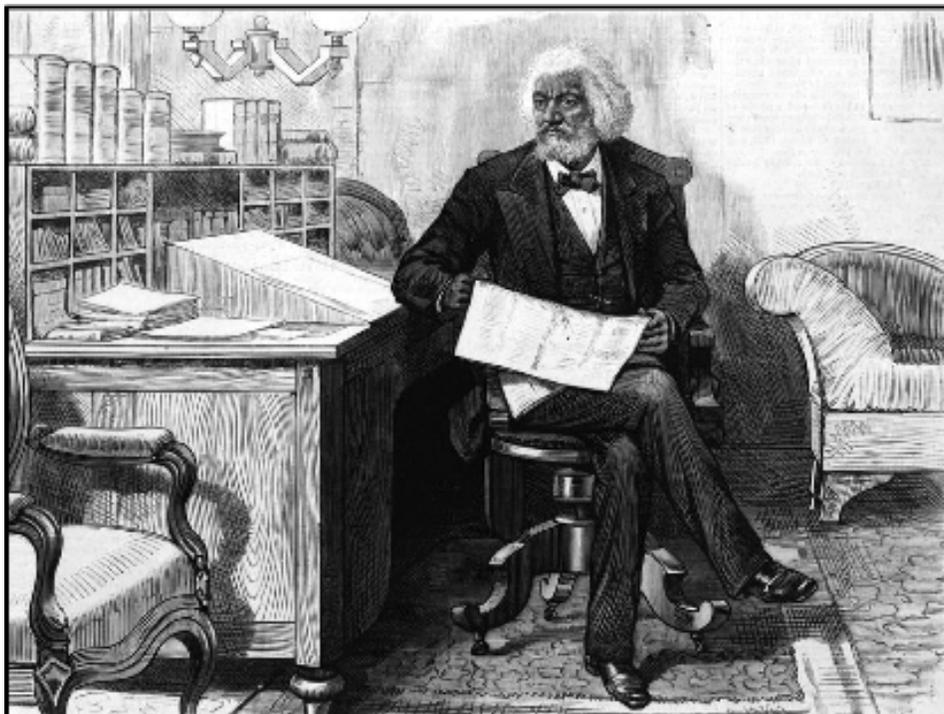
*Editors Note: This is the first multi-day lesson in a three lesson sequence designed for fourth grade on slavery and New York developed by April Francis for the Putnam | Northern Westchester BOCES Integrated Social Studies/ELA Curriculum. Lessons 2 and 3 will be included in future issues of Teaching Social Studies. Lesson 1 addresses the compelling question “What were the experiences of enslaved African Americans in New York State?”*

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**Compelling Question:** Why did New Yorkers have differing views of American Slavery in the 1800s?

#### Supporting Questions

1. What were the experiences of enslaved African Americans in New York State?
2. Why did some New Yorkers show support for slavery?
3. How did some New Yorkers resist the slave system?



Source: <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/frederick-douglass>

SSELA GRADE 4 IDM

<b>Compelling Question</b>	Why did New Yorkers have differing views of American slavery in the 1800s?
<b>NYS Social Studies K-12 Framework Key Ideas &amp; Unifying Themes</b>	4.5 IN SEARCH OF FREEDOM AND A CALL FOR CHANGE: Different groups of people did not have equal rights and freedoms. People worked to bring about change. The struggle for rights and freedoms was one factor in the division of the United States that resulted in the Civil War. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● 4.5a There were slaves in New York State. People worked to fight against slavery and for change <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Students will examine life for enslaved people in New York State.</li> <li>○ Students will investigate people who took action to abolish slavery, including Samuel Cornish, Frederick Douglass, William Lloyd Garrison, and Harriet Tubman.</li> </ul> </li> </ul> Themes: ID, TCC, SOC, CIV
<b>NYS Social Studies Standards</b>	1, 3, 4, 5
<b>NYS Next Generation ELA Standards</b>	● 4R6 (RI) <sup>L</sup> <sub>SEP</sub> ● 4R8 (RI&RL) ● 4W5 <sup>L</sup> <sub>SEP</sub> ● 4SL4
<b>NYS Social Studies Primary Practices</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Gathering, Using, and Interpreting Evidence</li> <li>● Chronological Reasoning and Causation</li> <li>● Comparison and Contextualization</li> <li>● Geographic Reasoning</li> <li>● Economics and Economic Systems</li> <li>● Civic Participation</li> </ul>
<b>Staging the Compelling Question</b>	What do you know about slavery in America? Have students complete a K- W-L chart. (1 day = approximately 55 minutes)

<b>Supporting Question #1</b>	<b>Supporting Question #2</b>	<b>Supporting Question #3</b>
What were the experiences of enslaved African Americans in New York State? (2 days)	Why did some New Yorkers show support for slavery? (1.5 days)	How did some New Yorkers resist the slave system? (2 days)
<b>Formative Performance Task</b>	<b>Formative Performance Task</b>	<b>Formative Performance Task</b>
In a group, create a <i>timeline</i> with three key events in chronological order and a summary of why the timeline is important to the supporting question.	Pretend you are a human rights advocate, write a persuasive letter to a supporter of slavery stating why it violates human rights	Serve as an expert of one form of resistance used against slavery, and present it as a group to the whole class.

Resources	Resources	Resources
Source 1- Sojourner Truth account (readworks.org) [L][SEP] Source 2- Slavery in the [L][SEP]North Statistics [L][SEP] Source 3- Jupiter Hammon [L][SEP]Account (Lloyds Manor [L][SEP]Historical Society) [L][SEP] Source 4- excerpt from the [L][SEP]Autobiography of Thomas [L][SEP]James [L][SEP] Source 5- excerpt from [L][SEP]Narrative of the Life of [L][SEP]Frederick Douglass [L][SEP] Political Map of NYS [L][SEP] Counties, Source Analysis, [L][SEP] Video: <a href="#">Sojourner Truth</a> [L][SEP] (History.com) 2:29 minutes [L][SEP]	Source 1- Universal Human Rights, 1948 (adapted) [L][SEP] Source 2a & 2b - Newspaper advertisements [L][SEP] Source 3- Will/Inventory List [L][SEP] Source 4- “Why did some New [L][SEP]Yorker’s support [L][SEP]slavery?” [L][SEP] Source 5- New York Slave [L][SEP]Codes [L][SEP] Persuasive letter template [L][SEP]	Source 1- Harriet Tubman biography [L][SEP] Source 2- NYS Map of the [L][SEP]Underground RR [L][SEP] Source 3a & 3b- African Free School [L][SEP] Source 4- Frederick Douglass & The [L][SEP]North Star [L][SEP] Source 5a & 5b- William Lloyd Garrison, Gerrit Smith, & the Anti-Slavery Society [L][SEP] Source 6- The “Jerry Rescue” [L][SEP] Syracuse, NY [L][SEP] Video: Harriet Tubman video- [L][SEP] <a href="https://youtu.be/Dv7YhVKFqbQ">https://youtu.be/Dv7YhVKFqbQ</a> [L][SEP] (4:48), Underground Railroad Packet [L][SEP]

<b>Summative Performance Task</b>	Create a <i>one-pager</i> to summarize: Why did New Yorkers have differing views of American slavery in the 1800s? 1-2 days
<b>Taking Informed Action (Extended Activity)</b>	Students will: Understand: Brainstorm other human rights violations happening today to children. One suggested organization to use as a resource is “Frederick Douglass Family Initiatives” <a href="http://www.fdfi.org">www.fdfi.org</a> . This organization is spear headed by descendants of Frederick Douglass and Booker T. Washington. It provides guidance/resources on the issues- human trafficking and enslavement of children. [L][SEP] Assess: Determine ways to help inform others about these issues. [L][SEP] Act: Advocate for the protection of children’s rights using one of the ways you determined as a class. [L][SEP]

**Staging the Compelling Question Narrative & Procedure**

This beginning activity will help frame the compelling question and deepen student understanding of this hard history topic. Teachers should be mindful of how they present this information in their classroom, by using techniques that support all students. Teaching Tolerance has a guide entitled “Let’s Talk: Discussing Race, Racism, and other Difficult Topics with Students” that provides strategies and support for teachers in this area. Some of these strategies have been included in this inquiry’s narrative. *Additionally, to build their own historical context, teachers can view the videos: New York State & Slavery: Complicity & Resistance (19 minutes) and TedTalk-Ed: The Atlantic Slave Trade. (approx. 6 minutes) Additional Resources for Slavery in the North: <https://peoplenotproperty.hudsonvalley.org/>*

- Preparation for the Lesson: Queue video
  - Discovery Education Streaming Subscribers: “Slavery Begins in America”

<https://app.discoveryeducation.com/learn/videos/7bbeb461-871c-411b-a1ff-1eb44ed89381/> (4 minutes) OR  
Free video: “Slavery in America” <https://www.teachertube.com/video/slavery-in-america-a-history-of-america821-316094> (show only the first 6 minutes)

- Make copies of “Vocabulary Terms,” “K-W-L chart,” and “Circle Map”

### **Lesson 1 / Day 1 Engage (20 minutes)**

1. The teacher can begin this unit by informing students that “We will be learning about an important topic this week, this topic often can be hard to discuss because it involves how people’s rights were taken away from them, and the harsh treatment forced on them for many years in our country. This topic is called Slavery in America.”
  - a. The teacher can introduce some strategies in the “Let’s Talk” booklet to ensure students feel they are in a safe environment to learn about this topic. Some helpful strategies can be found on pgs. 7-11.
2. Next, the teacher should display the compelling question “Why did New Yorkers have differing views of American slavery in the 1800s?” And ask for a student volunteer to read it aloud. The “teacher should also highlight that “when we are referring to people who have been forced into slavery, we state ‘enslaved people’ since no one is born a slave, but can be enslaved.”
3. Next, the teacher should display Source 1 on the smart board and distribute the “K-W-L” chart. Using source 1 as a stimulus, the teacher can have students record what they “know” about slavery in America. This activity will allow students to share their prior knowledge of the topic, as well as what they want to know. (**Note:** Source 1 is a picture of a Virginia Slave auction)
4. Once students have filled in their charts, the teacher can ask students to share what they “Know” and what they “Want” to know. The teacher can write these answers on chart paper (or students can write their answers on sticky notes and place them on the class chart paper). Teachers can use the following questions to guide their discussion: "What do we know about where slavery was located in the United States? What do we want to know?"

### **Using the lens of social sciences:**

#### **Geography:**

- Where was slavery located?
- Where did slavery exist in the U.S.?
- Where did enslaved Africans come from?
- How did they get here?
- How the geography of a place affected the work and conditions for enslaved people?

#### **Economics:**

- What type of work did enslaved people do?
- Who benefited from their labor?
- How did the labor and industry for enslaved people change from place to place?

#### **Civics: (Political, Social, Law & Life**

- Was slavery legal in the U.S.?
- What laws existed that protected slavery in the U.S./New York State?
- Could you escape slavery? Did many enslaved people escape?
- How many enslaved people were there in the U.S./New York State?
- What was life like for enslaved people? (And what sources can we turn to help us understand the experiences of enslaved people in America/NYS?)

**Explain (15 minutes):** Next, the teacher can transition the lesson by displaying the vocabulary terms and review each word with the class as a foundation for the inquiry. (Alternative activity - have the students

participate in a “word sort” activity.) After reviewing the vocabulary terms, inform students they will watch a video regarding the history of slavery in America. (This will provide historical context for students, and can be referred back to throughout the lesson) The teacher should have the students watch the video and, and as a class, fill out the circle map based on what they learned. (Teacher can repeat video for emphasis.)

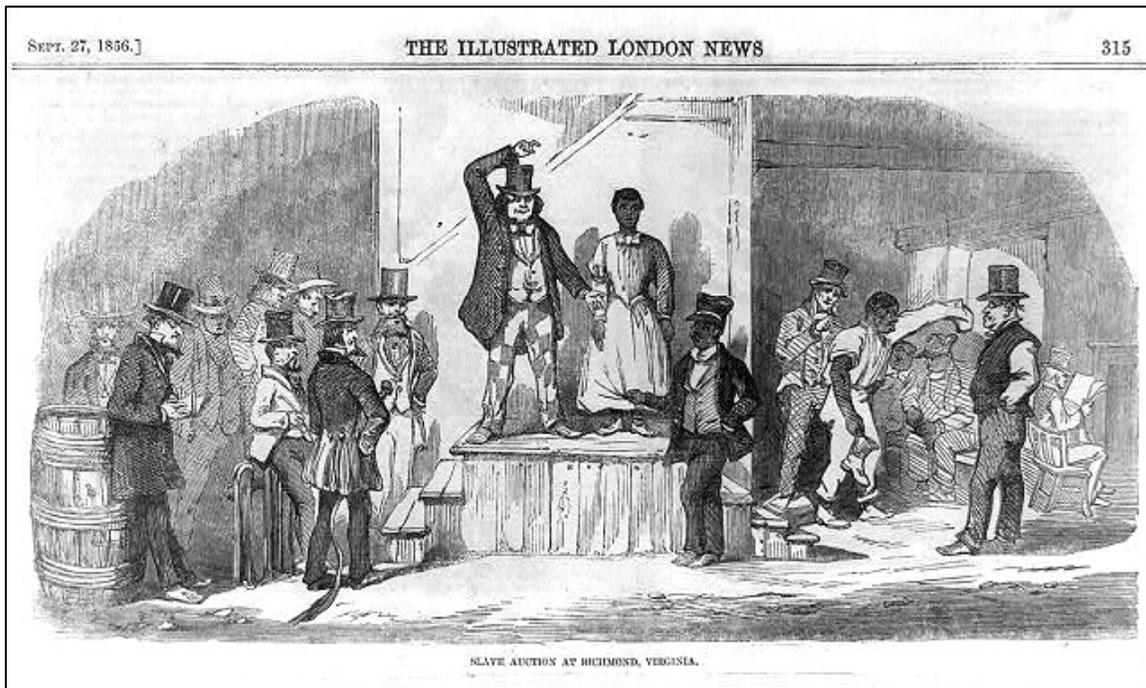
a. After the video the teacher should do a “check-in” with students to ascertain their emotions regarding this topic. The “Thumbs up/Thumbs Down” strategy found on pg. 11 of the Teaching Tolerance “Let’s Talk” booklet can be helpful.

**Explore & Elaborate (15 minutes):** Next, the teacher can ask students to share some of the information from the video to create a class “circle map.” The teacher should remember this is a sensitive topic, and be mindful of student responses and how information is written on the map (i.e. enslaved person, rather than “slave”) Next, the teacher can have students journal or draw (see “Let’s Talk” guide) how they feel about the video. The teacher should collect this, and follow up with any journal or drawing that may need extra attention and support.

**Evaluate (10 minutes)**

1. The teacher can ask students to fill out the “L” portion of their K-W-L chart and ask “*What are 3 things you learned today about slavery in America?*” (an additional strategy- students can write on sticky notes and place it on a class K-W-L chart.)
2. The teacher can close the lesson by informing students, “*I know that some of the questions you asked in the “W” portion of your chart may not have been answered today, I do hope by the end of our inquiry, you will have those answers.*”

**Source 1**



**“K-W-L” Chart**

**Directions:** We are going to be discussing a “hard history” topic. What do you know about the economic system called slavery in America? What would you want to know (questions you have)?

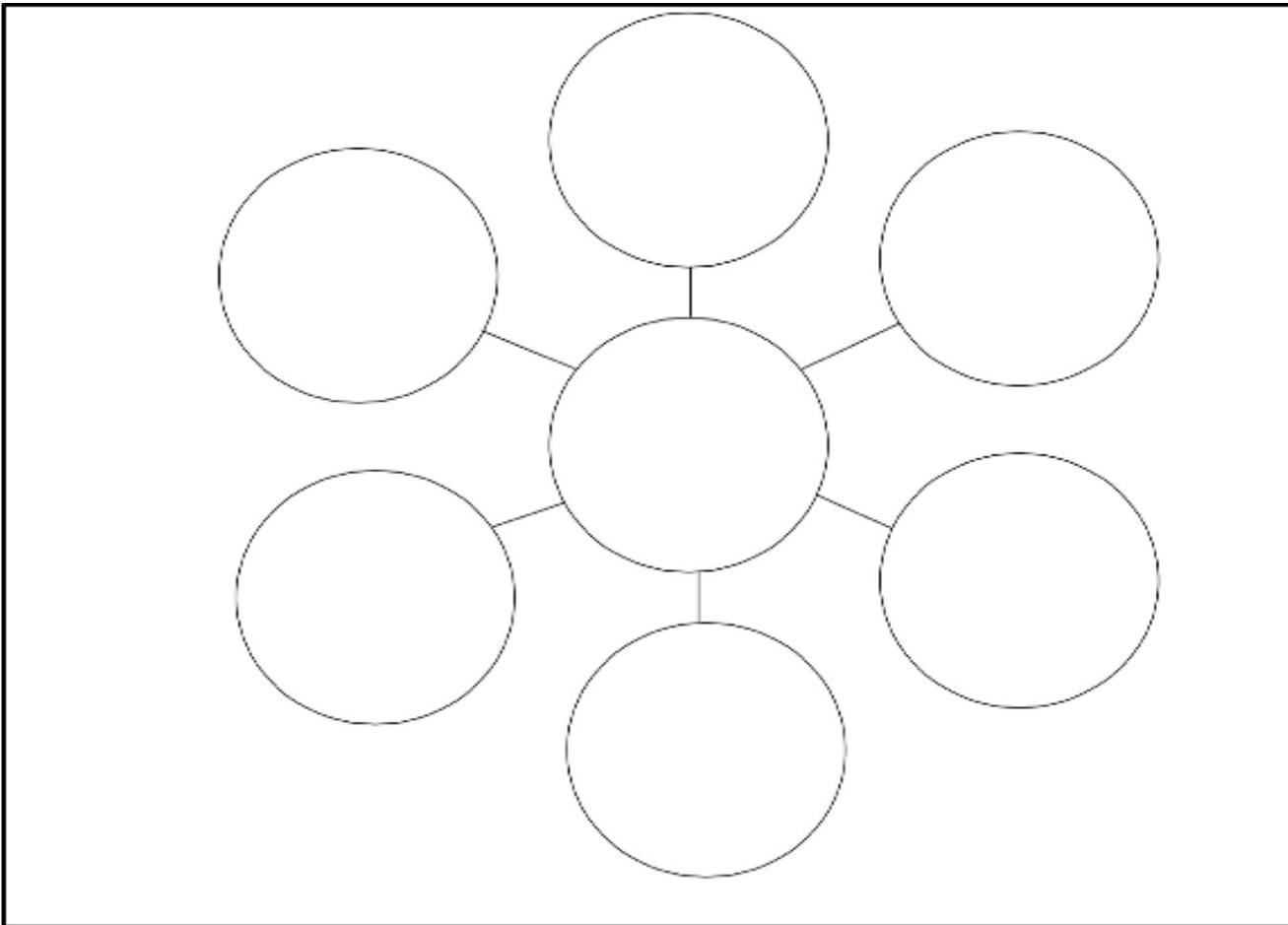
K- Know What are some facts you KNOW	W- Want What do you WANT to know	L-Learned What did you LEARN? (save this for the end of the lesson)
1. 2. 3.	1. 2. 3.	1. 2. 3.

**Vocabulary Terms**

Term	Definition
<i>Slavery</i>	An economic and social system that uses free-forced labor to produce goods and services
<i>Enslaved person</i>	A person that is forced into slavery (also known as slaves)
<i>Slave holder</i>	A person who has forced people into slavery; is considered an ‘owner’ of enslaved people (also known as master, planter, mistress)
<i>Middle passage</i>	The forced migration of Africans to the Americas across the Atlantic Ocean passageway
<i>Free person</i>	A “non-white” person not enslaved
<i>Indentured servant</i>	A person who contracts to work for free for 7-10 years
<i>Emancipate</i>	To set free
<i>Abolish</i>	To put an end to something
<i>Abolitionist</i>	Someone who actively fights to end slavery (similar to an advocate)
<i>Discrimination</i>	The act of treating someone, or a group of people, differently based on prejudiced views

**Circle Map**

**Directions:** As a class, we will watch the video about the history of Slavery in America. While you watch the video, fill in the bubbles with facts that you have learned.



**Supporting Question 1: What were the experiences of enslaved African Americans in New York State?**

<i>Compelling Question</i>	Why did New Yorkers have differing views of American slavery in the 1800s?
<i>NYS Social Studies Framework</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● 4.5a There were slaves in New York State. People worked to fight against slavery and for change</li> <li>○ Students will examine life for enslaved people in New York State.</li> </ul>
<i>NYS Social Studies Practices</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Gathering, Interpreting, and Using Evidence</li> <li>● Chronological Reasoning and Causation<sup>[SEP]</sup></li> <li>● Comparison and Contextualization<sup>[SEP]</sup></li> <li>● Geographic Reasoning</li> <li>● Economics and Economic Systems</li> </ul>
<i>NYS<sup>[SEP]</sup> Next Gen. ELA Standards</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● 4R6: In informational texts, compare and contrast a primary and secondary source on the same event or topic. (RI) <sup>[SEP]</sup></li> <li>● 4R8: Explain how claims in a text are supported by relevant reasons and evidence. (RI&amp;RL) <sup>[SEP]</sup></li> <li>● 4W5: Draw evidence from literary or informational texts to respond and support analysis, reflection, and research by applying grade 4 reading standards. <sup>[SEP]</sup></li> <li>● 4SL4: Report on a topic or text, tell a story, or recount an experience with <sup>[SEP]</sup>appropriate facts and relevant, descriptive details, speaking clearly at an understandable pace and volume appropriate for audience.</li> </ul>

<i>Learning Objectives</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Locate NYS counties<sup>[L]</sup><sup>[SEP]</sup></li> <li>● Identify Thomas James, Sojourner Truth, and Jupiter Hammon<sup>[L]</sup><sup>[SEP]</sup></li> <li>● Analyze various documents, develop team building and presentation skills</li> <li>● Create a timeline based on source analysis</li> </ul>
<i>Suggested Timeframe</i>	2 days (55-60 minutes)
<i>Materials</i>	<p>Source 1- <a href="#">Sojourner Truth account</a> (readworks.org)<sup>[L]</sup><sup>[SEP]</sup></p> <p>Source 2- Slavery in the North Statistics<sup>[L]</sup><sup>[SEP]</sup></p> <p>Source 3- Jupiter Hammon Account (Lloyds Manor Historical Society)<sup>[L]</sup><sup>[SEP]</sup></p> <p>Source 4- Biography of Thomas James<sup>[L]</sup><sup>[SEP]</sup></p> <p>Source 5- excerpt from <i>Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass</i><sup>[L]</sup><sup>[SEP]</sup></p> <p>Political Map of NYS Counties, Source Analysis, Video: <a href="#">Sojourner Truth</a> (History.com) 2:29 minutes</p>
<i>Formative Task</i>	<p>Create and present a timeline with three key events in chronological order about slavery in New York State history. Steps for the Teacher:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Demonstrate how to construct a simple timeline using three events that students would know.<sup>[L]</sup><sup>[SEP]</sup></li> <li>● In groups, students are to choose three key events from the sources for this lesson and plot them on their timeline that show there was slavery in New York until 1827.</li> <li>● Each group will present their timeline to the class with an explanation as to why they chose the specific events for their timeline.</li> </ul>

### Lesson 1 / Day 1 Narrative & Procedure

In this lesson, students will be introduced to the origins of the slavery system in New Netherlands and later New York. Students will analyze both primary and secondary sources in groups, and then use this information to develop a timeline of important events.

**Note:** Modify this script to meet your classroom needs.

#### Preparation:

- Queue video: [Sojourner Truth](#) (History.com) 2:29 minutes
- Make copies of Source 1-5, “Map of NYS Counties”, and the “Source Analysis” worksheet
- Smart board to project documents for whole class analysis
- Chart paper to record student responses

#### Engage (15 minutes)

The teacher should begin the lesson by displaying the Supporting Question for the whole class “*Were there enslaved Africans in New York State?*” The teacher should ask for a volunteer reader. The teacher should then remind students of what they learned yesterday, using student “K-W-L” chart responses.

Next, the teacher should distribute Source 1, and, as a whole class, read aloud the account of Sojourner Truth, and use the guiding questions to review key points. The teacher should then show the video “[Sojourner Truth](#)” (History.com) 2:29 minutes

#### Explore (15 minutes)

1. Once students complete the guided reading and video, the teacher should distribute and display the Map of NYS Counties, and highlight that in the video, they included a political map of where Sojourner Truth grew up. The teacher can state, “*A political map is a map that shows borders and boundaries of a state or country. Let’s review our own political map of the counties in NYS.*” The teacher can use these geographic reasoning questions for a whole class map analysis:
  - a. Place a “star” next to the county we live in. Place a “square” around our state Capital. Place an “X” on NYC. “Circle” the county Sojourner Truth was born (Ulster).
  - b. How would Sojourner’s environment affect how she lived?
  - c. What type of work would be needed in Ulster county- farming, fishing, or shipbuilding? Why? (farming- more rural area)
  - d. What type of work would be needed in the NYC area- farming, fishing, or shipbuilding? Why? (shipbuilding and fishing- near water)
2. After students have shared answers, the teacher can inform students that today they will be working in teams, investigating the supporting question through various source documents. The teacher should review with students the difference between *primary vs. secondary sources*. The teacher can ask students, “*What type of source was the reading on Sojourner Truth?*” (*Secondary source*).

**Explain (15 minutes)**

3. Next, the teacher should distribute the “Source Analysis” worksheet, and inform students that in their teams, they will analyze sources and record the main ideas on this chart. The teacher should model this activity with the students, using the Sojourner Truth reading (Source 1).
4. The teacher should place students in groups of four and have each student analyze one source from Source 2-5 and record the main idea on the Source Analysis worksheet an (alternative strategy- [Jigsaw activity](#).) Note to Teacher: source modification is encouraged to meet the needs of your students.
5. The teacher should rotate between groups, and ask critical thinking questions:
  - a. Were there enslaved persons in New York State? How do we know?
  - b. Using your map, can you locate the counties Jupiter, Frederick, and Thomas were from?
  - c. Were there Africans who were not enslaved in New York State? How do you know? What does that mean?
  - d. What were some of the work enslaved persons did in New York State? Did the type of work depend on their geographic area? Why?

**Elaborate (15 minutes)**

1. Once students have completed analyzing the sources in groups (moderated and supported by the teacher), the whole class should review the “Source Analysis” worksheet. The teacher should record student responses on chart paper.
2. As a closing activity, ask students to identify one positive character trait they believe an enslaved person had to have to survive living in slavery. Students should then explain why they chose that trait.

**Preparation for Day 2 •** Poster paper and markers for student group timelines

**Lesson 1/ Day 2**

**Evaluate (55-60 minutes)**

2. The teacher should ask students “*What is a timeline?*” “*Why do we use timelines?*” The teacher should share a sample timeline for students to review. After reviewing the different parts of the timeline the teacher should inform students they will be creating timelines based on the information they analyzed yesterday.
3. The teacher should inform students of the steps needed for them to create their group timelines:

- a. Each group must agree on three major events to include on their timeline- these events should be in chronological order and have a connection. The events should be taken from at least three sources.
  - b. Each timeline must have the following: (Teacher Timeline reference guide: [http://dohistory.org/on\\_your\\_own/toolkit/timeline.html](http://dohistory.org/on_your_own/toolkit/timeline.html))
    - i. Title
    - ii. A specific span of time
    - iii. Create time segments
    - iv. A summary of the importance of this timeline
4. Once student groups complete their timelines, each group will present to their final product to the class. Teacher should model presentation strategies for student groups.

**Source 1: *Slavery in the North* ([www.readworks.org](http://www.readworks.org))**

In 1806, 9-year-old Isabella Baumfree and her family lived on the property of Charles Ardinburgh of Ulster County in New York. When Ardinburgh died, Isabella found her mother in tears.

"Mau-mau, what makes you cry?" Isabella asked.

"Oh, my child, I am thinking of your brothers and sisters that have been sold away from me," her mother replied.

Soon after, Isabella too was separated from her mother. She was auctioned—along with other slaves, horses, and cattle—and purchased for \$100. She was sold again and again, from master to master, until she was emancipated in 1828.

Students of history know Isabella better by the name she chose as an adult—Sojourner Truth. Truth was an abolitionist. She spoke out against slavery. But what some people may not know is that Truth was one of thousands of slaves who were bought, sold, and forced to do labor in the North.

"Many people are surprised when you talk about slavery in the North," Alan Singer, a professor of education at Hofstra University, told *Senior Edition*. "We associate slavery with the South, even though the biggest importer of slaves—after South Carolina—was New York City."

Historians are beginning to bring slavery in the North into the spotlight. The New York Historical Society recently presented an exhibition on slavery in that state. Singer, who travels the country to talk to students about slavery in the North, wants people to remember that slavery was a national institution.

It's important to understand how slavery affected the entire country, because its effects linger through discrimination, Singer says. "Kids see slavery as something that happened in the deep past," he told *Senior Edition*. "I want children to know that we still live with the effects of that slavery society."

**Guided Questions for Source 1**

1. Where did Isabella and her family live? Why was her mother crying?
2. What were some experiences of Isabella as an enslaved person?
3. What did Isabella change her name to? Why do you think she did that?
4. Who was the 2nd biggest importer of enslaved people in the United States? Why are many people surprised at the answer?
5. According to Alan Singer, why is it important for us to discuss the effects of slavery?

### Map of New York Counties

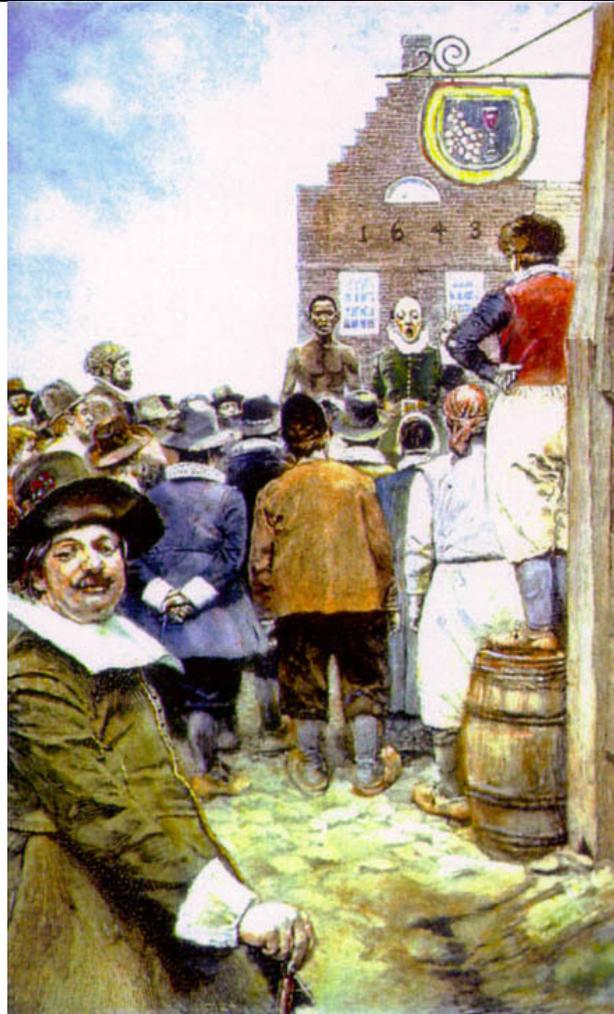


*A Political map is a map that shows borders and boundaries of a state or country.*

Source: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_counties\\_in\\_New\\_York#/media/File:New\\_York\\_Counties.svg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_counties_in_New_York#/media/File:New_York_Counties.svg)

### Source 2 Statistics: Slavery in New York

- 1626
  - First cargo of 11 Africans brought to New Netherland (Present day New York) by the Dutch West India Company
- 1655
  - First slave auction is held in New Amsterdam (today New York City) see picture.
- 1664
  - British take over New Netherlands from the Dutch and rename it New York, after the Duke of York
  - The British use their New York colony as a market for enslaved Africans
- 1765-1783 “American Revolution”
  - United States becomes independent from Britain
- 1790
  - 13,000 enslaved people
  - 4, 682 free “non-white” people
  - 314, 366 white people
- 1810
  - 15,017 enslaved people,
  - 25,333 free “non-white” people
  - 918,695 white people



Source: Adapted from Slavery in the North  
<http://slavenorth.com/newyork.htm>

The first slave auction in New Amsterdam in 1655, painted by Howard Pyle, 1917. Would this painting be a primary or secondary source, since it is painted in 1917?

### Source 3: Jupiter Hammon: First Colonial Published African American

Jupiter Hammon was born on October 17, 1711 on Lloyd Neck. Jupiter's father, Obadiah, was a slave belonging to Henry Lloyd and his wife, Rebecca. From the beginning Jupiter was close to the Lloyd family. He lived in the Manor house with the family, and went to school with the Lloyd children. This closeness is further evidenced by the fact that he is referred to as "brother Jupiter" in later correspondence between the Lloyd sons and their father.

Jupiter worked alongside Henry in Henry's business, and he was often sent to New York City to negotiate trade deals...It is clear from his writings that Jupiter Hammon was also a deeply religious man. His first published poem, which appeared in 1761, was entitled "An Evening Prayer", when published the credits read: *Composed by Jupiter Hammon, a Negro belonging to Mr. Lloyd of Queen's Village, on Long Island, the 25th of December, 1760.*

Henry Lloyd died in 1763, and Jupiter went to live with Henry's son, Joseph. Joseph Lloyd was a patriot during the Revolutionary War, and when the British captured New York and confiscated his land he fled to

Connecticut, taking Jupiter with him. When the war ended they returned to the Manor, where Jupiter continued to write poetry.

Jupiter went on to become a leader in the African American community. In 1787 he delivered a speech to the African Society of New York City entitled "An Address to the Negroes in the State of New York". In the speech he empathized with their disappointment at not having been emancipated by the new American government...Jupiter Hammon's death was unrecorded, but historians place it somewhere around 1806.

SOURCE: <http://www.lloydharborhistoricalsociety.org/jupiter.html>

#### Source 4 from the Autobiography of Thomas James

I was born a slave at Canajoharie, New York, in the year 1804. I was the third of four children, and we were all the property of Asa Kimball, who, when I was in the eighth year of my age, sold my mother, brother and elder sister to purchasers from Smith- town, a village not far distant from Amsterdam in the same part of the state. My mother refused to go, and ran into the garret to seek a hiding place. She was pursued, caught, tied hand and foot and delivered to her new owner. I caught my last sight of my mother as they rode off with her.

My elder brother and sister were taken away at the same time. I never saw either my mother or sister again. Long years afterwards my brother and I were reunited, and he died in this city a little over a year ago. From him I learned that my mother died about the year 1846, in the place to which she had been taken. My brother also informed me that he and his sister were separated soon after their transfer to a Smithport master, and he never heard of her... fate. Of my father I never had any personal knowledge, and, indeed, never heard anything. My youngest sister, the other member of the family, died when I was yet a youth.

Source: From the Library of Congress: selections from *A Slave's Autobiography* by Rev. Thomas James: Post-Express Printing Company, Mill Street (1887). ROCHESTER, N.Y

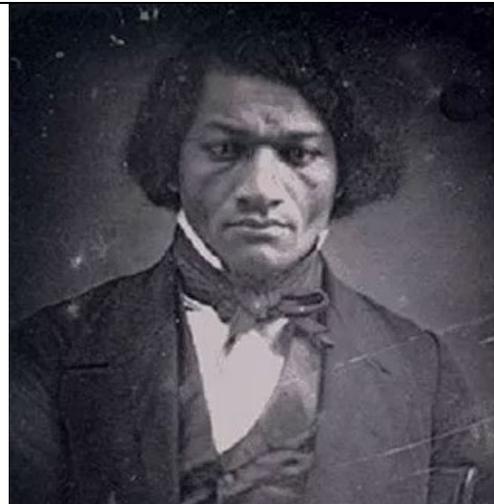
#### Source 5 Narrative of Frederick Douglass

In 1845, Frederick Douglass, a runaway enslaved African American wrote about his experiences on two plantations he lived on in the south, before he arrived in New York. He was born, Frederick Washington Bailey, into slavery in 1818 in Maryland. He later changed his last name to Douglass when he arrived in New York City in 1838 to protect his identity.

... There were no beds given the slaves, unless one coarse blanket be considered such...

Mr. Severe, the overseer, used to stand by the door of the quarter, armed with a large stick and heavy whip, ready to whip anyone who was so unfortunate as not to hear [the horn to head to work] ... he was a cruel man.

... We were worked in all weathers. It was never too hot or too cold; it could never rain, blow, hail, or snow, too hard for us to work in the field. Work, work, work, was scarcely more the order of the day than of the night. The longest days were too short for him, and the shortest nights too long for him.



Source: *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave* by Frederick Douglass

**Source Analysis**

Source #	Primary or Secondary?	What information did you learn about slavery in NY from this document? What are some dates included in the document?
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		



## “We Are All Bound Up Together” (May 1, 1866)

### Speech by Frances Ellen Watkins Harper at the Eleventh National Women's Rights Convention in New York City

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**Background:** In May 1866, Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, a leading African American poet, lecturer and civil right activist, addressed the Eleventh National Women's Rights Convention in New York City. Other speakers included white suffragettes Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Lucretia Mott. New York Times columnist Brent Staples (“When the Suffrage Movement Sold Out to White Supremacy,” February 3, 2019) charged that “official suffrage history reduces . . . Harper to a bit player, even though she was central to the struggles for both African-American and women’s rights and delivered what has come to be recognized as a visionary speech on the relationship between the two.” *History of Woman Suffrage* (six volumes published between 1881 and 1922) by Stanton and Anthony et al report on the 1866 meeting but ignored Harper’s speech. Historian Nell Irvin Painter argues that Harper’s words were “too strong” for white suffrage leaders. They viewed her “polished,

*self-assured style as antithetical to what they viewed as blackness,” preferring the “uneducated version of black womanhood embodied by the formerly enslaved suffragist Sojourner Truth, who entertained her audiences as she imparted her ideas.”*

*Instructions: Read excerpts from the speech by Frances Ellen Watkins Harper and answer questions 1-4.*

1. Harper claims that when “the hands of the black were fettered,” white men were also deprived of the liberty. In your opinion, what did she mean by this statement?
2. According to Harper, what prevents this “grand and glorious revolution” from reaching its “climax of success”?
3. What is Harper’s view on women achieving the right to vote?
4. In your opinion, why did some white suffragist react negatively to Harper’s assertion that “white women of America” needed to be “lifted out of their airy nothings and selfishness”?
5. Harper argued “We are all bound up together”? Do you agree with Harper’s assertion? Explain.

A. I feel I am something of a novice upon this platform. Born of a race whose inheritance has been outrage and wrong, most of my life had been spent in battling against those wrongs. But I did not feel as keenly as others, that I had these

rights, in common with other women, which are now demanded . . . We are all bound up together in one great bundle of humanity, and society cannot trample on the weakest and feeblest of its members without receiving the curse in its own soul. You tried that in the case of the Negro. You pressed him down for two centuries; and in so doing you crippled the moral strength and paralyzed the spiritual energies of the white men of the country. When the hands of the black were fettered, white men were deprived of the liberty of speech and the freedom of the press.

B. Society cannot afford to neglect the enlightenment of any class of its members. At the South, the legislation of the country was in behalf of the rich slaveholders, while the poor white man was neglected. What is the consequence today? From that very class of neglected poor white men, comes the man who stands today, with his hand upon the helm of the nation. He fails to catch the watchword of the hour, and throws himself, the incarnation of meanness, across the pathway of the nation. My objection to Andrew Johnson is not that he has been a poor white man; my objection is that he keeps "poor whites" all the way through. That is the trouble with him.

C. This grand and glorious revolution which has commenced, will fail to reach its climax of success, until throughout the length and breadth of the American Republic, the nation shall be so color-blind, as to know no man by the color of his skin or the curl of his hair. It will then have no privileged class, trampling upon outraging the unprivileged classes, but will be then one great privileged nation, whose privilege will be to produce the loftiest manhood and womanhood that humanity can attain.

D. I do not believe that giving the woman the ballot is immediately going to cure all the ills of life. I do not believe that white women are dew-drops just exhaled from the skies. I think that like men they may be divided into three classes, the good, the bad, and the indifferent. The good would vote according to their convictions and principles; the bad, as dictated by prejudice or malice; and the indifferent will vote on the strongest side of the question, with the winning party.

E. You white women speak here of rights. I speak of wrongs. I, as a colored woman, have had in this country an education which has made me feel as if I were in the situation of Ishmael, my hand against every man, and every man's hand against me. Let me go to-morrow morning and take my seat in one of your street cars — I do not know that they will do it in New York, but they will in Philadelphia — and the conductor will put up his hand and stop the car rather than let me ride.

F. In advocating the cause of the colored man, since the Dred Scott decision, I have sometimes said I thought the nation had touched bottom. But let me tell you there is a depth of infamy lower than that. It is when the nation, standing upon the threshold of a great peril, reached out its hands to a feebler race, and asked that race to help it, and when the peril was over, said, "You are good enough for soldiers, but not good enough for citizens."

G. Talk of giving women the ballot-box? Go on. It is a normal school, and the white women of this country need it. While there exists this brutal element in society which tramples upon the feeble and treads down the weak, I tell you that if there is any class of people who need to be lifted

out of their airy nothings and selfishness, it is the white women of America.

*Source:*

<https://awpc.cattcenter.iastate.edu/directory/frances-ellen-watkins-harper/>



## Student Takeover at Cornell University (1969)

Steven Rosino and Alan Singer

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**Background:** During the 1968-1969 school year racial tension escalated at Cornell University in Ithaca, New York following the burning of a cross on the lawn of the Wari House, a dormitory for African-American women, and disciplinary action taken against African-American who protested against what they experienced as racism on campus. On April 18, 1969, members of the Cornell University Afro-American Society (AAS) occupied its student center, Willard Straight Hall, to protest what they believed was Cornell's institutional racism, its biased judicial system, and its slow progress in establishing a Black Studies program. In the early morning of Parents Weekend, Black students evicted visiting parents from Willard Straight Hall and seized control of the building. After white students from the Delta Upsilon Fraternity unsuccessfully attempted to retake the building by force, some of the occupying students left the building and returned with rifles and shotguns in case of another attack. The Black students were supported by the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), a predominately white student group, which formed a protective cordon outside the building. The occupation of Willard Hall lasted 36 hours and ended when the university's administration agreed to student demands. It led to the formation of a University Senate, restructuring of the Board of Trustees, a new campus judicial system, and the foundation of the Africana Studies and Research Center. The

takeover drew national media attention because of photographs and television coverage of the African American students carrying rifles. By the end of the academic year, Cornell President James Perkins, under pressure because he had negotiated with the AAS students, resigned.

**Instruction:** Documents A-D are photographs of the student takeover of Willard Straight Hall. Document E is a link to a video about the events. Documents F-P are headlines and excerpts from *New York Times* articles. The final four documents, Q-T, are reflections on the events written from different perspectives. Examine the documents, answer guiding questions, use the *New York Times* articles to establish a chronology of events (article dates are one day after the actual events), and answer the following five questions with extended responses.

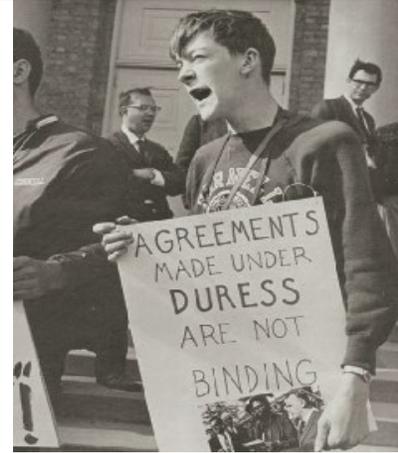
### Questions

1. Were African American students justified in the takeover of Willard Straight Hall?
2. Did Cornell University administrators handle the takeover in an appropriate way? Explain.
3. In your opinion, was the New York Times coverage of the events impartial or biased? Explain your view citing evidence from the text?
4. Wicker, Muller, Sowell, and Jones (R-U) have different perspectives on the events

at Cornell in April 1969. Based on your reading about the events, whose point of view is closer to your own? Explain your

choice and support it with evidence from the coverage and the quotes.

5. In your opinion, what is the “legacy” of the Willard Straight takeover?



A. Eric Evans '69 (center) and fellow members of the Afro-American Society exit the Straight.

B. A white student urges the faculty to reject the deal ending the takeover.



C. Students march across the Arts Quad following the peaceful resolution to the Straight takeover.

D. Student leader Eric Evans reads a statement following the takeover.

E. Narrated archival footage (1:46 minutes) of the Willard Straight takeover.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sbvb3rA6jWg>

## Questions

1. Why did the white student urge the faculty to reject the settlement ending the takeover?
2. In your opinion, how did the presence of rifles and shotguns escalate the situation at Cornell?
3. What point of view about the takeover is presented in the narration of the video footage?

*F. Negro Coeds' House Is Target Of a Cross Burning at Cornell, New York Times, April 19, 1969, p. 16.*

“A cross was burned on the doorsteps of a Negro women’s cooperative house at Cornell University early this morning and 11 false alarms were set off in campus buildings. The rash of false alarms continued tonight, with five campus call boxes being pulled and two telephoned bomb threats between 8:13 and 10:40 P.M. One of the false alarms drove several hundred people into a chilly rain from Willard Straight Hall, the student center. They included some of the parents gathered here for Parents Weekend. After the last false alarm, half a dozen black students were picked up for questioning and released. The cross made of 1-by-2 inch strips of lumber that resembled the legs of an artist’s easel was discovered on the porch of the small wooden frame house at 2:52 A.M. The house, known as Wari House (“Wari” is Swahili for home) – is a co-op residence for 12 Negro coeds. A stone was also thrown through one of the windows . . . The cross burning took place less than an hour after the university’s student-faculty board on student conduct gave reprimands – a light punishment – to three black students and dismissed charges against two others for their part in the demonstrations last December . . . Resentment has simmered among some white students, particularly athletes and fraternity men, and among some faculty members who feel that the administration has maintained a separate standard in its efforts to deal with the 250 black students on the 14,000-student campus.”

*G. Cornell Negroes Seize a Building; 30 Visiting Parents Ejected as 100 Students Protest Disciplining of 6 Blacks, New York Times, April 20, 1969, p. 1.*

“About 100 black students at Cornell University staged a surprise raid on the student union building at dawn today. They ran through the halls shouting ‘Fire!’ and pounding on doors, and ousted 30 sleeping parents from guest rooms. The invaders ordered the parents, and about 40 university employees, to leave the building. Then they seized it, chaining the doors shut . . . Black students briefly seized the campus radio station, WVBR, in the building and announced their action on the air. Minutes later an engineer at the transmitter, five miles away, cut the station off.”

*H. Armed Negroes End Seizure; Cornell Yields; Armed Negro Students End 36-Hour Occupation After Cornell Capitulates, New York Times, April 21, 1969, p. 1.*

“Carrying 17 rifles and shotguns, Negro students at Cornell University marched out of the Student Union Building today, ending a 36-hour occupation. A few minutes later, rifle-carrying students stood by in front of the cottage that the Negro students used as their headquarters, while university officials signed an agreement . . . The administration also capitulated to a series of other demands by the Afro-American Society.”

*I. Excerpts From Talk by President of Cornell University on Student Dissension, New York Times, April 22, 1969, p. 34.*

“We meet this afternoon at a time of trial and anguish for our country, for higher education and for Cornell University. And the question before the house today and in the immediate days to come is whether we have the collective wisdom and sensitivity to sufficient measures to deal with what I am sure future historians will doubtless call one of the great testing points in that peculiar institution we call the university.”

*J. Cornell Negro Plan Begun in '65; Officials on Campus View Curriculum as Best in Nation, New York Times, April 22, 1969, p. 34.*

“Four years ago, Cornell University began a program to recruit Negro students from the slums, and last fall announced plans for an Afro-American curriculum, actions which officials here believe put Cornell far in advance of any university in the country. More than 100 students in that program seized the university’s student union building . . . and emerged 36 hours later carrying 17 rifles and shotguns, bandoliers of ammunition, home-made spears and clubs. The events of the weekend left white Cornell shocked, angry and baffled . . . Perhaps the strongest emotion among the blacks is one of fear, for they feel themselves in a hostile environment. They are also angry and bitter because they feel the education being offered will fit them only for white society.”

*K. Cornell Faculty Votes Down Pact Ending Take-Over; Resolution Assails Seizure of Student Center and the Carrying of Guns,” New York Times, April 22, 1969, p. 1.*

“The Cornell University faculty voted overwhelmingly tonight to reject an agreement that armed black students signed with administration officials yesterday . . . By a hand vote of more than 1,000 members of the faculty – the faculty meeting was the largest in Cornell’s history – a proposal . . . to dismiss penalties imposed on three black students following campus disorders last December and January was decisively defeated. The vote, taken at a closed meeting also condemned the occupation of Willard Straight Hall and the “carrying and use of weapons.”

*L. Peaceful Sit-In at Cornell Ends New Seizure Threat; Peaceful Sit-In at Cornell Eases the Threat of a New Seizure by Negro Students,” New York Times, April 23, 1969, p. 1.*

“A threatened seizure of campus buildings by militant students of Cornell University and faculty sympathizers of Negro student demands turned into a peaceful sit-in tonight on a basketball court.”

*M. Cornell’s Whites Try to Understand, New York Times, April 23, 1969, p. 30.*

“Cornell’s non-radical white student’s expressed today both their fear and an attempt to comprehend the black militancy that has thrown this hilly 730-acre campus into turmoil . . . Many of the white students feel that the university administration has given in to the blacks, has appeased them . . . Many white students have adopted a ‘black-is-right’ stance: that is, they condemn the seizing of the building and carrying of guns, but believe that black demands on the university are justified. ‘I can understand how people from the ghettos, the Afros, are lost up here.’”

*N. Cornell Faculty Reverses Itself on Negroes; Disciplinary Action Is Nullified,” New York Times, April 24, 1969, p. 1.*

“The Cornell faculty, facing the threat of building seizures by militant students and by some of its own members, reversed itself today and nullified disciplinary action against five Negro students . . . But a minority

of senior professors expressed disgust. Calling it ‘abject capitulation,’ they ridiculed the idea that the faculty’s dramatic reversal of its own decision . . . was brought about by a sudden fresh perception of the complexities of the crisis. They charged that the faculty reversal was nothing short of ‘surrender to intimidation.’”

*O. Negroes at Cornell Charge They're Liberal Window-Dressing, New York Times, April 24, 1969, p. 34.*

“They brought us here for their benefit -- to integrate the place. This is Cornell, the great liberal campus in the East. And you can't be liberal without Negroes.”

*P. Faculty Revolt Upsets Cornell; Charges of Sellout Made -- Many Won't Teach Until Assured Guns Are Gone, New York Times, April 25, 1969, p. 1.*

“The administration of Cornell University, accused by some leading faculty members of ‘selling out to terrorists,’ faced a growing revolt today by professors who refused to teach until they had written assurance from President James A. Perkins that the campus was disarmed.”

Documents Q, R, S, and T are opinion pieces discussing events at Cornell from different perspective. Tom Wicker, who is white, was an opinion columnist for the New York Times. His second column is based on an interview with a Cornell University administrator, Steven Muller, who was also white. Thomas Sowell, who is African American, was an assistant professor of economics at Cornell University from 1965 to 1969, and is a leading conservative academic. In this article he described the Cornell students occupying Willard Straight Hall students as "hoodlums" with "serious academic problems" who were “admitted under lower academic standards." He denied seeing or experiencing “the pervasive racism that black students supposedly encountered at every turn on campus.” Tom Jones, who is African American, was part of the AAS leadership team. In a radio interview during the takeover he declared that Cornell “has three hours to live.” After graduation Jones became head of the nonprofit workers’ retirement fund TIAA/CREF and a Cornell trustee. In 1995, he endowed the Perkins Prize for Interracial Understanding in honor of former President James Perkins.

*Q. “In The Nation: These Guns in These Hands” by Tom Wicker, New York Times, April 22, 1969, p. 46.*

“The widely distributed photograph of black students at Cornell carrying their rifles and shotguns out of a building they had seized may well be the most shocking evidence yet -- at least to white people -- of the extent to which the American people have been divided into hostile, nearly warring forces . . . These guns in these hands, no matter how unjustified and even irrational, are what white Americans must face up to – not because there necessarily are all that many of them but because they are symbols of a profound and potentially disastrous national failure to make clear and unmistakable, to blacks as well as whites, an imperative national commitment to bridge this dark and yawning gulf that divides and threatens us. If that commitment exists, not enough blacks can believe it. And the burden of proof is not on them.”

*R. In The Nation: Humanity vs. Principle at Cornell” by Tom Wicker, New York Times, April 27, 1969, p. 17.*

“Steven Muller, Cornell University's Vice-President for public affairs, came to New York this week for a television appearance, then flew right back to the troubled upstate campus. Tired from too little sleep, Mr. Muller yet managed in a brief conversation to put recent events at Cornell into a rather different perspective . . . Muller dares believe that Cornell ultimately will find itself the better for its week of upheaval – its students and faculty more the free and open community that is the university ideal, and its blacks more fully a part of that

community. And although he is saddened that a number of Cornell faculty members, including some with high standing, plan to resign in protest, Muller believes that they have then opportunity to stand on principle this week only because university officials were willing, last Sunday in Straight hall, to put real concern for humanity above abstract principle.”

*S. “The Day Cornell Died” by Thomas Sowell (Weekly Standard, May 3, 1999).*

“No one who was at Cornell University in the spring of 1969 is ever likely to forget the guns-on-campus crisis that shocked the academic community and the nation. Bands of militant black students forcibly evicted visiting parents from Willard Straight Hall on the Cornell campus and seized control of it to back up their demands. Later, after the university’s capitulation, the students emerged carrying rifles and shotguns, their leader wearing a bandoleer of shotgun ammunition. It was a picture that appeared on the covers of national magazines and was even reprinted overseas. What happened behind the scenes was at least as shocking. Death threats were phoned to the homes of professors who had opposed their previous actions or demands. Shots were in fact fired into the engineering building. In a decade noted for its student riots, this was the most violent in the nation. In an academic world noted for its weak-kneed administrators, Cornell had the quintessential appeaser and dispenser of pious rhetoric in its president, James A. Perkins. As an assistant professor of economics at Cornell at the time, my characterization of Perkins in the media was that he was “a veritable weathervane, following the shifting cross-current of campus politics.” After thirty years, there is no need to take back any of that . . . The Cornell tragedy began with one of those good intentions with which the road to Hell is paved. When James Perkins became president of Cornell in 1963, it had an almost totally white faculty and student body. When I joined the faculty two years later, I did not see another black professor anywhere on this vast campus. Perkins, like other presidents of elite colleges and universities, sought to increase minority student enrollment — and to do so by admitting students who would not meet the existing academic standards at Cornell. The emphasis was on getting militant ghetto kids, some of whom turned out to be hoodlums who terrorized other black students, in addition to provoking a racial backlash among whites . . . Certainly there was a racist backlash among some white students after innumerable incidents of unpunished violence and disruptions by black militants, as well as other needless provocations by ghetto kids with chips on their shoulders. The racial atmosphere on campus became so charged that one of the black students moved in with my wife and me to escape dangers from both blacks and whites in the dormitory. The local black community in Ithaca was also not thrilled by the importation of hoodlums by radical chic whites at Cornell.”

*T. An Interview with Tom Jones, part of the AAS leadership team (“Getting It Straight,” Cornell Alumni Magazine, March/April 2009).*

“I was in the Class of ’69, so I came to campus in the fall of 1965 . . . To be totally honest, I was not in favor of taking over the building. We voted, and the majority thought it was necessary to do something that would shock the University, grab its attention. Parents’ Weekend would be a perfect time. The Straight was a good target . . . At first, it was kind of fun. Then the guys from Delta Upsilon came in. I was playing pool and I heard this commotion. I went to see who it was, and here were some frat boys who had decided they were going to throw us out. Something clicked inside of me: ‘This cannot end this way. Not with some frat guys deciding they’re vigilantes.’ I went up to the first guy and I punched him. There was a fight, and we threw them out. After that, the atmosphere changed, because now there was an element of ‘Are they going to come back with more people? Are the police going to do something?’ That ultimately led to the decision to arm ourselves for self-defense . . .

I'm proud of the courage of all of those black students who didn't crack, who didn't succumb to the fear of what might happen . . . I'm proud that so many white students said, 'We're not going to let these black students stay isolated. We're going to rally and create a buffer between them and the police' . . . Some of the black students, particularly those from southern and rural backgrounds, had never stood up to white people in their lives. I intentionally took the position of being the last to leave the building, because I wanted that symbolism to reflect what I felt, which was 100 percent commitment . . . It not only shocked Cornell, it shocked the country. I believe it's one of the reasons this country decided to try to fully incorporate all of its citizens, whatever racial or ethnic background . . . When I used words like 'Cornell has three hours to live,' it was a metaphorical statement. Because if violence erupted, it would have been the end of Cornell as we knew it . . . I'm not proud that an implicitly violent act was used to settle a dispute, when that's counter to everything that the University stands for. I'm certainly not proud that President Perkins became a scapegoat for the rage that erupted. He was a good person and that is the tragedy of these things . . . I do not think Barack Obama would be president today without what we did in Willard Straight Hall in 1969. I believe Barack Obama stands on our shoulders. The Straight was part of a series of historical events that began with Rosa Parks in 1955 and continued through the Sixties with the Freedom Riders and the marchers at Selma, Alabama, and made possible this magnificent thing that happened in January 2009. I think we're part of a chain of history. I'm not saying the most important part, but we're one of the links."

## Evaluating the New Global History and Geography Regents

In June 2019, New York State high schools had the option of having students take the new Global History and Geography Regents or one based on the earlier format. Both exams cover world history and geography since 1750. The three-part new exam included 28 multiple choice question, each based on document analysis of a quote or image (Part I); two sets of constructed-response questions, each based on a pair of documents (Part II); and an “enduring issues essay” requiring students to identify “a challenge of problem that has been debated or discussed across time” and “that many societies have attempted to address with varying degrees of success” (Part III). For the “enduring issues essay” students were provided with five documents and expected to identify and define an enduring issue presented in the documents, argue why the issue they selected is significant, and how it has endured across time. There essay was required to include a “historically accurate interpretation of at least three documents” and “relevant outside information from your knowledge of social studies.” The initial “enduring issues essay” had documents on the industrialization of Great Britain in the 19th century and its impact on world trade, the continuing problem of child labor, the export of electronic waste across international boundaries, a contemporary commentary of globalization, and an advertisement for South Asian tea in a British newspaper. The easiest enduring issues to discuss would be “Impact of Trade” or “Impact of Globalization,” however students could also make a case for “Impact of Technology,” “Impact of Industry,” “Impact of Imperialism,” and “Tensions between Traditional Cultures and Modernization.” The EngageNY website has an online enduring issues chart ([\[enduring-issues-chart.pdf\]\(https://www.engageny.org/sites/default/files/2-enduring-issues-chart.pdf\)\). A video describing the new exam is online at <https://www.engageny.org/resource/regents-exam-global-history-and-geography-ii>. Both Global Regents formats will be issued through June 2020. The United States History Regents will have a similar transition from June 2020 through June 2021.](https://www.engageny.org/sites/default/files/2-</a></p></div><div data-bbox=)

Below is a sample document pairing with two multiple choice questions from the exam:



.. “I started from Cork, by the mail, [coach] (says our informant), for Skibbereen and saw little until we came to Clonakilty, where the coach stopped for breakfast; and here, for the first time, the horrors of the poverty became visible, in the vast number of famished poor, who flocked around the coach to beg alms: amongst them was a woman carrying in her arms the corpse of a fine child, and making the most distressing appeal to the passengers for aid to enable her to purchase a coffin and bury her dear little baby. This horrible spectacle induced me to make some inquiry about her, when I learned from the people of the hotel that each day brings dozens of such applicants into the town. . . .”

Source: James Mahony, "Sketches in the West of Ireland,"  
*Illustrated London News*, February 13, 1847 (adapted)

What is the most likely purpose of this document?

- 1) to highlight the benefits of free markets
- 2) to record the negative impact of child labor
- 3) to minimize the impacts of agricultural innovations
- 4) to inspire social and political reform

The conditions described in this passage directly resulted in

- 1) Ireland invading Britain
- 2) millions of Irish emigrating to the United States
- 3) most landlords forgiving the rent the Irish owed
- 4) (4) Britain agreeing to withdraw from Ireland

*Teaching Social Studies* asked New York State social studies teachers to comment on the new exam.

*Karla Freire, Metropolitan Expeditionary Learning High School, Queens, NY:* I am concerned that if the new framework for the Global Regents, if not improved in some areas, will ultimately harm rather than help our students. The areas of the exam I find problematic, are Parts II and III. Both of these sections contain questions that need rephrasing or concepts that need to be changed completely, in order for students to better understand what is being asked of them. For example, several constructed-response questions need to be clarified. Providing a document and asking a student to describe the historical context or events that led to what is being described, is not enough. It is vague and confusing. Having an open-ended question like this, with an endless possibility of answers, may appear to be helpful, however, the reality is that it is too broad of a question for any student to answer in a timely manner. If a student was anything like I was in school, the first instinct for a very studious student is to overthink the question. For example, a myriad

of factors led to major events and paradigm shifts in history. Events, such as, conquest and colonization cannot be explained by one sole factor or motive. Therefore, by asking a student to explain which events led to a major historical event, it can be overwhelming for the students to go through all the possible answers to this question. How will they be able to determine which events are the "correct" ones to mention in their answer? On the other hand, if a student did not prepare as much for this exam, they would not be able to determine an answer, either. He or she may be greatly discouraged to even attempt to answer such a question, given the enormity of history. It's much too broad, and one cannot ask anyone to historically contextualize an image or text within 2-3 lines of space.

Additionally, within the 2-3 lines that are provided, the chances that students are producing actual analysis is slim. It is more likely that a factual, rote answer regarding historical chronology will be constructed. We need to reframe the question and ask for specifics. For example, "explain 1-2 factors that led to the Industrial Revolution" and allow for space for a larger response. Otherwise, it should be eliminated, given that our goal as educators is to push students towards critical analysis.

In Part III, the "Enduring Issues" essay is flawed in the sense that anything can be described as an enduring issue in history. Once again, history is being viewed much too broadly. Accepted enduring issues, such as "interconnections," can be anything from cultural diffusion to trade to peace treaties. It is an unusual and unrealistic way of interpreting history. Other acceptable enduring issues, like "conflict," is problematic given that history is filled with conflicts. Having a student write an entire essay on a general category, can lead to redundant answers that are void of analysis. Overall, as a Social Studies teacher, the new Global Regents will shape how I will plan curriculum, as I will have to schedule time to teach students how to successfully take this exam. Ultimately, it is more classroom

time dedicated to teaching solely for a test, because historians do not interpret history in the same way the Regents does.

*Alicia Szilagyi, Hutchinson Central Technical High School, Buffalo, NY:* Overall, the exam was fair, and what I had expected. The questions for the most of the multiple choice and document selections were fair and expected. The Enduring Issues piece was excellent. There are a variety of topics that could apply to the EI. The CRQ was nicely done as well. The only questions I really was not a fan of were: 9 & 10. The Political Cartoon had too much symbolism going on, and the choices were not that great. Given that we cannot rate our examinations, until we have our conversion charts, and are unable to analyze trends - I feel I cannot answer this question yet. In the future, my primary focus will be on writing skills, cross-topical teaching, and applications. A lot of the questions were not comprehension-based, but content-based. It required our students to draw on content knowledge that is very specific.

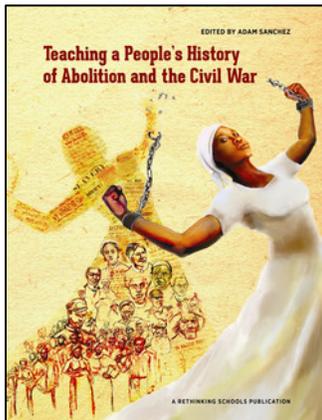
*Kim Cristal, West Irondequoit Central School District:* I am responding before we've started scoring... but my and my department's feeling was that the assessment was totally fair and aligned with our expectations. We felt our efforts for preparation aligned to what the test looked like. We will continue refining the major shifts we've already made over the past two years. Overall, we feel relieved and confident that we did all we could to prep our students.

*Fayezeah Fischer, Buffalo School of Culinary Arts and Hospitality Management:* The exam was basically a DBQ question with choices. The readings were too long. The readings were too lengthy for a special education student. If the person creating the question, had to pick a document that required them to re-read several times, that person

should reconsider the document or the wording of the question. The Mao Zedong document was a terribly worded document and discussed a time period that is not discussed in length. It was difficult to prepare the students for the multiple choice. I think we all had a false sense of the length of documents to be used for multiple choice, and the amount of inferring the student would need to do. The enduring issue wasn't too bad. I think that ended up being the most subjective item to teach. The Irish Potato famine question, and the Mao Zedong question were terrible questions. Again, these are not topics well covered (or enough time to cover Mao to that extent.) As a department we also believed that the point value on the 3rd CRQ should be two not one. If this type of exam is going to be given, then the amount of curriculum to be taught needs to be reduced. We cover so much, and the true depth and understanding can't truly be met that is expected from this exam. I think the enduring issue did a fair assessment though. That was the student demonstrating their knowledge. I plan on getting to the 20th century sooner, and using more readings to help the students get use to longer documents. I also plan on changing the multiple choice to more document based than I did this year. I did use New Visions multiple choice, and I don't think they used anything as rigorous as we saw on this exam. Rigorous questions will need to be created by myself to better prepare my students. We can only hope for a generous conversion chart for this first exam.

## Book Reviews

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*Teaching a People's History of Abolition and the Civil War*

Edited by Adam Sanchez

### Review by Aleisha Forbes

First, I want to state that I am reviewing this book from three perspectives: from the standpoint of an educator with an advanced certificate in Secondary Education, as a historian with a master's degree in History, and as an African American woman. This book, *Teaching a People's History of Abolition and the Civil War*, is essential for various reasons. Primarily it pushes students to challenge their assumptions about enslavement and the response to the question of "who freed the slaves?" Students are taken on a journey in which they recognize the agency of the enslaved while dispelling the "Great Man" narrative that names Abraham Lincoln the "Great Emancipator." Finally, this book aims to be encouraging and uplifting by promoting the possibility of social change by often overlooked historical actors. It inspires students to

recognize their parts in resisting unjust authority figures in their own lives.

Although this book may seem idealistic in its aims, it takes a very systematic approach to increasing student engagement when dealing with a polarizing segment of American history. The authors aptly include poetry and art, along with primary and secondary source analysis. The book offers units of varied lengths depending on what the teacher is able to implement in their curriculum. As a teacher with knowledge of the students in my classroom, I wouldn't follow their prescribed trajectory completely. The lessons that seem most valuable from my perspective are lesson one: Frederick Douglass fights for freedom; lesson two: poetry of defiance; lesson five: raising the voices of abolitionists through art; lesson eight: a war to free the slaves; and lesson nine: who freed the slaves.

The authors explains that if necessary, a teacher can begin at lesson eight, which is focused on Lincoln, in order to increase student "buy-in" to the unit's topic. Lesson eight challenges the myth that the civil war was a war to free the slaves. It does this from an inquiry-based perspective where students investigate the statement that Lincoln and the North fought the Civil War to free the slaves. It also poses the question: How might U.S. history have turned out differently had the Southern states accepted Lincoln's offer in 1861 to support the original 13th amendment to the Constitution which would have guaranteed slavery forever. This is a compelling question because in my experience, students are always interested in examining alternative versions of history and answering the question "What If?" Overall this lesson seems to be very engaging for students because it is discussion centered, however it needed more direct teacher modeling if this would be the first lesson in the unit. If presented to a classroom of diverse learners, the text would need to be chunked while defining challenging vocabulary for students and pushing

them to write gist statements of what they read in their own words. This would ensure that they are able to grapple with the rigorous material of Lincoln's inaugural address and the Emancipation Proclamation.

A method that the authors included to assist diverse learners was "role-play." Lesson seven, a role-play on the election of 1860, was in my opinion the most complicated lesson in the series. It was a multi-step lesson that required vast preparation on the part of the instructor. Although it is worthy because it will increase student involvement and ownership of their learning, the teacher may be apprehensive due to the theatrical nature of this lesson. The major benefit of this lesson is the fact that it outlines the campaign points of the various candidates. However, it assumes that all students will be compliant and get into character in order to achieve lesson outcomes. All in all, this lesson is a great support for students with varying learning styles who need a more hands on approach to learning, but it can be time consuming to implement properly.

The most intriguing lessons were lesson two: poetry of defiance, and lesson five: raising the voices of abolitionists through art. Both lessons present the narrative of resistance in captivating ways. Lesson two uses poetry to challenge the notion that slaves were happy and protected while in the system of enslavement. Students examine quotes that illustrate several methods that the enslaved incorporated to resist the system of oppression. This lesson lends itself to the opportunity to make several text-to-world connections in the form of Negro spirituals such as "Wade in the Water" and popular movies such as "Beloved 1998" and "Birth of a Nation 2016." Making these instructional decisions will assist students in the culminating poem writing exercise. It is a spectacular tool in shifting the narrative of enslavement for the next generation of students,

especially with present day figures such as Kanye West spewing false accounts that slavery was a choice. The powerful quotes that are included in this text illustrate that the enslaved were far from mentally imprisoned. On the contrary, they were the architects in their own form of resistance and freedom.

Lesson five brings this project full circle because it connects the voices of abolitionists through art with contemporary artists who use art as a form of opposition. Two of these pieces, Frederick Douglass' "the meaning of July fourth for the negro" and Sojourner Truth's "ain't I a woman" are poignant pieces that are sure to draw out responses from students, especially in the era of Colin Kaepernick's national anthem protest and the growth of the Me-Too movement. In the social studies classroom, we often task students with image analysis of political cartoons and various art pieces, but there is value in having them create their own illustrations to powerful speeches that were aimed in invoking strong feelings from the reader. In my own classroom, I use illustrations for vocabulary practice and poster presentations. However, using it in response to famous historical pieces is an important instructional decision.

All in all, this book is a valuable tool in a 21st century social studies classroom. It challenges students' misconceptions and pushes them to be more civic minded. The use of role-play and the incorporation of art and poetry along with primary and secondary source analysis present a balanced approach to teaching about a difficult topic.

In my own instructional practice, I have struggled to find effective lessons on slavery, abolition, and the Civil War. This book of lessons will allow me to incorporate new techniques into my teaching. My main concerns about the implementation of role-play activities, the chunking of challenging texts, definition of challenging

vocabulary, and modeling of rigorous material are all instructional choices that a teacher can make to adapt the material to meet the needs of students in their classroom. This book will help *Rethinking Schools* achieve their goals of helping students realize the possibility of social change, especially on the part of ordinary citizens by analyzing the toppling of the institution of slavery by abolitionists and the enslaved alike. Students will be able to

realize the impact they can make in the world, whether they aim to tackle school shootings, racism and injustice, or immigration and female empowerment in order to shift their outlook.

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