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Guidelines for Manuscripts

Aims and Scope

The Pennsylvania Council for the Social Studies seeks to publish manuscripts in the *Journal* that focus on any of the following:

- Creative ways of teaching social studies at the elementary, secondary, and higher education levels
- Research articles
- Explanations of new types of materials and/or equipment that directly relate to social studies teaching, particularly those developed and/or implemented by teachers
- Explanations of teacher developed projects that help social studies students and teachers work with community groups
- Reviews of books and other media that are relevant to the teaching of social studies
- Analysis of how other academic disciplines relate to the teaching of social studies

Instructions for Authors

All manuscripts must adhere to the following formatting guidelines. Manuscripts that do not meet the guidelines will be returned to the author without going out for peer review. The editors of *Social Studies Journal* accept submissions on a rolling basis. However, calls for manuscripts are issued for both regular and special issues.

- Type and double-space submissions using 12-point font and one-inch margins
- Include any figures and/or images at the end of the article
- Authors are responsible for obtaining copyright permission for all images

- Average manuscript length is between five and fifteen pages, though exceptions can be made on a case-by-case basis
- Follow guidelines of the current Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association
- Do not include author name(s) or other identifying information in the text or references of the paper
- Include a separate title page that contains the title of the article, author(s) name(s), institution(s), and email address(es)
- With submission email, authors must attest that the manuscript is original, not under review elsewhere, and not published previously
- Papers must be submitted as Word documents to the editors at: editors.ssj@gmail.com

Journal Information

Social Studies Journal is a biannual publication of the Pennsylvania Council for the Social Studies. The Journal seeks to provide a space for the exchange of ideas among social studies educators and scholars in Pennsylvania and beyond. The editors encourage authors both in and out of Pennsylvania to submit to the Journal.

All manuscripts go through a blinded peer-review process. In order to encourage and assist writers, the reviewers make suggestions and notations for revisions that are shared with the author before papers are accepted for final publication. The editors encourage authors in both K-12 and higher education settings to consider submitting to *Social Studies Journal*.

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Membership in the Pennsylvania Council for the Social Studies is currently free. Correspondence about membership should go to Executive Secretary, David Trevaskis: david@leapkids.com.

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Council for the Social Studies website: www.pcssonline.org. Correspondence about editorial matters should be directed to the editors at: editors.ssj@gmail.com.

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From the Editors

We are excited to share the spring, 2018, issue of *Social Studies Journal (SSJ)*, a publication of the Pennsylvania Council for the Social Studies. This issue includes timely pieces relevant for scholars and practitioners of social studies alike, regardless of grade level, geographic location, or subject area.

We are especially thrilled that this issue features an invited piece by leading social studies scholar Margaret Smith Crocco of Michigan State University titled, "Teaching Social Studies in the #MeToo Era." Teachers and teacher educators can turn to this piece to guide their planning of lessons and discussions to be representative and timely regarding gender. Current discourse demands this type of scholarship and we are proud to include it in *SSI*.

Also focused on current events and teaching in our current political climate, Marc Brasof and two teams of his students at Arcadia University have authored a trio of articles about teaching in a politically divisive climate. Brasof and his students highlight how they approached this issue in their social studies methods course through examples such as teaching source validation and how to directly approach even the most sensitive of sociopolitical topics: abortion.

James Schul from Winona State University calls on history teachers to consider how and why they might encourage historical imagination as they guide their students in a study of the past. While by no means rejecting the emphasis on historical

thinking that has dominated scholarship on the teaching and learning of history for several decades, Schul considers how inviting imagination within historical inquiry might help enliven students' interest in history.

The final two pieces in this issue both use an examination of the past to shed light on the ways in which social studies teachers can promote meaningful and nuanced understandings about the past and present. Thomas Fallace from William Patterson University explores the emergence propaganda education in American schools between the World Wars. His article outlines three approaches to defining and teaching propaganda about and offers recommendations for educators who want to prepare their students to navigate the current media landscape. Brian Gibbs from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill chronicles the activism of Bayard Rustin. Gibbs argues that including Rustin in a study of the American Civil Rights Movement allows for a broader examination of the strategies utilized for this cause and of gender and LGBTQ concerns related to movement.

Finally, we would like to thank Michael Perrotti and Joseph Anthes for their support as corresponding editors. We hope you enjoy this issue of *SSJ!*

Sincerely, Jessica B. Schocker, Editor Sarah Brooks, Associate Editor

TEACHING GENDER AND SOCIAL STUDIES IN THE #METOO ERA

Margaret Smith Crocco Michigan State University

Thirty years ago, I began teaching women's studies and social studies courses at the high school and college levels. After a long layover from teaching the former, in Spring 2017 I had the opportunity to teach women's studies at Michigan State University – WS 897, a "Graduate Seminar in Feminist Theories, Epistemologies and Pedagogy." Teaching this course stimulated reflections on where feminism, women's studies, and social studies education have gone-or not-since I began teaching. Among the factors that prompted further reflection on these topics have been the women's marches across the globe in 2017 and 2018; the #MeToo movement: dramatic increase in the number of women running for U.S. political offices in 2018; greater recognition of the transgender identity and LGBTQ statuses; and a resurgence of interest in feminism, especially among young women, with greater attention to intersectionality than was the case thirty years ago (Rosenberg, 2018).

Creating the syllabus during the run-up to the 2016 presidential election brought heightened anticipation about the prospect of teaching a women's studies course at a time when we would (I thought) be witnessing the inauguration of the first woman president in the United States. Unfortunately, I had failed to read the predictions of an expert on women and politics, Falida Jalalzai (2014), who had written about the difficulties facing Hillary Clinton as she contemplated running for president or

another prescient piece by Uri Friedman (2016) entitled "Why It's So Hard for a Woman to Become President of the United States." Focused on other media outlets predicting a Clinton victory, I was surprised by the 2016 election's outcome.

Only 41% of female voters president supported the new (Cooperman, Deckman, & Dolan, 2017).¹ Given both the visceral nature of political party identification (Theodoridis, 2016), and the divergence in Republicans' and Democrats' views on the progress of gender equality (Horowitz, Parker, & Stepler, 2017),2 the election might be interpreted as a backlash against both feminist aspirations to political leadership and eight years of Obama's presidency.

History shows that the United States cycles between periods of acceptance and contestation (Smith, 1997) concerning the proper place of women, persons of color, and immigrants in the American civic polity. The "politics of people-building" (Smith, 2001) perennially involves leaders' attempts to "define the boundaries of their political

¹ Trump's support among African American women was under 5%. Forty-one percent of men supported Clinton. The gender gap in votes was the largest since 1980 except for 1996 in which Bill Clinton had an eleven-point advantage among women voters.

² Sixty-nine percent of Democrats are dissatisfied with the progress women have made in terms of gender equality while only 26% of Republicans are dissatisfied. Other differences exist in how one can parse the results of this survey (Millennials/non-Millennials; men/women; Republican men/Republican women; Democratic men/Democratic women). Forty-nine percent of Democrats say men have it "easier" to 19% of Republicans.

community and the statuses of those within it" (p.76) through force, action, or narratives aimed at creating allegiance to the leader and his vision, whether expansive or contractive.

In many ways, women have historically posed a challenge to defining the autonomous individual citizen (Scott, 2018) as well as the politician (Friedman, 2016). Consequently, it is not surprising that women serve as a bellwether of the mood of the country regarding its self-definition and the boundaries the nation wants to draw around its identity. This is not only a U.S. problem since the "global gender gap" in political power is significant worldwide (World Economic Forum, 2016).

Given these realities, in what ways has social studies, a school subject focused on citizenship education, explored the gendered nature of the nation state, citizenship, and citizenship rights? One way to begin to answer this question is by considering what Joseph Schwab (1978) called, many years ago, the "four commonplaces of schooling" (see Crocco, 2006): subject matter, learners, teachers, and milieu or context. In arguing that gender is implicated in all four aspects of schooling, I draw on the idea that social studies is a critical form of education. I define social education (Woyshner, Watras, & Crocco, 1999) as follows:

We take social education to mean teaching and learning about how individuals construct and live out their understandings of social, political, and economic relations—past and present—and the implications of these understandings for how citizens are educated in a democracy. In short, social education seeks to address the issue of what skills and knowledge individuals

need to live effectively in a democracy, the definition of which we borrow from John Dewey, who considered democracy "a mode of associative living." (p.1)

From this perspective, social studies educators have a responsibility to address issues related to social relationships, including race/ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, and class, that influence "associative living" modes of American society. Given events of the past year, it is imperative that educators take up issues of gender in social studies classrooms. Following Schwab's framework would analyzing mean subject matter, learners, teachers, and contexts through the lens of gender, and how considering social educators' responsibilities extend beyond the walls of classrooms in bringing equity and social justice into schooling and society (Crocco, 2002).

Feminism: A Term of Pride or Opprobrium?

WS 897's students included 11 women and 1 man; they ranged in age from their early twenties to their thirties. The group was ethnically diverse. Students were pursuing master's and doctoral degrees in the humanities and social sciences.

For many young women and men coming of age in the eighties, nineties, and later, especially those who were White and middle-class, two themes shaped their views of the women's movement: first, the label "feminist" was often spurned as having negative connotations, for example, man-hating, lesbian, and pro-abortion; and second, the notion that the women's movement had

made enough progress that women could "have it all."

As became clear over the course of the semester, the views of students in WS897 reflected their own ambivalence towards the label "feminist" as well as their harsh critique of second-wave feminism's limitations, especially its lack of intersectionality. The students were well-versed in the particularities of this problem, including its manifestation in terms of race/ethnicity, sexuality, gender binaries, language, colonialism, and other issues. However, they were less wellinformed about the history of the gender theories women's movement, discipline, outside their own approaches to curricular change.

Given the course's subtitle, we read widely in feminist theorizing. I'll mention a few readings here since they provide a theoretical grounding for this article. In 1986, Joan Wallach Scott wrote that gender was not only a "useful category of historical analysis" but also a system of power in which changes in males' and females' roles might occur over time while the relative status of genders remained fairly constant. Another historian, Gerda Lerner (1986), named the system of power undergirding gender arrangements as "patriarchy," and in another book (1991) highlighted "feminist which the wavs bv consciousness" arose in the Enlightenment. A new group of feminist scholars in the nineties critiqued earlier writing for its essentialism (Spelman, 1990) and lack of attention intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1991).

One famous work, Judith Butler's *Gender Trouble* (1990), emerged at a time when poststructuralist feminist analysis was at its apogee. Butler pointed to

"debates within feminism about the meaning of gender" that might lead to the "failure of feminism" (vii). Her concerns were well-grounded since poststructuralism had moved women's studies away from the political and economic concerns at the heart of secondwave feminism and the daily struggles of many women, such as low pay, discrimination, abuse, and violence.

As globalization spread during the call for human rights nineties, reinvigorated the women's movement. In 1995, Hilary Clinton made famous the slogan "women's rights are human rights" at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, asserting that the concept of "women" still held meaning in creating a platform for action by nations, United Nations. and governmental organizations that could be applied to legal, economic, and political despite problems, women's differences worldwide.

Fast forward to a few years ago, some Americans might have assumed that we were living in a postfeminist society. Events of the last year have laid such notions to rest. Most recently, the convergence of the #MeToo movement with attention to the lack of progress U.S. women have made in economic, legal, and political arenas³ and the ongoing threat that women's rights may be rolled back further has brought renewed interest in feminism. In 2017, Merriam-Webster's online dictionary reported that "feminism" was the most searched-for word its website. on

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³ See, for example, the online data available at the Center for the American Woman and Politics, Rutgers University, or the cross-cultural political data available at the website of the Inter-Parliamentary Union: http://archive.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm

According to the *New Yorker* article in which this news appeared, Merriam-Webster said that searches for the term were up seventy per cent from 2016 (Menand, 2018), offering further evidence of the pertinence of the concept to contemporary events.

Social Education and Gender

Numerous scholars since Dewey (e.g., Myers, McBride, & Anderson, 2015) have argued that teaching social studies requires an expansive view of its mandate, including consideration of how citizenship education shapes the civic identities of young people. Although not every teacher of social studies will accept this self-definition, educators interested advancing equity through teaching ought to bring gender into their work. This is not difficult since gender has myriad connections to the standard topics found in social studies subject matter, for example, politics (e.g., Bordo, 2017; Katz, 2016), civil rights (e.g., Crawford, Rouse, & Woods, privacy and legal rights (see Roe v Wade, 1973), and protection from harassment (e.g., Title IX).

Nevertheless, recent reviews conducted studies about social curriculum (National Women's History Museum, 2018) and research (Crocco, 2008, 2018; Bohan, 2017; Mayo, 2017) suggest that gender remains a marginal standards-andconcern. The accountability movement of the last two has produced significant decades headwinds for teaching topics related to gender due to the emphasis on traditional (i.e., political and economic) approaches to teaching and writing in social studies (Schmeichel, 2011). Nevertheless, in the

#MeToo era in which so many women have stepped forward with stories of abuse, harassment, and violence and, for the first time, are actually being believed, shouldn't gender-related topics serve as prime examples of "critical lessons" (Noddings, 2007) for social studies classes? Going beyond curriculum, other questions about schooling might be raised, for example, do gendered role expectations shape teachers' and parents' aspirations for students, academically and otherwise, as well as expectations about who leads and who follows in government student and school leadership? In the next section, I raise other questions stemming from my experiences with the Women's Studies class that might stimulate thinking on the place of gender within social studies and schools.

What does it mean to be a woman - and a man - in our society? Our class spent significant time talking about the ways in which this question was difficult to answer. On the one hand, the question seems straightforward, even simplistic; on the other hand, it is complex and the answers, elusive.

Historically, women have been seen more as bodies than minds, wombs than brains. In the Creation of Patriarchy (1986), Gerda Lerner recounts how women came to be seen as property over which men had control in producing wealth in the form of offspring and labor. Threatening women (or their children) with rape, violence, and murder has been a tradition used by men to maintain control, power, and authority. Unsurprisingly, Lerner writes, some women feel it safer to identify with powerful men, especially in insecure

contexts, rather than ally themselves with other women to challenge patriarchy.

Within social education, women struggle "politics still for a recognition." Rather than challenging male-tilted male dominance and curriculum, women sometimes collude in or at least accept their absence from the social studies curriculum as well as power and leadership in society. In schools, more women today are social studies teachers than decades ago when men dominated the field, and yet coverage of women's history remains low. Is this because women today don't think that yesterday's women have done anything worthy of inclusion in the curriculum? Likewise, the attention to gender in social studies research suggests that scholars, many of whom are women these days, don't consider it important for their own investigations.

We must remember that gender is a relational system, and that gender is not just about women but about men and those who identify as trans-gendered. Just as we ask questions about what it means to be a woman, highlighting the fact that it is not a monolithic category, we must also ask about what it means to man or transgendered. increasingly larger group of writers have come to assert that "What we need to start talking about is the crisis in masculinity" (Hesse & Zak, 2017). These individuals point to the amount of gendered abuse and violence represented by the #MeToo movement, the "rape contemporary culture" campuses, and the frequent outbreak of male shooters lone armed with automated weapons who kill children and adults (e.g., Black, 2018). Taking up

the question of gender identity, and even gender fluidity, in citizenship education would be useful as a means of addressing the challenges of associative living, whether in schools, neighborhoods, college campuses, or online spaces, across difference. In high civics/government classes, teachers could consult books such as No Constitutional Right to be Ladies: Women and Obligations of Citizenship (Kerber, 1998) or In Pursuit of Equity: Women, Men, and the Quest for Economic Citizenship in 20th-Century America (Kessler-Harris, 2003) to consider the different ways in which women's rights and privileges as citizens have been viewed differently under the law, in the former book, examining service on juries or in the army; in the latter book, investigating the gendered and racialized assumptions built into the Social Security Act of 1935.

In elementary classrooms, students could read stories of women who broke away from the prescribed gendered roles of their day through works of non-fiction such as Little Leaders: Bold Women in Black History (Harrison, 2017), Hidden Figures: The True Story of Four Black Women and the Space Race (Shetterly, 2018), or those by Penny Colman on the women's suffrage movement (2016) or Rosie the Riveter (1998), among others.

And, as always, it's important to introduce students to media literacy as part of social studies. Images, films, and music are powerful conveyors of gender role expectations and relationships, sometimes of a very dis-empowering sort for young women such as in hip-hop music (e.g., Hurt, 2006). Likewise, contemporary gender messages can have damaging consequences for young men, as argued in a book on "thug culture"

(Bloom, 2013). Excerpts from these works or others of this type could provide stimulating prompts for conversations, dialogues, or essay writing about these topics.

How can social education connect to feminist praxis inside and outside the classroom? As bell hooks (1994) once said, there is no feminist movement without praxis. Social studies ought to question how the established order came to be, how it is maintained, and how it could be changed for the better.

As shocking as the revelations of sexual harassment and abuse have been, perhaps even more shocking have been the silences about them by bystanders aware of what was occurring. Undoubtedly "profiles in courage" seem in short supply these days-especially in the corridors of power where privilege reigns. Nevertheless, social studies educators can combat patriarchy and other systems of privilege that position "things as they are" or "things as they have always been" as situations about which nothing can be done.

Promoting allyship is important, especially in support of the most vulnerable individuals in our society, whether due to race, class, sexuality, language, religion, or immigrant status. Anti-Oppression According the to Network: "allyship is not an identity—it lifelong process of building relationships based on trust, consistency, and accountability with marginalized individuals and/or groups of people" (https://theantioppressionnetwork.com/ allyship/). The Framework *C*3 promulgated by the National Council for the Social Studies (2013) calls for "taking action" as part of its Inquiry Arc. Encouraging students to become allies is

one way to enact this curricular aim. Women have long led the "resistance" to the status quo and taken action to advance change (Gidlow, 2018), whether it be against bullying due to gender identity (Chasnoff & Symons, 2008; Meyer, 2009) or fighting for equal rights and recognition for marginalized populations.

Over the years one of my favorite resources for thinking differently about curriculum and teaching has been the organization Rethinking Schools. considering ways to be allies, teachers might consult their book Rethinking Sexism, Gender, and Sexuality (Butler-Wall et al., 2016) for scores of wonderful examples of how to address these topics age-appropriate fashion. Other resources include the Zinn Education (www.zinnedproject.org), **Project** Teaching Tolerance (www.tolerance.org), and the National Women's History Project (www.nwhp.org).

How can we challenge implicit and explicit curriculum of gender in schools and society? The curriculum - both the one in school and the other revealed by American politics demonstrate the failures of citizenship education in fostering democracy as a form of associated living, and perhaps even of democracy as a form of governance shaped by the rule of law and system of norms that sustain democracy (Levitsky & Ziblatt, 2018). Traditional historical narratives promote American story as one of progress and freedom, downplaying the injustice and violence that have been part of the American experience and overlooking the role of power and privilege in defining citizenship. Perhaps today, many citizens have come to recognize that they

underestimated the capacity of patriarchy and privilege to re-invent and re-assert itself, especially while masquerading as populism.

At the base of social studies are questions of epistemic power (Dotson, 2015) about what knowledge is of most worth. Social studies educators might consider: Whose experiences or ways of knowing/seeing are privileged in social studies? What is considered rational (not emotional/hysterical) in responding to this subject matter? What should we be skeptical about or believe as evidence for propositions our (Crocco, Segall, Halvorsen, & Jacobsen, 2017; Crocco, Halvorsen, Jacobsen, & Segall, 2018)? Who do we define as an expert or an authority? What system of values undergirds the question of "significance" in determining what students should learn in social studies classrooms?

To be sure, social studies has made progress since the eighties in introducing women into the curriculum, but probably not as much as many people might assume, especially regarding women of color (Clark, Allard, & Mahoney, 2004; Clark, Ayton, Frechette, & Keller, 2005; Schocker & Woyshner, 2013). In addition, the scant exposure that many future teachers (female and male) have had to women's history exacerbates the problem of teaching subject matter in more inclusive ways. Even for educators with background in gendered or race-based approaches to teaching social studies, difficult questions emerge about speaking for others (Alcoff, 1991), teaching or researching "what we're not" (Mayberry, 1996), being a man teaching women's history (Syrett, 2009), or other examples of the epistemological challenges facing all of us as we attempt to teach from and beyond our own positionality.

Most social studies textbooks are not up to the task of moving the field towards inclusion. For one thing, the disembodied ways in which textbooks portray the past through passive voice responsibility elision of perpetrators of past crimes (e.g., slavery without slave owners) promote the occlusion of issues of power in the stories we tell about the past and the ways in which we contemplate social action in the present (Tavris & Aronson, Woyshner & Schocker, 2015). Likewise, the ways in which we think about teaching and learning, for example, seeing our students' learning as more rational than social and affective, limits our ability to be effective in doing citizenship education. We underestimate the role of emotion and tribalism in defining reality. As Garrett (2016) has written about so eloquently, we assume that simply by providing our students with more information that we will change their hearts and minds, even though ample evidence indicates that this will not work (Hurtado, Alvarez, Guillermo-wann, Cuellar, & Arellano, 2012).

To address the affective dimensions of social studies, teachers might consider using literature. wonderful resource for accomplishing this is Kay A. Chick's book, Teaching Women's History through Literature (2008). Another stimulating book is Penny Colman's Girls: A History of Growing Up Female in America (2000). In conjunction with both books, teachers could have students conduct oral histories with women and men they know about the gendered messages they received

growing up, create poetic or artistic responses to the biographies they read, or analyze the books or other materials for stereotypical portrayals of one gender or the other (Marshall & Sensoy, 2011). could Students also consider the geography of their classrooms and schools for "gendered spaces" physics or advanced math classes) or "gender messages" (e.g., bulletin boards) that reflect implicit role expectations for male and female students.

Conclusion

In the #MeToo era, social studies educators might ask: Why hasn't a woman been elected U.S. president yet? Why is only 1 in 5 US Congressmen a woman; 1 in 4 US Senators; fewer than 1 in 4 representatives in state legislatures? And why have many states never had a governor? woman (Center for American Women and Politics, 2017). Other questions might include: Why do 1 in 4 women experience "intimate partner violence," with nearly 23 million women in the United States who are survivors of rape or attempted rape in their lives (Centers for Disease Control, 2017)? Why is the face of poverty disproportionately that of a woman (Center for Poverty Research, 2018)? How do gender and race interact in shaping life experiences in and out of classrooms and schools?

Social educators have a special relationship to democracy and citizenship; their potential contributions to building a more equitable society are great. Events of the past year have offered ample evidence that patriarchy is alive and well in American society – as is racism, homophobia, xenophobia, and other problems undermining the promise

of democracy as a form of associated living. The #MeToo moment in American society provides fresh opportunities for social educators to teach about the ongoing fight for women's rights towards equal opportunity for all. A few other modest suggestions along these lines include the following: In American history and government classes, greater attention might be paid to what the 19th Amendment (whose 100th anniversary comes in 2020) did and didn't accomplish; the Equal Rights Amendment and why it failed; Title IX and its impact on college campuses; and the activism of the LGBTQ communities, for example, at Stonewall in 1969. For World history, other opportunities exist (Crocco, 2011), such as teaching about women's rights as human rights (Crocco, 2007), women and religion (Crocco, Pervez, & Katz, 2009), and the impact of gender colonialism on and hierarchies. In teaching about gender, it's important to always keep in mind intersectionality, that is, the myriad ways race/ethnicity, which religion, disability, language, poverty, and other factors shape opportunities, rights, and lives in very different ways.

In sum, gender remains a critical aspect of society and schooling—one demanding the attention of every social studies educator and teacher educator

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FOR THE LOVE OF HISTORY: REKINDLING IMAGINATION IN HISTORY CLASSROOMS

James E. Schul Winona State University

"The true sign of intelligence is not knowledge but imagination." Albert Einstein

During my days as a high school history teacher, many of my students' parents shared with me that they did not come to enjoy history until they reached adulthood. These parents' confessions are representative of a larger trend across the United States. Interest in history flows among the broad American population. Nearly twenty years ago, historians Roy Rosenzweig and David (1998)interviewed Thelen 1.453 individuals about past-related activities and found out that 91% looked at photographs with family or friends, 83% took photographs or videos to preserve memories, and 81% watched movies or television programs about the past. suggest that the many people who enjoy engaging in the past do so because they are free to explore and imagine about the past, to "turn to it as a way of grappling with profound questions about how to live" (Rosenzweig & Thelen 1998, p. 18). Students usually rank history amongst their least favorite subjects and generally perceive it as less important in the school curriculum than math and literature (Jones, 2013; Loewen, 2008). Yet, the public's interest in history is increasing. David McCullough's history books, when published, rank among the highest in Ken Burns' historical docusales. mentaries that air on Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) remain high in popularity -

with one of his more recent productions, The Roosevelts, averaging 9.2 million viewers. Stephen Spielberg's 2012 movie earned over Lincoln \$275 million The National Park Service worldwide. estimated that well over one million people visit Gettysburg, PA each year. This evidence reveals that individuals enjoy using their imagination to travel back in time. In sum, people are drawn to speculating on such questions as: What was it like for John Adams in the Congress Continental during American Revolution? What was it like to be at Ford's Theatre when Lincoln was assassinated? What happened to small towns such as Gettysburg during the Civil War? What kind of person was Eleanor Roosevelt? If adults are drawn to history in these informal ways, how might we better teach history in the formal school setting?

With this article, I am proposing that teachers should consider adding the dimension of historical imagination as a means to enrich and enliven students' interest in history. It is my hope that this article helps lift up the need for nurturing students' historical imagination in their classroom history experience. It also is my hope that this article clarifies the levels of historical imagination teachers may employ, the benefits in doing so, and some lesson examples that have the potential to foster it amongst their students. Moreover, for those many history teachers who face their students

on a daily basis and are indeed already engaging their students' historical imagination, perhaps this article may serve to embolden and support their effort to make history meaningful and enjoyable for your students.

History Education: Background and Context

History education has evolved over the past two decades to the point where skills of the historian, such as interpretation and analysis, are given more attention in the professional preparation and development of history teachers (e.g., Barton & Levstik 2004; Lesh, 2011).

The wide interest in historical interpretation, aptly called historical thinking, began over two decades ago when Sam Wineburg (1991) studied the unique disciplinary practices of history by comparing professional historians' practices (i.e., critical inquiry of primary sources) with those of advanced secondary students. Wineburg's study led to the simple, yet significant, conclusion that those professionally involved in history possess knowledge different from the high school student of Wineburg's significant study history. was succeeded by studies from other researchers (e.g., Barton & Levstik, 2004; Van Sledright, 2002; Yeager & Davis, 1996) who investigated historical thinking as a way for teachers to nurture inquirybased practices for students. inquiry-based practices as collecting sources and analyzing them, synthesizing them into some sort of narrative structure, and providing source-based evidence support claims to assertions, provide the premise for

researchers' attempts to explore students' problem solving within the landscape of Additionally, Barton history-making. and Levstik (2004) claimed crafting narratives historical involves different types of empathy: perspective recognition as empathy, and care and commitment as empathy. These types of empathy may be closely connected to historical imagination because they both require the student to place their thoughts and emotions in the past so to better understand those who lived in it. Fortunately, empathetic development is gaining traction amongst history The National Center for educators. History in the Schools (1996), created by the University of California, Los Angeles, even aspired that students should read historical imaginatively narratives "taking into account what the narrative reveals of the humanity of the individuals and groups involved--their probable values, outlook, motives, hopes, fears, strengths, and weaknesses." This is positive news for those who yearn for more students to have a meaningful and personal encounter with history.

Still, little attention is paid to the history that students themselves generate or to history that is not necessarily tied to written prose. For instance, the well regarded Stanford History Education Group created curriculum that positions students to analyze and interpret sources but gives scant attention to actual creation of history. Even the Common Core State Standards for History/Social standards-based Studies. the new framework that directs history teaching and learning today, focuses on important and specific skills such as analyzing primary and secondary sources, but once again lacks an emphasis in students'

creation of history. Instead, the Common Core emphasizes objectives such as students' ability to "determine the meaning of words and phrases as they are used in a text" and to "distinguish among fact, opinion, and reasoned judgment in a text." Activities of this sort will not necessarily engage enough students with a lasting love of history that they will use for their lifetime.

I was a high school social studies teacher who taught U.S. History and In my ten years of world history. secondary teaching, I can recall only one student who later majored in history during their college years. In no way do I view this as a failure on my part. In fact, I perceive my experience as typical amongst history teachers in the American comprehensive high school. My students eventually became engineers, construction workers, plumbers, doctors, nurses, teachers, and other important professionals and contributors to society. My objective as a history teacher was to, in addition to preparing students to be continually engaged and informed citizens, foster characteristics in them that make up a high quality of life such as curiosity, a love of learning, and a general interest in the life of the mind regardless of their later position in life. This leads me to question why so much attention in contemporary history curricula is paid to prepare students to act and think like an historian even though they may never actually become professional historians. What I am proposing with this article is not to replace the contemporary wave of history curriculum development. In fact, this contemporary wave has enlivened history teaching and learning across the country. However, something significant missing research in the and

practitioner-oriented literature on history teaching and learning: engaging students' historical imagination. It is important, therefore, to first explore the central role that imagination actually does play in history.

Imagination and History

A popular misbelief about history is that it is an objective record of the past devoid of any interpretation on the part of the historian. As a case in point, the political pundit Rush Limbaugh recently wrote a history of the first Thanksgiving that he argued is an improvement upon contemporary historical portrayals of the event because his portrayal is accurate. "Yeah, I know this happens," Limbaugh (2013) remarked in his criticism of historians' recent interpretations of the first Thanksgiving, "and it's been an abject direct contradiction of the historical record - and the historical record, William Bradford wrote it. This is not anybody's opinion. What happened, he documented." Contrary to Limbaugh's impulsive and misguided conception of history as a fixed narrative to be uncovered, history, by its very nature, is an interpretive endeavor. Historians, by trade, engage in an interpretation of the past based on evidence. Thus, the past is different from history. The historian John Lewis Gaddis (2002) aptly explained the dichotomy between the past and history:

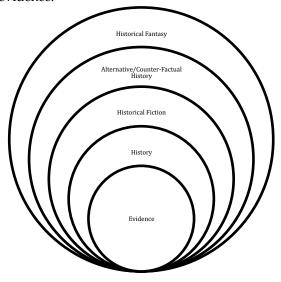
But the past, in another sense, is something we can never have. For by the time we've become aware of what has happened it's already inaccessible to us: we cannot relive, retrieve, or rerun it as we might some laboratory experiment or computer simulation. We can only represent it (p. 3).

Representation of the past requires the historian to use his or her imagination when fostering a narrative.

The renowned philosopher of history, R.G. Collingwood, asserted that "every present has a past of its own, and any imaginative reconstruction of the past aims at reconstructing the past of this present" (Collingwood, 1946, p. 247). But, then, is history purely imaginary? The short and simple answer is "yes." The longer answer is that all genres of historical production, regardless of how closely they are aligned with evidence, positions the historian to engage their historical imagination. Contrary to what critics of aligning non-fiction with the imaginary might teacher's say, a employment of students' historical imaginations has a positive net result. According to the historian David Stalev "imaginative history is an (2007),discipline, in that much of the work occurs in the 'staging area' or 'workspace' of the imagination, and is only then made external when we transcribe that product of our imagination into words" (p. 101). Staley asserted that historians employ their imagination in distinctly different ways as they produce history. faculty mental imagination of essentially the intellectual laboratory where historians stage a representation of the past - where they put together the traces of evidence to conjure a portrayal of what actually happened. This staging of the past is necessary because the past longer historians no exists. Asreconstruct a past that no longer exists, they simultaneously engage in a creative or playful act. The creative or playful act, according to Staley, is "this sense of imagination that allows our minds to recombine, juxtapose, invent, and create in novel ways" (Staley, 2007, p. 102). Imagination, therefore, is a prerequisite for constructing solid history.

The concept of imagination likely conjures notions of fantasy. imagination and fantasy are clearly not juxtaposed, they need synonymous with one another either. Contrary, imagination is the lone tool individuals, including historians, have of representing the past. But, then, is history ever accurate? The litmus test of historical reliability is the accounts' agreeability with a wide array evidence. Figure 1 displays the place history has in light of evidence, when compared to other representations of the past.

Figure 1. Representation of the past based on evidence.



These representations of the past are: history, historical fiction, alternative/counter-factual, and historical fantasy. The following sections elaborate upon the unique nature of these four representations.

History. History closely adheres to the evidence whereas other genres that represent the past move further and further away from what the evidence says. For instance, Abraham Lincoln is one of the most written about figures from the past and has been written about different levels of historical using imagination. David Herbert Donald's (1996) biography of Lincoln simply entitled *Lincoln* is clearly a history. Donald's reference to evidence exhaustive (the source notes alone consist of eighty-six pages) and his narration in the book closely adheres to that evidence. Donald consistently pointed to evidence as he made certain points, for instance in his preface he stated: "this biography highlights a basic trait of character evident throughout Lincoln's life: the essential passivity of his nature. Lincoln himself recognized it in a letter he wrote on April 4, 1864, to Albert G. Hodges: ...'I claim not to have controlled events, but plainly that confess events controlled me'" (Donald, 1996, pp. 14-15). The use of imagination to construct historical accounts, such as in Donald's Lincoln, while less clear than other representations, still occurs. In fact, I conjecture that some historians might even deny that they use their imagination when engaging in their craft for fear of being sacrilegious to their profession's standards of academic rigor.4 Frankly, however, historians use their imagination much more than some in the field might want to recognize or realize.

Perhaps the most common way historians employ historical imagination

⁴ Robert C. Williams asserted that most historians will refuse to speculate but some will speculate "often with imaginative and creative results." Williams recommended to historians in training that they should avoid speculation: "In general, however, you should avoid speculation, since your instructor is unlikely to share your creative impulses about the truth" (Williams, 2012, p. 128).

in their construction of history is through inference or speculation. An inference, or speculation, is a conclusion made without sufficient evidence. In keeping with the Lincoln theme, an example of an historian using inference is in Jason Emerson's (2012) biography of Robert Todd Lincoln entitled Giant in the Shadows. February 12, 1909, the one hundredth anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's birth, Robert Lincoln visited his hometown of Springfield, Illinois for a celebration of his late father's birthday. Upon Robert Lincoln's visit to his boyhood home, Emerson narrated the following:

Imagine the swirl of images and memories and feelings the sixty-five-year-old Robert must have felt as he walked through the old house he had not seen in more than twenty years. It must have been with a dampened – perhaps even forlorn – pleasure that he recalled his carefree childhood days when his father and brothers were alive and his mother was young and happy (Emerson, 2012, p. 380).

Again, there is no evidence revealing Robert Lincoln's thoughts at that moment. However, Emerson did not stray from the evidence – as these thoughts fit well with what is known about Robert Lincoln's thoughts and character. Emerson used his imagination during this narration and even asked his readers to imagine along with him.

Historians use inferences, like the ones just shared, to construct a story that might be more interesting to the reader than merely a listing of the facts. Inferences and speculation, I propose, are central to the historian's craft. However, how much speculation may historians engage in when doing "serious" history? In other words, is there a clear line of

division between history and historical fiction?

Historical Fiction. Historical fiction is a representation of the past that is a fictitious account within the past yet stays true to the events, manners, and customs of its true setting. Among the circles of historical fiction, Michael Shaara's (1974) portrayal of the 1863 battle of Gettysburg in The Killer Angels is one of the most widely acclaimed works of its kind and is regularly used in American history courses. Of course, there is an enormous variety of historical fiction accounts that have been published through the years. Other examples of classic historical fiction titles, just to name Charles few. include Dicken's (1859/1985) A Tale of Two Cities, Leo Tolstoy's (1869/1994) War and Peace, and Margaret Mitchell's (1936) Gone with the Wind. In keeping with examples in Lincolnian literature, Gore Vidal's (1984) novel Lincoln was a popular historical fiction account published in 1984 and made into a television movie in 1988. While it might, at first glance, appear that Vidal's Lincoln is a traditional history in the line of Donald's biography; it straved further away from the evidence in many areas, such as Vidal's own heroification of Lincoln in the novel and seeming infatuation with Lincoln's destiny toward greatness. Additionally, Vidal took wide liberties with creating dialogue between the historical characters without evidence supporting that such a dialogue took place even if it represents something that might have occurred.

While Vidal took liberties with evidence, he made no claim to be writing a pure history (even the full title of *Lincoln* refers to it as "A Novel"). Controversy sometimes finds its way

toward authors who take such liberties but also claim to be writing true historical accounts. Nearly a decade and a half ago Edmund Morris' (1999) biography of Ronald Reagan entitled Dutch: A Memoir of Ronald Reagan was published with such polarizing results. Critics in academia rejected Morris' history because they believed Morris indeed crossed a line between history and historical fiction. The point of contention between Morris and his critics was that Morris placed himself in the book as a contemporary of Reagan during his developmental years. A reviewer from The New York Times defended Morris' creative endeavor as a means to "liven up his narrative with the devices of oral and documentary history, employing dialogues, interviews, film scenarios, epistolary sections and so forth" (Masur, 1999). Morris' Dutch serves as an important point of reference for those of us who seek clarity in the division between history and fiction because of its uniqueness and the access that the public had to this academic debate. When comparing Dutch to the Lincoln works previously mentioned, Vidal's Lincoln did not intentionally stray as far from the evidence as did Morris who used the fictional characters to better illustrate what he saw the evidence revealing about Reagan's past. While Dutch is arguably not a pure history, Morris' insertion of fictional characters was minimal and so it stands alone as blend of fact and fiction. However, neither the works of Vidal nor Morris stray as far from the sources of evidence as does another genre of history alternative/counter-factual production: history.

Alternative/Counter-Factual History. While historical fiction generally

stays true to a widely accepted understanding of past events, alternative or counter-factual history intentionally diverts from the past events with a central question to answer: What if the past had developed differently. There are numerous examples of alternative/ counterfactual history, but my personal favorite is Robert Cowley's (2002) edited compilation of historians' renditions of this genre in What If: Eminent Historians *Imagine What Might Have Been.* The essays are concise, thoughtfully written by prominent historians, and focus on topics that would likely interest secondary history students. Here is a sampling of scenarios offered within Cowley's volume: What if Lincoln didn't abolish slavery? What if an assassin succeeded in killing FDR in 1933? What if Martin Luther burnt at the stake in 1521? What if Theodore Roosevelt was elected President in 1912? As you can tell by the topics, this representation of history centers around the alteration of a particular event and the ramifications of this alteration.

Historical Fantasy. The lines between fact and fiction, as you have seen, can sometimes be blurred with historical fiction representations. This confusion does not exist with accounts of alternative/counter-factual histories, nor does it exist with historical fantasy. Authors who compose historical fantasy do so by blending elements of magic or the supernatural into a setting of the past. There are numerous examples historical fantasies that have received popular acclaim by a reading audience. Mary Pope Osborne's Magic Tree House children's book series is a classic example of historical fantasy where the two protagonists in the series, Jack and Annie,

use a tree house to jettison toward an action-packed adventure set in the past. The concept of a time machine also proved effective in Stephen King's (2011) popular novel 11-22-63 where a high school English teacher from Maine travels back in time to the early 1960s to stop Lee Oswald from assassinating Harvey President John F. Kennedy. This novel was so well received that it became the basis of a six-part film of the same name produced and aired by *Hulu®*. The timetravel approach continues to surface with new television programs such as NBC's® Timeless. In fact, it is often this approach that is introduced to me by individuals who are not, in any way, associated with the history profession.

Readers (or viewers, if it is a film version) of historical fantasy often do learn about a particular time period through historical fantasies. For instance, Stephen King conducted a lot of research to ensure that his novel captured the actual mood and characteristics of life in 1960s. Likewise, Mary Pope Osbourne conducts research to accurately reflect the time period of each adventure where she places Jack and Annie. Timeless revisited such past events as the Hindenburg disaster and the Lincoln assassination. Again, continuing with the Lincoln theme, Seth Grahame-Smith's (2010) Abraham Lincoln: Vampire Hunter fits well as a historical fantasy since it represents a real historical figure, namely Lincoln, doing things (i.e., hunting down vampires) that are laughable since they stray so far from evidence. In the pages of this book, Grahame-Smith cleverly uses authentic photographic images from Lincoln's time and alters them to fit his narrative that Lincoln was actually a vampire hunter. This book also became

the basis for a popular feature film. Historical fantasy purposefully strays away from evidence yet is a representation of the past that can allure people into further study of the past, often attracting individuals who otherwise may not be interested in history.

Pedagogical Practice of Imagination

History teachers have numerous strategies at their disposal that may elicit students' historical imagination. Each of these strategies are active learning approaches that may be categorized as constructivist in that they position students construct their to knowledge and understanding (Lemisko 2004). & Speer, The recent exponential growth of research on teaching and learning has proven to support active learning methods and strategies (Marlowe & Page, 2005). As a case in point, Allison Gopnik's (2009, 2012) research on infants and young children reveals the exploratory nature of a person's learning processes. Research (e.g., de Kock, Sleegers, & Voeten, 2004) also concludes that students learn best when actively participating in their own personal construction of knowledge. Traditional classrooms that focus solely upon memory and recall have shown to stifle students' curiosity and critical thinking (Sawyer, 2006). Students of history within elementary and secondary schools, however, sometimes have an experience with history that departs from this research and seldom are positioned to actually create history. "For many students," said historian Tom Holt, "only a fiction writer shapes and interprets not a historian. Above all, they think they are the consumers, not the makers of history. It is there: fixed, final, and waiting to be read" (Holt 1990, p. 2).

While history teachers contemplate their strategy of choice to position students as generators of history, they simultaneously may decide the historical genre their students might create. other words, the history teacher can and should consciously determine closely their students align their historical narratives with evidence from the past. Students may, for instance, create a documentary that elicits a historical fiction about their topic. A student might like to write a story about Susan B. Anthony attempting to vote despite being forbidden to do so or about Thomas Jefferson carefully constructing a draft of Declaration Independence. of Alternatively, a student may enact a performance that weaves a tale of historical fantasy such as having George Washington and Abraham Lincoln meet one another to discuss the Presidency or Martin Luther King, Jr. participating in the Constitutional Convention held at Independence Hall. As a means to illustrate how a teacher may weave together various activities to foster students' historical imagination, I created Table 1 as a proposed outline of activities within a unit on the American Revolution (1775-1781).

The column on the far left of Table 1 (See Appendix) lists the particular activity (i.e., research paper, documentary project, etc.) whereas the identifies middle column representation of the past that the activity intends to emphasize. The column on the far right describes the nature of the activity within the context of the unit. represent Strategies that traditional

history production in Table 1 consist of a research paper and a documentary The research paper is a project. traditional composition that requires students to create a narrative based on a set of primary sources; in this case, the sources revolve around Thomas Paine's writings as well as letters from soldiers and members of the Continental The central question in the Congress. paper is: What were the motives of Americans in the American Revolution? The documentary project, using free software such as iMovie®, Moviemaker®, or *Photostory* 3®, is akin to the research paper in that the student creates a narrative (this time, a biography) around primary sources, however these sources are image-based and the student uses filmmaking techniques rather writing.⁵ Strategies that consist of a combination of historical fiction and/or historical fantasy include role-play as well as interactive painting. The roleplay positions students to reenact the Continental Congress' debate over the Declaration of Independence. Students in the employ role play to are improvisational acting skills after investigating the context and biography of their particular role. The interactive painting also positions students perform; this time by acting out what may be happening in Emmanuel Leutze's famous painting Washington Crossing the Finally, to represent an Delaware. alternative/counter factual history, a "What If? Scenario" poises students to create a narrative about what they perceive may have been an outcome if a fact from the past turned out differently

⁵ For more information about documentary making, refer to: Schul (2014).

than it actually did. Students will base their narrative responses on evidence, facts, and concepts they already learned in the unit.

While Table 1 proposes sequence of activities that history teachers may employ to foster students' historical imagination, there are numerous resources available to teachers. One particularly helpful resource is the Library of Congress' Teaching with Primary Sources program. This website offers a plethora of digital collections of primary sources as well as lesson plans that are already aligned to Common Core, state, and organizational (i.e., National Council for the Social Studies) standards. I urge teachers to closely examine the "Teachers Page" on the Library's website as it is filled with useful lessons and other curricular resources, mostly designed by current teachers. Some of these lessons include creative examples of how students' historical imaginations may be employed. instance, in the lesson entitled "African American Identity in the Gilded Age," students are to select an individual from the past they studied, role play that person, and discuss with the class how her or his time compares to contemporary Another creative lesson that employs students' historical imaginations is "The Civil War Through a Child's Eye" that has an individual student select one image from a series of photographic images of children in the Civil War era. The student then creates a "literary portrait" of their chosen child that narrates with words about the child and their life during the American Civil War. There are many, many more examples of lessons and resources in the Library of Congress' Teaching with Primary Sources

website that privilege students' historical imagination.

Conclusion

This article aims to show that the employment of imagination exists at all levels of history making, from non-fiction to the writing of fantasy. The level of imagination employed depends upon the genre that the history maker intends to employ. Too often middle and secondary history students are given a dose of history that is scripted, often focused on facts, and seldom positioning them to create a history of their own. In contrast to academic history where historians converse with other historians, a middle or secondary history teacher's audience may not even be interested in history whatsoever. Historical imagination is a natural act that is sometimes suppressed in the school experience.

History teachers must discern how best to match the students' learning needs with the explicit curricular requirements placed upon them. These teachers, should be therefore. provided freedom selectively appropriate to whatever experience best fulfills the educational purposes they have placed before their students. Sometimes those educational purposes may mirror aims of academic historians whereas other times they may center on garnering students' interest in history or developing their creative writing skills, which can open up great possibilities for interdisciplinary partnerships between history language arts teachers. The genre that a teacher allows students to create depends entirely on two factors: (1) the creativity the teacher desires to elicit from students and (2) the historical skills the teacher desires to foster. It seems, however, that the second factor dominates the contemporary discussion amongst history Indeed, teachers need to education. design and enact curriculum that teaches historical skills, such as the alignment of a secondary source with available primary sources. It is not the intent of this article to deny this. However, eliciting students' creativity should not be overlooked. It is equally, and perhaps even more important, for teachers to ensure that students are positioned to create a rendition of history that is meaningful and relevant to their own learning desires and predilections, while also sparking their sense of wonder and curiosity. Until more history teachers do this, only a select few students will learn to love history - and often well after their school days are behind them.

Appendix

Table 1. Examples of classroom activities that foster historical imagination within a singular unit on the American Revolution (1775-1781).

| Activity | Type of Representation of the Past | Description |
|----------------------|---|--|
| Research Paper | History | Teacher provides students with primary source documents – including Thomas Paine's Common Sense and letters from Continental Army soldiers as well as letters between members of the Continental Congress. The students are required to write a historical research paper, using the sources provided, that answers the following question: What were the motives of Americans involved in the American Revolution? |
| Documentary Project | History | Students are to create a documentary that depicts a biography of a significant figure involved in the American Revolution (i.e., politician, soldier, or general cultural figure). The students are required to use images and multiple written sources to complete the documentary. |
| Role Play | Historical Fiction; Historical Fantasy | Students are to reenact the Continental Congress' debate over the Declaration of Independence. Each student will be provided an opportunity to research the particular person they are portraying and prepare to answer a series of questions provided to them. |
| Interactive Painting | Historical Fiction; Historical Fantasy | Students are shown a copy of Emanuel Leutze's famous painting <i>Washington Crossing the Delaware</i> . Students are divided into groups to prepare a portrayal of the painting in live action. Each group is provided 2-3 minutes to perform in class. Once everybody has performed, the teacher shows students various other well-known paintings depicting the revolutionary era. The students are then required to create an image of their own, depicting a particular event during the American Revolution that they learned about in class. |
| What If? Scenario | Alternative/Counterfactual History | Students are required to answer the following question: "What if the colonists lost the American Revolution to the British?" The students are required to address how actual events may have been altered by this alternative scenario (i.e., consequences of members of the Continental Congress who signed the Declaration of Independence; the fate of George Washington; the future of the North American continent). |

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TEACHING IN THESE POLITICALLY DIVISIVE TIMES

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A politically disengaged and divided public that struggles with productive discourse about our country's and international community's most pressing problems is a challenge that every educator should be concerned with and actively try to address in schools. Engaging in productive discourse about societal problems does not happen naturally; it must be taught, as part of teaching citizenship. Yet, teaching young people to think critically about problems is particularly challenging in the age of easily accessible 'alternative facts,' which further exacerbate a politically divided public. This article defines the politically divisive climate that seems to undercutting productive discourse and discusses an assignment directed at helping pre-service teachers understand it. How can we help frame educators' understanding of a highly polarized political climate and prepare them to facilitate civic studies steeped in that context?

Twenty-eight mostly pre-service in an advanced PreK-12 educators undergraduate social graduate and studies methods course at Arcadia University synthesized research and educational resources about how to teach a specific topic that is a manifestation of or exacerbated by a politically divisive Students could identify any climate. issue for the project so long as they were able to illustrate its relevance to the politically divisive climate and would be willing to examine it from multiple

Students collaborated to perspectives. write essays and develop a resource packet to guide instruction for primary or secondary students around the following self-selected issues: fake news and source validation; the rise and influence of editorial news to report current events; abortion; crime and punishment; the tension between All Lives Matter and Black Lives Matter; and gay conversiontherapy camps. These issues, which the politically divisive climate has made difficult to discuss and take action on, seemed most important to students. While most students had strong personal positions on these issues, they were challenged to develop projects that presented and balanced fair conversations to illustrate the ways in which the either-or approaches to these issues from the ideological fringes of the political spectrum undermine productive conversations and solutions. To help unpack these issues, students developed essential questions and learning goals, and included established and/or selfeducational resources, organizing essay, and an annotated bibliography. Grade bands 4 through 12 represented across projects. Examples of these projects—on the topics of abortion (Grades 9-12) and source validation (Grade 4) – are included in the next two articles in this issue of Social Studies Journal. It is our collective hope that these projects can inform the development of others' PreK-12 classroom studies. The following is a

discussion of the framing and outcomes of this assignment.

The Politically Divisive Climate

Political ideology is the "common way a particular group or community views the world and believes it should be structured" (Denzau & North, 1994, as cited in Carmines & D'Amico, 2015, p. Though the left-right political paradigm is overly simplistic (Carmines & D'Amico, 2015), it attempts to answer fundamental questions about governing: to what extent do current hierarchical structures need to be maintained? What degree of involvement should government have in economic and social matters? The ability of citizens to engage in discourse about these fundamental questions seems central to a functional, representative democracy. Yet, the strict adherence to the left-right political paradigm pragmatic can make almost impossible. And, governance political judgment is often a result of conditioned gut, emotional reactions rather than deliberative reasoning (Greene & Haidt, 2002). Global climate change, for example, is a tremendously important issue that is mired in liberalconservative gridlock, raising citizens' grave concerns about governmental and non-governmental institutions' capacities to address possible human extinction (Klyza & Sousa, 2010). This seems to be the state of governance in the United States today.

Pew Research Center's Political Polarization in the American Public: How Increasing Ideological Uniformity and Partisan Antipathy Affect Politics, Compromise, and Everyday Life (Dimock, Kiley, Keeter & Doherty, 2015) found that

political parties are divided along ideological lines more so than at any point in the last twenty years, resulting in its members and most civically engaged citizens finding the opposing party "so misguided that they threaten the nation's well-being." (p. 7). The study's survey found politically active Americans staying consistently within their ideological camps across most issues attitudes about size and scope of government, social safety net, the immigration, homosexuality, business, environment, foreign policy and racial discrimination. Such ideological partisanship undermines the ability to see the grey areas of issues and certainly makes productive discourse less likely. That is, operating out of liberal and conservative silos has created political gridlock, undermining the feasibility of pragmatic legislative solutions pressing societal problems. Gun control, taxes, abortion, and healthcare are just some of the issues in which ideological partisanship undermines dialogue and consensus-building.

However, most Americans do not share the either-or view approach to politics, and view political parties as "coalitions with fractured interests" rather than an inflexible set of beliefs (Carmine & D'Amico, 2015, p. 213). Dimock, Kiley, Keeter and Dohety (2015) argue that "[m]ost [Americans] do not see either party as a danger to the nation. And, more Americans believe their representatives in government should meet halfway to resolve contentious disputes rather than hold out for more of what they want." (p. 8). Yet, polarization occurs because too many Americans "remain on the edges of the political playing field, relatively distant and

disengaged, while the most ideologically oriented and politically rancorous Americans make their voices heard through greater participation in every stage of the political process." (p. 8). In essence, our politically divisive era is both an engagement and consensusbuilding challenge.

One does not have to dig too deep online to find disheartening numbers highlighting dismal civic engagement among our citizenry. Students illustrate a lack of basic knowledge necessary for effective participation, performing rather poorly on national civics content tests with little improvement since 1998 (National Center for Education Statistics, 2017). But let's not just place the blame on young people and our schools. There is an underwhelming amount of civic participation in both local and national spheres (National Conference Citizenship, 2016). An example of the latter is voter participation in national elections. In the 2016 election, only 55.7% of the voting age population actually cast a ballot, placing the United States near last in voter turnout among developed countries (DeSilver, 2017). Here in Pennsylvania, 61% of eligible voters participated, which is slightly better than the national average, but there has been a relative decline in voter participation for the gubernatorial race since 1998 with only 37% voting in 2014 (Pennsylvania Department of State, 2017). disconcerting trend has emerged that impacts engagement and consensusbuilding and transcends partisanship the proliferation of "fake news."

The ways in which engaged voters might have been influenced by "fake news" or "alternative facts," is troubling. Fake news is information deemed

automatically illegitimate or dishonest if it contradicts one's ideology or contains misleading information or falsehoods (Journell, 2017). This type of information, and the subsequent divisive discourse it encourages, has undermined engagement and wider consensus-building. Broadcasting Station (November 18, 2016) reports that user visits to "fake news" sites were higher than real ones. A study conducted by Allcott and Gentzkow (2017) found people were much more likely to believe stories that favored their preferred candidate, especially if they have ideologically segregated social media networks. One result of this bias and siloing was Facebook users sharing inaccurate or false new stories a total of 30 million times. Unfortunately, the proliferation of fake news exacerbates the outcomes of the political divide by fostering feelings of inefficacy, alienation, and cynicism (Belmas, 2012). Americans cannot afford to be duped or emotionally overcharged in a time when we need to come together to solve our most pressing societal problems.

Consensus must be built from a critically engaged public who effectively use our governance system as it was intended. For example, much of President Obama's legacy is being unmade by his successor because both presidents used executive orders instead of the deliberative, legislative process to implement change. For both of these leaders, Washington's gridlock made it almost impossible to realize campaign promises, so they felt compelled to take matters into their own hands. executive orders can easily create and undo change with the stroke of a pen from a single person rather than a constitutionally enumerated and

inclusive democratic process. Our elected representatives might tap into an ideological camp to obtain a position in government and then act from a sense of mandate, but our politically divisive era requires continued discourse and engagement if complex and divisive problems are to be resolved. How do we practice and reinforce civil, productive discourse? Schools might have a pivotal role in such an endeavor.

Civic Discourse in School: Attending to The Politically Divisive Climate

Educators have agency in helping to counter the deterioration of consensusbuilding and civic engagement associated with a political divisive climate. In many ways, political polarization is a problem associated with moral development in which members of a society decide what is right and wrong—a product of both emotional and rational reasoning. Greene and Haidt (2002) explain, "We see an action or hear a story and we have an instant feeling of approval disapproval" (p. 517). Approval disapproval forms an individual's understanding of fairness and is derived from sociocultural contexts.

Learning how to traverse one's others') sociocultural (and understandings of conformity, rights- and justice-based views of the world are central to moral development (Kohlberg & Hersh, 1974). When thinking through controversial issues, especially within a politically divisive climate, there is convergence and tension between laws fairness that requires and development of a moral compass that can help individuals and groups identify, and resolve some extent, difficult to

dilemmas. Such a compass would help one traverse how conformity to personal expectations and social order is both justified and encouraged, and how to negotiate the values and principles that foster critical conversations about possible injustices (Kohlberg & Hersh, Such negotiation, according to Parker's (2003) use of Kohlberg (1979), would require role-playing, perspectivesharing "moral musical chairs" (p. 65) in which participants identify and test a wide-range of perspectives, including counter-claims, that hold either equal or near-equal weight in discourse. Roleplay would require identifying the underlying cultural values and norms that inform content, and subsequently, the tensions within those patterns of thoughts and behaviors that emerge when individuals and groups clash over ideas. This approach asks participants to increase the content of thinking, but also a "qualitative transformation in the form of the [person's] thought or action" (Kohlberg & Hersh, 1974, p. 55). In other words, moral development increases the capacity of one's understanding of the structure of thought—the organized systems of assumptions-which can be cultivated by simulating a wide-range of roles/perspectives of a given issue.

Providing space in school curriculum for "moral musical chairs" is an avenue for teaching consensus-building and civic engagement. But, is school an appropriate avenue for such moral instruction? According to Kohlberg and Hersh (1977), moral development is part of the hidden curriculum in schools already.

Whether we like it or not schooling is a moral enterprise. Values issues abound in the content and process of teaching. The interaction of adults and students within a social organization called a school results in human conflict no less so than does such interaction in social organizations labeled "families." Yet moral education has been viewed as the exclusive province of the family and/or church (p. 53).

Instead of concealment, schools can become more overt public spaces where moral discussion take place, which can increase young people's knowledge, skills, and dispositions of citizenship (Parker, 2003). Research illustrates children and young adults are already quite aware of and sensitive to injustices (Brasof, 2017; Brasof & Peterson, 2017); and, children as young as age three verbally, emotionally, respond behaviorally to fairness (LoBue, Nishida, Chiong, DeLoache & Haidt, 2009). intentionally building more young peoples' capacities to be critically engaged citizens through civic discourse, instead of a competitive winner-takes-all approach to decision making—to discuss (explore ideas) and deliberate (make decisions) issues of policy with those whom they agree and disagree with—is an important foundation of democratic education (Hess & McAvoy, 2015), and ultimately, a functional and productive representative democracy (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). As one group of my students aptly stated in their project about teaching abortion discourse in the United States to middle and high school students, "without deliberation, listening, prevailing notion that and the political compromise is necessary, ideologies are continuously reinforced in their own echo chambers and the chasm between opposing groups only deepen" (Hingston et al., p. 59 of this issue).

As "moral musical chairs"

indicates, a prerequisite to healthy and productive discussions and deliberations requires increasing content knowledge as well as a developing a moral compass. Interdisciplinary study allows empiricism to intersect with morality. "Moral musical chairs" can help young people develop empathy and understanding of the plight and concerns of others and how one's own beliefs and practices might infringe on the rights of others. That said, because the political divisive climate is driven by oversimplification of issues in order fit neatly into ideological corners, empirical studies can complicate issues-move them into the gray – by asking students to uncover the multiple causations and consequences of controversial issues. To do this, students would develop or identify challenging questions from our historical past; bring forth alternative viewpoints, evidence, and history that considers underlying tensions; develop an opinion; explore solutions that grapple with short- and long-term consequences; and reflect on the learning process (Simon, 2005, p. 111). Such inquiries are enriched when they tap into conceptual tools from history, geography, sociology, political anthropology, science, economics, science, psychology, ethics to uncover the myriad causes and consequences of challenging issues and the social constructs that create tensions between people. Using the intersection of these disciplines to illuminate people's understanding of a problem's causes and effects can enable classroom deliberation knowledge about expand uniqueness and interconnectedness of people's experiences, diminish interest through empathy and collective concern, and foster new and more widely

accepted policy ideas. For instance, an examination of the myriad ways to define security—an important social value—is a crucial starting point in understanding what facts are used to support a particular policy perspective on national security (See Joyce, Weil & Calhoun, 1999; Stone, 2012). Yet, defining what one means by safety becomes more complex when history, geography, economy, and culture are considered, and without that discourse, it becomes difficult to build consensus on policy.

Avoiding the pitfalls of either-or ideological explanations and solutions to problems often presented by "fake news" engaging in more pragmatic consensus-building requires complex sociocultural and empirical study. study of values and their impact on the formation of facts, and ultimately policy, all need to be considered when traversing controversial issues in school. Such study would encourage open, and honest perspective sharing that recognizes societal change often takes thought, patience, and engagement. Building political movements and/or governing from a consensus-making position is a result of political alliances or coalitions that take time to manifest rather than the construction of a reactive, simple policy solution in which an individual or group is the winner (Brasof, 2016). In this way, students might learn to see consensus building as socially constructed, incremental, and multi-faceted. In line with the aforementioned Pew Research study on political divisiveness, perhaps such studies would encourage more pragmatic centrists to be more civically engaged in discourse with the fringes of the politically spectrum, and maybe even reduce the effect of ideological

dogmatism undergirding political divisiveness. But at the very least, the hope is that "moral musical chairs" would encourage more cross-talk about and collective responses to our most pressing issues. The next sections includes a description of an assignment designed to build the capacities of PreK-12 educators to teach controversial issues within these politically charged times.

The Assignment

After being presented with the aforementioned framing of the politically divisive climate and how to theoretically attend to it, Arcadia University graduate and undergraduate education students in an advanced PreK-12 social studies methods course developed materials across a wide-range of social studies themes and subjects as outlined by the National Council for the Social Studies (2010) in order to give their future students "opportunity to deliberate seriously about essential questions of governance" (Simon, 2005, p. 107). Students were asked to organize into issue-based groups and use the Teaching for Understanding framework (Blythe & Associates, 1999) – understanding goals, generative topics and divergent essential questions – to find and organize supportive activities and scholarship for such a study. To provide cohesion, and thus make such work accessible to other educators, each group penned an essay that organized their findings around these questions:

1. How is your selected issue a manifestation of or exacerbated by our political divisive climate? (understanding goals)

- 2. What important questions emerge? (essential questions)
- 3. What specific interdisciplinary case studies illustrate problems and possible solutions? (generative topic)
- 4. What readings and resources support the teaching and learning of this topic?

As the above discussion highlights about civic discourse and moral development, understanding content is not enough. Studies should build young people's capacities to engage in perspective-sharing, democratic discussions, and deliberations. Drawing from Simon (2005), groups were also asked to develop a democratic deliberation competency in their study from this list:

- 1. Understanding and engaging in the questions
 - a. Grappling with issues that affect the common good
 - b. Struggling to understand what is at stake in any given issue
 - Reframing questions for clarification
- 2. Bringing alternate viewpoints, evidence, and history to bear
 - Seeking and evaluating evidence garnered in a variety of ways and from a variety of sources, including primary sources
 - b. Analyzing approaches to similar issues
 - c. Demonstrating empathy for diverse perspectives
- 3. Developing an opinion and exploring solutions
 - Evaluating how various actions would meet the needs of various society members
 - b. Seeking common ground
 - c. Articulating ideas in ways that do not disparage others
 - d. Digging deep for creative solutions that meet the needs of opposing sides

- 4. Reflecting on the process and moving forward
 - a. Assessing one's own learning and growth throughout the process
 - b. Establishing next steps for learning and action (p. 111).

As one might infer from the previous discussion, the hope of this project is to help educators think more holistically about the development of PreK-12 curriculum focused on civic engagement. The aim is to leverage the Pew Research Center findings that most Americans are disengaged centrists by enhancing young people's discourse and consensusbuilding knowledge and skills. Whereas some issues might feel out-of-reach for the younger grade bands, the Teaching Understanding framework instructive on the ways in which to design questions and assessment that reflect the underlying tensions issues represent. So, topics such as crime and punishment and conducting validity checks might seem too sensitive and complicated for PreK-4 grade bands, but if students can be asked to consider what it means to be feel safe (essential question) and how citizens authorities can work together to reduce misbehavior (understanding goals). The project deigned used a cartoon metaphor and measuring sticks to teach about Having PreK-12 teachers truthfulness. work together on these projects helped teams create an appropriate balance between content and pedagogy. I often find pre-service secondary educators focus almost exclusively on content whereas pre-service primary educators hone in on process and emotions. Regardless of each project's targeted grade bands, work was evaluated using the following criteria: 1) Did groups develop a divergent question to drive the study? 2) Was research balanced and presented as a discourse? 3) Did research and subsequent discussions illuminate why the issue is so divisive? Were underlying value systems revealed in that discussion? 4) Did the project encourage interdisciplinary thinking? 5) Did the project consider Simon's (2005) deliberation competencies?

A Hiccup in the Process

The process of constructing these projects taught all of us about some of the struggles inherent with organizing and building consensus. Whereas framing content for students would provide purpose to this assignment, working effectively in groups is part of learning how to cultivate consensus. I noticed in the first week of the assignment almost all of the groups made little progress and came to class without direction. Students have understood assignment, but groups did not know how to collectively get the work moving. One way I believe that consensusbuilding can fall apart is because groups are not well structured. Self-selecting organizing issue-based fostered a common vision about the work; it was still essential that tasks were allocated and managed across members. Modeling how to develop effective groups, students were asked to assign group roles based on the functions of the project. The following was a suggested structure articulated in the and assignment (See Appendix A).

 Group Roles (all roles should be taken regardless of number of people in group).

- Everyone in the group should be reading and documenting what they are learning. A shared Google Doc can be used to build an annotated bibliography. One person should be assigned the job of developing the final draft for the reference section.
- Everyone should be contributing directly to the construction of the essay, though 1-2 students should be responsible for editing and making sure group members follow-up on group members' contributions.
- **Someone** should be responsible for ensuring that the group project is meeting the requirements spelled out in the assignment.
- Everyone should contribute to finding resources online but there should be one person who is digging through the web constantly and filtering out what may or may not be useful.
- One person should be in charge of organizing at least one group meeting outside of our regularly schedule classes. This person triggers the conversation, establishes a date with peers, secures a location, and makes sure everyone knows when and where to go. Everyone should say what they will have done by the meeting.

This organization, combined with several check-ins by the instructor, provided the necessary logistical group configuration for moving this complex work forward over a three-week period. The three inclass group work sessions became selfdirected, goal-oriented, and, overall, more productive. I witnessed all groups finding and assigning each other readings and using what they learned to drive conversations about the complexities of their issues. Such conversations helped groups hone topics to make the project manageable. more focused and Furthermore, groups also used Google's Team Drive, an on-line collaborative

space, during and after class to support meaning-making processes completion of project requirements. Observing in-class discussion and being included in the on-line collaborative work enter into enabled me to spaces conversations when necessary to support the development of students' content knowledge, identification of established educator resources, and the construction of divergent, essential questions. But just as important and highlighted in the next section, the project construction process build these educators' helped understanding of the politically divisive climate, and unexpectedly, students' capacities to engage in and learn about consensus building.

Project Outcomes

Some groups decided to build work around PreK-12 students' skills for effective deliberations and developed case studies for practice, whereas other groups dove specifically into issues. Projects and self-reporting outcomes illustrated that students struggled to remain objective, yet learned how to incorporate a range of perspectives into the presentation of educational materials. Just as important, the process of working together in groups helped students to surface deeply held beliefs about their topics, and, at times, oriented them to the work of engaging PreK-12 students in the examination of controversial issues.

One group investigating abortion and another on crime and punishment used both research and values to frame their projects. "The abortion debate is almost a perfect microcosm of America's current state of political divisiveness," students' essay argued, "a clash of liberty/personal freedom and responsibility to preserve order (or, put another way, prevent disorder/violence)." Likewise, and punishment project on crime examined three issues – gun control, and three-strike laws, enforcement—in order for their students to consider more broadly the value-based question, "How do we create a safe society?" Both of these projects present evidence and original sources supporting several key definitions of these values and subsequent policy positions. surfacing the values that undergird policy, their future high school students can evaluate policy from evidence-based and sociocultural perspectives. And, the primary school teachers adjusted the discourse to focus on disciplining within their age bands' (Prek-4) social and intellectual contexts.

Other groups decided to tackle the fake news/alternative facts framing of the assignment—one focusing on a range of skills for deciphering editorial news while the other group honed in on how to engage in source validation. As one class member aptly stated over the course of the project, "In some cases, it was challenging trustworthy, to find supportive evidence for all sides of topics." Both groups were keenly aware that improving dialogue in a politically divisive climate required media literacy skills. "In our new era of 'fake news' and 'post-facts,' where the informed citizen can be seen by the other as being informed in the wrong way, media is now viewed as potentially dangerous." The students who developed the source validation project agreed. In their essay they argue, "some media outlets can fuel discontent and conflict with news

accounts that appear to originate from a position of truth, but in fact are less credible." The editorial news project synthesized resources and developed lesson plans discerning fact, opinion, and propaganda. The source validation project asked how we know when a fact is reliable and presented several criteria for assessing news and other information-reporting sources (Lynch, Norville, Whitehouse, & Brasof, 2018).

Though students tackled highly controversial issues and important skillsets by seeking out research to support the investigation of multiple perspectives, for many, it was not an easy road. In a full-class focus group and written reflection activity, several students reported the challenges and successes of peers working with on building controversial issue-based projects.

One student found it "very difficult to take charge and challenge opinions in a group. Even when I think my group is wrong or taking a different/unrelated turn, I found it hard to speak up." Another student agreed, "I found it very challenging to keep my bias out of the work." One student found that the struggle to traverse various in-group perspectives was part of the learning process:

The group aspect was necessary to continuously check our own biases and bring forth a sense of empathy in our work. We ourselves are not immune to the division that these topics create...I had to call my own group members out for their lack of empathy and content knowledge.

Those call-outs must have had an influence on group members; as her peer reported, the process helped me "rethink my own personal views so that I am more

objective." Relatedly, the project enabled another student "to draw more attention to the gray area and frame the argument in a less controversial (one-sided) way."

Not all content-based groups were able to come to a balanced, dispassionate presentation of information. The project investigating the tension between Black Lives Matters and All Lives Matter (4th-8th grade bands) ultimately resulted in, "a critical pedagogy stance," according to the only white female group member, which "did not [make her] comfortable [at first]." She explained a transformation that happened to her over the course of the project as she realized, "[T]elling my group members—all people of color that they should be more neutral tends to favor the side of the oppressor." The project helped her consider "what kind of teacher I want to be...figuring out how to incorporate those ideals into classroom in politically divisive times is something that is now in my focus." I was somewhat uncomfortable with the group's one-sided stance considering why so many Americans value and protect the police force, who are charged with enforcing law in economically struggling communities. The assignment's standard was to design well-balanced studies, but this student's reflection gave me pause.

Hess' (2009) research helped me work through this dilemma. Hess challenged the notion that educators taking a stance would always shape students' political orientations, arguing that the alignment of the school's and community's ethos will have more of an impact on young people's political positionality than a single teacher. Moreover, students in that study were able to discern the difference between

teachers sharing versus forcing preaching their views. In the Black Lives Matter project essay, group recognized the focus narrow of instruction around black history schools is relegated typically to a "reel of names and events [rather than] a systematic, multicultural framework." So, they choose to examine the Black Lives Matter Movement within a wider thematic frame of civil rights and activism by asking students to identify historical parallels. By surfacing assumptions that shaped their project, the group was being upfront rather than clandestine about their stance. project highlighted a history of African American activism in response particular cases rather than monolithically labeling the police force as enemies to all black people. Thus, future students would have more of opportunity to challenge these unhidden views. When asked about their curricular choices, one student defended their project: "Let students have their own opinions, but have them identify them. Like, you're not supposed to be unbiased; there is no such thing. So teach them bias, work with bias, respect bias...you don't really know him so walk around in his shoes." This project seemed to err on the side of investigation as opposed to intellectual coercion. Whereas I still believe presenting a wide-range of facts to support multiple perspectives is central to classroom instruction, a wellframed thematic approach can illustrate change and continuity over time.

Another issue-specific project took a particular position aimed to correct misunderstandings of a well-debunked practice, gay conversion therapy. In this way, the group did not take a balanced approach so that middle and high school students could consider if conversion therapy was appropriate. Though, they did provide dispassionate presentation of sociocultural forces shaping discourse around the issue. To do this, the group decided to present an interdisciplinary, thematic overview examining science, religion, and law to explain why the issue continues to persist. The group reported the issue's history, framed the study, and designed a divergent essential question that would give students space to consider the impact of culture and science on law-should gay conversion therapy be illegal? By placing the topic within multiple contexts, students have an opportunity to understand why views differ on homosexuality. In addition to presenting the cultural context, this group wanted to convey evidence about the nature of homosexuality by reviewing the scientific community's evolving opinion origins and nature the homosexuality, eventually rejecting it as a mental disorder classified condemning gay conversion therapy.

By examining students' projects and reflections, it appears these preeducators learned how investigate and plan for the presentation of complex, controversial issues. During the full-class debriefing, one student found educators in the unique position as both a student and teacher: "We must all learn about various topics and become understanding (of various perspectives), even if we don't agree with the matter or they make us feel uncomfortable." Another student chimed in, "[being] an educator isn't synonymous with [just teaching content." These comments seemed to resonate with these PreK-12 educators as conversation around that

theme took up much of our time to debrief. One student said this about our class assignment: "we really had to let research become practice." Many of these students experienced tension within the groups - both organizing with unpacking issues. Teaching in a politically divisive climate seems to require that teachers understand and help students see the tensions within issues; navigate a sea of information; hold open, honest, and productive dialogue with one another; and organize action.

Conclusion

Without exception, questions on how to teach students controversial issues emerge in my social studies methods course every year. Through this project and years of study and practice, I came to realize that addressing this challenge is pedagogically complex. It requires educators to have a deep understanding of content, skills in planning for critical thinking management of classroom discourse, and self-awareness of political, social, and cultural biases. Furthermore, helping educators think about the development of their future students can too easily become an abstract endeavor. Ergo, it was exciting to see that my own students, through this group project, experienced the tension of a particular controversial issue rather than remaining in an ideological silo. Helping educators gain a greater sense of what it feels like to investigate a controversial issue within the context of our politically divisive climate enabled them to examine content across discipline while simultaneously exploring their own and others' value systems and ideologies. In essence, the

assignment forced students to play and plan for "moral musical chairs."

This project was steeped in work we were doing together all semesterdebating the efficacy of various social studies and history approaches education and developing teaching statements; identifying how to facilitate micro- and macro-level studies of history; assessing historical and current problems multiple thematic strands: discerning between divergent thinking and fact regurgitation; developing and publishing primary source modules on Docsteach.org; studying the principles and practice of backwards design; and writing, executing, and revising formative and summative assessments and units of study. By the time we moved into our sessions on teaching civics, in which this project was located, students' knowledge, skills. dispositions were already beginning to Those prior studies had take shape. students collaborating on assignments to thev were discuss ideas, but independently producing work for my evaluation. This assignment was different in that it asked students to work together on a serious issue and consider how it contributes to our understanding of the politically divisive climate. Thus, the project required students to do the very thing they would ask of their students: share perspectives, empathize, find and critique the trustworthiness of information, build consensus, share the burden, and act.

That said, the struggles and successes students had while negotiating the myriad opinions and content represent an important lesson for the development of teacher practices and education policy. Many of these

students' primary and secondary learning experiences happened during the era of No Left Behind. Child accountability measures resulted in the de-emphasis of the study of civics and history. Such policy effectively narrowed or altogether pushed out such studies in schools across the country (Center of Education Policy, 2007; National Council for Social Studies, 2007). Therefore, it is not surprising that within the era of NCLB the aforementioned civic learning outcomes on NAEP remained relatively low and stagnant, and that we continue to observe underwhelming participation in local and national elections and civic life. This policy environment and its subsequent outcomes have produced students fearful or ignorant of the appropriateness of and methods for facilitating studies on controversial issues. A third of the class reported that our project was the first time they investigated a controversial issue or were encouraged to express an opinion about one in a formal educational setting. It is critically important to recognize that schools are instrumental in the moral development of young people, and that preparing educators for such work is central to democratic education. It also appears that because a new normal has emerged in which we will continue experiencing a political divisive climate, citizens must become even more aware of the forces driving and exacerbating political tensions, discord, disengagement. As educators, we cannot hope someone else or some other institution will pick up the task of addressing these challenges; we must actively encourage "moral chairs" in our classrooms. As this project educators—and demonstrates, extension our schools—have real agency in ensuring *E pluribus unum* is more than just a symbol on our currency.

Appendix A

Assignment Template

Your group's job will be to select a topic (to be determined together in class) and develop a small resource packet around it that would help educators teach about the current political climate and/or ways to address it (see framing essay). This packet should contain an organizing essay, background readings on the content or strand, on-line resources, lesson plans, etc... Ultimately, the idea is that a teacher could use this packet to help build background knowledge, lessons, projects, or unit of studies with their students that is focused on a specific subject.

Your packet must have the following:

- Cover page that identifies the subject, essential question(s), group members' names, and date
- 2-3 page essay (double-spaced) that includes:
 - How does your selected topic help to frame (understanding goals) an understanding of our political divisiveness?
 - How can this topic/resources help to develop a deliberation competency? (understanding goal)
 - What important questions emerge? (essential questions)
 - Describe a specific case study that illustrate problems and possible solutions. (generative topic)
 - What readings and resources support teaching and learning?
- Journal-based articles: Include at least two journal readings. You can select from one of the following journals, but others journal sources are acceptable (free access through Landman Library, go to "Find Journal" and search title:
 - Social Education
 - The Social Studies
 - Social Studies Research and Practice
 - Social Studies Review
 - The History Teacher
 - *Journal of American History*
 - Others that might be more directly linked to a discussion about the subject, not necessarily how to teach it
- Other Resources:
 - Other articles not journal-based
 - Websites
 - Film/videos
 - Online-Interactive tools
 - Already developed lesson plans/resources for instruction
 - Others?
- Table of Contents
 - Could look like:
 - o Essay....Page 1
 - Annotated Bibliography....Page 4
 - o Resource NamePage 5
 - o Resource Name......Page

And so on...

- Annotated Bibliography
 - This project will also need to list all sources used in the final essay. An annotated bibliography (APA format, use a citation generator for help like

- citationmachine.net). The annotation is a 1-3 sentence summary of the source and how it was used in the project.
- Example
 - Simon, K. (2005). Classroom deliberation. In *The public schools* (pp. 107-129). New York City, NY: Oxford University Press.
 - Simon discussed the importance of and ways in which to foster classroom deliberations. Simon's list of competencies—both skills and thinking processes—is quite useful for developing curriculum that includes classroom deliberations.
- Group Roles (all roles should be taken regardless of number of people in group)
 - Everyone in the group should be reading and documenting what they are learning. A shared Google Doc can be used to build an annotated bibliography. One person should be assigned the job of developing the final draft for the reference page(s).
 - Everyone should be contributing directly to the construction of the essay, though
 1-2 students should be responsible for editing and making sure group members follow-up on group members' contributions.
 - **Someone** should be responsible for ensuring that the group project is meeting the requirements spelled above.
 - Everyone should contribute to finding resources on-line but there should be one
 person that is digging through the web constantly and filtering out what may or
 may not be useful.
 - One person should be in charge of organizing at least one group meeting outside of our regularly schedule classes. This person triggers the conversation, establishes a date with peers, secures a location, and makes sure everyone knows when and where to go.
 - **Everyone** should say what they will have done by the meeting.
 - **One person** should be in charge of the Table of Contents and then designated to the upload the final product to Canvas.

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TEACHING STUDENTS HOW TO VALIDATE SOURCES IN A POLITICALLY DIVISIVE CLIMATE

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Edward R. Murrow argues, "to be persuasive, we must be believable; to be believable we must be credible; to be credible, we must be truthful" (in Boiko-Weyrauch, 2013, para. 3). Murrow posits the product of truthfulness derives from one's authenticity and reliability. Because media shapes our understanding of truth, it plays a significant role in how we receive information and thus has a direct impact on our political, social, economic, and cultural views and behaviors. In a politically divisive climate, characterized by ideological silos that produce political gridlock and unproductive civil discourse (Dimock, Kiley, Keeter, & Doherty, 2015), some media outlets can fuel discontent and conflict with news accounts that appear to be truthful, but may, in fact, be less than credible. The purpose of this paper is to illustrate how to assess the credibility of stories from the media in a highly polarized political climate. We present lesson a plan educational resources that can help students and teachers understand source validation in order to be more critical of media sources.

Politically Divisive Climate

The term 'divisive' deals with the sharp contrast between beliefs and sociopolitical viewpoints. A *politically* divisive climate separates people with differing views along ideological lines, and partisanship reveals itself in a myriad

of ways. Both in politics and our everyday lives, there are conflicting perspectives that cause dissension. Such dissension is commonplace in American politics (Dimock, Kiley, Keeter, Doherty, 2015). One of the ways people gather information about politics is through the news media. By representing ideological positions when interpreting events, various media sources contribute to the problems of political polarization (Prior, 2013). Examining rhetoric in the news and radio, and on the Internet, Prior (2013) found "ideologically unambiguous content increasingly attracts viewers and listeners who share the hosts' political leanings, thus reinforcing partisan views and contributing to political polarization" (p. 102). Thus, a key component of being an informed citizen is the ability to assess media that are credible and reliable; it is essential to have accurate information to hold productive discourse.

The Media and Credible Sources

It is unquestionable that people rely on the news and want information that is fair, accurate, and comprehensive. While specific organizations attempt to achieve these goals, it is important for the public to weigh which media outlets or stories do not meet the requirements for factual reporting. During the investigation of this theme, we asked, What is considered fake news? When evaluating potential fake news we show

how sources could be validated: Who wrote the source? What claims does the author make? When and where was it published? How does it make us feel? According to Laura McClure in a TED-Ed blog piece (2017), questions such as these are beneficial to strengthen learners' abilities to discriminate between real and fake news. Such questions are useful for determining valid evidence so recipients of news media can be better prepared to form their own reasoned opinions rather than passively receiving information that is constructed by overly biased sources.

Although fake news is not a novel phenomenon, the concept has gained traction since Donald Trump's candidacy in the 2016 Presidential Election. As stated by Journell (2017), fake news is the "idea that any information contradicting one's ideology automatically is illegitimate, or fake" (p. 6). While fake news has a past history deemed for entertainment intentions, information presently assumes the rank of fake news when facts undermine agendas and personal beliefs. In line with Trump's interpretation and the beliefs of his current administration, mainstream media outlets report fake news when they criticize the President or his policies (p. 6). Therefore, Journell (2017) stresses the notion that "both political thinking and media literacy are skills that need to be taught and practiced over time" (p. 7).

Unfortunately, information found online and presented by some news media outlets is not always valid or credible. Without credible news sources, citizens are ill-equipped to make rational decisions about matters that influence their lives. In order to judge credibility, source validation is a fundamental method to check the accuracy of content

one receives that is free from errors or biases. Through source validation, consumers can become more aware of the dangers involved with untrustworthy or overly-biased information from Internet that result can in "people...thinking they're dealing with experts when they might be dealing with cranks" (Flanagin & Metzger, 2000, p. 517). According to Kohring and Matthes (2007), expertness refers to, "how well informed and intelligent a communicator is perceived," whereas trustworthiness is "operationalized by the absence of persuasive intentions and as impartiality" (p. 233).

Since we cannot gain knowledge of every fact about a topic, source validation is an important tool decipher what is right or wrong as information circulates through media outlets. There are methods for validating sources that helped to answer our initial subsequent inquiries identifying and assessing false or overtly biased claims in the news. First, as stated by WNYC, a public radio station owned by New York Public Radio (2013), the Breaking News Consumer's Handbook lists nine tips to teach children how the news media can better report breaking news. An abridged version of the list states:

- Pay attention to the language the media uses;
- Look for news outlets close to the incident;
- Compare multiple sources;
- Don't trust anonymous sources;
- Don't trust stories that cite another news outlet as a source of the information; and
- In the immediate aftermath, news outlets will get it wrong

These six tips guide the public to become familiar with "cross-referencing and fact checking" (Lambert, 2017) popular sites, such as *FactCheck.org* and *PolitiFact.com*.

Secondly, in addition to crossreferencing and fact checking, there are reliable Generic Top Level Domains (gTLDs) used on a daily basis. Examples of gTLDs for exploring web sources are: (a) .com; (b) .net; (c) .gov; (d) .org; and (e) .edu. By learning about the different gTLDs of internet addresses (Lambert, 2017) students will understand that domains represent the purpose of a website and why sources have particular views—.com (commercial); .net (Internet service providers); .gov (U.S. government agencies); .org (non-profit organizations); (educational institutions). and .edu Additionally, Kapoun (1998) focuses on how to evaluate web pages, listing five criteria for evaluating credible sources from news media outlets: (a) accuracy; (b) authority; (c) objectivity; (d) currency; and (e) coverage. Ultimately, Kapoun stresses the need for multiple mediums – journals, books, magazines, newspaper articles—to "meet stronger quality control standards" (para. 1).

Concerning accuracy as the first criterion, a reader must assess who the author is, notice if the author is available or unavailable for contact, evaluate the author's intent, and determine how the media reflects the author's qualifications. The second criterion measures the authority of the source. Kapoun defines authority as the institution that publishes the content, as well as the gTLDs where the content is available. The gTLDs provide the user with an understanding of the positionality of the website's author, and thus, how the site frames its content. Furthermore, Kapoun labels

objectivity as the third criterion, which evaluates the goals expressed in the supplement details source. to information, and any opinions or form of biases that will sway the public. As the fourth criterion, currency may or may not pertain to certain news sources. However, in the case that currency is relevant, one must judge the frequency of updates, along with up-to-date links to connect pertinent information. In other words, how up-to-date is this source, and would such information make the source more credible? The final criterion is coverage. Similar to currency, coverage may be inapplicable. Nonetheless, if one desires to consider coverage in a news source, one would look to see if a site requires a financial contribution or special software, which may limit how much information one can receive. Coverage also includes how the public can properly view the information in a browser.

Lesson Plan

Because we live in technologically rich world, anyone can have authorship over content on the Internet, and thus a platform communicate to the public. Therefore, in a politically divisive climate, it is imperative that people have the right to accurate information given that the news affects their sociocultural environment. In addition to adults having easy access to news and current events, children are just as affected by information if they do not properly evaluate what makes sources credible. As educators, we considered would how students learn source validation in a social studies classroom and found that such thinking is encouraged by the National Council for

the Social Studies (2010). One NCSS learning standard that assists in assessing the impact of politically divisive climate on media and its audiences is Science, and Society. Technology, explores how "the world is media saturated and technologically dependent" (Adler, 2013, p. 151). As a result, our essential questions consider how the affects one's sociocultural media environment.

Our focus is to help students well-informed citizens become developing critical thinking and analytical skills and by teaching young children "how science and technologies influence beliefs, knowledge, and their daily lives" (Adler, 2013, p. 21). In a lesson we developed for students in grades 4-8, we investigated the story about President Trump's telephone with widow. conversation а Myeshia Johnson, whose husband, Army Sergeant La David T. Johnson, died in the African nation of Niger. According to personal accounts, President Trump stated, "he knew what he signed up for, but it hurts anyway."

The interest for this lesson sparked with the media uproar of dissimilar accounts concerning Trump's remarks to Mrs. Johnson. In exploring the concept of a politically divisive climate, we gathered information that the mainstream media presented one story documenting the radically different points of view of President Trump, Mrs. Myeshia Johnson, Representative Frederica Wilson, Retired General John Kelly, and Gold Star Widow, Mrs. Natasha De Alencar. Thus, we focused our analysis on ways to equip students to verify facts by scrutinizing sources for reliability and accuracy.

The process of the assignment has four components. First, the investigation started with an Internet search of varied reports detailing Trump's communication with Mrs. Johnson from multiple sources. Second, after examining the news, the lesson narrowed the articles students would study and discuss. Third, we formulated an age-appropriate demonstration of truth and lies by connecting the lesson to Pinocchio, an impulsive fictional character that verbalizes series an erroneous misrepresentations. lesson's In the activity, students listen to multiple statements to determine what they consider to be accurate and inaccurate. The random statements explore how students identify dubious claims based on familiar knowledge and background experiences rather than political issues. Lastly, by juxtaposing Pinocchio with real and fake news, the lesson's activity extends source validation to the political issues presented in the media about the President's actions.

The Divisive Phone Call. President Trump's aforementioned comment elicited both public outrage and support as various ideologically aligned media outlets reported this exchange. On the one hand, CNN (October 23, 2017) made a slight justification by stating the President's lack of experience affected the unempathetic nature of his call to a military family. However, CNN also emphasized President Trump's insensitivity by using verbiage like "appalling" and labeling his behavior as hitting a new low. On the other hand, Reddit (October 20, 2017) released an audio file between President Trump and a Gold Star widow, Mrs. Natasha De Alencar. The source cites the interaction

as "heartfelt" with the public being able to hear an amicable dialogue between the President and the widow. The two sources argue both the facts and outcomes of the exchange, positioning their narratives neatly with their targeted audiences.

Goals and Activities. The target audience for our lesson is grades 4-8. Students will build their media literacy skills by using the criteria and questions of source validation to discern a fact from a lie that come from news sources. Students are asked: which media outlet gave an accurate depiction of the verbal exchange between President Trump and Mrs. Johnson? How can students verify credibility? For the introduction and hook of our lesson plan, students receive ten shortened straws and a paper with ten statements. The instructor informs the students to evaluate the statements. An example is, "Wednesday is the day after Friday." Whenever the students think a sentence is false, they will place a straw on the paper to indicate the teacher's false statement. If the students think a statement is true, they will not use a straw. By the end of the 10 statements, the students will tally the amount of used straws, which represents how many false statements they identified.

After the hook activity, instructor will present an image of Pinocchio to debrief, discussing what happened to the animated character when he lied. Adequate scaffolding will compare guide the children to Pinocchio's growing nose to the degree of awareness of certain risks involved when students do not validate news outlets that can deliver fake news. Ultimately, the straws serve as a visual for students to determine that fakes news and lies

happen frequently, and often occur at a rapid rate. Also, the straws' imagery connotes two points. First, students will learn that everyone has a personal of details. interpretation Therefore, whether a person is right or wrong depends on the person's perception, which is often connected to individual's reality. Second, students will learn that news affects everyone and shows a level of interdependence, or the necessity relv on others to understanding and feedback. **Students** will then study indicators that helped them identify truths versus lies, such as observations, prior knowledge, background experience, and trust in the source.

Following the introduction, students will compare and contrast four sources documenting President Trump's reaction to Mrs. Johnson. Students are asked to classify the sources reliable/positive, reliable/negative, unreliable/positive, and unreliable/ negative. In this paper, we selected the terms reliable and unreliable to impress upon our students that certain sources seem more credible than other sources. In a polarized political climate, media literacy education is instrumental in helping the public to identify real and fake news. For instance, some people may reporters believe that the correspondents on CNN.com confirm their beliefs while others may feel that *MotherJones.com* validates their ideologies. In either case, vetting sources accuracy becomes methodical improves over time when people can adjust their emotional and personal beliefs to "evaluate claims based on available evidence" (Journell, 2017, p. 8). Similarly, we arranged our articles

according to positive and negative reactions to the event to draw attention to the overall tone of a news source that captures the attitude the writer has towards a topic and audience.

Once students organize the news articles by rank, they will then argue why certain sources are more valid than other sources and subsequent impacts. Starting with the straw activity and debriefing with the Pinocchio metaphor along with establishing and applying assessment criteria for source validation, students learn how to determine expertness and trustworthiness and to consider consequences.

Conclusion

As the fourth estate, the media is an important backbone of an informed and involved citizenry; it helps shape how people perceive and engage in deliberation. The resources discovered during our inquiry are incorporated into our lesson plan that helps students discern fake from real news. We believe these sources along with the lesson give students the basic understanding of how media might sway their understandings and beliefs and exacerbate an already politically divisive society. Accordingly, by the end of our lesson, it is our hope that students will manage technology in a meaningful and critical way.

Through the construction of this lesson, there are positive outcomes for both educators and students. We as future educators feel more skilled to teach social studies from the experience in our methods course by seeing the results of preparing digital detectives. Students that avoid taking news at face value transform

"from being consumers of news to (Journell, evaluators of news sources" adequate 2017, p. 8). By receiving scaffolding, actively students can investigate evidence and recognize the characteristics of fake news along with the intentions of news media outlets. Additionally, our investigation suggests that political controversy should not deter educators from preparing their students to become critical thinkers and rational decision makers. When controversy is unveiled in political discourse, students will certainly mature in how they "perceive substance over style" (p. 8); and educators will preserve "a democratic society that relies upon civic participation and rational decisionmaking" (p. 10).

Based on our study, recommend that new teachers talk about politics and support fact-checking as a form of "active inquiry" (Journell, 2017, p. 8), in order to equip students to not short-circuit their political thinking. Identifying news must become a more indepth process than labeling "good" and "bad." Preferably, students must "discuss right questions using reliable evidence in order to make rational decisions" (p. 9). Furthermore, classroom instruction that aligns with high-quality social studies education can help new teachers define learning objectives that communicate the interdisciplinary ties between social studies and other disciplines, such as history, economics, and geography curricula (p. 8).

In conclusion, a video production by The News Literacy Project (Quartz, 2018) quotes their Director, Damaso Reyes, as saying, "in order to be literate in the 21st century, you need to be digitally literate; and in order to be digitally literate, you need to be news literate." That quote captures the core learning objectives for this investigation that social studies educators should make

combating alternative facts and fake news "a purposeful mission" (Journell, 2017, p. 7).

Appendix I: Lesson Plan

Title: Who's Lying?

Total Minutes Scheduled: Two 50-minute Class Periods

Grade Level: Fourth Grade

Objectives:

- Students will compare and contrast reliable and unreliable sources.
- Students will organize the hierarchy of valid news articles by ranking sources.
- Students will argue why they think certain sources are more valid than other sources.

Essential Question: What is considered fake news?

PA Standards:

- 5.3.C.H: Evaluate the role of mass media in setting public agenda and influencing political life.
- C.2.4.3.1: Assess and analyze the effect of media on issues of interest to the general public.

Materials:

- Notebooks
- Copies of the four articles for each group
- Paper with statements
- 10 straws for each student

Introduction:

(10 minutes)

The students will receive 10 straws and a piece of paper with 10 statements. Whenever they think a statement is false, they will use a straw. The teacher will then inform the class that the straws they put down for false statements should connect with each other and keep growing. If the students think a statement is true, they will not use a straw. By the end of the 10 statements, the students will examine the length of their straws. This is when the teacher can pass out an image of Pinocchio and ask the children to share what they know about the image. Sample questions are, "Does anyone know who this character is?" or "What happened to Pinocchio's nose?" The students should be able to realize that Pinocchio's nose grew whenever he lied. This will then lead into the main part of the lesson by saying, "We are going to learn how to see if someone is telling us the truth or a lie when it comes to what we read and watch in the news."

Activity:

(Two Class Periods)

50-Minutes/Period

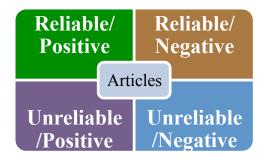
Before beginning the main activity, have the students recall what they learned from the first activity with the straws. Example questions are, "What were some ways you knew I was lying or giving you false information?" "What were some ways that allowed you to realize I was telling the truth?" This is when you can mention to the class that certain skills and factors can help us tell when something is true or false like observations, prior knowledge, background experience, and trust in the source.

Day 1

- 1. Introduce the fourth-eighth grade students to the ways that we can determine fake news from real news, when it comes to sources that are more credible than other sources. The students will learn five main questions that they can ask: Who wrote the article? What claims does it make? When was the article published? Where was the article published? How does it make you feel?
- 2. Share the nine steps to the breaking news handbook: (a) Immediately following a situation the news outlets will get it wrong; (b) Don't trust anonymous sources; (c) Don't trust sources that cite other news sources; (d) There's almost never another shooter; (e) It's important to pay attention to the language new media uses; (f) Look for news outlets close to the incident; (g) Always compare multiple sources; (h) Big news bring out the biggest fakers; and (i) Beware of reflexive tweeting.
- 3. Explain the use of cross-referencing and fact checking websites to see if the sources we use are reliable like FactCheck.org and PolitiFact.com.
- 4. Discuss the reliable, generic top level domains .com, .net, .gov, .org, and .edu

Day 2

1. Distribute the four articles for the students to analyze.



2. Split the students in equal groups. Tell the class that each group will receive four different sources. They must use the tools that they learned from the last class in order to determine which source is more credible. After reading all four articles with their group, the students must rank the articles in order from least credible to most credible. Once the groups have ranked their sources, they must explain why they chose to put them in that order, based on the references learned from the previous class. And, students are asked how these stories might positively or negatively impact those whom read them.

Closure:

(10 minutes)

Once the groups have worked together to put the four sources in order, they will have an opportunity to write about the reasons behind their choice making. Each student will individually write why he or she chose sources that seemed more credible. They must look back at their notes from the first class and use the hints and handbook concepts to back up their reasoning. Students should have about 10 minutes to complete their responses before handing in their findings.

Engagement and Formative Assessment Strategies:

There will be two types of assessments used in this lesson. The first one involves the group's decision making for the correct placing of the sources. Examining how the students ranked the sources will reflect if the students understood or misunderstood the lesson on source validation. This is a type of informal assessment; whereas, the students' personal responses will be evaluated as a formal assessment.

Students should remain engaged for two reasons. First, the introduction is a creative hook to start the lesson. Second, the news articles deal with a real-life situation. Whenever students are asked to use real-world application, they tend to remain fully engaged with matters that are interesting and relatable.

Appendix II: Other Resources

| Citation | Summary | Utility |
|---|---|--|
| Brown, R. (2017, October 20). Widow of Fallen Soldier Releases Phone Call with President Trump. Retrieved November 8, 2017, from http://nypost.com/2017/10/20/widow-of-fallen-soldier-releases-phone-call-with-trump/ | This site is about another widow of a fallen soldier who received a phone call from President Trump. The widow stated that President Trump was cordial in his form of communication. She refuted the story that Mrs. Myeshia Johnson gave; and there is an audio recording of President Trump speaking to the Gold Star Family. | This source is our reliable/positive article. We decided on the story after listening to the audio recording. During the recording, the widow portrayed President Trump in a positive light. |
| Cilliza, C. (2017, October 23). Donald Trump just hit a new low in the La David Johnson fiasco. Retrieved November 8, 2017, from http://www.cnn.com/2017/10/23/polit ics/trump-johnson-call/index.html | This site has a biased perspective of President Trump. While President Trump defends himself, the tone of the article becomes increasingly negative by assuming that he will not take ownership over any wrong actions. | This source is our reliable/negative article. We chose this story to show how opinions can swing both ways—either negative or positive. Thus, our students will see how facts are easily twisted within communication streams. |
| Gold star widow said Trump's phone call was 'heartfelt'. (2017). Retrieved from https://www.reddit.com/r/The_Donald /comments/77j7us/gold_star_widow_sa id_trumps_phone_call_was/ | This site complements our article from the New York Post. The widow stated that President Trump was cordial in his form of communication. She refuted the story that Mrs. Myeshia Johnson gave; and there is an audio recording of President Trump speaking to the Gold Star Family. | This source is our unreliable/positive article. We decided on this story after listening to the audio recording. During the recording, the widow portrayed President Trump in a positive light. |
| Oh, I. (2017, October 18). Trump Refutes Story That He Told Sergeant's Widow "He Knew What He Signed Up For". Retrieved November 8, 2017, from http://www.motherjones.com/politics/ 2017/10/trump-refutes-story-that-he- told- | This site gives a negative view of the phone call between President Trump and the widow, Mrs. Myeshia Johnson. Despite his claim of showing respect, the perspective in this article documents that President Trump made an insensitive comment following the death of Army Sergeant La David T. Johnson. | This source is our unreliable/negative article that condemns President Trump's disposition. We will use this article to have our students compare and contrast the findings of President Trump's interaction with the other widow. |
| Swick, A., & Carter, P. (2017, October 26). Why were US soldiers even in Niger? America's shadow wars in Africa, explained. Retrieved October 28, 2017, from https://www.vox.com/world/2017/10/26/16547528/us-soldiers-niger-johnson-widow-africa-trump | This site addresses how soldiers from the United States are involved in other conflicts around the world. While the American soldiers are fighting overseas to combat Islamist groups, the writer explains that American troops positioned in African countries are unnoticed in America. | This source gives an overview of the incident between Present Trump and Mrs. Johnson. It also gives insight about the United States' involvement in African countries. |

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TEACHING ABORTION: TALKING ABOUT POLITICALLY DIVISIVE TOPICS IN THE CLASSROOM

Heather Hingston, Katherine Lins, Danielle Marcus, Carolann Ortiz, La Queta Sturns-Brew, and Marc Brasof Arcadia University

"History is destined to be among the most controversial areas of human knowledge" (Levstik & Barton, 2011, p. 7).

For many educators, the thought of mentioning abortion or other women's health topics in class sounds like walking into a minefield of controversy including distressed students and angry parents. However, the abortion debate is valuable for students to practice complex and difficult conversations about values (e.g., liberty/personal freedom and preserving/protecting society). By encouraging students to explore clashing values in connection with controversial issues, educators can shift conversation toward a more meaningful exploration of why certain topics, such as divisive and help abortion, are so students engage constructive in a deliberation that may lead to consensus.

The Problem At Hand: A Politically Divisive Climate

The abortion debate is almost a perfect microcosm of America's current state of political divisiveness. In fact, as of November 2016, the partisan gap between those in favor of and against legal abortion is the widest it has been in two decades, with over 59% of people saying abortion should be legal in all or most cases and 37% of people saying

abortion should be illegal in all or most cases (Pew Research Center, 2016).

According to a 2015 study, political parties are divided along ideological lines more so now than any time in the last 20 years (Dimock, Kiley, Keeter, & Doherty, 2015). Strikingly, however, many Americans believe that lawmakers should compromise more, rather than hold out for their preferred outcome (Dimock, Kiley, Keeter, & Doherty, 2015). If this is the case, how do we bridge the gap between staunchly held opinions and the necessity of compromise for making public policies? Without deliberation, listening, and the prevailing notion that compromise is necessary, ideologies political continuously reinforced in their own echo chambers, and the chasm between opposing groups only grows deeper.

It's easy for students, educators, and parents to focus on the need for consensus, but consensus cannot be reached without an initial conflict. To shy away from conflict is a gross disservice to students, for "we live in a contentious world... [and] research indicates that American students... are unsure of how conflict might be managed or resolved, or what happens when conflicts remain" (Levstik & Barton, 2011, p. 130). How can we expect a better future if our students do not know how to address, or even acknowledge, problems in the present?

If the goal of history education is to "prepare students for participation in a pluralist democracy" (Levstik & Barton, 2011, p. 9) then it's imperative to define what ideal participation looks like. For purposes this the of article accompanying resources, participating in a pluralist democracy means (1) making reasoned judgments based on evidence and deciding on the best course of action, (2) considering the common good, which involves both identifying with a larger community and understanding right and understanding and (3) perspectives that are different from one's own without dismissing them (Levstik & Barton, 2011, p. 9).

By preparing students for pluralist democracy, educators tap into one of the primary themes of social studies: civic ideals and practices. According to the National Curriculum Standards for Social Studies, learning civic ideals and practices means that students will understand "concepts and ideals such as: individual dignity, fairness, freedom, the common good, rule civic life, of rights, responsibilities" (Adler, 2013, p. 90). It is from this list of ideals that we draw a more nuanced understanding of right and wrong.

Why should teach we **controversial topics?** Many teachers avoid controversial topics because they worry their students will not be able to handle the conflicts that arise, that parents will attack them, or that their job as a teacher is to only promote unity or "getting along" (Levstik & Barton, 2011, p. 130). The fear around controversial topics is not unfounded, of course. In a 2009 study, over 60% of teachers surveyed believed that they "should protect themselves and not teach about an issue that is controversial within the community in which they teach" because it could jeopardize their careers (Byford & Russell, 2009, p. 168).

Given this fear, it's not surprising that "teachers who strive for harmony in disharmonious environments often long for consensus (some shared set of values) rather than conflict" (Levstik & Barton, 2011, p. 130). However, there is no consensus *without* conflict. In fact, a democratic society needs conflict to survive and thrive. Pluralist democracies are based on conflict in that they *must* allow for dissent, debate, and negotiation (Levstik & Barton, 2011, p. 130).

Therefore, social studies a educator's job should be to help students explore, navigate, and evaluate conflicts together and be able to come to a consensus through deliberation. Skillful deliberation requires three competencies: familiarity with societal values and knowledge contemporary ideals; of political, social, and economic issues that currently affect American society; and the ability to clarify and resolve problems (Joyce & Weil, 1972, p. 79). The third competency in particular opens the door to three types of problems:

- 1. Value problems, or issues where different values or legal principles are in conflict,
- 2. Factual problems, or issues that involve finding clarity around the facts of the conflict, or
- 3. Definitional problems, or issues clarifying the meanings of certain key terms within a conflict (Joyce and Weil, 1972, p. 89).

Clearly, all three of these problems are present in the topic of abortion: the conflicting values of freedom and

preserving order, the factual problems around the procedure itself, and the definitional question surrounding when life begins. Thus, choosing abortion as a topic of study gives students several avenues to explore. However, of these three problems, the value problem is most critical to address because it allows for nuanced conversation that transcends the details that are often the focus of the mainstream debates about abortion. As Barton and Levstik (2009) said, "policy and practice will always be bound up with underlying societal values, and empirical studies cannot resolve such questions" (p. 3).

Understanding Values-Based Arguments

Naturally, deliberating on a value problem necessitates the exploration of American values, or "the major concepts used by our government and private groups to justify public policies and decisions" (Joyce & Weil, 1972, p. 83). In regard to the topic of abortion, there are two values in particular that clash: the American ideal of liberty or personal and the responsibility preserve order (or, put another way, to prevent disorder and violence). choice advocates argue that the option to prematurely end pregnancy is a choice to be made by a pregnant woman and her doctor; government should respect an individual's liberty and personal freedom to make such a choice. On the other hand, pro-life advocates argue that it is society's responsibility to preserve order and, especially, to protect those who cannot speak or act on their own behalf. Thus, pro-life groups work to shape policy that aims to protect the life of an unborn child.

Both sides engage in activism and debate because they believe their side is right and the other is wrong; thus, this issue is a question of *values* as much as it is about the facts and policy.

According to Joyce and Weil (1972), the best solution in a values-based problem is to find a compromise where each value is violated minimally (p. 86). This can be done by shifting the conversation around values away from an ideal basis and toward a dimensional basis (Joyce & Weil, 1972, p. 87). When social values are discussed as ideals-or "something to be preserved at all costs and in all situations"-they have to be dealt with on an absolute basis, and it is incredibly difficult to create policies and guidelines based on absolutes (p. 87). However, by looking at values on a dimensional basis, much like continuum or spectrum, citizens have more freedom and flexibility to deal with complex public policy challenges. The discussion subsequent can help classrooms develop a continuum in which to analyze and judge value-based positions.

How to Approach Discussing Abortion within a Framework of Values

For this type of lesson to work, it is critical that students are well prepared. Educators should use the following strategies to approach the topic of abortion and help students improve their deliberation competencies.

Get clear about definitions and terminology. It's important that students understand how to define the values in question. Explore students' initial ideas and definitions of "freedom" and "order" by soliciting their own personal

definitions and use them to build a common definition for the purposes of class deliberation. Also, as mentioned previously, part of the issue surrounding abortion the debate stems differences in definitions, so ensure students know the definitions of basic terms regarding abortion. For basic definitions, review the resource "How to Talk about Abortion: A Guide to Rights-Based Messaging" (Gold et al., 2015) included in the References section. Students should recognize that there are myriad ways to define a particular value.

Introduce media literacy. After establishing working definitions values, it is essential to begin evaluating research, policies, and practices. In other words, what are the facts and how might value-based these facts support diving positions? Before into controversial topic, it is imperative to ensure that students have basic media literacy skills when seeking out this information. All controversial topics are likely to feature biased, sometimes even blatantly false information meant to reinforce certain perspectives, abortion is certainly not an exception to this rule. For example, certain pro-life might contain scientifically sites disproven "facts" about abortion procedures; certain pro-choice sites might contain inflammatory allegations against pro-life advocates. To combat the proliferation of excessively one-sided sources, teaching media literacy must include closely analyzing an array of diverse texts, comparing claims that conflict or contradict each other, and evaluating a source's credibility and point of view (Sperry, 2016, p. 195). Moreover, media literacy also allows students to understand how carefully

constructed messages can be used to influence public opinion/beliefs, societal values, and individual behavior. (Sperry, 2016, p. 195)

Explain and practice deliberation protocols to ensure civility. Crucial to unpacking divisive topics in classroom discussions is to "teach students how to listen, how to hear one another" (Crawley et al., 2009, p. 231). Students will come into the classroom with their own beliefs about abortion based on what they've heard from their families or the media, and it is almost certain that their views will clash with someone else's. Therefore, it is important to establish certain protocols or guidelines that ensure all students are actively listening to their before responding classmates Appendix B: Protocols/Norms for Class Deliberations). For example, rather than interrupt one another when they disagree with a classmate's argument, students should be encouraged to write down a note about it, which they can bring up when it is their turn to speak. These protocols can be created and/or introduced at the beginning of the school and reinforced each time deliberation occurs. Another approach highlighted in the accompanying protocol is to parse out the deliberations into sections:

- 1. Have students identify the value system they ascribe to;
- 2. Highlight the causes and consequences to the problem inhibiting resolution;
- 3. Brainstorm the solution and evaluate to what extent it meets the espoused value.

For a more organic approach, ask students, who should have done quite a bit of research on the subject at this point, to establish the main points of divergence needing investigation.

Present topic as deliberation (not debate) for a more holistic view. Rather than presenting a topic like abortion as a debate, which can get heated quickly, it's important to frame the conversation about abortion as a democratic deliberation, or "a form of classroom discussion... [where] all students participate verbally as they create, weigh and balance, and sift and winnow competing views on authentic political issues... Such discussions do not propose to reinforce all prior beliefs, build students' self-esteem to the detriment of the critical challenge of ideas, or separate the classroom into polarized camps" (Simon, 2005, p. 111; Parker, 2003). In other words, deliberations are investigation of ideas and students' understanding of them, rather than an attack on someone's character. With this approach, it becomes an exercise for students to fully understand and make a measured judgment about a particular course of action, rather than trying to please the teacher, "win" against other classmates, or feel personally insulted. By the end of the deliberation, the class can ask itself deeper questions like "Do our values and policy positions contradict one another? If they're congruent, do we have accurate information? understand how opposing views are constructed?"

Start small, then expand. While there are certainly many angles from which a teacher could approach the abortion discussion, structured academic controversy (SAC) is the approach we advocate. This format hinges on first having students explore and research the

topic in small groups, then broaden the deliberation to include the whole class (Avery, Levy, & Simmons, 2013, p. 108; see also Parker, 2003). For example, students could be put into groups of four where two of them are tasked with preparing the pro-choice position and the other two with the pro-life position. Each pair would research their side's position and present it to the other two members of their group. The opposing sides will listen, take notes, and ask questions only to clarify certain points. Once one side has presented their position, the other side will present theirs. Students would keep their notes for the culminating deliberation with the whole class. An example of this SAC is located in Appendix C.

It is also important to reinforce throughout this process that issues are rarely a simple "either/or." Nuance, while always present, usually comes into play when discussing policy decisions or specific scenarios. For example, are there divisions within the "pro-life" position? One could easily argue that the views around abortion in the case of rape or incest are a perfect example of when either side of the abortion debate starts to get muddled. By highlighting exploring the nuance in certain issues, students move away from reinforcing stagnant binaries that leave no room for smart policy decisions.

Encourage reflection. Given that this is an emotional topic and that deep philosophical thinking is taking place, it is imperative to give students time to reflect on the experience of deliberation. Reflection can begin simply by asking students to discuss how comfortable they

have been exploring the topic of abortion; were they worried that their opinions may be judged? How have their views on abortion changed (if at all)? Challenge students to also connect the exercises they do in class to their own lives; what have they learned about addressing divisive topics that they can apply elsewhere? Do they see how the values they espouse may or may not be congruent with their actual behaviors and policy positions? If such a clash occurs, how might they adjust their own values or behaviors?

Conclusion

Discussing abortion in the classroom may seem like a daunting task because it centers on our notions of morality. What is right and wrong are moral questions, and to assume that students cannot handle controversial topics about morality is naïve and reckless. Every day, young people see and hear messages about controversial topics—including abortion—from their

parents, their neighbors, their friends, and the media. As teachers, we cannot control how these groups shape their moral compasses, but we cannot forget that we also have a responsibility to help our students understand their own values and beliefs. Simply put, it is our job to teach them *how* to think, without teaching them what to think. Without proper instruction on how to identify, thoroughly examine, and deliberate about controversial topics, students will parrot the opinions of others and perpetuate the same dichotomous thinking that plagues our nation. By tackling these issues, even emotionally-charged topics abortion, social studies educators prepare their students to be effective citizens that can fully understand the complexity of societal issues and address challenges head on. If Americans want anything about the current divisive political climate to change, imperative that the next generation learns how to deliberate effectively in order to compromise.

Appendix

Included below are resources for educators to help guide them in teaching about abortion in a social studies classroom. Although the topic is abortion specifically, some of these resources and strategies can transcend topics and be applied to other controversial topics as well. While this framework could be applied to any grade level, the topic of abortion in particular should be reserved for higher-level grades (8-12) given its sensitivity and reliance on students' understanding of reproduction.

The compiled list of resources has general guidelines for discussing abortion in the classroom as a way to encourage balanced discussion and not insert a teacher's bias, not reproduce generalizations that are often portrayed in popular discourse. Additionally, there is a brief unit plan to help a teacher start their unit with three sample lessons/activities. Educators are welcome to use the plan outright for their own classrooms and are encouraged to customize this unit for their own purposes or to adhere with their own school/class culture.

Appendix A: General Guidelines for Talking About Abortion in the Classroom

- 1. Choose terms other than "pro-life" or "pro-choice." Instead use "for legalized abortion" and "against legalized abortion."
- 2. Present all sides equally to students and be sure they have the tools to discern fact from opinion. This way students can be informed and understand that a complicated issue like abortion cannot be simplified down to a right or wrong answer.
- **3. During discussion, consider broadening the conversation to the causes and conditions that allow for women to seek abortions.** Both pro-life and pro-choice groups "spend much of their energy focusing discussions on the abortion procedure" (p. 230). When approaching the topic of abortion, it's important to give students more context about this topic and "shift discussions on abortion away from controversies about medical procedures to a focus on structural and personal social conditions" (Crawley et al., 2009, p. 231). Questions to ask might include: why would a woman want an abortion? What sorts of support systems are necessary to raise a child?
- **4.** When tensions rise, refer back to the class protocols that emphasize civility. Students should be reminded of these protocols before any deliberation on a controversial issue, and should the discussion morph into debate, it's important for the educator to reinforce the protocols as needed.
- 5. Create a safe space to ensure all students feel comfortable. At the beginning of the school year, have students create classroom guidelines/rules as group to ensure that everyone is respected. If a student strays from the guidelines, make sure to speak to that student privately and calmly.
- **6. Keep track of time.** If your class period is relatively long, allow for no more than hour or things might get unproductive or hostile (Crawley et al., 2009, p. 234-235).
- 7. **Do not offer your own views of the topic.** Allow students to formulate their own opinions based on their research and inquiry. Sharing your opinion can cloud their judgment.

Appendix B: Protocols/Norms for Class Deliberations

Below are some sample protocols to use with students to promote civility during class activities and deliberations.

- All discussions should be inclusive; treat all classmates--regardless of their views--with respect (Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools, 2011, p. 29).
- All discussions should be productive; tangents or "going down the rabbit hole" on account of a certain detail should be limited.
- A student's opinion about a topic may or may not change as a result of a discussion, but they should be able to understand and articulate all perspectives of the issue.
- Neither belittling someone's beliefs nor bullying someone into changing their mind is acceptable.

- Students should be instructed not to interrupt one another, even if they vehemently disagree with a classmate's argument. Instead, encourage them to write down a note for their rebuttal/refute that they can bring up when it is their turn to speak.
- A teacher's perspective about a controversial issue is irrelevant. Deliberations are about students exploring all sides of the issue and creating an informed judgment or plan of action; they are not about trying to provide the "right" answer that will please the teacher.
- Students should address one another during discussions, not the teacher (Parker, 2003, p. 139).
- Any opinions shared should be supported by evidence (Parker, 2003, p. 139).

This is by no means an exhaustive list, and educators are encouraged to adapt this list to their own class' needs. These protocols should be shared with students directly and/or posted prominently during deliberations to help remind students about how to conduct themselves during deliberations.

Appendix C: Sample Lesson

Grade: 9th-12th

Time: 5 class periods (~5 hours total)

Essential Question: Does the right to abortion expand an individual's liberty and personal freedom or inhibit society's ability to preserve order and protect itself?

Learning Objectives:

Students will be able to...

- Identify their own beliefs, biases, and assumptions surrounding American values.
- Understand the tactics that people use to influence others' opinions through various forms of media.
- Evaluate the credibility and bias of different sources of information.
- Deliberate on multiple perspectives on a topic.
- Collaborate with others to come to an informed consensus.

Day 1: Introduction Activity

Part One: Four Corners

Materials Needed:

- 4 Corner Signs/Posters
- Worksheet with evaluation statements

Activity Description

This activity is intended to be a discussion that gets students moving. It also is a foundational step that draws students into the conversation of what the values of "preserving social order" and "freedom" mean to your class.

- 1. Open by setting expectations on what the purpose of this activity is. Frame the purpose of the discussion in terms of order, freedom, <u>and</u> behavioral standards. Use your usual set classroom procedures to guide how you frame the behavioral expectations of moving around the room.
- 2. The teacher will explain that he/she will be reading several statements that students will have to evaluate with either "Strongly Agree," "Agree," "Disagree," or "Strongly Disagree." Each of these evaluations corresponds to a certain corner of the classroom. When the teacher reads the statement, students will move to the corner that corresponds with their personal opinions. Sample statements include:
 - o "Freedom means being able to do whatever you want, regardless of who it affects."
 - "The government shouldn't have any say in what you do in your personal life."
 - "What someone chooses to do with their body is their own individual choice and no one else should have any say."
 - "The government's most important job is to preserve individual freedoms."
 - "Ending a life--for any reason--is morally wrong."

- "The government should be responsible for doing everything in its power to prevent violence and preserve order."
- "The government is always responsible for bringing people who do wrong things to justice."
- "The government's most important job is to preserve order."
- 3. After reading all of the statements, students should return back to their seats and receive a worksheet that lists all the statements read aloud in class. Students should then choose the hardest/most difficult statement(s) they encountered and write a brief reflection on why they found it so difficult to evaluate.

Part Two: Definition Discussion

Materials:

- Board or Large Paper for Wall
- Markers

Activity Description:

The goal of this guided discussion is to lay the foundation of understanding behind the meanings of the values in conflict within the abortion debate: freedom and preserving order.

- 1. Open with the set expectation that you will be starting the lesson by discussing two values that lay at the core of a lot of debates around the country and around the world, or some similar "bigger picture" statement to frame your questioning.
- 2. Ask students to define the word "order" in their own words and provide an example of how we preserve order in society. If students struggle, provide them with some guiding questions, such as:
 - a. What do we mean when we say "preserve order?"
 - b. What are ways that we preserve order in society? In school? At home?
 - c. If the government is tasked with preserving order, what are some examples of disorder? Are all forms of disorder equal? (For example, is littering as reprehensible as murder?)
 - d. Have there been laws meant to "preserve order" that were (or are) unjust?
- 3. As students share their responses/working definitions, call out strong definitions and ask them to write them on the board/poster paper.
- 4. Follow the same procedure from steps 2 and 3 for the word "freedom." Guiding questions for this term might include:
 - a. What does "freedom" mean to you?
 - b. If freedom deals with "doing whatever you want as long as it's legal," what happens when what you want to do is legal but others believe that it is morally wrong?
 - c. Conversely, what happens when you believe something is morally acceptable but the government has made it illegal?
- 5. Using the notes that were added to the board/poster paper, collectively create a common definition for each of the two terms. Establish consensus with a hand-raise/thumbs-up poll.

Day 2: Guided Media Literacy Activity

Materials:

• Prepared packet of abortion-related articles

Activity Description:

Share a packet of information about abortion with the following parameters in mind when choosing sources:

- Choose one or two sources that are totally disreputable (e.g. a blog, or talk show host video clip)
- Chose two sources should be relatively reputable but are biased in either direction (examples below).
 - a. Planned Parenthood
 - b. Family Research Council

- c. Guttmacher Institute
- d. National Abortion Federation
- Choose two sources that are highly reputable and relatively unbiased (e.g. scholarly, peer-reviewed articles about abortion)

Students should review the packet of information in their groups and for each source identify:

- What is the main point of this passage? What is the author trying to say?
- Who created this information?
- Why was this information created? What is its purpose?
- Is the source reputable? Why or why not?

After reviewing the sources, come back together as a class and discuss the four sources. Identify if there were any sources that group members disagreed about and clear up any confusion. Wrap up this lesson by asking students which values are being prioritized by each of these sources: preserving order or freedom?

Day 3-4: Small Group Discussion (Structured Academic Controversy)

Materials:

• Laptops and/or access to internet (for additional research)

Activity Description:

Organize the class into groups of four students. In each group of four, two students will prepare the "pro" position and the other two students will prepare the "con" position for the question: *should abortion be legal?*

Each side should research their side's position from reputable sources and can use the resources provided in day 2 as a starting point. After completing their research, each pair will present their position to the other two members of their group. The opposing sides will listen, take notes, and ask questions only to clarify certain points. Once one side has presented their position, the other side will present theirs. Students should keep their notes for the culminating seminar.

Day 5: Culminating Socratic Seminar

Activity Description:

The teacher will facilitate a Socratic Seminar based on the last three activities. The general steps/sequence for teacher preparation is as follows:

1. Prepare questions for discussion.

Build the questions that the seminar is going to focus on when you come together full group. The questions created should connect the discussion of values with the abortion debate and the concept of media literacy/bias. Sample questions may include:

- a. Look at the media sources we reviewed on day 2: which value do "pro-choice" groups choose and what value do "pro-life" groups choose?
- b. How do each of these groups define "preserving order" and "freedom?"
- c. How do our values influence our opinions?
- d. What should we do when something conflicts with our personal values?
- 2. Set expectations and remind students of deliberation protocols/guidelines (see *Appendix B*).

3. Conduct seminar.

Allow for at least one full class period for the Socratic Seminar to take place. Make sure that the room is arranged where all desks/chairs are in a circle. Begin by encouraging students to bring their sources with them to back up their answers with evidence, then start the discussion by using the prompts/questions prepared in advance.

Following the seminar, have students write a reflection paper that answers the following prompt:

• What did you learn from the Socratic Seminar?

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WHAT EXACTLY IS PROPOGANDA, ANYWAY?

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"An immense deal of actual indoctrination takes place in schools... and must inevitably always take place," one professor commented in 1933. "When it does not please us, we call it propaganda; when it does please us, we call it education" (Foerster, 1933, p. 403). This cynical, but pithy, quotation points to the difficulty in defining exactly what is meant by propaganda, and how it is different from education. In the current political environment in which pundits, politicians, and journalists on the Left and Right have accused one another of "fake news," "alternative facts," and "propaganda," it seems appropriate to revisit the origins of propaganda education in American schools.

Propaganda first education emerged between the World Wars. Then, like now, educators struggled with how to define propaganda, how to distinguish it from education, news, and public relations, and how to prepare students for a new media landscape in which propaganda was pervasive. The first part of this piece provides background on the rise of propaganda education between the World Wars. The second part outlines approaches to defining teaching about propaganda. Finally, I conclude with some recommendations on how to prepare students for the new media landscape.

Background

Prior to World War I, scholars rarely used the term propaganda. When they did use the term, it mainly referred conversion through religious, instruction. specifically Catholic, Consequently, since its inception, the propaganda had unpleasant term insinuations for the mostly Protestant scholarly elite in the US (Fellows, 1959). However, the term propaganda took on a broader definition during and after the war. Defined by the National Education Association (NEA) as "the systematic direction of effort to gain support for an opinion," critics pointed to the biased and one-sided nature of the materials produced by governments and regimes during the conflict, including the US, and debated the role of propaganda in democracy and democratic education (Broome, 1929, p. 3).

When the US entered World War I in spring 1917, President Woodrow Wilson organized the Committee of Public Information (CPI) to unify the nation in support of the effort. Headed by journalist George Creel, the Committee identified education of youth and adults as a central component of fostering patriotism, silencing dissenters, mobilizing the nation. Creel (1920) believed wholeheartedly in the "absolute justice of America's cause" in the war and "the absolute selflessness of America's aims" for entering it (p. 4). As a result, Creel insisted that no other argument was needed for garnering support for the war beyond "the simple, straightforward presentation of facts." (p. 4). Creel insisted that, if the public was fully informed about the international events, then it would reach the same rational conclusions as leading experts and political leaders about the need to end its isolationism and win the war. cooperation with the NEA, the CPI formed the National School Service and a series of pamphlets for distribution to US schools. According to million copies of Creel. 75 educational pamphlets were distributed to US homes via 20 million students, in addition to other materials produced by local municipalities.

The CPI placed the social studies curriculum at the center of the effort to Americanize immigrants and instill patriotism in all American youth. Under the leadership of Creel, the Committee quickly authored wartime history and civic lessons and made them available to teachers, who were encouraged to "lay foundations for an intelligent the enthusiasm for the United States" (Judd, 1918, p. 7). The initial reception of the CPI pamphlets sent to schools was positive. In fact, the requests by teachers was so great that the Government Printing Office could not keep up and had to make arrangements with a large printing house to meet demand (Todd, 1945). The CPI accompanied the campaign in US schools with wartime posters encouraging thrift and sacrifice, patriotic pleas to engage in volunteer work to support soldiers, and speech competitions in support of the war (Collins, 2012; Kingsbury, 2010). Much of this material was aimed at school age children.

The materials produced by the CPI had the full support of the NEA and capitalized on many of the curriculum

trends suggested by leading social studies theorists such as critical thinking, thematic organization of content, relevance. and functionality knowledge. However, later critics of the wartime pamphlets focused specifically on the biased nature of its materials. This raised many issues about federal overreach, the use of government-backed media, the role of schools in wartime preparation, advertising in schools, and the cooperation among the business elites and the government. Although Creel denied that the CPI was engaged in propaganda because he disseminating truth, not lies, many failed to see the distinction because the selection of certain facts, at the expense of others, enabled the government to endorse a particular interpretation of the event. Creel could not successfully divorce his wartime pamphlets from the propaganda, especially after numerous critics and scholars employed the term to depict his effort.

After the war, a group of business calling itself the National Industrial Conference Board labeled the CPI pamphlets "insidious propaganda." The Board focused specifically on the "Lessons in Community and National Life" pamphlet issued in 1918, and accused the Wilson administration of disseminating materials "of a distinctly propagandist character which has proper place in a schoolbook" endorsing the "eight hour day, old age pensions, social insurance, trade unionism, the minimum wage, similar issues" (NCIB, 1919, p.4). tone of the materials, the Board asserted, were anti-employer. In a more subtle critique called "Propaganda in Schools," historian Charles Beard (1919)

questioned the one-sidedness of a pamphlet disseminated locally to New City teachers because advocated universal service "as a settled national policy" and offered a highly biased and simplistic account of the Russian Revolution (p. 598). For Beard, the tendency to assert certainty of facts in areas of political and scholarly dispute meant that the materials reflected a viewpoint. particular For propaganda was the forwarding of only one side of a contentious issue by conveying that position as if it was established fact.

By the mid-1920s, there was an overall sense among scholars that the public had been duped into supporting US involvement in World War I, and the CPI was partially to blame. As Charles and Mary Beard (1927) concluded: "Never before in our history has such a campaign of education been organized; never before had American citizens realized how irresistibly a modern government could impose its views upon the whole nation" (p. 640). One study of textbooks in France, Germany, Japan, and the US confirmed that nations distorted the facts of the past for their own purposes. In other words, the schools had been used, not only by the Germans, but by all the participants in World War I to pave the road to war by preaching nationalism and one-sided accounts of major events. "We find that children of different countries are taught opposite attitudes toward the same historical events," the study concluded, "We find our own textbooks not only contrasting with those of our late enemies, but differing widely among themselves" (Taft, 1925, 226). The p. study demonstrated that claims of objectivity

and neutrality had been a farce because, "committees of public information in everv country utilized unrepresentative truths during the war, and they have now been embodied in more permanent form in textbooks, because few have been interested to challenge them" (p. 227). The fact that democratic governments misrepresented the facts in the same manner authoritarian regimes was disturbing enough, but the fact that such accounts were aimed at children became a major cause for concern.

The conditions. context, and precise definition of propaganda were difficult to pin down, but scholars agreed that propaganda had a distorted, perverted, or distant relationship with the facts. Discussions of propaganda were often conflated with concerns about advertising, swindling schemes, sales pitches, interest group politics, and political partisanship. Nevertheless, educators agreed that none of these things propaganda, advertising, partisan politics – belonged in the schools, especially because children were so trusting and vulnerable. Propaganda anxiety arose alongside the ascendancy of mass media, interest-group politics, and advertising, making it difficult decipher where one began and the others ended (Sproule, 1997).

Concerns that business interests had infiltrated the schools were confirmed in November 1928 when the US Federal Trade Commission investigated the methods employed by a coordinated group of public utility companies (referred to as "the power trust") and found them guilty of spending "hundreds of thousands of dollars annually to bias the judgment of

students, at nearly all ages from the kindergarten to the PhD candidate, on the relative merits of public and private ownership" (TNR, 1928, p. 28). During the 1920s, a group of privately owned public utility companies had paid professors, teachers, editors, journalists to convey pro-public utility information to students and readers. In addition, the utility companies conducted internal reviews of popular textbooks, which they then used to lobby publishers and local and state school boards to have books revised or removed. All of this was done in secret.

Educators were appalled. The NEA called the power trust scandal a "crime against youth," and the American Federation of Teachers dubbed it "the greatest crime against civilization" (NYT, 1928, p. 1). One writer concluded: "Possibly there has never been in our history a more gigantic and insidious attack on our public schools" (Lumley, 1933, p. 316). Books such as High Power Propaganda (Raushenbush, 1928), The Propaganda Menace (1933), The Power Fight (Raushenbush, 1932), of the Power Trust (Thompson, 1932), and Education and Organized Interests in America (Raup, 1935) traced the controversy and connected it to the broader issues of advertising, political lobbying, and interest group politics in the US.

In response to the power trust scandal, the NEA launched a formal investigation into propaganda in the schools, and several local groups formed Save-Our-Schools committees. Educational philosopher John Dewey served as vice chairman of the New York Save-Our-Schools chapter. In June 1928, a national Save-Our-Schools committee met in Washington DC to discuss propaganda in

education with representatives from twenty-five states. As a result, the group organized a formal investigation into propaganda in the schools and surveyed hundreds of schools for evidence of outside influence on the curriculum. It discovered that most schools across the nation had indeed been solicited by outside groups, but most were able to recognize and resist the requests. Fortyfive percent of respondents reported that their school board had specifically considered and discussed propaganda question," with large urban districts reporting greater concern than smaller cities. Several states had issued specific guidelines on how to deal with outside pressures and solicitations from interest groups and businesses (Broome, 1929).

The explicit use of propaganda by Joseph Stalin of the Soviet Union, Benito Mussolini of Italy, and especially Adolf Hitler Nazi Germany further of underscored the importance of teaching students to recognize and analyze propaganda. The interest in propaganda education both reflected and was supported by the founding of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis at Teachers College in 1937. During its brief controversial existence, and disseminated monthly bulletins to its subscribers, including 6,000 hundreds of schools across the nation (Hollis, 1937, p. 453). The Institute also published books on key topics such as The Fine Art of Propaganda: A Study of Father Coughlin's Speeches (1939) and War Propaganda and the United States (1940). Although propaganda analysis seemed like an uncontroversial idea in theory, it proved to be controversial in practice, especially as World War II approached.

Critics complained that the materials of the Institute falsely gave "the impression that [US President] Roosevelt is as big a liar as Hitler" (quoted in Sproule, 1997, p. 174). By October of 1941, the Institute lost its funding and closed down, fearing that its "analyses could be misused for undesirable purposes by persons opposing the government efforts" in the war (quoted in Sproule, 1997, p. 176).

Defining Propaganda

Defining propaganda and distinguishing it from education was an ongoing problem for educators and scholars in the interwar years. There were three approaches. The first approach was distinguish education from to propaganda by defining them in opposition to one another. As one professor simplistically wrote: "Education is teaching things that are true; propaganda is teaching things that are false" (Woody, 1939, p. 228). another professor wrote: "The function of education is to acquaint the individual with a variety of opinions, doctrines, or courses of action so as to equip him intelligently to do his own thinking and to select his own courses of action." In contrast, the objective of propaganda is "to gain acceptance of a particular opinion, doctrine, or course of action under circumstances designed to curb the individual's freedom of action" (Soper, 1929, p. 224). Thus, education entailed teaching both sides of an issue by considering all of the facts, while propaganda entailed teaching only one side of an issue by ignoring the facts, distorting the facts, or teaching lies.

The second approach was to accept that the line between propaganda

and education was blurry, so rather than try to distinguish between the two, teach students to appreciate both and to be critical of both. This was the approach supported by John Dewey. In fact, as the power trust scandal came to light, Dewey (1928/1988) was publishing a series of articles in The New Republic on his visit to Communist Russia, where he observed the "omnipresence of propaganda" in the Russian schools (p. 221). Although Dewey objected to the use of propaganda in a democracy — as his vice chairmanship of the Save-Our-Schools Committee of New York demonstrated—he did not denounce it outright. In fact, he expressed a sense of awe and admiration at the Russian example, having been partially persuaded by the rhetoric of his hosts. "[I]n Russia, the propaganda is in behalf of a burning public faith," Dewey (1928/1988) observed, "... their sincerity is beyond question. To them the end for which propaganda is employed is not a private or even a class gain, but is the universal good of universal humanity. In consequence propaganda is education and education is propaganda" (pp. 221-222).

Accepting that the lines between education and propaganda were blurry, Dewey was less concerned with having students distinguish between the two, than he was with teaching students to approach both with an open and critical mind. Contrasting education democracy with the propaganda under "Hitler in Germany, Mussolini in Italy, Stalin in Russia," professor of education, Kilpatrick William Heard (1939),concluded that schools should approach students, "not to make them converts to my cause, but to foster independent thinking and decision on the part of all whom I touch, independent it may be, even to the rejecting of my cause" (p. 20).

The third approach was to accept that propaganda was unavoidable, and to steer it towards the development of democratic dispositions and ideals. other words, use the schools propaganda for democracy. Writing in the 1930s, one professor observed how Europeans had been successfully using propaganda in their schools for decades with spectacular results: "We see and marvel at the results in other nations; but because they are Germany, Italy, and Russia, with ideals far different from ours, we are foolishly afraid of the same means. But be assured that democracy needs an integrated people, too" (Briggs, 1930, p. 476). As another professor of education averred, "As a people we stand probably as never before in the center of propagandas – bad. good, indifferent, domestic and imported -Democracy cannot shut them off as dictatorship can, and instantly does. Propaganda must function constructively in and among them or else it must fail" (Graham, 1939, p. 428). These educators argued that propaganda for fascism or communism was a fact of life. As a result, propaganda in support of democracy was a necessity to offset the propaganda being distributed successfully by fascists and communists.

How to Teach Propaganda

Just as during the interwar years, we now face a rapidly changing media landscape. Whereas in the 1920s, 30s, and 40s, Americans and Europeans employed mass-produced print media, radio, television, and film in unprecedented ways that allowed leaders to disseminate

their message quickly and efficiently, we now face Internet and social media likewise disseminate sources that information quickly and directly, while circumventing the fact-checking filters of the mainstream media. This new media environment has created uncertainty for students about what to believe. Because propaganda was and still is notoriously hard to define, the focus for teaching should not be on how to identify and dismiss propaganda, but rather on the ability to seek out and assess the validity and reliability of the evidence presented in the claims. In other words, rather than dismissing a source as mere propaganda, consider its intended audience, who created it, what evidence was presented, what evidence was omitted, and who seeks to gain power and/or influence if the source is believed. Even if the source is pro-democracy, or espouses a political viewpoint with which you agree, it still must be analyzed through these basic This skeptical approach to questions. media sources will underscore the idea that democracy is a way of thinking, rather than a set of right answers, something that John Dewey argued throughout his career.

Ultimately, the question of whether a message is propaganda, fake news, indoctrination, or alternative facts, should be subservient to the broader issue of the reliability of the source and the evidence employed to support the presented assertions. This does not mean wrong sources are never misleading, and/or that everyone is correct. On the contrary, by focusing on the evidence and recognizing the bias in all sources, teachers can teach our future citizens to make careful and reasoned distinctions among different sources. The

reliability of the evidence itself should be the primary focus of all inquiries into claims of validity. Now more than ever, students need the tools to investigate and assess the assertions of the media.

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"WHO IS THAT MAN? HE'S IN ALL THE PICTURES?": ON THE STRENGTH AND OSTRACISM OF BAYARD RUSTIN AND WHY HE SHOULD BE TAUGHT

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"Mr. Gibbs...? Who is that man? I mean...he's in all the pictures. He's a real person right?" It was my student Rosa, who was a serious intellect. She and her travel partner Karen were pointing and staring at a photo with quizzical looks on their faces. It was an 11th grade United States History class and the room was in subdued pandemonium. In teams of twos and threes, students were walking the room examining photographs from the African-American Civil Rights Movement. Students were leaning in close, stepping back to look at the photos from multiple viewpoints, and scribbling their observations in their notebooks.

The students were examining moments of oppression and resistance from the 1930s through the late 1960s. There were inspiring images of defiance, singing and hard-won organizing, successes, as well as terrifying images of threat, intimidation and murder. Students were recording "moments of oppression" trying to figure out who or what was oppressed and how it was done as well as recording "moments of resistance" attempting to determine what acts of resistance were used and which seemed to be most successful. It was a way to introduce a swath of complicated history, giving students a larger sense of the entire movement before digging in and difficult detail examining the government sanctioned suppression and the self-sacrifice needed to overcome. The question driving the unit asked, "How do we emancipate ourselves?" and pushed

students to think through how African-Americans freed themselves through planning, strategy, multiple pressure points, and great collective action. It was also a way to get students thinking about how they too could grow into dangerous citizens (Ross, 2017) and emancipate themselves and their community.

When I arrived, Rosa and Karen were deep in conversation comparing two photographs. It took a bit to pull them from their conversation. "Look at these...Mr. Gibbs...that's the same man right?" She was pointing to a photograph at the end of the March on Washington in 1963. It showed a tall, thin, elegant African-American man with graying hair, a slightly long, curly haired flat top, and black eyeglasses ascending to the stage as Dr. King was leaving. King was walking off to a torrent of applause for his "I Have a Dream" speech. The other was a photo of the same man speaking with Malcolm X during a series of debates they had held in 1961 and 1962. "And....come over here, look at this." Rosa and Karen had walked across the room and pointed to another photo of seemingly the same man, the same smile, moustache and glasses, though darker hair. The photo was a group shot, several men in dark suits, arms entwined and over one another's shoulders with A. Philip Randolph, founder and head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, at the center. This got all three of us curious and as the rest of the class continued to explore the photographs, we went on a hunt for the

tall, slim man with the high flattop and dark glasses. We seemed to find him everywhere. Upon finding the 8th photo with him in the background Rosa finally burst, "What gives, Mr. Gibbs…who is this guy? How come I've never heard of him?"

The truth was I didn't know. I knew the iconic activists he was standing with, I knew the events he was participating in, and I even prided myself on being able to recognize many of the "lesser known" heroes of the civil rights movement. But with him, I had no idea. I had studied history in college and had studied the struggle for civil rights quite extensively in preparation for teaching it, but I was at an absolute loss. Who is this man who was seemingly everywhere in the movement? It took me several days of reading and research, digging and prodding, and attaching photographs to events to finally discover his name-Bayard Rustin.

Like most great teaching ideas, the resulting assignment came from my students. In the coming years, I would show the photographs to students and assign them to find out why Rustin, for all his work and engagement in the struggle was never celebrated as fully as he should be. The answer my students brought back was a simple one: "He was gay." But the simple answer opened a series of complications on my students' understanding of the civil rights movement. The realization that Rustin was sidelined and overshadowed largely due to his homosexuality caused much distress amongst my students. "You mean...like all the activists that were fighting for racial freedom...they were homophobic? Just because he was gay...they took away all he did?" To put

it mildly my students were flabbergasted and outraged. This isn't to say that my students did not exhibit homophobia; many of them did at different times and at different wattage. Yet, in their minds, homophobia ought not be enough to detract from the deeds and moral courage displayed by Rustin. The narrative that they had understood was too simplistic. The civil rights movement was a righteous one that struggled against oppression, racism, prejudice violence. Anyone who was involved in the movement was surely a righteous person devoid of ill and above reproach.

That members of the movement were homophobic at worst and strategic at best, keeping Rustin out of the spotlight so as not to inflame the general homophobia of the country, was shocking to my students. It also revealed the narrowness of my attempts to teach critically. I was missing the intersectionality (Collins & Bilge, 2017) of the movement and my ability to teach about race, gender, and sexuality. Rustin's story and my class assignment led to other discoveries of the complexities of the movement particularly where it came to women activists who were often confined to secretarial work while the men did the "real work" (Watson, 2011). It's one of the large contradictions of the movement and complications of teaching revolutionary actions of change agents who organized and pushed back but simultaneously continued the entrenched misogyny, sexism, and homophobia of the time.

That Rustin was not mentioned in textbooks was not surprising to me, but he was left out of several well-regarded historical texts entirely or almost entirely. These texts include Michael Karlman's

(2006) Pulitzer Prize winning Jim Crow to Civil Rights, The Race Beat by Gene Roberts and Hank Kilbanoff (2007), and Bearing the Cross by David Garrow (1999) which also won the Pulitzer Prize for history. Taylor Branch's series is quite inclusive of Rustin and his experiences especially in Parting the Waters (1989), and Rustin also makes appearances in *Pillar of* Fire (1999) and at Canaan's Edge (2007). Rustin is mentioned multiple times in **Iames** Patterson's (1997)Grand Expectations of the United States 1945-1974 as well as in Manning Marable's (2011) Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention and Kwame Ture's (2003) Ready for Revolution: The Life and Struggles of Stokely Carmichael. So while there is not universally extensive coverage of Rustin's narrative in germinal texts on the civil rights movement, he is typically included. Still, he is largely left out of the civil rights narrative taught in most schools.

Who Was Bayard Rustin?

Described as handsome, smart and idealistic, Rustin seems to have emerged from the womb renegade, a revolutionary, and an activist of the highest order (Podair, 2009). His Christian faith and his core belief in pacifism pushed him to be an outspoken opponent of World War II during his time in college and led him to join the Communist Party of the United States of America (CPUSA). It was during this time that his pacifism grew from not just an opposition to war but to an effort towards social justice, to push for, build, and grow a better world.

He moved to New York City where he was first exposed to successful mass protest through Adam Clayton Powell's "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" campaign. As white owned businesses in Harlem were impacted by the boycott, Rustin was propelled towards the possibilities of the movement and mass organizing. In 1941 Rustin met A. Philip Randolph who began the "March on Washington Movement" and would become one of his lifelong mentors (Branch, 1989; Podair, 2009). Randolph asked Rustin to be the organization's Working vouth organizer. with Randolph's March movement, Rustin made nonviolent direct action organizing principal of the organization. It was not only an "effective tactic" but also worked for "spiritual uplift," providing the downtrodden powerless with strength, commitment, and a path to victory (Podair, 2009).

unclear It's when Rustin recognized his homosexuality or began having relationships with men, but in 1943 he had his first long term relationship with a 20-year-old white man. It was also at this time that he was drafted into military service. Though he could have deferred, he felt that was selling out his principles and core ideals. He notified the draft board he would not participate in the process at all and was sentenced to three years in a federal penitentiary. True to his principles, he continued organizing as a prisoner protesting the racial segregation of the units, the inadequate education programs, and the poor nutritional value of meals among other things.

Rustin was quickly labeled a troublemaker, draft dodger, and eventually a "deviant" in prison. The last label came from a sexual relationship Rustin developed with another inmate that got him sentenced to solitary

confinement. Mentor A. J. Muste of the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) heard of this. He visited Rustin in a rage, calling him out for his inability to control himself sexually and for exposing a political weakness. Rustin apologized and thus began his marginalization (Podair, 2009). He was becoming a hazard for his refusal to compromise both politically and personally, which eventually would cause conflict with Muste, Randolph, Martin Luther King, and other members of the movement.

After prison, Rustin joined the Journey of Reconciliation, a precursor to the more famous and better-documented Freedom Rides (Branch, 1989; Podair, 2009). He and his co-riders enforced, through nonviolent direct action, the Supreme Court decision of Morgan v. Virginia that declared invalid discrimination in interstate travel. These riders were beaten and arrested. Rustin, taking a principled stand, refused to pay a fine, choosing to serve out his sentence. After serving his time he rejoined Randolph who introduced him to Roy Wilkins, head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Rustin began working with the NAACP as well.

Rustin was not "out" exactly as we would think of it today but he took no steps to hide his sexuality. He never dated women, never married, and never assumed a social pose that was not honest. In 1953 Rustin spoke at an anticolonial event sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee in Pasadena, California. After the event he was arrested for having sex with two white men in the back of a car. He was found guilty of a lewd act in public and sentenced to 60 days in jail, a sentence

that he served. His personal life that had never been hidden now had a public record attached to it that further eschewed the leaders of the movement. For a few brief years in the 1950s no one wanted to work with him despite his string of successes and his proven talent as a speaker and organizer. This time for Rustin was filled with self-reproach, self-doubt and sadness (Podair, 2009).

When Mrs. Rosa Parks refused a bus driver's order and the Montgomery Improvement Association was formed, Rustin helped support the boycott from behind the scenes, offering organizing advice and ghost writing various newspaper columns for him (Podair, 2009). Rustin helped deepen King's understanding of non-violence, and connection to the larger movement. However, King was alarmed when Congressman Adam Clayton Powell began spreading rumors that King and Rustin were secret lovers. This rumor jeopardized the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) that was made up largely of conservative ministers who were critical Rustin's of homosexuality even without the rumors. Rustin was pushed further into the background.

As his relationship with King strained, Rustin continued to advise him from afar but began to repair his relationship with Muste who encouraged him to compromise to ensure that something workable for civil rights could be accomplished. Rustin began to shift from the extreme position of spiritual pacifism to a more workable non-violent direct action that could gain results. Middle aged by this point and older than many Southern civil rights workers, he was the only "adult" invited to advise the

politically radical and action oriented Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) (Podair, 2009).

The SCLC initially planned to use the SNCC as its youth organization but Bob Moses (Branch, 1999), amongst King's others, bridled against authoritarian leadership style and more moderate politics. Wanting grassroots collective leadership structure decision making-process, tapped Rustin to help. Hoping for a permanent position with the SNCC as its elder statesman, he was devastated when the rumors of his non-existent sexual relationship with King swept through the organization. Although radical in how they intended to win rights and freedoms for African-Americans, the SNCC was just as sexually conservative as the rest of the movement and the rest of America. While attracted to his principles and dedication, they could not abide his homosexuality.

After he left the SNCC, Rustin spent much of 1961 and 1962 in public debate with Malcolm X, a longtime critic of nonviolence, integration, and the leading civil rights activists who relished opportunity to engage publicly. On debate platforms across the country, the two battled it out, arguing philosophy, action, history, change and the future of African-Americans. Both men were skilled debaters. Arguing in front of largely black audiences allowed Rustin to warrant that economic redistribution had to be part of the civil rights movement for actual change to occur. For the movement to win, it must not just be about rights, it also had to be about economics.

With the possibility of losing involvement in the activist community

again, Rustin was rescued by his old mentor, A. Philip Randolph. Randolph had never let go of his dream to march on Washington DC and he began to recognize that the early 1960s might be the time to do it. To march successfully he knew the knowledge, eloquence, and expertise of Bayard Rustin necessary (D'Emilio, 2004; Podair, 2009). Randolph also knew that all the major organizations - CORE (Congress of Racial Equality), SCLC, SNCC, and NAACPwould all need to work together. There were differences of age, disposition, philosophy, and tactics among all of them. Randolph understood that it would be a delicate political dance to organize the march and keep the organizations together. When the organization leaders met, Randolph nominated Rustin as the head organizer; Wilkins of the NAACP adamantly refused. He made arguments that Rustin had come to hear often: Rustin had an arrest record, was defiant and unbending, a communist, and a deviant (referring to his homosexuality) (Podair, 2009). King remained silent while Farmer, a friend from long ago and current head of CORE, rose to Rustin's defense. Randolph settled the dispute by naming himself head of the March on Washington Committee but naming Rustin as his assistant. Wilkins didn't agree but was powerless to stop it.

The 1963 March on Washington was planned in eight short weeks. African-American law enforcement officers were recruited to be safety marshals, transportation for folks arriving from across the country to the march venue was organized, food and water was gathered for the marchers, Rustin approved the language of the signs to be carried, and he developed a plan to clean

the venue once it had been vacated by demonstrators. He reached out to Harry Belafonte, Joan Baez, Bob Dylan and other entertainers to participate and keep the marchers engaged, entertained and enthusiastic. Rustin also arranged for all the main leaders of the organizations to meet with members of Congress and the political establishment the morning of the march to both advocate for rights and reassure them that the march wasn't the opening of a direct revolution.

The March's biggest obstacle turned out to be a speech written by SNCC head John Lewis. Word of the speech's critical and vitriolic content threatened the thin unity among the various organizations involved. Rustin's involvement in the negotiations over the language in Lewis's speech would earn him a new label: "sell out" (Branch, 1999; D'Emilio, 2004; Podair, 2009). This label, as with the others, would hover around him for the rest of his life. Lewis eventually agreed to soften his language and tone, something he would come to regret. Nearly 250,000 marchers would hear Lewis's constrained speech as well as Dr. King's iconic "I have a dream" speech. The final speaker of the day was Rustin himself (Branch, 1999). The event represented what many consider to be the highpoint of the movement.

Rustin's fame would continue in movement circles, but the labels of communist, jailbird, sell out, and pervert would follow him. He continued to be involved in social movements but after the March on Washington moved away from civil rights activism exclusively to anti-colonial and Ghandian campaigns for justice worldwide.

Teaching Bayard Rustin

The story of Bayard Rustin ought to be included in the teaching of American history generally and the civil and gay rights movements specifically. His exclusion leads to an over simplified narrative similar to the one often assigned to Dr. King (Alridge, 2006). In this master narrative King is uncomplicated, perfect, made without politics. Removing the narrative of Rustin trims the narrative of the civil rights movement to one of good vs. bad, where good triumphs. As with most all history, the story is much complicated. The inclusion of Rustin can act as a counterweight to the more simplistic narrative, providing a historical context that explains how the activists could struggle for racial freedom while holding onto homophobic and misogynistic beliefs (Watson, 2010).

There are several possible ways to include Rustin in instruction. One way is to use the pedagogy described earlier. Set up a series of photographs showing various aspects of the civil rights movement and ask the question: Who is this man and why don't we know him? This activity could be an entry point to instruction or a way to complicate the narrative toward the end of a unit on the movement. A role-play is another way to include Rustin and others (Bigelow, 2008). Many role-plays about the civil rights movement are focused narrowly on the strategic differences between Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X. A role-play could focus on the strengths and weaknesses of different resistance strategies that could still include King and Malcolm X but also include Rustin's organization of large events, Septima Clarke's Citizenship Schools, and Stokely

Carmichael's more aggressive nonviolence. This would allow for a more inclusive and wider examination of the different strategies the movement utilized as well as the inclusion of gender and LGBTQAI concerns to the larger narrative of the civil rights movement. One might also engage students in analyzing primary sources that demonstrate the complexity of organizing the March on Washington. Students could examine in the historical record the original plans for the march during the Roosevelt administration as well as the organizing and skill Rustin demonstrated to make it successful in 1963. Students may well discover that without Rustin's organizing, there would be no soaring rhetoric of Dr. King on that day.

My students came to know Rustin, which helped to complicate and deepen their understanding of the civil rights movement and those who participated. Bayard Rustin's story is one of an individual who refused to quit, who stayed true, and who was ultimately punished for his steadfastness. Rustin served as a bellwether indicating the distance between where the civil rights movement was and perhaps where it ought to be. Rustin was a committed, fierce, dedicated, and successful activist. All our students should know him.

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