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MASTER OF SCIENCE

**TRANSFORMATIVE EDUCATION
& SOCIAL CHANGE**

THESIS

SPRING 2020



Re-Forging Democracy in Schools through the History of American Social Movements

A Thesis

Presented to the Faculty of the
Department of Educational Foundations and Policy Studies
West Chester University
West Chester, Pennsylvania

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of
Master of Science

By
Jonathan Privado
May 2020

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Because neither this journey, nor anything else in my life could be done without you, and all that you are, I dedicate this work to my best-friend, my constant partner, and the strongest person I know, Michelle Privado.

Because you are the miracle that gives me new strength and purpose, I dedicate this work to Nora Jane Privado. I cannot wait to see the person you become, and hear the voice that is distinctly your own.

Because you are the ones who inspire me to constantly reimagine what it means to be a teacher, and what is possible in education, I dedicate this work to my teachers, professors, colleagues, and students, both past and present.

Abstract

Democratic virtue and spirit are severely lacking in the traditional school setting. With so many threats to the planet, the nation, and democracy as a whole, direct action, and active civic engagement are more important than ever. The traditional social studies and history curriculums of schools, both sanitized and passive, often claim to prepare students for citizenry, but are actually ill preparing students for the challenge and the necessity of genuine civic engagement. In particular, one of the most egregious offenders within the domain of the social studies is the traditional American history curriculum. In most cases, as this study intends to prove, this curriculum contradicts democratic values, maintains racial hegemonies, and encourages apathy, or even hopelessness, toward civic action. These types of offenses, that the American history curriculum commits, are not new, but rather have been developing since the inception of public education in the 19th-century. With these problems, and these challenges, the implementation of a new history course, the History of American Social Movements, a course which both models successful social movements throughout the history of the United States and tasks students with creating their own action plans regarding issues they see in their communities, is nothing short of essential for the arduous journeys ahead. This paper provides a detailed examination and history of the faults and damages of the American history curriculum, before then pressing forward to propose the necessity, curriculum, theory, and evaluation of the course, the History of American Social Movements.

Table of Contents

Chapter One – Introduction & Positionality.....	1
Chapter Two - Thematic Concern, Conceptual Framework and Definitions.....	20
Chapter Three - Narrative.....	24
Chapter Four – Design.....	99
Unit #1.....	127
Unit #2.....	128
Unit #3.....	132
Unit #4.....	134
Unit #5.....	137
Unit #6.....	139
Chapter Five – Assessment & Evaluation.....	145
Pre & Post Evaluations.....	150
References.....	155
Appendix.....	166

Chapter 1

Introduction and Positionality

The social studies are divisive. The social studies harness the past, but are molded to justify the narratives of current values. The values that are taught, the stories that are told, the methods that schools teach for interpreting the living past are all inherently controversial. For most parties involved, much is at stake, for even in the simplest of histories, and the implications of that history have tremendous ramifications of the present, and the direction of the future. This is nowhere truer than in the American history curriculum within high schools, with the greatest impact on urban or diverse settings, but so too affecting the nation as a whole. Curriculums are often battlegrounds, for what seems like innocuous lists of topics, contain a real power. For respect of this power, the methods of curriculum design, and the implementations of those curriculums, shall become a great inquiry and focus of my research and examination. Specifically, I seek to design and implement an American history curriculum that is both critical and democratic in nature. Through this study and proposal, there will be an exploration of the inherent characteristics of a democratic education, an analysis on the tremendously damaging qualities of the current American history curriculum, a review of history to offer both explanation of the current situation, as well as provide hope for the future, and finally, propose the creation and implementation of a new history course, the History of American Social Movements, a course designed to provide students with both the self-efficacy toward democratic involvement, as well as the practical tools of involvement. While the core details and philosophies behind this proposal will be provided in later chapters, it is imperative to begin with

an introduction both to the issue as a whole, and the aspects of my being which have led me to identify this problem.

An Introduction to My Thematic Concern and Positionality

It is often the case that a question of research, a problem of inquiry, is not the product of deliberate choice, but a response to inspiration, or of an issue that one cannot ignore. The reasons for one's inability to look away are usually tied to the stake the researcher possesses, or of some trait that is ingrained in the fabric of the researcher, their positionality. My questions into American history curriculums are no exception to this pattern, as both my experiences, and positionality are inseparably linked to this research.

Whatever Happened to Marcus Garvey?: An Overview of the Eagle High Curriculum

For sake of anonymity, the high school of my current employment will from this point be referred to as "Eagle High." Eagle High is a unique high school in southeastern Pennsylvania, on the outskirts of Philadelphia. Eagle High's uniqueness is not merely because of its size, with almost four thousand students (4,000), but also due to its diversity. There are over seventy (70) different languages spoken in the halls of Eagle High, with languages such as Bengali, Urdu, and Liberian Creole far outnumbering the automatic assumption of Spanish in a diverse setting. Ironically, the majority of Eagle High students are minorities, and most come from middle to lower middle class backgrounds. Eagle High represents the living example of America as a nation of immigrants, and diverse cultures. This diversity of course leads to certain challenges, but mostly encourages learning opportunities that many students in homogenous schools do not experience. While the student body represents a microcosm of the world, the teaching and administrative staff are mostly comprised of Caucasian middle class men and women. The juxtaposition of the diverse student body and the community, compared to the homogeneous

nature of administration (representative of the old guard of Eagle High, before the decline in home values, and the diversification of the area) has led to a massive disconnect in values, especially in the American history curriculum.

The American history curriculum currently in place in Eagle High represents the classic ethnocentric tenets of American history that perpetuates both the myths of what it means to be American, and that American history is one of constant and never-ending triumph. When the administration first gave me the curriculum to implement, I was shocked. The course begins with imperialism, in a unit clearly designed to praise America's position of global influence, but then completely skips over the progressive era, and jumps straight into World War I. From there, the class enters the 1920s, in a unit which one colleague joked should be titled, "White people dancing." There is no mention of the plight of immigrant populations, the eugenics movement, early civil rights leaders such as Marcus Garvey and W.E.B. Du Bois, or even the Harlem Renaissance. The era is marked by upward expansion and change. The main focus of the unit is on the rise of big business, prohibition, and new mass media culture. The tumultuous nature of the era is replaced by an extension of Gilded Age glamour where tycoons saved America, such as the hero Henry Ford, and his Model T. This trend continues, as units such as World War II receive an entire month or more, while the Civil Rights Era unit is relegated to one week, and is not even tested. This curriculum is designed from the viewpoint of the traditional conception of an "average" American: white, male, Christian, middle-class, and euro-centric in origin. This curriculum does not just create a theoretical problem that offends my liberal sensibilities, but a very real problem that impacts the body of the school in its entirety.

For Members Only: Why the Curriculum is a Problem

The issue of an American history curriculum that focuses on triumph over critical analysis, and cultural continuity over change is not exclusive to Eagle High. According to Abrams (2014), this is a problem that is occurring around the nation, as curriculums attempt to paint the narrative that America was founded in greatness, became even better, and is continuing to glow brighter still. While such an upward narrative is attractive in message and inherently interesting, this type of curriculum is troubling for three main reasons; it obscures the true agents of change throughout history, perpetuates the notion that to be American is exclusive to certain groups, and is often designed to teach values that do not reflect the community (especially in the urban setting).

Obscuring the Agents of Change

One of the largest problems of this traditional curriculum is that it implies that historical change is performed by the great. This top-down approach, as again posited by Abrams (2014), is uninspiring to a great many students, as it sends the message that average citizens are not capable of effecting change. This can result in students waiting for action in society to occur, rather than choosing to act. If America is to be an effective democracy, then it requires an informed citizenry that is ready to utilize its ability to participate in that democracy. Obscuring the agents of change is not always nefarious or even intentional. Hero worship is usually the tactic that obscures the agents of change. This can be difficult to eliminate, as the tales of great men and women are attractive, and it is undeniable that there have been extremely significant figures in history. The challenge is creating a balance between emphasizing the important key figures of history with the contributions of the people and the societies around those figures. The curriculum of Eagle High does not possess such a delicate balance, as the scales are tipped

toward hero worship. As the current curriculum downplays the agents of historical change, and emphasizes patriotism and triumph, students lack the empowerment of a critical curriculum, which allows them to question the forces of race, class, gender, and power. American history is very much so a story of average citizens standing together for their beliefs and towards specific ends, but this is not a story that the current curriculum offers. Allowing a curriculum of stagnation and support of the status quo would be a shame not only for the students of Eagle High, but for the nation as a whole, and the ideals of America.

Defining American Identity

A second layer to this obscuring of the agents of change is the myth that when historical change occurs, it is the result of the dominant ethnic groups in the United States. The curriculum does not represent the contributions, experiences, and struggles of minorities, and when they are, the curriculum downplays them to a minimal role. This continues the view of the cultural hegemony that the history of this nation, and the true representation of this nation, belongs to those who are of White European ancestry. Many minorities of the United States will not find themselves in the current curriculum. African-Americans are led to believe that their history consists of slavery, Martin Luther King Jr., and nothing else. America has a deep-seated ethnocentrism. A study of racial attitudes among White and non-White Americans highlighted this phenomena. Based on the research of Raden (2003), when asked to rate different racial groups in terms of positive and negative traits, White Americans ranked themselves with the highest ratings, and African-American and Hispanic Americans with the lowest ratings, especially in the categories of laziness, violence, and patriotism. This inherent bias and prejudice is reflected in the current American history curriculum, where the majority of the attention is given to White America. This prejudice and this lack of representation lead to a belief that to be

American is to be White. Throughout the teaching of this course, my diverse classes ask about the contributions of their race/ethnicities, or simply ask how the content relates to them at all. The students are stunned to learn that Black Americans fought in the American Revolution (“But I thought we were all slaves” they ask) or that the all Japanese-American regiment was the most decorated regiment in World War II. On a practical level, US history classes in Eagle High engage students less than other social studies courses, but on a deeper level, the students are being slowly stripped of their American identity.

Unreflective Values

Within an urban and diverse setting such as Eagle High, it is crucial that the content taught in school reflects the power and vibrancy of the diversity of the community. Unfortunately, this is not the case. The administration of the district is predominantly White and male, resulting in a traditional view of what stands to be important and necessary for instruction. The values emphasized by the administration do not necessarily reflect those of the community, which leads to the assumption that American history and the community’s history are not linked. It is for these reasons, which shall receive greater treatment in future chapters, that the curriculum requires deep revision and ultimate replacement.

Just Say No to The Status Quo: The Curriculum I Seek

In order to combat the many problems of the current American History curriculum that not only plagues Eagle High, but much of America, I seek to create a curriculum that is democratic, and simultaneously critical. Democracy is an idealized word in American society. Traditional teachings brand democracy as the pinnacle of governmental systems, and the chief characteristic of the “American Experiment.” If democracy is to be truly impactful and meaningful, it cannot be limited to voting. As Pinto (2012) asserts, democracy must involve a

direct empowerment of the population, to marginalized groups, and to the great masses.

Democracy must be the common force of the people taking a collective pull on their destinies.

When deciding what to emphasize in an American history curriculum, the people must be given a say in such curriculum's design. Also, the curriculum must not focus merely on dead content, but on the skills of genuine civic engagement. This is the truest way to encapsulate the values of the community, while ensuring genuine representation, and empowering the people's full democratic might. While there is still room for error (discussed later in this study, with specific details of how these lofty goals may be achieved in chapter 4), this type of democratic process avoids the problem of an unrepresentative school board pushing its values on the community at large. Pinto's (2012) research shows that when a community is given a direct hand in a policy's creation, they are more likely to accept or be satisfied with that policy, even amongst flaws.

Allowing a diverse community to participate in the American history curriculum will help counteract the often-limited message of American identity, and hopefully create a ripple effect of a redefinition of Americanism. While the design of the American history curriculum will be served best by a democratic inclusion, so too must it be critical.

When designing a curriculum, often the major question is what will be taught, the natural question that follows then is how will such content be taught. The answer is the art of pervasive questions. This curriculum will emphasize questions of power, race, economics, gender, sexuality, and dominating paradigms. This is the curriculum of those discontented with what is, and who focus their eyes towards what could be. The goal will be the cultivating of the ability to critically analyze evidence, and to interpret the world in the paradigm of each student's reality. While this type of curriculum may appear to only have the micro-effect of empowering a select number of students, the work of Chubbuck and Zembylas (2011) suggest it actually has the

potential to spread its benefits into a macro-level empowerment of the community, the state, and eventually up to a national level. A critical curriculum allows students to use history, not as narrative of the dead, but as a tool of the living, that may provide strength and wisdom against oppression. With this tool in hand, students can become fully equipped to engage in democracy, as it should be in its truest ideals. In order to understand the challenges and origins of this notion, my personal history, and my stake in the issue must be identified. For this, I must explore my own biases, and my own positionality within this topic.

A Man of Many Halves: Positionality

Throughout my study of the American History curriculum, I will seek to create a curriculum of empowerment. Whether this goal is successful or unsuccessful relies on numerous factors, but one of the most significant factors is my own stake in this issue, and my own views and biases, as they have been shaped by my positionality. Positionality is a key element to the fabric of research. Identifying one's place and stake in an issue allows for a greater ability to see which groups to include in the research process. Often times a person may stand as an insider to a project, or as an outsider, but often times, a person may fall into an alternate place among the spectrum of positionality. A person may be both an insider and an outsider simultaneously (Herr & Anderson, 2005). In terms of positionality, this gray area is where I might find my place.

For lack of a better term, I am a man of many halves. I am biracial, being of Hispanic and Caucasian make up. I grew up with a greater influence of the Caucasian element, but with my Hispanic roots and family ties, I am able to empathize with a minority community that is often stereotyped, marginalized, and demonized for political gain. Specifically, I am able to empathize with students and families dealing with issues of citizenship and deportation. My father is a great man. Prior to my birth, he was an undocumented immigrant who had fled El Salvador after being

forced to fight in their civil war as a teenager. When I was young, I remember my father studying hard to prepare for the citizenship test, and then successfully gaining his citizenship. While the dream of becoming an American was realized for my father, I have also had members of my family, who have been deported. It is from this experience, that the failure to truly acknowledge and explore the immigrant experience and contribution in America within Eagle High's curriculum has offended me so greatly.

As well in terms of being a man of halves, I was raised in a large, predominantly female household, giving me a feminist perspective from a young age, while still benefitting from the male privilege society granted me. I also understood the struggles of a lower middle class lifestyle, as I was raised in a lower middle class, and often struggling home, while learning the values of an upper middle class lifestyle of my peers that surrounded me in my youth. In this respect, I have the ability to stand in various circles as both an insider and an outsider. While this may yield certain advantages, it also produces certain limitations and challenges.

In my eagerness to work with a diverse community in the planning of a curriculum, it is important to be consciously aware of my own positionality, especially in a racial sense, in order to be successful. There are several pitfalls of positionality one may fall into in terms of race and research. While I myself am a member of a minority community, it is important that I understand that every group is different, and that even communities that share the same race may hold countless differences. According to Evans-Winters (2011), it is also crucial that, as a product of a predominantly White upbringing, I work with the community as an equal participant out of a genuine respect, and avoid the trope of the White savior. The reality of the situation is that for most of the community, I cannot personally relate to their experiences. I do not know the struggles and prejudices of being a Black American, but a wonderful feature of positionality is its

ability to stand as a cross-community learning tool. In terms of writing or designing curriculum, I am not an expert, but I do have experience within the realm of curriculum writing. At the same time, I possess experience in writing the types of curriculum I seek to craft and implement within this study. This experience came out of necessity, within the first teaching job I ever held. Examining this experience is necessary, as it gave me my first opportunity to explore curriculum design, but also to examine my own positionality in terms of race and identity.

The Second Chance Institute

“Did you hear about Koran? He got shot and killed last night,” said Student A (17, ambitious, a singer, a mother). “Where?” Asked Student B (18, humorous, athletic, works nights). Student C (tall, charismatic, noticing his ankle-monitor is jarring) interrupted, “over on Rising Sun Ave, you know, down by that one Poppy store¹.” Other students then began to contribute to the conversation. “My cousin was killed near there,” added Student D (short, poetic, an aspiring rapper). One by one each, and I do mean each, student offered his or her story of a family member, a friend, or a classmate, who was murdered. One by one, each student offered his or her story of trauma. One by one, each student offered his or her story that most members of society, especially those in power, do not want to hear. One by one, each student, all students of color, offered a story of their reality, which theorists such as Daniel G. Solórzano, and Tara J. Yosso (2002), describe as counter-stories, or stories that reveal the human experiences of truth for people that dominant ideologies seek to suppress. Dominant ideologies, and those in power, seek to suppress these types of counter-stories because when one hears such narratives, one is left with almost no other choice than to question one’s own conception of reality, and the ideologies of their raising. When one questions, one must seek change, for the ideological dissonance of

¹ Poppy store is Philadelphia slang for a corner store or bodega, often run by Hispanic individuals.

what is said to be true, and what is genuinely true, is too much to bear. As my students casually, and in such a matter of fact manner, described story after story of violence, I did not know how to respond. The fact that each student had a collection of “in memory of” t-shirts, sometimes in the double digits, left me amazed in the truest, and worst definition of the word. I had no words to offer, or wisdom to impart. I felt both helpless, and confused. I was confused because these were stories of a life I had never lived, and these were stories of an existence of which I had no awareness. This confusion was of great value to me, however, as from this discomfort, and a long train of further discomforts, I began the process of questioning my ideological framework, especially in the context of education, and my role and power as an educator.

I was born and raised in the small cement factory quarry town (I say this not in condescension, but of objective description) of Nazareth, Pennsylvania. While one will not find Jesus’s picture in any high school yearbook, neither will one find many faces of color. Nazareth has a rich history. Along with its older sister, Bethlehem, PA, Nazareth was founded by German immigrants in the 1740s, and therefore is mostly comprised of people of Germanic ancestry². I myself even speak shakily fluent German. The result of this description, however, is that throughout my formative years, I had relatively little experience with African-Americans, especially of my own age. The combination of this lack of experience, with my formal schooling, had a tremendous impact on my world-view, or on my ideological framework.

According to philosophers such as Louis Althusser (2014), ideologies are the imagined ideas, truths, and realities that those of the dominant power structures instill in the masses in order to create individuals who “go” by themselves without repression, and believe that such ideologies are natural to such a degree, that they never even question a possible alternative.

² Having an extensive industrial, and more recently artistic history, Bethlehem, unlike Nazareth, has become a small city with a large population of diversity.

Throughout my younger years, my schooling led me to believe that my state of existence was the natural state of existence. The ideology of Whiteness being natural is not exclusive to Nazareth, but occurs in most schools across the United States, as the dominant power structures seek to preserve the power of Whiteness (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). This was not only done in Nazareth through what was not taught, as the experiences of people of color were minimally discussed, and never in their own words, but also through what was taught outside of the standard curriculum. Like most high schools, Nazareth had, and has, a rival. Nazareth's rival during my childhood was Easton, a small city to the east, which was always described to be much more "urban," a code for much more Black. Having Easton as a rival was the perfect opportunity for my school, as a perpetuator (often unknowingly) of dominant ideologies, or an ideological state apparatus (ISA) (Althusser, 2014), to subtly implant ideology. I was taught that Easton was the bad school. Easton was filled with crime. Easton had a daycare on site for its promiscuous, ever pregnant, female students. I cannot stress enough that each of these statements or lessons was not done in an explicit fashion, but always done in an off-hand comment, or was not corrected by adults when students would perpetuate the rumors. Dominant ideologies must constantly replicate themselves. As Althusser (2014), has expressed, they also must make people "go" by themselves. The combination of these ideological requirements is that people and institutions often replicate dominant ideologies without even an awareness of such replication. To borrow from the work of Backer (2018), the result was a perpetuation of the dominant ideologies, or an interpellation of the dominant ideologies. Easton was the bad school. Easton was the urban school. Easton was the bad urban school. Urban schools are bad. Urban schools are schools of color. Schools of color are bad. When I originally decided that I wanted to become a teacher, I knew only one thing. I did not want to teach at a bad school.

When I graduated college, I was not the same person I was when I entered. I was now much better versed in politics, sociology, historiography, and pedagogical philosophies. One of my favorite readings from my undergraduate program was *Wheels in the Head*, by Joel Spring. Spring's (1994) writing on the idea that "wheels," or ideas seemingly so natural that I never would even fathom questioning them, were implanted in my head throughout my formative years suddenly made so much sense. Since reading Spring's work, and the works of other great pedagogical theorists such as Paulo Freire, Apple and Beane, Bowles and Gintis, and Henry Giroux, I began to wonder what my own wheels were. I began to wonder how my worldview had been shaped without my awareness. In spite of this pondering, as is the case with many others who ponder, my reflection was cut short by the practical realities of financial responsibilities.

"If you shake a tree, history teachers looking for jobs will fall out of it." This was the wisdom that a professor of mine gave me shortly before graduating. I was prepared for a hard struggle in finding employment, and was therefore willing to take on almost any position what would come my way. Eager to find a job, and already loaded with the financial responsibilities of student loans, and putting down the security deposit for a house I was renting with my then girlfriend, now wife, I immediately accepted the first job offer I received. Perhaps the fact that the job was posted solely on craigslist should have been indicative that this job would be "unique," but at the time, I was willing to take on any challenge. While I was prepared to take on challenges, and while I had become more aware of my own wheels, and of my implanted ideologies, I must admit, that when I applied for the job, I secretly hoped that it would not be too "urban."

The Second Chance Institute, or SCI (pseudonym chosen again for anonymity) is an alternative high school within Philadelphia. It is alternative in that the school is designed only for

students who were either expelled from their previous schools, or who dropped out of school voluntarily. I began my career nervous, intimidated, and without much support. At SCI, I was the only social studies teacher. I taught American history, world history, sociology, and African-American history everyday to every student. When I asked my principal what each class's curriculum entailed, she told me that I would be responsible for designing and implementing my own curriculum for each class. At first this level of freedom was nauseatingly terrifying, but later would become an immensely liberating tool for me to use as an educator.

Teaching at SCI was one of the greatest, and most transformative experiences in terms of my educational ideology, and my positionality. When I taught there, SCI was 99% African-American. This was a culture to which I had never experienced, and I was not sure what my experience here would entail. Immediately I began to learn truths that I had not yet the vocabulary to explain. I could finally see the mass racial inequalities that I had heard about in college, but never seen first-hand. A key tenet of critical race theory is the concept that oppression within the African-American community is crucially the result of a failure of those in power to secure human rights for people of color, while taking advantage of legal loopholes in a society that is based on property rights (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). Legally, Philadelphia is not segregated, but most of my students had never traveled beyond their neighborhoods. Economically, the bankers, landlords, politicians, and lenders have shackled them to their confines. Every student had a story of violent trauma, with each story containing ties to the American economic system (the capitalist economic system) at its root. SCI helped some of the lowest socio-economic students in the city, and yet received the bare scraps of funding. SCI received funding not based on student need, but on the financial value of the neighborhoods from which each student came. All these examples were awakenings to me of the systematic and

economic perpetuations of racism (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). For the first time, I was able to view my White privilege. For the first time, I was able to see that while White privilege is designed to appear natural, there is nothing natural about it (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). At the same time, in building relationships with my students, I was able to view my students as people. I was used to hearing about, and viewing students of color by their problems. While the problems of my students were of great importance, and those problems inspire my current fight towards justice, and the new course I strive to design, I was able to view these students as complex human beings with talents, passions, histories, and most importantly, stories.

After working at SCI for a semester, I was able to build great rapport with the students, They listened to my jokes, I listened to their stories, but there was still one challenge to come that made me wary, the idea of being a White male, teaching African-American history to a class of entirely Black students. One the first day of class on a bleak January day, I addressed the class bluntly, “If anyone here is going to have a problem learning African-American history from a White man, please come talk to me.” A student, Ramir, shouted out, “You’re not White, you’re Mr. Privado!” I did not understand what that meant at first, it is true that I am biracial, but my outward appearance does not give that away, but later talked to other White teachers in the building with similar experiences. They explained that to the students, I was not White, and the reason I was not White was because I was not oppressing them. The White man is an oppressor, and since I am a person they trust, I therefore must not be White. I learned from this experience that race is neither an objective characteristic, nor purely social construct alone (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995).

With the initial discomfort resolved, I then began the process of teaching myself African-American history in order to teach it to my students. As with most American students, my

American history curriculum growing up was dominated by “master narratives,” or narratives that perpetuate the power of the dominant classes in society (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). The history I learned was of great men, great White men, doing great things, with great power. As I researched African-American history, especially through the tool of primary sources, I heard about experiences, themes, and viewpoints of which I had never heard. While I did not know the term at that time, I was filling myself with counter-stories that were changing the way I viewed American history. With the power to create any curriculum I wished, I chose to base my class on primary sources and counter-stories. The purpose of these stories was to challenge the dominant narratives, and to empower my students, and myself, with the knowledge that the problems of the past, the problems of the present, are not accidents, but the result of core systemic issues that people have fought tirelessly against, although have never been resolved. We read accounts of a Mum Bett, a Black woman and slave who challenged slavery legally, and won, over 100 years before the Civil War. We analyzed the film, *12 Years a Slave*. We debated the philosophy and writings of Marcus Garvey. We consumed the experiences and stories of Black communists in the 1930s, and Black Panthers in the 1970s. When we witnessed the news of police brutality, and the protests of the Black Lives Matter Movement, we compared our personal stories of police encounters. They talked of fear, but I was able to explain my privilege, which was liberating to us both. Studying history in this manner was exhilarating, awakening, and almost spiritual in that I felt an energy and a cognizance about history and American society I had never known before. Unfortunately, much like my reflections in college, my financial burdens proved too great. Underpaid to an unsustainable level, I sought other employment, and I left SCI, but the experiences I gained there have shaped my education more than any other ISA I have entered.

I left SCI for Eagle High almost four ago. I have far less freedom than I did before. The curriculum is regimented, and in attempting to adapt my curriculum in such an overtly political manner, I have a sense of walking on eggshells. I do this, however, because I know it is important. I know it is transformative. My experience with SCI was not long ago, yet feels like a lifetime ago. It was at SCI that I largely became who I am. It was at SCI that I learned who I was. Despite standardization or mandates, I can never go back to the narratives I held before, and thus I will spend the rest of my career with my door open for students, yet closed for roving administrators. My experience at SCI explains my positionality in terms of my desire to create a curriculum that is more critical and more inclusive to the total American experience, but if I may be indulged for a little longer, I do find it necessary to provide one more narrative. I find it important to discuss the exact moment at Eagle High that I realized I wanted to create a course that was not centered on dead history, but on active civic engagement.

Eagle High, Cass, and the Student Walkout

My ultimate goal is to create a new social studies course within my school entitled, the History of American Social Movements. Simply, this is a course that would teach students how to participate in democracy, and then have students develop civic action plans regarding a specific issue/problem of their choice. This was not always my goal, however. When I first began contemplating my issues with the American history curriculum, I was more so interested purely on the implementation of critical pedagogy within the classroom. Like with many aspects of my beliefs, this goal was changed by a specific experience.

One of the most tragic elements of education of the last ten years is the ever-present concern, and the constantly recurring trauma of school gun violence. While it seems there are too many tragedies of which to keep track, the violence in Parkland, Florida stands out. At the time,

my classes and I would discuss current events most every day as a warm-up, and I remember having to have the grim discussion about this event. Many of my students were upset, and they wondered about their own safety. As it was on the national conversation, many of my students began expressing their beliefs about school safety, gun-violence, and most importantly gun-control. At the same time, the word went around that a national walk-out was being planned by students across the country to stand up to gun-violence and demand stricter actions and legislation on gun-control. I remember many of my colleagues were dismissive of the idea, as most thought it was meaningless. In my classroom, however, the students saw it differently. One student of mine, who will be named Cass in this story, stood up and asked me if she could organize the walkout. I was awe-struck to see such passion over the issues at stake. The following day in my classroom I facilitated a gathering, led by Cass, after school of students interested in organizing the walkout. Without sounding too hyperbolic, it was truly inspiring. As stated, I was merely a facilitator, as Cass and the others discussed logistics, scenarios, and possible repercussions.

It is here that the momentum took a disappointing turn. Eagle High, getting wind of the possible walk-out, decided to preemptively plan its own fully sponsored walk-out, and thus, later that week, with the announcement over the loudspeaker, all students were told to gather in the football stadium. It was there, that there were moments of silence, and apolitical speeches about never forgetting the victims that were pre-approved by administration to guarantee they possessed no political potency. On that day, Cass and the others attempted to stage a “counter-walkout,” but security present at the assembly prevented them from executing that goal. While this example seems like a failure, it gave me several realizations. The first realization was that until this moment, I had never witnessed such spirit amongst students. The second realization

was that these students showed the undeniable potential for change, with very little facilitation on my part. The third realization was that in my entire educational upbringing, I had always heard that democracy is great, and all citizens should participate, but that a) the powers that be seemingly did not want students to actually participate in democracy, and b) that in my entire educational upbringing, no one had ever truly taught me to be a democratic participant. No one ever taught me how to stage a protest. No one ever taught me how to organize a boycott. No one ever taught me how to disseminate political literature. No one ever taught me how to be a true citizen of democracy. This led to the final realization. The final realization was that it was time that a social studies course stopped saying how important democracy is, and started giving students practical tools of how to actually participate in that democracy. It was then I realized just how harmful the current American history curriculum is, and that it would be my mission to create a course that would actually demonstrate, offer practice, and encourage real participation in democratic civic engagement. It is through these next chapters that I hope to not only detail thoroughly why the current status quo can no longer exist, but exactly what a course on active civic engagement would look like, and how to implement it.

Chapter 2

Thematic Concern, Conceptual Framework, and Definitions

THEMATIC CONCERN:

As it currently exists, the standard American History curriculum is undemocratic, maintains racial/cultural hegemonies, and encourages civic passivity. To counteract this blight, I am proposing the institution of a new American history course, the History of American Social Movements. This course holds the tenets of democratic education, while emphasizing student activism, self-agency, and the creation of projects aimed at genuine civic engagement and change. This course is inherently political, and makes no attempts to conceal its aim of equipping students with the practical tools and spirit to transform society.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK:

1. What is democratic education, or education for a democratic society?
2. How does the US History curriculum act as a detriment toward/go against principles of a democratic society?
3. What historic factors have led to the development of the US History curriculum in its current, undemocratic, form?
4. Is the teaching/promoting of student activism and resistance possible, beneficial, and does it hold precedent?

DEFINITIONS:

Constitutive:

Hegemony	The social, cultural, ideological, or economic influence exerted by a dominant group
Capital	Theorized by sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (Husu, 2013), capital are the strengths, value, and positive themes held by a group. Capital can exist in several categories ranging from economic and political, to cultural and social.
Field	Developed by the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (Husu, 2013), fields are social spaces that have specific expectations, rules, power structures, and cultures. Society is made up of many different and overlapping fields.
Habitus	Based on the ideas of Pierre Bourdieu (Samuel, 2013) habitus stands as the automatic assumptions, actions, dispositions, attitudes, and expression of a specific group due to its collective memory and classification. In this sense, it is the collective reality of a group, and the actions that then stem from that reality.
Neoliberalism	The political and economic ideology that aims to transform public institutions into private, profit based, and competitive marketplaces.
Critical Pedagogy	Developed by the educational theorist Paulo Freire (2000), critical pedagogy is a method of education in which both teacher and student simultaneously question the nature of

power, of power structures within society, and the nature of one's own thinking.

Curriculum

The content, scope, sequence, and pedagogy of a course of study.

Operative:

*For the purpose of this paper,
the following definitions will apply*

Positionality

The culmination of influences, traits, and social factors such as race, gender, and class that make up one's identity. Positionality also refers to how these factors potentially bias an author's perspective on their chosen topics and research.

Teacherlearner

Influenced by the idea of unfinishedness of Paulo Freire (2000), the teacherlearner is a teacher who does not hold a monopoly on the truth and joins their students on the constant journey of learning, knowledge, and discovering truth.

Americaness

The defining characteristics of what it means to be an American or of America. These are the traits that those in power accept as the true form of the American character and identity.

Democracy	a form of government fueled by the collective will of the people. A form of government based on the idea of the interconnectedness of all community members. A form of government that holds true the notion that the conditions of one affect the conditions of all.
Democratic	characteristics of the aforementioned democracy
Civic Engagement	The process of participating in democracy
Active Civic Engagement	The process of participating in democracy with the urgent, strategic, and purposeful goal of effecting change. Active civic engagement is not an individual task alone, but a collective effort and requires the working together of one's democratic neighbors. Active civic engagement seeks vigorous strategies for effecting change and does so for the betterment of the whole, not just for the betterment of the self.

Chapter 3

The Narrative

I remember it distinctly. I remember it in the most frustrating of ways, the way that causes one to run through an entire host of alternate scenarios of what should have been said, but most importantly, in a way that causes one to re-think the entire basis of their foundation. I teach at a diverse lower middle class high school just outside of Philadelphia, and for purposes of anonymity, I will once again refer to this school as Eagle High. Specifically, I teach tenth grade government and law, and eleventh grade US History, to the lowest academic level of students. On the day of the incident, an administrator had stopped in my class to observe me. When the administrator arrived, the class was engaging in a spontaneous student-led discussion on what the qualifications should be in order to run for president, and more specifically, whether or not the role should be limited to natural born citizens. The discussion gave me pride, as students were using class vocabulary without my influence, and trading well-supported opinions in a respectful manner, and this coming from the lowest level of academic students. There was one problem with this discussion, at least from the eyes of the administrator. The discussion was not listed on the day's agenda on the board. I had wasted time, the precious commodity that it is. I had not utilized the resource of time efficiently, and had brought these students no closer towards the objectives of the pre-prescribed curriculum. My conversation with the administrator was no different than if I had made too many copies on the printer.

This was the moment. This experience was the watershed moment to which years of educational theory had become reality. I had come to Eagle High to teach, but finally realized that I was actually an economist, balancing numbers, and managing time, resources, and cost. To my administrator, and those around the nation, the goal of education, according to Cooley (2010),

is not some empowerment of the individual; it is the ascertainment of pre-determined goals, which stand to serve the existing hegemonies. These hegemonies take various forms, but the largest stand in the overarching categories of cultural and economic. In truth, one may argue that our current educational system barely educates, or if anything, exists merely to equip the servant with just enough knowledge to read the instructions in the master's cookbook. The American education system has failed. In a critique of a failing system, a mere condemnation of the said system will not suffice. One must grapple with the difficult task of implementing a replacement, of searching for the ideal. In its ideal form, the purpose of education should be to create an intellectually armed citizenry, foster a democratic community, and then allow that democratic community to participate in its own destiny. While this ideal suffers a slew of enemies and obstacles, one of the most toxic, yet often overlooked, is the current American History curriculum. It is in democratizing the American History curriculum through the implementation of a course that exclusively seeks to train students in active civic engagement that I seek to lay the foundation, and demonstrate, a proof of concept for the success of a more ideal educational system.

A Community of Soldiers: The Ideal Educational System

Scholars and policy makers have debated designing an educational system, and designing a system that is ideal, during eras both ancient and modern. Education is controversial because it touches on every facet of the social human existence. As a result, theorists of various lenses, whether Marxist, feminist, anarchist, or neo-liberal, have fought to guarantee the adoption of their ideals. As in every era, the stakes are high, and thus the scholarship is fierce. Just as the scholarship is fierce, so too should be the pedagogy, for I would argue, a plan of passivity has no

place among the current crises education and society are facing. It is time that schools embrace a philosophy of true democracy, both in organization, and in values.

An Intellectually Armed Citizenry and the Power of Critical Pedagogy

Every day that a human being wakes up is a day that they are assaulted. They are assaulted by enemies both visible and invisible, by capitalism, authoritarianism, the patriarchy, and the racial/cultural hegemony. This violence against freedom, violence against the spirit, does not end when the student enters the school. In many cases, this assault is amplified, as much of school is a tool of social and intellectual control. According to educational theorist, and critic, John Taylor Gatto (2006), the school becomes a place where the purpose is to reach specific economic and social goals, all while transforming the student into neat and orderly vessels, which do what they're told. The controllers of schools attempt to plant these vessels with ideas about the goals of life and what it means to be free, all of which support the current economic systems of power (mainly capitalism and neo-liberalism). Then, according to Cooley (2010), the student vessels grow up and replicate those values amongst their own generation, thus guaranteeing the continued growth of the systems of power. While examples of student resistance and protest occur in the past and present (to be analyzed in later sections of this discussion), the vast majority of students are either knowingly, or unknowingly, victims of this educational manipulation. Under these circumstances, students must be armed. In order to ensure the survival (or reawakening) of democracy, students must be armed with ideas and self-awareness. They must utilize the power to question both themselves and their world. In this regard, I believe it is imperative to consider the works of Paulo Freire, and the tenets of critical pedagogy, and a pedagogy of love.

Question Everything: The influence of critical pedagogy

Much of the pedagogical framework for the ideal school may be found in Paulo Freire's seminal work, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, and the continuation and expansion piece, *Pedagogy of Freedom*. In his work, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire (2000) posits that one of the greatest plagues upon humanity is the oppressor class's consistent dehumanization towards the masses. This dehumanization comes in many forms, as the oppressors target such abuse to both the body and the mind. As Freire further elaborates in his follow up work, *Pedagogy of Freedom* (2001), the powers that control society, often based among capitalist and/or authoritarian structures, commit increasingly crueler acts, all while using ideas and propaganda to fabricate consent from the masses. The oppressors manipulate history to project a pattern of human and societal behavior that falsely, yet authoritatively, states that the current status of humanity has always been as such, and will always be in the future. Such a historical interpretation then leads to proclamations such as that capitalism is the pinnacle of human existence, while more broadly implying that the future is predetermined and unchangeable. Simply, the oppressor class produces an attitude of "that's the way it is, always has been, always will be." This attitude devastatingly creates the idea that the world is fixed, and unchanging, but if changes do occur, one can only ride the wave, and be swept wherever the current may flow. The philosophies and ideas that spiral through the educational institutions cloud reality, and distort the visions of what true freedom and social happiness are. Perhaps most destructive, the powers of domination alienate the people by convincing the population that they are not social beings, but rather lone consuming individuals, who should only concern themselves with their own material growth. The overall goal of this perverse education, according to the writings and lectures of Noam Chomsky (2017), of course, is to increase the power of capitalism to increase the concentration

of wealth at the very top of society. Amongst these grand and disturbing problems, it is imperative to center oneself on the power of hope, and look towards solution minded philosophies, such as those presented by Freire and other philosophers of critical pedagogy.

One of the stepping stone solutions regarding the overwhelming dehumanization is the awakening of man in the form of critical consciousness. Critical conscious is the realization/questioning of the forces of social control, and the understanding of one's place within those forces, thus giving the tools for the dismantling of those forces. The function of the school should be the development of this critical consciousness. In my experience, the traditional school system fails at this task. As Freire (2000) posits, the traditional school is built upon a model known as the "banking model" of education. Within the banking model, the school functions to transfer, or deposit, static facts, knowledge, but most importantly, values and truths, into the learner. The learner is not to question these truths, only to memorize, and replicate. The closest approximation of critical consciousness that the traditional school attempts to achieve is "critical thinking." Critical thinking is a necessary component to achieving critical consciousness, however, in schools it is often relegated to answering regimented questions based on a text in order to prepare for some standardized test. The goal of education should be for students to undergo a complete and total reevaluation of their beliefs, their place in society, and the forces that cause society to exist as it does. According to Darder (2017), if teachers are to care for their students truly, then they must undertake a so-called, pedagogy of love. Teachers must work with students to help all achieve the fullness of their humanity. The teacher expresses the love of freedom, the love of humanity, and the love for students to assume themselves as social, historical, and transformative beings. The love of students takes the place of providing students the path towards a journey of reaching the pinnacle of their human existence. The teachers and

students should emphasize the existence of, and the difference between, absolute truth and socially constructed truth. In this vein, students should focus on thinking about their own thinking. They should question the nature of truth, and the nature of power. They should question what is possible, and what is impossible. They should delve into the origin of their beliefs and ideas, wondering whether they stem from societal influence, manipulation, or from genuine independent reflection.

In order to allow this “thinking about thinking,” teachers must accept two main pedagogical elements. The first is to give students the autonomy to discover knowledge, and to discover their own thinking. Standard school curriculums often leave little room for autonomy, as the goal is to get through a pre-determined set of content and deposit as much knowledge as can be fit into students’ minds. In order to embrace autonomy, however, educators must respect the legitimacy of student experiences and equal access to truth. The student must be allowed to challenge the teacher on the nature of truth and challenge themselves regarding the origin of their perception of truth. As unpredictable as the outcomes can be when students are given autonomy over thought, the respect for human dignity, and student social agency, must stand as a top priority (Darder, Baltodano, & Torres, 2017). The second pedagogical principle is that the educator must abandon their authority on truth and take on their own journey of discovery alongside the students. According to Freire (2001), man is in a constant state of becoming. Man is in a constant state of unfinishedness, always capable of change, growth, revelation, or reversal. In this sense, the teacher is not solely a teacher, but also a teacher-learner. The teacherlearner assists students in their becoming, but accepts that they are on a journey of their own becoming as well. When educators accept these pedagogical elements, both student and teacherlearner may

challenge their conditioning, their very own foundations of knowledge and truth, and the myths surrounding reality.

As Freire (2000) asserts, students must confront the many myths which the oppressor has propagated, myths such as the equality of opportunity for success and wealth that capitalism has to offer, if one only works hard enough. A student who confronts the myths, the dogma, and the implanted wheels of their lives, and is able to recognize their socially constructed nature will become armed. The purpose of this arming is for the defense of themselves, and humanity itself, which has suffered for its entire existence by the oppression of unequal power relations. The simple arming of ideas cannot be the end goal however, as this arming must naturally lead to an active citizenry. Ideas without implementation are lifeless. Drawing upon the works of Freire (2000), a critically conscious citizenry defies the myth that reality is fixed, and instead chooses to actively participate in its reimaging. The oppressor, however, portrays reality as unchanging, as a wave which must be ridden. With a freer mind, critically conscious students can become soldiers who reject such a notion, and instead fight to alter society in ways previously deemed impossible. When critical consciousness becomes widespread it will send a signal, and set a standard, that the population will not allow any force or group to oppress it. In order for critical consciousness to become truly widespread, and for students to fight for change, two further elements must be achieved: an education of true democracy, and the creation of a genuine community of citizens.

Raise Your Voice: Education for True Democracy

If students are ever to truly become soldiers of change, and fighters of imposed notions, then the educational system that trains those soldiers must also train in the values of true democracy and true community. Western civilizations laud democracy as the pinnacle of

governance. Especially in the United States, democracy is in the foundations of her history, so much so that wars have been fought (supposedly) to preserve and spread democratic ideals. The problem with this celebration of self-governance is that many do not know what democracy truly is, and this problem especially applies to students. Within my government classes, when asked for an explanation of democracy, the same answer appears over and over: voting. This answer is partially correct, as democracy contains voting, but more importantly democracy contains action, the action of a citizenry united in their equality to impact or change their governments and public policies. Democracy is not passive, but entirely active. Democracy is the belief that all members of the community possess power and merit, and the conditions of some affect the conditions of all. Democracy is the unblinking eye of the citizen that sees all, and does not allow for corruption or tyranny. This action is by no means limited to voting, and the truly democratic citizen does not wait four years for their voice to be heard. Protest, media coverage, petition, organizing, and boycott are all tactics of the true democratic citizen. A truly democratic form of education must equip students with these values and tools, and encourage their use.

With this conception of active democracy, the philosophy of Henry Giroux (2016) becomes a useful guide, where the focus and energy of education should be to equip young people with the power to contribute their actions to society's democracy. Empowering students with the association of democracy to action then leads to a key byproduct. According to Giroux (2016), with their framework of democracy in mind, education can create a culture where students naturally gravitate towards action rather than passivity, and use their force to further propagate the ideals of democracy. Being able to recognize injustice and oppression is meaningless unless the public is willing to utilize its true potential and power. Therefore, schools must equate democracy with action, and action with necessity, meaning that action is a necessity

of democracy. Even if this culture of democratic action is achieved, education will still not have met the conditions most conducive towards democratic education.

It's a Beautiful Day in the Neighborhood: Fostering a Truly Democratic Community

The concept of democracy as action, while essential, is still incomplete. A group of citizens all acting vibrantly within their own self-interests to change government, to borrow from Rousseau, naturally leads to a majority oppressing a minority (Rousseau & Bair, 1974). What students must understand is that Democracy is not merely voting, or even protesting, but also a kinship towards your community with the knowledge that the conditions of one member affect the conditions of all. A democratic education must cultivate a genuine community. After all, as Joe Kincheloe (2012), has asserted, any education can claim to serve under the ideals of democracy, and yet still practice in oppressive and discriminatory ways. Therefore, education must cultivate a healthy, and truer democracy. Education must focus on, and elevate, the community of that educational setting, becoming hubs of activity, and promotion of local culture and unity among all members. Ideally, the community focus would work best in smaller settings, but is not impossible in larger ones. In my school of Eagle High, we have approximately four thousand students. It is evident from even the briefest of visits to Eagle High that such vast numbers hinder the development of genuine community, as the school largely feels like masses of smaller communities forcibly joined together. Creating community within Eagle High is by no means impossible; it sadly has just never been tested. If, however, a school, such as Eagle High, can harness a culture that emphasizes the concept of community and unity, then students may act democratically not for their own benefit, but for a benefit of much greater significance. They may act on behalf of the community in the same manner one takes care of their body, with the knowledge and recognition that all organs work in service of each other. To once again reference

the works of Paulo Freire (2001), this notion is giving students a chance to reawaken their nature as social beings. Students must develop awareness of the interconnected nature of citizens in the community and their own place within that community. When students and citizens realize that poverty is a problem to those who aren't poor, then they may use their democratic power in its true potential.

Achieving a democratic community will stand as an exceptional challenge with immense barriers. All human beings, both in majority and minority communities, contain prejudices and biases. There is a tendency to romanticize minority groups, despite their ability to possess the same types of prejudices as majority groups. While the data does not necessarily rank the problem as being “worse” than any one given community, some studies show that homophobia in the Black community is a problem. According to Hill (2013), over 72% of Black adults the researchers interviewed labeled homosexuality as being “always wrong.” This is data that I have seen, at least anecdotally, in my own classroom, as my African-American and African male students are more likely to describe negative elements as being “gay” or use the word “fag” as an insult. Just as pushback may be received from the White community in implementing a diverse curriculum, so too may pushback be received from other diverse, yet socially or religiously conservative groups. The problem then stands that if a critical curriculum is to be achieved, prejudices of many groups in the community, both majority and minority, may have to be overridden. This raises the question if that override is by nature undemocratic, and thus hypocritical to the ideals and project of this research. The essential question one poses then is how to achieve a genuine democratic community amongst such barriers.

Scholars such as Amy Guttmann (1995) pose that to achieve a democratic community, education must elevate the values of tolerance and diversity, while actively discouraging the

practices of discrimination and repression. This style of pedagogy protects democracy from its worst internal enemies. Critics of Gutmann would argue that to elevate one set of values, but to discourage another set, albeit a negative set, is an undemocratic imposition of values, and thus is hypocritical. Gutmann (1995) argues, and I agree, that limiting or discouraging a total diversity of thought is necessary for acquiring a just society where individuals value and respect the rights and differences of others. Anti-democratic values such as bigotry, oppression, and classism, are a virus, and left untreated will destroy the democratic body. To allow such negative values to hold the same merit as democratic values opens a dangerous gateway to the existence of democracies in name only. Democracies such as the Jim Crow South or a classist ancient Greece would become elevated and accepted as just. A condemnation of undemocratic values that is too strong, however, will lead to resistance among students, and the possible growth of those undemocratic values.

The remedy is to utilize a pedagogy that offers rationality in response to bigotry rather than fierce condemnation, which leads to pushback. Henry Giroux (1988) has extensively written on the concept of critical dialogue in response to student resistance. In a critical dialogue, those of naturally oppressive views may express their beliefs, but the duty of the school should be to actively seek to discourage those anti-democratic values with dialogue and rationality. In this manner, students may become partners in the examination of their own undemocratic values. A dialogue with students can retain a respect for the student, while intelligently debating negative values that inherently do not deserve respect. Even Freire (2001), who places a value on student freedom and autonomy at a premium, acknowledges that undemocratic values such as discrimination hold no place in the world. Once education gains success at arming students with critical consciousness, and then fostering a genuine democratic community, the community may

then harness the power to influence their own educational destiny. In this case, utilizing the ideals of democratic education, the community may more democratically participate in decisions of school structure and curriculum. Creating the democratic community is easier said than done, and in the end, a pragmatic approach and analysis is necessary to understand its practical benefits and implementations.

Practical approaches and benefits to community building

Putting theory aside regarding the creation of an empowered, democratic community, implementing a school mission that establishes community has several practical, and immediate benefits. While all schools stand to benefit by focusing on creating a cohesive community, the benefits can be greatly utilized by schools in an urban area. Urban schools, such as Eagle High, often face problems that are different than rural or suburban schools. According to Riley (2013), urban schools often face poverty, limits in funding, and high quantities of racial, religious, and linguistic diversity. Each of those problems then connects a host of symptomatic issues such as a higher volume of behavioral issues, students that require special services, and overall lower student scores on standardized measurements. Many schools make the mistake of attempting to solve each problem individually, rather than aiming for a more holistic approach. Similarly, according to Riley (2013), schools may label students automatically based on their challenges, such as being English Language Learner (ELL) rather than viewing such students as wells of cultural knowledge that can add strength to the school's diversity. Each school problem that often follows a diverse community has the potential to be addressed by viewing such community not as a challenge, but an opportunity. Schools that harness student body unity, partner with the community, and utilize the school as a hub of the community in order to create the school as a welcoming and essential component of the community frequently outperform their non-

community faced counterparts. According to Blank and Villarreal (2016), this outperformance occurs even in the highly valued areas of reading and math, with higher achievements also pertaining to student absenteeism, drop out rates, and disciplinary actions.

One of the most promising and inspiring examples of the effectiveness of a community-centered school exists in the story of Mendez High School, in the Promesa Boyle Heights neighborhood of Los Angeles (Potochnik, Romans, & Thompson, 2017). Like many Los Angeles schools, Mendez High School contains a high level of racial diversity, ranging from a significant Russian Jewish population, to a flourishing Japanese immigrant community. The majority of students, however, claim Mexican and Central American ancestry. Throughout its existence, Mendez high faced all the aforementioned problems of a diverse, socio-economically challenged, school. Unlike many other urban schools, however, Mendez High was able to strategically confront these problems utilizing a community approach. Mendez High changed their school's mission from not just servicing the student, but servicing the community. School administrators, community leaders, and student leadership combined to offer healthy dialogue, partnerships, and programs aimed at improving the community as well as student academic health. Mendez High School leaders did not go into their mission with just their own preconceived notions of what needed to be done. Instead, they surveyed 1,000 students, parents, and members of the community about their needs and wants for the school. School administrators view student leadership as a legitimate partner in making school decisions, and local businesses and organizations partner with the school in service of how they can support each other. As well, the instructional staff is encouraged to put relationship building with students and families on the highest priority level. The results are undeniable. In 2013, Mendez High was officially recognized as the most improved high school in California, and in 2015 their

graduation rate soared to 88%, overcoming their troubling rate of 48% back in 2011 (Potochnik et al., 2017). While Mendez High was able to achieve significant improvement, and continues to evolve and improve, every school is different, and therefore, has its own unique and specific problems to overcome.

Theory without practice is pointless. In such respect, discussion of community-centered schools, in an attempt to create a truly democratic community, is useless if it does not lead to implementation. Therefore, it is important to delve into the practical approaches to fostering community cohesion. Of all the approaches towards community development, a great amount of the most successful strategies fall into the category of time management. Time management does not equate in this case to efficiency, as is often the case, but rather is the practice of utilizing students' time in ways that benefit and foster the community. During school hours, classes dedicate most time to learning, but after school, struggling schools may call it a day, with staff returning home to their lives, and students doing the same. Each group, both staff and student returns to their individual enclaves, their own cultures, which can at many times be separate, and therefore excluding to the potential of a cohesive community. In this case, schools should offer and promote as many extracurricular opportunities as possible. Studies show that students who participate in extracurricular activities see a greater increase in social, and academic performance, than students who do not participate in extracurricular activities (Heers, Van Klaveren, Groot, & Maassen van den Brink, 2016). These activities then, which rely on social interaction, provide great opportunities for students of different cultures and experiences to become familiar with each other, and understand each other. Another successful approach to community building is requiring community service among students. According to Finn-Stevenson (2014), not only does community service inform students about problems in their community they might not have

been aware of, but also it provides students the agency and the power of knowing that they are capable to combat these problems. With details provided in chapter four, my plan for an American history course dedicated to democratic involvement (The History of American Social Movements) lends itself perfectly to this end. If possible, having teachers partake in service projects is a useful tool in engaging staff in a community in which they may not already live, which fuels both empathy, and understanding, which can influence the way teachers relate to their students and then design instruction. Community service also relays the message that the school not only cares about the community, but that the school is the community.

Student time is not the only concern of a school, but parent time as well. Utilizing the school as a welcoming place, where events are frequent, and allowing parents access to facilities such as the gym can also service as positive tool. According to Riley (2013), in creating a welcoming space for parents, it is necessary that an open dialogue between parents, community members, students, and the school can take place, as trust is one of the most important factors in community development. This dialogue should be facilitated by the school and community leaders, and meet in a safe space, whether that be a local church, rec center, or other area of congregation. The school itself may not be a space of safety for many members of the community, especially if it is seen as a place of condescension. Therefore, a meeting where all parties may discuss their wants and needs for the school, and which problems need addressing, is critical to community cohesion. As Milner IV (2017) asserts, this dialogue and partnership should also include local businesses, as they often already have bonds and rapport with community members. In many urban regions, local businesses serve as the backbone of the community, thus making their partnership not only beneficial to the school, but to the local economy, which can relieve some of the socio-environmental factors which plague urban schools.

Combined, these tangible strategies have some of the greatest potentials to develop a true sense of school community partnership. Once a school implements a community-centered approach, leading to the development of a true democratic community, the next project can begin fostering a democratically crafted curriculum.

Coming Together: A Democratically Crafted Curriculum

The curriculums of what subjects and materials schools teach are often derived from sources everywhere but the community. According to Spring (1994), whether influenced by standardized testing, textbook companies, or far-removed government bureaucracies, the selections among curriculum tend to be under control of what Plato names, the philosopher kings. The policy makers who institute curriculums impose sacred knowledge and cultural traditions upon the communities under their jurisdiction. This current system is flawed, and what must occur instead, is a curriculum that is democratically, and actively, chosen by the people.

Once the educational system has successfully equipped students with both critical consciousness and a genuine democratic sense of community, the community may unite to contribute to its own curriculum. To clarify, this would be a curriculum in which each member of the community (students, staff, parents, and local residents) has a voice in its design and final implementation. Logistically, allowing the community a voice should function as a direct democracy, and not a representative democracy (a school board would be too democratically limited). According to Kincheloe (2012), if democracy, and its companion critical pedagogy are going to survive into the future and thrive, then all voices, especially those of marginalized and indigenous communities, must be heard and treated with equality. The community would meet in a safe space capable of a large forum, where students, parents, community members, and school staff could all engage in a dialogue regarding the school curriculum. All members could voice

their needs, and concerns, as best to agree on the content of the curriculum, and the nature of the pedagogy. A curriculum forged by a democratic community could stand as a crucial tool in combating oppression, as it embraces the cultures of each of the community's members. A curriculum of inclusion will occur if the community ceases to view itself as a competing group of factions, and instead as a cohesive symbiotic unit. As well, the local culture as a whole is shielded from the condescending imposition of outsider curriculums. In a course on literature, why must *Moby Dick* hold more value than *Native Son*? Why must the folk tales of one region possess a greater priority than the folktales of the local community? Local schools should not have to become submissive to an overreaching, and repressive, "cultural literacy," as promoted by theorists such as E. D. Hirsch (1988). The community as a whole should have the right to join together and choose the culturally appropriate curriculums for their schools. This democratic curriculum would be similar to the free school movement, with its emphasis on student crafted curriculum, but with a focus on the community in its entirety in the decision making process.

With the appropriately cultivated conditions, a curriculum that is crafted by the entire community holds the potential to both preserve local culture, while combating the many oppressive cultural hegemonies that exist in the United States today. A plan such as this is also highly democratic, in that the process of community voicing is almost equally as important as the product such a voicing produces. Once again, as detailed in chapter four, my suggested course on American social movements provides tremendous opportunity for democratic curriculum crafting. While the ideal school arms students with critical pedagogy, forms a democratic community, and then allows that community to format its own curriculum, such an ideal does not exist in the traditional public school system. Although there are various factors, which hinder the implementation of the ideal curriculum, and while there are a number of offenders, one of the

most dangerous elements of schooling today is the American history curriculum, and therefore is the place I seek to begin this grand scale project of change.

The American History Curriculum: Pedagogy of Exclusion and Sedation

If one were to read the standard US history textbook utilized by Eagle High and secondary schools around the nation, one would learn that in the mid 1800s the West was won, and the Native Americans were never heard from again. This narrative is plain and simple; it is one of victory and defeat. It is a tale, which seeks to legitimize the United States as a nation of winning. This epic is not to be questioned with too much depth, as it is knowledge, which the authors and the cultural hegemony, which produces it, deem to be sacred knowledge. In this case, according to Waters (2007), sacred knowledge refers to the teaching of what is good and just, and how sacrificing heroes earned well-deserved rewards. Although educators and curriculum writers have made some improvements, as Columbus has been downgraded from a hero with his own holiday, to a controversial figure with his own holiday, glaring problems still exist. The current curriculum of American history classes stands as an obstacle to the more ideal forms of education. The current American history curriculum exists as an institution that goes completely against the values of democracy and democratic education. More specifically, it offends in three key categories: the curriculum is often not reflective of local community values, it stands to continue current cultural dominances, and lulls students into passivity.

Disconnects Between Curriculum and Community

One of the largest problems with the American history curriculum is that it most often does not reflect community values. Eagle High sits just outside the boundaries of Philadelphia. It is mostly lower middle class, and is exceptionally diverse. The area to which Eagle High serves has become a hub for immigration within the past twenty-five or so years. Over fifty-five

different languages are spoken, and one is almost equally likely to meet a student of the Muslim, Hindu, or Sikh faiths, as they are the Christian faith. If one were merely to look at the American history curriculum, however, such demographics would not be apparent. That is because the curriculum is representative of what Eagle High used to be, back when the school was 95% White. The homogeneity occurred from the school's inception in the early 1900s, up until the 1990s, when declining property values led to an influx of racial minorities and impoverished immigrants. The school administration, however, does not represent this shift in demographics, as almost all leadership figures within the school administrations are from a Western-European descent. As a result, the curriculum is more reflective of demographics of previous generations than it is the current generation.

The Eagle High curriculum contains significant gaps, gaps that become glaringly apparent when viewed in the context of the community demographics. The curriculum starts with American imperialism, then ignores the progressive era, and hops straight into the WWI and then the 1920s shortly after. There is no mention of immigration, of class conflicts, the horrors of reconstruction and/or Jim Crow (reconstruction is not covered by any grade or course in the district), or of the experiences of any real minority groups. The designers of the curriculum have instead chosen what Abrams (2014) calls a victor's image of America, in which America is a place that has always succeeded, and continues to achieve even to this day. A curriculum designed appropriately for Eagle High would emphasize the challenges and determination of immigrants, the perils and bravery of the Great Migration, and the struggles and uprising of labor. Even more specifically, the curriculum should shed light on the experiences of Hispanic Americans, Asian Americans, or at the very least African Americans. The Eagle High unit on the civil rights era lasts five days and is not even tested. While the disconnect between the

curriculum and community of Eagle High is overtly apparent, this situation is not unique to Eagle High, as such a disconnect occurs around the nation.

The demographics of United States are changing, and the country is becoming more and more diverse with each year. Based on the research of Taylor (2014), religions like Islam are outpacing all others in terms of growth, and the population growth of various minority groups far surpasses that of Caucasian Americans. Yet even amongst this rapid change, the American history curriculum is still created not by genuine democratic systems within the community, but by individuals who cling to traditional definitions of America. Even institutions, which claim to be democratic, such as a school board, are far from perfect. Board members often run unopposed, and individuals from the lower social-economic strata usually do not have time to include school board responsibilities into their schedules. This leaves decision making to those who have traditionally held power. The result is typically a an undemocratic pedagogy of exclusion. The reason for the existence of this curricular exclusion and disconnect have deep structural and historical roots (to be discussed later), but in the case of Eagle High, the administrators who have created this curriculum may not even realize the harm their curriculum creates. Ignorance to creating such a damaging system may seem absurd or doubtful, but becomes much more understandable considering the Bourdieusian sociological concepts of field, habitus, and capital.

When both teachers and administrators, and students enter the halls of Eagle High, they are entering a space of fundamental differences, differences which impact every facet of the school. For the social scientist Pierre Bourdieu, society is based on a series of spaces called fields, in which agents within such a space have different expectations of rules, power, and culture than in other fields (Husu, 2013). When students enter the school, they are entering a

field of submission. They are the students who must obey the teachers. According to Meo (2011), they must play the game of school in order to pass and receive a gateway to a decent future. They are not only entering a field of structural submission, but also of cultural submission. They (the students) are entering a White space, and therefore the majority non-White students must adapt to the references, values, and priorities of White culture. When teachers enter the school, they enter a field in which they hold power. They enter a field in which they control the official records of knowledge and may choose to allocate such knowledge at their discretion. While this field is a White field, many of the teachers may not even realize they are entering a White field, as most teachers have never experienced a situation in which their own cultures did not hold the automatic position of authority (McKnight, & Chandler, 2012). Already, students and teachers are entering the same field, but are mostly unaware that this exact same field has very different connotations for the players involved. Roles of power aside, students and teachers/administrators (who designed the American history curriculum) exist and view this field very differently largely because these groups have a very different habitus.

As Samuel (2013) states, Bourdieu's theory of habitus is powerful, yet ambiguous, as habitus stands as the automatic assumptions, actions, dispositions, attitudes, and expression of a specific group due to its collective memory and classification. In this sense, it is the collective reality of a group, and the actions that then stem from that reality. In and of itself, history is a subjective science, with the truth being an evasive construct that perhaps does not exist. With the conception of habitus, the students and the teachers/administrators of Eagle High exist in completely different realities. According to Grillo (2018), the actions individuals take occurs on an often subconscious level, to a point where most individuals have no realization that their reality may stand different from others'. The figures that have made the American history

curriculum have designed the course in such a way as to portray of narrative of the collective memory of their habitus. The assumption that curriculum authors make is the assumption that the habitus of the authors is the same as the habitus of the students. The other possible assumption is that the habitus of the authors is the true habitus of America as a whole. When the curricula authors omit certain themes or figures, it may very well be out of plain ignorance of the existence of other perspectives of collective memory. The result is an unknowingly repressive curriculum which elevates one habitus over another. This practice is damaging, as it also fails these diverse students groups to express or utilize their forms of capital.

Despite the fact that many of the students of Eagle High come from marginalized groups, or groups with traumatic histories, they also possess great strengths, contributions, and positive themes, in what Bourdieu would term forms of capital. Capital exists in several different formats, whether is be social, economic, or cultural. Many of the students of the Eagle High possess little in terms of economic capital, as the Eagle High district in general is an area of struggling neighborhoods. While certainly not all, many other students also have varying levels of social capital, with single parent households, emergency guardianship, and transiency being common occurrences of the student population. What the students exceed in, however, is cultural capital. As Eagle High has so many different groups, each group demonstrates different forms of cultural capital, but in general, one can see the deep expression of each student group's cultural capital in its music, dance, fashion, humor, artistry, and ambition. Given any opportunity, the students utilize their various forms of cultural capital with great pride. The American history curriculum, being that it is a study in the collective memory of the United States, fails to legitimize many elements of minority students' cultural capital. In many ways, it ranks these forms of capital, with the dominant group's capital and accomplishments on top, and all other groups' capital

either ranked lower, or not utilized period (McKnight, & Chandler, 2012). Being that most Eagle High teachers are White, they exist in a field in which their capital is privileged above the capital of the students. This is not just from a power perspective, as in most schools teachers hold more authority than students, but racially as well, as the Whiteness and the capital associated with that dominant traditional American culture is valued higher than the students' ethnic capital.

According to Yükses (2018), while Bourdieu considered economic capital to be the most powerful form of capital, and the highest motivation for individuals, cultural capital is inextricably important to the development and well-being of both an individual and their social group. To incorporate students' capital is not inherently a difficult challenge to realize, and many educators within my school can see the need for such a transformation, but for those who do not see the need for this transformation, it is a momentous and painful task. Being that the current American history curriculum gives privilege to most of the teachers' and administrators' cultural capital, correcting this would force curriculum authors to cede that privilege in favor of an equitable inclusion. From a person of power's perspective, ceding privilege is a negative choice that does not make logical sense, even though maintaining that privilege results in the continued marginalization of the students (McKnight, & Chandler, 2012). As well, since the current curricular authors possess a separate habitus than the students, or even a separate reality, resistance to valuing and including cultural capitals of diverse student groups comes from the misconception that such inclusion would not represent the actual truth of the United States. The authors of the curriculum may believe that their collective memory is the true history and that to include alternative memories is a corruption or misinterpretation of the truth. The notion of one truth being absolute and other collective memories being incorrect is a stark mindset. Because the idea of truth being subjective is so stark, it typically is an uncomfortable idea that is quickly

dismissed in favoring of returning to a curriculum that is familiar and comfortable. All around the country, American history curriculums teach from the perspective of a dominant American: middle class to wealthy, male, white, and Christian. This viewpoint is steeped in tradition, but it is responsible for some of the most damaging offenses, as it covertly answers the questions of “is racism still a problem?” and “who gets to be an American?” The result is a continuation of racial and cultural hegemonies.

The Curriculum’s Perpetuation of Cultural Hegemonies and Definitions of Americanness

And with the signing of his pen, it was done. President Johnson, with Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. over his shoulder, courageously, and in spite of the political detriment it would bring to his “war on poverty,” signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964, achieving justice for millions of African-Americans, and putting an end to roughly 100 years of Jim Crow segregation. Though later marred by the tragedy of Vietnam, the signing of this legislation would stand as one of President Johnson’s greatest legacies.

It is at this point that the average high school US history curriculum ends its discussion on civil rights and the civil rights era. Perhaps a paragraph later, the unit will often fast-forward four years to highlight the assassination of Dr. King, the martyr who died for America’s sins, now destined to sit at the right hand of America’s Jesus, Abraham Lincoln. This stark ending on the discussion of civil rights is important. It is important because it creates a lasting and hazardous implication, the implication that America’s racial issues and tensions ended in the year 1964, or perhaps 1968, but definitely not later than that. Even within that implication lays an even greater implication, that America’s racial tensions and issues ended, period. For many, the myth of a post-racial America is intoxicatingly easy to believe. There are no more segregated restrooms, there are no more schools exclusive to Whites (legally that is), interracial couples are

featured on commercials for Cheerios, and not long ago America elected its first Black president. Clearly racism is a fossil of America's past. But this distortion, this lie, this myth, is nothing less than a conceded effort of power to maintain current racial hegemonies. Within this effort to appropriate power, the American history curriculum exists currently as one of the foremost tools of maintaining the racial power of Whiteness. It is under these circumstances that the American history curriculum must not be reformed, but remade entirely, with critical race theory serving as a foundational ideology upon which to build.

Racism within the American History Curriculum

The American history curriculum is a curriculum that masquerades as a presenter of objective fact, while covertly instilling the ideology of the racial superiority of Whiteness through carefully worded, and damaging narratives. One of the key ways the curriculum achieves its goals in relation to African-American students is the purposeful obscuring of the true history of race and of African-Americans in the US, and through the association of African-Americans with a status of being a burden. In terms of obscuring the history of African-Americans, even the tragic, confounding, and seemingly obvious example of slavery is distorted. A 2018 study by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) found that less than 8% of high school seniors could identify slavery as the main cause of the Civil War, and less than 22% of students could identify ways in which the US Constitution supported/gave a legal foundation to slavery (Shuster, 2018). One eager to dismiss this study might argue that such student confusion or ignorance is the result of an overstuffed curriculum, or a lack of knowledge from the teachers themselves. Curriculum is at fault here, but the charge of it being "overstuffed" is not to blame.

According to Chavez (2018), the way that racial issues like slavery are taught throughout the US is severely lacking, wrought with mixed messages, over-simplifications, glaring

exclusions, and outright lies. One newsworthy example comes from the state of Texas, whose status as a textbook market largely defines textbook content for the majority of the US. Recent edits to US history textbooks, as reported by Isensee (2015), labeled African-American slaves in the South not as slaves, but as “workers.” What one may label as an issue of semantics is in fact horrific. This seemingly small detail implies that slaves were not the victims of a brutal, inhuman system of degradation, violence, commodification, and rape, but were laborers with choice. They were workers, free to seek employment elsewhere, and the recipients of just compensation for their labors. It fails to stress the monumental point of significance, that African-Americans were property, who were never intended to receive human rights, as they were not even considered human. Conservative critics might suggest that such an analysis is hyperbolic, and leads to a connection that students would not notice on their own. The changing of a word, slave to worker, is small (in conspicuousness, not in impact), but what is not small is the fact that the same textbook, the *Prentice Hall Classics: A History of the United States*, as reported by Timsit and Merelli (2018), presents the argument that not all slaves were unhappy, and that many were quite happy with their generous owners, while simultaneously enjoying legal protections from violence. It is perhaps ironic that such an obscuring of history can be so glaring. The implications of these narratives suggest that slavery did not exist as an institution of masters dehumanizing and subjugating their slaves, but of a mutual agreement of labor and care. If this is the narrative to be believed, then it leads to the further implication that slavery did not exist in as problematic a fashion as many believe it to have been, and that its relevance to today is marginal at best. Slavery is not the only element of American/African-American history that the curriculum obscures, as much of the rest of the narratives portray African-Americans as burdens to the rest of America, to White America.

While the attention given to the African-American experience is limited within the context of the American history curriculum, typically ending following the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s, what is given attention is a narrative that depicts African-Americans not as humans, but as questions and as problems. Following the Civil War, the typical narratives of the American history curriculum stress the question of “what would the US do with the newly freed slaves?” African-Americans in this context are treated as a problem, but also treated as something separate from the US, as a resource to be managed, as something foreign. The following Reconstruction period neglects the wave of African-Americans who were elected to office, instead settling for a narrative of failure on the part of African-Americans to take economic control over their lives. In the historical period between Reconstruction (ending 1876) and the Civil Rights Era (1950s/1960s), very little attention is paid to African-Americans. With “important” topics like the creation of the assembly line and the successes of John D. Rockefeller, most history classes do not have the time to cover “soft” social history topics. Again and again, the patterns and themes continue however, demonstrating that America has had to endure the poverty of the African-American community, the crime of the inner cities, and then begrudgingly come to the demands of minority activists, thus officially righting any wrongs of the past. The narratives of this history may stem from the past, but they contain a real and damaging impact on the present. The type of narratives that the American history curriculum presents is not only false, but also is being used to perpetuate struggles within African-American community and the dominance of Whiteness.

The Detrimental Impact of the Racist American History Curriculum on the African-American Community

The American history curriculum is filled with lies. It is filled with lies by omission, lies of half-truth, and lies of pure falsehood. The stark component to keep in mind, the element that is

most baffling to many, is that these lies are most often not intentional on the part of teachers or even curriculum writers. Curriculum writers and teachers are acting on the ideology of which they have learned, absorbed, and now seek to replicate. An example would be the assumption that the United States is a meritocracy, that people get rewards for their work, and suffer based on their bad choices and decisions. If the history of slavery is obscured, and then so too are the economic policies that followed slavery which those in power designed to maintain the subjugation of former slaves (sharecropping, mass incarceration, redlining, and wage slavery to name a few), then it is easy to perceive that the poverty, crime, and struggle of African-Americans today is the result of bad choices, or cultural deficiencies. The problem is not US society or history; the problem is a failure of African-Americans to “get their act together.” If slavery occurred over 150 years ago, then any struggles in the African-American community today must be the result of poor choices, or worse, a sense of entitlement toward government dependence. This logic even applies in the classroom setting, where schools often blame Black culture for the achievement gap, lack of parental involvement, and behavioral issues. Curriculum writers and then teachers believe these logical (though illogical) arguments, and then present the same ideological narratives to their students. As the philosopher Louis Althusser (2014) posed, the purpose of ideology is to create individuals who “go” by themselves, who act without being pressured to do so by outside force, who replicate what they have learned. To do this ideologies must present “beautiful lies,” or appealing truths (Althusser, 2014), such as the notion that problems within the African-American community are problems within Black culture, they are problems of cultural deficiencies.

For many, once an ideology has been absorbed, it is never questioned. Its assumption of truth, no matter how separate from reality, is maintained with intense vigor. In terms of

ideological assumptions of racial relations and racial superiority, especially when dealing with a discussion of American history, coming to terms with truth is especially difficult. As the writer, activist, and social critic James Baldwin (2008) emphasized in his “A Talk to Teachers,” the most upsetting thing for the country (the US) is coming to terms with its own identity. If the curriculum has to teach to the truth about the contributions of African-Americans (and why they have never been mentioned before), the construction of race as a tool to dehumanize America’s enslaved class, and the legal and economic policies designed to purposefully oppress Black people, then students, teachers, administrators, and America as a whole must realize that America is not the country it has claimed itself to be.

In a similar way that the American history curriculum feeds the faulty belief of a cultural deficiency in the Black community, so too does it perpetuate racial struggle through a denial of the dominance of property rights over human rights in the US. The United States was created upon, and exists to this day, around the preeminence of property rights. Beyond myths of those seeking religious freedom, the United States was founded upon the notion of upper class individuals amassing land and capital, taking land from the indigenous peoples, and then enslaving Africans to cultivate that property, legally becoming property themselves (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). At this very core of America’s founding, race was used as the justification for the taking of land and the enslavement of men, women, and children. Those of the Black race were considered animals, non-humans, and things to be owned. This ownership was seen as natural, as with the proclamation of the inferiority of the Black race, came the proclamation of the superiority of the White race. The current curriculum glazes over, denies, or dances around this topic, and thus fails to acknowledge that Black people were never intended to receive human rights. They were never intended to receive humans rights because one, they were

not to be thought of as human beings, and two, because even America's revolutionary founders were more concerned with securing their property and capital than securing human rights for the new United States' citizens. With the ignoring of this concept, comes the ignoring of White privilege, or leads to the belief that White privilege is natural (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). In America, property is the key to power. Even after the end of slavery, Black people were denied the rights to property, segregated in their ghettos, and refused to ability gain their full humanity. Because the current curriculum fails to acknowledge that property rights and human rights are not the same entity, and that the valuing of property rights over human rights has led to constant struggle in the Black community, all reforms made by politicians on behalf of the Black community have been among the realm of property rights. While this may occasionally be seen as progress, it also has created a system in which those in power, and those who are White are able to work around the system via legal loopholes to continue the same oppression on the Black community (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). As an example, though segregation was ended legally, property managers and lenders, as well as gentrification and redlining have successfully trapped many African-Americans to specific, often urban, neighborhoods. At the same time, with public schools being funded primarily on property values, majority black schools find themselves chronically and tremendously underfunded in comparison to most of their white school counterparts, helping to maintain cycles of poverty and White associations of Blackness with poverty and criminality (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). The American history curriculum typically replicates the narrative that any reforms of property laws in terms of African-Americans have been sufficient at eradicating America's racial issues, racial issues that once again, ended in roughly the year 1964. This curriculum generates two main problems as a result of such narratives or lack of exposure. First, by failing to discuss the lack of human rights in the

Black community, it leaves even good intended reformers with a faulty focus on property rights alone. Second, by emphasizing the momentousness of property reforms made during the Civil Rights era, but not emphasizing the way such laws have been manipulated, it once again leads to the assumption that the problems of the 1960s were solved in the 1960s. As this curriculum fails to wrestle with complexity of the dehumanizing of Black Americans, it also teaches the lesson, and answers the question, of who gets to be an American in the United States.

Through its narratives, selected omissions and emphases, the American history curriculum answers the question of who gets to be an American. Specifically it answers this question, determining that to be a true American requires Whiteness. The most obvious way this is done is through omission. According to Brown and Au (2014), the vast majority of American history curriculums throughout the United States deal predominantly with White men, and typically White men of power. With most all historical stories dealing with White men of power, the lesson learned is that the Black race, or those of any other minority racial background, has never contributed much to the United States. In fact, coupled with the lack of contribution is the lesson that Blacks, and other races, must be perpetually saved by Whites, such as by Presidents Abraham Lincoln, John F. Kennedy, or Lyndon Johnson. With no stories told from the Black perspective, or from Black voices themselves, it leads to a belief that the White experience is *the* experience. This version of the true experiences of US History are known as “master narratives,” and exist as the official version of history that students are to believe, and exist to perpetuate current systems of power (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). African-Americans, Asian-Americans, Hispanic-Americans, and others are separate from America. They are observers, not active participants. African-Americans are people who came here unnaturally (which is true), but once here have been nothing more than a problem, and have failed to assimilate into American culture,

or White culture (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). If the curriculum teaches that African-Americans are not true Americans (even the term African-American makes a hyphenated distinction), then White Americans are taught that Blacks rights are not an issue of priority, and Black Americans are taught that they possess no true inheritance to this nation, that they are objects of history, not subjects of history, an aspect of critical pedagogy that Freire (2000) would deem vital for liberation. While a discussion of African-American history is the most obvious example of racial power manipulations in the American history curriculum, the same can be said of any minority groups in the United States.

The current American history curriculum commits the sin of exclusion. The curriculum is excluding in that it propagates the misconception that to be American is to fall into a specific type set. The type set that the current curriculum imposes is one in which a true American is characterized as being male first (female second), white, Christian, and of Western-European ancestry. The message towards minority Americans, while not explicitly stated, is that their history exists outside of genuine American history. If they do find themselves in the framework of the curriculum, it is traditionally in a minor role, or as a tool. Chinese Americans may find their contribution in the construction of the transcontinental railroad, but not in a way that acknowledges their humanity or oppression, but strictly their usefulness to achieve an economic need. Furthermore, this exclusionary curriculum stages America then as a place of a hostile dichotomy between rightful citizens and burdensome invaders. This is a struggle between the rightful heirs to America, and the menacing hordes. Because the Muslim American is not represented in the standard history, he therefore must not actually be American. The result is not only discouraging towards minority students, as they perceive themselves as being without a history, but is encouraging towards bigotry, as it paints minorities as being outsiders of the

community, or even threats to the community. It is therefore with these glaring problems in mind, problems within the American history curriculum that such curriculum must be changed. It cannot be a simple reform, but a complete remaking of the curriculum. To do this, the new curriculum must adopt a pedagogy rooted in critical race theory, and seek to use the school as a tool to reform racist property based policies.

Using Critical Race Theory to Remake the American History Curriculum

With all its faults and injuries, one can argue that there stands very little of the current American history curriculum worthy of merit. A summary of its harming qualities includes a racist distortion of the true history of race within the United States, an obscuring of the relationship between property rights and racial oppression, leading to a blaming of Black struggle on Black culture, and a perpetuation of the conception that to hold true Americanness is to be White. In this light, it is imperative that schools begin the task, with their communities, of remaking the American history curriculum, utilizing critical theory as a driving philosophy. Critical race theory holds tremendous significance in my proposed course, History of American Social Movements, and will receive specific attention of such plans in chapter 4, but first, an explanation of the importance of critical race theory is necessary.

Critical race theory asserts that race is the central factor driving inequality in the United States (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). This assertion is not to discount the impacts of other factors such as class and/or gender, but to qualify that in the American context, race holds the most unique and significant status as a cause of inequality. To this effect, writers of the American history curriculum must give up their illusion of being presenters of objective fact. They must give up the illusion of being apolitical. History must become a liberating practice, where students and teachers come together as equal participants of study, using the critique of

race as the lens in which to view the United States. The curriculum must not be based on facts, but on questions, such as how has racial power influenced the development of “x” policies, how did these people’s conceptions of race influence their involvement in “y” events, or how can America’s racial hierarchies explain the inequalities of the modern economy? In this mindset, history becomes a process, not a mere study. It is not only a process of the past, but also a process of the here and now, as students of all types will be encouraged to openly express and relate their experiences to those of the past. For once an individual realizes that so many others share their experiences, and that these experiences have been felt across eras, the magnitude of both the commonality of their experiences, but also of the obstacles in need of change can be revealed. This type of resistance and tool of growth is what many critical race theorists call “counter-stories” (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002).

On a practical level, if nothing else, this type of pedagogy would lead to a school that students of color buy into. This would create a space where students of color feel like they belong, as they take a journey on the process of uncovering their history and viewing the past, present, and future with a new lens of which to make sense of the world, or at least a new vocabulary to express what they already know or experience. Critics of a critical race theory based pedagogy might argue that it has no urgent benefit within a majority White school. This however, is not true. As James Baldwin (2008) asserted, this type of political awakening is not only beneficial to students of color, but to White students as well, who have been the subject of a lie throughout their entire existence, who have been used as puppets as well for the cause of racial oppression. Others might argue that this type of pedagogy is political, which is an abuse of power. To that, one must realize that all education is political, and its power is being abused currently. Beyond the classroom, studying American history in a critical race theory context

provides the tools for an examination of the entire school and its policies. Students, teachers, administrators, and community members can view how the school's policies contribute to racial inequality, or at least perpetuate racial inequality. For those who demand tangible benefits, a proper lens from which to create better policy could only have a positive impact on classical administrative concerns such as discipline, graduation rates, and the achievement gap. Perhaps the most beautiful element of a pedagogy, which presents a lens that once seen cannot be unseen, is its power to transform the school into a site of change, to which it can transcend its confines, and be used towards political change.

When school participants (students, teachers, administrators, etc.) view history with a lens of critical race theory, it naturally leads towards an examination of present racial conditions, and a realization that much is to be done outside the context of the school. In modern times, we have seen students become energized about political topics such as gun control in light of mass shootings. In the same vein, students can become energized about racial injustice. The school can be a site where school participants seek to make changes to policies that perpetuate racial injustice, especially property rights. Locally, students can fight for fair funding, lobbying away from the faulty system of property taxes as the basis of a school's budget. Students can fight for justice against oppressive policing. Most importantly, however, students can choose the issues they feel as most in need of their efforts and attention (greater detail will be provided in chapter 4 of a course which adopts this philosophy). Some may shrug off such a concept, that even if a school took up critical race pedagogy, one school cannot make a difference. One school cannot topple a 400-year system of racial oppression. Maybe one school cannot topple such a system, but it is the little cracks that break a foundation.

Schools are places of political power, and it is the American history curriculum within schools that help to consolidate the racial power of Whiteness over Blackness. These curriculums that appear in most of the nation's schools present injurious narratives regarding the history of race and of African-Americans, and of minority Americans. They instill ideologies within students, of all races, which help normalize White privilege, and Black struggle. In such a grim outlook, hope can be found, however. The adoption of critical race theory as a new foundation for the American history curriculum can provide for an awakening of sorts, and build the momentum of change, however slow, however small. The journey may be long, but it is here that it may start.

The dangerous portrayal of the “non-traditional” American as being not American is especially true within the current political climate, where xenophobia has become even more commonplace. According to Giroux (2017), the very nature of such division in our modern era especially poses a threat to democracy itself. If the history that schools teach presents the message that there are true Americans and sub-standard Americans, or Americans on paper only (legally, but not culturally), then true Democracy cannot exist. Democracy in its purest and most useful form cannot exist, as the majority will still be inclined to preserve and protect their own power, without actual consideration for the minority. Equally negative, the majority may believe that the minority exists as a purely separate entity. Even if the current American history curriculum excludes minorities from access to Americanism, and presents an advantage towards “traditional Americans,” it still features key failures, even for those advantaged traditional Americans. The flaw in question is damaging to both the individual, and the concept of democracy as a whole. The American history curriculum attempts to lull students into passivity, as it obscures the agents of historical change, and discourages civic participation.

Curriculum of Civic Passivity and Sedation

History is the record of human action and change over time, but the American history curriculum often clouds the answer to the question of who causes that change. According to Abrams (2014), most schools teach history in the vein of hero worship, that history is the tale of great men doing great things, getting great results, and earning great legacies. The real agents of change are those men of such greatness, that they have earned the right to wear powdered wigs and unusually large hats. While such stories can often be told with great excitement, while simultaneously offering a satisfying simplicity, the negative consequence is that it has the potential to, and often does, lull students into inaction.

Within Eagle High, the American history curriculum is most certainly of the “top-down” variety. The curriculum map downplays or ignores entirely both social movements and minority social strife. Instead, the curriculum highlights the champions of history. Presidents are lauded for their supreme leadership, and captains of industry are heralded for their role in transforming America into a global powerhouse. The lesson taught in these cases is that history is made by great men, and in order for change to occur, one must simply wait for such great men to be born. More abstractly, yet powerfully, emphases on great men leads to a connection with students of history existing as myth, where historical events seem so far removed from the current era, students may surprisingly fail to truly embrace or understand that such events actually occurred. This feeling has a tendency to come from history being taught as a conveyor belt of facts, akin to Freire’s critiqued banking model of education. From my personal experience, there can sometimes be a reaction to history that it is irrelevant and intangible. The teaching of history as a parade of giants of humanity creating messes and then cleaning up messes, coupled with the

student mindset of history as irrelevant, can lead to students failing to understand that historical change comes from struggle, effort, and conscious choices.

Even in positive lessons, like a study of Martin Luther King Jr., the instrumental role of ordinary men and women is lacking. The civil rights movement gained success through massive civilian participation, combined with strategic decision-making and tactics. The actual planning of major civil rights protests and demonstrations is rarely taught in the American history curriculum. History can serve as an invaluable guide to emulating the civic engagement strategies that have been proven to work, yet traditional history classes rarely, if ever, teach these strategies to students. Instead, massive social movements like the civil rights movement are yet again dominated by pedagogies of lone heroes saving the day. In this light, even if students have the tools for civic engagement, they may believe that such engagement is a waste of time. The solution to society's problems is patience, patience in the hope that someone will fix those problems in a grand fashion.

Civic passivity is dangerous, however, at it ensures that the current cultural and economic oppressions will continue unchallenged. In the case of top down history, it also leads to an especially problematic association. Top down history consistently relays lessons, which regard economically powerful men as the forgers of history. Based on the analysis of Moyers (2011), our current age is one of increased economic disparity, as those on the top of the economic ladder hold the vast majority of the power, with such influence growing annually. The association then is that those on the economic top deserve their power, as they have always been the individuals who have created history. Especially as the current curriculum portrays history in a positive light, the economic elite is viewed as benevolent, and therefore it is only just that their rule continues. After all, who can forget about St. Andrew Carnegie and his gospel of wealth?

The curriculum discourages civic action, because civic action holds the power to interfere or even dismantle the economic power structures of the elite. The current American history curriculum makes it clear that capitalism is not only an economic system to be lauded and celebrated, but that it is *the* economic system. Highlighted figures and events in history portray regulation as a hindrance to success, and the titans of industry to be the creators of modernity. Even while referencing controversial economic periods such as the Cold War, the curriculum acknowledges the error of anti-communist hysteria, but never questions the prevailing narrative that the communists were in fact the villains of the conflict. To some, this type of curriculum may seem innocuous. To the more politically aware, its purpose is subtle, yet potent: to normalize neoliberal/free market ideologies to the point of automatically accepted truth.

The major corporations of the United States have much to gain from the normalization and acceptance of neoliberalism. Neoliberalism is the modern movement of capitalism which seeks to transition all aspects of life, and all aspects of the social, to become markets for profit. Under neoliberalism, humans are not humans, they are consumers and assets. Neoliberalism often encourages hero worship curricula, because people who identify with the wealthy more than their own class will not attempt to use democracy to take power away from the wealthy capitalist class. Despite the liberating insinuation of the term “free market,” free markets are most beneficial to the already advantaged. With neoliberalism causing the already powerful to receive cumulative benefits, the United States may use neoliberal policies to maintain their place as the premier economic powerhouse on the world stage. The competitive neoliberal marketplace demands that schools seek to train students in job skills that will enable students to transform into useful economic assets later on. Capitalism requires workers who may efficiently produce wealth for the organizations that employ those workers. It is the task of education to create

workers who can produce in the most efficient manner, and to produce workers to do not question these norms and roles (Lauder, Brown, Dillabough, & Halsey, 2006). In order to do this, as accepting these patterns are unnatural, neoliberalism requires selling. Therefore, the American History curriculum can be used, and is used, to demonstrate successes of neoliberalism in a way that historical patterns provide. The messages of the history that schools teach is that the United States always has been a strict practitioner of free market capitalism, that the United States has been consistently growing in greatness since its inception, and that such greatness is largely tied to those economic policies. One very important element of the neoliberal philosophy is the concept of enclosure, the idea of the advantage and necessity of transforming public lands/resources into privately controlled lands/resources (Martusewicz, Edmundson, & Lupinacci, 2011). Examples of fables designed to normalize the virtue of enclosure are found throughout the American history curriculum. Lessons glorify the stories of the pioneers taming, settling, and civilizing the lands of the west. The indigenous nations that once lived on these lands, in a philosophy of the earth as a common space, are mentioned in limited amounts, while the curriculum also sends a message that their under-utilization of the land was an error rectified by White settlers. The heroes of the west are those men and women who traveled to open lands, and transformed them into private lands. The goal of these types of lessons are simple, to normalize the concept of neoliberal policies (like enclosures) to a point where students view any other economic concept as strange or unnatural, and then quickly return to the philosophies of neoliberalism as a source of comfort (Martusewicz et al., 2011). This curriculum does not seek students who are critical of the current systems of power, or are even fully aware of the current systems of power's actual effects or ramifications. The American History curriculum sends the message that history is the result of great benefactors, leading to the implication that individuals

and organizations of power are good and necessary for the development of society. As previously stated, the success of capitalism is dependent on education. Neoliberal theorists and policy makers have not only used education to train the labor force, however, but also to maintain their ideological paradigm. With curriculums designed to ingrain the brilliance of free market capitalism into students, while lulling students into passivity, the only result can be the continued growth of neoliberal power. Neoliberal power requires students who are passive and moldable.

Along with passivity, the association of history being the result of great men doing great deeds could also lead to hopelessness, as the odds of a sole individual affecting change seem slim, but, according to Moyers (2011), it is necessary that education encourage individuals to seek change, no matter the odds. To utilize the terminology of Freire (2000), students do not view themselves as the subjects of history, but rather as objects which must adapt to society's conditions. This perpetuation is probably most tragic, as the beauty of history is that it is a study of the collective human spirit across thousands of years. Students, and humanity itself, are designed to tap into that spirit and take agency over their destinies, but with the current history curricula, few students realize this spirit lives inside them, or even exists. The problem of student passivity towards civic action is not new, and many school districts have taken active measures to continue such passivity both knowingly, and unknowingly. Schools around the nation have discouraged or even banned the use of materials that are helpful for developing student activism. According to Arnove (2014), Howard Zinn's *A People's History of the United States* is often a target of school removal. When students are incapable of associating average citizens as agents of change, change in its most democratic forms will not occur.

The American history curriculum is deeply flawed, and offensive. The curriculum is undemocratically crafted, maintains racial and cultural hegemonies, and discourages civic engagement as a means of perpetuating economic systems. Within this bleak outlook on the curriculum, there is, however, a ray of light. Throughout history, and into the modern day, students have shown great ability to partake in civic engagement and revolutionary activity. The examples of past and present student civic engagement set the tone for why a course dedicated to civic engagement is necessary. Before an analysis of student civic engagement can begin, it is imperative to explore the historic factors that have led to the development of the American history curriculum, as it current exists. The exploring of history is necessary in order to best view the systemic facets that require changing, and to best understand exactly how we, as a collective, may change them.

The Influence of Historical Themes on the Development of the American History Curriculum in the United States

He was a self-made man. Born to poverty, then having rose to wealth out of the result of his own hard work and ingenuity, he became a captain of industry. He forged the steel that created the modern city, and powered his sector of the economy with the cunning of a good businessman. Through these feats, he gained tremendous wealth. This father of the modern industrial era, despite his vast resources, was no miser, but rather a philanthropist through and through. He spent his fortune on great museums and libraries, concert halls and architectural wonders. He was in many ways a steward of the people.

Such a description is quite typical of the type of summary or write-up that one may find in history classes across the United States in a discussion of the industrialist Andrew Carnegie. This style of description does not stop at Andrew Carnegie, however, as the entire American history curriculum is crafted in such a way as to elevate men of greatness, and to elevate those of

economic greatness especially. Top down history is quite common in many disciplines of history, but the American history curriculum suffers more sins than merely an emphasis on greatness as a requirement to make change. Throughout schools across the country, administrations and bureaucrats have crafted the standard messages of the American history curriculum to instill traits of social passivity within students, secure traditional views of American culture, and produce the position of capitalism as automatically accepted truth. The current state of the American history curriculum is not new, but rather is the product of a long train of historical eras and influences. History is rarely an accident, however, as it is usually the result of meticulous choices and carefully planned policies. In understanding the current state of the American history curriculum, it is necessary to interpret the influences of specific historic events/themes on the development of such a curricular model.

The Development of Public Education as Tool for the Creation of Docile Citizens

In the beginning of the 19th century, the need for education amongst the general public could be argued as being more philosophical than practical in the United States. With the majority of Americans living an agrarian lifestyle, most of the skills necessary for life could be gained through practical experience and through the passing down of knowledge from family. As the 19th century progressed, a major economic shift began to develop through much of the regions of the US. The rise of industrialization had begun. With this industrialization came the growth of the urban city as the center of development and importance. As more Americans moved towards the city, they transitioned from farm workers and dwellers, to industrial wage earners. According to Urban and Wagoner (2015), with more Americans becoming dependents/assets of the industrial machine, now the need for a general education had become more practical in necessity than previous eras. With this call for general education came the first

formulations of compulsory education and the beginnings of a philosophy of education designed to pacify the population rather than empower.

The development of public education would most likely have not occurred in the United States, were it not for development of industrialization and the dangers of civil unrest. In the early to mid 19th century, the United States experienced two often causally related issues. First, the development of new technologies and production models allowed for goods and finished resources to be produced on large scale. This wave of industrialization developed rapidly, and while machines serve to replace human labor, they are limited in their ironic requirement of human operation. Simply put, industrialization required mass quantities of laborers with the skills to operate machinery, but with the temperament to perform such tasks without question. This new economic, more modern capitalist, economy created even larger gaps between the wealthy owner class, and the laboring class. The second issue was that since its inception, the United States had dealt with persistent and violent social uprisings of those frustrated with the status quo. According to Bowles and Gintis (1987), since the revolution, uprisings such as Shay's Rebellion, the Whiskey Rebellion, or the Dorr Rebellion had shaken the foundations of those in power. While these initial rebellions developed out of mostly financial or political discontent, the new periods of industrialization saw stirrings not against the government, but the formerly untouchable wealthy class (the industrial class). As factories and industrial centers grew, workers began the initial rumblings of unionizing and organizing. In the 1827 alone, according to Bernstein (1950), early carpenter's unions in both Boston and Philadelphia went on strike with the audacious demand of a ten-hour day, a dangerous sign of increasing labor power. Again in 1835, strikes broke out in both Boston and Philadelphia, but unlike the previous strikes, according to Bernstein (1950), the Philadelphia strikers not only won their demands speedily, but

were much more ideologically equipped, with leaders of the strike quoted as proclaiming: “We cannot, will not, longer be mere slaves to inhuman, insatiable, and impitying [sic] avarice.” With workers not only organizing and succeeding, but becoming aware of the inhumanness of capitalism and calling out capitalism directly, educating the masses against such tendencies would become an essential goal for the industrialist class.

Establishing a formal system of education in the United States, and thereby a more common curriculum, had long been an arduous task. While many founding fathers, such as Thomas Jefferson supported or worked toward such a goal, little headway had been made between the nation’s founding and the mid 19th century. The notion of creating a network of schools that would be either primarily or totally funded by the public was largely unpopular with the more powerful classes and usually viewed as unnecessary. Despite the problems of industrialization that existed in the mid 19th century, arguments against public and compulsory education usually fell into two separate, yet interconnected, camps. The first argument claimed that education exists primarily as a family matter. The second argument, proposed mostly by upper class Americans, was the question of why their tax money should go to poor families’ children. The prevailing counterargument to these claims came from the now almost mythical father of public education, Horace Mann.

In attempting to create public education in his state of Massachusetts, Horace Mann appealed directly to the wealthy and industrial elite. Horace Mann’s philosophy of education is often summarized/paraphrased with the concept of education as the “great equalizer,” the idea that by providing education to all, all possess equal opportunity for societal advancement. While some of Mann’s writings do support this basic summary, many other writings stand in direct opposition to such a philosophy (Urban & Wagoner, 2015). In order to establish funding and

execution of public education, convincing the industrial elite of society was necessary.

According to Katz (1987), the seed of motivation for such an industrial class was present, as the new modern forms of capitalism required social institutions that would create mobile and unbound workers, who would willingly affix themselves to a system of wage dependency. Mann's chief argument/appeal to the industrial elite was primarily that by making a public education compulsory, it would lead to both better workers, and better citizens.

In terms of becoming better workers, Katz (1987) argued that education would not only create laborers with a greater skill set, thus generating higher levels of efficiency, but would also create workers that would be more docile. Educated workers would not only be used to punctuality, monotony, rules, and authority, but they would also not question their place amongst society. They would not unionize. They would not strike. They would not attempt to instigate "class warfare." According to Bowles and Gintis (1976), these workers would not even dare question their place as living tools, required for the production of wealth amongst an ownership class. In contrast, with the installation of proper lessons and curriculums, they would identify more with the wealthy elites than their own class. With the proper curriculum they would respect authority, aspire to become a member of the wealthy elite, and whole-heartedly accept the myth that such an ascendancy is not only possible, but highly probable.

In terms of creating a better citizen, once again, the key argument was creating a more passive and malleable population. Horace Mann argued heavily for the installation of moral values as part of the chief mission of public education. Most certainly a religious basis exists within this push, but the benefits of an education in morality would be more practical than spiritual. Simply put, morally educated citizens would behave better than non-educated citizens. Educated citizens would avoid the vices of alcohol and crime, and in purely fiscal terms, the

building of schools would be cheaper than the building of prisons. According to Champion (1990), Mann argued that without guidance by the upper classes, the entire harmony of society would be put in grave peril. With proper moral education, the threats of social unrest, revolution, and violence could be avoided. These arguments put forward by Mann were eventually accepted and did result in the creation of a public schooling system. With this initial seed of public education, the basic DNA of the American philosophy of education had been established. Education would not be created for the creation of questioning, active, democratic citizens eager to hold tyranny at bay or stand up to societal abuse, but rather to create malleable and passive citizens who would function as reliable workers, and who would not question or challenge the status quo. As reported by Rothstein (2004), Mann himself even openly expressed that an education in actual politics or civic discourse would result in too severe of a political consciousness amongst students, and that curriculums should remain uncontroversial, with the resulting lack of civic engagement being a small price to pay.

This influence is directly felt in the current American history curriculum, which emphasizes the role of great men in creating historical change, but deemphasizes or entirely neglects the role of people's movements in history or any degree of radical politics. The current curriculum does not push students to act toward change or challenge existing institutions or accepted truths. This concept is not simply one that is provided by lofty administrators pulling strings, but one that is either consciously or subconsciously shared by arguably a majority of social studies educators as well. Ross (2000) argues that social studies educators typically instruct with a pedagogical goal of creating students who can live, accept, and embrace the American system as it is. Even educators who attempt to go beyond simple one-sided narratives of greatness often fall short of the flaw of education for passivity. According to

Ross (2000), the current curriculum treats citizens of modern times as spectators rather than agents of change. With legitimate action existing in the past, but only by key men of greatness, and present citizenship defined only by voting, students can be indoctrinated to believe that the eras of change are over, and that the roles of a citizen are both exceptionally limited and tame. The curriculum of the current era also avoids notions of economic citizenship, according to Kincheloe (2000), where citizens are inspired to seek their rights as laborers or to view private sector economic issues paramount problems of public life. These pedagogical and philosophical choices are specific and have their origins in the very foundation of public education. The early seeds of public education are only one influence on the development of the modern American history curriculum and the culture of education in general, as the development of stark nativism is also a key influence on such development as well.

Public Education as a Nativist Tool for Preserving American Culture

Throughout the history of the United States, distinctions of race and class have been tightly tied together. Those of wealth and social power have typically belonged to the same White Anglo-Saxon or Western European ancestry, and thus those who have the power to generate narratives have created the myth that true “Americaness” belongs to certain racial and ethnic groups. The “problem” that dominant racial groups and upper classes have faced is that the United States has always been a hub of immigrant activity. The reaction to the almost constant influx of foreigners has been stark and aggressive. Violence towards immigrants groups is horrifyingly present during this modern era, but such violence has always existed in the United States (Hale, Kransdor, & Hamer, 2011). Whether emancipated slaves (domestic foreigners), the Irish of the mid 19th century, the Italians and Jews of the early 20th century, or the Hispanic/Latin American immigrants of the current era, longer standing White Americans have always reacted

with a threatened and/or hostile position. The dominant groups have used their power to assault these immigrant groups both politically and violently. While the names of the movements or the political parties have changed with each era, the vein of nativism has been constantly flowing throughout US history. Galindo (2011) asserts that members of the dominant races, the “true Americans” or the ironically self-proclaimed “Native Americans,” have constantly sought to limit the power of new cultural groups and actively define who gets to be part of legitimate American society. While the defining of “Americanness” has taken many forms, the use of formal education has long been a tool to achieve such a goal. The need to define Americanness has not disappeared, as the United States faces rapidly changing ethnic demographics, and therefore now, as in the past, education stands at the forefront of institutions partially designed to achieve that goal

Unlike other older nations, the United States has never had a definitive ethnic basis. The term “American” describes a person’s nationality, whereas someone who is ethnically “Chinese” can claim a term that denotes nationality, ancestry, and storied bloodlines, among other attributes (Johnson, & Frombgen, 2009). From the beginnings of European colonization, the North American continent, which would later become the United States, had been peppered with a multitude of ethnic, racial, and national groups, all amongst the stark displacement and genocide of hundreds of indigenous nations, with each one of those being unique from each other. Even in this diverse colonial setting, wealth and power were concentrated in very specific racial groupings. Once again, leading to the instance where those with the power to create narratives propagated the concept of America as being in their own image. According to Robertson (2001), when the United States first established, and set itself on nation-state building, attempting to create a national identity was of great importance to those in power. The task was not easy, given

the diversity of the nation, the state of chattel slavery, and the steady stream of foreign arrivals. The founding fathers, so to speak, were quite conscious of their whiteness, and both nationally, and on state levels, they enacted policies to maintain racial order and “native-born” supremacy (Johnson, & Frombgen, 2009). Official policies would limit undesirable groups through limiting citizenship, as well as other discriminatory practices. Using external policies to control segments of the population are effective, but tiring to enforce, and have their limits. It is in this vein that education became the tool of racial and ethnic superiority.

Education has long stood as a tool for cultural control of the American population, especially those of minority and immigrant groups. While the US has also politically sought to limit such groups, as seen in the Naturalization Act of 1790, which precluded non-Whites from full citizenship, such legal measures failed to fully combat the threat to traditional concepts of American culture (Hale et al., 2011). Despite limiting political power, immigrants still continued to enter the US. With the continued influx came the continued influence of new cultures on the existing norms. To solve the problem of this “corruption” of American culture and values, policy makers chose to use education as a tool to limit the influence of foreigners.

One of the first examples of this concept can be found in the reactions to the wave of Irish immigrants. Media, writings, and political commentary of the early to mid 19th century are filled with anti-Irish sentiment. Warnings of their uncivilized nature, their corrupt morals, and likelihood of stealing jobs were all common themes of anti-Irish propaganda. With the increase of Irish immigration came a rise of nativism and societies dedicated to preserving American culture from the influence of contaminating influences, in this case foreign influences. Irish immigrants not only brought an heir of foreignness, however, but their Catholicism as well. To a majority Protestant America, the inferior religion had the great potential to corrupt the spiritual

purity of American youth. For such an immense problem, schools became an answer to the Catholic threat. Therefore schools sought to introduce Protestant values and Bibles into the classroom (Urban & Wagoner, 2015). The idea would be to prevent good, native children from bad influence, to establish the notions of the true American religion, and to suppress or even transform the religious cultures of the Irish immigrant hoards. While Catholics reacted with great uproar, and even rioting to this religious imposition (causing many to attend Catholic schools), many still had to attend these Protestant favoring institutions, leading to the lesson that to be Catholic is to be un-American.

Irish immigrants were not the only groups of the 19th century to be subjects of education as a tool for racial dominance. Indigenous peoples too were brutalized by schools designed to civilize. Native children were often forcibly separated from their parents and made to attend schools designed to “kill the Indian to save the man.” According to Adams (2014), schools were set up to transform Native Americans into true Americans in culture, in custom, in language, in history, in everything but race. The proclaimed benevolence of these schools would bring the Native children into the modern world, via an education that would give them an opportunity at usefulness. Filled with instances of trauma and abuse, the institutions of Indian boarding schools exist as some of the most tragic incidences of brutal educational practices in the United States. Via the Indian boarding schools, and governmental policy, Native American groups were largely controlled and simultaneously neglected. As the Native populations faded from national consciousness, and the Irish Americans successfully assimilated into American society, new challenges would arise in the 20th century with the arrival of new challenging immigrant groups.

As immigrants became “stranger,” in the 20th century, education required a greater use to define Americanness. The early 20th century saw an increase in the non-English speaking Italian,

and the oddly dressed Eastern European Jew as immigrants to the US. For many, according to Schrag (2010), the very existence of these groups threatened the established culture of America, or thought that civilized society itself was in grave danger. Again, the Italian demonstrated the flaw of Catholicism, but also was thought to be ignorant in language and culture. The newly arrived Jew on the other hand, was notably different in appearance, religiously strange, and had the potential to carry dangerous ideas such as anarchism or socialism. For policy makers, as Schrag (2010) asserts, education needed to serve as a tool for assimilation. According to Galindo (2011), the 20th century was a time of nation building in the US, and nation building requires efficiency, and uniformity of culture is one manner of efficiency that education could possibly provide. School could be used, and was used, to emphasize to these new groups the types of customs, language, religion, appearance, race, and ideologies that were acceptable, and thus truly American. Official curriculums sought to both absorb these immigrants into America, while actively reminding them that their need to be absorbed was due to their un-American cultures. According to Young (2017), the otherness of these new groups was threatening, and quick action was needed to avoid a situation in which the immigrant masses would replace traditional American cultures. Therefore, schools placed little to no value on the traditional cultures of these immigrant groups, instead choosing to convey dismissiveness and ethnocentrism. Students would be forced to adapt to the school and therefore the nation, and they would soon learn that the ways of their parents or their previous lives were out of place and contradictory to modernity. These nativist attempts at assimilation are felt still in the modern era, as the United States experiences yet another period of large-scale immigration.

It is perhaps ironic that the once controversial and protested immigration period of the early 20th century is now lauded within history curriculums, but more recent immigration trends

are met with disdain. For the past 50 or so years, the United States has yet again entered a period of an active intake of immigrants. This time, however, the immigrants are not European in origin, but of predominantly Latin nationalities. As of data collected in 2012, roughly 40 million foreign born immigrants inhabit the United States, a third of which come from Mexico alone. Of the 40 million plus inhabitants, an estimated 11.5 million are unauthorized (Davidson, & Burson, 2017). Critics of the current wave of immigration typically emphasize the unauthorized population of immigrants within their protest, but nativist undertones are becoming more and more overt. For nativists and xenophobes, the new waves of Latin immigrants possess intimidating qualities that are starkly different than prior European immigrants. Like the European immigrants of the early 20th century, difference in language is an obvious characteristic of foreignness, but unlike those prior immigrants, Latin immigrants are less likely to completely abandon their native tongues. These new immigrants, according to Sanchez (1997), also possess different customs, cultures, and probably most intimidating, are of different races than the generally accepted image of American whiteness. The fact that these Latin immigrants are less concerned with assimilation than previous groups, and because of continued immigration and increased rates of family building are causing a fast changing shift in American demographics, education is once again being and has been used to curtail and control the influence of these new groups.

In the first quarter of the 20th century, with the first increases in Mexican and Latinx immigration, education played a major role in controlling said groups. Often deemed unable to assimilate, according to Galindo (2011), Mexican-American students were segregated to separate schools, which would focus mostly on manual labor training. As laws shifted, thanks to landmark cases such as *Brown vs. Board*, pure segregation became impossible, and thus schools would have to deal with the threat of Hispanic immigrant students in their general population.

Especially in western states, like California, according to Huber (2011), many districts and even state governments adopted or promoted English only education programs, and a complete discouragement of students' native Spanish or other languages. Another prominent example of Latinx marginalization and control comes from Arizona, where not only were English only laws implemented, but so too was a ban on Ethnic studies programs designed to celebrate Hispanic history and culture (Jiménez-Castellanos, Cisneros, & Gómez, 2013). The goals of the programs within those examples were to force Hispanic students to conform to traditional American norms and to preserve traditional American culture. Aside from the nativist policies enforced upon Hispanic students, the general curriculum for American history in the current era serves to reinforce American racial and cultural hegemonies as well.

As previously discussed, the current American history curriculum subtly, yet powerfully, defines what it means to be an American. Like in eras prior, the current curriculum removes the US from its positive diversity in favor of more homogenous depictions of the United States. Typical lessons only demonstrate experiences of majority groups, and fail to emphasize the impacts, contributions, and hardships of those from minority groups. When such groups are mentioned, they are held as separate accounts. Stokely Carmichael is a part of African-American history. Margaret Sanger is a part of women's history. America experienced the theme of immigration (as proof of the appeal of its economic prosperity), but the stories of immigrants are not important. Individuals or groups from marginalized peoples are viewed as the other, not as part of the fabric of the American experience. This is not to say that standard curriculums do not discuss the hardships, mistreatments, and plights of certain racial and ethnic groups, as they do, but they are often mentioned via the narrative that those hardships had an end, and that America overcame its tensions and issues (Brown, & Brown, 2010). One reason these exclusions and

narratives occur is because most history curriculum writers are White, and seek to replicate the lessons with which they learned (Brown, & Au, 2014). The goal and/or the result of these exclusions is the continued defining of what is and what is not truly American. Whiteness is the historic norm. These depictions have always been a part of the US educational system, as those in power have always viewed the “other” as a threat to the status quo. According to Hughey (1992), the United States has always been exclusionary. As long as America’s history is unchanging, then its future can remain consistent as well, and thus some groups will exist in America on the outside, and traditional Americans may continue to hold fast to the center. Along with developing education to pacify the masses, and then using that education to define America in nativist terms, the rise of neoliberalism has played an immense role in the development of school curricula.

Education as a Tool for Neoliberal Self-Preservation/Advancement

From its founding until the mid 20th century, the United States saw an evolution in the development of public/state run institutions and programs, ranging from education to social security. Around the first quarter of the 20th century, public school had become a norm for most children. During this time, educators, scholars, and policy makers debated and theorized as to the proper way to administer these schools. Progressive educators like John Dewey (1897) argued for an alteration into not only the pedagogy of instruction, but the foundation of schooling’s mission in general. Fast forward a few decades to the 1930s, and theorists such as George S. Counts (1969) would openly call for schooling that could, and would, promote a new social order, with democracy being the driving force of education. Other so-called progressives sought greater governmental/bureaucratic oversight of schools in light of the glaring problems and under-resourcing of said schools. In the end, according to Reese (2013), the more bureaucratic

progressives gained advantage and acceptance, and as a result, pedagogical methods remained largely the same, but the structure and reach of public schooling increased, as well as the administrative oversight of such schools. By the mid 1970s however, economic trends began to shift. Guided by theories of economists such as Milton Friedman, a transition began of increasing competition, and transferring services from the public to the private sector.

Judging by its vast influence on education in the United States, and the curricula of those schools, one might label the period of the past 50 years as the era of neoliberalism. Public education largely began as a manifestation of Horace Mann's promise to the industrialist class of greater efficiency and social control of the population. With economic data reporting a dip in corporate profits within the 1970s, capitalists and policy-makers actively questioned whether public education could still supply that efficiency. According to Hursh (2005), neoliberal theorists argued that in order to ensure greater educational success, and therefore economic success, a competitive free market solution was needed. The result was a push for two main elements: privatization, and standardization.

In the areas of privatization, charter schools would receive more funding, and conservative politicians would call for greater measures of school choice. The idea behind privatization being that the free market is the best manager of efficient systems. If a school is run like a business, it will live and die as a business, thus having to stay competitive to survive. The driving philosophy behind this system is competition. According to Elmore and Simone (2015), schools will act competitively (and thus reactionary) and the students will also be trained to strive towards competitiveness, keeping their economic pursuits as their main focuses in life. This neoliberal push for competition has caused an explosion of charter schools, schools which are at least partially publically funded, yet privately run. True to the spirit of competition,

according to Lafer (2018), they have put enormous strains on traditional public schools as they drain valuable funding and resources. These schools exist on the principle that school choice is good for students, but even one of the largest proponents of school choice, Milton Friedman, did not claim that charter schools would improve academics. As reported by Weissberg (2009), Friedman claimed that privatizing schools would lead to greater efficiency, not necessarily better educational results. Neoliberals' push for privatization was not for a motivation of bettering educational outcomes, but due to the motivation of the economic gain of turning schools into another facet of the market. Slowly, but surely, competition has become the buzzword on major politicians' lips, as the assumption is being made that competition is a requirement for academic success. In remaining competitive, it is also important for schools to be held accountable, which is where standardization comes into play.

Standardization and accountability have taken various forms throughout the history of American education, but some of the most notable examples in modern history have been in the Bush administration program of No Child Left Behind and the Obama administration program of Race to the Top. Passed in 2001, No Child Left Behind (NCLB), attempted to gain a rate of 100% student proficiency through high stakes testing, implementation of standards, and threats of private take-over of schools. This act, which was in theory designed to improve educational outcomes of schools, forced schools to teach to the test, out of fear of losing autonomy. If anything, NCLB, while applying to public schools, served to benefit the private sector as failing schools would be susceptible to private takeover, and private test making corporations, according to Tanner (2013), would gain tremendous profits and growth from the requirement of standardized testing. In 2009, with NCLB demonstrating little in terms of academic gain, and much in terms of public criticism, the policy was replaced with a new initiative, Race to the Top

(RTT). RTT held similarities to NCLB, but did not have the threat of private take-over, and instead required schools to once again demonstrate growth, adopt standards, implement testing, and hold teachers accountable for those results in their evaluations if they were to receive full funding from the federal government. According to Weiss (2014), data has shown that the increased pressure on schools, which in many ways shares a quality of competition lauded by neoliberals, has not only failed to address the true origins of the achievement gap and other educational issues, but also has had an overall negative effect on the well-roundedness of education, as non-tested subjects fall to the wayside. Being that subjects like the social studies are not tested, they serve, with the American History curriculum, as another example of an educational facet that is both a victim and perpetrator of current neoliberal ideologies.

In the greater calls for standardization, or replicable educational results, schools have chosen, or been forced to adopt, curriculum standards and testing measures. The result of the standardization of education is a “trimming of the fat.” Economically beneficial, and easily assessable, subjects, like the math and sciences, receive enormous emphases. Meanwhile, non-valuable subjects like the humanities or social sciences receive either accidental or purposeful neglect. When the social studies, for example, are taught in schools, they are often used as a tool to support the same neoliberal economic structures that push for privatization and standardization. This has become even more increasingly apparent in the current administration, with Secretary of Education Betsy DeVos, as reported by Barkan (2017), openly supporting privatization as a national priority. While many standards emphasize basic skills, others, according to Rothstein (2004), specifically avoid any topics of controversy or that go against traditionally held concepts of history. The current American history curriculum makes it clear that capitalism is only economic system of merit. Neoliberalism demands that alternative ideologies either remain

unknown or are seen as dangerous (Martusewicz, Edmundson, & Lupinacci, 2011). It is not difficult to detect this trend within any given classroom. The chances of a class studying the Haymarket Riots are slim compared to the chance of marveling at the development of the assembly line process. The term “the American Spirit” is almost always used as a synonym for competitive drive. Curriculums laud communal effort in times such as war, but shy away from discussing issues such as unionism or populism. An era such as the 1920s is a great example, which is typically marked for a celebration of the American economy, while neglecting the tumultuous issues of race, class, and immigration of the era. The current American history curriculum does not seek students who question the economic validity of neoliberal policies. Very much like the promise of Horace Mann, the curriculum seeks students who view the status quo as the natural order of society.

To understand the faults of the American history curriculum today, one must understand the influence of historical choices in the recent and distant past. The roots of student passivity can be found in the initial guiding philosophies of the public education system, as proposed by Horace Mann. The rigid depictions of what it means to be an American/the lack of diversity in historical curricula are products of a longstanding history of nativism and defensiveness towards cultural change. The indoctrination of capitalism as a universal truth is the product of a neoliberal era that uses education to cement its own posterity. Each flaw of the current American history curriculum is not separate, but interconnected. An entangled, snaring, knot of roots ties each flaw together. Looking backward at the origin of the flaws of the US history curriculum is important, but can be discouraging. Looking backward, but also at the present, can also be inspiring, however. As is clear from the principles of democratic education, active civic engagement must be a goal, and practice of education. Throughout history, and in the modern

day, student resistance movements have occurred that offer an inspiring window in to the possibilities of student activism. Most of these movements have been the result of the influence of material or environmental conditions, but such movements show the innate potential all students have towards civic engagement. The exciting potential then, is to imagine what changes students could achieve, and what causes students could adopt, if schools utilized a democratic curriculum that tapped into the innate ability of all students toward civic engagement and resistance. To highlight this potential and promise, a review of the history, current events, and theory of resistance and activism within students becomes necessary.

Rebel With and Without a Cause

As much as traditional educational models (as tools of the current hegemonic systems) attempt to keep students at a level of passive consumers, and objects of history, rather than subjects of history, the very nature of the human psyche prevents the total completion of this goal. While a vast amount of students around the nation are made passive by the implementation of an undemocratic curriculum, an impressive amount of students resist each year, and stand up either within the classroom, the school, or in the public sphere, fighting for their beliefs. There is in fact a spirit of resistance that resides within all students. One may find the origin of this resistance within the works of psychologist Albert Bandura and his theories regarding self-efficacy. Self-efficacy, simplified, according to Green (2003), is one's ability to achieve a goal, based on the belief in their own ability to achieve that goal. Within the context of this discussion, I am applying self-efficacy to students' beliefs in their ability to successfully resist and implement change, whether in society, school, or whichever sphere inspires them. While an undemocratic curriculum succeeds in stifling many, it is incapable of stifling all, as according to Bandura (2018), humans have evolved in order to develop agency to transcend their immediate

social environments and create change to those environments, and their own lives. In this sense, many students transcend the oppressive elements of school, in order to become agents of change capable of altering their hostile environments into ones that are conducive to their needs.

Bandura argues that through both experience, and self-reflection (among other factors) humans have a deep control over their own lives. If humans did not possess such agency, educational models would have no need to attempt to suppress student resistance or civic engagement.

The idea of innate resistance and self-efficacy among all students is quite poetic, and as a result, not all theories of psychology agree with such a concept. Countering schools of psychology, such as the behaviorist discipline, according to Moore (2013), would dismiss the concept of innate human agency, as internal consciousness cannot be observed. Behaviorism would also state, that human behavior is highly controllable, and programmable, as human behavior is dictated by response to stimuli. In that regard, student resistance could only come from proper stimuli that permit resistance to occur, and that under a proper repressive system, resistance would not even occur as an option within the student mind. What the radical behaviorist fails to recognize is that (while not in all cases) student resistance *is* occurring even within the most repressive of systems. In fact, the beauty of self-efficacy is that it replicates itself in others. The more resistance that occurs, the more others develop self-efficacy to take part in their own resistance. This transferring of self-efficacy is especially made possible by the presence of mass media outlets, which transmit stories and images of resistance and civic engagement daily. These media transmissions become social models, which according to Bandura (2018) inspire others. A flaw in this logic would submit that based on self-efficacy theories, amongst insurmountable odds of causing change, individuals would cease to resist after facing repeated failures or obstacles, but some psychological studies have demonstrated that

failure appears to have little to no genuine effect on self-efficacy (Haines, McGarth, & Pirot, 1980).

The behaviorist school does have a point, however, in that repression does influence behavior, and thus self-efficacy as well. Undemocratic repressive curriculums are successful in limiting the majority of students' inclinations toward meaningful resistance. A large amount of the more successful or massive student resistance examples were caused by a response to material conditions as opposed to inspiration from critical pedagogy. One comprehensive study found that students are more likely to partake in civic engagement if they are unaffected by poverty or family separation (Mahatmya & Lohman, 2012). A separate study dealing solely with African American young adults demonstrated that young African Americans are likely to become civically engaged within neighborhoods that are already active in civic engagement, but highly unlikely to become civically engaged in neighborhoods that do not currently take part in civic engagement (Chung & Probert, 2011). What the radical behaviorist once again fails to recognize, however, is that the presence of any resistance among students shows great potential to unlock the innate resistance that is found within all students. If students are capable of resisting amongst even the most repressive of curriculums, then the civic engagement they could initiate while undergoing a democratic curriculum could be awe-inspiring. It is this core philosophy that drives the development of the course History of American Social Movements, as discussed in great detail within chapter 4. Across the country, students do resist daily. The way this resistance manifests, however, is varied, and often takes forms of either self-defeating resistance, or ideally, transformative resistance.

The goal of a democratically crafted, and critical, curriculum is for students to take part in transformative resistance. To be more specific, transformative resistance is resistance that

acknowledges an oppressive system in need of change, and then constructively, and methodically seeks to alter that system. A transformative resistance can be very difficult to initiate amongst students without arming them first with critical consciousness. As a result, in educational systems with undemocratic and repressive curriculums and practices, students too frequently take part in self-defeating resistance. According to Solorzano (2001), self-defeating resistance occurs when students acknowledge the existence of a repressive system, but resist in a way that only damages themselves, and leads to a continuation of their domination. Students of diverse cultures and socio-economic backgrounds are able to discern the excluding nature of school curriculums, especially in the social studies, and they may react through self-defeating resistance behaviors. Self-defeating resistance can take numerous forms, according to Solorzano (2001), such as refusal to participate, acting out in class, confronting the teacher or administration, or even dropping out of school. Students who realize the curriculum is not designed for them, does not reflect their culture, or attempts to suppress their culture may not see the point in “playing school.” Studies of the high school dropout rate in the United States cite a lack of culturally responsive curriculums as a major contributing factor towards the problem (Goodman & Hilton, 2010). While students who practice self-defeating resistance recognize the need for social justice, their actions only further contribute to their subjugation. Students who resist in class usually receive disciplinary actions, which repeated over time can lead to suspensions or expulsions. According to Dillon (2009), students who are expelled or drop out of school all together are more susceptible to poverty and crime, and thus, overall continued domination. Overall, self-defeating resistance is exactly as the term implies, self-defeating. The oppressive system remains standing strong, but the student takes the full blow of their actions. The greatest goal of education should be to take students’ aptitude toward self-defeating resistance, which

demonstrates an innate ability to resist, and cultivate it to become transformative resistance. The completion of that goal is where a democratic and critical curriculum becomes a necessary tool. Truly transformative resistance in young people may seem a daunting or improbable task, but students have demonstrated successful and revolutionary acts of resistance throughout modern history and into the present day.

Historical Examples of Student Resistance

When the phrase, student resistance, is referenced, the anti-war protests of the 1960s are most likely to come to the minds of many Americans. This automatic association is just, as the protests of that time period had an enormous affect on overall public mentality of the Vietnam War, and therefore the government policy regarding the war. By the time the war had officially ended, student and public protests had become so effective, that opposition to the war was no longer radical; the protests themselves had normalized the position of being opposed (Gibbons, Petty, & Van Nort, 2014). Student resistance during the Vietnam War era serves as demonstration of resistance with commitment, as according to Goings (1990), protesters endured violence, harassment, and legal ramifications, and yet continued their rebellions, even after tragedies such as Kent State. While the anti-war protest movement was an effective movement in terms of affecting public consciousness and achieving goals, its use is limited within the context of this study, as most anti-war protesters were of college age or higher. As college students, most would likely have been exposed to more critical pedagogies. Therefore, more helpful historical examples, which occurred during and closely by the Vietnam War era, are the Birmingham Children's Crusade and the Los Angeles Chicano/Chicana Student Walkouts.

The Birmingham Children's Crusade

The Civil Rights Era, one of the most troubling and yet simultaneously inspiring periods of American history, is too commonly glossed over by school curriculums or misrepresented by school curriculums. School curriculums often emphasize a top down approach, focusing on leaders and iconic figures, including Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Malcolm X, John Lewis, and Rosa Parks. While the impact of those figures is almost immeasurable, equally immeasurable is the impact of ordinary people, and even more overlooked while equally immeasurable is the impact of young people. Exhausted by their oppression, and motivated to create change, young people were involved in every aspect of the Civil Rights movement. These young people received no training within their schools, received no benefit or justice from their education, yet found the courage and tenacity to confront their environments in the effort to alter those environments. Like with the anti-war protests of the Vietnam era, the efforts of older students have created its space in collective memory. Movies, television, and even graphic novels such as *March* by John Lewis and Andrew Aydin have immortalized the sit-ins and freedom rides of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Resistance is, however, not limited to young people of college age, as young students facilitated some of the most pivotal moments of the Civil Rights era.

One of the most lasting achievements of the Civil Rights era is the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This act, which took great leaps to prohibiting public discrimination and segregation based on race, was preceded by valiant resistance efforts. More specifically, participation in the Birmingham Campaign paved the way for the creation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The Birmingham Campaign was a protest designed by leaders such as Martin Luther King Jr. It was crafted to highlight segregation, police brutality, and to awaken White consciousness. What

many students may not learn in school is that it was young people who carried out much of the Birmingham Campaign. On May 2nd and 3rd of 1963, young people, teenagers, and children as young as six years old, according to Hunter-Gault (2017), marched in the streets to protest segregation. The protesters were met by police who arrested them on the first day, and attacked them with clubs, fire-hoses, and dogs on the second day. This event was later renamed the Children's Crusade. These young people had no revolutionary training in school, but inspired by their material conditions, sought out such instruction. Those students received training in non-violent protest, civil disobedience, and social justice from organizations like the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and then used that training to stand up (Hunter-Gault, 2017). Students of these classes did not just discuss theory, they practiced actual methods of resistance, learning how to stage a sit-in, and how to respond to violent assault. The young protesters demonstrated the innate drive to resist, and the innate drive to receive the tools of resistance. Their efforts, combined with the efforts of countless others, altered the national consciousness and cemented some of the most monumental legislation in American History. Students utilizing their power to battle the extreme oppression of the Jim Crow era may appear heroically justified today, but it was highly controversial and revolutionary at the time. Responding to massive oppression in all facets of society such as during the Civil Rights era, however, is not the only time students have collectively banded together. Resisting inferior and oppressive education and schooling itself, has created one of the largest student protests in history. The collective action of students during the Los Angeles Chicano/Chicana Walkouts of 1968 embodies this resistance.

The LA Chicano Walkouts

The Los Angeles Chicano/Chicana Walkouts, also known as the Los Angeles School Blowouts, of 1968 stand as one of the most inspiring examples of student resistance as it occurred directly as a result of an intentionally designed oppressive curriculum and educational system. As reported by Sahagun (2018), in 1968, over 22,000 students of mostly Chicano schools in East Los Angeles walked out in protest of the inferiority of their education. The Los Angeles school district had long attempted to subtly, as well as forcibly, assimilate their Chicano students into traditional Anglo-Saxon/American culture and life. As well, Chicano schools usually received less resources and assistance than other schools, leading to gaping inequalities of education. As a result, according to Bernal (1998), Chicano students and their families pushed back, demanding, among other elements, that tracking and standardized testing be eliminated, bilingual education be encouraged, racist teachers and administrators be removed, as well as strong advocating for the inclusion of Mexican history and culture into the curriculum. The community voiced these concerns for years prior to the walkouts of 1968, but the school district provided no solutions. Continually, according to Solorzano (2001), students and their families attempted change through traditional and accepted channels, only to receive rejection and neglect time and time again. Ironically, the spark of revolutionary activity among students only began to occur after the school district sponsored a Chicano camp designed to overtly assimilate students into traditional American culture. Responding to this assault on their own culture, students banded together, organized, and began to develop a stronger community, as well as discussed issues such as inequality and social justice. It was at the assimilation camp that they began a journey of critical pedagogy, even in an environment hostile toward such pedagogy. One student, Rachael Ochoa Cervera, even remarked that it was the first time she and her classmates

developed a true critical consciousness (Bernal, 1998). The awakening following the camps, as well as influences from family already involved in political movements inspired the adoption of a walkout strategy. In protest of their inferior education, students walked out of school in the first week of March in 1968. Protesters were met with unprovoked police beatings and harassment, as if the students were merely rioters without a cause. To the contrary, students demanded the basic right to have their school held to the same standards as other Los Angeles schools. The students even drafted a list of grievances, with measures toward implementation, for the school board to address (Bernal, 1998) By the end of the demonstrations, according to Sahagun (2018), students had managed to achieve not only two of their goals (smaller class sizes, and more bilingual educators and staff), but they had received national attention, including support from high ranking politicians such as Robert Kennedy. They had tapped into public consciousness, and inspired later Chicano rights movements and demonstrations. The impetus for the Walkouts was inequality and a non-culturally responsive curriculum. The school in and of itself was the problem. Such inequality exists today, and as such this protest could serve as an inspiring example for modern day students. While these historical examples like the Children's Crusade or the Walkouts give the impression that student resistance is an element of the past, current events clearly demonstrate that the potential for student resistance and civic engagement is alive and well.

Casual viewers of history may assume that student resistance in its major forms ended with the conclusion of the 1970s, but this notion is simply incorrect. According to Dreier (1998), student resistance has occurred consistently, just spread out over more causes, thus not having the strength of one unified cause. Certainly over the past decade or so, some social movements, such as "Occupy Wall Street," have taken the national spotlight on numerous occasions. The

problem with movements like the “Occupy” movement, has been that such movements often lack aim, unity, or agreed upon measurable outcomes (Gismondi & Osteen, 2017). More recently, however, leadership in the field of civic engagement focusing on measurable outcomes has emerged, with high school students taking the charge in the case of the fight against gun violence, and against climate change.

Student Activism on Gun-Control

The students of Parkland, Florida could have chosen to remain passive victims following the tragic school shooting that occurred on February 14th, 2018 that left 17 dead. Instead, the surviving students chose to become political activists in the battle against gun violence and the gun lobby. Inspired by their horrific material conditions (the conditions of their trauma) the students of Stoneman Douglas High School decided that inaction was an impossible choice. Several of the students have become national figures, appearing on all major news networks, and even leading a town hall style event on CNN. The students of Parkland have actively chosen to make their cause a national cause, with one nationally recognized student, David Hogg, stating that it is his generation which must refuse to take this type of gun violence and political inaction anymore (Westfall, Aradillas, Truesdell, & Vespa, 2018). Working hand in hand with other organizations, the Parkland students have mounted protests and political tactics designed to increase public consciousness regarding gun violence, and attempt to affect gun control policy. The Parkland students and their allies organized a national student walkout on March 14th, 2018, which resulted in tens of thousands of students leaving school in protest of ineffective gun laws (Heim, Lang, & Svrluga, 2018). In many cases, students took up even more symbolic gestures than walking out. In Washington D.C., students walked to the White House and turned their back to the building for a period of 17 minutes, one minute per victim (Walsh et al., 2018). Shortly

after, on March 20th, the Parkland students and their allied organizations spearheaded the national “March For Our Lives” event. The March for Our Lives, as reported by Fisher (2018), garnered over two million participants, with 800,000 crowding the streets of Washington D.C. To put those numbers into perspective, 250,000 people participated in the March on Washington of 1963, less than half that of the March for Our Lives, and is often considered one of the most influential protests in history. At the current moment, it is too early to tell how history will judge the Parkland students and their movement, but, according to Milligan (2018), there is potential that such a movement could be seen as a seed of change. While insulting, perhaps it is a sign of success that the Parkland students have been subjected to conspiracy theories regarding “crisis acting,” and have been ridiculed by the National Rifle Association and conservative pundits. As CNN reporter John Blake (2018) writes, the Parkland students are the most formidable foes the NRA will face. The commitment that the Parkland students have shown, and the success they have achieved at making gun control a part of the national dialogue is tremendous, if immeasurable. At the same time, in an examination of recent efforts of student activism, the sustainability movement has also shown the potential to demonstrate to students the fantastic potential of young people for activism, the effectiveness of strategies of civic engagement, but also of failure and the need for continued involvement.

The International Climate Strikes

The fight against climate change has most certainly made its way into national and international attention as of late. Most notably, according to Turrentine (2019a), the work of activists like Greta Thunberg has captivated both supporters and anti-environmental critics alike with open calls for immediate climate action and activism. Perhaps most inspiring to students, however, is the dramatically large role that young people have played and are playing in the

movement. Looking at the current movement, in its calls for direct action, including concepts such as the Green New Deal, young people, even as young as elementary school aged, according to Nilsen (2019), are leading the charge. Typically, those in power view young people as secondary citizens, and annoyances to boot, but within the actions of climate activists, legitimate attention from those in power has been garnered. In this light, the sustainability movement can serve as a powerful inspiration to young people to show just how much power young people can wield and exert. Probably the most visible demonstration of young people's activism within the sustainability movement and fight against climate change, according to Haynes (2019), has been the global climate strikes, with 1.6 million students around the world having participated on the strike which occurred on March 15th, 2019. Critics and naysayers may argue that these young people do not understand what they are striking for, or are striking simply for excitement. According to Lindwall (2019), what collective narratives of the strikes demonstrate, however, is that most of these participants are deeply committed to the causes of sustainability, and have a strong knowledge of the philosophy behind the strikes. While the strikes may have stood more as a symbolic effort than one designed to create immediate change, it cannot be measured the levels of empowerment such participation bestowed upon many of the young people who participated. As one climate striker, Frieda (last name withheld for confidentiality) discussed in an interview, participating within the strikes taught her that "kids had more power than I ever imagined" ("More powerful," 2019). One of the major goals of a democratic form of education should be to create students who have a greater self-efficacy towards creating change, therefore it only makes sense to emphasize genuine examples of students who have grown in their self-efficacy to make change. While the power of young people within the sustainability movement exists as powerful

example of student courage, determination, and success, the sustainability movement also offers important and teachable examples of both incompleteness and failure.

Within the study of social movements and student activism, purveyors need to be able to see examples of success, but also of failure, to learn what actions are inadequate, and what battles still require fighting. The sustainability movement offers lessons towards both. On a positive discussion, the strategies and efforts of the modern sustainability movement have gained successes. These successes have mostly pertained to the developing of public consciousness, as words like sustainability and climate change are almost household names at this point. Some evidence would suggest, according to Turrentine (2019b), that American society is now at a point where the majority are beginning to finally understand the need for action regarding climate change and environmental degradation. On a purely anecdotal level, as a teacher, it now seems that in just the past year students accept climate change as an obvious truth rather than a disputed theory. The development of public consciousness may not seem like much to some, but it is the development of public consciousness that sows the seeds of public outcry, future activism, and political change. What the climate strikes show as well, is that this consciousness is very much a global consciousness, and while the world's power structures have yet to fully embrace the fight against climate change, cracks in the system are evident. While the current success of the sustainability is not quite yet tangible, the fact that progress in expanding public consciousness has grown so quickly in the past 10 years alone is starkly impressive. Using the sustainability movement as an example of study can demonstrate the possibility of shifting global consciousness within a relatively short period of time following the efforts of hard work and persistence.

At the same time however, the sustainability movement shows great, and teachable, failures. In terms of failures, most notably is the failure of the sustainability movement to make tangible changes, or changes in the overall systems of society. Following the climate strikes, the United States is still nowhere near limiting its consumption, regulating corporate carbon emissions, or altering its economic framework. No new laws or policies have been enacted, and even those claiming to be of the Left have thwarted the Green New Deal. Despite the raise in public consciousness, such a raise has not translated into genuine change. This failure, however, exists as a learning opportunity. It shows that the current measures have been inadequate. It shows that much work is still to be completed. As well, it shows that societies and nations must change not only the law, but entire systems, including economic systems, to even governmental systems, as many have theorized, such as Wong (2016), that the political framework as it currently exists is not capable of meeting the desperately needed environmental changes of the current crises. Failure, although tragic, is not an end, but an opportunity. It is an opportunity for creativity and growth. Of all the examples of student activism, the sustainability movement stands as a brilliant opportunity to show all aspects of activism, from engagement, to success, and finally to failure. It shows what can be done, what has yet to work, and what needs doing.

Historic examples of student resistance such as the Birmingham Campaign, or current examples like the climate strikes, demonstrate that student resistance is highly possible. While each of these examples is admirable, historic, and inspiring, they stand as mere glimmers of potential. They show that student resistance and civic engagement is possible in even the most repressive of systems, and even amongst the most traumatic of conditions. Unfortunately, the current educational system, and the current American history curriculum to be specific, exists as an obstacle to resistance, leading to most examples of student resistance stemming as a response

to extreme material conditions. If society is to wait for all students to become motivated by their direct traumatic material conditions, then change is to occur at a rate that is too slow to face society's crises. The question that remains, however, is what kind of civic engagement could be possible if the educational systems were not repressive, but rather were democratic, critical, and encouraging of civic engagement? What could be achieved if education relied not on the banking model of education, and the obsession with asinine facts and standardized tests, but on actually equipping students with the practical tools and know-how of active civic engagement? Clearly students are capable of democratic action both psychologically, and physically. It is now the responsibility of democratic education to tap into this universal, and innate, potential.

American society, and the world as a whole, faces grave crises. Education has long sought to help solve and inspire in the mission of combatting societal issues, but has long proven to be inadequate for the task. The social studies, whose mission is to study the various facets of human society, has also failed to help prepare students for the tasks at hand. The current American history curriculum's problems of unreflective values, propagation of cultural hegemonies, and sedating quality toward civic action requires a solution. While I assert that the solution to these problems is a critically conscious and democratically crafted curriculum, these theories are useless if they rely on theory alone and do not attempt to transfer theory into tangible practice. For this reason, a new course, the History of American Social Movements is both needed, and perfectly suited, to equip students with the practical tools of civic engagement, awaken political consciousness, and raise student self-efficacy toward change. Within this course, many units of various themes of American social movements will serve as models of civic engagement. The goal of this course will not be dead knowledge, but the practicing of civic engagement strategies, and the development of civic action plans that are unique to each student's passions and inquiries.

While this course may be only a small step in the journey towards a more democratic society, it is an important step, and an investment worth making.

Chapter 4

Design

Purpose

In an era filled with more and more standardized and mandated testing, the non tested, and thus “non-essential” subjects, such as the arts and social sciences, find themselves increasingly on the defensive as to their merit and necessity. For the social studies, and history in particular, this has refueled a philosophical argument that has spanned countless eras: what is the purpose of teaching history? According to historian and scholar Howard Zinn (1990), under the current model of most curriculums, and specifically in the curriculums of American history classes, one could discern that the purpose of teaching history is for students to simply have knowledge of history, and an “unbiased” form of history at that. An endless stream of multiple choice tests and exams based on the regurgitation of pre-digested causes and effects, winners and losers, heroes and villains, and objective facts lay in front of the student. From there the “knowledge” passes from the student to the fully filled in bubble on the answer sheet, and there it stays, as the “knowledge” has now left the student, who under the banking model of education has seemly made a deposit with little care for the long term acquisition of that knowledge. At best, this model, the banking model, which Freire (2000), describes as the passive transmission of knowledge from teacher to student, is inefficient, as it rarely leads to meaningful impacts upon students, or even long term retention of content. At worst, this curriculum through the hidden curriculum (that which is taught non-overtly) and the null curriculum (that which is purposefully excluded from the curriculum) teach lessons of civic passivity and racial hierarchy (see Chapter 3 for greater detail). With this current system however, the problem lays not solely in the

implementation of the curriculum, but in the inherent question and purpose upon which the curriculum is predicated.

With the vast number crises that the United States faces today, let alone the planet itself, I submit that the purpose of history is not merely knowledge of the past, but the development of a critical consciousness that then leads to civic action. The purpose of teaching history is to fuel students with self-efficacy and agency towards change, an actively questioning mind, and the will and tools to create the changes of which they seek. In essence, history should exist as the nursery of critical pedagogy, where theory builds in the mind, to then extend to the hand. To accomplish this purpose, and to achieve this premise and societal/educational goal, the current American history curriculum will no longer suffice, although it never sufficed truly. Given the need for change and improvement, I propose the design and implementation of a new social studies course, entitled the History of American Social Movements. This course will cover the broad spectrum of activism and social movements across American history, examining their philosophical underpinnings, strategies, effectiveness, impacts, and potentiality to be replicated. This class will culminate into a project in which students will choose a problem or cause that is meaningful to them, research the history of that issue (from where it stems and how previous activists have attempted to solve it), and then create an action plan of how to create change within that issue today, with specific focus on theoretical and practical strategies. Utilizing this course will create a social studies curriculum and opportunity for a history that is inclusive, democratic, and inspiring of student agency and civic engagement that leads to genuine student agency and civic action. In order for this course to be successful there must exist strong theoretical grounds, which is then implemented with sound practical organization.

Curriculum Theory

In every history course there exists a danger. There exists a danger of the history to become dead, to become a string of narrative facts, or to become a game of show and tell in which the teacher professes tales of long past events they find interesting. This tendency naturally leads to an authoritarian curriculum, not in the sense of a task master teacher, but in the sense of a teacher that holds the monopoly on the truth, who holds the answers and exists to create students who are merely capable of reaffirming that which the teacher has already proclaimed. It is pitfall tropes such as these that the course, History of American Social Movements, seeks to avoid.

The Faux Resemblance to a Traditional View of Content

Admittedly, on the surface, one could view the curriculum structure laid out in the subsequent sections, understand that this is a history course, and perceive the curriculum to possess a traditional view of content. According to Posner (1995), the traditional view of content has long posited that the purpose or priority of education is a transmission of knowledge, and a transmission of culture, with particular emphasis on Western civilization. Truthfully, there is an element of heritage in this curriculum. There is an element of “cultural literacy” that resembles the works of E. D. Hirsh (1988). In the selection process of choosing social movements and topics, as the designer of this course, there was a feeling of “these are the men and women who came before you, it is the sweat and blood of these activists that now course through your veins and swims in the very fabric of your American DNA.” Despite this appearance, and despite the power that a connection to these topics/historical movements and individuals may serve, assuming this course to be one of a “transmission of culture,” would be a fallacious assumption on multiple grounds.

In truth, the topics outlined in the later displayed syllabus and unit plans are mainly suggestions, and not set in stone, steadfast, content pieces. The unit themes themselves are fixed, and while I do believe I have curated a fine, meaningful, and powerful selection of content and topic choices, it is not the intention that teachers who instruct this course are without autonomy. Because the individual experiences of educators and classroom bodies are always diverse, it is encouraged that educators utilize their own experiences, and take in the input, suggestions, experiences, and values of students in tailoring this course to fit the needs of such a student body. As an example, if students find particular fascination with discussions of women's rights and feminism, educators are encouraged to make the choices they see fit in order to extend that discussion and fascination. If an educator has a positionality and experience rooted in the LGBTQ+ community, they might have knowledge of topics and examples that are both powerful and lacking from my unit outlines. There has never been a semester that goes exactly to plan, whether due to snow days, teacher sickness, field trips, or standardized testing. With that being stated, even the most standardized of curriculums requires tailoring. In set curriculums, that typically takes the tragic form of cutting off content from the end of the course. Therefore, the illusion that set curriculums are in fact set dies rather quickly. In that frame of mind, while once again, I do believe the units discussed later are quite thoughtful, I find it best to encourage meaningful personalization rather than cuts of last minute futility. In subsequent sections, overall social and educational aims of this course will be detailed. Questions which one might ask is, can the goals be completed with a curriculum that is inherently designed to be flexible, how does this course manage to be flexible, and what curricular theories does this course rely on to ensure sound theoretical grounding? Before a discussion of the goals, and their ability to be achieved

may be discussed, it is imperative to elaborate on the flexibility of this course, and of the curricular theory upon which the course is predicated.

The Flexibility of Course Content

As previously stated, this course does not take a traditional view of content, and personalization of the course is encouraged. History classes often, and typically, take a traditional view of content, and upon viewing unit plans of this course, which list very specific people, places, events, and overall topics, it may seem like this is the case. The trick here is that content, the topics themselves, that is, are of secondary importance to the course. Unit assessments have little to do with the specific details of topics, and the overall project of the course may have no relation to topics discussed in class at all. There is no priority in students being able to remember dates, specifics of events, or have the ability to relay those specifics. The topics of which I have curated are not holy. They are not absolute necessary components of heritage that require transmission. Lasting knowledge of any of these people, places, or events is a pleasant byproduct, and an added bonus of the course, but it is not the main focus. For in fact, every topic, or event is not an end point, or the target of students to absorb, but rather is merely a model, or a case study. Every event that is discussed or elaborated upon in this course does not exist for the purpose of knowledge regarding that event, but rather as a tool of which to learn strategies of civic engagement. In this sense, the course is flexible because the mission of the course is not sabotaged if a teacher/class chooses to (or lacks the time) to cover the election of 1896. The use of various other models may stand equally appropriate. There is no assessment that requires students know specifics of the election of 1896, it is however expected that students have engaged with enough models of civic engagement to provide students with a strong civic agency, and to guide them to their own projects of civic action plans by the end of the course.

Under this system, so long as teachers abide by the overall thematic units of the course, and take careful consideration to ensure a wide array of models/case studies exist, the course may still be successful. The activities of lessons, which practice opportunities of civic engagement strategies, are overtly more important than the knowledge of the specifics of daily topics. In another element of customization and flexibility, some activities may require multiple days, and being that the activities are more important than the topics in most cases, customizing the course to allow time for the activities is encouraged, and not tragic. Ideally, the possible misconception of this course as a traditional transmission of culture has been cleared. With an answer for what this course is not, it is obviously necessary to detail what this course actually is, and from where it gathers its theoretical basis.

Course Basis in Critical Pedagogy, Cognitive Theories, and Experiential Models

At its core, this course, the History of American Social Movements, has a predominant basis on the works of critical pedagogical theorist Paulo Freire, with a touch of eclecticism as well. Based on the works of Paulo Freire, this course treats education as a means of reconstruction. Specifically, reconstruction from a Freire (2000) inspired perspective is one that encourages the challenging of realities and social constructs, develops critical consciousness, encourages democracy, and gives agency of students to become subjects of history rather than objects of history. Under this grounding, topics of the curriculum are not treated as holy, for students are encouraged to challenge the traditional interpretations of those topics. Teacher and student are co-learners within the course, as all are encouraged to contribute to and learn from the understanding and interpretations of course topics. As an example, if the class explores the struggles of organized labor during the Gilded Age, it is not expected that students view union acts of armed resistance as inherently heroic or aggressive, or view union leaders as either

martyrs or rabble-rousers. It is the intrinsic politics of these course topics that teacher and student are encouraged to explore as a team. For Freire (2000), education is always a political act, and the empowerment of students to action against oppression is the aim of those politics. The same may be said of this course as well.

With this course utilizing a critical pedagogy in its inherent design, I must emphasize that the critical lens is not the soul contributing theory that grounds this course. While the bulk of the design centers upon the critically pedagogical mission of questioning power structures and developing agency and civic action, that element of design largely explains the theme of the course, but perhaps leaves questions regarding the practices of the course. In a hybrid style approach, this course design also takes much influence from the cognitive and experiential view of content. In the cognitive approach to content, there is a goal, a hope, and a nourishing to develop certain mental processes within students. Specifically, there is a heavy emphasis on problem identification, analysis, and problem solving. What good is a course on social movements and activism if all the problems in society and in our history are spoon fed to students? Bermudez's (2014) research shows that while many schools call for critical evaluation within their history classes, little of it is actually occurring. Students must develop the lens to view the world with a critical eye. They must have the mental ability to deduce connections between events, causes, effects, and influences going on within the everyday world. Then, with the ability to identify those connections, and thus identifying the problems, they must be able to go to the next step of actually theorizing as to solutions to those problems. Critiques without proposed solutions and alternatives are insufficient for the tasks of proper civic engagement. Once again, this is much an influence of the cognitive perspective of curriculum, in which, according to Posner (1995), an emphasis on the development of the mind is imperative to the

success of the course. Although predominantly routed in critical pedagogy, and directed by the cognitive approach, the experiential view of curriculum is so too essential for the design of this course.

As stated earlier, the content of the course does not exist for the knowledge of that content, but for the use of content as models for effective civic engagement. To this extent lays the influence of the experiential view of curriculum on this course, the History of American Social Movements. In an experiential sense, as influenced by classic theorists such as John Dewey, this course attempts to exist as not only practice for life, but as life itself (Posner, 1995). Specifically, an emphasis on this course is largely centered upon taking the models of civic engagement (that exist via the course topics) and then using those models to participate in activities of civic engagement, thus living and practicing civic engagement. These activities may vary from ones that exist as civic life itself, such as writing genuine letters to congress people, creating social media campaigns, and planning a voter registration drive, to ones which model practice for life after school, such as organizing a union, negotiating with management, or organizing a protest. According to Newton (1989), influenced by Dewey's work, students exist as not individual beings, but as social beings that exist in relation to each other, and thus require opportunities for civic and democratic engagement. With this model, the experiences of the class hold just as much value, if not more, than the content itself. In the vein of the experiential model, there is an emphasis on individual growth, specifically through the student belief in their own agency to create change. Students are intended to leave with a confidence that they do not exist as objects to be carried by history, but as genuine change makers who wield both social power, and the tools and confidence to wield that power. This is not just an individual growth, however, but also a collective growth, as students individually and together tap into their social unity, and

their potential to embrace their position as social beings (Freire, Clarke, Macedo, & Aronowitz, 2001). Through the use of critical pedagogy, a cognitive approach, and an experiential approach, the hope of this curriculum is to be both deeply eclectic yet cohesive. Curricular theory on its own without direction is inadequate, and therefore this course is not only based on theory, but with specific goals in mind.

Social Goals, Educational Aims, and Learning Objectives

Designing a course without goals to describe the reasons for its creation is most likely a waste of effort. Without goals, it is unlikely that one is going to achieve anything other, or anything better, than what already exists. At its heart, this course has social goals and aims, educational goals and aims, and learning objectives. Together, these goals portray the overall effects that the course is intended to achieve upon students, and society. These are not the only goals however, as just as there are intended effects of the course, there are also intentional design elements whose goal is to rectify issues in standard history courses.

Attempts to Rectify Typical History Course Flaws

In terms of curricular design, this course was organized to make right or avoid the three main problems within the American History curriculum that I identify in chapter three. Those problems are that the curriculum is undemocratic, the curriculum is non-inclusive, and that the curriculum promotes passivity over agency. In terms of the curriculum being undemocratic, this course, the History of American Social Movements, seeks to provide democratic opportunity in a number of ways. First, as the course content is inherently flexible, with such premise being an explicitly stated point (explicit to both educator and student), there are numerous opportunities for the class to become co-authors of the syllabus. This is not to say there is total freedom, as previously mentioned, unit themes and purpose is fixed, but the content within those units are

largely customizable. Even if the course content remains the same as I have outlined in the subsequent unit plans, either through teacher, class, or administrative insistence, there is still democratic potential in the final project. As the final project may exist on almost any topic students wish (barring instances of hate or calls to violence), choice is inherent to this course.

In combatting the issue of curriculums being non-inclusive, this course attempts to tackle that problem directly. Firstly, the course content of which is outlined in the unit plans is inclusive not only in the representation of diverse peoples, but in the theories it uses to discuss the experiences of diverse peoples. Feminism, critical race theory, and Marxism are all bases for discussion when analyzing and learning from the experiences of marginalized peoples. This course treats the experiences of marginalized peoples not as a side-story of American history, but as the focal point of the course under the philosophy that all Americans are American. Secondly, even under the flexibility of the course, any substitutions have almost no choice but to be inclusive. As this course is a course on social movements and activism, with the United States being a nation of racial hierarchies, patriarchy, classism, and heteronormativity, any examples of activism will almost always fall under one of these categories of oppressed and marginalized individuals or groups. The final element that typically plagues American history courses, the teaching of passivity over agency, is a key problem that inspired this course. With that being said, in elaborating on the goal of rectifying this issue, it is essential to outline the social and educational goals of the course, as well as the learning objectives.

Educational Goals & Learning Objectives

Educators and theorists often create curriculums as a response to problems, whether those are problems of education itself, or problems pertaining to society. The curriculum of this course is very much a response to problems within society, and thus is directed by societal

goals. One of the main issues of the current day America, but also one that has existed throughout the history of the United States is the question how to maintain a healthy, vibrant, and active democratic citizenry. The question stands of how to cultivate a citizenry that does not rely on waiting and voting as its sole method of seeking change. Truthfully, modern society is rather lethargic in terms of both voting and genuine civic engagement. While it is also true that powerful forms of civic engagement do exist in the modern era, with notable examples being the surge of women's marches, climate change activism, or even the push for gun-control reform from the students of Parkland, Florida, in comparison to the size of the overall US population, these acts are inspiring, and encouraging, but underdeveloped in stature. This course seeks to foster an active citizenry, one that embraces its power and responsibility to make use of its agency over change. This course seeks to cultivate young people who not only believe in their ability to make change, but know how to do so. This course seeks to engage students to develop a political consciousness and increased civic engagement. In some ways, one could interpret this course as a method of training, as it is largely based on developing skills of civic engagement, but as the social studies and society's problems are unpredictable, and there is no way of knowing how students' minds will change and shift over time, the curriculum is more of an education as it is broad to prepare students to interact with society in any way they choose, and to meet the largely unpredictable challenges of democracy. In the scope of overall society, this class seeks the ambitious social goal of creating a more democratic society. To the teachers and students, this goal is explicit. This goal is lofty, and perhaps naively idealistic, especially as this proposal begins with a push for implementation of this curriculum within one school. I would argue, however, that now is the time for ideals centered upon planned practicality, and if this course garners success, what is to stop its growth to other schools and districts, what is to stop

this course from achieving far reaching effects? The fault of many idealists however, is their failure to acknowledge the importance of practicality and organization, and therefore while this course and curriculum is based on high social goals, it also contains a series of educational goals and learning objectives.

In the umbrella of educational aims, from which the educational goals and learning objectives stem, most of this course falls under the general categories of personal development, and socialization. According to Posner (1995), personal development often stems from the concept of cultivation of the self. Socialization, on the other hand, is a form of development for citizenship, or goals that benefit not just the individual, but society as well (Posner, 1995). The educational aims of this course seek to both benefit and strengthen the individual, while also giving the individual an increased power in society benefits both the self and democratic society. With that being stated, there is a difference between educational goals and learning objectives. According to Posner (1995), educational goals typically pertain to the expectations of institutions of learning, such as a school or university in its entirety, whereas learning objectives more so are directed at the expectations of a single course that may feed into the larger educational goals. Being that this proposal is for the development of a course, the term “learning objectives” may seem more appropriate than educational goals. The term educational goals may also stand as appropriate, however, as many of the goals for this course are also goals for which an entire school should strive. Therefore, as the term learning objective has a long debated history and inconsistent taxonomy, the terms “educational goal” and “learning objectives” will be exist very similarly to each other, if not be used interchangeably.

In terms of verbiage, much of the learning objectives are based in the popular Bloom’s Taxonomy, originally devised by Benjamin Bloom (1956). In the learning objectives below,

some are perhaps too abstract for Bloom's Taxonomy, while others vary within the hierarchy, with a mixture of "lower" level identifications, and higher level evaluations and creations. While I might disagree with Bloom's Taxonomy, and agree with critics, that the lower level category of knowledge is largely undervalued by Bloom, I must admit, that within my curricular goals, the most important and valued do fall under categories that Bloom's Taxonomy would label as higher level. This alignment with the higher level of Bloom's Taxonomy can also be clearly seen in the nature of this course as an expression of skills, agency, and attitudes over knowledge for sake of knowledge. As the proposal for this course is intended to have theoretical merit, but be practically accessible first and foremost, it will be best for the educational goals/learning objectives to be stated plainly, both for easy access and reference. Learning objectives for the course, History of American Social Movements, may be expressed as the following:

- Students will grow in their development of a critical and political consciousness.
- Students will make use of critical consciousness to question, identify, and analyze pre-existing, and new, problems within society.
- Students will demonstrate an expression of systems based thinking, in the ability to assess the strengths and weaknesses of overall social structures.
- Students will grow in the development of systems based problem solving, with the ability to create and support solutions or alternatives to social structural problems.
- Students will be able to articulate and defend those solutions or alternatives through coherent and logical writing.
- Students will develop the internal belief in one's own political agency, with confidence that change is possible, and that students are capable of making societal change.
- Students will develop an appreciation of one's own long-standing heritage of agency and change.
- Students will develop a respect and appreciation for the diverse contributions of the diverse peoples of America in the fight for change within social movements.

- Students will be able to identify and analyze the marginalization of specific groups, both historically and currently, in American society.
- Students will be able to identify examples of social movements and activism throughout American history.
- Students will be able to identify and evaluate the philosophies from which historical social movements and activists have been based.
- Students will be able to identify and evaluate the successes, failures, and impacts of historical social movements and activists.
- Students will be able to identify and evaluate strategies of civic engagement used by historical social movements and activists.
- Students will practice, and develop both familiarity and confidence in, strategies of active civic engagement.
- Students will be able to create actions plans of civic engagement in order to make change within a societal or communal issue.
- Students will be able to identify, describe, and analyze the historical origins and developments of specific societal problems over time.
- Students will become life-long practitioners of active civic engagement.
- Students will actively engage in the pursuit of democracy and justice (with justice as defined by the student).

These learning objectives apply to the course as a whole, but should guide practitioners of the course when planning the specifics of their day-to-day lessons. All content, examples, lessons, activities, and assessments should coordinate to further the fulfillment of these outlined goals.

While the outline of this course contains a curated set of topics and activities, instructors (and co-learners) of this course will inevitably, and undoubtedly, have to plan specific lesson activities, and may have to (but are also encouraged to) engage in customizations. A central question that one should ask when using the curriculum in instructing the course is whether activities utilized help achieve the course learning objectives. This central question will help in the planning and customizing stages for instructors. If learning objectives/educational goals and aims serve as the

overarching theme, and long term investment of the course, then detailing the content and pedagogy of the course will serve to present a clearer picture, and outline, of heart and day to day operations of the course.

Course Content and Pedagogy

The concept of what is taught, and how it is taught, in this course is vital for the success of this class as a whole. To understand the content, analyzing the name of the course is a great place to begin. The course is titled the History of American Social Movements. Within this name exists three separate descriptors, yet equally valid components. The first descriptor is “historical.” This is very much a history course. This course spends most of its time analyzing models from the past. The word history is perhaps a little misleading, or obscuring, however. History often implies long past. In colloquial speak, one does not typically refer to three days ago as history. This class does, however, exist not only in the long past, but in events that have only recently passed, to what other courses may label as current events.

The second descriptor is the word “American.” Being that this course targets increased civic engagement, and while global citizenry is important, this course spends the vast majority of its content focusing on elements of American history, with the goal of increasing civic engagement within the United States itself. With that being stated, the history that this course utilizes is limited (I mean no negative connotation with this) in scope to themes, events, and figures that have impacted the lives of the American people over the course of America’s existence.

The third descriptor is “Social Movements.” This is where the heart of the course lays. The goal of the course is to increase critical consciousness, student agency to create change, and student knowledge of the practical strategies to make change. This is not a standard history of

America course. There will be no discussion of the war of 1812 or the Puritans. This course focuses on the history of people and collective groups who have sought change in this country and have fought fervently to achieve (or attempt to achieve) that change. This is the story, analysis, and evaluation of the social movements that have shaped America. This is the examination of marginalized peoples and the ways they have sought to end such marginalization. This is the examination of the philosophies, tactics, and strategies used by those who sought to, and did, create change. In truth, the original title of this course was intended to be “The History of American Activism” or the “History of Activism in America.” I changed the title of the course to enable it to become more palatable, politically, for those who need to give this course official approval within administration. Regardless, the emphasis on this course is activism, on active civic engagement. Student agency is an essential goal. It is easier to have confidence in a task when one knows that others have come before, and succeeded. In conjunction with that notion, the emphasis of course content is not on the acquisition of knowledge of all details of historical events, but rather the philosophies, tactics, and strategies used by activists and social movements, so that students may add these concepts to their “toolbox” of civic engagement. With the combination of these descriptors and components, the official description of course content could be summarized as a history of the philosophies, tactics, and strategies of activists and social movements within the United States for the purpose of equipping students with a critical consciousness, belief in self-agency to create change, and knowledge of the strategies to do so. Content on its own, however, is rather dead, as the heart of education exists within pedagogy and the engagement of student and teacher with that content.

Course Pedagogy

Pedagogically this course is inspired largely by the philosophies of Paulo Freire and critical pedagogy. In a critical sense, the notion of truth will stand as largely subjective. This is not to suggest that all truth is subjective, as according to Biesta (2014), much of truth is objective, facts do exist, with a failure to acknowledge such objectivity being a blind spot of many critical theorists, but students must be explicitly engaged to know that within this course political truth will stand as subjective. There is no expectation that all students should acquire or reaffirm the same morals, politics, and beliefs. In this vein, students are encouraged, and required, to question all social movements and historical examples utilized in class. Disagreements are nothing more than an opportunity to learn. Pedagogically, the teacher is not a gatekeeper of truth, and while the teacher may have more insight to specific historical details than the student, teachers should be open to existing as both a teacher and learner simultaneously. The use of questions and questioning is a key strategy in helping both the students and the teacher grow and develop their critical consciousness. With that questioning, systems based thinking, or the analyzing of the intrinsic connections between societal problems and overall societal systems is a theme that will be heavily influenced in the course, as it is not only a goal of the course in and of itself, but is also necessary for developing other course goals. The concept of this critical pedagogy exists as the theoretical basis for the pedagogy of the course, but practicality is necessary. In my studies of Freire and critical pedagogy, one criticism I have always felt is that despite its powerful theory, there has always been a failure to achieve the next vital step of laying practical implementation to carry out the theory. The practical theory of this course can be summed up in three key components: analysis of historical evidence, writing and discussion, and practice of civic engagement strategies.

Being that this is a history course, the analyzing of historical evidence is a critical component to the pedagogy and engagement of students. In order to avoid the danger of the perpetuation of master narratives, or the versions of history that those in power wish to portray as a means to continue their own power (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002), the engagement of primary sources will take precedence over secondary or tertiary sources. In this sense, much of the course may involve students engaging with documents, photographs, video footage, interviews, and music from the eras of which they study. Instead of students being told about the ideas of James Baldwin, it is better for students to read the words of James Baldwin themselves. This practice not only fosters a greater understanding of historical topics, but also increases historical thinking, and avoids the danger of teachers simply transmitting their interpretations of history into students. Teachers of course are encouraged to use their expertise to guide students through their examination of primary sources, but should be up front and explicit in expressing that as human beings, they have biases and political leanings. In the day to day operation of the course, most days will involve the working with some sort of primary sources as the primary means of introducing and examining new topics. This course will also make use of secondary sources to demonstrate how other scholars and historians have made sense of past social movements, but once again, teachers will be explicit that the narratives provided by secondary sources exist as interpretations, and not necessarily truth that should be accepted. The use of primary sources for historical analysis will then naturally lead to the next aspect of the pedagogy of the course, which is writing and discussion.

All beings are political beings, and thus all students may interpret historical evidence differently. It is the differences in these perspectives that offer a tremendous opportunity for learning and growth. Following primary source analysis, a discussion of those primary sources

will most typically follow. Discussing the primary sources gives all class participants an opportunity to learn, flesh out ideas, and develop the skill of vocalizing coherent thought. In a perfect setting, smaller class sizes would be most conducive to this discussion-based course, but larger or typically sized classes can also be successful. Discussion is such a valuable tool. Its unpredictability is challenging yet exciting. Students learn how to defend their ideas, think out loud, and develop a respect for others. The concept of being able to respectfully disagree with others is skill that too many lack, to the detriment of their beliefs or causes. Discussion also will be coupled with writing. Writing, and the ability to clearly express and defend an idea is a skill of civic engagement that holds the great potential to create change. Taking that into account, most classes should focus on giving students opportunities to either discuss issues and topics, or practice writing about issues and topics. The writing does not exist for the sake of pure writing; it exists as one of the tools of civic engagement, with civic engagement being the purpose of the course. As civic engagement is the explicit purpose of this course, the final main component of class pedagogy is the practice of civic engagement strategies.

In order to help students develop belief in their agency to make change, and the knowledge of how to make change, this course will give ample practice in strategies of civic engagement. Theory and practice must be united, and it is for this reason that practice of legitimate and historical strategies should happen quite frequently. The types of strategies practiced will vary, but will largely relate to topics covered in class. For example, if the topic of the day is climate change activism, students may practice organizing a “school walkout” and then developing the social media campaign to advertise that walkout. Because the class must exist within the political parameters of what a school district will allow, much of the strategies practiced will be practice, or theoretical (it is highly unlikely the school district would condone

the carrying out of an actual school walkout). That does not mean, however, that all strategies will be theoretical. Largely “innocuous” tactics such as writing to a congressperson or planning, and implementing, a voter registration drive can be very real. Depending on the school district, and what is permitted, many more of the class strategies could become “real.” This falls again with the theme of customization of the course. Strategies of civic engagement should be practiced frequently, whether they exist as pure practice or genuine, in the moment, active civic engagement. A necessary goal of the course is that students know how to implement strategies of civic engagement. Knowledge of the models of historical civic engagement is important, but not as important as students’ ability to become genuine active citizens. With that, the lesson activities, or the opportunities to practice civic engagement should typically be viewed as more important than the content, and thus should take precedence. Teachers should customize the course to allow enough time for meaningful completion of civic engagement activities, whether they be ones I have suggested in the course outline, or ones crafted by teachers and students. Therefore, in terms of practical pedagogy, and day-to-day operations of the class, many days may combine all three of the major pedagogical components. The order of a day may look as follows: introduction of a topic, analysis of primary sources, discussion of sources, and then practice of a skill of civic engagement related to that topic. If students require more time for civic engagement activities than one day, teachers should not be afraid to allow students the time for completion of those activities, before moving on to the next topic, and then making the necessary cuts. In order to facilitate the successful implementation of course goals, content, and pedagogy, proper organization of such content is an element of structure that can make or break a course, and thus is necessary to take with careful consideration. The following section details the

organization of course content, as well as the assessments of the course, and assumptions about the learners of this course.

Organization of Content

The organization of a social studies curriculum can prove to be a challenge, as many possible choices for organization exist. In terms of organization of a course, according to Posner (1995), three basic families of structures exist: the top-down approach, the bottom-up approach, or the project approach. Through a social studies context, the top-down approach could be represented in structuring a course around key themes, the bottom-up approach may organize content chronologically in history, and the project based may center the entire course on central activities or projects. This course exists in many ways as a hybrid, but specifically between the top-down approach, and the project approach.

Hybrid Approach to Organization

In the structure of the top-down approach to curricular organization, this course is not based on chronology of history, but on six (6) major themes of social movements that have occurred throughout the history of the United States. While some may see history as better organized through a linear approach to time, with chronological order being the preeminent source of organization, in the study of social movements, chronological order may serve as disruptive. Social movements in the United States have not “taken turns,” meaning that most have existed in one way or another simultaneously with other movements. To organize this course chronologically would require students to juggle multiple balls in the air at once. What I mean by this, is that going chronologically would require students to analyze aspects of movements such as the civil rights movements, women’s rights, and LGBTQ+ rights all at the same time. There also could be a disruptive “start-stop” component, where aspects of one

movement would be studied, but then fade into a more dormant era of history, then to resurface later. This could be exceptionally confusing in trying to track to history, growth, change, and overall impact of various movements. In order to avoid these perils, this course is organized into six (6) key themes of social movements within the United States. These six (6) thematic units exist as follows:

1. Freedom, Liberty, & Independence
2. Peace, Anti-War, & Anti-Violence
3. Class, Labor, & Populism
4. Racial Justice
5. Women's Rights, Gender Equality, & LGBTQ+ Rights
6. Eco-Justice, Sustainability, & the Green Movement

Each unit represents a key theme that has encompassed the major social movements throughout the history of the United States. Within each unit, topics are then organized in a chronological fashion in history. This enables learners to more easily track the overall origins, growth, change, and impacts of each movement in a more concentrated fashion. Within each unit, topics that demonstrate specific examples of movements within those themes are highlighted, with the emphasis being on the philosophies, tactics, and strategies of those topic subjects. Each unit also has a host of meaningful vocabulary, readings and resources, and activities in which students will practice strategies of active civic engagement. This course requires no official textbook, as to avoid dependence on secondary source interpretations on history. Being that this course is a history of activism and social movements, and explicitly has a critical political foundation, possible texts to use (if one wishes or is required to have a textbook) could stand as *A People's History of the United States* by Howard Zinn, or the primary source collections of *Voices of a People's History of the United States* by Howard Zinn and Anthony Arnove, or *Dissent in America: Voices that Shaped a Nation* by Ralph Young. *Voices of a People's History* may serve

as especially useful, as many of the readings and sources listed in the course outline come from that primary source anthology. If attaining that book is not possible, either for the educator to make copies, or for the school to get books for every student, most of the primary sources can be found online on various sites, or on the websites, <http://www.historyisaweapon.com> and <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/>.

The order of the six units is neither linear nor discrete. According to Posner (1995), linear implies that the order is completely fixed, with each unit's study being a requirement to move on to the next unit of study, while discrete denotes that each unit is isolated unto itself with no prerequisite knowledge or skills needed to succeed within the unit. These units are neither linear nor discrete because a rearranging of units is theoretically possible with little impact on the overall success of the course (which implies a discrete nature), but I would argue that some units, but not all, are best suited to exist prior to others (the unit on class has concepts which add clarity to the unit on race, thus having a linear quality). In the actual lessons and teaching of the units, a convergent structure of instruction is utilized, where multiple strategies are used simultaneously to achieve success of acquisition of learning objectives. This takes the form of the previously discussed combination of primary source analysis, discussion, and practice of civic engagement strategies.

Unit Assessments

Like most curricular units in schools, each unit ends with a unit assessment. These unit assessments are not tests where students are required to recall memorized information without assistance, however. These assessments are writing assignments. Each unit assessment is essentially the same, only the topics are different. The specific outline may be found in the appendix, but the overall description of the assessment is as follows. At the end of each unit,

students will choose one group, or potentially a person, within a social movement contained within the unit. For example, in the unit on racial justice, a student may choose the Black Panther Party. Once a topic is chosen, students must write about the following elements of that topic:

- Philosophy of the group
- Problem targeted by the group
- End goal of the group
- Evaluation of the strategies utilized by the group
- Opposition faced by the group
- Evaluation of the success and/or failure of the group
- Evaluation and analysis of the impact of that group on America

These writing assignments are given in advance, and are not intended to be “test day essay questions.” The evaluation element is crucial. The entire course is largely an evaluation of civic engagement strategies, so these assessments are less about demonstrating students have knowledge about a particular movement, and are more an opportunity for students to reflect and establish a belief on specific civic engagement strategies. It is these six (6) unit assessments that then prepare students for, and lead to, the final culminating project of the course.

Final Project of the Course

The final project is the grand show. This is where the project approach to curriculum organization comes into play. All lessons, readings, activities, and experiences are designed to lead to this culminating project. This project is where students have the opportunity to demonstrate their critical consciousness and systems-based problem solving. This project is where students have the opportunity to focus on their passions, their creativity, and the philosophies to which they are drawn. Like with the unit assessments, the most specific details of the project can be found in the appendix, but the overall project takes the following form. In this

project, students will first choose a problem, issue, or cause that is of concern or of passion to them. This cause may be local, state, national, or (although much more challenging) international. Keeping with the ideals of critical pedagogy, there is genuine choice within this project, project options are not to simply be choices that coincide with the instructor's, or my, politics. There are some ground rules, such as an avoidance of hate or calls for violence, but the presence of a project that stands in opposition to an instructor's political beliefs is of no concern. A student could choose the issue of gun control, but take the perspective that the United States needs even looser gun laws. Such a notion is in complete opposition to my own politics, but under the philosophy, inspired by Freire (2000), that every students should be free of impositions of morals and politics by teachers, students should have the freedom to pursue the topics they choose. The project will then take the form of a written paper, and a presentation. To accommodate the size and scope of this project, it's assigning and explanation should occur at the very beginning of the course, with the earlier the better. Beginning earlier can ensure enough time for support, modeling, and work shopping of the final project. Once students choose a topic for their paper and presentation, the issues of their choice, they must write about the following elements:

- Explanation of the student's chosen issue, describing how it exists today, and why this issue is in fact an issue.
- Analysis and theory as to the causes of this issue and how this issue has existed and changed throughout the history of the United States.
- Explanation and evaluation of how previous activists and groups have attempted to solve this issue, citing their progress, challenges, philosophies, tactics, and impacts.

With students writing this prelude, which fully elaborates onto their chosen topic, students will then move on to the most important element, their action plan. Ideally, all previous activities will prepare students for this creative component. In this action plan, students will create a strategy

for the following (note, all strategies must be as specific as possible, and must be realistically within reason):

- Explanation and defense of a solution or alternative to the student's topic including the student's driving philosophy.
- A specific plan for how to create public consciousness and support for the student's topic, with emphasis on specific strategies and tactics.
- Specific plans of action of how to actually implement the change that the student seeks within the topic.
- An examination and evaluation of the types of obstacles, barriers, and opposition the student would face in attempting to carry out such a plan, making sure to elaborate on possible risks and consequences.

The idea behind this project is to give students the opportunity to fully explore their interests, to use their critical consciousness to discover or delve deeper into an issue, and to create the actual blueprints to create change. Will every student make good on their blueprint and actually pursue the journey of creating change? The answer is probably not, but with a plan in place, and with students discovering they have the ability to make a plan, with great confidence we can predict that many students will unlock their potential for lifelong active civic engagement. This course has many lofty goals, and contains an organized curriculum, but this course may have a hard time existing as an island, so to speak. As such, there are several assumptions regarding the learner that this course takes into consideration, and while they are not insurmountable, the course will require customization if these assumptions turn out to be just that, assumptions.

Assumptions Regarding the Learner

Ideally, this course will be geared toward upper class students, that is students in their later years of high school. This is not to imply that younger students would be incapable to succeeding at this course, this is only to imply that the more background knowledge students

possess, the better they will succeed in this course. As this course jumps around American history, it does assume that students have had exposure to American history prior to taking this course, perhaps through a more traditional styled class. Being that the knowledge of history is not the absolute goal of this class, a vast understanding of American history prior to taking the course is not necessary, but a solid foundation certainly will place the student in a better footing, and will allow the teacher to go into further detail on class topics without having to backtrack with explanations. As well, pertaining to upper class students, it is assumed that students possess an experience and exposure to writing and research techniques. Ideally, students will have had practice with research writing assignments in the past. If students are coming in without such experience, or a very limited experience, timing of the class may require customization to allow for more time for the practicing of writing and research. Being that this course is designed to be customized, such customizations to make up for possible deficits are not a hindrance to the success of the overall course. Lastly, this course is being proposed more as an elective. This proposal of an elective exists for two key reasons. The first is that in my current school district, the traditional American history course is irreplaceable, but the call for new electives in the social studies department exists in high demand. The second reason is that this course is highly political, active, and to be honest, intensive. This course would be best if it were taken by students in full knowledge of what the course entails and are open minded to course offering. If this course becomes mandatory in your school, and thus is filled with many students who may not want to take such course, clearly the teacher must do more work on the front end of the course to “sell” the course to students. Each of these assumptions may seem like daunting prerequisites, but with the appropriate tailoring, none of these assumptions genuinely exist as actual prerequisites. Much has been said so far of this course’s customization, but also of this

course's suggested topics and activities. It is in the next section that one will find the suggested curricular map, complete with topics, vocabulary, readings, resources, and activities.

Curriculum Map of Topics, Vocabulary, Activities, Readings, and Assessments

The following charts demonstrate the six (6) main units covered in this course, the History of American Social Movements. In each chart is detailed the topic of each day, the vocabulary, and the suggested reading, resource, or activity. It is imperative to emphasize once again that this curriculum is designed to be flexible, with activities and readings being suggestions rather than mandates. Especially readings, as some topics may contain suggestions for multiple readings, with time being non-permitting for the reading of all, should be taken as suggestions. As well in terms of readings, with respect towards teacher professionalism, each educator should be able to decide what readings are appropriate, considering student reading level, interest, background, and of course, taking into account the political ramifications. Despite each day containing suggested readings, it is perhaps also recommended that not every day have a physical reading, as to avoid student burnout toward the subject and process. As the process, and culminating project is more important than the knowledge of content itself, substitutions and variations of timing and topics are encouraged, as each class is different, and different student bodies may benefit with differing topics and emphases. All readings or activities are also suggestions, and are by no means fixed “deal breakers.” Within the curriculum charts, any activities or assessments included in the appendix are followed with the acronym “S.A.” to denote their location within the appendix for greater detail and examples.

Unit 1: Freedom, Liberty, & Independence

Topic	Vocabulary	Readings, Activities, or Assessments
Pre-Revolutionary Protests & The Sons of Liberty	Sons of Liberty Civil Unrest “No Taxation Without Representation”	“George Hewes Recalls the Boston Tea Party” by George Hewes (1834)
<i>Common Sense</i> and Calls for Independence	Common Sense	<i>Common Sense</i> by Thomas Paine
The Declaration of Independence	The Declaration of Independence Grievances Natural Rights	<i>The Declaration of Independence</i> by Thomas Jefferson Activity: Creating a student declaration of rights, school ideals, and grievances with presentation to administration (S.A.)
The American Revolution	Bourgeois Revolution	<i>A People’s History of the United States</i> Chapter. 4 by Howard Zinn
Patriot Motivations	Patriot Loyalist	<i>The Summer Soldier and the Sunshine Patriot</i> by Thomas Paine <i>A Narrative of Some of the Adventures, Dangers and Sufferings of a Revolutionary Soldier</i> by Joseph Plumb Martin (1830) Activity: Writing a persuasive argument for a call to Patriotism or Loyalism
Early American Rebellions: Shay’s Rebellion, Fries Rebellion, & The Whiskey Rebellion	Shay’s Rebellion Militia	Stanford History Education Group Reading Like a Historian Activity on Shay’s Rebellion https://sheg.stanford.edu/history-lessons/shays-rebellion
Evaluating the Constitution	Popular Sovereignty Constitution	The Preamble of the Constitution Activity: Evaluating the success or failure of the goals laid out in the preamble of the Constitution. Evaluating the need for activism. Evaluating/proposing the need for new goals of the Constitution.
The Bill of Rights	The Bill of Rights	The Bill of Rights Activity: Proposing, defending, and creating a plan to gather public support for a new constitutional amendment

Federalists vs. Anti-Federalists	Federalism	<i>Federalist Paper No. 51</i> by Publius Activity: Federalist vs. Anti-Federalist Structured Debate
Unit 1: Social Movement Evaluation (S.A.)		

Unit 2: Peace, Anti-War, and Anti-Violence		
Topic	Vocabulary/Terms	Readings, Activities, or Assessments
Henry David Thoreau & Civil Disobedience	Henry David Thoreau Civil Disobedience Slavery Mexican-American War	<i>Civil Disobedience</i> by Henry David Thoreau (1849) Activity: Reflecting on current laws where civil disobedience might apply, and evaluating one’s own ability and readiness to participate in civil disobedience
Anti-Imperialism & Mark Twain	Imperialism White Man’s Burden Critical Race Theory Mark Twain	“The White Man’s Burden” by Rudyard Kipling (1899) “The War Prayer” by Mark Twain (1905) “March of the Flag” by Albert Beveridge (1898) Activity: Creating a group made anti-imperialist “zine” featuring factual, editorial, and artistic components.
Opposition to the War in the Philippines	Philippine-American War	“Comments on the Moro Massacre” by Mark Twain “Republic or Empire: The Philippine Question” by William Jennings Bryan

		<p>“Smoked Yankees” and the Struggle for Empire: Letters from Negro Soldiers” by Willard B. Gatewood pgs. 279-81.</p>
Black Americans’ opposition to Imperialism	<p>“Hyphenated-American”</p>	<p>“The Duty of Colored Citizens to Their Country” Daniel A.P. Murray (1898)</p> <p>“Letter to the <i>American Citizen</i>” by Lewis Douglass</p> <p>“The Negro Should Not Enter the Army” By the Missionary Department of the Atlanta, Georgia A.M.E. Church May 1, 1899</p>
Eugene V. Debs, Charles Schenck, and Opposition to World War I	<p>World War I</p> <p>Socialism</p> <p>Conscription</p> <p>Free Speech</p> <p>Precedent</p> <p>Schenck vs. United States</p>	<p>“Canton, Ohio Speech” by Eugene V. Debs</p> <p>“Statement to the Court” by Eugene V. Debs</p> <p>“Schenck’s Pamphlet” by Charles Schenck</p> <p>Activity: Writing a newspaper/website editorial about the guilt or innocence of Debs and/or Schenck</p>
Alternative Perspectives on World War II	<p>World War II</p> <p>Fascism</p> <p>Military Industrial Complex</p>	<p>“Admiral Gene Larocque Speaks to Studs Terkel About ‘The Good War’” by Studs Terkel in “<i>The Good War: An Oral History of World War II</i> (1984)</p> <p>“Precision Bombing Will Win the War” by Paul Fussell in <i>Wartime: Understanding and Behavior in the Second World War</i> (1989) pgs. 13 – 16.</p>
Counterculture Movement	<p>Counterculture</p> <p>Materialism</p> <p>Social Constructs</p>	<p>“America” by Allen Ginsberg</p> <p>Clips from the PBS American Experience film <i>Summer of Love</i></p>
Counterculture Music	<p>Woodstock</p> <p>Symbolism</p>	<p>“Masters of War” by Bob Dylan</p> <p>“Star Spangled Banner” as performed by Jimi Hendrix</p>

		<p>“Ohio” by Crosby, Stills, Nash, & Young</p> <p>“Bring Em’ Home” by Pete Seeger</p> <p>“Backlash Blues” by Nina Simone</p> <p>“Fortunate Son” by Creedence Clearwater Revival</p> <p>“Give Peace a Chance” by John Lennon</p> <p>"I-Feel-Like-I'm-Fixin'-To-Die Rag." By Country Joe and the Fish</p> <p>Activity: Finding modern examples of protest music, then analyzing their messages, and theorizing as to their impact.</p>
<p>Anti-Draft, Anti-Vietnam Movement</p>	<p>Vietnam War Draft Dodger Pacifism</p>	<p>“Position Paper on Vietnam” by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee</p> <p><i>The Village of Ben Suc</i> by Jonathan Schell (1967) pgs. 122-130, 131-132.</p> <p>“They Were Butchering People” by Larry Coburn (2003).</p> <p>"To Draft Board 1" by Kurt Vonnegut, Jr. (1967)</p> <p>Activity: Designing a Protest (S.A.)</p>

Black Resistance to Vietnam	Muhammad Ali Conscientious Objection Martin Luther King Jr.	<p>“Muhammad Ali Speaks Out Against the Vietnam War” by Muhammad Ali (1966)</p> <p>“Beyond Vietnam” by Martin Luther King Jr. (1967)</p> <p>“Petition Against the War in Vietnam” by the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, McComb, Mississippi (1966)</p> <p>Activity: Writing a Petition</p>
Alternative Perspectives on the War on Terror	9/11 War on Terror	<p>“Resolution Against the War” by the International Brotherhood of Teamsters Local 705</p> <p>“Not in Our Son’s Name” by Orlando Rodriguez and Phyllis Rodriguez</p> <p>“To Avoid Another September 11, U.S. Must Join the World” by Rita Lasar</p> <p>Activity: Creating a lesson plan to teach young people today about 9/11 and the War on Terror</p>
Gun Control Student Movement	Gun Control Parkland Florida School Shooting NRA	<p>“Kids Rock” by Susan Milligan (2018) <i>U.S. News – The Report</i></p> <p>Activity: Writing to a Congressperson about gun control</p>
Unit 2: Social Movements Evaluation		

Unit 3: Class, Labor, & Populism

Topic	Vocabulary	Readings, Activities, or Assessments
Capitalism & Marxism	Capitalism Adam Smith Karl Marx Marxism Neoliberalism	Excerpts: <i>The Communist Manifesto</i> by Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels <i>Looking Backward: 2000 – 1887</i> by Edward Bellamy (1888) pgs. 67 – 70 Activity: Envisioning and Designing the Future
Labor Unions	Labor Unions Collective Bargaining Solidarity Labor Strike Slow Down	“There is Power in a Union” song by Billy Bragg “Proclamation of the Striking Textile Workers of Lawrence” delivered 1912 Activity: Creating a student union, and union demands (S.A.)
Gilded Age Strikes! Pullman & Homestead	The Gilded Age Eugene V. Debs Pullman Strike Homestead Strike Pinkertons	“Statement from the Pullman Strikers” Address given June 15, 1894 Activity: Practice negotiating with management
Haymarket Riots	The Haymarket Riots May Day	“Address of August Spies” by August Spies Activity: Using historical evidence to debate if anarchism is a dangerous philosophy https://sheg.stanford.edu/history-lessons/albert-parsons-sac
Henry George & the Distribution of Wealth	Henry George Class Warfare Distribution of Wealth	“The Crime of Poverty” by Henry George (1885)
Mary Elizabeth Lease & the Populist/People’s Party	Populism Political Party The Populist Party Mary Elizabeth Lease Grassroots	“Wall Street Owns the Country” by Mary Elizabeth Lease (circa 1890) Activity: Creating a political party and party platform
Coxey’s March on Washington	Jacob Coxey Economic Depression Protest March Censorship	Clips from the PBS American Experience Film <i>The Gilded Age</i> Activity: Speech writing for Jacob

		Coxey, a practice in oratory (S.A.)
Election of 1896	William Jennings Bryan Political Coalition Third Party Political Campaign	“Cross of Gold” by William Jennings Bryan (1896) Activity: Organizing an election campaign for the previously made political party
The Writings of Emma Goldman	Emma Goldman Anarchism	“The Child and Its Enemies” by Emma Goldman (1906) “Patriotism: A Menace to Liberty” by Emma Goldman (1908)
Political Dissenters in the Early 20 th Century	Jane Addams Hull House Mother Jones Socialists Wobblies	“Agitation – The Greatest Factor for Progress” by Mother Jones (1903) “Address to the Jury” by Arturo Giovannitti (Nov. 23, 1912)
Progressive Reformers	Progressivism Reform Muckrakers	<i>The Jungle</i> by Upton Sinclair Activity: Gathering images as evidence of social issues, creating an expose (S.A.)
The Trial of Sacco & Vanzetti	Political Dissenter Xenophobia	“You Souls of Boston” by Woody Guthrie
Communism in the Great Depression	Communist Party Great Depression Crisis of Capital	“The Election Platform of the Communist Party, 1936”
Communists & the Scottsboro Boys	The Scottsboro Boys	“I Remember the Scottsboro Defense” by Mary Licht (1997)
Martin Luther King’s Critique on Capitalism	Public vs. Private Enclosure	“Where Do We Go from Here” by Martin Luther King Jr. (1967)
Cesar Chavez & Farm Workers Movement	Cesar Chavez United Farm Workers	“Address to the Commonwealth Club of California” by Cesar Chavez (1984) Activity: Designing an advertising campaign to raise awareness towards an issue
Occupy Wall Street	Occupy Wall Street	http://occupywallst.org/ Activity: Judging the clarity, effectiveness, and message of the Occupy Wall Street official website
Teacher’s Strikes	Mediation Negotiation Public Support Public Image	“As the Strike Approached in Chicago, Teachers Taught Labor” by Jack Crosbie, (2019) <i>The Atlantic</i>

Calls for Democratic Socialism & the New Left	Democratic Socialism The New Left	Activity: Gathering public support for politically bold proposals- Creating a Social Media Campaign
Unit 3: Social Movements Evaluation		

Unit 4: Racial Justice		
Topic	Vocabulary	Readings, Activities, or Assessments
The Abolitionist Movement	Abolitionism Chattel John Brown	<i>Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World</i> by David Walker (1830) “John Brown’s Last Speech” by John Brown (1859)
The Writings of Frederick Douglass	Frederick Douglass Demand Concede	“If there is no struggle, there is no progress” speech, by Frederick Douglass (1857) https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/1857-frederick-douglass-if-there-no-struggle-there-no-progress/
Slave Resistance and Rebellion	Stono Rebellion Gabriel’s Conspiracy Nat Turner Creole Case (1841)	Clips from <i>Many Rivers to Cross</i> Episode 2: The Age of Slavery <i>The Confessions of Nat Turner</i> by Thomas R. Gray and Nat Turner
Ida B. Wells & the Anti-Lynching Movement	Lynching Ida B. Wells	“Lynch Law” by Ida B. Wells-Barnett (1893) Activity: Proposing a Bill/Law
Booker T. Washington, W.E.B DuBois, & the NAACP	Segregation Jim Crow Booker T. Washington W.E.B. DuBois NAACP Tuskegee Institute	“The Talented Tenth” by W.E.B. DuBois (1903) Activity: Structured debate between Booker T. Washington & W.E.B DuBois. Practicing criticizing and defending an argument.
Chicago Race Riots of 1919 and the “Red Summer”	Riot Defacto segregation	Activity: Determining the cause of the 1919 Race Riots, and then evaluating and debating the merits of rioting. Stanford History Education Group, Reading Like a Historian Activity. https://sheg.stanford.edu/history-lessons/chicago-race-riots-1919
Marcus Garvey &	Marcus Garvey	“A Place in the Sun” by Marcus Garvey (1920)

Pan-Africanism	Pan-Africanism Nationalism	<p>“Africa for the Africans” by Marcus Garvey (1922)</p> <p>Activity: Choosing a belief, and writing a defense of your ideas to your critics</p>
Langston Hughes and Harlem Renaissance Resistance Poetry	Hypocrisy Art as Protest	<p>“If We Must Die” by Claude McKay</p> <p>“I, Too” by Langston Hughes</p> <p>“Let America Be America Again” by Langston Hughes</p> <p>Activity: Create an original poem using “race in America” as the theme.</p>
Battles for Education & Integration	Separate But Equal Integration Litigation	<p>“Original Fables of Faubus” song by Charles Mingus</p> <p>Activity: Crafting a succinct, quick, Supreme Court argument, and defending that argument from questions</p>
Montgomery Bus Boycott	Boycott Montgomery Bus Boycott Visibility Claudette Colvin Rosa Parks	<p>Activity: Debating the importance of “image” in the success of a social movement</p> <p>Article: “Claudette Colvin: The 15-year-old who came before Rosa Parks” by Taylor-Dior Rumble (2018) https://www.bbc.com/news/stories-43171799</p> <p>Activity: Planning a boycott</p>
The Birmingham Campaign	SCLC Nonviolent Resistance White Consciousness Public Pressure	<p>“Letter from a Birmingham Jail” by Martin Luther King Jr. (1963)</p>
SNCC	SNCC Sit-Ins Freedom Rides	<p>“Letter from Mississippi Freedom Summer” by Martha Honey (1964)</p> <p><i>Freedom Riders</i> PBS American Experience film by Stanley Nelson</p>
Selma	Selma	<p>Excerpts of <i>March</i> by John Lewis, Andrew Aydin, and Nate Powell (2015)</p> <p>Activity: Creating “children’s literature” to explain an idea, problem, or historical element to young people</p>
The Writings of James Baldwin	James Baldwin	<p>“A Talk to Teachers” by James Baldwin (1963)</p> <p>Activity: Writing a letter to your teachers</p>
Malcolm X	Black Consciousness Nation of Islam Self-Defense Black Nationalism	<p>“A Message to the Grassroots” by Malcolm X (1963)</p> <p>“The Ballot or the Bullet” by Malcolm X (1964)</p>
Stokely	Stokely	<p>“Black Power” Speech by Stokely Carmichael (Oct. 29, 1966)</p>

Carmichael & Black Power	Carmichael Black Power	
Police Brutality & The Watts Riots	Watts Riots Police Brutality	Watts Riots Reporting by the L.A. Times, archived issues: https://documents.latimes.com/1965-watts-riots/
The Black Panther Party	The Black Panther Party Militant	“What We Want-What We Believe” A copy of the Black Panther Party Platform and Program, (1966). http://www.historyisaweapon.com/defcon1/bpp.html Black Panther Party Education Film: “Oakland Community Learning Center.” https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9dYsjDqUdr0
Hip-Hop as an Art Form of Resistance	Hip-Hop	“Fight the Power” by Public Enemy “Changes” by 2Pac (Tupac Shakur) “Revolution” by Arrested Development “Message” by Grandmaster Flash & the Furious Five “Sound of Da Police” by KRS-One
Black Lives Matter	Black Lives Matter	https://blacklivesmatter.com/ Activity: Designing a non-profit organization
Mexican Immigration & the Zoot Suit Riots	Zoot Suit Riots	“Zoot Suit Riots: After 75 years, L.A. Looks Back on a Violent Summer” by Marisa Gerber, <i>The Los Angeles Times</i> https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-zoot-suit-riots-anniversary-20180604-story.html PBS American Experience Film: <i>Zoot Suit Riots</i>
The Chicano Blowouts	Chicano Blowouts	“‘Be Down With the Brown!’” by Elizabeth Martinez (1998)
Modern Latinx Immigration	Alien Dreamers MAGA	“Meet 16 activists at the front lines of immigration reform” by Alicia Maule, MSNBC News http://www.msnbc.com/msnbc/meet-16-activists-the-front-lines-immigration-reform#slide1 Activity: Researching & Sharing the strategies, organizations, and efforts of current day immigration activists
Unit 4: Social Movement Evaluation		

Unit 5: Women’s Rights, Gender Equality, & LGBTQ+ Rights

Topic	Vocabulary	Readings, Activities, or Assessments
Feminist Theory Crash Course	Feminism	“The waves of feminism, and why people keep fighting over them, explained” by Constance Grady (2018), <i>Vox</i> https://www.vox.com/2018/3/20/16955588/feminism-waves-explained-first-second-third-fourth
The Seneca Falls Convention & Early Women’s Rights Movements	Seneca Falls Convention Elizabeth Cady Stanton	“Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions” by Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1848) “Ain’t I a Woman?” by Sojourner Truth (1851)
The Women’s Suffrage Movement	Women’s Suffrage Suffragette Susan B. Anthony The 19th Amendment	<i>The United States of America vs. Susan B. Anthony</i> , “Susan B. Anthony Addresses Judge Ward Hunt,” (June 19, 1873). Activity: Organizing/planning a voter registration drive
The Temperance Movement	Temperance Movement Carrie Nation	“Attacking saloons with a hatchet, Carry Nation helped get America into rehab 100 years ago” by Petula Dvorak (2019), <i>The Washington Post</i> https://www.washingtonpost.com/history/2019/01/16/attacking-saloons-with-hatchet-carry-nation-helped-get-america-into-rehab-years-ago/
Birth Control & Margaret Sanger	Birth Control Autonomy Margaret Sanger	“The Case for Birth Control” by Margaret Sanger (1924) “Abortion is a Woman’s Right” by Susan Brownmiller (1999) <i>Of Woman Born</i> , by Adrienne Rich (1977), afterward pp. 281-286 Activity: Writing to a congressperson about funding for Planned Parenthood OR Activity: Planning/organizing a fundraiser for a cause (planned parenthood is an example that relates to the topic of the day, but students may choose any organization. Political autonomy must be respected).
Betty Friedan & <i>The Feminine Mystique</i>	Betty Freidan Cult of Domesticity	Excerpts of <i>The Feminine Mystique</i> by Betty Friedan (1963) Activity: Evaluating the stage of women’s progress today. What are the end goals, and how far away are women from achieving those goals?
The Women’s Lib	Women’s Liberation	“Sex and Caste: A Kind of Memo” by Casey Hayden and Mary King (1965)

Movement	Movement	<p>http://www.historyisaweapon.com/defcon1/sexcaste.html</p> <p>“Redstockings Manifesto” by Redstockings (1969) http://www.historyisaweapon.com/defcon1/redstockingsmanifesto.html</p> <p>“The Low Road” from <i>The Moon is Always Female</i> by Marge Piercy (1980)</p> <p>Activity: Designing and creating a women’s liberation poster, t-shirt, sticker, or other publically displayed visual.</p>
The Equal Rights Amendment	Equal Rights Amendment Gender Gap	<p>“The Need for the Equal Rights Amendment” by Ruth Bader Ginsberg (1973) https://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/the-need-for-the-equal-rights-amendment/</p>
Voices of Women of Color	Intersectionality	<p>“Who Will Revere the Black Woman?” by Abbey Lincoln, <i>Negro Digest</i>, September 1966, Vol. 15, no. 11.</p> <p>“The Intersectionality Wars” by Jane Coaston (2019) https://www.vox.com/the-highlight/2019/5/20/18542843/intersectionality-conservatism-law-race-gender-discrimination</p>
The Women’s Marches	The Women’s Movement	<p>“These 6 women went to the Women's March. Here's what happened after they went home.” By Alia E. Dastagir, <i>USA Today</i> https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2018/01/18/these-6-women-went-womens-march-heres-what-happened-after-they-went-home/1037073001/</p> <p>“Women’s March 2018: Protesters Take to the Streets for the Second Straight Year” by <i>The New York Times</i> (no listed author). https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/20/us/womens-march.html</p> <p>Activity: Planning a march</p>
The Me Too Movement	Me Too Movement Rape Culture	<p>The Me Too Movement https://metoomvmt.org/</p> <p>“7 positive changes that have come from the #MeToo movement” by Anna North, <i>Vox</i> https://www.vox.com/identities/2019/10/4/20852639/me-too-movement-sexual-harassment-law-2019</p> <p>“The #MeToo Moment: The Year in Gender” by Jessica Bennett, <i>The New York Times</i> https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/30/us/the-metoo-moment-the-year-in-gender.html</p>
The Stonewall	Marsha P. Johnson	<p>“1969” from <i>Stonewall</i> by Martin Duberman</p>

Rebellion	Stonewall Rebellion	Activity: Designing and proposing a memorial to dedicate the Stonewall Rebellion or other event/person/theme from the class
Early Gay Rights Activism	Harvey Milk LGBTQ+ Heteronormative Culture	<p>“The ‘Hope’ Speech” by Harvey Milk (1978)</p> <p>“The Women’s Liberation and Gay Liberation Movements” by Huey Newton (1970)</p> <p>“Refugees from Amerika: A Gay Manifesto” by Carl Wittman (1970)</p>
Modern LGBTQ+ Activism	Pride Obergefell vs. Hodges	<p>“The First New York Pride March Was an Act of ‘Desperate Courage’” by Andrew Solomon (2019), <i>The New York Times</i> https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/27/nyregion/pride-parade-first-new-york-lgbtq.html</p> <p>Activity: Working with school GSA or other LGBTQ+ group (if existing) to create a school project to support LGBTQ+ students</p>
Trans Rights	Gender Spectrum Identity Politics Representation Queer Theory	<p>“How the Trans-Rights Movement Is Turning Philosophers Into Activists” by Holly Lawford-Smith (2019), <i>Quillette</i> https://quillette.com/2019/09/20/how-the-trans-rights-movement-is-turning-academic-philosophers-into-sloganeering-activists/</p> <p>“52 Things You Can Do for Transgender Equality” by The National Center for Transgender Equality https://transequality.org/issues/resources/52-things-you-can-do-transgender-equality#52</p> <p>Activity: Drafting a school board proposal for the creation of gender-neutral bathrooms, or other project to create a greater inclusion for trans, non-binary, and gender fluid students.</p>
Unit 5: Social Movement Evaluation		

Unit 6: Eco-Justice, Sustainability, & the Green Movement

Topic	Vocabulary	Readings, Activities, or Assessments
The History of Natural History & Progressive Era Naturalists	Natural History Naturalists Conservation	<p>Conservation Timeline 1901-2000 https://www.nps.gov/mabi/learn/historyculture/conservation-timeline-1901-2000.htm</p> <p>Selected Passages by John Muir https://vault.sierraclub.org/john_muir_exhibit/writings/selected.aspx</p>
<i>Silent Spring</i>	<i>Silent Spring</i>	<i>Silent Spring</i> by Rachel Carson
The Anti-Pollution Movement 1960s & 1970s	Eco-Movement The EPA	<p>“Here’s Why the Environmental Protection Agency Was Created” by Lily Rothman, <i>Time Magazine</i> https://time.com/4696104/environmental-protection-agency-1970-history/</p>

		<p>Activity: Creating and administering a school wide survey about current student knowledge on environmental issues</p>
Sustainability Movement, Systems Thinking, and Radical Environmentalists	<p>Climate Change Systems Thinking Radical Environmentalism</p>	<p>“Forget Shorter Showers” by Derrick Jensen, <i>Orion Magazine</i> https://orionmagazine.org/article/forget-shorter-showers/</p> <p>“To Live or Not to Live” by Derrick Jensen, <i>Orion Magazine</i> https://orionmagazine.org/article/to-live-or-not-to-live/</p> <p>“Self-Evident Truths” by Derrick Jensen, <i>Orion Magazine</i> https://orionmagazine.org/article/self-evident-truths/</p> <p>“World at Gunpoint” by Derrick Jensen, <i>Orion Magazine</i> https://orionmagazine.org/article/world-at-gunpoint/</p> <p>Activity: Creating and distributing an informative pamphlet on a current ecological/environmental issue</p>
Young People & Climate Change Activism	<p>Climate Strikes</p>	<p>“Protesting Climate Change, Young People Take to Streets in a Global Strike” by Somini Sengupta, <i>The New York Times</i> https://www.nytimes.com/2019/09/20/climate/global-climate-strike.html</p> <p>“15 youth climate activists you should be following on social media” by Isabel Schnaidt and Inma Galvez-Shorts, Earthday.org https://www.earthday.org/2019/06/14/15-youth-climate-activists-you-should-be-following-on-social-media/</p> <p>Activity: Drafting a school board proposal for a student created “green project” within the school. The project is student created, but common examples could be a school garden, recycling program, or use of plastic alternatives.</p>
Indigenous Eco-Justice	<p>Eco-Justice Indigenous Knowledge</p>	<p>If Not Us, Then Who https://ifnotusthenwho.me/about/</p>
Indigenous Eco-Justice Case Study: Standing Rock	<p>Standing Rock</p>	<p>“At Camp with the Standing Rock Pipeline Protesters” by Terry Sylvester, Outsideonline.com https://www.outsideonline.com/2114966/camp-standing-rock-pipeline-protesters</p> <p>“2 Years After Standing Rock Protests, Tensions Remain But Oil Business Booms” by Jeff Brady, NPR <i>Morning Edition</i> https://www.npr.org/2018/11/29/671701019/2-years-after-standing-rock-protests-north-dakota-oil-business-is-booming</p> <p>Lakota People’s Law Project</p>

		https://www.lakotalaw.org/about-us Standing With Standing Rock https://standwithstandingrock.net/
Urban Eco-Justice	Environmental Racism	“5 Things to Know About Communities of Color and Environmental Justice” by Jasmine Bell, <i>Center for American Progress</i> https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/race/news/2016/04/25/136361/5-things-to-know-about-communities-of-color-and-environmental-justice/ Activity: Researching and identifying eco-justice issues in your own community/neighborhood
Urban Eco-Justice Case Study: Flint, Michigan	Flint, Michigan Water Crisis	“Aqua Man” by Perry Stein, <i>The Washington Post</i> https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/magazine/wp/2019/01/16/feature/they-helped-expose-unsafe-lead-levels-in-flints-and-in-d-c-s-water-then-they-turned-on-each-other/ “Without These Whistleblowers, We May Never Have Known the Full Extent of the Flint Water Crisis” by John McQuaid, <i>Smithsonian Magazine</i> https://www.smithsonianmag.com/innovation/whistleblowers-marc-edwards-and-leeanne-walters-winner-smithsonians-social-progress-ingenuity-award-180961125/ Natural Resources Defense Center https://www.nrdc.org/ Activity: Proposing a solution to the previously identified community eco-justice problem
Unit 6: Social Movement Evaluation		

It is following these six (6) main units that the final project will take place. As previously stated, the assigning of the project should occur as close to the beginning of the course as possible to ensure proper time. Within each unit, if the instructor wishes to allocate time directly at topic brain storming, researching, practicing the writing process, peer editing, or working on the presentation, that is more than appropriate, it is in fact encouraged. Following the official units is where time should be spent for students to finish up anything they need to complete their projects.

The final component of the course should be as much time as needed to allow students to present their projects. Ideally, these presentations should occur in front of the teacher, and the class, but if possible, it would also be greatly encouraged for administrators to be present as well. This presentation should be treated with great respect, and teachers/administrators should emphasize the achievement of students for completing such a daunting and important project. Students should be proud of the work they have done in completing a journey that is truly just the beginning of a journey. This course has the potential to transform the entire future of a student's (and a teacher's) life. This potential will naturally face difficulties and challenges, and this is where the preparing for of frame factors comes into discussion.

Implementation Frame Factors

The best laid plans...we have all heard suggestions and ideas for programs within our schools, only to find they are not possible or lack the resources for proper implementation. To suggest that this course is immune to obstacles would be naïve to say the least. Properly implementing this course within my own school, or any school, exists as a massive undertaking, and thus is met with several frame factors, or as Posner (1995) explains as the possible limitations to the success of the program.

Of all the obstacles, time is definitely the most daunting, and largely out of the control of the instructor. Any educator knows that "normal" weeks seem fewer and further in between. One week there is a holiday, then standardized testing schedule the next, and then topped off with a healthy dose of precious professional development. Even if one can prepare for the expected schedule alterations, the surprise changes such as snow days, last minute assemblies, or even "senior skip day," can seem to throw everything out of whack. Despite the importance of any given topic covered in class, teachers should be prepared to make any necessary cuts to facilitate

the success of the final project, which holds priority in the class. Timing will always be an issue, but this problem is common among every class in the modern school setting. So long as the class and the instructor accept this reality, proper customizations and necessary alterations can be made to ensure that no class suffers from lack of time.

While time is the most overwhelming frame factor once the course is up and running, the frame factor that needs to be overcome for the course to even exist at all are the political barriers. First, this course makes no effort to hide that it is overtly political. This course is intended to inspire students to take action against societal issues of their choosing. There will undoubtedly be those who fear that this course is designed to politically indoctrinate students. In this vein, instructors interested in pursuing the implementation of this course will have to act as advocates for the course, making clear its politically open philosophy. Words like activism or even “social” can scare more conservative administrators, parents, and students. Therefore, word choice and attitude are crucial to getting others on board. Advocates of this course need to reassure the doubters that this course is not intended to turn students into socialists, anarchists, atheists, or revolutionaries (although such transformations may occur). Advocates should inform doubters that this course is really about democracy, civic engagement, and critical thought. These terms are political for sure, but are far less terrifying to conservative doubters. To facilitate in this cause, a sample letter that will be provided to parents is located in the appendix. This is the letter that I will be using within my school district, which certainly has its share of more conservative or traditionally minded parents. Every district is unique, and therefore this letter is a sample, which may be copied directly, or serve more as an inspiration for more appropriate customizations.

Secondly, the school board must approve most new courses. For course advocates to overcome this obstacle, including myself, the attending of school board meetings, and the meeting with individual members to discuss course merit may be necessary. Certainly, this course is unlike history courses most schools are likely to offer. This uniqueness is both an asset and a hindrance. Things that are new can often seem scary, but new things also have the potential to solve problems that traditional methods have yet to fix. Using the arguments outlined in this proposal can certainly be a benefit in winning over the political alliances needed to guarantee the implementation of this course. In this era of research, accountability, and empirical data, administrators and school board members in charge of this course's approval may call for "proof" to show that this course does in fact achieve the goals it sets for itself. In the next chapter, chapter five (5), this course proposal will outline what success for the course looks like, and how such success will be measured.

Chapter 5

Assessment and Evaluation

The goals of this proposal, the proposal for the creation of the new course, History of American Social Movements, are self-admittedly lofty. This course is not like other history courses in that its end product is not solely knowledge. This course does not seek individuals who shall be praised only for their excellent memories. This course seeks to help students to become critically and politically aware citizens who believe in their agency to make change, know the tools to create change, and then actively seek change through civic engagement. These key elements of the course's main goal are multifaceted, and thus measuring success of the course can be challenging. Measuring the success of the course is, however, a necessary step in the creation and implementation of this course. Measuring success is not only necessary to prove to administrative policy makers that this course holds merit, but to allow the course the opportunity to receive meaningful feedback that will enable it to grow and evolve over time so it may more accurately achieve its goals. The exact nature of the evaluation plan for this course, at least in its summative component, is best described as a long term investment, although like most long term investments, yields a great potential for gains and results.

Evaluating the success of this course is challenging in that it holds various elements that seem to exist as contradictions towards each other. On one hand, there are many elements that require measuring, but on the other hand, much of the elements that require measuring are immeasurable in the most quantifiable sense of the word. For many policy makers, a quantifiable method of evaluation would be preferable, especially if one believes the old adage of numbers don't lie. Certainly, elements of that adage are true. If a program claims to improve students'

reading abilities, but only 20 percent of students pass the end of year exam, there is clearly a problem, either with the course, or the exam. In the context of this course and its evaluation, a more qualitative approach is necessary. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2018), there are simply some things that traditional numbers have a difficult time portraying accurately. For one aspect of the course goals, students should gain a growth in their feelings of self-agency towards creating change. Finding a way to measure agency numerically is at a level of abstractness that borders on pointlessness. As asserted by Lincoln (2005), much of reality is personal and subjective, and socially constructed, and therefore the methods of evaluation should reflect this subjectivity. To accommodate the need for data and research that acknowledges, embraces, and is designed around concepts of subjectivity and personal experience, a narrative approach to evaluation both in formative and summative assessments is necessary.

For this course, the formative and summative evaluation plan takes place on multiple levels. Evaluation occurs in measuring success for the students of the course in the short term, the achievement of the course itself towards its goals in the long term, as well as evaluation used for the purposes of course administrators to greater improve the course as a whole. The most obvious form of formative assessments for both students and the course in the short term is the unit assessments that occur at the conclusion of each unit. The exact content of these unit assessments are described in chapter four, and are included in the appendix, but each of these unit assessments allow students opportunities to reflect, analyze, and evaluate the social movements discussed and explored in class. In a summative sense, these unit assessments offer the traditional view into whether students are understanding and able to synthesize with course material. In a formative sense, for course instructors, these unit assessments are useful to allow the instructor to see if lesson activities and strategies are effective in helping students engage and

synthesize with course material. These unit assessments then help the instructor to create any necessary alterations moving forward to help the students at a greater level. The same is true of the end of course final project. The final project, which like the unit assessments are described in chapter four and are included in the appendix, provide a meaningful view into how well students are able to apply course concepts and analyze course content. This final project, like the unit assessments, provide an evaluation on the students, and their ability to reach some of the more short term learning objectives, like being able to create a detailed civic action plan. For instructors, the quality of end of course projects gives a view onto the quality of the pedagogy, course organization, and activities in general, thus offering more opportunities for alterations for the next round of students. Because the unit assessments and end of course projects are mostly tests of the achievement of more short term goals, and thus have a more formative quality in the grand scope of the course, the most important form of evaluation required is the test of the course's long term goals, the summative assessment, which by nature will take the form of a narrative based, long term investment.

The real test of this course's success is not whether students achieve the short-term goals, which encompass the final project, but whether they achieve the long-term goals. In defining goals as long term, it is imperative to accept that there is a rather unpredictable timeline for when students may achieve such goals. Specifically, goals such as becoming an active citizen and engaging in the pursuit of justice can take many unpredictable forms, and the time in which such goals are realized is dependent on countless factors. In order to have the best opportunity to witness the fruition of course goals, patience is required. In order to properly assess the level of success of course goals, a narrative approach is required. Therefore, the formal evaluation of

course goals will take place as a comparison between two narrative exercises, one that takes place at the beginning of the course, and one which takes place five years later.

In evaluating the success of course goals, a long-term comparison of narrative experiences is required. As previously discussed, a survey based on numerical data appears tempting, but putting numerical value on subjective human experiences and emotions is severely limiting and obscuring (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). To get the best results, opportunities for course participants to be compared not with each other, but with themselves, in their own words, though time consuming, is the best approach to take. The specifics of this comparative narrative evaluation will take the following form. Students will be given a narrative based survey at the beginning of the course detailing their attitudes, beliefs, and experiences regarding their agency to make change and their attempts to make change via civic engagement. This will occur before any real activities or content has begun. This will serve as a base, or the control. Then, the exact same survey will be administered to course participants five years after completing the course. In theory, after a period of five years, students will have had much more life experiences and opportunities, either through college, independent living, or working adulthood. While most evaluations might be tempted to compare data from the narrower scope of the beginning and end of the course, with course goals being so unpredictable and highly mature, allowing more time for course participants to complete course goals is important. As well, waiting five years to acquire even the first round of data regarding the ability of the course to achieve course goals is a long-term investment that may cause anxiety, but if one may “trust the process,” one may also witness some truly powerful results. A sample of the survey given at the beginning of the course, and after the five-year mark is set on the following page. Course instructors and evaluators

should adhere to these questions, but the formatting may be changed to accommodate a more digital approach, or whatever approach instructors find most appropriate.

History of American Social Movements: Pre and Post Evaluation

Directions: Please respond to the following questions openly and honestly, elaborating to the best of your ability. Write your responses in the narrative style you see fit. These questions are open and have no “right” or “wrong” responses. These questions are designed to understand your personal beliefs, attitudes, and experiences. If you are unsure how to answer any of the questions, be open and honest, and describe why it is difficult to respond to that specific question.

1. Do you have a cause, issue, or social problem about which you feel strongly? If yes, please explain what that issue is, how you feel about that issue, and what drove you to have feelings or beliefs about that issue. If no, do your best to explain why you have no causes, issues, or social problems about which you feel strongly.
2. Describe your belief in your ability to make social change, either through the issue detailed in question 1, or in the concept of social change in general. Do you believe you have the power to make changes in society? Elaborate and be as detailed as possible in explaining the reasons behind your response.
3. How likely are you to attempt to make changes in society/partake in active civic engagement? Whether your response denotes higher likelihood or lower likelihood, explain the reasons behind your current level.
4. Do you have knowledge of specific strategies you could use to make changes within society? If yes, please detail some of the strategies of which you have knowledge, and elaborate on how you came to learn about these strategies. If no, explain why you might not have knowledge on specific strategies of social change.
5. Have you attempted to make social changes or participated in active civic engagement now or in the past? If yes, explain how you have made these attempts, what strategies you utilized, and what inspired you to make these attempts. If no, please explain why you have not attempted to make social change. What obstacles, barriers, attitudes, or beliefs may have prevented you from attempting change?
6. Do you feel you have helped to make change in society? If yes, please explain how you feel you have helped make change. If no, please explain why you believe you were unable to help make change.

This narrative, which instructors will administer at the beginning of the course, and after the passing of five (5) years, will give the greatest opportunity to evaluate the success, failure, or shortcomings of the course as a whole. Using this narrative approach allows for a wide variety of reactions, reflections, and overall submissions, which, according to Hinchey (2008), is important considering that every group of students, and every class is like a universe unto itself. Using these narrative surveys, we can see if students are growing in their beliefs of self-agency. We can see if students are developing causes about which they feel strongly. Most importantly, we can see if students, now young adults, are actively engaging with democracy, and actively seeking to make change. This is where the most beautiful potential exists, to see if students have developed into true democratic citizens, to see if the course has achieved its goals.

At the completion of these surveys, evaluation still is not easy, however. Some may still be tempted to extract a quantifiable result from these surveys. Some may suggest tallying and counting the amount of students who have affected change or have grown in their self-agency. In theory this type of calculation is possible, but not in the meaningful way many might believe it to be. Counting is based on binaries. You can count the “are’s,” and the “are nots.” The issue is that most of the survey questions are non-binary, meaning they are not yes or no questions, and are in fact questions with an unpredictable quantity of possible valid responses. Therefore, attempting to count which students have contributed to the success or lack thereof of course goals leaves open a window for subjective interpretation of results. According to Kincheloe (2003), trying to translate subjective interpretations into objective quantifiable data is almost certain to result in confusion and obscurity. For this reason, the process of qualitative research, from which the analysis of these surveys are based, will allow for the writing of studies and summaries which can give a more holistic, and greater, picture of the subjective data (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). It

is here that instructors can see the fruits of their, and their students', labor. It is here that administrators, school boards, and community members can see how their school sits on the cutting edge of democratic education. Idealistically, once course evaluators, instructors, or administrators gather the narratives after the passing of time, they will see how their former course participants have grown in their self-agency, their critical consciousness, and in their attempts to engage in democratic society. To engage in one final discussion, the beauty of this course is that it is not intended to be the final product, or an unchanging program, there will always be ways to improve, and there will always be more areas of research to perform.

It would be hubris to assume that the course designed as it is exists as the perfect version of that course, or the perfect instrument to achieve its goals. If schools are able to implement this course, and if success is achieved, there should be no sitting on laurels. As the course currently sits, there are still many questions to research, theorize, ponder, and answer. In future studies, research should be performed to indicate ways in which the course may require alteration depending on the location, make-up, or diversity of the school district administering the course. Areas with more privilege may require different prepping and considerations than areas of poverty and economic instability. If a student body is found to possess certain strong preexisting ideas, prejudices, or biases given specific topics, it may be necessary to find ways to preempt and deal with those obstacles, as to avoid them obstructing future success. For example, if a student body is found to have transphobic or homophobic biases, if unacknowledged or unchecked, it could cause the class to “shut down” or turn away from the process once such topics arise. Within this course, as with any course, time is precious, so getting ahead of possible time delaying roadblocks can only serve as beneficial.

As well, time should be taken, either through research, or experimentation, to see if the final project may be expanded. As it stands, the final project is largely a practice, or theoretical. Students are required to create civic action plans, but not required to carry them out. Perhaps obviously, asking students to carry out their actions plans in their entirety is unrealistic. It could be interesting and beneficial, however, to see if success could be had in having students implement one piece of their plan. This type of next step would require a great deal of political maneuvering to ensure that the course would not be removed by the district, and an even greater deal of time and support would need to be given to students in order to ensure they are successful. If such a principle were implemented, it may even change the entire fabric of the course itself. Such a change may be a worthy investment, or it could lead to the course acting as its own worst enemy. With such a wide range of possible outcomes, research into the merits, dangers, and logistical possibilities of adding such a component of the course would be a worthy investment for future research. While there stand many more questions which require research, it is with firm confidence that I assert my believe in the adding of the course, the History of American Social Movements, as a positive step towards creating democratic change.

The implementation of this course seeks to create students who have a greater political consciousness, greater belief in their self-agency to create change, knowledge of the strategies to create change, and who are actively engaged in democratic citizenship. Measuring the success or failure of this goal is a challenge, but the utilization of a long-term narrative follow-up with previous course participants offers the greatest opportunity to witness or measure success. Success that stems from this course can only lead to benefits, benefits to the participants, instructor, school district, and democratic society in and of itself. The course as it stands is only the beginning of the journey to achieve course goals, and future research can only lead to a more

refined approach to success. No aspect of implementing this course, or attempting to achieve course goals will be easy, but democratic society is too important not to try, and it is too important to shy away from the challenge.

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APPENDIX

Creating a Photo Exposé

Directions: Using history as our model, in this activity we will be using Jacob Riis as our inspiration. Seeing is believing, and Jacob Riis is one of the first Americans to use photography as a tool for creating belief. While problematic, *How the Other Half Lives* exists as a model of how the art of selective images can highlight often-unseen truths, and push the public and authorities toward action.

For this activity, you will choose an issue of which you believe the public is largely unaware, or an issue that you believe the public holds awareness of, but also holds a misconception of the truth. For example, the public may know of an issue, but believe the problem to be less than it actually is.

To do this you will create a gallery of images. You must find at least 8 photos that detail various crucial aspects of the issue you wish to raise awareness towards. For each photo you must cite the source of the photo, and then explain the contents of the photo and the larger picture that exists behind the photo's existence. This includes a detailing of what we cannot see in the picture, such as the factors that caused the image to exist at all. The images must then be curated in any fashion you believe to be most effective, whether in print or digital medium. Your gallery must also include a title that properly conveys the overall message or point you are trying to portray.

Attached to the gallery, yet separate from the contents of the gallery, you must also create a plan of dissemination. Specifically, you must create a plan for how you will spread your gallery, and get the public to take it seriously. Your plan should be specific, and should include a timeline of how the gallery will be shared, and through what platforms.

Declaration of Rights – School Edition

Directions: For this task, we will be taking inspiration from the Declaration of Independence. In doing this, we will be mimicking the structure of the Declaration of Independence in order to theorize and imagine what school should be like, and what rights students should have in the institution that is school. In this task, we will focus on rights, grievances, and then present these grievances to school administration, if we so dare! The structure of this Student Declaration of Rights will be broken into four key parts, and are found below. Once all is finished and confidently written down, all student names should be signed upon the document, and students should prepare themselves for their bold presentations.

Structure:

Preamble: Start with an introduction, explaining what you are going to be writing and why you are writing it. Emphasis should be on the purpose of the writing, focusing on the immediacy of the piece and the necessity of the piece.

Natural Rights: Next explain what school should be like, what the purpose of school should be, and what rights students should have at school. Be creative, be bold, be firm, be confident, be idealistic or practical, but most of all, be reflective.

Grievances: Then make a list of 6 – 10 complaints that you have about the current qualities and practices of the institution of school, for each one you must explain why these qualities and practices are problems that require attention.

Resolution: Finish it with a bold declaration of actions you are planning to take as the result of these grievances. Be sure to sign all names, and sign with the confidence that what you have written is what you believe.

Designing a Protest

Directions: For this practice in civic engagement, you will be working to design an effective protest. This activity is all about logistics and practicality. While the “what” of your protest matters, the goal of this exercise is plan the “how.” In the spaces below you will find prompts regarding elements to consider and elements that require planning. Think carefully, meaningfully, and practically about the logistics of this operation, and work together to coordinate this effort. Each element to consider will be called “factors,” with each factor being equally important as any other. Please respond to, and plan for, all factors below.

Factor 1: What are you protesting, and why does it require protesting? Are you unified as a group in this belief or is there a diversity of opinions?

Factor 2: What is the goal of the protest? What are you looking to achieve? What seeds are you hoping to plant? Are you seeking immediate or long-term effects? If a member of the public, an authority figure, or a member of the press were to ask you what you hope to achieve, how would you respond? How will you ensure all members are aware of this goal in detail?

Factor 3: Based on your best estimation, how supportive is the public regarding your beliefs and/or efforts? How supportive are local authorities? What kinds of pushback or resistance might you meet from the public and/or local authorities?

Factor 4: What is the overall plan for the protest? What will it look like? What kinds of actions, activities, speakers, or demonstrations will take place? Be as specific as possible.

Factor 5: What kinds of props or resources are required for this protest? How much money will be required to orchestrate this protest?

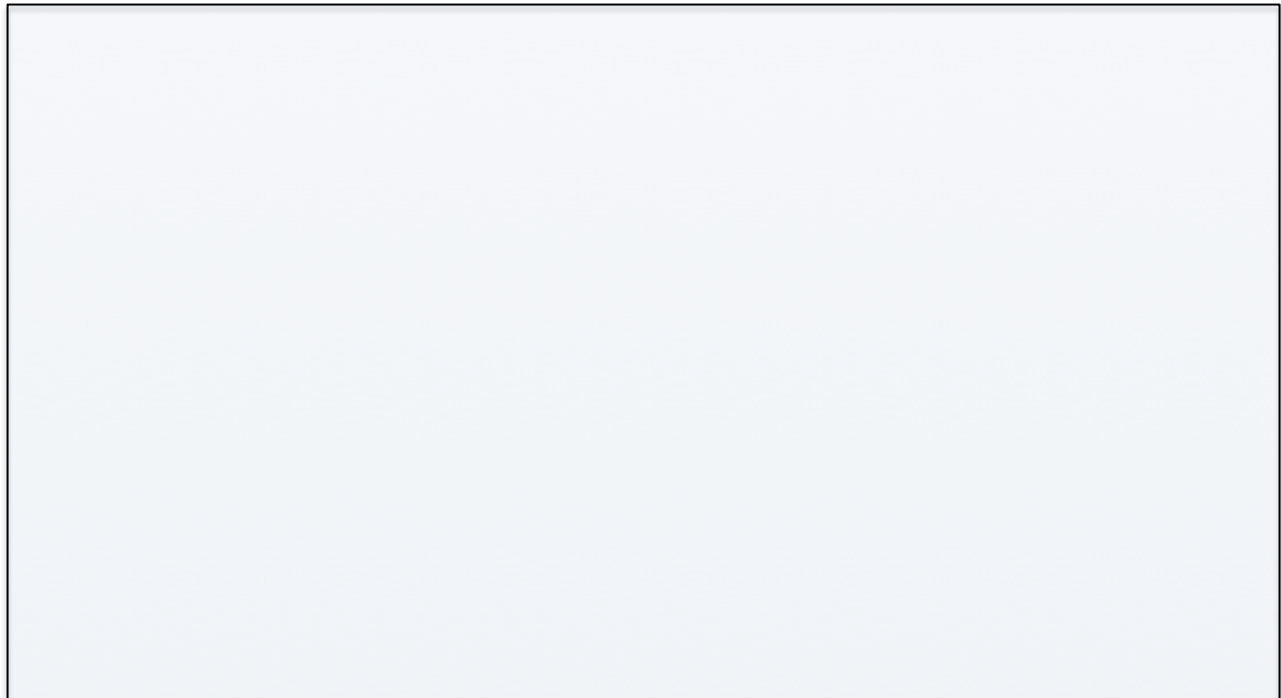
Factor 6: How will you ensure this protest remains peaceful and law-abiding? How will your members respond if they are met with violence or harassment?

Factor 7: What is the time frame for planning this event? Will meetings be held? If so, when, where, and how many times? If not, how will you communicate your plans to the participants of the protest?

Factor 8: Use the chart below to create an hour-by-hour timeframe of the activities or demonstrations of your protest.

Time	Activity/Event	Details

Factor 9: Use the box provided below to create a rough drawing of the map of the activity. This map should focus on the “where” or location of your protest, and should be specific in terms of the placement of demonstrators and the direction of movement, if movement is a component of this protest.



Designing a Student Union

Directions: For this practice, you and your class will work together to design a student union. This exercise is equally dedicated to both theory and practice, as you will focus both on the thoughts behind your choices, but also on the logistical decisions that you must make. The idea is to reflect on your experience as students in school, and the changes you demand to be made. As a class, work together to respond to the important and necessary prompts below. The official list of responses should be typed up and shared throughout the class, with the finished version to be finalized based on the procedures of your governmental structure as decided upon in prompt 3.

Prompt 1: What is the name of your student union?

Prompt 2: What is the overarching philosophy of your union? What is it you believe? What is it you overly seek to achieve?

Prompt 3: What is the governing structure of the union? What does leadership look like? How much of a voice and control do members have about the decisions and actions of the union?

Prompt 4: Imagining you are going to the negotiating table with school administration, make a list of the demands your union seeks to achieve. For each one, explain why this demand must be met, and why the demand is important/necessary.

Prompt 5: Based on your previously stated demands, are there any concessions you are willing to make? If the previous list is the ideal, are any of the items open for negotiation or are some/all of the items steadfast?

Prompt 6: How will you put pressure on administration? What is your exact plan for attaining your wants and demands? Be specific, and include timelines, actions, contingency plans, and any required resources.

Prompt 7: How will you create and ensure a culture of solidarity within the union?

Prompt 8: What actions are your union members prepared to take if administration is completely unwilling to negotiate or concede to any of your demands? Be specific, and include any logistical plans necessary.

Final Course Project – Civic Action Plan

Overview:

Throughout this course, we have covered an exceptionally long list of activists, groups, organizations, movements, and philosophies spanning the entire stretch of American history, from its initial formation, up until the present day. In this study, we have seen bravery, tragedy, success, failure, social change, and shortcomings. It is now your time to invoke social movements of the past and present in order to create your own action plan for social change.

In general, you will be choosing a problem or issue that you see in society. This can be any topic of your choosing, and may stand as a local, state, national, or even international issue. Once a topic is selected the ultimate goal will be to create a written assignment in which you outline your problem and its history, but then most importantly, create an action plan of how you realistically could create change within that topic. This written assignment should take the following form, and follow the following three steps:

Step 1: Choose a topic

- Must be local, state, national, or international
- Must be a topic that still requires solving
- Must be a specific topic that has potential for solving, avoiding overly lofty topics

Example of a good topic: Influencing legislation of a ban on the use of plastic bags

Example of a good topic: Hosting a public forum on police brutality with activists, local leaders, and chiefs of police

Example of a “lofty” topic: Ending all world hunger

Step 2: Explain the topic

- Explanation of the chosen issue, describing how it exists today, and why this issue is in fact a problem.
- Analysis and theory as to the causes of this issue and how this issue has existed and changed throughout the history of the United States.

- Explanation and evaluation of how previous activists and groups have attempted to solve this issue, citing their progress, shortcomings, challenges, philosophies, tactics, and impacts.

Step 3: Explain your action plan

- Explanation and defense of a solution or alternative to the topic including the your driving philosophy.
- A specific plan for how to create public consciousness and support for the topic, with emphasis on specific strategies and tactics.
- Specific plans of action of how to actually implement the change that you seek within the topic.
- An examination and evaluation of the types of obstacles, barriers, and opposition that you would face in attempting to carry out such a plan, making sure to elaborate on possible risks and consequences.

This project will not be easy, and will almost certainly be a challenge in every facet. With help, collaboration, and guidance, you will be successful, and you will find yourself viewing your selected topic in ways you have not previously. This journey is arduous, but is incredibly worth it.

Formatting:

- Typed, standard 1 inch margins, double spaced 12 point font, Times New Roman
- Should include a cover page
- Header should detail both name and page number
- There is no minimum page number, so long as all aspects of the project are met.
- Works or research referenced should be cited in proper APA style.

Presentation:

Along with your written assignment, you must prepare a presentation. This presentation should outline a summary of your project. The presentation must contain the following components:

- A visual component
- 5 – 8 minutes in length
- Must include a brief description of the problem or issue you have selected
- Most time should be dedicated toward your action plan
- Must be prepared to answer any questions presented by the class audience or the teacher.

Dear Parents/Guardians,

I would first like to welcome your student, yourselves, and your family to the beginning of this course, the History of American Social Movements. I am sure this will be an exciting, interesting, and at times challenging year, but I have the utmost confidence that those challenges will be met. My purpose in writing and giving you this letter is to let you know what you and your student can expect from this course, and as well, what your student may not expect from this course.

This course is a history course, but it is not a traditional history class by any means. This class is not designed for students to remember dates, minute details, or traditional history. Rather, this course is designed to give students the tools to take part in our American democracy as active citizens. This course is designed to give students the knowledge of specific strategies of how to create change and impact society. In this sense we will be looking at the past not solely for knowledge of the past, but for inspiration of how those who have come before have created change.

At its core, this class covers all the major social movements in the history of the United States, from its beginnings all the way until the present day. In this class, we will be studying major groups, organizations, activists, and movements, with the emphasis being on what those groups believed, what strategies they used to attempt change, and how successful they were at that attempt.

With this knowledge, students will be asked to find one problem or issue in society. This could be local, state, national, or even international. Students have complete freedom to choose any topic they wish. Once a topic is selected, students will engage in the final project, where they will create a detailed and realistic action plan for how they would go about creating change with that topic, being specific as to what change looks like to the student. This will take the form of a written paper, and a class presentation.

To be clear, this class will cover many controversial topics and ideas. Some of these topics may be unfamiliar, intimidating, or contrary to your or your student's beliefs. Whether the discussion is on racism, feminism, or LGBTQ+ philosophies and rights, it is a firm promise that this course is not designed to indoctrinate or "brainwash" your students. Students are free to express their own ideas, and have their own ideas, with such ideas being respected. Respect will always hold a paramount in this classroom of democracy. Students may not always agree with

each other, but I ask you to join me in supporting a journey of discussion without hate, and listening with open ears.

In many classes, students may ask, “when am I ever going to use this?” For this course, my answer is, “right now.” We live in a country that is a democracy, a place where everyone’s voice is supposed to be heard. Too often, we do not see those voices being heard. To that effect, it is time to help students have louder voices, and voices who are not satisfied until they are heard. I therefore invite not only your student, but also you on this journey. This course will not be easy, and your student may need the support that only you can give. You are also a crucial participant on this journey, as you are one who can help inspire your student in the journey of finding a voice, and finding a passion. There will be times that this course is uncomfortable, but there will also be times when this course will energize students to new levels. With that said, I once again welcome your student and you to the History of American Social Movements, and I invite you to become an integral member of this journey.

Sincerely,

The Unheard Speech of Coxey's Army

Directions: This activity is an exercise in oration. For this task, you will draw inspiration from Jacob Coxey and his army's epic march to Washington. Coxey and his men, who famously marched hundreds of miles to Washington in a protest of corporate corruption and a demand for government intervention, was arrested for walking on the grass at the Capitol before being able to read his speech to the crowd of thousands. Now, you will take on the task of writing Coxey's unheard speech. For this activity, you will imagine, and assume the role of Jacob Coxey. You will furthermore imagine that Coxey had been able to read to message to the masses. For this activity you will write Coxey's unheard speech, focusing on bold language, clear points, and strategies of rhetoric including metaphor, repetition, and timing. This speech may be as long or as short as you wish, but should reflect the philosophy and demands of Coxey's Army. Do your best, for an anxious crowd waits with open ears.

Brainstorming Notes/Outline:

Point 1:

Point 2:

Point 3:

Unit Assessments

Overview:

This unit, like each unit, has covered a lot of ground. Within the unit theme, the class has explored numerous movements, organizations, activists, groups, and philosophies. Your task is to view these examples of course content as models of civic engagement. With the idea of using these models as lessons for successful and unsuccessful paths to civic engagement and social change, you will be creating a well crafted, and focused written assignment, in which you will evaluate one specific activist, group, or movement covered in this unit's theme.

Specifically, you will begin by choosing one activist, group, or movement from the unit of which you will focus your attention. Once your topic has been selected, you will then structure your written assignment to answer the following questions or ideas regarding your topic:

- Philosophy of the group/person/movement
- Problem targeted by the group/person/movement
- End goal of the group/person/movement
- Evaluation of the strategies utilized by the group/person/movement (were they the best strategies to choose?)
- Opposition faced by the group/person/movement (what challenges did they face? What enemies did they encounter?)
- Evaluation of the success and/or failure of the group/person/movement
- Evaluation and analysis of the impact of that group on America
group/person/movement

Many of the topics you may select are topics that authors have spent their entire written works detailing. With that being said, the idea is for you to create a thoughtful analysis, but not to create a completed tome that covers all aspects of your topic.

Formatting:

- Typed, standard 1 inch margins, double spaced 12 point font, Times New Roman
- Header should detail both name and page number
- There is no minimum page number, so long as all aspects of the prompt are met.
- Works or research referenced should be cited in proper APA style.