Civic Reasoning & Discourse

EDUCATING FOR
Civic Reasoning & Discourse

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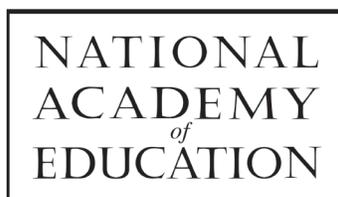
The **National Academy of Education** (NAEd) advances high-quality research to improve education policy and practice. Founded in 1965, the NAEd consists of U.S. members and international associates who are elected on the basis of scholarship related to education. The Academy undertakes research studies to address pressing educational issues and administers professional development fellowship programs to enhance the preparation of the next generation of education scholars.

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Acknowledgments

At the time of writing this report, the United States was grappling with four overlapping challenges—a public health crisis, an economic recession, continuing racial injustice, and a climate crisis. Addressing these public issues as a country is essentially asking every member of society the question of "What should we do?" To wrestle with these complex issues, one needs to develop knowledge, skills, values, and dispositions as an active and responsible civic agent, both individually and in collaboration with others. Especially in the age of social media and political polarization, the need to navigate through information overload and misinformation along with the sheer complexity of the issues highlight the importance of interdisciplinary knowledge, inquiry and critical thinking skills, empathy for others, willingness to consider multiple points of view, and the ability to weigh evidence and reject simplistic answers to complex questions. In both the short and long term, the education of young people in both formal and informal settings plays deeply consequential roles.

As we share this report with you, I am greatly indebted to many individuals whose contributions and insights made this report possible.

First and foremost, I thank the support and generosity of our funder, the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation. Dr. Kent McGuire and Ms. Dara Bevington were especially helpful throughout the process of development, review, and dissemination. The Foundation's vision for education made this partnership particularly productive.

At the beginning of the project, the National Academy of Education (NAEd) convened an expert steering committee of interdisciplinary researchers and leaders in the civic space to lead the review and synthesis of research across disciplines to better understand the complexity of civic reasoning and discourse as well as the identification of learning principles and recommendations based on research to better prepare young people to engage in democratic decision-making processes. We were fortunate to have the following scholars and leaders to help guide this project: James A. Banks, University of Washington; Sarah Warshauer Freedman, University of California, Berkeley;

Chapters	Chairs, Authors, and Panelists
Defining and Implementing Civic Reasoning and Discourse: Philosophical and Moral Foundations for Research and Practice	Peter Levine, Tufts University (Chair) Anthony Laden, University of Illinois at Chicago Jennifer Morton, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Sarah M. Stitzlein, University of Cincinnati*
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From the Diffusion of Knowledge to the Cultivation of Agency: A Short History of Civic Education Policy and Practice in the United States	Walter C. Parker, University of Washington (Chair) James D. Anderson, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Nancy Beadie, University of Washington* Zoë Burkholder, Montclair State University* Andrew Hartman, Illinois State University Rowan Steineker, Florida Gulf Coast University

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Agency and Resilience in the Face of Challenge as Civic Action: Lessons Learned from Across Ethnic Communities *(This chapter includes five sections, which were authored by five groups of authors.)*	*Indigenous Peoples and Civics Education in the 21st Century* • Megan Bang, Spencer Foundation/Northwestern University* • Bryan McKinley Jones Brayboy, Arizona State University* *African American Education as Preparation for Civic Engagement, Reasoning, and Discourse* • James D. Anderson, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign* • Carol D. Lee, Northwestern University* • Vanessa Siddle Walker, Emory University* • Joy Ann Williamson-Lott, University of Washington* *Historicizing Latinx Civic Agency and Contemporary Lived Civics* • Kris D. Gutiérrez, University of California, Berkeley (Chair)* • Cati V. de los Ríos, University of California, Berkeley* • Maribel Santiago, University of Washington* *Asian American Exclusion and the Fight for Inclusion* • Li-Ching Ho, University of Wisconsin–Madison* • Stacey J. Lee, University of Wisconsin–Madison* *An Appalachian Spring: Hope and Resilience Among Youth in the Rural South* • Deborah Hicks, Partnership for Appalachian Girls' Education*
Civic Reasoning and Discourse Amid Structural Inequality, Migration, and Conflict	James A. Banks, University of Washington (Co-Chair) Sarah Warshauer Freedman, University of California, Berkeley (Co-Chair) Thea Renda Abu El-Haj, Barnard College, Columbia University* Michelle J. Bellino, University of Michigan* Sarah Dryden-Peterson, Harvard University Roberto G. Gonzales, Harvard University Beth C. Rubin, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey*
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Agency and Resilience in the Face of Challenge as Civic Action: Lessons Learned from Across Ethnic Communities *(This chapter includes five sections. In addition to a full review by Gloria Ladson-Billings, each section was reviewed by an individual scholar in detail.)*	Gloria Ladson-Billings, University of Wisconsin–Madison *Indigenous Peoples and Civics Education in the 21st Century* • Teresa McCarty, University of California, Los Angeles *African American Education as Preparation for Civic Engagement, Reasoning, and Discourse* • Jacqueline Jordan Irvine, Emory University *Historicizing Latinx Civic Agency and Contemporary Lived Civics* • Sonia Nieto, University of Massachusetts Amherst *Asian American Exclusion and the Fight for Inclusion* • Hirokazu Yoshikawa, New York University *An Appalachian Spring: Hope and Resilience Among Youth in the Rural South* • Shirley Brice Heath, Stanford University
Learning Environments and School/Classroom Climate as Supports for Civic Reasoning, Discourse, and Engagement	Judith Green, University of California, Santa Barbara
Pedagogical Practices and How Teachers Learn	Judith Green, University of California, Santa Barbara

Finally, I want to acknowledge the work of the NAEd staff: Abigail Bell, Amy Berman, Tess Bonnette, Dian Dong, and Gregory White. The staff worked tirelessly from the very conception of the project to bring it into fruition and to coordinate the many moving parts of this process. Their efforts represented the glue that held this diverse group together.

This process began in 2016. I appreciate the supports of the Research Advisory Committee of NAEd, headed at that time by Robert Floden (Michigan State University) and now by David Kaplan (University of Wisconsin–Madison), in approving the Academy's effort to develop this project, including advising the early steering committee members to share this idea at the NAEd November 2017 annual meeting. Even before formal funding was received, members of what would become the steering committee and other members of NAEd worked tirelessly to flush out the direction and scope of this project, largely because of our joint recognition of how timely and important it is to prepare our youth to engage in civic reasoning and discourse. We could not have anticipated back in 2016 how much more contentious and complex our civic dilemmas would be in 2020 and 2021. This has indeed been a collaborative effort with so many contributors from across a diverse array of scholarly expertise. It is our hope that the report will spark needed and innovative attention to how we can prepare our young people to take up this mantle of democracy.

Carol D. Lee, Ph.D.
Chair, Committee on Civic Reasoning and Discourse
Professor Emeritus, Northwestern University
President-Elect, National Academy of Education

Introduction

Carol D. Lee, *Northwestern University* (*Committee Chair*)
Gregory White, *National Academy of Education*
Dian Dong, *National Academy of Education*

At the time of this report's publication in 2021, multiple crises have made the need and urgency for skills in civic reasoning and discourse starkly evident. Increasing polarization and unprecedented strain on our democratic institutions coincided with social protests of persistent racial injustices. At the same time, a health pandemic, economic shock, and a continuing climate crisis challenged the world to take action. In the short term, there is a question of how we can, at multiple levels of society, strive to work together to address our collective needs. There is an equally important longer-term need to prepare a new generation of young people to take up the mantle of democratic participation and decision making.

It is most common for us to think about this preparation as the job of civics, social studies, and history courses in our schools. There are a number of recent reports that offer powerful insights and recommendations for teaching in these courses.[1] There are

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BOX I-1
Defining Civic Reasoning and Discourse

Early in its work, the National Academy of Education Committee on Civic Reasoning and Discourse agreed on a shared definition of civic reasoning and discourse to guide the development of this report. The central question guiding the formulation of this definition concerns "What should we do?" and the "we" includes anyone in a group or community, regardless of their citizenship status. To engage in civic reasoning, one needs to think through a public issue using rigorous inquiry skills and methods to weigh different points of view and examine available evidence. Civic discourse concerns how to communicate with one another around the challenges of public issues in order to enhance both individual and group understanding. It also involves enabling effective decision making aimed at finding consensus, compromise, or in some cases, confronting social injustices through dissent, Finally, engaging in civic discourse should be guided by respect for fundamental human rights.

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[1] Examples of recent reports include Educating for American Democracy (https://educatingforamericandemocracy.org); College, Career, and Civic Life (C3) Framework for Social Studies State Standards: Guidance for Enhancing the Rigor of K–12 Civics, Economics, Geography, and History (https://www.socialstudies.org/standards/c3); and Equity in Civic Education White Paper (https://www.icivics.org).

also many projects, recent and long standing, taking place in school as well as community settings that engage young people in civic action.

This project, however, seeks to fill a void in conceptualizing the demands of preparing young people to engage in civic reasoning and discourse. The authors think this work serves as a useful and necessary corollary to the work currently under way in what is traditionally viewed as civic education. The fundamental questions examined in this report are:

- What are the cognitive, social, emotional, ethical, and identity dimensions entailed in civic reasoning and discourse, and how do these dimensions evolve? In particular, how do students develop an understanding of implicit bias and learn to weigh multiple points of view? How do educators understand the demands of conceptual change?
- What can we discover from research on learning and human development to cultivate competencies in civic reasoning and discourse and prepare young people as civic actors?
- What are the broader ecological contexts that influence the ability of our learning systems to support the development of these competencies? How do we create classroom climates and inquiry-oriented curricula that are meaningful to students' civic learning?
- In the context of schooling, what is the role of learning across content areas— social studies, geography, history, literacy/language arts, mathematics, and science—in developing multiple competencies required for effective civic reasoning and discourse? What are the pedagogical implications in these content areas?
- What supports are needed in terms of policy as well as in the preparation and professional development of teachers and school administrators to design instruction for effective civic reasoning and discourse that encourages democratic values and democratic decision making?

This report also acknowledges the important work carried out across the country to engage young people in the civics issues relevant to their particular communities, the larger nation, and indeed the world. This includes efforts initiated and led by young people themselves in developing public service projects with their families, peers, and neighbors, especially during the COVID-19 pandemic. There is no question that families, social networks in communities, and a variety of institutional configurations play essential roles in preparing young people for civic engagement. It is a particular feature of our democracy that the range of and variation in how these family- and community-based efforts play out is richly diverse.

However, to the extent that there are foundational dispositions and competencies that young people need to engage with complex civic dilemmas, it is only through public schooling that a society can require a baseline preparation as public schooling is required for all children. The authors agree with Amy Gutmann (1999), who argues in *Democratic Education* that public schooling is a unique venue in a democracy that can require preparation for democratic participation. Gutmann notes:

Deliberative decision making and accountability presuppose a citizenry whose education prepares them to deliberate, and to evaluate the results of the deliberations of their representatives. A primary aim of publicly mandated schooling is therefore to cultivate the skills and virtues of deliberation.… Deliberation is not a single skill or virtue. It calls upon skills of literacy, numeracy, and critical thinking, as well as contextual knowledge understanding, and appreciation of other people's perspectives. The virtues that deliberation encompasses include veracity, nonviolence, practical judgment, civic integrity and magnanimity. But cultivating these and other deliberative skills and virtues, a democratic society helps secure both the basic opportunity of individuals and its collective capacity to pursue justice. (p. xiii)

The process of developing such a collective capacity in the United States is particularly challenging due to the federal system, where the primary responsibility for public education lies with the states. At the same time, the populace has evolved complex processes of negotiating relationships between federal authorities and the states, including local school districts. One hope of this project is to spur conversations and critical deliberations among multiple stakeholders around the propositions put forward in this report. The authors hope that the material in the ensuing chapters will be useful to the diverse audiences engaged in this work, including (1) those who study these issues in the academic community, including education researchers and research/practitioner organizations in the academic disciplines, as well as those engaged in teacher preparation; (2) policy leaders, including legislative bodies, federal agencies, state and local school districts, private foundations, and civics advocacy organizations; importantly, (3) those engaged on the front lines of education practice and youth development, including social studies, literacy, and media educators, as well as educators working within other academic disciplines; and (4) parent groups and community-based organizations.

In addition to developing our collective capacity to address the multiple crises facing the nation, this report seeks to address other social problems that challenge the functioning of our democracy. Increasing polarization and division in society, as well as the ubiquitous availability of questionable digital information, has also made the acquisition of civic reasoning and discourse skills progressively more important for students to develop. These skills are essential to cultivate as students prepare for their future roles as adults, citizens, and being full members of their varied communities. Increasingly polarized, racialized, and politicized climates have made it more difficult to dialogue across differences, which is compounded by eroding public trust in democratic institutions and processes (Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning and Engagement, 2019; Hess & McAvoy, 2015; McCoy & Somer, 2019; Pew Research Center, 2019, 2020; Rainie et al., 2019). At the same time, there is a growing threat from organizations that espouse racist, xenophobic, anti-religious, and homophobic ideas as well as a Federal Bureau of Investigation–recorded rise in hate crimes in recent years (Balsamo, 2020; Southern Poverty Law Center, 2016). Advances in technology have also made it harder to trust information about the surrounding social world, as documented in the learning challenges that students have in distinguishing fact from fiction in online digital sources (McGrew et al., 2018).

As vital public institutions, schools have not been unaffected by these developments. Schools have seen an increase in political awareness and activity (Hansen et al., 2018), and research has shown that rates of bullying, aggressive behavior, bigotry, and

harassment have risen in recent years (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2016). Increasing polarization is also being further exacerbated by growing inequality and the deleterious effects that this has on the learning and civic development opportunities for vulnerable and alienated students (Duncan & Murnane, 2011; Kahne & Middaugh, 2008; Levinson, 2012; Population Reference Bureau, n.d.).

Given the decentralized nature of American education, there is a stark difference in access to civic education across the country, with students of color and those from low-income families not given access to as many opportunities in the classroom for experiential civic development as White students from wealthier families (Equity in Civic Education Project, 2020; Kahne & Middaugh, 2008). Measures of civic knowledge, which the authors think are highly relevant to civic reasoning and discourse, also show a pattern that is highly concerning (see Box I-2 for a summary of the National Assessment of Educational Progress [NAEP] Civics Assessment Framework). The only assessment in the broad area of civics is the NAEP Civics Assessment given every 4 years at grades 4, 8, and 12 (with the most recent being the 2018 assessment for 8th graders). Similar to what we see in terms of access to high quality civic education, the NAEP Civics Assessment shows gaps based on race and income level (National Assessment Governing Board, 2018b). At the same time, knowledge in the civic domain as measured by NAEP is low for all students (see Figure I-1). Across two decades of NAEP civics performance results, less than one-quarter of 8th graders perform at or above proficiency.

If one considers the additional scope of knowledge necessary for effective civic reasoning and discourse, as discussed in this introduction and fleshed out in some detail across the chapters in this report, the challenge is all the more daunting. The issues with which we wrestle in the civic domain inevitably entail knowledge reflecting all of the content areas students study in school (content, concepts, processes) and epistemological and ethical knowledge, as well as the dispositions to empathize with others and to listen to and consider contrasting points of view.

After years of neglect, the areas of civic education, reasoning, and student discourse are experiencing a renewed emphasis. An opportunity has manifested itself in the current polarized landscape. This began with an increased interest among researchers, policy leaders, and other stakeholders to improve the civic preparation of students and to promote civil discourse. According to a nationwide survey of policy priorities conducted by the CivXNow Coalition (2020), having better civic education for students in K–12 is the one policy item that both political parties reached consensus on, and teachers are the most trusted to advocate for a strong civics education. In a core

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BOX I-2
NAEP Civics Assessment Framework

"The framework for the National Assessment of Educational Progress in civics has three inter-related components: knowledge, intellectual and participatory skills, and civic dispositions. Taken together, these components should form the essential elements of civic education in the United States" (National Assessment Governing Board, 2018a).
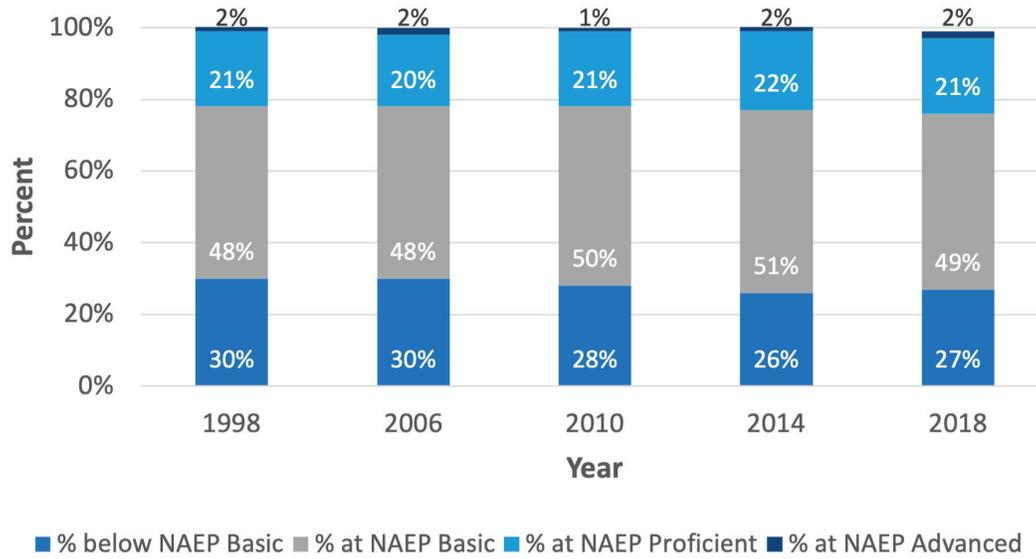
FIGURE I-1 Eighth-graders NAEP civics achievement-level results (1998, 2006, 2010, 2014, and 2018). SOURCES: Lutkus & Weiss, 2007; Lutkus et al., 1999; National Assessment of Educational Progress, 2010, 2018; National Center for Education Statistics, 2011.

sense, this is a return to an original purpose of education, such as Dewey's belief in the need for "the improvement of the methods and conditions of debate, discussion and persuasion. That [he sees as] the problem of the public" (Dewey, 1927, p. 208). W. E. B. Du Bois also believed that a foundational role of education was to enable citizens to wrestle with the tensions and contradictions of history, particularly with regard to how we navigate persistent tensions around race, ethnicity, and class (Rabaka, 2003). Such wrestling is complex and nuanced. It requires a depth of knowledge in many domains, but equally important for democratic decision making, it requires a disposition to hear and weigh alternative points of view that differ from one's own.

Schools and community-based organizations serve as central sites within which youth have opportunities to practice skills of democratic participation and to learn about issues affecting their communities (Flanagan, 2013). However, these environments need to foster deeper and more collaborative learning. New approaches will need to be employed to ensure that the use of new technologies, curricula, and assessments in the contexts of schooling are distributed across the curriculum (Levine & Kawashima-Ginsberg, 2015).

As it currently exists, research in civic reasoning and discourse is underdeveloped and fragmented, with missed opportunities to learn from research across disciplines. Although there have been some exceptions, civic education research has been siloed with "roots in different disciplines that place priority on different topics and prefer different methods of analysis" (Torney-Purta et al., 2010, p. 498). In addition, assessments of how students interact and communicate with one another and how they apply skills learned in a classroom to daily life is an emerging area for further development (Levine

& Kawashima-Ginsberg, 2015). Existing lines of research on how students learn skills of argument (Kuhn et al., 2016) also need further exploration for application across contexts and situations.

Moreover, much of the current attention to civic education is broadly focused on state policy initiatives to expand and evaluate current civic knowledge, with some attention to service learning, positive youth development, and projects that fall into the category of action civics. Those working in these areas tend to be from the practitioner and policy communities, and the number of researchers is relatively small despite the relevance of several areas of education research. The evidence-based guidance that does exist has been generated by a relatively small number of researchers, practitioners, and other stakeholders focused on promoting increased attention to currently understood best practices in civic education at conferences. While these are valued and important efforts, these convenings have given almost no attention to building a future research agenda, nor have they synthesized multi-disciplinary research findings in a peer-reviewed, consensus-style study.

There is a pressing need to evaluate and synthesize research literature from diverse disciplinary fields to draw insights to improve understanding of how knowledge, skills, and dispositions in civic reasoning and discourse develop and how they can be taught in various contexts. In particular, an underutilized opportunity exists to incorporate knowledge and practices from the broad knowledge base on how people learn. This includes work in the learning sciences, cognition, social psychology—particularly understandings of the social and cultural nature of learning, human development, and the neurosciences (Nasir et al., 2020; National Research Council, 2000, 2012) as well as research addressing learning in specific academic disciplines. The integration of what we know about human learning and development from across these domains is a necessary move to understand the complexity of learning to engage in civic reasoning and discourse. The aim is to engage students with diverse backgrounds in learning activities that will advance their disciplinary knowledge and understanding relevant to issues in the public domain, their ability to interrogate the complexities of such issues informed by democratic values, and their ability to engage in civil and reasoned discussion of civic issues (e.g., Barab et al., 2004; Gutiérrez et al., 1999; Lee, 2008; Levinson, 2012; Nasir et al., 2006, 2020; National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, 2018; Reisman, 2012).

Thus, this report seeks to expand the scope of what the authors consider important to know to inform systematic opportunities for students, particularly in the K–12 sector, to learn to engage in civic reasoning and discourse.

BACKGROUND TO THE REPORT

The National Academy of Education (NAEd) initiative on Civic Reasoning and Discourse aims to advance high-quality research for use in educational policy and practice. The goal of the project is to improve students' learning in civic reasoning and discourse by ensuring that the pedagogy, curriculum, and learning environments that they experience are informed by the best available evidence. This initiative was chaired by NAEd member and president-elect Carol D. Lee, who worked with NAEd staff in advancing this initiative from initial project conception to the completion of this report. Noting the

concerning trends of polarization and politicization discussed earlier in this introduction, Lee charged her fellow NAEd members to consider how the NAEd could address the challenges of preparing young people to engage in civic reasoning and discourse. The NAEd approached the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, who agreed to support a project that includes the following key propositions: (1) that learning to engage in effective civic reasoning and discourse is sufficiently complex that it needs to be addressed across the K–12 sector and across the curriculum;[2] (2) that there is a need to synthesize what the science of human learning and development can tell us about the cognitive, social, emotional, ethical, and developmental demands of such learning; and (3) that there is a need to situate the challenges of such teaching and learning in their historical and ecological contexts, including understanding the philosophical underpinnings about why attention to such issues matters.

To oversee and advance this project, the NAEd assembled an expert steering committee of researchers from across subject-matter disciplines and other leaders in civic learning and student engagement. The steering committee is comprised of Carol D. Lee (*Chair*), James A. Banks, Sarah Warshauer Freedman, Kris D. Gutiérrez, Diana E. Hess, Joseph Kahne, Peter Levine, Na'ilah Suad Nasir, Walter C. Parker, and Judith Torney-Purta. Under the interdisciplinary guidance of this committee, this report provides a review and synthesis of research across disciplines and subfields to better understand the complexity of civic reasoning and discourse. One major contribution of this report is the recommendations of learning principles and practices that can be used to support the development of course curricula and pedagogy as well as in standards, assessments, informal learning opportunities, and teacher preparation. Lastly, this report further identifies research areas for further development.

Based on the current state of research in the field and potential for new interdisciplinary linkages, this multi-chaptered report includes an expansive collection of research and recommendations on eight specific themes: (1) philosophical foundations of and moral reasoning in civics; (2) learning sciences and human development (covering cognition and its relationship to identity, development across the life course, and implicit bias); (3) history of education for democratic citizenship; (4) agency and resilience in the face of challenge in education for civic action across ethnic communities; (5) ecological contexts; (6) learning environment, school climate, and other supports for civic engagement; (7) digital literacy and the health of democratic practice; and (8) pedagogical practices and how teachers learn.

Each chapter was developed by panels that were overseen by members of the steering committee and that consisted of experts in each topical area. Panels also identified and vetted the major ideas to be addressed in their respective chapters. These substantive chapters include recommendations developed by chapter authors and panel members. The report also includes a final chapter that synthesizes recommendations for practice, policy, and research based on materials in the preceding chapters along with feedback from external stakeholders as well as further deliberation and vetting by the steering committee (see Appendix A for steering committee, chapter authors, and panel members).

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[2] While this report specifically focuses on the K–12 sector, the authors also recognize there are foundational implications for early childhood education, particularly around the development of empathy.

As part of the development of this report, the NAEd hosted a workshop in March 2020 and an online forum in November 2020, during which chapter authors presented findings and gathered feedback from researchers and external stakeholders in attendance (see Appendix B for workshop agendas and participant lists). The NAEd also reached out to external reviewers to provide additional feedback on select material. Upon completion, each chapter has gone through several rounds of review. In addition to review by committee members, staff, panel members, and external reviewers, the entire report was then subject to a final peer review by the NAEd Standing Review Committee prior to publication.

Evolving Issues of Identity and Commitment in the U.S. Experiment in Democracy

In an early case study of democratic life in the United States, Alexis de Tocqueville (1835/2001) set out to learn if the young nation's experiment in transitioning from aristocracy to democracy could be sustained over time. In addition to having self-government and a robust civic sphere, Tocqueville noted the necessity of education to cultivate the knowledge and skills necessary for democratic citizenship. However, at the time of Tocqueville's observations in the early 19th century, full enfranchisement and citizenship were severely limited. The freedoms and ideals enshrined in the Declaration of Independence were diametrically at odds with the founding Constitution that failed to incorporate equality as its core principle (Allen, 2014; Morgan, 1956), especially given that it was written against the backdrop of the entrenched system of slavery, as well as the ongoing domination and erasure of Native peoples. Tocqueville's writings also took place before the onset of the industrial revolution, and the effects it would later have on both growing inequality (Goldberg, 2001) and setting in motion a future climate crisis.

The boundaries of citizenship in the United States are complex. From its very origins, the United States was a nation of immigrants (forced and by choice), who interfaced with the Indigenous nations residing here before the nation's founding. As the country grew in size and complexity, waves of immigration over two centuries created both celebrated diversity but also social, cultural, and economic strife as the branches of the U.S. government, the states, U.S. relations with Indigenous nations, and organized interests of the country's inhabitants wrestled with questions of citizenship and other rights, as well as cultural assimilation.

Throughout this history, people living in the United States have navigated a national identity as well as identification (through social networks and familial cultural practices) with their countries of origin. It is important to note that while ethnic diversity within the United States as well as within individual states, regions, territories, and Indigenous communities is higher than ever before, ethnic diversity is not new to the nation (Drazanova, 2019; Fry & Parker, 2018; Hobbs & Stoops, 2002). How the nation addresses, accommodates, or works against such ethnic diversity is one of the persistent civic issues with which we continue to wrestle (e.g., from maintaining German in public schools in Wisconsin in the 19th century to judicial decisions around how language teaching impacts opportunity to learn to the role of bilingualism in schools today as just a set of examples).

Civic reasoning and discourse inevitably involve how members of a society see themselves, and are also inevitably related to understanding our history as a nation,

and what that history reveals about the who and what of the United States. In the context of public education, this meta-narrative is communicated particularly in how our history is taught. This is a curricular space that has been highly and hotly contested over the history of public education. On the one hand, the United States represents one of the most powerful experiments in democratic decision making in human history, one in which disenfranchised groups have utilized its founding ideals, its democratic institutions, and at times, the ability to mobilize effective social movement campaigns to achieve greater liberty and equality over time. On the other hand, it is also a nation borne on the backs of two evils of history—the violent takeover of Indigenous territory and near decimation of Indigenous peoples as the nation's borders advanced, and what many refer to as the holocaust of African enslavement (Karenga, 2001; Spitzer, 2002).[3] These massive historic actions evolved in the midst of the evolution of the new nation state. When the founding documents were written, there is no question that the call for inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness did not apply to White men without property, did not apply to women, and did not apply to those populations who were not designated as White (Indigenous peoples, peoples of African descent, Southwest peoples living in land that was originally Mexico before the U.S. annexation, and peoples who immigrated in these early years from parts of Asia).

Anderson (2007) offers a detailed analysis of the debates in the Reconstruction Congress, after the terrible price in human life paid during the Civil War, over coming to a political compromise on how to articulate who has citizenship. He documents with precise examples from congressional records how contestations over whether those who are Indigenous, of African descent, Latinx, and of Asian descent would have birthright citizenship. We can also look at the evolution of immigration policies from the 19th century forward to see how through law, non-Anglo communities were limited in access to migrate to the United States and how even ethnic groups now understood to be "White" did not have the status of Whiteness in earlier generations (Cherry, 2020; Gerber, 1999). It is a fact that the United States has a longer history of legal apartheid—known as the Jim Crow Era—than South Africa. Additionally, the fact that we continue to see the impacts of discrimination associated with race, class, gender, religion, and sexual orientation, among other ascribed statuses, highlights that the nation's wrestling with its history remains a civic challenge.

It is important to note, however, that recognizing the conundrums of our history—the historic disconnects between our stated ideals and our institutionalized practices—does not dictate how we resolve these conundrums, and does not dictate whether we will pursue our civic reasoning through a progressive or conservative political lens. The point is that through civic reasoning and discourse, and indeed civic action, we have the opportunity to engage our differences, and ideally, find compromises rooted in democratic ideals. The question is how we, as a society, systematically prepare young people to engage in the complex work of democratic decision making, as well

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[3] Karenga (2001) defines holocaust as "a morally monstrous act of genocide that is not only against the people themselves, but also a crime against humanity" (p. 2). For more information, see United Nations Office on Genocide Prevention and the Responsibility to Protect. (n.d.a). *Genocide*. https://www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/genocide.shtml; United Nations Office on Genocide Prevention and the Responsibility to Protect. (n.d.b). *Crimes against humanity*. https://www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/crimes-against-humanity.shtml.

as ensuring that all students have a voice in that endeavor, including at times confronting social justice issues through dissent, or as the late Congressman John Lewis called it, "good trouble."

In the ensuing centuries since the founding of the United States, and with the global advancement of democracy in the modern era, social theorist T. H. Marshall viewed the attainment of full democratic citizenship by various groups within nations as a progressive realization of civil, political, and social rights and responsibilities over time. Although boundaries of citizenship may change from one society to the next, he ultimately characterizes citizenship as a "status bestowed on those who are full members of a community" (Marshall, 1950/1992, p. 18). This report is guided by this broader definition of citizenship, and the authors acknowledge the unfinished struggle that many groups and individuals experience in becoming and living as fully empowered members within the communities and societies in which they find themselves. This report also takes a broader view of citizenship education as encompassing "all the ways in which young people come to think of themselves as citizens in local and cultural communities, the nation, and global society" (Hahn, 2008, p. 263). Ultimately, a civic discourse challenge for the United States is to balance national unity and embrace diversity in ways that are mutually reinforcing (Banks, 2004; Kymlicka, 2004), especially in a globalized, interconnected world with an increasing ability to maintain diasporic and transnational connections and identities.

Complexities and Interdisciplinary Nature of Civic Reasoning and Discourse

Civic reasoning entails how people in a society think through problems that arise in the public domain. In a democracy such as the United States, citizens are able to engage as active agents in such problems through an array of pathways. These include the reasoning and decision-making processes involved in voting, collective action to make points of view public, and organizing institutional structures and social networks through which to carry out practices that address issues that arise in the public domain. In the United States, there is a social contract between the state and individuals reflected at a macro level in the U.S. Constitution, including its amendments. The underlying warrant of that social contract, as articulated in the Declaration of Independence, is rooted in the proposition that all people have the inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The intense debates in the articulation of the Declaration of Independence, the U.S. Constitution, and particularly its amendments reflect the complexities and tensions of that social contract.

This report does not advocate any particular position with regard to how students think through questions that arise in the public domain. However, the authors believe it is important that youth are prepared to engage in civic reasoning and discourse in ways that value complexity and avoid simplistic answers to complex social issues. Examples of such complexities include:

- How do we navigate tensions between the powers and limits of federal, state, local, and tribal governments to protect collective well-being, as well as the rights of people to assert individual rights around issues such as wearing a mask during a pandemic or requiring that children be vaccinated?

- What should be the relations among levels of government and collective actions to fight a public health crisis or defend a national border?
- How do we navigate tensions between the rights of groups of people with opposing political and social views, including those who may hold racist, homophobic, and other deeply biased points of view, to publicly protest?
- How do we think about tensions among persistent examples of police violence against people (especially Black and Brown peoples), the needs for protection of the public and by whom, the rights of police as public employees, the funding of police departments, and the training of police?
- What disciplinary knowledge, skills, and dispositions are needed to critically examine information and evidence to inform civic reasoning and discourse? Examples include:
  - Interpretation and understanding of mathematical modeling produced for public consumption around trends in the spread of a pandemic or climate change;
  - Ability to examine arguments related to economic trends that should be considered in public policy;
  - Understanding of what to many are invisible algorithmic structures that govern what information is selected, curated, and highlighted; and
  - Knowledge of potential cause–effect relations among prior conditions, interventions, processes, and outcomes.

In this report, the authors have combined a focus on civic reasoning with engagement in civic discourse, which concerns how to communicate with one another around the challenges of public issues in order to enhance both individual and group understanding. This entails communication between citizens, including persons residing in the country who may not hold legal citizenship. Equally important is the ability to critically analyze communication in the broader milieu from persons in positions of power such as politicians or advocates, as well as media outlets and social media platforms. An example of this is the understanding of how power, ideology, and technology (e.g., algorithms) can lead to biased narratives and filtered communication. In addition, there is a need for the public to discern highly specialized language employed in media communications and political forums. For example, public reports around public health emergencies or deliberations regarding the appointment of judges to the Supreme Court highlight the need for familiarity with specialized language in order to understand these important societal issues.

Learning to critically engage such issues is complex, and it involves knowledge along multiple dimensions: epistemological dispositions to value complexity, ethical dimensions around moral considerations in decision making, and equally important, conceptions of what is entailed in democratic values. Ideally in a democracy such as the United States, it also requires that people are able to consider multiple points of view, to be disposed to listen and consider positions and points of view different from one's own, and to show empathy for others, especially for those who, for whatever reason, "we" designate as "the other." The knowledge base across all of these examples includes deep knowledge of history, of how government decision making operates in the United States, of economic and political systems, of scientific knowledge of how the natural world operates, of how mathematical knowledge can be recruited as possible

sources of explanation of phenomenon that can be quantified, and, equally important, of the diversity of cultural practices, of ways of being in the world that constitute the human experience. Such knowledge needs to be employed along with critical analysis, or regularly questioning the sources from which one receives information.

George Herbert Mead, a pioneer in social psychology, viewed social interaction with others as key to the development of both personal identity as well as learning empathy for others. Mead believed that reflecting on the social conditions surrounding oneself is also important for understanding perspectives different from one's own. However, it is key to recognize the role that emotions play in this process. Current research in cognitive science (along with cognitive and social neurosciences) documents that how people process and interpret interactions with others is filtered by an intertwining of thinking and emotions, which happens both in the moment and in later reflection (Dai & Sternberg, 2004; Leong et al., 2020; Moore-Berg et al., 2020; Zajonc & Marcus, 1985). These theoretical and empirical insights illustrate the importance of teaching youth strategies for recognizing how their thoughts and emotions influence their interpretation of social experiences and the views they form. Lastly, it is important to note that development of such strategies is a neutral process firmly rooted in reasoning, and does not necessarily lead to the formation of either progressive or conservative orientations.

To truly understand the challenge of division and alienation in society, civic learning and discourse needs to be informed by a broader research literature that helps us to understand issues of implicit bias, identity orientations, and the intersection between identity, perceptions, and thinking. There exists a need to synthesize a foundational knowledge base that is complex, multidisciplinary, and integrated. It also needs to take a comprehensive view of human learning and development in various social contexts. This includes research in learning and development and how students cultivate expertise in civic reasoning and discourse, but also how students enact these explicitly social learning processes within communities of practice that take into consideration culture, context, interests, and students' sense of belonging (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Nasir et al., 2020; National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, 2018; National Research Council, 2012). This also involves improving students' capacity to "talk across political and ideological differences … by teaching [them] to weigh evidence, consider competing views, form an opinion, articulate that opinion, and respond to those who disagree" (Hess & McAvoy, 2015, p. 5). Central attention needs to be given to areas of affect, identity, and culture, including the understanding of group context differences as well as the creation of learning spaces that facilitate respectful dialogue and an open climate for discussion for all students (Banks, 2004, 2008; Barber et al., 2015; Knowles et al., 2018; Ladson-Billings, 2004; Reichert et al., 2018).

Developing knowledge, skills, and dispositions for civic reasoning and discourse remains essential to the future functioning of our democracy. However, interdisciplinary integration has not been the focus of most of the research carried out in the field of civic education, and practice reforms have not had the widespread impacts that were hoped for. The authors believe that critical engagement in civic reasoning and discourse has several dimensions. It is rooted in responsive discourse practices (e.g., maximizing participation, respectful response to differences), entails understanding how interdisciplinary knowledge can ground civic action, recognizes the influence of identity (including perceptions of the self, others, and contexts), and considers the central role

of affect as well as knowledge. In short, these are dynamic systems. Understanding such dynamic systems is a necessary pre-requisite to designing learning environments that can foster the kind of civic reasoning and discourse required to meet the complex demands of civic decision making and engagement in the future. This also means that learning approaches such as teaching content knowledge in civics and developing knowledge and reasoning skills in other subject-matter areas are seen as complementary endeavors (Feuer, 2021).

In addition, among the most important goals of public education is to prepare young people to engage in informed civic action predicated on a disposition to grapple with the complexities of social issues and policy responses in a diverse society. The political, economic, and moral dilemmas that are central to accusations of "fake news" actually entail complex issues along with competing interests and warrants. As a consequence, weighing alternatives in order to decide a policy question (i.e., deliberation) is not only a matter of weighing evidence and judging the credibility of sources. While the belief is widespread that accurate information is the keystone of democratic decision making, accurate information is itself now a contested construct. It is well known that directional motivation influenced by emotions or "hot cognition" biases information processing (Adam, 2012; Lodge & Taber, 2005; Nasir et al., 2020; National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, 2018). This is especially the case when that information is about controversial policy issues where biased information processing tends to further polarize one's political attitudes (Leong et al., 2020; Moore-Berg et al., 2020). Furthermore, in today's oversaturated information environment resulting from the proliferation of mass media (social, print, cable, etc.), even sincere persons are likely to believe "alternative facts." To navigate through the information overload, one prominent study centered media literacy education as an effective way to improve youth's judgment about accuracy of information and pointed out that political knowledge alone is insufficient when dealing with controversial public issues (Kahne & Bowyer, 2017). Does this suggest that opportunities to acquire media literacy (knowing how to judge truth claims and their sources) should be as important as other educational interventions, such as courses in history, government, science, and literature? Or are there propositions about human learning and development that can substantially increase the ability of educators to prepare young people to actually wrestle with complexities? The task requires that people understand civic and political issues as framed within a dynamic system with multiple entry points. This is one reason why the committee conducted an interdisciplinary project.

CHAPTERS WITHIN THIS REPORT

This report provides insights from multiple disciplinary fields to foster a better understanding of how civic reasoning and discourse skills develop and how they can be taught in different contexts.

The *Defining and Implementing Civic Reasoning and Discourse: Philosophical and Moral Foundations for Research and Practice* chapter begins by grounding the readers in the key question of "What should we do?", a question that arises well beyond the political domains and often concerns one's relationship with others. The author defines civic reasoning as "the sort of reasoning citizens do as they answer this question" and

civic discourse as "a means or method by which groups of people engage in civic reasoning." The chapter also addresses this central question by probing the philosophical and moral underpinnings in ideal situations to hopefully inform practices and understanding of civic life in real contexts. This entails examining the knowledge and skills that enable, support, and enhance civic reasoning and discourse, including inquiry, fact-finding, logic, rationality, critical thinking, discussion, and deliberation. It also highlights empathy, consensus, compromise, collaboration, and civility as central values, virtues, and dispositions to engage in civic reasoning and discourse. The chapter finally draws on the current impediments to civic life and provides paths for future research.

One of the important contributions of this report is connecting research on how people learn and subject-matter disciplinary understanding to education in civic reasoning and discourse. The *Civic Reasoning and Discourse: Perspectives from Learning and Human Development Research* chapter argues that addressing the challenges of engaging students in civic reasoning and discourse requires multiple resources. Attending to the robust teaching and learning of disciplinary knowledge, including history, literature, mathematics, and science, equips students with the core skill sets they need to reason with complex civic issues. Other resources include dispositions such as moral reasoning, ethical concern for both the self and others, and epistemological commitments to engage in complex civic problem solving, as well as commitments to considering multiple points of view and interrogating one's own assumptions. The chapter argues that these dispositions can and should be part of teaching in all content areas. The chapter calls attention to the challenges of conceptual change and implicit bias and emphasizes the critical role of schools in recruiting multi-dimensional resources in preparing students as civic agents.

While civic education nowadays is often reduced to one course in high school, it has been a central purpose of schooling in the United States since the American Revolution. A critical analysis of the history of democratic education in the United States provides a holistic lens with which to examine the legacies, challenges, and progress made as the nation strives for a multi-racial, multi-ethnic society. Drawing on historical examples, the chapter *From the Diffusion of Knowledge to the Cultivation of Agency: A Short History of Civic Education Policy and Practice in the United States* sheds light on the importance of historical knowledge as a basic category of civic reasoning. Through detailed analysis of seven historical examples, the chapter illustrates how people in the past confronted history and demonstrated resilience and agency by challenging the common narratives about who should be included in American history. The authors also emphasize the importance of positioning ourselves within historical trends as active civic agents and utilizing civic education to advance racial justice.

An important dimension of historical understanding is how communities that have faced persistent challenges with regard to equality in opportunity have organized themselves in preparing generations of young people to tackle the demands of citizenship and full democratic participation. The chapter *Agency and Resilience in the Face of Challenge as Civic Action: Lessons Learned from Across Ethnic Communities* offers examples of civic agency in diverse ethnic communities that have historically been negatively positioned through structural practices: Indigenous peoples, African Americans, Latinxs, Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, and residents of rural Appalachian communities. These histories highlight agency in how these communities over the decades, indeed centuries, have organized to prepare young people for civic

engagement. These efforts have included the work of educators, community organizations, and families. These histories examine the complexities of citizenship and cultural membership in this multi-cultural democracy in light of the political complexities of the meaning of citizenship in the United States.

The ecological contexts in which young people grow up influence their knowledge of their civic responsibilities and motivation to participate in public life. The ***Civic Reasoning and Discourse Amid Structural Inequality, Migration, and Conflict*** chapter explores the varied social and political contexts that shape the civic identities and experiences of youth as well as discussing the disjuncture between current civic education and the diverse range of students' lived experiences. Specifically, the authors highlight three underexplored areas of structural inequality, migration, and inter/intranational conflict that frame young people's civic learning opportunities and their connections to and participation in public life. The chapter further sheds light on the possibilities for new expressions of civic engagement that are attentive to the differentiated pathways of young people's civic development. The authors encourage diverse forms of civic participation, including activism, critical curricular approaches, youth participatory action research, and arts-based approaches, that help students from different backgrounds to cultivate their civic voices.

Focusing on the social and contextualized nature of the civic learning process, the ***Learning Environments and School/Classroom Climate as Supports for Civic Reasoning, Discourse, and Engagement*** chapter argues that the success of civic education also depends on the environments in which such learning takes place. Through examining the conducive and inhibitory elements in formal learning environments, this chapter provides the research base to define the characteristics of supportive learning environments at both the classroom and school levels. Special attention is paid to how youth with varying experiences might perceive and respond to a particular environment differently. High-quality civic learning environments entail a sense of belonging that welcomes individual and group participation and respects varied views and backgrounds. The chapter further identifies the need for research beyond traditional classes and school environments. It is important for teachers and administrators to be cognizant of the larger societal context as they promote student agency and voice in school.

The expansion of digital space drastically changed the way people interact with each other. To address civic reasoning and discourse in the digital age, the ***Rethinking Digital Citizenship: Learning About Media, Literacy, and Race in Turbulent Times*** chapter focuses on youth civic engagement in the fast-changing digital space that mirrors the social, cultural, and political context in the larger society. As youth increasingly participate in interactive and peer-based online activities that are generally not guided by formal institutions, this chapter examines the opportunities and challenges presented by this shift in the digital space and analyzes efforts that help youth to engage in online civic actions safely, responsibly, and intelligently. The authors call for the need to redesign civic education to prepare youth for a digital democracy beyond the current emphasis on safety and civility with regard to others. The chapter highlights critical digital literacy as a lens for youth to acquire the necessary knowledge, skill, and awareness to thoughtfully and effectively engage with race-related media content, understand how technologies impact social positioning of different groups, and challenge structural inequities. Current civic education will need to broaden its

focus to consider the diverse forms of youth civic participation and provide effective curricula equitably so as to prepare students for digital citizenship.

Educators play a key role in preparing all students to participate effectively in civic deliberation and engagement, and their pedagogical practices will need to be guided by the best evidence available. The ***Pedagogical Practices and How Teachers Learn*** chapter examines the curricular and pedagogical scaffolds that are effective for civic learning, investigates the role of students' identities on civic engagement, and provides evidence for pedagogical practices that support students' civic learning. The authors challenge the persistent focus on content knowledge. Instead they argue that inquiry-oriented curricula and pedagogical approaches leverage all students' lived experiences and knowledge to engage them in authentic investigation of political issues while also fostering deeper learning and the development of civic skills and dispositions. Consistent with learning theory that shows high-quality learning must be built on students' existing experiences, knowledge, and identities, the chapter addresses the importance of embracing students' out-of-school experiences and ensuring that their voices are represented in classrooms. Teachers also require adequate support to develop knowledge and understanding of the social context, their own identities, and pedagogy to engage students in meaningful discussions.

This report ends with a final chapter on recommendations for practice, policy, and research. Utilizing the interdisciplinary research base in the above eight chapters, the final chapter provides a summary of key findings as well as identifies cross-cutting recommendations to advance the quality of learning in civic reasoning and discourse.

As the chapters in this report show, the sources of knowledge and dispositions that young people need to develop to engage in civic life are indeed complex. To break down this complexity, each chapter is an attempt to provide analysis from different disciplinary perspectives to disentangle the problem space and offer recommendations on how young people can work through differences in democratic decision making.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

The political and ideological divisions within the United States are deep and long-standing. At the time of the production and publication of this report (2021), the country was grappling with the confluence of several major crises: a worldwide pandemic and the resulting shock to the economy, social unrest arising from the continuing impacts of systemic racism, and a continuing climate crisis. The authors argue that as a society, we have the responsibility to prepare young people with the civic reasoning and discourse skills necessary to meet these types of challenges in addition to the unknown crises that they as adults have yet to encounter.

The killing of George Floyd—at the time a recent pernicious example of Black and Brown people dying at the hands of police officers under deeply questionable circumstances—sparked mass protests across the country and indeed the world. What has been most interesting in these protests is the makeup of those protesting (multi-racial, inter-generational, in large cities and small towns, and in cities and nations around the world ranging among Hong Kong, Karachi, Kyoto, London, Nairobi, and Paris). At the same time, there have been counter-protests, and in some cases, eruptions of violence. There have also been complex issues around targets of violent attacks (e.g.,

public buildings, small and large businesses). These responses have led to debates that require civic reasoning and discourse regarding how to think about issues around public social protests. Examples of topics include how to think about the functioning of police departments; what, if any, limitations are legal and appropriate; what levers of government should be at play in challenges that arise from such protests; how to safeguard the rights of competing protest groups; and what laws and practices need to be in place to address why these cases of police–civilian violence not only remain but disproportionately affect Black and Brown populations.

At the same time, we were living through a worldwide pandemic. Living with this pandemic raised multiple challenges in the civic domain: what does it mean for the public to understand the scientific bases for the spread of COVID-19 (e.g., the mathematical and scientific modeling of the spread of the virus); how does the public disentangle mixed messaging coming from across levers of government and from scientific organizations and sites; how does the public wrestle with the tensions between public safety and the economic challenges of the public not having face to face access to businesses and schools; how to understand our inter-dependence with other parts of the world in terms of health, economics, and institutional alliances (e.g., our relationship with the World Health Organization and travel regulations between nations); how to navigate rights of individuals (e.g., whether to wear masks) versus the public health needs of the majority; and how to safely organize (in-person or remotely) the continuation of vital institutions such as the education of children.

These current challenges highlight the complexity of the demands of civic reasoning and discourse. We can also think about the impacts of the climate crisis—the wildfires in California and the unprecedented hurricane seasons—including the contestations over whether these natural or unnatural phenomena are the result of climate change and what role human activity plays in their unfolding. Our current generation of school children will be on the front lines of dealing with the social and economic impacts of the increasing frequency of these ecological disasters, as well as the dislocation caused by the acceleration of sea level rise in this century.

The nature of heated public debates over these current challenges and the seeming difficulty of political leadership to work collaboratively to address these issues all attest to how essential it is to our democracy to prepare our young people to engage in such civic reasoning and discourse. Although the vast majority of school children under the age of 18 are not eligible to vote, they are developmentally able to, and indeed do, engage in civic activities, examine social issues, and express their points of view (Sullivan et al., 2020). The public organizing of young people across the nation after the horrific shooting at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Florida, attests to this civic potential, as does the youth-led global movement to confront climate change. While the authors focus much attention on the role of public schooling, it is equally important to recognize the important civic work that takes place in community organizations, especially community organizations that are either run by young people or that focus on youth development and engagement.

Ultimately, we must ask ourselves how it is that adults can come through the K–12 public education system and still be prone to hate, or how a seemingly educated populace rejects scientific findings that scientists across the world have reached near-universal agreement on. These concerns are particularly salient in light of the attack on

the U.S. Capitol on January 6, 2021, in attempts to interfere with the lawful counting of state electoral votes to certify the election and proceed with the peaceful transition between presidential administrations.

While the authors have sought to focus attention on civic challenges, it is equally important to highlight sources of hope. As Martin Luther King, Jr., said, "the arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends toward justice." The state of racial inequality in 2021 is not the same as it was in 1775 or 1865. The evolution of Supreme Court decisions around issues of individual and group rights has evolved toward greater pathways for justice across the centuries. While evolving in deeply contested arguments, the amendments to the constitution have each articulated expanded rights. Social movements over the course of history have led to monumental shifts in rights, including the abolitionist movement, the movement for women's right to vote, movements for civil rights, social activism around health access and environmental safety, and the current social movements around racial justice and climate change. The range of political leadership at every level of government is more diverse than ever. Our students need to understand both the persistent challenges and the ways that U.S. structures of governance and activism have changed trajectories toward greater equality.

The authors conclude with an inspirational example reflected in a letter to President Barack Obama from a 6-year-old boy named Alex who saw on the news the horrors of the Syrian civil war (see Box I-3).

In the letter, Alex reflects what we already know: that young children are naturally and inherently ethically conscious of right and wrong. His compassion and empathy for the Syrian boy he saw in the ambulance reflects the moral foundations that are required of democratic values, both within the nation and across an interconnected and interdependent world. In this report, the authors seek to understand how to build on Alex's goodness, on his empathy, and on his attention to and interest in what is happening in the world around him.

BOX I-3
A 6-Year-Old Boy's Letter to President Obama

Remember the boy who was picked up by the ambulance in Syria? Can you please go get him and bring him to [my home]? Park in the driveway or on the street and we will be waiting for you guys with flags, flowers, and balloons. We will give him a family and he will be our brother. Catherine, my little sister, will be collecting butterflies and fireflies for him. In my school, I have a friend from Syria, Omar, and I will introduce him to Omar. We can all play together. We can invite him to birthday parties and he will teach us another language. We can teach him English too, just like my friend Aoto from Japan.

Please tell him that his brother will be Alex who is a very kind boy, just like him. Since he won't bring toys and doesn't have toys Catherine will share her big blue stripy white bunny. And I will share my bike and I will teach him how to ride it. I will teach him additions and subtractions in math. And he [can] smell Catherine's lip gloss penguin which is green. She doesn't let anyone touch it.

Thank you very much! I can't wait for you to come!

Alex
6 years old

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1

Defining and Implementing Civic Reasoning and Discourse: Philosophical and Moral Foundations for Research and Practice

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CONTENTS

At the heart of civic reasoning and discourse is the key civic question: "What should we do?" (Dishon & Ben-Porath, 2018; Levine, 2016). It is a question that arises when groups of people face a problem or must reach a decision. It is a question that arises well beyond political or governmental domains and surfaces in our communities and in our interactions with others. While often oriented toward action and outcomes, this question also arises when groups of people are primarily concerned about their relationships with each other and how to live together as a group.

In this chapter, the author discusses the philosophical and moral underpinnings of civic reasoning and discourse. The author begins by defining civic reasoning and discourse when it works at its best, recognizing that we have a long history of falling short of that idealized conception and many examples of civic reasoning and discourse being used in ways that intentionally excluded or harmed some people. The author defines civic reasoning as the sort of reasoning we do as we answer the question "What should we do?" In other words, civic reasoning is the reasoning we do about what we should do. The chapter uses the term civic discourse to refer to a means or method by which groups of people engage in civic reasoning, and describes the knowledge and skills that support good or democratically healthy civic reasoning and discourse, including inquiry, fact-finding, logic, rationality, critical thinking, discussion, and deliberation. The author also details the values, virtues, and dispositions that support good civic reasoning and discourse, including empathy, an orientation toward consensus, a willingness to compromise, a collaborative spirit, and civility.

The author uses this model of good civic reasoning and discourse to reveal some current problems in our common practices of discourse and as a guide for how we might educate in ways that move citizen behavior closer to ideal practices. Throughout the chapter, there are suggestions for improved citizenship education, curricula, and pedagogy. Additionally, the author notes some current impediments to teaching civic reasoning and discourse in our non-ideal settings that arise from changing notions of truth, psychology of citizens, use of digital media, limited classroom focus, and environments that are increasingly segregated. The chapter closes with a call for further research in key areas related to understanding and educating for civic reasoning and discourse, hoping that the theoretical grounding for those practices described here might inform future research.

THE CIVIC QUESTION AND CITIZENS WHO ASK IT

Following the work of Peter Levine, the citizens' question "What should we do?" can be broken up, with each word revealing the people, content, and values at stake and the physical, social, and emotional effort involved.

- What—the tangible or meaningful products and results of our discussions and actions. These could be objects we produce together, decisions we reach, norms we construct to shape our interactions together, and more. In many cases, they are empirical matters, dependent on facts and evidence.
- Should—a normative claim about how to better a situation, improve our relations together, or solve a problem. Each of these pushes us beyond what we merely *can* or *want* to do into making a claim about what it is *right* for us to do or what we may have an ethical responsibility to do.
- We—an emphasis on our shared fate in a community, collaboration in addressing issues, and our responsibilities to each other, especially as part of publics that form around mutual concerns. The individual's question—"What should I do?"—also matters, but it becomes civic when it is about impact on or action with a "we."
- Do—actions taken together, in parallel or individually, but may also entail engaging in discussion, building communities, and figuring out how to live together

well. The emphasis is on what we can achieve, rather than what we might expect others to do.

Importantly, legacies of injustice and patterns of marginalization reveal that the "we" in this question cannot be assumed. The history of civic struggle shows us that defining the "we" is a source of deep disagreement. One consequence of defining it narrowly can be to exclude people from the conversations that matter and essentially silence them. However, people have agency. When excluded from one "we," they may create another, demand and gain a place in the group that excluded them, or both. Part of taking up the civic question is working through past exclusions to create new and more inclusive understandings of the "we" in the United States today.

Citizens compose the groups that take up this question. The word citizen is widely used to mean a person recognized by a given government as a member holding a full set of rights, especially in liberal democracies, like that of the United States. In the terms of political philosopher James Tully, this is a civil notion of citizenship that emphasizes legal status (Tully, 2008). An alternative understanding, which the author operates with here, defines citizens in terms of what they do: a citizen is someone who engages in diverse practices of citizenship that vary across groups and contexts, but crucially include forms of civic reasoning and discourse. In Tully's terminology, this is a civic notion of citizenship. From this view, a citizen is someone who can and does seriously ask "What should we—the members of this group—do?"

Citizens, then, can be people who engage in activities of citizenship, yet are not granted citizenship in terms of formal legal or informal membership status. For example, undocumented immigrants have taken to the streets to make demands of the nation–state and Indigenous peoples have refused the jurisdiction of the U.S. government over their land as a way to require recognition of their sovereign status. In this way, citizens belong to and act within many groups that are not formally democratic yet are still civic. The author works with a broad understanding here of what counts as civic space and civic engagement, pushing us beyond common boundaries that limit such endeavors to the government or formal political spheres.

Most of the definitions and arguments offered in this chapter are phrased in universal terms. Every human being is part of many overlapping and nested communities that may employ or fail to honor civic reasoning and discourse. The characteristics of good reasoning and the threats that it faces seem widely shared. Nation–states have diverse political systems and political cultures, but a nation–state is just one venue of civic reasoning among many. Some important venues, from world faiths to Facebook, are transnational.

At the same time, most of the examples and research findings cited come from the United States; this chapter does not deeply explore whether aspects of civic reasoning and discourse should vary among regimes or cultures. This chapter might be read as a theory by and for people in the United States, but one that understands good American citizens as belonging to multiple communities (from the hyper-local to the global) and that favors relatively general principles instead of ones that are tied closely to the United States.

CIVIC AND DEMOCRATIC ELEMENTS OF
CIVIC REASONING AND DISCOURSE

The reasoning we do in order to answer "What should we do?" can be civic in three senses:

1. Topic—As we consider what we should do, we are focused on issues important to our shared living. Civic reasoning is reasoning about civic matters.
2. Identity of the reasoners—Figuring out what we should do is a matter of our collective agency and is therefore concerned with who we are, who composes our group, and what our capacities are. Civic reasoning is the reasoning we do as civic actors.
3. Manner in which we relate to each other—Answering what we should do is not merely instrumental, focused only on actions and decisions, but rather is constitutive: it creates a "we." This raises norms about how we exchange ideas and interact together. Civic reasoning is reasoning we engage in civically or civilly.

In this paper, the author starts from a picture of good civic reasoning as civic in these three senses. So understood, good civic reasoning represents an ideal of democratic practice. Not every instance of citizens discussing what to do together will satisfy these criteria, and not every (perhaps not any) encounter among citizens will realize this ideal. The author nevertheless tries to lay out here the components that go into this ideal of good civic reasoning in the hopes that it provides a framework for understanding its value to democracy, how and where we fall short of it, what might go into educating children in ways that facilitate their democratic engagement, and where the obstacles lie to doing so effectively.

Good civic reasoning is a plural and ethical endeavor that often entails inquiry, empirical investigation, and/or engagement with emotions. Civic reasoning is plural because individuals rarely have the wisdom, power, or resources to undertake tackling the question alone. Even apparently solitary civic acts, such as casting a secret ballot, are deeply shaped by those around us, including the opinions of others and media influences. Civic reasoning is ethical because answering the question pushes us to assess and determine which means and ends we ought to choose, including how they might impact those both in and outside of our group. Additionally, civic reasoning is ethical because it requires that we act with respect in that we treat each other as having standing in the situation and give each other's claims consideration.

Let us consider an example of teenagers in a high school social studies class asking "What should we do?" as they deliberate about the best course of action regarding U.S. military intervention in the Middle East. Even if those children are not in a position to determine the outcome, they are role-playing or practicing deliberation in order to develop civic reasoning skills and to make and refine opinions about the actual decision makers. Forming opinions and arriving at shared views about state action can be a significant result of engaging in reasoning that is civic in topic. Ethically, students should weigh the risks of whether continued or further military intervention might put additional lives at risk or bring safety to large groups of people abroad or at home.

Civic reasoning often requires empirical investigation or evidence gathering so that we may better understand a situation and the potential results that might follow from

our decision or course of action. For instance, the high schoolers may need to find out about the physical and political risks of U.S. military force in the Middle East, which may entail investigating political geography, past military intervention, and even weather in a desert or mountainous fighting environment.

To engage in civic reasoning is not to leave emotions behind or ignore them. Indeed, emotions figure into good civic reasoning in a number of ways. Emotions can serve as inputs to the reasoning process, such as when anger at injustice helps us to see the injustice in the first place. Certainly, women, African Americans, and others have productively used anger to help reveal and elevate the injustices behind their calls for civil rights. Emotions can also help reasoners see more clearly that a point of view should be taken seriously, such as when they are bound up in the personal experiences of the reasoners. In the example, some students may bring personal experiences with family members in the military or living in the Middle East to the classroom discussion. This may lead those students to feel frightened for their well-being or angry about being separated by military deployments, emotions that can draw attention to the seriousness of the matter. Finally, we may hope to engage or provoke certain emotions in the course of working out what we should do, aiming to call forth feelings that might help to motivate action. For instance, a student might share research on the lives of war refugees in a way that is designed to call forth sympathy from her classmates.

Civic discourse is a means or method by which groups of people engage in civic reasoning. Given our nature as largely interdependent beings that construct knowledge and solutions together, civic discourse is one key way that we reason together, through discussion and deliberation, to answer the question of "What should we do?" Civic discourse is also a social endeavor and is one way in which we relate to others. Civic discourse offers benefits rarely achievable when engaging in civic reasoning alone. For example, discussing with others can help to combat our individual cognitive and ethical limitations and biases.

Civic discourse can encounter problems. Civic discourse can go badly when a group excludes some perspectives, falls prey to groupthink, or succumbs to other dysfunctions of group discussion. It can also go badly when individuals do not relate to others well, perhaps by dominating the discussion or belittling the views of others. Additionally, while civic reasoning and discourse go hand in hand in ideal situations, sometimes that is not the case. An individual may be engaged in good civic reasoning, gathering evidence, and thinking critically about what to do, but may be unable to engage in civic discourse with a group that excludes or denigrates her or others. Alternatively, participants in a group may relate well to each other, yet their discourse may fall short of good civic reasoning because it suffers from epistemic blind spots due to lack of plurality caused by ideological homogeneity or other reasons. As a result, civic reasoning and discourse must be considered both individually and together as we seek to understand and improve them.

Civic reasoning and discourse play important roles in democracy. While the question "What should we do?" is most often posed within the civic sphere, we can engage in civic reasoning and discourse in an array of settings: from inside a religious organization, with friends on Facebook, among leaders of a private company, or among scholars in a scientific discipline. None of these are democracies, but democracy, as both a system of government and a way of life, particularly promotes and relies on good

civic reasoning and discourse. In a vibrant democracy, citizens not only self-govern and consent to laws, but also actively work with others to form publics around shared problems, to pose and evaluate solutions, and to engage in creative imagining of how their future might be improved. Good civic reasoning and discourse can keep democracy healthy by welcoming a plurality of perspectives, highlighting shared responsibilities for sustained and improved living, integrating citizens into decision making about the future of communities, and building a collective sense of "we."

Schools are important institutions that can teach good practices of civic reasoning and discourse. Colleges and universities, many civic associations, and some media organizations also fulfill this function. Here, however, the focus is on K–12 schools because of their ubiquity and strong influence on developing youth. Teaching the cognitive, intrapersonal, and interpersonal aspects of good civic reasoning and discourse may lead not only to sustained and improved democracy by virtue of new generations of citizens that engage well in civic reasoning and discourse, but they may also enable other forms of learning in our schools as students experience the world together and construct new knowledge about it. In the next section, the author describes key components of good civic reasoning and discourse that may be taught before turning to current obstacles to improved civic reasoning and discourse inside and outside of schools.

COMPONENTS OF CIVIC REASONING AND DISCOURSE

Good civic reasoning and discourse require particular knowledge, skills, values, and dispositions. Here, the author summarizes some of the most important components. The groupings employed should not be understood as firm or clear distinctions; instead, the boundaries blur as components relate to and build on one another in different contexts. For example, a skill may be used because one has already established a disposition to act, or a value may rely on knowledge in order for it to be fulfilled.

Knowledge and Skills

Particular knowledge and skills work together to enable, support, and enhance quality civic reasoning and discourse. They play a role in inquiry, fact-finding, negotiating truth, reasonableness, critical thinking, discussion, and deliberation.

Inquiry

To be civic in topic is for reasoning to inquire into issues important to our lives with others. Inquiry is often triggered when we find ourselves in what educational philosopher John Dewey calls "indeterminate situations" (Dewey, 1927, 1938). These are moments when we are unsure how to proceed—moments that give rise to the question of "What should we do?" They also give birth to publics because they bring people together around shared experiences or struggles. For Dewey, inquiry is the process we use to investigate our world, hypothesize improved ways of understanding or living within it, and then experiment with them to gauge their usefulness for moving forward out of the indeterminate situation. Inquiry is cognitive and empirical, and entails determining the stakeholders that are impacted by a situation. It is experimental in nature

and invites multiple, and often conflicting, perspectives into communication with each other to imagine, create, and test potential solutions.

Although the focus of inquiry is more on how we can adapt ourselves and our current situations, which can require a host of different sorts of information, historical and political knowledge is often required in order to figure out what to do. Knowledge of what has been tried and accomplished in the past and historical consciousness (Clark & Grever, 2018) can help us make wiser judgments for the future. Skills of historical interpretation may be needed to distinguish facts from stories or myths and to reach conclusions based on evidence from multiple sources (Barton & Levstik, 2015; Monte-Sano & Reisman, 2015; Reisman, 2012; VanSledright, 2015; Wineburg, 2002). These include identifying legitimate sources, attributing the source to an author contextualized historically, understanding that author's perspective, and corroborating the source to assess its reliability (VanSledright, 2015). In part, this historical knowledge and content serves to identify the means and ends for answering the civic question, while also considering the relevant stakeholders and the individual and collective agency of those involved for taking up and solving "What should we do?"

Within the context of a democracy, citizens need more than just historical knowledge; they also need knowledge about politics and democratic practices and procedures. Citizens need to know what government is, what it does, who composes it, and how power operates within it. These can be thought of as "the rules of the game, the substance of politics, and people and parties" (Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996, p. 65). This sort of political knowledge can help us figure out the resources we have to answer "What should we do?" Importantly, citizens also need to have a working understanding of the law so that they understand potential constraints on what they *can* do in a representative constitutional republic (Parker & Lo, 2016) and whether they might need to work to change policies or leadership in order to achieve the sort of action they envision (Stitzlein, 2014).

While much of contemporary curriculum theory and research in areas of citizenship education are rightly concerned with "who" questions about stakeholders and "how" questions about skills, it is important that we not lose sight of the "what"—the content—that is needed to do civic reasoning well. However, citizenship education should not be boiled down to a fixed body of static knowledge to convey to children. Instead, knowledge should be taught as part of active inquiry into authentic controversies in our democracy and struggles to live well together within it. Such inquiry does not treat those controversies and struggles as mere issues to be grasped objectively from afar or to be dealt with later in life as adults, but rather immerses students into the complicated arena of real, present political life. Quality citizenship education teaches both for and with inquiry, where teaching *with* inquiry leads to learning content and teaching *for* inquiry develops the skills of doing inquiry itself (Swan et al., 2018). Together, inquiry-based learning attends to the real challenges of living in a democracy and brings "who," "how," and "what" questions to bear as we engage in civic reasoning.

Fact-Finding and Truth

Inquiry and knowledge often hinge on finding, analyzing, interpreting, agreeing on, making judgments from, and reaching conclusions about facts. Both empirical and civic

facts provide important tools for inquiry. First, empirical facts may form the basis of the natural or scientific phenomena we need to understand in order to address our situation. Second, knowledge of and access to facts about civic content increases our political knowledge, helps us to feel empowered, and improves our ability to influence the governing process. Scholars of civic participation Michael Delli Carpini and Scott Keeter (1996, pp. 6–7) explain:

> A well-informed citizen is more likely to be attentive to politics, engaged in various forms of participation, committed to democratic principles, opinionated, and to feel efficacious. No other single characteristic of an individual affords so reliable a predictor of good citizenship, broadly conceived, as their level of [political] knowledge.

The facts needed for good inquiry as a part of civic reasoning may be more complicated than one might assume. What we take to be facts may not be as straightforward as they seem; rather, they are influenced by their source and other factors. We typically come to uphold them because of their source; we accept the testimony or authority of some person or institution because of their expertise or credentials, or because we may have a personal relationship with them. Yet, the facts arrived at through empirical investigation and the social process of inquiry are shaped by an array of influences other than mere pursuit of truth. Accepting those facts is always a matter of trust.

For example, no one individual has directly examined and assessed all of the evidence that humans are causing the Earth to warm. No one can read all of the relevant research, check the data reported in the research, collect all of the data, design the instruments used to collect the data, train the people who design the instruments, or conduct the prior research that underlies all of these activities. Knowledge creation is profoundly social, often carried out by institutions—scientific organizations, think tanks, newsrooms, laboratories, and so forth. To have knowledge, therefore, requires that we trust others and trust institutions, yet many individuals and institutions are not trustworthy, nor is automatic trust rational. The hard question is which people and organizations to trust for the knowledge they produce. Learning how to make such decisions well is crucial to engaging in quality civic reasoning and discourse.

Facts may exist independently of us, whereas knowledge is something we construct and is mediated by an array of social institutions and relationships of trust between reasoners. While some of these facts may exist apart from our social contexts, the emphasis here is on inquiry as a social process of knowledge discovery—a moderate position between an extreme form of social construction or relativism and a positivist correspondence theory of truth. Thus, when people have seemingly irreconcilable disagreements about "what the facts are," they are typically not suggesting that there are no facts or that all facts are relative. Instead, they are disagreeing about which sources of knowledge are trustworthy. Of course, they may be mistaken about this, but this is part of what citizens seek to sort out by engaging in inquiry and knowledge construction.

Understanding the problems we face and deliberating about what to do is not only a matter of figuring out facts; it requires thinking about values. This is often exemplified in cases of civic content, where the public good is at stake and competing normative frameworks may play a significant role shaping *what* we *should* do. The civic question leads us to have to consider what sort of ends we desire and who benefits from those

aims. We must consider what makes certain actions worth doing or certain outcomes worth pursuing. The way we answer "What should we do?" is a realization of our values. To answer the question well, we need the ability to think and talk about values, including what they are, how they relate to one another, and how they are best achieved. Sometimes, we face situations where we must resolve tensions between competing or conflicting values. Other times, we must recognize the possibility that no option may fully realize all of our values. So, in choosing among our options, we face tradeoffs in which values are realized and to what degree. We may have to prioritize one value over another. These situations require being able to articulate our own values—to describe them and qualify why they are important to us and to what extent. They also require being able to detect the values of others and engage in discussion and negotiation about them (Klein, 2019). In some cases, we may need to question or change our values because they lead us to biased or problematic behaviors, such as self-interested or unjust acts. As described later in this chapter, sometimes the values at stake are actually about how we relate to one another in a democracy, the third sense of reasoning as civic.

Relatedly, what each of us takes to be fact depends on our values, our background experiences, our sources of information, and who we trust. Indeed, our understanding of what the facts are often hinges on the truthfulness of the utterer, the influence of their personal beliefs and emotions, and our (potentially biased) interpretation of them. Importantly, though, different interpretations of facts can be a part of a healthy deliberation of open controversial issues or thorny public problems.

Which facts and how many we should know poses another complication. State standards for civics often suggest that developing citizens should mainly learn the structure of the United States government: the branches of government, federalism, civil rights, and related topics (Levine, 2013). Indeed, these *are* relevant, but the design of the government is only one relevant subject for citizens. It may be equally important for citizens to understand—and to be able to inquire further about—cultural groups, faith traditions, economic forces and institutions, biophysical conditions, sociological phenomena, historical achievements and injustices, other countries, and many other topics.

For instance, throughout history, marginalized and oppressed peoples have found ways of acting and effecting change in constrained circumstances, and yet many of these methods and achievements are not widely known or acknowledged as forms of engaged civic action. A curriculum that focuses on the formal structure of the U.S. government to the exclusion of social movements and other forms of "contentious politics" (Tarrow, 2011) increases the likelihood that students will miss learning about the agency of oppressed peoples. Understanding and appreciating such efforts as contributions to our civic life can improve the quality of our civic reasoning in part by opening our eyes to the many different forms it can take, as well as the often-overlooked contributions of subordinated people to the ongoing project of democratically living together.

One response might be that students would benefit from knowing a vast range of facts, but the information that would serve them as citizens is practically infinite. Instead, they should primarily learn skills for inquiry. But that approach seems to evade any need to identify especially important topics or to equip students with vocabulary and concepts that they need for inquiry. Wise policy navigates between assuming, on one hand, that some discrete "core" of knowledge (usually, an overview of the U.S.

Constitution and a dose of governmental structure) suffices for civic education, or assuming, on the other hand, that budding citizens should inquire about anything and everything. A moderate course sets priorities but defines them broadly and encourages students to pursue their own questions.

Logic, Rationality, and Reasonableness

Good civic reasoning requires that its participants use the skills of logic, rationality, and reasonableness. Logic concerns the formal relationship between statements, and so understanding logic can help reasoners think about when their conclusions are necessitated by their premises or to point out fallacies in the reasoning of others. Knowing, for instance, that the negation of "All swans are white" is not "No swans are white" but "Some swans are not white" is a matter of understanding the logical structure of language. Though some reasoning falters in its logical structure, a much more likely failure is in the substantive relation of reasons toward a conclusion. Here, the skills of rationality are relevant: understanding what counts as a reason for what.

Though rationality can help us assess whether means are appropriate to ends (instrumental reasoning) and whether the benefits are worth the costs (prudential reasoning or cost–benefit analysis), it can also help us think about what ends are worth pursuing, and how conflicting reasons relate to one another. It is important to recognize here that good reasons for adopting an end or a set of means need not be cold and calculating: a religious commitment or belief, or an emotional connection to a place or action or object, might be a strong reason for acting one way or another. Furthermore, working out the relation of reasons is not merely a matter of weighing pros and cons. Reasons relate to one another in all sorts of complex ways, and we can think of the skills of rationality as also including understanding how to think well about the relation of various reasons to one another.

Moreover, being rational involves being responsive to reasons, and this requires an openness to challenge, criticism, and contestation about the warrants and evidence cited in support of particular reasons and the conclusions they lead to. Rationality, so understood, is not a matter of merely accepting scientific or expert consensus on a topic.

When we think of reasoning as a social activity of reciprocal and responsive interaction, as it is in civic reasoning, then we also need the skill or virtue of reasonableness. Being reasonable in this sense involves not commanding or deferring but inviting and persuading others to see things as we do, and an openness to be moved by their invitations when they see things differently (Laden, 2012). It displays itself in a willingness to propose fair terms of cooperation and to abide by those terms even when doing so later is not to our advantage (Rawls, 1996). It involves the skills of listening and responding to others, not just working out the internal structures of our own thoughts and goals and making persuasive arguments. Reasonableness is cultivated through social interaction as we listen and talk with others about our thoughts, feelings, and reasons. Reasonableness, then, helps to span the divide between reasoning as a way of deciding what we should do and reasoning as a manner in which we relate to each other.

Critical Thinking

Quality civic reasoning is also facilitated by critical thinking. Robert Ennis defines critical thinking as "reflective and reasonable thinking that is focused on deciding what to believe or do" (Ennis, 2011, p. 1). Part of determining what to believe is not based on the ability to track down every empirical claim, but rather on understanding how individuals and institutions work to produce legitimate knowledge and what makes them trustworthy. Such understanding and related skills help us determine what knowledge is more solidly justified. It prevents the inquiry process from being a simplistic form of empiricism, where we naively set out to find the facts and apply them.

Certainly, this definition is well aligned with the account offered here of good civic reasoning and its guiding question, but it misses an important element that a focus on critical thinking can add to the picture under construction: a spirit of criticality. Criticality identifies and interrogates the power that influences and sometimes distorts knowledge and inquiry, and it reveals the struggles over power at play in group contexts. Recognizing the role of power helps groups of people to better understand how some shared problems may disproportionately impact certain members of a community. Critical thinking may also uncover how power operates to support or hinder the solutions put forward in an inquiry. When supported by democratic values like political equality, critical thinking leads us to ask important "who" questions: "Is everyone at the table that needs to be?", "Who is being heard?", and "Who stands to gain or lose?" Asking "who" questions can help students to name power, which is a helpful first step. However, students also need to be supported in going further to learn how to challenge and change power inequities, which includes cultivating students' ability to imagine more just ways of being and the skills of dissent needed to put forward those alternatives. In this way, critical thinking can help us adjudicate not only what we should do, but what is feasible, right, or best to do and for whom (Lim, 2011).

Critical thinking in this more specific sense enables thinkers to see and understand their relationships with others. It also pushes them into the fray of making sense of and acting in a context of multiple and conflicting perspectives, emotions, and moral claims. Indeed, critical thinking is a collective practice. Nicholas Burbules and Rupert Berk (1999, p. 62) explain that it is

> a function of collective questioning, criticism, and creativity, it is always social in character, partly because relations to others influence the individual, and partly because certain of these activities (particularly thinking in new ways) arise from interaction with challenging alternative views.

Educational approaches that describe critical thinking in more individualist and instrumentalist forms of logic and argument analysis lack the components of criticality and collective work that are essential to such thinking and render it a valuable tool in civic reasoning.

Discussion and Deliberation

Civic discourse is perhaps best undertaken through discussion or deliberation. Diana Hess (2009, p. 14) defines the first of these terms:

discussion is dialogue between or among people. It involves, at a minimum, the exchange of information about a topic (e.g., a controversy, a problem, an event, a person, etc.). Second, discussion is a particular approach to constructing knowledge that is predicated on the belief that the most powerful ideas can be produced when people are expressing their ideas on a topic and listening to others express theirs.

To construct powerful ideas and piece together solutions, discussion seeks out multiple, varied perspectives and opens up all contributions to examination. This differs from debate, which typically begins with proposals formed in advance, operates to name one proposal as being better than another, and often is carried out in a more combative and less cooperative spirit. While debate is an approach to considering civic matters that is widespread in the United States today, this approach often forecloses some of the possibilities offered within discussion and deliberation and thus is not as aligned with ideal civic reasoning. In order for debate to play a more constructive role in fostering good civic reasoning, it needs to be understood not as a competition with winners and losers but as a means for exploring a topic and effectively bringing out various perspectives and positions in their strongest and most persuasive forms.

Discussion and deliberation require certain skills, values, and dispositions beyond those already mentioned. This is especially the case given that discussions may further entrench, rather than expose or challenge, inequities, oppressions, and subjugations between participants and the larger society. Discussion and deliberation require listening and leaving space for others, being open to and raising dissent, working through challenging ideas or competing perspectives in good faith, and vulnerability to being moved by what others say. To head off further marginalization or harm, they require active commitments to values of equity, anti-racism, gender equality, and other elements of justice, especially when situated among participants with differing degrees of power. Dispositions to authorize more voices and perspectives may help shore up civic reasoning as a plural and ethical endeavor (Mansbridge, 1991; Parker, 2006). Engaging in discussion can help develop the sort of democratic culture and political tolerance needed to more effectively work together to solve complex public problems. Put in terms of educating citizens, discussion is not just a high-quality strategy for teaching information, but is itself a means and an end for developing good citizens who can engage well in civic reasoning (Parker, 2010).

Deliberation is discussion aimed at a particular resolution, action, or outcome rather than discussion that creates shared understanding or just talk for the sake of talk—though, importantly, these can play a role in the health of a democracy (Parker, 2003). Deliberation is always an endeavor situated in uncertainty; it is about things that we do not know for sure and a future that we cannot fully predict. Deliberation is also one way that publics form, as it calls people together around a shared point of concern or decision making. Though useful across an array of philosophical understandings of democracy, deliberation is particularly valued within the framework of deliberative democracy (Gutmann & Thompson, 2004; Habermas, 1987, 1996). Within that framework, it is employed to make decisions and reach binding agreements, thereby giving heft and substance to conversations between citizens.

It is not enough to merely acknowledge pluralism or conflicting views on the good life, though; we must take seriously and be responsive to the dissent that arises from

them. Such dissent includes critiquing the status quo, challenging accepted views, and putting forward alternatives. Engaging in dissent is a form of participatory politics that legitimizes conflict and disagreement as not just facts of life, but sources for better civic reasoning. An influential critic of deliberative democracy, Chantal Mouffe (1996, p. 8), adds:

> A pluralist democracy needs to make room for the expression of dissent and for conflicting interests and values. And those should not be seen as temporary obstacles on the road to consensus since in their absence democracy would cease to be pluralistic.

Here, she shows how dissent and differing opinions are not just something to work past during civic discourse, but are themselves an important part of a pluralistic democracy, goading change, at times, through conflict.

Within a deliberation, dissent can help to overcome groupthink momentum by pausing to expose contradictory beliefs or differing viewpoints that may highlight the perspective of minority members within or outside of the group, reveal faulty arguments, or improve the quality, depth, and sincerity of the conversation itself. Dissenters help to ensure that more voices are being heard and help to better ensure that just decisions are being made. However, rational-proceduralist forms of deliberative democracy, often attributed to Jürgen Habermas, which restrict legitimate deliberation to a strict formula of reason-giving, may prevent dissenters from using some of the tools of their trade, including emotional ploys, radical protest, and passionate disruption (Young, 2002). Civic discourse must not only preserve space for this sort of public work, but also foreground it for its ability to improve the quality of civic discourse and outcomes of civic reasoning. Citizenship education requires overtly teaching not only the value of dissent, but also the skills and dispositions necessary to engage it (Stitzlein, 2014).

Even if an openness to other viewpoints is an essential attitude in civic reasoning, many worry that this attitude can be taken too far. They argue that there are certainly some viewpoints that are hostile to the deliberative process itself or that aim to exclude certain others from full citizenship or personhood, and that good civic reasoning requires drawing a line that excludes such positions from even entering into or harming our civic interactions. For teachers, a familiar example occurs when one student comments on identity characteristics, such as race/ethnicity, religion, or sexuality, in a way that disparages some of the other students, possibly preventing them from participating fully in the discussion or feeling safe and valued in the school. Teachers face the dilemma of whether to block such statements. Freedom of speech is one condition of deliberation, but including everyone is another condition, and they can be in tension. The same tensions certainly arise in adult contexts, from social media platforms to public meetings. One problem with blocking speech is that it is unclear which principles to adopt to head off potential problems. Moreover, it is unclear on whose authority those principles would be adopted or how they might be enforced. Finally, it is unclear who gets to decide which people or views are to be excluded from civic reasoning and on what grounds.

A different way to approach this worry is to not have rules about who can speak or what can be said, but to empower participants to reject certain moves within the reasoning itself on grounds that they are inconsistent with the shared project or the inclusion

of all. That is, the shared aims a group of people have in engaging in civic reasoning (working out "What should we do?") serve as the basis to argue, in the course of that reasoning, that certain positions or grounds ought to be rejected in the reasoning itself. Rather than bar the White supremacist from entering the room, as it were, we respond to her particular arguments and position by pointing out, among other things, their incompatibility with our engagement in a shared project. For this to work, however, citizens need to be equipped to make such arguments and to recognize the force of and respond to such arguments when they are made by others. In particular, those who are not specifically targeted or potentially harmed by the public expression of such positions need to take on an extra responsibility to be mindful of and speak out against those positions. This then points to another goal of education in civic reasoning: a sensitivity and responsiveness to such reasons, and attention to the conditions that make it possible for people to raise such reasons. The idea is that we need to cultivate certain deliberative virtues rather than work out rules of the game. These include an ability to face up to and work through complexity and fundamental disagreements rather than trying to legislate them out of sight.

In sum, civic reasoning is best facilitated through discussion and deliberation that engages inquiry, facts, knowledge, logic, reasonableness, values, emotion, and critical thinking. It relies on skills of openness and dissent.

Values, Virtues, and Dispositions

The author uses the term values to refer to ideas and ideals that people hold dear. Our values guide our actions by helping us determine whether a course of action or a given social situation is good or desirable. "Virtues" and "dispositions" refer to particular traits of individuals and their characters. Dispositions are traits of character that orient individuals to care about and act on certain values. Virtues are excellences of character. They involve not only being disposed properly to given values, but also the capacity to clearly see when a value is relevant to a situation and act decisively in response to that value.

We might talk about the value of tolerance, for example, in terms of an ideal of accepting other people's right to act differently than we do or to uphold values we do not. When we speak of a person as being tolerant, we mean not only that they recognize that tolerance is a value, but also that they are disposed to act in a tolerant manner when the opportunity presents itself. Considerations of tolerance have weight in their determinations of what to do. To talk of tolerance as a virtue or to say that someone has the virtue of tolerance is to say that they not only have a disposition toward tolerance, but that they have an acute sense of when tolerance is called for and the strength of character to act tolerantly in such situations even when it is difficult.

Values, virtues, and dispositions play a role in civic reasoning in at least three ways: First, the very activity of civic reasoning embodies and relies on certain values and virtues to be done well. Empathy, a willingness to compromise, a concern to look for consensus, a collaborative spirit, and civility all can improve the quality of civic reasoning. This makes them all what might be called civic virtues. They will be the main focus of this next section. Before turning to these values and virtues, the author briefly discusses additional roles that values play in civic reasoning.

Second, in the course of engaging in civic reasoning, we invoke and contest commitments to various values: both political values like liberty, equality and tolerance, and more particular values that are tied to other aspects of our identities or the situation at hand. Good civic reasoning is not a value-neutral or value-free activity. Figuring out what we should do involves figuring out what values we want to realize or be true to, which values we share, and how to best understand them. Thus, values can serve as the input and subject matter of civic reasoning. We might invoke a value like liberty when arguing against a law that would make it hard for certain religious communities to live according to their religious commitments. We might employ a value like equality when advocating for policies, like the recognition of same-sex marriage or civil rights for transgender people, that may conflict with certain religious teachings and commitments. In these cases, values serve useful roles in our reasoning.

In other cases, our civic reasoning might involve working out the precise nature of a value or whether it is truly shared. So, we can also reason about how to best understand the value of freedom or equality, and which conception of these values can serve as a basis for "our" decisions about what to do. Here, we are not directly asking a practical question about what to do, but working out something closer to where we stand vis-à-vis one another. In this sense, reasoning together about our values can be a way of working out our relationships to one another and to the extent we are interested in our civic relations, this highlights how civic reasoning is civic insofar as it concerns the civic identity of the reasoners.

Recognizing that civic reasoning not only invokes values but also can be *about* them means that civic reasoning necessarily involves contestation about what "our" values are. When someone invokes a particular value as "American" or "ours" in the course of genuine civic reasoning, then others are always open to reject or question that claim. That is part of what is involved in reasoning about such matters, and not merely dogmatically insisting on them. Because civic reasoning can invoke and be about questions of value, learning to engage in this kind of reasoning requires learning how to think about values. It also entails a disposition to work through moments when values conflict within ourselves or between us and other citizens. At times, we must navigate substantial lasting tensions between values.

Third, civic reasoning can generate new understandings of or commitments to various values and can be part of a process by which citizens come to develop or shift their dispositions toward those values and perhaps help them to develop the virtues necessary to pursue those values well. This can happen when citizens come to change their minds about a topic of civic reasoning: one might enter a discussion about who should be allowed to use which bathroom in a public school or whether we should change our immigration policy committed to a particular conception of tolerance but come away from that discussion with a transformed commitment to the value of inclusion or respect rather than mere tolerance. In addition, over the course of engaging in civic reasoning with others, one can come to change their values as a result of the process of reasoning itself: one might, for instance, develop a new understanding of equality as a result of being confronted with the positions of others, and learning to give them equal weight in deliberations.

In the U.S. context of liberal democracy, values like liberty, equality, and justice are often invoked and contested in the course of civic reasoning. Though these values

may play a direct role in the quality of civic reasoning by supporting practices that give everyone a say, they also play an important role in the second and third senses mentioned previously, and so participants in civic reasoning in an American context will be well served to understand these values, their various interpretations, and their role in unfolding debates about particular laws, policies, and decisions. Beyond training students in the skills needed to engage in civic reasoning, including reasoning about values generally, civic education designed to improve the quality of civic discourse needs to familiarize students with values that have played a role in the civic reasoning of a given country, including the various debates over how to understand them and their relation to one another. Admittedly, though, many citizens do not share these values and we must be careful not to assume that they are universally held or that they function to give us a shared language or aims for civic discourse.

In the rest of this chapter, the author focuses on the values, virtues, and dispositions that are central to engaging well in the activity of civic reasoning. These include empathy, a willingness to compromise, an eye on the possibility as well as the pitfalls of consensus, a collaborative spirit, and civility. Notably, this is not an all-inclusive list, nor should this list always be upheld as a set of ideal goals. For example, sometimes justified resistance or a resolute response to an injustice may require one to dig in one's heels and to hold tight to one's position, rather than to seek consensus or compromise. Additionally, not all learners are developmentally capable of enacting these values, virtues, and dispositions, nor can they do so in all contexts.

Empathy

Ideally, participation in civic reasoning and discourse is not just a one-way street emanating out from individuals. We must also take in the opinions, perspectives, and concerns of others as we work together to figure out "What should we do?" Listening has epistemic benefits. It can help us to see what we are missing or not sufficiently appreciating about an issue or its impact. Listening also has benefits for the manner in which we relate to each other. Active listening is ethical and relational in that it is a way of treating others as political equals, respecting them as individuals, and perhaps enabling relationships to form. Listening can help us to see that others have reasoned beliefs, many of which are worthy of our time and consideration, and may even come to influence our own beliefs. It can help us to see our shared humanity and our shared fate as well as appreciate our real and enduring differences.

Our capacities to be genuinely open to others can be blocked by attitudes and prejudices like sexism, homophobia, and other discriminatory practices that serve as impediments that prevent some citizens from treating others as equals, from forming relationships with them, and learning from them. While some aspects of listening may develop naturally, the sort of active listening needed for effective civic reasoning is best developed through overt curriculum and instruction that cultivates students' skills and dispositions to proceed cautiously with humility and reciprocity as they work to combat the lineages of injustice that they confront in the publics they inhabit and create (Allen, 2004; Parker, 2006).

Empathy—working to see the world from another person's perspective—can help us to overcome some of the impediments to listening and can improve our ability to

relate to each other civically. There are times when empathy may be rightfully with-held from those who have repugnant views. Indeed, to empathize with a racist, for example, might actually demonstrate a civic failing. Nonetheless, empathy generally offers significant benefits to civic reasoning and discourse. Through empathizing with others, we come to recognize their personal stake in issues and the emotions they experience related to those issues. These dispositions can lead us to make better deci-sions because they push us to attend to the well-being of our fellow citizens. They require openness to hear and learn from others, understanding of our own proclivities and limitations, openness to how others might reshape ourselves, and imagination to cross the boundaries between us. These social practices reveal that civic reasoning and discourse is not merely problem solving, but is a responsive and social endeavor where we become mutually attuned to each other (Laden, 2012). Moreover, Nicole Mirra (2018, p. 4) explains:

> If we are able to adopt the perspectives of those unlike ourselves, then perhaps we are more likely to make decisions and take steps that benefit not only our own selfish interests, but the interests of those other people as well. Writ large, empathy becomes the foundation for a democratic society.

Empathy helps us to achieve democratic values of liberty, equality, and justice that are often upheld in the United States while also helping us to relate to each other as citizens working together toward shared understanding.

Empathy requires work, especially when employed with those quite different from ourselves. It may first require learning more about our fellow citizens, their lives, their experiences, and their worldviews. This is noteworthy when one takes into account that those who most need to learn empathy are often those from dominant groups, whose experiences and opinions tend to be reflected in mainstream outlets and who may have been able to traverse life without having to see or understand the perspectives of others. Those with less power, however, have often had to detect and navigate the perspectives of others to get by in life. Such power differentials should not be glossed over, but must be accounted for as part of what Mirra calls "critical civic empathy" (Mirra, 2018, p. 7). This notion of empathy acknowledges power inequalities, historicity, and positionality. It works to foster understanding across differences in ways that builds a new identity together as citizens, one directed toward equity-oriented action.

Consensus, Compromise, and Collaboration

As empathy helps to bridge between citizens when engaging in civic reasoning and discourse, so do an eye for the possibility of consensus and a willingness to compro-mise. Consensus entails coming to unanimously consent to the same desire or conclu-sion, even though not all differences between individuals' desires or conclusions may be resolved. It builds solidarity and can produce a sense of being united with other citizens. Compromise, however, means being willing to strike a deal between one's desire or conclusion and someone else's desire or conclusion, often by giving up parts of it in order to reach an agreement with those whose views differ considerably from one's own. It can help us to arrive at necessary agreements across warring groups or individuals, or to create middle or mutually acceptable ground.

On some occasions, consensus or compromise are aims we hope to achieve through our reasoning and discourse. In those instances, consensus or compromise may be seen as an indication of fulfilling the common good or achieving mutually beneficial goals. On other occasions, looking out for the possible paths to genuine consensus and being open to compromise can be important for engaging in discourse and reasoning well. On still others, they help us take up the civic question effectively so that we can move out of impasses between citizens (Thompson, 2008). Reaching moments of compromise, for example, may require changing our stances, giving some ground, or building new shared perspectives between us. Striking this middle ground may require skills of collaboration, where participants work together to understand their differences and propose alternatives that might be amenable to all parties. Similarly, compromise as a means of discourse may require the disposition of moderation, summarized by Robert Boatright (2019, p. 3) as

> a willingness to pursue a pragmatic politics that accepts the humanity of one's oppo-
> nents, that abandons the assumption that there is an ultimate goal for human endeavors,
> and that seeks to place the goal of fostering an inclusive political community above the
> goal of dictating what the community is or should do.

Rather than carving out middle ground, navigating and negotiating some situations may rely on skills of persuasion, including the ability to make a convincing case for one's stance and to persuade others to share it. Persuasion requires some handle on not only rhetoric, but also of the emotions and motivations that shape how others commit to a stance. Persuasion must be balanced, however, with appropriate accommodation and humility toward others. While there are some instances in which individuals are right and should aim to convince others of that case, we must be careful not to just assume that we are right or to behave in ways that foreclose our ability to hear and respond to the alternative stances put forward by others, for such actions shortchange civic reasoning.

We must also be careful that consensus or compromise do not become avenues to simply avoid confrontation, downplay significant tensions between values, or to do the hard work of reaching challenging or controversial conclusions. This is especially the case when there is a need to disrupt the status quo or work against power imbalances where more resolute stances may be necessary, especially in the face of injustice. We must be cautious that even a conclusion that seems to favor the common good is not hiding disparity or injustice. Similarly, we must be leery of a rush to consensus, as this may curtail or silence some perspectives or not sufficiently engage some points of concern. We must hold open questions and tensions during a discussion in order to provide sufficient time and space for inviting and reflecting on the contributions of participants (Backer, 2019). Sometimes, support networks and identity-based advocacy groups are needed to empower or champion those hidden or overlooked perspectives, instead of focusing on a shared conclusion (Mansbridge et al., 2012). In sum, values that enable good civic reasoning and discourse include willingness to compromise and appreciating the solidarity-building of consensus, but remaining open to new views and challenges to conclusions.

Civility

Civility is sometimes affiliated with a call to compromise, especially between feuding political groups. However, as this chapter will explain, holding firm political views may be warranted, especially when that view is on the side of justice, promotes equal participation, and supports relationships between citizens. Many people more quickly define civility by what it is not than by what it is, pointing to instances of ad hominem attacks, the demeaning of opponents, and rude, vulgar, or threatening speech. When citizens do speak affirmatively of civility, it is often invoked merely in terms of manners, as being polite or respectful in civic discussions, especially when it comes to the tone and content of what we say. However, civility should be understood in a richer way. Rather than think of civility in terms of politeness, we should think of it primarily in terms of responsiveness (Laden, 2019).

Civility is a form of engagement with others that relies on skills and dispositions of being open to and cooperating with diverse participants toward continued mutual engagement in a just dialogue. It affirms the dignity and humanity of one's interlocutors, even as it allows for questioning or critiquing their claims. It is aligned with values of equal participation and inclusivity. In order to be aligned with liberty, civility must not overly restrict free speech. It has significant democratic implications for the outcomes of our reasoning, as well as the manner in which we engage in discourse, because it foregrounds relationships. Civility requires participation that emphasizes respect for others and could actually help to build democracy, not only sustain it through discussion or enable it to move smoothly.

Understood this way, civility can actually be compatible with impolite speech or action, especially when it is necessary to express outrage, forward a political cause (Rossini, 2019), or "transform unjust relationships into just ones. Hence, civility can only be measured within the context of existing and aspired relations, rather than according to a predetermined code of conduct" (Dishon & Ben-Porath, 2018, p. 439). To enact civility in civic discourse, then, one must focus on the impact of one's participation (in content, form, and tone) on the ability of others to participate and hold oneself accountable to reacting to and reshaping unjust interactions.

When civility is seen only as politeness, norms of politeness can be used to silence or marginalize some participants, often by holding them to participation norms that they did not create or that may favor other participants. This loses sight of whether one's participation is responsive to others. Civility supports civic reasoning in the sense of not only the manner in which we relate to each other, but also civility, as responsiveness, impacts our identity as reasoners together. Under that understanding, civic reasoning entails foregrounding how we respond to and work together as members of society and how our relations with each other may give rise to some responsibilities and may call for enacting certain virtues.

In sum, knowledge, skills, values, and dispositions related to listening, empathy, consensus, compromise, collaboration, and civility all work together to help us engage well in civic reasoning and dialogue. They also help to produce better outcomes in terms of our civic inquiries as well as our identity and treatment of each other as citizens reasoning together.

OBSTACLES AND FUTURE RESEARCH

We must prepare students not only for an ideal democracy, but also to live in and improve the one that currently exists (Dahl, 1999). That is one area where civic reasoning and discourse are often bogged down or steered off course by hyper-partisanship, fake news, uncivil behavior, and other problems in our physical and digital communities. Citizens shout at each other in the streets and attack each other on social media. Some engage in civic discussions in ways that flout rationality or dodge empathy. Citizens struggle to reach consensus or agree on foundational understandings or values. Even when a consensus is reached or a course of action is decided, it is often met by ongoing contestation. Navigating and responding to that contestation is an important part of continued civic discourse. Finally, even when some citizens wisely and rightfully engage in political dissent or resistance, our society often structurally withstands or silences their efforts. We are far from the best forms of civic reasoning and discourse depicted here, though, with improved education, we may move closer toward them.

There are many constraints on and disincentives to engage in civic reasoning and discourse. Some of those are institutional, others are cultural, and others are psychological, while still others are based on peer group norms. In this section, the author describes some of those obstacles, using them to highlight areas particularly in need of ongoing or future research, and also offers a few suggestions for improved citizenship education curricula and pedagogy, beginning with general challenges arising in society and then moving into particular challenges in schools.

Understanding Changes in Truth, Facts, and News

Inquiry, facts, and the historical and political knowledge related to them inhabit an especially precarious position in the United States today. Acknowledging the connection between truth and facts, some argue that we currently live in a "post-truth" world, where "objective facts are less influential in shaping public opinion than appeals to emotion and personal belief" (*Oxford English Dictionary*, 2019). Relatedly, "truth decay" describes the social phenomenon whereby members of a society increasingly struggle to draw clear and sharp distinctions between fact and opinion, where personal experience outweighs fact, and where traditionally respected sources of facts, such as newsrooms and scientific reports, are increasingly distrusted (Hodgin & Kahne, 2019, p. 93).

Engaging in civic reasoning requires some level of trust as we sift through varied ideas and accounts. Yet, the problematic situation today has been exacerbated by fake news, which no longer is a term that simply indicates information that is verifiably false, but now also refers to a host of other problems. Sometimes news outlets circulate only limited facts or emphasize some stories over others, which provides only a partial or distorted account to citizens. Sometimes news sites circulate targeted disinformation, which misleads or tricks citizens. Sometimes media outlets present incorrect information as fact to nefariously back particular political positions. Sometimes factually accurate news that contradicts one's ideological beliefs is delegitimized by calling it "fake" (Journell, 2019). Fake news sows confusion, doubt, and mistrust. In this way, it disrupts civic reasoning that is topical as well as reasoning about our shared identity and ways of relating to each other. Information derived from fake news can mislead civic reasoning and concerns over fake news can bring reasoning to a halt or even turn

us away from our fellow citizens. Given the challenges of fake news and post-truth, careful research is needed in these areas and investigations of how we might head off problems related to them through quality citizenship education.

Importantly, fake news is not just about accepting different or competing facts; problems posed by fake news are matters of trust. Fake news derails quality civic reasoning because it prevents citizens from appealing to a shared set of accepted facts or sources of information because they disagree about who is trustworthy and how much trust to put into our knowledge of facts. Seen this way, educating for improved civic reasoning would require learning how to assess the trustworthiness of authority figures or institutions. This is a set of skills that one can learn through social studies classes on critical media literacy, but also in literature courses that examine character and motivation and in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics courses that focus on good argumentation and data sourcing.

Attending to Changing Psychology of Citizens

The spread of fake news and mistrust of other citizens is also related to several other recent alarming trends in the psychology and behaviors of citizens (Garrett, 2019). Some of the phenomena are longstanding, but they are increasing in intensity and impact, and others are being brought under study and classified in new ways. Recent hyper-partisanship is having a marked impact on the makeup of groups and the reasoning that occurs within them. Citizens increasingly engage in echo chambers, surrounding themselves with peers and news sources that confirm their worldview. In some instances, citizens willfully chose to isolate themselves in these ways, but in others, socioeconomic and racial segregation exacerbate citizen silos. Sometimes these communities develop groupthink, which blocks thorough and effective civic reasoning and keeps it from being sufficiently pluralistic. In part, citizens may be prone to motivated reasoning, where their social group or political affiliation may lead them to advantage their previously held views when they encounter new information (Kraft et al., 2015). In other words, citizens are resistant to information that would cause them to change the worldview they already have. These citizens accept what matches with their current views and dismiss the rest. Hence, this limited form of rationalizing is only mobilized to support conclusions already reached and it falls far short of the plural endeavor of civic reasoning.

Similarly, confirmation bias leads citizens to only seek evidence that is partial to their current beliefs or to interpret evidence in ways aligned with hypotheses that they already hold. When they encounter evidence that counters their views, they dismiss that information and double down on their prior beliefs—a phenomenon known as the backfire effect. Additionally, a process known as magical thinking happens when what citizens desire to be true comes to feel more true or real than actual reality. It leads citizens to treat their subjective experiences and desires as facts. Finally, affective polarization occurs when individuals not only seek out similar peers, but evaluate those from their own political party positively and those in opposition parties negatively (Clark & Avery, 2016).

Collectively, these psychological responses suggest that we cannot improve civic reasoning simply by giving citizens more information. While integrating citizens into

more diverse communities can have positive benefits, some citizens will continue to engage in self-confirmatory practices. Indeed, one study revealed the worrisome result that even when given extensive evidence, citizens disregarded it in favor of their own previous beliefs and another study showed that motivated reasoning is actually greatest among those with the most political knowledge (Crocco et al., 2017; Kahne & Bowyer, 2017). Yet, political knowledge is also known to increase positive civil participation and identity (Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996).

Citizens need more skills and motivation to work against or overcome confirmation bias. This is an area especially in need of research in both general public life and in schools. Such research might include studies of how classroom teachers use metacognition to attune students to their own biases and experiences of positive or negative feelings to opinions encountered; studies of how employing critical media literacy may reduce biased practices; studies of how teachers' own political partisanship and political environments influence their teaching of civil reasoning (Curry & Cherner, 2019); studies of how to genuinely engage with competing perspectives when situated in increasingly ideologically, racially, and socioeconomically homogenous schools; and studies of how classroom deliberations work through instances of these problems critically, while still allowing for students to hold strong views (Kahne & Bowyer, 2017; Lavine et al., 2012; Nyhan & Reifler, 2010).

Building Capacity for Civic Reasoning and Discourse Online

Given the prevalence of using online materials to find facts, problems related to sources and verification are especially prevalent today. In online spaces, many people are irresponsible in their employment of facts, so consumers of online information have to employ a heightened level of scrutiny and care. As indicated by studies of civic online reasoning by the Stanford History Education Group, citizens need dispositions and strategies to ask questions, investigate sources, and verify claims online (McGrew et al., 2017). Such determinations expose the influence of power on facts and knowledge. A 2009 National Council for the Social Studies position statement importantly highlighted the need for developing critical media literacy skills to detect and analyze power and ideology at play in media and how they can manipulate our emotions and our cognitive biases. Additionally, new curricula are needed to help budding citizens understand the complex ways in which knowledge is produced and credentialed so that they have principled grounds for trusting some online sources over others.

Another perennial obstacle related to civil reasoning is that public deliberation, and even classroom deliberation, is often irrational and not driven by facts, justified reasons, or efforts to remove problematic bias. Indeed, some citizens even seem to prefer those sorts of exchanges over calls to rationality and order, and some are quite adept at using persuasive tricks and disinformation (Segall et al., 2019). These sorts of practices may further drive away citizens who increasingly feel cynical about democratic life and may exacerbate the distaste of those who already feel dissuaded to participate in civic discourse because they feel that participation is inauthentic or not likely to actually influence public policy (Stitzlein, 2020). Researchers might craft curricula that guide teachers on how to detect these sorts of persuasive tricks and walk students through understanding how they are manipulative approaches that lead to unwise reasoning

and discourse that runs counter to longstanding values of democracy, as well as giving them means to respond to such discourse in ways that steer it toward better civic reasoning.

The longstanding struggle to achieve broad and inclusive communities of inquiry faces particular challenges in digital spaces today. Patterns of media usage tend to reflect distinct demographic groups and citizens seek out like-minded peers online. Many of the psychological phenomena posing problems in our face-to-face communities are even more pronounced online. Changes within the media environment have also exacerbated the problems, including the diminished role of gatekeepers, enabling wide circulation of inaccurate information and increasingly partisan interpretations of news (Hodgin & Kahne, 2019).

Relationships that support good civic reasoning and discourse can be especially challenging to achieve and maintain in online spaces, where we are separated from our fellow citizens by time and space. Moreover, online settings sometimes produce a "disinhibition effect," where people are emboldened to act in more outlandish or disrespectful ways behind a screen of anonymity than they typically would in face-to-face conversation (Suler, 2015). Yet, online spaces also provide important outlets for airing perspectives that run counter to the mainstream, where the anonymity of the screen may also provide protective cover. Future research into the skills and dispositions of civility and dissent in online spaces is needed.

Importantly, today's digital platforms also present significant tools for finding alternative views, seeking out minority perspectives, and reaching out to other citizens otherwise separated by space, time, or other constraints. Additionally, digital platforms offer opportunities to expand beyond our face-to-face networks and form new relationships. Civic reasoning and discourse would be improved by learning more approaches to fulfilling diversity, inclusivity, and equality through technology and media. We must also simultaneously nurture the proclivity of citizens to use media and technology for civic purposes, rather than narrowly viewing it merely for entertainment or even education (Levine, 2015).

Supporting Diverse and Open Environments

Open environments, where citizens are invited to discuss meaningful and controversial issues, can help build inclusivity and tolerance, especially when participants discover that they learn from and improve their overall decision-making processes as a result of including multiple and conflicting perspectives. Yet, despite these benefits, civic and classroom deliberations often are, in some ways, exclusive. We know that many civic decisions are made in spaces that include only a small subset of the overall population and that often those who participate or are welcomed to contribute are those who inhabit positions of power by virtue of their demographics, wealth, community status, and more. Exclusivity and elitism tend to lead to some voices wielding more power or impact than others, if those others are even included at all.

Additionally, we know that classrooms are increasingly racially and economically segregated, making it even more challenging to create diverse and inclusive communities within the confines of the school. These conditions call for additional research to understand how we can work within them to teach and enact civic reasoning, as well

as research into how trends of exclusion and segregation might be countered. Such research might entail demonstrating for civic and school groups the improved reasoning that comes about through more inclusive decision making, as well as its positive impact on the identity of the group of reasoners. Relatedly, recognizing that all groups cannot be fully inclusive, research into how to educate citizens to understand and assume the responsibility of being representatives for those not present is needed.

Alleviating School-Based Problems

In addition to influences that seep from larger society into our classrooms, schools also face challenges in teaching good civic reasoning and discourse. While all classrooms are civic spaces and ideally should contribute to citizen development, that does not mean that all classes are equally tasked with emphasizing citizenship or preparing for democracy. These aims have historically been most pronounced in social studies and history courses. Put simply, there is often insufficient time and attention devoted to citizenship education across the curriculum. This is especially the case in social studies and history. While some recent trends show renewed emphasis on these areas, they have been squeezed from the school day in order to accommodate more instruction in heavily tested subject areas like math and language arts across the past two decades (Gould et al., 2001; Hodgin & Kahne, 2019; McMurrer, 2008). Within the social studies and history courses that do remain, more focus should be placed on determining the content needed within them and how it might be tied to the teaching of related civic skills and dispositions situated within an inquiry-based classroom.

Moreover, even within the heavily tested disciplines, more integration of the knowledge, skills, values, and dispositions of civic reasoning is needed. This includes mathematics education that engages in data literacy, explanatory modeling, and making arguments based on numerical evidence from charts and info graphs. It also includes science education that helps students to understand how scientific communities work in order to build justified trust in them and participation in them (citizen science, for example), while also enabling budding citizens to critically investigate scientific information. Math and science curricula should be organized around joint problem solving as well as critical discussions of methods and results. Finally, this includes focus in language arts and foreign language classrooms on exploring differing points of view, practicing empathy with characters in literary and non-fictional texts, engaging with morally complex scenarios, practicing self-reflection sparked through engagement with literature, and learning critical media literacy.

Even when citizenship education is taught, we know that there is considerable inequity in its quality and quantity, with poorer students and children of color more likely to be underserved (Levinson, 2014). Moreover, the digital resources and critical media literacy instruction needed to attend to the particular challenges raised in online settings varies considerably across places and populations (Kahne et al., 2012). Within schools, we must also draw attention to the conditions that run counter to participation in civic reasoning and discourse. Silence policies and "no excuses" disciplinary approaches stamp out spaces for practicing discourse, let alone engaging in warranted dissent (Ben-Porath, 2013). Yet, even in far less extreme situations, the norms of our schools may favor passive learning about government operations over the sort of active

engagement needed to cultivate habits of participation in civic reasoning and discourse. Instead, we must craft engaging action and experiential civic education that takes up the civic question, that *does* civic reasoning and discourse, rather than simply teaching about it, if at all.

Teacher education courses can equip teachers with approaches that help to establish new classroom norms and particular knowledge of critical civic media literacy that can be shared with students. Education scholars, including curriculum designers, might especially focus on practices that align the College, Career, and Civic Life (C3) Framework for Social Studies State Standards and socio-emotional learning (Collaborative for Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning and others) with civic reasoning and discourse, offering approaches that integrate teaching for civic reasoning and discourse with other valued aspects of the curriculum. The C3 Framework, for example, is an inquiry-based approach to compelling and authentic questions that requires inclusive participation and aims to answer those questions with a summative argument, an approach well aligned with that articulated here. Finally, educational publics composed of education researchers, curriculum makers, teachers, and members of particular school communities must take up the question of "What should we do?" as they deliberate and determine the particular content knowledge, skills, and dispositions needed for learning how to participate well in civic reasoning and discourse.

Allowing for Differences Among Citizens

While the author has articulated knowledge, skills, dispositions, and values that support and enhance civic reasoning and discourse, not all citizens should be expected to learn and demonstrate the same ones. Indeed, we can bring differing and complimentary components together to produce good civic reasoning and discourse.

But, significantly, not everyone is situated in our society as equal reasoning partners and some of the components of civic reasoning and education for it as depicted here have long been wrapped up with practices of injustice and inequity in the United States. Some have been systematically denied to Americans of color or those with less wealth or power. Some have been crafted by only a sliver of the population and therefore lack not only the voice and input of others, but also fail to encapsulate the experiences of those for whom some longstanding American ideas have rarely been achievable or equitably provided. Yet, it is important to recognize that despite those injustices and inequitable educational opportunities, many members of communities not in positions of recognized power have substantially contributed to civic reasoning and have resisted undemocratic practices.

On the other hand, the reasoning of citizens inhabiting positions of privilege is also sometimes undermined by an array of limitations that arise from their privilege, some of which are overlooked or downplayed because they are common among powerful or mainstream people. These components, then, have been shaped by agendas of power that must be acknowledged, analyzed, called out, and challenged. While we do need some shared ways of communicating that build on common skills and values, we can also be more inclusive of multiple approaches and more critical of dominant ways. Some of the prevailing ways that have served many Americans well in the past may then be revised, broadened, and improved to serve us well now and in the future.

Recognizing that demographics and injustice impact participation and the development of citizenship, our schools may need to vary the knowledge, skills, dispositions, and values they teach. Given inequitable starting positions for participation that grow out of social injustice as well as differing experiences at home, some citizens may need to learn components that depend on how they are positioned in society or on aspects of their personalities. As just one example, some may need to develop assertiveness, while others learn humility. Given problems in our non-ideal democracy, we may need to emphasize some components over others. Currently, this might mean teaching more about digital civility and critical media literacy. While educating for civic reasoning and discourse requires sufficient access to the knowledge, skills, dispositions, and values depicted here, teachers and communities can vary their emphasis on those components to respond to the strengths and needs of their citizens as well as the particular struggles they face in democracy.

MOVING FORWARD

In this chapter, the author has articulated civic reasoning as the reasoning we do as we answer the civic question of "What should we do?" Such reasoning is civic in that it addresses topics of shared concern, is a matter of our collective identity, and shapes the manner in which we relate to each other. Civic discourse is a means or method by which we engage in civic reasoning. Both face some significant challenges today. Better understanding the obstacles and constructing pathways past them will require cross-disciplinary research, bringing together education scholars with philosophers, psychologists, political scientists, and more. Moreover, we must go beyond just civic reasoning and discourse to understand and nurture civic action and agency in students. The contributions of this chapter on the philosophical and moral foundations of civic reasoning and discourse may help lay a groundwork for continued discussion as we work to determine what we should do about citizenship education.[1]

Recommendations for Practice

- **Collaborative problem solving using an inquiry approach:** Civic reasoning often arises when we find ourselves facing problems. Inquiry brings citizens together to make sense of and solve problems together. Inquiry is invoked to investigate the world, hypothesize ways to solve our problems, and experiment with solutions. The best forms of citizenship education model and practice this sort of critical, problem-based learning. They move beyond just civics content knowledge to teach both *with* and *for* inquiry.
- **Development of informed trust of institutions and authority:** Knowledge creation occurs socially and is often carried out by institutions. Having knowledge typically requires that we trust other people and institutions, especially those with expertise. It is not rational, however, to automatically trust others; rather, citizens must learn how to decide which people and institutions are worthy of trust.
- **Critical media literacy:** Given the pervasive use of technology and media to circulate civic knowledge and engage in civic discourse, critical media literacy is an essential skill for navigating such spaces well. Critical media literacy can help students identify fake news, biased interpretations, or otherwise faulty information. Moreover, it can help students detect and analyze power and ideology at play in the media, including identifying how they manipulate emotions and cognitive biases.
- **Empathy building:** Working to see the world from another person's perspective can help us better relate to other citizens. Through empathizing, we come to recognize the personal stake and emotional ties others may have to an issue. This can then dispose us to make more informed decisions that better attend to the well-being of others. Empathy requires us to listen and learn from others, to imagine the emotions and experiences of others, and to be open to changing ourselves as a result.
- **Civility as responsiveness:** Too often, civility is understood merely as being polite in civic discussions. But civility should be understood in a much richer way as responsiveness. As a form of engagement with others, civility concerns our disposition toward open and ongoing cooperation in a just dialogue with others. It affirms the dignity and humanity of others, even as we may disagree with or challenge them.
- **Skills of and disposition to dissent:** Healthy democracy relies upon quality dissent, where citizens critique the status quo, raise awareness of problems, and put forward alternatives. This sort of disagreement can be a source of better civic reasoning for it brings forward minority views, reveals faulty beliefs, and overcomes some of the problems group think or inertia. Citizens need to learn how to take seriously and respond to the dissent of others so that their civic reasoning is better informed.
- **Openness to compromise:** To move forward out of moments of impasse, citizens must be open to compromise, where they may strike a deal between their own desire or belief and someone else's. Sometimes, this entails giving up parts of one's own stance in order to reach an agreement with those whose stance is considerably different. Other times, this entails crafting new shared perspectives between disagreeing parties.
- **Content knowledge:** While inquiry may be the primary process for solving shared problems, it often relies upon content knowledge, including political and historical knowledge. Citizens need to know about politics and democratic practices and procedures. Knowing what has been tried in the past can help us make wiser decisions for the future. Skills of historical interpretation can help us use identify legitimate sources and use evidence to reach justified conclusions.

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2

Civic Reasoning and Discourse: Perspectives from Learning and Human Development Research

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the issues, challenges, and opportunities relevant to civic reasoning and discourse from the perspective of research on learning and human development. These connected fields of study have significant implications for the processes of formalizing and interpreting arguments, considering divergent community perspectives, analyzing complex processes and potential social outcomes, and developing solutions to ill-structured and far-reaching problems of civic scale, which lack a singularly correct and apparent answer (Torney-Purta, 1995). The authors do not propose that supporting the development of civic reasoning and discourse in K–12 schooling will in itself directly impact civic action through policy and practices in the broader society. Rather, this project seeks to better understand how to prepare current and future generations with the skill sets and dispositions that increase the likelihood that they will be active civic agents as adults. At the same time, the authors anticipate that, if schools enable the kinds of recommendations made in this chapter, then there will be increased cases of young people in middle and high school who will indeed engage in civic action as youth, such as the recent anti-violence movement sparked by students at Parkland High School in Florida, the global Sunrise Movement of young people fighting to stop the climate crisis, the historical role of youth in the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s, and the nationwide protests (indeed, international) following the killing of George Floyd by Minneapolis police.

The authors engage this complex problem space through the following strategies: first, the chapter presents definitions of civic reasoning and discourse and outlines the basic learning and development principles entailed in these interrelated processes. Also offered is an anchoring vignette from a complex, contemporary situation to which the authors return throughout the chapter as an object of analysis and practical application. The chapter begins with an outline of key ideas from research in the sciences of learning that inform how we understand the cognitive demands of civic reasoning and discourse. The authors then explore how theories and research on human development, particularly with regard to identity, belonging, and moral development, are fundamentally involved in the work of civic cognition and debate. The chapter moves to highlight major theories and advances across the disciplinary approaches that may be of particular use to the tasks of civic reasoning and discourse, as informed by findings

from the learning sciences and human development, and concludes with a discussion of research on learning and development, emphasizing strategies that core academic disciplines can take up to support the socializing of civic reasoning and discourse, including implications for future research and practice.

IMPORTANCE OF CIVIC REASONING AND DISCOURSE FOR A WORKING DEMOCRACY

Support for civic reasoning and opportunities for robust civic discourse are essential for a successful working democracy—a governance system in which the citizens themselves hold the power to make decisions, whether through direct participation or through election of representative officers, as in the United States. The ability to collectively decide on a just and mutually beneficial course of coordinated action, and to acknowledge and correct previously enacted community harm, requires deep historical knowledge and knowledge of our political system of governance, scientific and technical knowledge, logical reasoning ability, capacity to empathize with multiple social and psychological perspectives, understanding of economic principles and ecological systems, and skill at formulating and communicating arguments in multiple modalities.

The challenges of civic decision making in the United States are well established and hotly debated. Preparing youth to engage in civic reasoning and discourse has been viewed largely as the purview of civics education, often reduced to a senior level civics course in high school and tests on the United States and state constitutions. Nationally, we examine youth's knowledge about civics as a domain in grades 4, 8, and 12 through the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) civics assessment every 4 years. The civics assessment examines what students know in terms of knowledge, skills, and dispositions. The knowledge base concentrates on understanding our political system, its history, how it functions, how citizens can engage it, and history and geography of the United States. The intellectual skills include identification and description, explanation and analysis, and evaluation and argumentation. Civics courses typically work to support dispositions such as becoming an independent member of society; assuming the personal, political, and economic responsibilities of a citizen; respecting individual worth and human dignity; participating in civic affairs in an informed, thoughtful, and effective manner; and promoting the healthy functioning of American constitutional democracy.

While the NAEP assessment analyzes a national sample of students in both public and private schools, because the U.S. federal government leaves the power to individual states to legislate mandatory curricula in schools, access to civic education is starkly uneven across the country. As of 2018, only 19 states required a civics exam to be passed as a qualifier for graduation, and only 36 mandated that at least a semester-long civics class be offered during a student's high school career. Just eight states specified that students receive 1 full year of civics education (*Education Week*, 2018). Across the board, few districts provide the necessary training and materials for educators to effectively teach civic content and skills; when they do, the resources typically come from outside, nonprofit organizations and vary considerably in quality.

Although some states have made civic education a legislative priority in recent years (e.g., between 2015 and 2019 Illinois passed new civic education requirements for

both high school and middle school students), other states are still lagging behind. In 2018, 14 students ranging in age from preschool to high school filed a lawsuit against their home state of Rhode Island for not providing them with adequate civic education (Goldstein, 2018). One of the plaintiffs, high school senior Aleita Cook, claimed that the two required social studies courses she took at Providence Career & Technical Academy—World and American history—taught her "mostly about wars," failing to prepare her to understand the basics of the U.S. bipartisan system, participate in contemporary political debates, or file her taxes.

The impacts of these educational omissions are evident across the public sphere. Only one-quarter of 8th grade students scored "proficient" or above on NAEP's civics assessment in 2014. There were no significant differences for 8th graders in the 2018 NAEP civics assessment. Earlier results from 2010 for 4th and 12th graders yielded similar results. The level of political polarization—the gap between liberals and conservatives—is the highest it has ever been in the 25 years since the Pew Research Center has begun tracking it (Doherty, 2017). Polarized political identification correlates with divisive media consumption habits and distrust of politically contrasting institutional news sources (Tucker et al., 2018), while the spread of "misinformation"—vague, false, and misleading facts—on social media is so rampant that it earned the term the 2018 "word of the year" status on Dictionary.com. In 2019, the Gun Violence Archive recorded 418 mass shootings across the country, many of the deadliest ones occurring in schools, churches, and shopping centers, intentionally planned and executed as attacks on religious and ethnic minorities (Gun Violence Archive, 2020). These aggregated trends are evidence that the collective capacity for civic reasoning and discourse in the United States is not simply weak; it is catastrophically broken. The educational policy and research communities have a responsibility to facilitate access to the knowledge base that can inform children, teachers, and the population at large in their efforts to effectively make sense of ongoing political conflicts and to learn to think and act reasonably and morally about ongoing social challenges.

DEFINITIONS OF CIVIC REASONING AND DISCOURSE, AND ANCHORING VIGNETTE

Throughout this chapter, the authors orient discussion of the learning and developmental issues entailed in civic reasoning and discourse around the following definitions, developed by the committee for this initiative:

To reason civically is to ask what we should do, where "we" is a group of any size, outside the family, to which the individual belongs…. The question always has an ethical dimension: which means and which ends should we choose?… And the question requires a rigorous empirical understanding of the situation, the most relevant institutions, and the likely outcomes of various decisions. Emotions—from empathy to righteous indignation—also provide input for civic reasoning and should be influenced by reasoning.

Discourse is necessary because discussing with others is the best way of combating our individual cognitive and ethical limitations and biases. But discourse can go badly because of groupthink, propaganda, bias, lack of empathy, exclusion of perspectives,

and other dysfunctions. Thus, education (broadly defined) should motivate people to feel that they are part of groups that reason together about what to do and should strengthen their dispositions, skills, and knowledge so that they reason well. Putting the results of a discussion into practice and reflecting on the outcome is one way to learn civic reasoning, but it is also possible to learn from simulations, observations, data, history, and the lived experiences of students.

The previous definitions imply that civic reasoning and discourse inherently entail the application of knowledge, sensemaking abilities, moral principles, and communication skills within the context of a living and historically situated community—the same activities entailed in learning and human development more broadly. The authors' goal with this chapter is to demonstrate how specific principles and theories derived from research can inform educational design and policy for civic reasoning and discourse.

The chapter grounds its discussions in an anchoring vignette drawn from a complex civics dilemma in the United States. This situation was selected for several reasons: (1) it is both current and historically implicated, (2) it involves competing interests, and (3) there is no single answer to the dilemmas it presents.

> On a hot August day in 2019, the busy work routine of several poultry factories in Mississippi was suddenly interrupted by the arrival of 600 agents from U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE)—a federal agency overseeing immigration law. The ICE agents arrested 680 factory employees across multiple plant locations, citing their status as undocumented immigrants as grounds for detaining them and launching deportation proceedings. The workers had no choice but to follow the armed agents, and the factory management had no power to protect their staff from the raid. Some of the factories lost nearly half of their workers—many of whom had used fake names and social security numbers to access the right to work at the chicken plant and pay taxes on their earnings. The events of the ICE sting affected not only the detainees themselves, but practically every member of the town's community in a cascade of consequences: the workers' children who were left without parents; their extended family members who had to scramble to take care of the children and the remaining responsibilities of the detained workers; the factory employees who were left without trained colleagues to meet the already exhausting daily poultry processing quotas; workers' neighbors and churches organizing to provide aid to the affected families; landlords suddenly left without reliable tenants; and the town's teachers having to face classrooms of traumatized, abandoned children and risking their own job security if school enrollments dropped. As the ICE buses pulled away, packed with detained workers, a factory employee who was left behind suggested an even bigger national impact: "This will affect the economy. Without them here, how will you get your chicken?" (Reporting sourced from Jordan, 2019; Solis & Amy, 2019)

In taking up this situation and its consequences as an anchoring case for unpacking the complexity of civic reasoning and discourse, we contend with the question of what is entailed in the activity of deciding "what we should do" about "it." As the previous definitions suggest, a primary ethical consideration is deciding who is included in the "we"—is it just employees of the poultry plant, just residents of the Mississippi town where the raid took place, only legal American citizens living in Mississippi, or only adults who are eligible to vote? Or does the "we" include the detained workers

as well, regardless of their immigration status, and their children, or the teachers who might live in different towns but care for the children inside the county's public schools? Does it include their families in other countries who depend on the workers' earnings? Does the "we" include other residents of the United States who do not live in Mississippi or personally know any of the detainees? Does the "we" apply only to people who eat chicken processed at the plant or also those who ethically reject factory farming of animals?

What are means and ends that are available for reasoning and decision making about this situation? Do "we" decide that our main priority is resuming normal economic activity in the plant and country—making sure "everyone gets their chicken" by whatever means necessary? Or do we decide that reuniting detained parents with their children is most important? What legal and political tools are available in pursuit of either end goal? Why does a federal agency have the jurisdiction to make a surprise raid inside a commercial plant in Mississippi? Is the company responsible for its hiring practices or the detained workers for forging identity documents in order to work? Is the U.S. government responsible for catalyzing economic policies that impoverish and destabilize its southern neighbors, motivating people to migrate to the United States illegally? Do "we" care most about punishing law-breakers or about modifying our laws and practices to ensure collective well-being?

In reasoning about this situation, how might we think about various outcomes of different decisions? For example, what might happen if the local residents organize a protest against ICE or other employees of the plant strike in solidarity with the detainees? What might happen if nothing is done and unattended children are left without their parents for an indefinite amount of time? What are the tools available for thinking through these complex sequences of events? Could we use historical documentaries or participatory simulations to play out and reflect on different strategies? What are the expectations for civic discourse in such a moment? The urgency of such discourse? What does it mean to discuss policy decisions that hold children's lives in the balance?

Whose feelings and livelihoods should be taken into consideration, whether or not they are included in the "we" who get to decide what to do—those of children and families? Business owners? Potential abusers of immigration laws? Future generations?

Where might *civic discourse* about these dilemmas even take place? In an 8th grade social studies classroom? In a town hall or a church basement? What biases and information sources will be acknowledged and ignored? What historical cases will be brought up as precedents or alternatives? Will some young people have no opportunity to engage in discourse about these issues at all, because the teacher will be afraid of holding space for a controversial discussion or rush to cover content for the next state exam?

As this sampling of questions suggests, both understanding the issue and seeking to address the issue involve concerns around the moral and ethical dimensions of the problem space, and how perceptions of the self and others play out in influencing both how one understands the problem as well as how and if one seeks to engage in civic action to address the problem. Schools have a critical role in preparing students to grapple with such questions, and to develop the knowledge and dispositions that increase the likelihood that they will engage in civic action.

COMPLEXITY OF THE PROBLEM SPACE FROM
HUMAN DEVELOPMENT AND LEARNING PERSPECTIVES

There is a breadth of knowledge, dispositions, and identity orientations that are entailed in people engaging in the work of civic reasoning and discourse, including knowledge of a wide array of content and concepts across multiple domains, dispositions that are epistemological, moral, and ethical, and identity orientations that involve perceptions of the self and of others. This breadth of knowledge, dispositions, and identity orientations operates within ecological systems that are always dynamic. This chapter seeks to present a discussion of this breadth of knowledge, dispositions, and identity orientations, documenting the research base from across relevant disciplines that help us understand both the nature of such knowledge as well as how it develops over time and the conditions to facilitate or challenge this development. The authors assert that because of this complexity, it is unreasonable to believe that the knowledge and dispositions for civic reasoning and discourse can be developed in only one sector of our socialization systems (e.g., in the civics courses some students are required to take in public schooling) or only at certain points in life course development (i.e., adolescence).

The authors believe that efforts to prepare young people for such complex problem solving must be informed by an empirically supported knowledge base. To the extent that so much attention to civics-related learning has been deemed cognitive, it has been limited in its ecological validity. There is an emerging body of work that seeks to understand the dynamic intersections among thinking, perceptions, and emotions in human learning and development and how these unfold over time in terms of where people are in the life course (Osher et al., 2018). This integrative frame draws from research in cognition, the learning sciences, human development, and social psychology. This chapter will describe foundational findings from these disciplines and their relevance for engaging in civic reasoning, debate, and discourse, and will address not only broad constructs about human learning but also how these play out in terms of learning in core academic disciplines. Each content area can contribute to the breadth of knowledge that people need to understand the complex civic dilemmas we face and analyze the range of responses we can collectively pursue. The authors focus on academic disciplines that currently structure the primary units of public schooling: literacy, literature, history and social studies, math, science, and the cross-disciplinary role of discourse repertoires in classrooms.

HOW PEOPLE LEARN

In 1999 the National Research Council commissioned an integrative study of human learning. The project produced the landmark report *How People Learn* (National Research Council, 2000), which outlined the foundational theories of the sciences of learning, including the processes of knowledge acquisition, organization and transfer across contexts, problem solving, conceptual change, and the development and structure of expertise. The report emphasized the salience of learners' *prior knowledge*—intuitive and cultural understandings of phenomena—in the task of learning new concepts and approaching unfamiliar problems. Also emphasized was the significance in differences between novices' organization of knowledge—often shallow, fractured, and

contradictory—and domain experts' organization of knowledge, reflecting a deep structure of conceptual and contextual relationships in a given field. Of particular challenge, then, is the facilitation of *conceptual change* in learners—the task of supporting individuals to both revise potentially existing misconceptions or partial understandings and construct new cognitive frameworks to accommodate new-to-them ideas (diSessa, 2002; diSessa & Sherin, 1998). *How People Learn* additionally emphasized that knowledge structures and learning processes are *social* by emerging and reinforcing through interpersonal interaction, *situated* in specific cultural settings and activity, *mediated* by cognitive and cultural tools including language and artifacts, and *distributed* across objects, physical representations, and relationships within the environment. Finally, the report and follow-up texts proposed recommendations for the design of learning environments to support learning in accordance with these scientific understandings (National Research Council, 1999, 2005). These include anticipating, surfacing, and incorporating learners' prior knowledge, providing opportunities to build varied repertoires of real-world problems in the domain, and supporting metacognitive relationships to domain knowledge through collaborative and reflective activities.

In 2018, the National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine issued a follow-up consensus study report—*How People Learn II*—that sought to expand the focus on cognition to include greater attention to issues of culture and context, moving beyond the focus on thinking as solely an activity within an individual's brain (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, 2018). Incorporating emerging and complementary empirical findings from neurosciences (cognitive, social, cultural), research on human development, and two decades of advances in learning sciences, the expanded view of learning emphasized by how the thinking and problem solving that humans engage in is multi-faceted, richly cultured, and dynamic. This complex systems perspective (Fischer & Bidell, 1998) further acknowledges that humans' foundational abilities and dispositions for learning are inherited from our evolution as a species (Lee et al., 2020; Packer & Cole, 2020; Tomasello, 1999, Quartz & Sejnowski, 2002). These dispositions include newborn humans' tendencies to explore their immediate physical and social world and seek to impose meaning on their experiences in the world, and the structures for storing these experiences and meanings as schemas embodied physically in the body and in neural networks in the brain (Kitayama & Park, 2010). Humans' responses to experience in the world are initially physically embodied through their senses (sight, hearing, touch, taste, smell), and taken up through chemical responses that are transmitted to the brain. These chemical responses are associated with the emotional salience human beings impose on experience, which are in turn implicated in their decision making and behavior (Damasio, 1995). Despite the capacities of rationality, long-term thinking, and imagination that are unique features of the human species, the evolutionarily inherited limbic system located in the amygdala can overtake systems in the frontal lobe that drive cognition and goal orientation, particularly under perceptions of stress (Adam, 2012). Thus, the emotional salience attributed to experience is central to understanding human thinking and action.

Humans' responses to experience are additionally influenced by *ego-focused orientations* (i.e., who we think we are) that are formed not only by individually inherited dispositions but also by the social relationships we have within and across contexts, with relationships in family life as foundational (Spencer, 2006). Finally, our perceptions

of task *relevance* and personal *efficacy* always serve as filters for how we process experiences in the world (Bandura, 1993). Perception of relevance is both individual and social: sometimes we persist in problem solving because the task is personally relevant in terms of either a short- or long-term goal. Sometimes that goal is purely individual, and sometimes it is related to our sense of social obligation to others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). We are also more likely to persist in complex problem solving when we feel a sense of efficacy—a belief in our ability to eventually find a solution to the problem, even if we are failing in the moment.

In summary, the new theories of learning acknowledge the dynamic complexity and cultural and cognitive variation in the ways that people might represent and engage with the world, including storing and retrieving information, organizing social activity, and solving problems (Lee, 2017). This "no best way" characterization of how people learn thus recognizes the underlying importance of the species' physical, cultural, and neurological diversity. Consequently, our considerations for developing learning environments need to extend beyond issues of knowledge organization and representation, and attend to the design of sensory stimuli, cultural resonance, embodied activity, and emotional safety. These multi-dimensional foci are especially important in the design of learning environments intended to prepare young people for the complex and potentially stressful challenges of civic reasoning, discourse, and engagement.

Taking this complexity into account, we can see how the foundations of children learning to reason about civic issues and engage in civic discourse begin at a very young age and are influenced by every aspect of the child's experience in the world. Small children learn about the world from observation, exploration, and imitation (Meltzoff, 1988; Meltzoff & Decety, 2003). For example, they learn intuitively about gravity as a force by picking up objects, letting them go, and seeing them fall (diSessa, 1982). They learn intuitively about foundational mathematical constructs like "more" and "less" by manipulating quantities in goal-directed behaviors (Starkey & Gelman, 1982; Wynn, 1992). They know when they want more or fewer objects that can be quantified. They learn about language interactions even as infants, responding to linguistic and verbal inputs from caregivers and siblings even when they do not have the formal linguistic repertoires to respond (Bloom, 1976/2013; Kuhl & Meltzoff, 1996). Infants are born with the ability to hear and discern all of the sounds of all human languages, but prune their attention over time to the sounds that they most routinely hear (Ferjan Ramírez et al., 2017; Kuhl & Meltzoff, 1996)—think about the difficulty that an English-speaking adult has in hearing and producing sounds in Mandarin or Xhosa. Children learn about narrative structures well before they can read by listening to stories in which people engage in goal-directed behaviors (Bruner, 1990; Mandler, 1987). They also learn about moral constructs of good and bad by observing how other people treat one another and experiencing the consequences of their actions when they treat others well or badly (Kohlberg, 1964; Nasir & Kirshner, 2003; Turiel, 2007). They hear their immediate family, friends, strangers, and teachers make statements about the value of certain groups of people, ideas, and activities, and they seek to extrapolate patterns that they then test against future experience, leading to the embodiment of content and concepts that are stored in neural networks in long-term memory.

Through this process, children develop epistemic frames that they later bring to bear when making sense of civic arguments (Elby & Hammer, 2010). In other words,

children are continuously forming and modifying a complex and dynamic picture of the world and social relations and they certainly do not come to their first civics course in 4th, 8th, or 12th grade as blank slates. This development of foundational knowledge suggests—and we know from experience—that even very young children can develop interpretations of the immigration case we have described, particularly to the extent that they have some direct experiences related to the case. For instance, children whose parents are undocumented who see the case presented on television, children who know people who have been arrested and taken away from their families, or children who read stories about child separation may draw on their background knowledge when sensemaking about the case. In any of these contexts, even young children develop a foundational sense of right and wrong and of good and bad. Figure 2-1 captures the multiple dimensions of learning.

However, children do not intuitively and organically acquire the ability to think about civic problems like experts of history, political theory, economics, ethics, climate science, or environmental engineering. We cannot reasonably expect schools to prepare students to develop professional expertise in all of these domains. Rather, we want to consider the specific educational imperatives involved in preparing students for civic reasoning and discourse as defined in the introduction. Civic reasoning entails engaging with knowledge of the history of the situation, consideration of relevant stakeholders, an ethical determination of responsible group(s), an analysis of available means and ends, and sense of individual and collective efficacy in pursuing them. Civic reasoning also goes beyond purely rational considerations to include awareness of emotional inputs, such as empathy or motivation. Discourse involves the norms for language use and interaction, as well as norms for what counts as evidence and warrants to support claims. The complexity of these tasks requires that the training in the analysis and interrogation of evidence, discussion, perspective taking, and problem solving is distributed

Sociocultural Conditions
- Social interactions
- Settings & activity
- Cultural artifacts, language
- Objects, representations

Knowledge Structures
- Schemas
- Scripts
- Mental Models
- Epistemic Frames
- Long-term memory

Learning Processes
- Observation
- Exploration
- Imitation
- Manipulation
- Filtering
- Patterning

Embodied Perceptions
- Sense (smell, touch, hearing, taste, sight)
- Hormones (stress, safety, pleasure, etc.)
- Emotions

Dispositions
- Ego Focus
- Goal Orientation
- Task relevance
- Efficacy

FIGURE 2-1 Multiple dimensions of learning.

across time, providing students with repeated opportunities from childhood through adolescence to develop capacities and dispositions to engage in these activities. It also requires that the educational experiences support students to do the necessary work to engage in conceptual change.

Conceptual change is the process through which we learn new concepts and build new knowledge (diSessa, 2002). Because prior knowledge is so central to how we approach new problems, it is important to understand potential relationships between what we already know and targets of new learning. Issues of conceptual change are important for learning to engage in civic reasoning, debate, and discourse for several reasons. First, in many domains relevant to civic topics, people develop knowledge and beliefs from their everyday experiences in the world. This knowledge and these beliefs may be inaccurate in relation to an important topic in civic issues. Second, when our prior knowledge is in conflict with new learning targets, learning environments that seek to facilitate new learning must address those conflicts. If we hope to facilitate conceptual change, we need to consider both what are often intuitive understandings, derived from our experiences in the everyday social and physical world, as well as orientations around whether what we think we know is contestable or whether it is definitive. For example, in the opening vignette, if young people approach the situation with the assumption that immigration hurts job prospects for U.S. citizens, that intuitive understanding on their part may shape their uptake of alternative perspectives on immigration. It may also provide a starting point for a study of the historical and economic function of immigration in American society that might be undertaken in schools.

INTERSECTIONS BETWEEN LEARNING AND ISSUES OF DEVELOPMENT

The cognitive foundations of human learning help us understand only part of the complexities of civic reasoning and discourse. This is because engaging in civic reasoning and discourse also involves moral and ethical reasoning and identity commitments. Historically and most heightened today are the ways that identity orientations influence political decision making. These identity orientations are connected with issues around race and ethnicity, class, gender orientations, and with regard to our relations with other countries, conceptions around national identity. In the United States, identity orientations around race and ethnicity are deeply rooted in our history and reinforced by institutions, policies, and practices. While people empirically belong to multiple cultural communities, with cultural communities being defined by routine participation in shared cultural practices (Gutiérrez & Rogoff, 2003), there are hierarchies among these communities such that they do not hold equal status for us and serve different functions. For example, our identification with our nuclear and extended families often form a foundation for how we see ourselves and how we define our most basic commitments. It is from our experiences in family life that we develop our foundational beliefs about morality. Early life experiences shape so much about us (*JAMA*/Archives Journals, 2010; Osher et al., 2018). At the same time, our participation in other related social networks—schools, community settings, peer and extended familial social networks—contribute substantially to our moral beliefs.

Specifically, we must consider how processes of *moral development* and *identity development* interact with learning processes and opportunities and how they deeply impact young people's ability to engage in civic reasoning and discourse. Any treatment of instruction or content learning without a deep consideration of the developmental needs of learning is likely to be a partial picture and result in ineffective teaching. To effectively support young people in developing the kinds of critical and sophisticated skills they need to fully engage in civic reasoning and discourse, and to understand what might prevent that engagement, we must attend to what we know from psychological studies of moral and identity development.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF MORAL REASONING AND IDENTITY TO CIVIC REASONING AND DISCOURSE

Moral Development

Moral reasoning undergirds much of our civic decision making. Our conceptions of what constitutes good versus bad, our conceptions of what constitutes justice, our evaluations of the internal states of others, and our abilities to empathize with others all come into play as we wrestle with civic dilemmas. As the chapter considers the moral dimensions of civic reasoning and their implications for K–12 education, the authors offer a brief review of moral development in children.

Moral sensibilities develop across cultures in predictable ways. Core moral concepts begin to develop very early on and revolve around concepts of harm or welfare (avoiding harm and promoting benefits), fairness or justice, and rights. These are distinct from reasoning about social conventions such as the conventional rules and norms of classrooms and school systems (Turiel, 2015; Turiel & Gingo, 2017). For example, children understand that breaking various institutional rules (e.g., interrupting the teacher) may lead to punishment (e.g., being publicly reprimanded) but that arbitrary punishment or mistreatment is unfair.

Developmental research suggests that the focus of moral understanding shifts as children move from early childhood to adolescence. While young children's emerging moral understandings seem to be primarily based on concerns with harm (physical and emotional), in late childhood and adolescence understandings of fairness, rights, and social justice become better crystalized (Nucci & Turiel, 2009; Turiel, 2015). These findings are important and relevant to classroom practice in that they refute common perceptions that children's moral thinking is dominated by concerns with punishment, self-interest, or the conventional standards of rules and authorities. In fact, even young children have relatively sophisticated concepts of morality, and can separate their own self-interest from universal moral judgments. This provides a critical grounding for considering how one might organize learning environments and teaching to support civic reasoning and discourse—there may be more to build on developmentally than we might assume. It also means that these capacities can form a base for discussion, learning, and perspective-taking in disciplines like literature or history.

Not only does moral reasoning occur relatively early, it turns out that the moral judgments of children and adolescents constitute configurations of thinking that are

distinct from thinking about other domains of social thought—specifically, that of the conventional norms of the social system and areas of personal jurisdiction. *Moral thinking*, revolving around welfare, justice, and rights, has features that are not contingent on existing rules, authority dictates, or cultural practices (Helwig & Turiel, 2017; Smetana et al., 2014). Emotions of a positive nature, including sympathy, empathy, and the general sentiment of mutual respect, are part of all this (Turiel, 2015). An example of moral thinking is understanding the psychological harm that cyberbullying does, and feeling empathetic with the victims. Children also form judgments in the domain of *social conventions*, involving norms that serve to coordinate social interactions within specified social institutions. Judgments about conventional norms are contingent on existing rules, the jurisdiction of persons in positions of authority, and accepted practices within particular social institutions. An example of social conventional thinking is understanding that a teacher may construct certain rules in a classroom, which are designed to keep students safe and maintain order.

The legitimacy of areas of *personal jurisdiction*, including concerns with choice and autonomy, is another domain of thinking relevant to social and moral decision making (Turiel, 2003). An example of a topic that comes under the category of personal jurisdiction is that young people have the right to determine what they wear in line with their personal preferences. All of this together suggests that moral reasoning is a complex domain, and one that suggests early developing abilities for young children to engage in civic reasoning and discourse in nuanced and rich ways. The complexity of these understandings facilitates young people in being able to reason in nuanced ways about historical events or actors, and in other disciplines such as literature as well. Figure 2-2 describes the multiple dimensions of moral reasoning.

Building on these understandings, the authors argue that education for civic reasoning and discourse should operate from the presumption that most children and adolescents generally have formed sound understandings about many moral issues. Humans have a substantive capacity for social connection, empathy, morality, and curiosity, and these are the very capacities that allow for (and perhaps even nurture) civic discourse and equitable engagement (Way et al., 2018). Our questions about how to best prepare young people frequently start from the assumption of deficit, focusing on what we need to "teach" children and how we can help them "become" or "have more

FIGURE 2-2 Dimensions of moral reasoning.

of" whatever positive outcome/capacity is of interest—in this case, civic discourse. We can move toward the same end of raising children who are prepared for civic discourse by asking different questions that start from a different place.

Rather than only asking what we need to "teach" children in order for them to engage in equitable, empathic, and generative ways, we can also ask *what disrupts* our desire/ability to engage in these ways. This perspective encourages us to approach *civic discourse* as a process and capacity that operates at the individual and social/structural/societal levels; we cannot understand one level without the other. It also assumes the good of humanity and recognizes the agency of children and youth and what they bring to the conversation. Children are not empty vessels to be filled; they possess the very tools (empathy, morality, interdependence) that will undergird civic discourse, and we can learn from them. Indeed, Corsaro (2020) has written about socialization not as a unidirectional process, but as a dialogic process where children exercise agency and shape the settings of which they are a part. This may mean that teachers and other adults might productively make space for the sensibilities that young people bring about justice and equality.

However, children's moral development is in tension with outside social influences, such as the experience of growing up in a fundamentally hierarchical society where inequality, abuse of power, and oppression constitute normative reality. These issues of moral development are relevant to how children and adolescents intuit or formally learn about unequal treatment of other human beings, especially human communities that have been historically stigmatized through law and institutional practices. In other words, as children develop moral values and concepts as part of their socialization process, they see these values being unevenly applied across social groups and situations. Consider the concept of equality—notions of equality can be traced back to at least the time of Aristotle and beyond and are embedded in the U.S. Declaration of Independence. In both instances, equality was strongly endorsed but not applied to large groups of people such as women and enslaved Africans and their descendants, Native Americans, or immigrants. Another example regarding the application (or lack thereof) of equality is seen in research conducted in patriarchal cultures, where males who often apply concepts of equality to other males do not do so to females (especially within the family) (Okin, 1996). A failure to apply the moral sense of opportunity and equal treatment is evident in contemporary democratic societies as well, including within school systems. When we consider how to foster civic engagement and discourse, this issue of variation of the *application* of moral concepts becomes a key challenge, and one that intersects with issues of identity development. Importantly, this challenge is a different experience for those in groups who are being left out in the way a society applies moral concepts.

With respect to the opening vignette, even young children might feel saddened by the thought of other children being separated from their parents and recognize that as morally inconsistent in a society that values children's needs. However, they may need deeper support to make sense of that in relation to immigrants' positioning in the U.S. economy and the complexity of anti-immigrant sentiments.

Identity Development

Identity development is a key developmental task, one which takes place over the life course beginning in the early years and is particularly salient during adolescence (Erikson, 1968; Spencer, 2008). Both identity processes in general and the development of ethnic/racial identity in particular are relevant to this discussion of the cultivation of civic reasoning and discourse.

A core task of development is to make sense of who one is in the world, and who one is in relation to those around us. Identity has been the subject of study in psychology and philosophy since the early 1900s, with the early work of Charles Horton Cooley positing the concept of the "looking glass self," which articulated the important role of social others on one's conception of self (Cooley, 1902). Identity, then, is a negotiation between how others—parents, teachers, peers, community members, society—see you and the sense of self that develops from integrating and filtering those perceptions of others. This process is influenced by whether the perceptions are attached to groups with which you self-identify in terms of race/ethnicity, religion, gender, class, age, or see as other, and which groups are considered culturally default, dominant, or desired. Conceptions of identity in turn influence perceptions of tasks, settings, goals, and motivation.

Identity becomes especially salient in adolescence as young people move from their families as their core social interlocutors to more centrally engaging peers and the broader world (Damon, 2008; Roeser et al., 2006). Identity issues are deeply tied to the basic developmental need for belonging (Haugen et al., 2019; Nasir, 2012; Powell, 2012); to feel like a part of a community or group and to feel valued and connected to others. This need for social belonging is an outgrowth of dispositions we develop by virtue of our evolution as a species (Tomasello, 1999). In adolescence, this need for belonging, connection, and a sense of self that gives one's life meaning and coherence is exacerbated, and important questions about identity and purpose begin to surface. Adolescence is a particularly fruitful time for this identity work to occur—it is a period in which young people are more aware of issues of personal autonomy and personal choices; a period of greater moral defiance; and a period where young people are seeking to sort out contradictions and tensions in what is expected of them and what they desire. These struggles are part of a developmental process in which they are anticipating future adult roles. The degree of anticipated personal autonomy moving into adolescence is differentiated across cultures. In cultural communities where interdependence is historically sustained, the anticipation of adult roles include how one learns to become directly responsible for integrating personal goals with expectations of family. In cultural communities where independence is historically sustained, the expectations of adult roles include anticipating autonomy beyond the family (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Thus, the ways in which identity processes are intertwined in ego-focused perceptions of the self and one's self as being a part of social networks is relevant for how we think about identity and preparation for engagement in civic reasoning and discourse. Civic engagement entails relationships with others, so how we imagine the others with whom we are engaged and connected is important.

Furthermore, discussions of social and political issues often have at their core some factors having to do with whom we feel the most affiliations and how we see ourselves. Because we inevitably belong to multiple social communities, who we think constitutes

such communities, our perceptions of access to such communities, and our beliefs about the perceptions of others who may or may not be part of our perceived social communities add to the complexity of how identity and civic reasoning and discourse intersect. Our families—including those who are biologically related and the communities of caregivers who are primary agents of socialization as we grow up with whom we may or may not have biological relations—have powerful impacts on our sense of identity. At the same time, there are social configurations of communities of practice that can have different meanings in the broader public space.

In the United States conceptions of social and cultural community associated with conceptions of race and ethnicity are powerful and complex. Because conceptions of race and ethnicity have been so consequential in U.S. history, challenges of interrogating them are essential for development in both childhood and adolescence. We articulate the dilemma of conceptions of race and ethnicity for several reasons. First, race is a relatively recent conception of group membership in human history. In the United States, there have certainly been historical contestations of race, for example, of who gets to be Black or White. Relatedly, developing a healthy ethnic/racial identity is an important part of identity development (Phinney, 1996; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014).

Ethnic/racial identity refers to the part of one's sense of self that is connected to racial or ethnic group membership. Ethnic/racial identity involves both the strength of the felt sense of connection to other group members, as well as a sense of attachment to the group (Phinney, 1996; Sellers & Shelton, 2003; Worrell & Gardner-Kitt, 2006). Racial identity is complex and involves many dimensions. Sellers and Shelton (2003) identify three dimensions, including *racial centrality* (which gets at the salience of racial group membership), *racial ideology* (referring to the qualitative meaning of racial identity), and *racial regard* (which gets at how one values racial identity). Very young children have a strong sense of in-group and out-group dynamics, and can understand race and reinforce stereotypes through their interactions with one another (Brown, 2011; Van Ausdale & Feagin, 2001). Research has also shown that ethnic/racial identity development is connected to social context in key ways. For example, experiences of racial discrimination affect the nature and salience of one's racial identity (Kteily & Richson, 2016; Rogers & Way, 2018; Sellers et al., 1998). Similarly, for immigrant students, ethnic identity is impacted by the attitudes toward immigrants in the local context (Brown & Chu, 2012; Phinney et al., 2001). Also, the presence of various kinds of supports and challenges matters for how one's racial identity develops, and the types of adaptive or maladaptive coping mechanisms one develops (Spencer, 2008). As another example of the powerful role of context, we know that pedagogical approaches in classrooms can also provide new kinds of supports and possibilities for racial identity development, for example, through an ethnic studies or history curriculum (Dee & Penner, 2017; Paris & Alim, 2018), or by providing opportunities for new kinds of relationships between teachers and students (Nasir et al., 2019).

Indeed, race, culture, immigrant status, language, and social class and how these statuses are positioned—historically, politically, and culturally—matter greatly for how one experiences the world (English et al., 2020; Rogers & Way, 2018; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2015). Skin color is a remarkably accurate predictor of discrimination, whereby the darker one's skin, the greater the degree of social exclusion and discrimination and the less favorable educational, economic, and job outcomes become in societies such

as the United States in which race is so historically salient (Hunter, 2007; Mills, 1997). In the United States, there is a long history of racial oppression and domination of Black, Latinx, Asian American, and Native peoples, which has left a legacy of deep social, political, economic, and educational inequality (Carter & Welner, 2013). Thus, the complex racial terrain in the United States poses great challenges for understanding justice and morality, and for fostering open, nuanced, and critical discourse on civic issues.

A key issue in the psychological literature related to this history of racial marginalization and oppression is the role of *resistance* as a healthy identity developmental process (Rogers, 2018; Rogers & Way, 2018). Resistance is one of the ways individuals negotiate and repudiate oppressive identity norms (Way & Rogers, 2017). As such, the development of resistance is a key developmental task related to healthy racial identity development, and it is important in understanding resistance stories to acknowledge the context of patriarchy and racism that creates the need for such resistance. Robinson and Ward (1991) also underscore that resistance is not a singular and uniform process but one that is responsive to the context—some strategies are self-focused and offer an immediate, short-term solution whereas other strategies are more group-focused with long-term goals toward liberation. While not all forms of resistance are psychologically healthy for an individual, it is important to recognize that the human desire to resist oppression is normative and necessary for equality and justice (e.g., Freire, 2000; Rogers & Way, 2018; Turiel, 2003; Ward, 2018).

Given that young people develop substantive moral understandings, it is to be expected that they would also be critical of social inequalities and social injustices and react with efforts to restore justice. Such responses to social inequalities and social injustices then entail relationships between identity development and moral reasoning. Developmental and anthropological research has shown that moral resistance is part of people's (adolescents and adults) everyday lives and not solely the province of political leaders or organized movements. *Moral resistance* is the process of rejecting ideologies and norms that are harmful to the self and that undermine our core needs and capacities of human connection (vulnerability, curiosity, emotionality, empathy, morality, social connection). Such moral resistance is a normative and necessary response to a culture of inequality and dehumanization (Gilligan, 2011; Rogers & Way, 2018). One way this can be done is by providing learning experiences that help young people develop *critical consciousness*—the ability to recognize and analyze systems of inequality and the commitment to take action against these systems (El-Amin et al., 2017).

These interrelated processes of identity development suggest how young people may reason about the anchoring case set up in the beginning of the chapter involving the detaining of 680 immigrant workers. The authors hypothesize that the degree of empathy and civic responsibility individuals in and beyond the immediate community will feel for the detained workers and their families will depend on their own racial, ethnic, and immigrant identity, as well as their community connections to those who share similar constellations to identities of the detained workers. However, because human identities are multi-dimensional, there may be multiple entry points for empathy and identity connection. For example, women in the community who are mothers might feel a particular understanding of pain for any of the workers who are also parents, because the biological and social phenomena of mothers after giving birth typically lead them to prioritize the needs and safety of their children.

There is also research on identity orientations of what some call the giving professions (e.g., the ministry, medicine, teaching, firefighters), whose professional preparation/socialization for work in these areas focuses on ego-fulfillment/identity expression through service to others (Shulman, 2005). In the stories following the ICE raid, the responses from workers, church members, and children's teachers were especially powerful, including providing food, money, and transportation for separated family members of the plant workers.

AFFORDANCES AND IMPERATIVES OF THE ACADEMIC DISCIPLINES TO SUPPORT CIVIC REASONING AND DISCOURSE

The authors have summarized the major dimensions of human learning and development, including social settings and activities, knowledge, embodied perceptions, dispositions, moral and ethical reasoning, and the recruitment and interrogation of identity resources (e.g., who am I in relation to the tasks at hand). In this section they discuss how these elements come into play as children have robust experiences across their K–12 schooling, including their learning across all of the core academic content areas. The authors argue that the work of preparing children and adolescents to engage in civic reasoning and discourse must be distributed across the entire span of schooling and not limited to civics courses, and that the design of learning environments across these content areas must be organized in ways to address the previously identified foundational dynamics of how people learn. Specifically, learning environments must:

- Draw and build on students' prior knowledge,
- Promote a sense of emotional safety,
- Establish relevance through engagement with real-world problems,
- Provide opportunities to develop personal and collective efficacy through scaffolded and iterative challenges,
- Support students in questioning sources of information and beliefs,
- Support students in interrogating their own assumptions,
- Support students in wrestling with complex and contradictory ideas, and
- Ensure access to a multiplicity and variety of cultural and ideological perspectives, including ones that resonate with students' own lived experiences and those that are less represented in the dominant culture.

The authors particularly focus on literacy, literature, history/social studies, mathematics, and science. However, they also recognize the highly productive role that the arts can play in these efforts as well.

Literacy

The authors define literacy as the ability to read, write, and use language(s) for a wide range of communication goals and across an array of media, including print, digital, visual, audio, and computational and interactive forms. Literacy is imperative for navigating the landscapes of the contemporary world; for seeking, accessing, and analyzing information; and for participating in discourse with others. Literacy

instruction begins early as part of schooling and is reinforced across academic disciplines and out-of-school contexts through expectations to engage with textual artifacts and produce work in text-dominant genres. Cross-disciplinary literacy skills require not only generic comprehension—the skills to make inferences, deconstruct complex sentences, and comprehend vocabulary and rhetorical structures—but also skills in understanding how texts within the disciplines are structured and the kinds of questions that need to be invoked to interrogate such texts (Goldman et al., 2016; Lee & Spratley, 2009; Snow, 2002). In order to actively prepare students for civic reasoning and discourse, the authors argue that literacy instruction needs to emphasize three core approaches: critical literacy, media/digital literacy, and computational and data literacy.

Critical literacy involves learning to engage with print and multimodal texts with particular attention to power, bias, and ideology embedded in the text and to the rhetorical structure of particular genre forms, especially genres taken to be "legitimate" including news sources, encyclopedias, and textbooks (Lankshear et al., 1993). Critical literacy approaches can be leveraged across the disciplines to foreground that texts are authored by particular people in particular historical situations, and that they embed and carry certain ideologies and perspectives while erasing or distorting others.

Media and digital literacy expands a critical literacy approach to incorporate more contemporary media and textual genres, including visual, film, interactive, and internet forms (Hobbs, 2010). While still focusing analysis of texts on authorship and embedded ideological positions, media and digital literacy approaches also consider the text's interaction with living audiences and communities. Media literacy approaches invite learners to ask how different kinds of people would interpret this message differently. What techniques are used to manipulate your attention? This set of instructional paradigms also emphasizes teaching learners to remix and produce their own media in order to deepen understanding of how messages are created, circulated, and what impact they might have in the world. One approach that can be integrated into literacy classrooms and that is especially conducive for the development of civic literacy and reasoning skills is civic journalism production (Smirnov et al., 2018).

Finally, we argue that *computational and data literacy* should be an urgent area of attention for literacy educators across academic disciplines (Gummer & Mandinach, 2015). Data representations including simple and complex charts, graphs, and time-tables dominate the ways arguments are presented in the public sphere, and their seductive reduction of complexity and visually apparent legitimacy can be easily used to manipulate citizens and information consumers to believe inaccurate statistics or probabilities. Engagement with data can be emphasized across the curriculum, from math to science to history classrooms. Recently, scholars (Li et al., 2020) have argued that a holistic model of *computational literacy* ought to be embraced across the disciplines as a way of interpreting, problem solving, and building with different types of information, drawing on concepts from computer science such as abstraction and automation.

All of these literacy skills can and should be integrated in instruction across disciplines, certainly from the 3rd grade forward, at which time children's basic decoding skills should be sufficient to critically examine texts.

Literature

An important dimension of civic reasoning, debate, and discourse aimed at decision making in a democracy is the willingness to consider alternative points of view and to attempt to understand people and communities that are different from one's own. Such reasoning, debate, and discourse are also enhanced by people's abilities to wrestle with complex human conundrums—nuanced experiences that cannot be explained by simplistic notions of human intentionality. Literature provides unique opportunities to examine the human condition in ways that differ from expository descriptions of events and actions. In our conception of literature we include narrative texts that are both written (e.g., novels, short stories, plays, poems) as well as visual (e.g., narratives in film and television). As narrative worlds they share both structure and the invocation of rhetorical and figurative tools to invite the reader/viewer into fictional worlds that we experience as real (Tan, 2013).

Literature invites readers into narrative worlds. Just as we watch, for example, science fiction movies about worlds that we know do not literally exist, we enter the narrative world as if it did exist. Thus, literature offers opportunities for readers to imaginatively engage worlds they might otherwise not know. At the same time, great literature, literature that is sustained across time and space, also wrestles with persistent conundrums of the human experience. What we think of as archetypal themes embody such conundrums as wrestling with good and evil, loss of innocence, understanding prototypical kinds of people (e.g., the hero and the anti-hero), and what constitutes courageous or tragic action. For example, as much as one can learn about the enslavement of peoples of African descent from historical documents, in *Beloved* (1987), Toni Morrison invites one to enter the human world as she explores what could lead a mother to kill her infant daughter in order to save her from being taken back into enslavement and the complex consequences of such a decision. Morrison's *The Bluest Eye* (1970), beyond interrogating the consequences of a Black girl evaluating her self-worth against a White standard of beauty, also invites the reader to wrestle with understanding how a father could rape his own daughter. Shakespeare invites the reader to consider the downsides of power in *Macbeth* (written in 1606) while Dostoevsky's *Crime and Punishment* (1866) invites the reader to contend with the nature of good and evil in ways that deeply resonate in the present day (see Denby, 2020).

We know that sensemaking through narrative is a human disposition, one we inherit from our evolution as a species and is a process through which we impute meaning to experience, both our own and those of others, while seeking to understand goal-directed behaviors and consequences (Bruner, 1990; Mandler, 1987; Tan, 2013; Van Peer, 2008). There are several implications of skill in and dispositions to read literature widely and about diverse communities. First, literature offers us ways to engage with communities with whom we have no direct contact. Because segregation based on race/ethnicity, immigrant status, and class is so prevalent in the United States, literature can offer opportunities to engage with diversity, which is necessary for our democratic decision-making processes. Second, literature socializes several epistemological dispositions (Lee, 2011; Lee et al., 2016): wrestling with complexity, valuing engagement with the other, and using literature as a window into self-reflection. In addition, deep literary reasoning involves paying attention not only to the surface features of literary narratives (e.g., who, what, when, where questions) but also to the rhetorical and

structural choices authors use to gain our attention and influence the abstractions we take from the texts (Rabinowitz, 1987). This attention to rhetoric is an important skill in civic reasoning as so much of the public discourse around contested issues is embedded in emotional rhetoric intended to induce particular points of view.

There are a number of implications for how the study of literature in K–12 settings can contribute to ways that students contend with civic complexities. The most obvious is the range of literature they are expected to read. Debates over what books students will read are long standing and deeply contested (Applebee, 1993). There is one body of thought that privileges the idea that literature by European and European-descent authors should provide the foundation of what students read (Hirsch, 1988). The argument is that there is a canonical tradition in literature and that canon comes from Europe and European American literary texts. It is still the case that the literature taught in schools is dominated by European and European American literary texts. Despite the fact that professional associations like the National Council of Teachers of English call for cultural diversity in the selection of texts, the actual impact in schools is still limited.

There are long standing arguments about the value of multicultural literature— written by authors from diverse backgrounds both from within the United States and by authors from around the world. How teachers think about both the selection of literary texts and the sequencing of such texts is important for the kinds of knowledge and understandings that students are able to develop that can contribute to their abilities to engage in civic reasoning and discourse. On the one hand, literature units can be designed to interrogate different cultural communities associated with ethnicity within broad conceptions of national literature, with pan-ethnic cultural communities where shared beliefs and practices span across national borders, or with communities focused on gender. Literature units can be focused on the experiences of particular historical moments, or focus on shared rhetorical traditions (e.g., magical realism as taken up by William Faulkner and Toni Morrison in the United States, Gabriel García Márquez in Colombia, and Franz Kafka in Germany). They can also focus on archetypal themes that represent consistent conundrums—around morality, identity, vulnerability, and resilience—that we as humans wrestle with across time and space.

There are consequences and opportunities in how literature units are organized that can contribute to both very young and older students' abilities to interrogate their own experiences and those of others to consider that complex issues typically do not have simplistic answers and to engage with moral complexity. It is important to note here that children, regardless of age, who experience challenge (poverty, migrant status, refugees, gender and sexual orientation, presumptions of disability) can often be better positioned to wrestle with complexities than children of presumed privilege who have been overly protected such that they have not had to face risks (Spencer, 2006). For example, a 5th grader from a migrant working family may have greater access to the conundrums in *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939) than a 9th grader from a wealthy suburban family, provided that they have the necessary skills to engage the text.

The skill set required to engage in literary reasoning includes basic reading comprehension skills (e.g., knowledge of vocabulary, sentence structure, and literary text structures, as well as metacognitive strategies including making and testing predictions, summarizing, asking questions). Literary reasoning also includes attention to rhetorical moves and structural choices made by authors, and the skill to extrapolate

potential meanings from such authorial choices. Advanced literary reasoning entails an epistemological orientation to understand that as a reader, one is are not bound by what they hypothesize are the intentions of the author and to view literature as an opportunity to interrogate the self and the social world. It is precisely these epistemological orientations that lead people to become lifelong readers of literature. K–12 education provides an important opportunity to socialize children to love reading and to love reading literature as a lifelong habit.

However, there is a long history in this country of justifying a basic skills orientation versus a focus on deep conceptual learning based on deficit assumptions about life experiences and learning repertoires that youth living in poverty (Payne, 1999) and youth from minoritized communities bring as prior knowledge and abilities. The authors argue that deep disciplinary reasoning in literature (and other domains) is accessible via a diversity of cultural and experiential repertories. Meaning making processes entailed in literature analysis can connect to everyday meaning making repertoires that students bring, including students from culturally diverse backgrounds, in order to develop the kinds of critical competencies needed to wrestle with complex literary texts. First, narrative sensemaking is endemic to the human species. All human communities have traditions of storytelling. Whether oral or written, all human communities have evolved traditions around strategic uses of language and narrative structures to convey meaning. Variation in storytelling across communities is well documented (Champion, 2003; Heath, 1983). It is also well documented how oral storytelling traditions are taken up in literary traditions across the world, so even young children do not come into schools bereft of narrative sensemaking skills and dispositions.

Second, rhetorical traditions that authors of literature draw on are rooted in language uses across national languages and dialects (Lee, 1993, 2000). We tell stories that are satiric, make comments that are ironic, and have traditions of attributing symbolic import to objects and actions. These rhetorical moves are also taken up in everyday texts in print, multi-modal, and digital modalities, including television programs, movies, cartoons, advertisements, music lyrics, works of art, and internet memes. Thus, it is reasonable to anticipate that students from across diverse cultural and linguistic communities will have been exposed to and engaged in such language practices (Lee, 2007). As discussed in the earlier section of this paper, scaffolding prior knowledge and understanding relationships (connections and tensions) between prior knowledge and new targets of learning is a basic principle of how people learn.

These implications are relevant both for the development of disciplinary skills and the development of cognitive, epistemic, moral, and democratic socialization around civic engagement. Literature is a gateway for identity wrestling and for interrogation of the "other." As Ralph Ellison (1952) powerfully notes, "fiction is but a form of symbolic action, a mere game of 'as if', therein lies its true function and its potential for effecting change." Humans have been exploring the many challenging issues facing us as individuals and collectives through works of literature, whether historical, mythical, contemporary, or futuristic. Thus, literature provides the opportunity to experience and integrate the lessons of prior cultural experiments, to cultivate empathy for different kinds of suffering, and to interrogate issues of moral complexity in ways that inform the challenges we must wrestle with in our present public sphere.

We can return to the opening case of the raid of undocumented workers in the poultry factory in Mississippi. How might a child or adolescent living in a wealthy suburban community in the North imagine the experience of a parent who was arrested in that raid and his/her child? How might a Native American child or adolescent living on tribal land that faces great poverty imagine people living in that town who were not working and hoped they could be hired to replace the undocumented workers who were arrested? How might all of our youth think about the competing goals of the power of the state, the economic interests of factory owners, and the human needs of families and children? Literature can offer fictional windows that, when well-crafted, make us think we are in the shoes and inside the minds and hearts of all of these competing actors.

History/Social Studies

The subject area of history/social studies is a vast domain encompassing history, geography, economics, and civics, and tasked, from its earliest formulation, with the daunting responsibility of preparing students to address and resolve social issues. History and social studies educators have disagreed about the best method to ensure this civic preparation, but a consensus has formed around the value of fostering in students the capacity for engaged, rigorous inquiry. This vision is captured in the published C3 Framework for Social Studies State Standards (National Council for the Social Studies, 2013), which lays out four dimensions for disciplinary inquiry: (a) developing questions and planning inquiries; (b) applying disciplinary tools and concepts; (c) evaluating sources and using evidence; and (d) communicating conclusions and taking informed actions. These disciplinary concepts, inquiry strategies, evaluation and communication skills, and decision-making practices are understood to lay the groundwork for democratic decision making.

There is no question that knowledge of U.S. and world history, as well as knowledge of how political and economic systems are structured and unfold here and elsewhere over time, are important. The underlying logic of the U.S. constitutional government is complex and powerful. It anticipates pathways through which we can wrestle with conundrums around foundational human rights, over majority rule through voting and minority rights, around dialectic relations between the purview of federal authority and local authority of states, and within the federal realm relations among executive, legislative, and judicial authority. The history of such debates and the nation's evolving moral, economic, and social logic are recorded in the Amendments to the Constitution and the historic Supreme Court battles of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, *Brown v. Board of Education*, *Roe v. Wade*, and more recently, *Obergefell v. Hodges*.

The authors asked a highly experienced history teacher with 50 years of experience to share her reflections about the role of history/social studies in preparing young people to participate in civic reasoning and discourse. While she discusses her experiences as a high school teacher, the lessons and broad principles shared apply to the elementary sector as well. Adria Carrington reflected:

> Preparing high school students to engage in meaningful civic reasoning and debate is a natural fit for the social studies, particularly economics, history, and sociology. These

subjects and most of the social studies are also married to geography, and the two create a union that is ripe with opportunities, fraught with tensions and conflict, and bound until death tears them asunder. Civilizations have come and gone, but the land remains. In one respect geography is the hand and history is the glove. Gloves wear out and like fashions, change with the times, but by peeling back the glove, the contributions of geography reveal and provide dimension and perspective for a broader understanding of the course of events. Integrating and sequencing the teaching of geography with the teaching of history is based on the simple premise that the land comes first, so we begin with teaching basic geographical concepts and general map skills. Students may learn more about the geography as they engage with the history. The lay of the land and the surrounds are essential elements to the narrative. For example, the shape of ancient Egypt was elongated, extending only a few miles out from the shores of the Nile. Its population became denser as the river neared the delta. To the west lay miles of desert and to the east, the Red Sea, providing natural barriers that gave some protection from enemies. The seasonal flooding of the river, the warm climate, and natural resources created what Jared Diamond (1998) referred to as "geographic luck" in his book *Gun, Germs, and Steel*, providing an advantage to what became a flourishing society. What students learn by using geography as a source in their studies of ancient Egypt can provide a blueprint for them to use in their examination of other civilizations, and opportunities for them to compare and contrast differences they may not have otherwise noticed. More specifically, using this model can help reveal how the random nature and inequality of "geographic luck" help to define differences in development. In United States history, students are introduced to the concept of manifest destiny. Most textbooks presented that movement as a noble and bold endeavor that was blessed, if not ordained by, the Divine. Americans were urged and enticed to go west, to stake out free land, to build personal wealth, and to spread their culture across the continent—from sea to shining sea. This dominant narrative does not include interrogation of Indigenous nations, Mexican national borders, and British and Spanish colonial territories in the expansion. Native Americans are mentioned, but mostly as an obstacle to be overcome. Mexican holdings in the West were challenged, delegitimized, and seized through wars and negotiations. My classes were introduced to this period in U.S. history with a world map, because large events like this do not happen in a vacuum, not even one as large as the continental United States. We needed to know where the people came from and why they risked moving into a mostly uncharted territory—uncharted by European settlers, but inhabited by Indigenous nations. Study of the push and pull factors of immigration and migration provided data that students used as they examined more closely the global and national events of the times. We needed to know who the players were, and to understand that there were no supporting roles when lives, land, and wealth were at stake. For example, push and pull factors like the economic and political turmoil in China, the rebellions and wars, large-scale natural disasters, trade conflicts, and the enticements of American companies lured laborers to opportunities in the West. Most Europeans were persuaded to make the move because of internal influences, especially in Germany, Scandinavia, and the United Kingdom, countries that comprised the overwhelming majority of immigrants to this country. Landless and economically challenged Americans and speculators also seized upon opportunities in the West. The actions of all of these players take shape in a place—on the land—and the questions of who has a right to that land and why they have that right required study within the broad context of history and geography. High school sophomores viewed these events through the lenses of their own backgrounds and prior learning. They were required to use historical thinking skills to further inform

what they already knew, and to help them tackle the essential question of who had the right to the land. This was both a historical and civic debate that raised questions about entitlement and ethics. It was for them to consider where the moral authority of manifest destiny came from, why it happened at the place and time it did, and who benefited from it. What I learned from teaching this lesson was the identities and cultural heritage of students I never would have perceived as being Native American. A few of the Mexican-descent students became more animated in the discussions. Some White students, while expressing regret over how the land was gained, balanced that with the position that it was put to more productive uses (feeding the nation through farming, cattle ranching, and the building of towns and cities). It became clear to some students that land ownership and who possessed the ability to exploit its natural resources were essential markers of who controlled the wealth of an area or region. Also noted, but not dwelled on, were the ramifications of this on the politics and economy of the regions. Standardized assessments measured whether students grasped historical details and could put them in sequences of change over time, cause and effect, and so forth. These required clear right answers. The civic debate, however, required them to consider the impact and ramifications of actions as revealed through a diversity of understandings, perceptions, and biases that emerge when everyone referenced the same source material. As teachers, we are charged with helping them hear and honor other positions and work toward an aspect of common understanding that continues to enhance their learning experiences. Today, we are confronted with a new challenge to the information we receive about the world, and to the interpretations of the past that we have long taken for granted (consider Holocaust deniers). These sources intentionally defy the conventional understandings we have relied on from our histories. Information now comes like a blitz from multiple media sources that are broadcast on a 24-hour cycle. Terms like "fake news" and disparaging descriptions of media with opposing points of views are becoming normalized. This fracturing of news sources has led to the creation of data silos where citizens reaffirm their thinking by tuning in to "designer" media that parrots their existing positions. It is not hard to imagine that this presents a challenge for teachers. Opposing points of view are not new, but the amount of tailored news received today will require more debunking in the classroom in order to engage in meaningful civic debate.

While Mrs. Carrington focuses on a high school illustration, the problems she raises apply across the grade levels. This teacher's observations reflect both how important it is to develop core understandings, for example, of how geography influences political and economic developments within and across nations and the frailty of national boundaries, and how such developments are also influenced by both internal and international contingencies. Understanding the complexities underlying both the establishment of the United States in the original 13 colonies and its expansion both westward and beyond our geographical boundaries (consider Alaska and Hawaii as states and the territories of American Samoa, Guam, Northern Mariana Islands, Puerto Rico, and the U.S. Virgin Islands). Our current immigration issues and the relations along the U.S.–Mexico border must be understood in part from the results of the Mexican-American War from 1846–1848. U.S. involvement in the politics of the Middle East are complex and need to be informed, at least in part, by the public's understanding of the complex histories and diversity in terms of ethnicity and religion in that part of the world.

In Mrs. Carrington's illustration, students' interrogations of U.S. westward expansion were influenced by their ethnic identities. A fairly extensive body of research has shown that students' cultural, ethnic, and racial identities inform their understanding of the past and are often strong enough to counter narratives presented in textbooks (Epstein, 1998; Goldberg & Savenije, 2018; Ho et al., 2017). At the same time, an equally robust body of literature continues to underscore the intransigence of dominant, school-sanctioned historical narratives (Epstein, 2010). Mrs. Carrington was able to create an environment in which students were able to draw on their identity repertoires, interrogate complex factors at play in an important historical moment in U.S. history (one that still has ramifications today), engage in epistemic complexity, and have opportunities to engage with alternative points of view different from their own. We certainly cannot definitively predict what these experiences will mean for their future civic engagements. At the same time, it is hard to argue that the experiences of Mrs. Carrington's class are not a good unto themselves; it is also useful to consider what it would mean for these students to have had similar experiences across grades K–12 and across the content areas.

Extrapolating from this intimate view into one teacher's classroom, the authors foreground several constructs from research on the teaching of history that ought to be attended to across students' careers in schools: sourcing and contextualization of texts (Monte-Sano & Reisman, 2016; Reisman, 2012; Wineburg, 2001), historical consciousness (Clark & Grever, 2018), and historical empathy (Endacott & Brooks, 2018). These constructs represent efforts on the part of scholars to operationalize what is entailed in historical reasoning, and each has relevance to how we might use history and historical thinking in wrestling with contemporary issues.

Sourcing involves questioning the authorship, purpose, audience, context, and reliability of a source and corroborating its claims with other pieces of evidence. Sourcing lies at the epistemological heart of a disciplinary approach to history. When one sources a document and considers the probity, authorship, purpose, and context of its message, one fundamentally acknowledges its human constructedness. For example, historians are cautious about blindly accepting propositions put forward in primary and secondary source documents. Primary source documents are ones written during the historical period and by actors engaged in the historical activity. Secondary source documents are those written outside of the historical time period by actors not directly involved in the historical activity. Historians ask that we raise questions about the reliability of the source, the conditions under which the document was written, and in what ways the information in the document is corroborated in other sources. For example, a letter written by a low-level soldier during the Civil War about the goals and intentions of particular military strategies may be called into question because although he was fighting in the war, he still may not have had access to the decision-making process of generals and politicians. It matters to understand that the House Divided Speech by Abraham Lincoln was a political speech when he sought the office of state senator for Illinois running against Stephen A. Douglas, but also at the same time must be understood in the context of the debates at the time around states' rights with regard to slavery. Research from the 1990s indicated that students were not likely to spontaneously source documents, and that they tended to accept the authoritative account of the textbook (Wineburg, 1991). A flurry of interventions over the past two decades

suggests that students can learn to source documents with the right instructional supports (Britt & Aglinskas, 2002; Paxton, 2002; Wolfe & Goldman, 2005). A growing body of literature also examines students' critical analysis of online information and maps its similarities/differences to disciplinary historical reasoning (McGrew et al., 2018; Wineburg & McGrew, 2019). The importance of preparing students to critically source information should be self-evident in our current age of heightened polarization and misinformation.

Contextualization, or the ability to locate a historical event or document in its historical context and appreciate the past as fundamentally different from the present, has been a more elusive skill in comparison to sourcing or corroboration. In part, that is because contextualization requires historical background knowledge. To situate an idea or event in its context, one must have a general understanding of the relevant chronology and historical actors, the general zeitgeist. Such background knowledge has also been found necessary for higher-level reasoning about contemporary events (e.g., Shreiner, 2014). When, for example, we consider the national reckoning about historical racism following the spring 2020 uprisings in response to George Floyd's murder, we must acknowledge that many White Americans have been engaged in an extended history lesson, many learning for the first time about Reconstruction, housing segregation, redlining, and police violence in ways that have begun to chip away at dominant narratives about equal opportunity and the American Dream and possibly open the door to meaningful civic discourse. Contextualization, at the same time, requires holding at bay our natural tendency toward "presentism"—the assumption that we can transplant our understanding of how the world operates onto the past. Instead, contextualization asks that we acknowledge and identify what we do not know, and stretch ourselves to better understand this unknown (Wineburg, 2001). Likewise, civic reasoning requires that we muster a similar sense of humility in the face of the unknown and a willingness to understand perspectives and worldviews that differ radically from one's own.

Another construct from history education highly relevant to civic reasoning and discourse is *historical empathy.* One big debate among scholars of historical empathy is whether it is a process or a cognitive achievement. Those who embrace the latter conceptualize historical empathy as the end goal in a developmental process in which students struggle to understand events and people from the past whose worldviews differ dramatically from our own, not unlike contextualization. Other scholars have operationalized empathy as a more affective process in which students identify with the motives or experiences of historical actors. These two constructs in many ways lie in tension with one another; one values the *analytic distance* that students place between themselves and historical actors and the other seeks to close that distance (Endacott & Brooks, 2018; Lee & Ashby, 2001; Lee et al., 1997). However one conceptualizes historical empathy, it clearly holds relevance to fostering civic discourse with others across social, cultural, and ideological differences.

Scholars of *historical consciousness* move beyond the procedural heuristics of academic historians to capture more broadly what it means to exist as a historical being in the present (Clark & Grever, 2018). For example, a great deal of scholarship related to historical consciousness captures the disjuncture between how alienated people are from formal history (as presented in school or other dominant narratives) and the myriad ways that they engage in "everyday" history through personal or community

connections, family heirlooms and reunions, or visits to historical sites. From this perspective, academic conceptualizations of historical thinking miss the ways we encounter history through personal and collective memory, tourism, and popular culture. One way that historical consciousness manifests is in our assumptions about historical identities that are tied to any number of groups or institutions, each of which has its own history. Although research on student identity in history education is not typically connected to historical consciousness, a fairly extensive body of research has shown that students' cultural, ethnic, and racial identities inform their understanding of the past and are often strong enough to counter narratives presented in textbooks (Barton & McCully, 2004, 2012; Goldberg et al., 2006; Porat, 2004). At the same time, an equally robust body of literature continues to underscore the intransigence of dominant, school-sanctioned historical narratives (Epstein, 2000; Santiago, 2019).

At the same time, historical consciousness refers to an awareness and acknowledgment of our temporal existence as groups of people, and recognition of the impermanence and ongoing evolution of our institutional configurations and cultural commitments (Rüsen, 2004). In this sense, historical consciousness puts us in touch with the social constructedness of our lived reality. Scholars disagree as to whether the achievement of historical consciousness requires formal academic study. For the purposes of our current discussion, however, it is worth considering how a presentation of history that insists on the constructedness and impermanence of our current institutional structures might open the door for generative civic discourse.

We can see how all of these constructs play out in the illustration of Mrs. Carrington's history classroom as students learn about historical concepts like manifest destiny through the perspective of their own ethnic and racial identities, experience empathic responses to historical actors, and debate, in the present, the privileges and tradeoffs of their own national identities. The development of skills for critically examining documents of historical activity from the past and the present is especially important in this era, in which there is such a vast array of representations and positions with regard to social, political, and economic issues in print and digital media.

These dimensions of historical reasoning play an important role in youths' abilities to interrogate complex issues in the public domain. Conceptual and procedural understandings of how our system of government operates, its historical evolution, and view of it as a living, dynamic system are foundational. But it is equally important that citizens actively protect the Constitution's foundational principles, rooted in propositions around fundamental human rights, despite the fact that its history of addressing who has which human rights is deeply checkered. Hopefully, these illustrations from Mrs. Carrington's history class help to demonstrate how civic reasoning is recruited and built into the study of history, as well as how issues of identity affiliations and moral and ethical reasoning come into play, and how the design of an instructional climate can be consequential in supporting students' sense of efficacy in their abilities to interrogate these complex questions, emotional safety to stretch themselves, to take on positions different from their peers, and engage in identity exploration by examining the limits and opportunities of their perceptions of themselves as actors connected to historical events.

Math

All students in K–12 schools are required to study mathematics. But just what mathematics content, practices, and pedagogies are appropriate for today's classrooms and relevant for supporting students' development as civic actors? The field's understandings have evolved in major ways over the past half century. For most of recorded history, when people spoke of mathematics, they meant the content that was taught—for example, numbers and operations on numbers, measurement, proportion and ratio, mathematical functions, statistics, and probability. Moreover, mathematics was typically taught as a body of material to be mastered: first demonstrated by the teacher, then practiced by the student. Research in the 1970s and 1980s revealed that there was much more to *doing* mathematics than merely applying techniques one had been taught. The National Council of Teachers of Mathematics (NCTM) *Curriculum and Evaluation Standards for School Mathematics* (National Council of Teachers of Mathematics, 1989) highlighted both content and processes, for the first time elevating the role of problem solving, reasoning, communicating, and making connections. This trend continued with NCTM's (2000) *Principles and Standards for School Mathematics*, and then the *Common Core State Standards for Mathematics*, which call for the following practices:

- Make sense of problems and persevere in solving them.
- Reason abstractly and quantitatively.
- Construct viable arguments and critique the reasoning of others.
- Model with mathematics.
- Use appropriate tools strategically.
- Attend to precision.
- Look for and make use of structure.
- Look for and express regularity in repeated reasoning.

More broadly, rigorous mathematics instruction seeks to socialize students into weighing evidence, exploring multiple explanatory models, engaging in argumentation (Schoenfeld, 1985, 2014). These represent powerful epistemological orientations that if internalized and developed over time can prepare young people to ideally invoke these dispositions beyond the requirements of schooling.

Concurrent with the evolution of the field's understanding, there have been some parallel changes in curricula corresponding to uses of mathematics in the world outside the classroom. We use mathematics in our daily lives, particularly around issues of personal finances. In addition, mathematics is used as a tool in civic decision making around a plethora of issues such as uses of statistical data to capture patterns around distribution of resources, mathematical modeling to predict financial trends or political trends, evaluating numbers, percentages and averages, cost benefit analyses, and use of graphs for data and modeling. The COVID-19 pandemic depends heavily on mathematical modeling to inform deeply consequential health, social, and economic decisions. A civically engaged public needs to have the knowledge and dispositions to understand these public mathematical displays and arguments.

John Paulos (1995) offered compelling examples of how mathematical data are offered to make claims about social, economic, and political problems. Paulos (2007) writes about discussions in the public arena, in this case back in 2004, around

recommendations to divert 2 percent of peoples' social security taxes into private accounts:

> Looking a little further, however, one can find a few stories noting that the 6.2 percent of the average American's taxable income that goes to Social Security taxes will be cut to 4.2 percent. That's a 2 percentage point cut—not a 2 percent cut, but a 32 percent cut! This will leave a huge hole in Social Security revenues for present retirees.

Paulos raised similar questions about the logic used to estimate illegal border crossings and deaths in the Iraq War. In a recent announcement about employment numbers, President Trump put forward the number of people currently employed as the largest in U.S. history. However, providing the raw number does not take into account the growth in the population over time, and so this can be misleading. There are so many issues today around which policy decisions are being made that entail mathematical data as evidence (Tate et al., 1993). There are many opportunities for citizens to weigh in on these policy decisions through direct voting, participation in surveys, attempts to influence policy makers, and through individual decisions people make such as financial contributions to organizations. However, informed participation often requires robust understandings of mathematical concepts, such as percentages, data collection and analysis techniques, and skills for evaluating evidence. Curricula have evolved in recent years, and the Common Core now calls for aspects of statistics and probability to be taught throughout the middle and high school years, but these concepts are often oriented toward solving abstract, decontextualized problems rather than discussed in relation to historical and contemporary social issues where mathematical calculations have consequential effects, such as in immigration and environmental debates or health care and economic policies.

The study of mathematics has many relevant applications and does not have to remain so disciplinarily abstracted. The "math for social justice" literature shows how projects can be the "servant of two masters," maintaining classical disciplinary standards and also enfranchising students by drawing on their cultural heritage and making use of it in discipline-based inquiry.

For example, professor Hyman Bass of the University of Michigan has developed an undergraduate course titled "Mathematics and Social Justice." He describes the course as follows (Bass, 2020):

> this course will foreground the public sphere, prioritizing some of the deepest challenges facing our society (for example wealth inequality, abuses of our electoral system, educational opportunity, the school to prison pipeline, information privacy, etc.), and, in each case, to study the ways that mathematics is implicated in these issues. Interestingly, this leads to exposing a different, and broader, range of mathematical ideas and tools, some quite sophisticated, than encountered in traditional QL [quantitative literacy] courses. (personal communication)

He emphasizes in the course the need for students to engage in respectful discourse, be willing to hear alternative perspectives, and reflect on their own mathematical experiences and identity. It is also interesting that in this class, students read texts about topics such as inequality but also texts from fields like human development to provide

them with knowledge that can inform the kinds of questions they raise and issues they consider. This integration of reading and writing in a quantitative literacy course is also innovative and relates to calls for reading in mathematics that is beginning to emerge in mathematics education in the K–12 sector (Adams, 2003). Some work on mathematics and social justice (e.g., Gutstein, 2006) has involved students doing project-based mathematical analyses grounded in data from their own local communities, thus providing them with mathematical tools for taking social action.

A second important strand of work in the field of K–12 mathematics education is ethnomathematics. As we have discussed, the extent to which students perceive learning in academic content areas as being relevant to their lives is associated with engagement, and therefore motivation and persistence. There are several stereotypes that have come to be associated with the fields of mathematics. One is that mathematics is primarily an outgrowth of European intellectual history. Ethnomathematics (Ascher, 1991) as a field documents not only how growth in mathematics has been distributed across time and space, but also across regions of the world, including the ways that interactions—political, economic, and social—across different regions have contributed to the spread and evolution of mathematical ideas. Ethnomathematics also documents the everyday mathematical practices of diverse communities (Saxe, 1988).

Another important emerging area of mathematics education is what Tate calls *algorithmic justice.* Algorithmic approaches and computational models inform decision making in health care, social services, the judicial system, electoral politics, and all across society. Tate (1994) asserted that the use of mathematics and statistics in our democratic society is often linked to an attempt by one group seeking to gain an advantage over another group. Situations are mathematized in order to maximize advantage. For example, Suri and Saxe (2019) remarked: "Enhanced by computer power, partisan gerrymandering poses a burgeoning threat to the American way of democracy. Workable standards based on sound mathematical principles may be the only tools to counter this threat. We urge the Supreme Court to be receptive to such standards, thereby enabling citizens to protect their right to fair representation." The math of gerrymandering represents a potential facet of civic reasoning. Because algorithms often operate invisibly, embedded in proprietary and corporate software, the ways they manipulate our decision making and external experiences are even more unsettling than other forms of manipulative information. Learning to analyze algorithmic manipulation will require new forms of math education, including computational literacy. Computation can constitute a genuine, new literacy having impact on our civilization comparable to that of textual literacy.

The authors argue here that developing deep mathematical knowledge and epistemological dispositions and learning to use that knowledge and those dispositions to interrogate social, political, and economic issues before us can be powerful preparation for thoughtful civic engagement based on critical reasoning. They do not suggest that such knowledge and dispositions will lead to inevitable common propositions about how to address problems in the civic domain, but can at least ground civic discourse in a shared epistemic orientation toward logical sensemaking. This kind of approach is buttressed by research that indicates that when people make predictions about the rate of occurrence of various phenomena (e.g., incarceration or immigration rates, the frequency of abortions), and then are given the actual data, they will reconsider their previously firm opinions (Munnich et al., 2005).

All of the previously mentioned approaches, however, still tend to focus on students as the objects of instruction, asking what kinds of information they should be presented with and what kinds of techniques they should learn to use. That kind of focus places little emphasis on what the students themselves bring to instruction, and how that can (a) be built on, and (b) relate directly to students' conceptions of themselves as thinkers and learners, and their personal identities. Here, the authors re-emphasize that disciplinary reasoning, in this case mathematical reasoning, entails cognition, perceptions of efficacy and relevance, attributions of emotional salience, and can involve identity wrestling as the focus of mathematical reasoning is connected to experiences that are meaningful.

Not just in mathematics, but in all subject areas, there is the question of what kinds of classrooms consistently produce students who are knowledgeable, resourceful, and agentive thinkers and learners—who are capable of reasoning powerfully, and of engaging in the kinds of discourse that draws on and builds on knowledge in collaborative discourse. It can be taken for granted that if students do not have such opportunities, whether in mathematics or other content areas, they are unlikely to develop such skills and understanding. There is now an extended body of evidence under the umbrella of the Teaching for Robust Understanding Framework (see, e.g., Schoenfeld, 2014; Schoenfeld et al., 2018) indicating that such learning outcomes correspond strongly to their learning in environments that:

- Engage students in a rich mix of disciplinary (and if appropriate, interdisciplinary) content and practices;
- Do so in ways that build on student knowledge and resources, broadly construed;
- Provide meaningful opportunities to contribute to and refine collective understanding, carefully building on both the formal and informal understanding students bring into instruction; and
- Do so in ways where such ideas and practices are made public, so that student thinking is revealed and the teacher can adjust instruction so that students are engaging in sensemaking in their zones of proximal development.

Crafting these kinds of robust environments within classrooms will help students to develop both the skills and propensities to engage in such discourse outside the school walls.

The authors seek here to make the case that the study of mathematics in K–12 classrooms is not merely an exercise in cognitive–technical knowledge. As illustrated, mathematics offers resources for examining a complex range of civic dilemmas through mathematical reasoning. The robust teaching of mathematical reasoning requires attention to epistemic complexity (examining evidence and warrants for claims, considering multiple ways of addressing the same problem), can be powerfully applied to problems that entail moral complexity (e.g., distribution of shared resources, environmental impacts), and can support the development of self-efficacy and emotional safety as students learn to persevere in solving challenging problems.

Science

Science seeks to help us understand the natural world and the consequences of this understanding ought to help us design artifacts, policies, and practices that enhance our general well-being and quality of life. People of all ages need a sound scientific understanding to reason about many issues that affect public life (e.g., health policies, environmental crises, the current COVID-19 pandemic). However, many of the details and technicalities of the latest science are continuously emerging and evolving (e.g., the specifics of viral mutations relevant to the spread of zoonotic diseases, such as coronavirus), and do not make for a plausible prerequisite to engaging civic discourse–relevant thinking. Instead, science education can cultivate an epistemic disposition to inquire into that which one has limited technical knowledge and the skills and tools to engage in such an inquiry with reasonable humility and efficacy. Additionally, some of the tasks for engaging in civic reasoning and discourse can be embedded into the instruction of science itself. The authors view this as a necessarily collaborative project between those concerned with civic reasoning and discourse and researchers and educators focusing on science education.

According to the National Research Council (2012, p. 7),

> Science, engineering, and the technologies they influence permeate every aspect of modern life. Indeed, some knowledge of science and engineering is required to engage with the major public policy issues of today as well as to make informed everyday decisions, such as selecting among alternative medical treatments or determining how to invest public funds for water supply options.

The Next Generation Science Standards offer a comprehensive framework for the teaching of science in K–12 settings to prepare students to become critical consumers of scientific information. The framework moves beyond a focus on content to emphasize deep conceptual understandings. The standards fall into three broad categories: scientific and engineering practices; crosscutting concepts; and disciplinary core ideas. See Figure 2-3 for a full list of these dimensions.

The scientific and engineering practices identified here directly support the quality of epistemic reasoning that is important to civic reasoning and discourse. The crosscutting concepts are important because they represent underlying systems thinking principles and relationships that operate in the natural world. For example, in understanding the current COVID-19 pandemic, it is useful to know that the structure of the virus matters for how it functions in terms of stability and change, and to understand how this virus can both belong to a family of viruses about which we already know something while simultaneously being a unique expression of that family, and as a consequence, poses new challenges. Knowledge of core biological processes in the life sciences is consequential for basic understanding of how the coronavirus operates within our physiological systems. These foundational understandings enable basic sensemaking about the underlying processes of a viral pandemic, even if one does not have deep technical knowledge about the actual virus spread through the COVID-19 pandemic. An interested person who has undergone mandatory science education in school should then be equipped to investigate further questions about the virus, to evaluate and comprehend a variety of sources, and to interrogate the validity of

THE THREE DIMENSIONS OF THE FRAMEWORK

1 Scientific and Engineering Practices
1. Asking questions (for science) and defining problems (for engineering)
2. Developing and using models
3. Planning and carrying out investigations
4. Analyzing and interpreting data
5. Using mathematics and computational thinking
6. Constructing explanations (for science) and designing solutions (for engineering)
7. Engaging in argument from evidence
8. Obtaining, evaluating, and communicating information

2 Crosscutting Concepts
1. Patterns
2. Cause and effect: Mechanism and explanation
3. Scale, proportion, and quantity
4. Systems and system models
5. Energy and matter: Flows, cycles, and conservation
6. Structure and function
7. Stability and change

3 Disciplinary Core Ideas
Physical Sciences
PS1: Matter and its interactions
PS2: Motion and stability: Forces and interactions
PS3: Energy
PS4: Waves and their applications in technologies for information transfer

Life Sciences
LS1: From molecules to organisms: Structures and processes
LS2: Ecosystems: Interactions, energy, and dynamics
LS3: Heredity: Inheritance and variation of traits
LS4: Biological evolution: Unity and diversity

Earth and Space Sciences
ESS1: Earth's place in the universe
ESS2: Earth's systems
ESS3: Earth and human activity

Engineering, Technology, and Applications of Science
ETS1: Engineering design
ETS2: Links among engineering, technology, science, and society

FIGURE 2-3 Next Generation Science Standards framework.
SOURCE: See https://www.nextgenscience.org.

conflicting information they encounter. The public debates in the United States around wearing masks to mitigate the spread of the virus reflects the consequential importance of the public's basic understanding of science.

There are many more plausible resonances between civic discourse and science education. As discussed in the section on *How People Learn* (National Research Council, 1999), the authors are committed to the idea that all students have rich pools of "spontaneous concepts"—intellectual resources that students intuit from their experiences in the everyday world (Vygotsky, 1986). For example, very young children develop a sense that there are some forces at work that pull objects downward. They know if they drop a ball, it will not go up into the air, but rather will fall to the ground. This is before they know anything about the formal construct of gravity or about the counter forces at work in addition to gravity when an object falls. These spontaneous concepts can be leveraged in the construction of both scientific understanding, per se, and tied to developing competence in civic reasoning and discourse. The idea of spontaneous concepts—concepts we intuitively learn from our experiences in the everyday world— supports the broad proposition that robust learning occurs as people engage in activity or what in learning theory is referred to as constructivism. Constructivist theories of learning, stemming from ideas of Lev Vygotsky, Jean Piaget, and John Dewey, privilege the importance of connecting knowledge and dispositions that learners construct from their everyday experiences as scaffolds, important in part because as we learn from acting in the world, we engage in observations, struggling to make sense and impose coherence on experience, supporting our efforts to use what we know to learn new things. Constructivist pedagogies in education, particularly with regard to learning in mathematics and science, require students to actively engage exploring, observing, extrapolating, and testing explanatory propositions. This pedagogical model resists passive learning where students are simply expected to recall things from teachers' lecturing or reading textbooks. More recent applications of constructivist principles are described as "strength-based instruction" in opposition to "deficit-based instruction." The latter model constructs students as empty vessels, or worse, containers of "false theories" or irrelevant-to-instruction "misconceptions."

While a commitment to constructivist principles is fairly widespread in fields like the learning sciences, science education was arguably the earliest discipline to work persistently within a constructivist paradigm (Papert, 1988). As such, constructivism, per se, forms a strong resonance between civic reasoning and discourse and science education, in part because it calls on students to examine prior knowledge and dispositions developed through experience in the world. This suggests that when science learning involves active participation in the unfolding of scientific phenomena, students are more likely to view science as socially and hopefully personally relevant, increasing the likelihood of sustaining interest over time and beyond formal schooling.

Another way science instruction can contribute to preparing students to engage in civic reasoning and discourse is through attention to epistemic dispositions. Epistemic dispositions have to do with how we think about knowledge as being simple or complex; as fixed or subject to ongoing investigation (Chinn et al., 2011). Epistemic dispositions also include the criteria on which we draw to evaluate evidence to support claims. Normative descriptions of productive epistemological judgments in the field of science are often described as the "nature of science" (Lederman, 2006). "Personal

epistemology" or "intuitive epistemology" in the science education world describe the common intuitive, informal, and cultural resources that students bring with them to the understanding of scientific phenomena. These terms suggest that intuitive epistemologies differ from those of experts and are often fragmented or contradictory. People's personal epistemologies tend to rely heavily on authority rather than on judgments of sensibility and coherence (Hammer, 1994), and are therefore prone to misconstruction and overwriting by other "authorities," which can be easily feigned and manipulated.

Recent developments concerning epistemology in science learning seek to expand the terrain encompassed by the term. In particular, they have sought to include interest, affect, engagement, and identity. The latter three are particularly important as links to elements of competence in civic reasoning and discourse that were drawn out earlier in this chapter. This arena is often termed "hot conceptual change." One example of this work, by Levrini and colleagues (Levrini et al., 2018), seeks to foster and measure idiosyncratic and personal affiliation with science subject matter, which could be aptly called developing "scientific identity." This work is also notable in using the history of science (multiple competing historical explanatory frameworks for understanding the same phenomenology) within up-to-date theories of conceptual change to study engagement and identity formation.

Social and ideological forces can also influence our personal epistemologies. An example might be learning about climate change and encountering conflicting messages from fossil fuel lobbyists that seek to systematically undermine the power and legitimacy of scientific studies and conclusions. Science education can contribute to civic reasoning and discourse by taking into account how students' personal epistemologies have been informed by ideological beliefs and anti-science rhetoric in the media. The problems and possibilities entailed by existing ideological settings strongly influencing learning might be called "ideologically fraught conceptual change."

More broadly, historical treatments of science offer a superb resource for thinking and teaching about the ideological settings of science. The history and philosophy of science have, at times, been strongly visible in science education, especially at the dawn of the field of conceptual change (diSessa, 2018). An early and visible innovation in physics instruction, Project Physics at Harvard (late 1960s to early 1970s), was based on humanizing science and increasing interest for less technically inclined students by introducing significant strains of the human history of physics. There is now a journal, *Science Education*, that concentrates on history and philosophy of science as it relates to education. At the same time, it is important to acknowledge that the history of science has not always been benign. We can think about the syphilis experiments where accepted treatments were denied to Black men and the history of scientific racism (Gould, 1981). On the one hand, educators want students to be critical examiners of science and scientific findings and make grounded assumptions about scientific merit, and on the other hand, not to reject scientifically accepted findings, especially those that impact policy and practices that directly affect one's quality of life simply because of ideological beliefs. It might be argued that a grounding in broad democratic values provides a broad boundary in which differences in ideological orientations can be accommodated.

Some theoretical orientations in conceptual change highlight the role of ontology in learning difficulties (Chi, 1992). Ontology refers to basic and distinct categories of existence, such as matter, events, and ideas. Religious ontologies include both human

ontologies and spiritual ones. It appears that ontologies are insightful in capturing some aspects of cultural or ideological backgrounds in learning. The Western tradition in the sciences typically employs hierarchies of existence (ontology) that place humans at the top of the hierarchy, with animal and plant life both lower and solely in service of human aims. In contrast, some Indigenous traditions in the Americas and elsewhere take a very different ontological orientation where humans, other animals, and plants are not hierarchically related, but stand as intrinsically related and interdependent. However, it is important to note that there is contestation over such orientations, even within the Western tradition. For example, consider that organizations such as People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals argue for "animal rights" while the dominant speciest ontology sees animals as "resources" similar to plants, and therefore categorically different from humans' claims to rights and protections (Newkirk & Stone, 2020).

Bang and others argue that ontological distinctions are important at the policy level, as well as the individual level (Bang & Medin, 2010; Bang et al., 2007, 2010, 2012, 2014). They lie beneath decisions concerning both the scope and basic patterns in how science is taught. These researchers call out the need to examine critically how public policy decisions are influenced by assumptions about, for example, whether humans are categorically and uniquely at the top of hierarchies in the natural world. Broad cultural assumptions about ontology—and lack of attention to them—can marginalize the participation of students from particular communities. As part of a solution, Bang calls for epistemic and ontological heterogeneity in both science instruction itself and in research on it (Bang et al., 2012). This resonates with a long-term concern for "epistemological pluralism" (Turkle & Papert, 1991), which has been visibly present and influential for decades in some corners of the science, technology, engineering, and mathematics instruction community.

While it has been slow to develop, science instruction is now actively experimenting with very different activity settings for science learning in contrast to the usual "read and problem solve" mode. A simple example is the use of research-like activities in instruction. For example, Course-based Undergraduate Research Experiences are now becoming very popular (Dolan, 2016). A similar shift toward "inquiry in science" has had a much more evident effect at elementary school levels. Rationales for such innovations include that these courses engage both intrinsic interest and also employ and develop some of the many "soft" skills that are important to science—and also to civic reasoning and discourse—such as collaboration, managing open-ended problems, student empowerment, and so on.

Another activity innovation that has strong face value in connection to civic reasoning is citizen science. Citizen science involves everyday communities participating in data collection, data monitoring, and policy development around problems ranging from environmental protection to sustaining biodiversity. This work sometimes includes organizing roundtable discussions among critical stakeholders around policy considerations, and it can concern sui generis problem selection—a problem focus that comes from students and has personal meaning to them. For example, a project at Aalborg University (Magnussen et al., 2019) in Copenhagen, Denmark, revolves around organizing a community of both local residents (mostly children) and professional architects around the redesign of the physical surround of their community. Some of the general activity structure of citizen science (Lepczyk et al., 2020) has had a stable

presence in science education that can serve as a mutually resonant focus for communities concerned with civic reasoning and discourse in concert with those concerned with science education.

Scientific literacy through journalism is yet another new approach in science education that is particularly relevant to civic reasoning and discourse. Polman and colleagues (2014) argue that engaging in experiences that mirror those of science journalists, rather than professional scientists, enables students to better use science information for personal decision making and helps them contribute meaningfully to public discourse long after high school graduation.

The authors agree with Gutmann (1999) when she argues that public schooling is the only institution in a democratic society that can require preparation for civic engagement, and they further argue that because of both the importance and breadth of such preparation, opportunities to learn to engage in civic reasoning and discourse should be distributed across the content areas and K–12 grades. Table 2-1 summarizes dimensions of civic reasoning across disciplines.

Civic Discourse

Much of this chapter has focused on what is entailed in civic reasoning—its underlying dispositions, its moral threads, and the possibilities of embedding it across academic disciplines in K–12 schooling. Learning is most robust when it involves action on the part of learners to observe, to explore, and to test hypotheses. Ideally, in the context of

TABLE 2-1 Dimensions of Civic Reasoning

	Knowledge	Dispositions	Identity	Ethics
Literacy	• Critically examine texts	• Engage complexity	• Filter problem solving through both self-interest and the needs of others	• Empathize with others
Literature	• Interrogate multiple worlds	• Examine multiple points of view	• Wrestle with multiple overlapping identities	• Privilege fairness for all
Mathematics	• Use of mathematical data and modeling	• Weigh evidence • Examine warrants • Lifelong research to expand knowledge	• Examine ego-focused goals	• Use ethical principles to drive decision making
Science	• Understand processes underlying natural world	• Critically examine point of view and authenticity of sources	• Resist stereotypes and homogenizing others	
History	• Understand geographical, historical, economic, and political processes and forces • Understand democratic values			

schooling, learning should be an active process involving interaction with other people and artifacts. Talk is a powerful medium through which both self-reflection and consideration of multiple points of view unfold. Research on discussion or classroom talk has documented characteristics of and supports for rich discussion and these findings have implications for how we might organize open discussions across the disciplines to embody civic discourse. Michaels and colleagues (2008) make an important observation about how attention to dialogue and discussion contribute to larger civic goals:

> For many philosophers, learning through discussion has also represented the promise of education as a foundation for democracy. Dewey proposed a definition of democracy that placed reasoned discussion at its very heart. He spoke of democracy as a "mode of social inquiry" emphasizing discussion, consultation, persuasion and debate in the service of just decision-making (Dewey, 1966, p. 56).
>
> Globalization, multiculturalism, and diversity—whether ethnic, racial, or socioeconomic—now require new approaches to decision-making. In an increasingly connected but diverse world, deliberations and discussion must be employed in the service of not simply communicating, but as importantly, in knowledge-building and negotiated solutions to complex political, medical, and environmental problems. An emerging body of work addresses these issues on both theoretical and practical grounds, drawing on Habermas' (1990) notion of "deliberative democracy" and the "public sphere" as an idealized discursive space where debate and dialogue are free and uncoerced. (p. 284)

The authors explore civic discourse along three dimensions: knowledge, dispositions, and norms. What are the underlying requirements regarding knowledge to participate in civic discourse? What dispositions are required to engage? And how might organizing and managing a structure and set of norms for discourse enhance the experience in ways that both build knowledge and nurture the necessary dispositions? This problem space of civic discourse requires that we think about both what students need to know and be able to do, and what teachers need to know and be able to do and entails all the complexities we have discussed around conceptual change, the entanglements of identity orientations, and complexities of moral reasoning.

Preparing students to engage in discussion has and continues to be a major topic in educational reform efforts. Researchers in this area draw from across multiple fields of study including sociolinguistics, philosophy, ethnography of communication, and cognitive and social psychology. Most research in recent decades has addressed what has come to be called *dialogic discussion*, moving beyond traditional ways of organizing classroom talk referred to as IRE (Initiate, Respond, and Evaluate) (Cazden & Beck, 2003; Mehan, 1985), where the teacher initiates questions and then the teacher responds to and evaluates students' responses. In contrast, dialogic discussions (Engle & Conant, 2010; Lemke, 1990; Michaels et al., 2008) are ones in which students themselves take the lead by posing questions, putting forward propositions, and responding to one another. However, even when students lead such discussions, they are an outgrowth of norms that teachers establish over time and that teachers coordinate. The patterns for developing such norms are not linear. Depending on students' experience with interrogating questions, learning how to listen, evaluate, and respond in ways that do not cut off others, different patterns of participation emerge and shift over time.

Current educational standards including Common Core State Standards Initiative; Next Generation Science Standards; and the College, Career, and Civic Life: C3 Framework for Social Studies State Standards all call for classrooms in which dialogic discussion is the norm. Currently the McDonnell Foundation is sponsoring a multi-year major funding effort on research on how to support such dialogic discussions in classrooms and how to help teachers learn to plan and coordinate such discussions. Another major longitudinal effort on classroom discourse is the program Accountable Talk led by Lauren Resnick, Sarah Michaels, and others (Michaels et al., 2008). Nystrand has conducted multiple large-scale studies documenting how participation in rich discussions contribute to student learning (Nystrand et al., 1998; Nystrand et al., 2003). There are a number of pedagogical models for designing dialogic discussions: Collaborative Reasoning (Anderson et al., 1998), Paideia Seminar (Billings & Fitzgerald, 2002), Philosophy for Children (Sharp, 1995), Instructional Conversations (Goldenberg, 1992), Junior Great Books Shared Inquiry (Great Books Foundation, 1987), Questioning the Author (Beck & McKeown, 2006; McKeown et al., 1993), Book Club (Raphael & McMahon, 1994), Grand Conversations (Eeds & Wells, 1989), Literature Circles (Short & Pierce, 1990), and Interpretive Discussion (Haroutunian-Gordon, 2014), among others. (See Murphy et al., 2009, for a meta-analysis of the impacts of these models of discussion on reading comprehension.) These families of pedagogical models focus on supporting students in engaging in critical analyses of texts, using discussion as a springboard and venue for exploring multiple points of view. There has also been substantive work on the role of discussion in the teaching of science and mathematics (see Chapin et al., 2003; Lampert & Ball, 1998; Lehrer & Schauble, 2005; Michaels et al., 1992; Rosebery et al., 1992, and Yackel & Cobb, 1996, among others).

The Accountable Talk framework articulates targets for discussion that are applicable across disciplines. These include organizing discussion in ways that privilege accountability to the community of learners (inclusion and respecting others), accountability to knowledge (expectation that discussion will be based on standards of accurate knowledge claims), and accountability to reasoning (expectation that discussion will support mutual privileging of logical and ethical reasoning). The framework includes exemplars of specific pedagogical moves that teachers can use in supporting students' engagement and efforts to uphold the commitments to building a sense of community that values knowledge and reasoning.

With regard to civic discourse, the authors reiterate how civic reasoning can be and should be embedded in learning within and across domains, and not simply limited to work done in social studies, history, and civics classes. This means that the knowledge demands of reasoning in the disciplines must be an important dimension of classroom talk. If students are going to reason about issues of climate change in a science classroom, analyses of civic data sets in a mathematics classroom, or themes about resilience in the face of public health challenges such as a pandemic in a literature classroom, their talk must both recruit disciplinary norms and allow students to bring in their personal histories of and relations with topics to bear. These dimensions of classroom talk must embody both disciplinary norms and civic norms. Civic norms include listening to others, showing empathy for others, considering multiple points of view, and showing respect for others even when one disagrees.

There are a number of conceptual and pedagogical challenges to designing classrooms where robust dialogic discussions are the norm, particularly around questions in the public civic domain, because such questions are always contestable. The first is that the topic or problem being addressed must be of sufficient complexity as to warrant dialogic investigation, in which relations among interlocutors are essential to the work at hand. There is no need for dialogic discussion around a question for which there is a simple right or wrong answer. Sometimes, as in mathematics, there may be a right answer to a question but multiple pathways for getting the answer and dialogic discussions around the affordances and constraints of multiple pathways can be powerful.

Second, students need to have had adequate preparation regarding the requisite body of prior knowledge needed to access the problem. How teachers think about questions of requisite prior knowledge is complex. Assumptions about requisite prior knowledge can be used to assume that some students are not ready to engage in rich dialogue because they do not have requisite prior knowledge. Such assumptions contribute to deficit attributions and low-level instruction. These assumptions are more often than not attributed to students from particular ethnic minority communities and communities living in persistent inter-generational poverty. The extent to which requisite prior knowledge can also include students' experiences in the world and the array of language and meaning making repertoires they have developed robustly outside of school will also contribute substantively to rich dialogic discussions. The relevance of life experiences to the problem at hand can also contribute to civic discourse in that it invites participants to learn about one another, ideally finding some sources of resonance in their life experiences or at least getting some opportunities to wrestle together with sources of difference.

Third is that talk, no matter how rich, is ephemeral. From a pedagogical standpoint it is important that teachers and students are able to create some kind(s) of external representations of the big ideas, lines of argumentation, or points of convergence and dissonance emerging from the discussion. Such external representations constitute an object of inquiry and reflection for both students and teachers moving forward. Such representations may be charts, graphic displays, annotations, or essays, as examples. As students move from one discussion to another, they are ideally accruing a body of knowledge, an evolving argument or set of arguments that can become internalized knowledge. The practice of using knowledge accrued across such dialogic discussions for some public purpose in particular enhances relevance to civic action.

Another important dimension of planning for discussion is the availability of diverse language repertoires as resources. There are important relationships between students developing skills in academic language to convey ideas in the academic disciplines. Academic language includes vocabulary and syntactical features that are typically not part of people's everyday language. For example, in regular everyday oral discourse, people are not likely to use passive voice or compound/complex sentences (e.g., "Although the viral particles can be dispersed through the air, masks can mitigate their dispersal and social distancing also plays a significant role"). They are not likely to use word forms where they translate from a noun form to an adjectival form (e.g., familiarity to familiar). What are called tier 2 academic languages include specialized words and syntactical and rhetorical forms that are associated with disciplines (e.g., "the class of mammals and the order of carnivora") (Lee & Spratley, 2009). Learning academic languages bears some relations to learning a new language. In other words, it takes time and practice.

At the same time, we inevitably learn how to take on new language registers (i.e., levels of formality or informality assumed to be appropriate for different social contexts) by being able to explore new ideas through our existing language repertoires. Language repertoires include the range of knowledge of ways to speak or communicate that an individual has developed. For example, Carol Lee grew up speaking African American English Vernacular and learned to speak several varieties of Academic English as she pursued university and doctoral studies. With close family and friends, she will speak one variety of English, and with professional colleagues, another.

This means there are important roles for students' everyday language repertoires in the enactment of dialogic discussions. The use of everyday language repertoires invites engagement. These everyday language repertoires can include different dialects, such as African American English, as well as other national languages (e.g., students' whose home language may be Spanish or Hmong). Studies have shown the positive impacts of recruiting students' everyday languages as a medium of discussion in classrooms (Brown, 2019; Warren et al., 2005).

Finally, there are important developmental dimensions to designing for and coordinating dialogic discussion. The differences in discussions in middle school or high school classrooms are less about the structure of such talk and more about the appropriateness of the topics being discussed. With regard to civic reasoning, we need a developmental lens on the accessibility of particular topics for youth of different ages. At the same time, as we have discussed earlier, even very young children bring dispositions around moral dilemmas that can be explored appropriately.

Overall, dialogic discussion is a practice that socializes knowledge and dispositions that are central to civic reasoning. The affordances of dialogic discussion play out regardless of subject matter and across the K–12 grade spectrum. The challenge is how to create infrastructures for teacher learning, curriculum design, and assessments that make this pedagogical practice ubiquitous. It is important to recognize that planning for discussion is not simply about tactics (e.g., teachers re-voicing student inputs, structures like pair talk, etc.). Such planning requires knowledge about the multi-dimensional nature of language in use (e.g., the ways that ideas, points of view, and indicators of engagement or not may be implicit rather than explicit), about the multiple dimensions of conceptual knowledge that are the target of instruction (what Shulman calls pedagogical content knowledge) (Shulman, 1986), and of the social, emotional, and identity entanglements that come into play as students talk and potentially disagree with one another. One can learn about these domains of knowledge in the abstract, but learning how to deploy such knowledge in the particular contexts in which one is teaching requires what Hatano calls adaptive expertise (Hatano & Oura, 2003). Such expertise evolves across one's teaching career. Thus, support for teacher learning communities in schools and across communities is one of the most generative systemic supports. Examples of such learning communities include the practice of Lesson Study in Japan (taken up also in the United States and other parts of the world) (Lewis et al., 2006), the National Writing Project (Lieberman & Wood, 2003) which has supported across the nation communities of teachers studying their literacy practices for decades, and Chèche Konnen headed by Beth Warren and Ann Rosebery (Rosebery et al., 1992) from TERC as a collaboration between teachers and researchers around bottom up–identified problems of practice, to name a few.

SUMMARY

The prior sections have made clear how issues of civic reasoning and civic discourse are at play in the multiple academic disciplines that young people learn in school. Attending to robust teaching and learning of those disciplines will provide important opportunities for young people to engage with the core skill sets and habits of mind that will foster the kinds of civic reasoning sensibilities that young people need to reason about complex civic and social issues. If we consider how disciplinary learning might contribute to youth's reasoning about the case presented in the beginning of this chapter involving the deportation of meat plant workers in Mississippi, learners might draw on experiences with literature in which they read about the family challenges of a mixed-citizenship status or immigrant family, or could connect to what they had learned in history about the long history of immigration and reliance on immigrant workers in their history or social science course. Students might also make use of what they are learning about data representations in mathematics to consider the scope and scale of the problem, or might connect to their understanding of digital literacy to assess what reliable sources of data might exist online. Thus, robust and critical disciplinary learning is key to preparing young people to reason civically.

The authors have argued that civic reasoning and discourse recruit multiple resources. Some resources include knowledge, including content and conceptual knowledge within the content disciplines that represent the major focus of K–12 schooling. While knowledge of history, political, and economic systems are essential to robust civic reasoning and discourse, such knowledge in itself is insufficient. Some resources include dispositions. These dispositions include moral reasoning, ethical concern for both the self and others, and epistemological commitments to wrestling with complexity and weighing competing evidence. They also include identity commitments that involve critical interrogations of the self as one inevitably considers positions in relation to self-interest and assumptions about the interest of communities with which one affiliates. Civic reasoning and discourse must also be grounded in democratic values, values that are sufficiently broad to withstand contestation and difference. Figure 2-4 summarizes the argument about what is entailed and to be developed to support civic reasoning and discourse.

With this complex problem space of civic reasoning and discourse, we must also acknowledge the challenges of learning to engage in such work. While we have identified resources that the individual recruits in engaging in civic reasoning and discourse, these resources are developed within and unfold in response to social interactions with others, within systems that distribute resources, often inequitably, and that reinforce ideologies and metanarratives. Public schooling exists within these systems
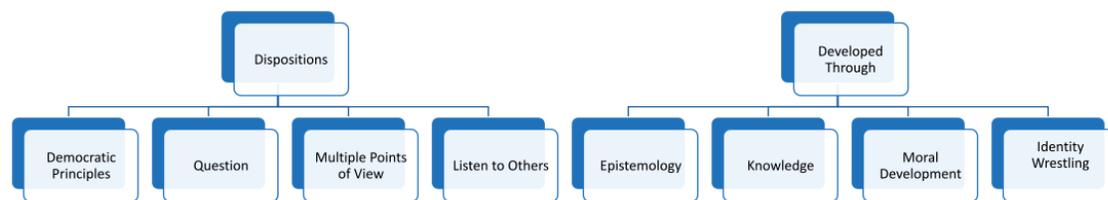
FIGURE 2-4 Developing civic reasoning and discourse.

and is influenced by socially distributed ideologies and metanarratives about what is "normal." Certainly in the context of public schooling, there will be instances where children and especially adolescents will face tensions between either their existing beliefs or their perceptions of what is accepted as the norm. Schooling is fundamentally concerned with building new knowledge by drawing on prior knowledge, the challenge of conceptual change. But when the process of shifting and critically examining existing knowledge and beliefs entails tensions and contradictions, these challenges of "hot conceptual change" are perhaps even more difficult for teachers as adults. Children develop at an early age an appreciation for harm to others and fairness to others even in light of their own ego-focused self-interests. These moral moorings become more nuanced and complex as they grow into adolescence, particularly as they come to understand the ways that society positions those deemed as "the other," which can lead to the development of what is called implicit bias (Moore-Berg et al., 2020; Payne et al., 2017). Implicit bias involves assumptions about others we categorize as part of some kind of social group, assumptions that are not explicitly stated but implicitly assumed. Figure 2-5 identifies the range of challenges to developing strong capacities to engage in civic reasoning and discourse, as well what influences their development.

The point is that there are risks associated with both learning to engage in robust civic reasoning and discourse and with being active in civic reasoning and discourse. The action itself is risky because it requires engagement with others who hold different positions, beliefs, and commitments. Because this is a risky endeavor, it is essential that efforts to prepare young people must be informed by what we know about robust learning environments. We must recognize that robust learning involves more than knowledge. We draw here on Spencer's Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory (PVEST) model (Spencer, 2006). PVEST is a model to account for outcomes of risk or resilience in light of challenge. Spencer argues that it is not simply exposure to risks that matter, but rather the relationships between the sources of vulnerability and the nature of supports available. The model is phenomenological because it is rooted in people's perceptions of themselves, of others, and of settings; perceptions of what is available to them is relevant to their perceptions of risks.

Finally, the authors take from their integrated review of research on how people learn and develop (including how issues of identity inform learning and how perceptions of self, others, tasks, and settings, as well as attributions of emotional salience,
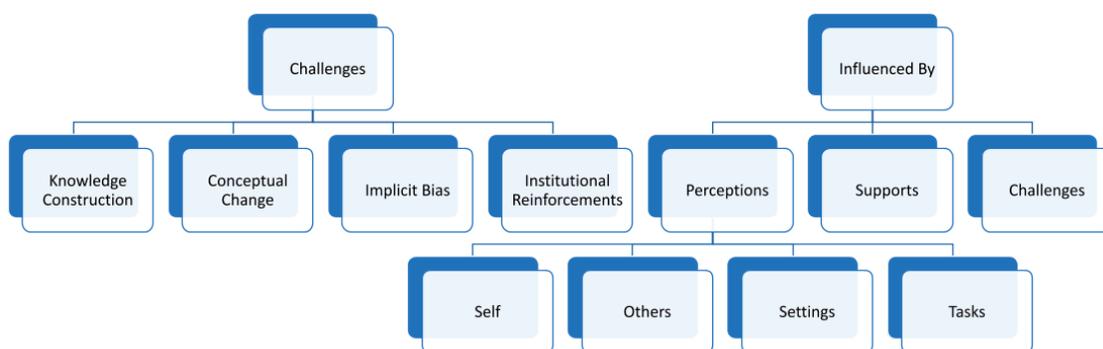
FIGURE 2-5 Challenges to learning to engage in civic reasoning and discourse.

infiltrate action) the following core principles to inform the design of robust learning environments (for children and for adults):

- Draw and build on prior knowledge;
- Provide a sense of emotional safety;
- Establish relevance through links to real-world problems;
- Provide opportunities to build individual and collective efficacy through scaffolded challenges;
- Support questioning sources of information and beliefs;
- Support interrogation of own assumptions;
- Support wrestling with complex and contradictory ideas; and
- Ensure multiplicity and variety of cultural and ideological perspectives, including students' own and those that are less represented in the dominant culture.

The goal is to socialize people, especially young people, to wrestle with complexity, to consider multiple points of view, to interrogate their own assumptions, to empathize with others, and ultimately to aim their lives toward doing good in the world, including good for themselves but also good for others. When looking at the many examples of people reaching out to help others with the aim of public service during this COVID-19 pandemic, we can see the best of what citizenship and understanding our interconnectedness as humans can be in light of challenge. This noble goal cannot be restricted to the work in civics classes in 8th grade and high school.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR RESEARCH, PRACTICE, AND POLICY

One of the key arguments made in this paper is that all of the core academic disciplines and their specific ways of knowing and building knowledge are necessarily entailed in the kind of robust civic reasoning and discourse required for a working democracy. However, disciplinary knowledge is constructed and reproduced by experts and is coordinated by discipline-specific organizations who might not see relevance to civic concerns among the priorities of their work. The authors call for disciplinary educational organizations to talk within and across their boundaries to consider and articulate how they should contribute to civic learning, reasoning, and discourse across the curriculum and lifespan. There is also a need to foster dialogue between professional communities seeking to support civic discourse in schooling and community-based institutions, both to promote mutual learning and to develop opportunities for academic learning and research to contribute to the needs of local communities.

The authors have also argued that while civics course requirements are a positive growing policy effort, a single semester- or year-long civics course is not adequate to support children and youth in engaging in civic reasoning and discourse. Such reasoning and discourse entails wide-scale knowledge reflected across the academic disciplines and epistemic dispositions necessary for engaging with complexity. Equally important are considerations of identity orientations and moral/ethical commitments. These forms of knowledge and dispositions evolve early in child development, including children's evolution of moral reasoning. Humans at a very early age begin to

Learning Principles for Civic Reasoning and Discourse

1. **Attention to the issues of conceptual change and moral development:** Learning the complex demands of civic reasoning and discourse require attention to problems of conceptual change, self-examinations of implicit bias, moral reasoning, and epistemological dispositions valuing complexity and weighing multiple points of view.
2. **Empathy building:** Central to learning to engage in civic reasoning and discourse in ways that promote democratic values is learning to empathize with others, even when we disagree and to interrogate the concept of democratic values.
3. **Awareness of the role of identity development:** Anticipate the social and emotional demands of civic reasoning and discourse and the ways that identity orientations and commitments play out in such reasoning and discourse.
4. **Evidence informed decision making:** Civic reasoning as a form of argumentation requires having access to sufficient data on which to base claims with evidence and to articulate warrants for why evidence should be believable.
5. **Development of advanced comprehension skills:** Engaging in and examining civic discourse requires meta-linguistic knowledge about Ahow language can be crafted and manipulated to persuade, how language can implicitly convey points of view and position judgements as presumed facts.
6. **Deep learning opportunities for civic reasoning and discourse across content areas:** In order to interrogate the array of problems addressed in civic reasoning, students must develop content based and conceptual knowledge in each of the academic disciplines taught in schools:
   a. History—chronological knowledge of events; hypothesized causal links among historical actions, including the full range of persistent challenges in U.S. history and world history; understanding geographical influences on the history of nations and relations among nations; ability to critically interrogate sources of historical information and claims
      i. Government and political systems
      ii. Economic systems
   b. Literature—read widely literature across cultural traditions in order to develop capacities to enter worlds different from the lived experiences of students; read widely to examine persistent ethical and moral human dilemmas; read widely to imagine the personal dimensions of experiencing historical big events and traumas
   c. Mathematics—develop sufficient conceptual and procedural knowledge in order to critically examine claims made in the public arena that include mathematical data as evidence for claims; learning probabilistic reasoning/statistical inference; data displays
   d. Science—develop sufficient conceptual and procedural knowledge in order to critically examine health, climate and other claims related to the natural world that arise in the public domain; develop dispositions to reach out to multiple sources and understand reliability of such sources for information needed to interrogate science related questions in the public domain; develop a critical respect for the explanatory power of science, including its limitations

construct notions of fairness, morality, identity, and community that need to be surfaced, nurtured, and at times challenged in a safe and supportive way. The authors call for research, practice, and policy that deals with creation and maintenance of innovative and cross-curricular civic discourse spaces across grades that might allow students to connect the moral values they are developing in their worldly experiences with the content and forms of reasoning they are practicing in disciplinary classrooms, and

apply them to the local and global challenges they hear about in the news or media, encounter in the lives of their extended family, or overhear on the street or playground. Ultimately, socialization efforts toward developing empathy for others, including others with whom we disagree, stands as a foundational goal for moral development that can be taken up in schooling across the disciplines.

Students need spaces for trans-contextual sensemaking (Bateson, 2016) that promote seeing the deep relevance and interrelatedness of literacy, literature, social studies and history, science, and math to young people's lived experiences. Imagine a space like that existing in Mississippi schools the days after the ICE raids described in the vignette—a space where students of different ages, together with their teachers, could actually ask "What should *we* do?" How they might share personal stories, consider historical precedents, calculate potential consequences, and debate possible strategies for community response? While that discussion might have happened in church basements and living rooms across town, it ought to have been available for young people in their public schools.

With respect to research, we need to better understand how identity, moral thinking, and knowledge domains come together as people reason about civic issues, and how these are not simply individual processes, but also take place in relation to communities and to societies (Nasir et al., 2020). Researchers also might have something to learn from studying places where this kind of disciplinary learning is already happening alongside learning to engage civic discourse and reasoning—in classrooms and schools, but also in formal and informal community settings.

The kinds of work the authors are calling for requires a collaborative spirit, and the acknowledgment that we must come together in new ways toward new kind of ends in order to bring about the kinds of transformative change that would most optimally support young people in engaging in deep and rich civic discourse and reasoning in multiple aspects of their lives.

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From the Diffusion of Knowledge to the Cultivation of Agency:
A Short History of Civic Education Policy and Practice in the United States

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INTRODUCTION

The Necessity of Civic Education

Civic education is a necessity of life. It is at least as important as education in science and technology, or literacy in language and math. As the climate crisis, the ongoing crisis of police brutality, and the recent global pandemic make plain, scientific knowledge and humanist understanding may improve and enrich human life, but they are not enough to ensure justice or human survival. Until we as citizens find ways to make our governments more effective in confronting crises such as climate change, pandemic preparedness, anti-Black violence, and public health, many lives and even the human species will remain gravely imperiled. Meeting that imperative requires human agency and civic efficacy. In this sense, we are in the midst of an acute civic crisis.

Since at least the American Revolution, a central purpose of schooling in the United States has been civic education. As conceived by those who declared independence from Great Britain for what they understood to be violations of their civil and property rights, an education in knowledge and civic virtue was essential for equipping citizens to bear effective witness to truth and right in the face of corruption and abuses of power. Yet, as we know, truth itself is multiple and right is highly contested, nor do either speak for itself. Both depend, instead, on the voices and actions of those who have been educated about them. For these reasons, civic education must also be concerned with the cultivation of civic agency.

This chapter examines multiple historical attempts to address the challenge of educating future publics for pluralist democracy in the face of repeated violations and contestations of democratic ideals. It begins by posing four central problems of civic education, then analyzes select historical examples of how particular historical actors have understood and engaged those problems in their own lives and times, from the early national period through the late 20th century. To conclude, the chapter identifies how historical knowledge and reasoning can inform education for civic agency in our own time.

Four Challenges of Civic Education

Civic Education Implicates Both the Powerless and the Powerful

Civic education implicates both the powerless and the powerful. Although the history of civic education is intrinsically intertwined with the history of "citizenship," the principle of access to such education extends beyond citizens. Most of the provisions of the U.S. Constitution delineate rights and privileges of "persons" under the jurisdiction

of the U.S. government, not citizens (Bosniak, 2010). Even the 14th Amendment, which begins by defining a federal standard of citizenship, ends with clauses that (1) explicitly forbid states from depriving any "persons" of fundamental rights without due process of law; and (2) that extend "equal protection of the laws" to all "persons" within U.S. jurisdiction. In *Plyler v. Doe* (1982), the U.S. Supreme Court affirmed that the constitution protected access to public education for all children under the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment, regardless of citizenship or documented legal status. The court explained its decision with reference to the pivotal role of public education "in maintaining the fabric of society" and "sustaining our political and cultural heritage," as well as to the necessity of education for individual well-being and the "ability to live within the structure of our civic institutions."[1] In this sense, the civic value and necessity of education transcend long-running historical debates over definitions and eligibility for citizenship to encompass all persons residing in the United States—the powerless as well as the powerful.

At the same time, citizenship confers certain substantive imperatives and responsibilities on those who have it. The recognition, enforcement, and protection of civil rights depends on the civic knowledge, dispositions, and agency of those who exercise power in the United States. They depend, in other words, on the education of citizens. As both a policy project and a curriculum project, then, civic education must aim at educating citizens on the rights, powers, and protections that are guaranteed to *others*, as much as to themselves, and to the limitations of official power with respect to *all* persons under U.S. jurisdiction, whether citizens or not.

This point about *civic education as the education of those who already exercise power* bears repeating in light of both history and current crises. As argued more fully later in this chapter, civic education in the United States has often been hobbled by the presumption that its target audiences are those who wish to *become* citizens. In the early 20th century, for example, the central lessons of cultural pluralism, political tolerance, and minority rights supposedly encoded in U.S. constitutional law and American culture were most often taught as lessons of "Americanization" directed to immigrants and minorities, rather than lessons taught to citizens who already enjoyed political power.

The legacy of that history continues to this day, when those who actively seek U.S. citizenship through naturalization must pass "citizenship tests" that many birthright citizens cannot pass themselves. More profoundly, those persons whose civil rights are most routinely violated—that is, Blacks, Native Americans, Latinx,[2] LGBTQ persons, and members of other racialized and stigmatized ethnic and religious groups—have been forced to learn the basic terms and meaning (or meaninglessness) of constitutional rights and protections in a way that dominant members of society have not. A civic education equal to the challenges of our own time, then, must aim at the education of those who already presume to hold and exercise power as much as at those who do not.

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[1] *Plyler v. Doe,* 457 U.S. 202, p. 210 (1982).
[2] The term Latinx recognizes a preferred gender-neutral term embraced by many younger Americans who are either from, or who have family from, Latin America (Morales, 2018; Ortiz, 2018).

Civic Education Is Itself Political

Civic education is itself political. The fact that it implies citizenship means that it has always been embedded in conflicts over who should be accorded the status of citizens and recognized as having civil and political rights. Paradoxically, it is precisely because so many people see the answers to such questions as important that civic education is often a neglected priority. A convergence of interest in support of civic education across such differences can be difficult to effect.

The very concept of citizenship has a problematic history. Throughout European colonization and state formation in the Americas, it has been used to mark distinctions between settler and Native, between those who could claim to "own" land and those who could not. Under this "logic of elimination" (Wolfe, 2006), Indian identity and U.S. citizenship have often been constructed as mutually exclusive categories—a double bind that Native Americans have repeatedly sought to overcome and that in many ways remained unresolved even after the 1924 Indian Citizenship Act granted U.S. citizenship to "all non-citizen Indians born within the territorial limits of the United States" (Lomawaima, 2013).

Ideas of citizenship and civic education have also been highly racialized. The formal and informal education of elite leaders, soldiers, settlers, and ordinary laborers have often included direct lessons in White supremacy. Such lessons both constructed and justified the forced expropriation of territory from Indigenous peoples and the capture and enslavement of Africans that enriched European individuals and nations. They undergirded the eventual creation of the United States as an independent nation founded in part as a league for further violent expansion, labor exploitation, and appropriation of land and resources. They continued into the history of the nation itself and structured basic norms and ideas about who should be included in social and political institutions, including schools, and for what purposes (Gould, 1981; Hannaford, 1996; Malik, 1996; Stratton, 2016; Wolfe, 2002).

During much of the 19th century, most Whites opposed the idea of citizenship for African Americans, their admission to public schools, and their education at public expense. Similarly, California excluded Chinese and other residents racialized as non-White from public schools. In the 1880s Congress excluded Chinese immigrants from the United States entirely, a policy it later extended to other Asian immigrants. Conflicts over immigration and "Americanization" in the 1910s and 1920s led to laws further institutionalizing such restrictions and limiting immigrants from many countries to very low numbers, even when—as in the case of Jewish refugees from Eastern Europe in the 1930s—their lives were in mortal danger. Versions of these same issues still stimulate opposition and conflict today.

Legacies of Injustice Undermine Our Capacity to Support Civic Education

Legacies of these and other injustices undermine civic education. To recognize such legacies involves much more than acknowledging past exclusions; it means confronting the ways that the very concepts and institutions fundamental to civic culture are infused with that history, which continues to put stumbling stones in our path. For example, the American experiment with republican "self-government" was from the beginning predicated on genocidal violence against Native Americans, appropriation of Native

American lands, and elimination of Native sovereignty, languages, and ways of life. Schools, moreover, were deployed as a major weapon in that dispossession and colonization process. How can American Indian students be engaged citizens in a nation whose existence is predicated on Indigenous erasure? Shouldn't all students confront this fundamental contradiction of American ideas of self-government and pluralism? How is that contradiction engaged in civic curriculum?

Ongoing realities of racial segregation also challenge the efficacy of civic education. The *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling in 1954 confirmed that school segregation was anathema to American democracy. A decade later, civil rights legislation swept in a Second Reconstruction as the federal government enforced African American civil rights and oversaw the desegregation of public facilities, including schools, that created much higher levels of interracial contact. From the beginning, however, there were limits to change. Right away, in *Brown II* (1955), the Supreme Court delegated issues of enforcement to the same state jurisdictions that it judged had historically violated constitutional principles. This decision in turn produced a huge number of subsequent court cases seeking clarification of the Court's original decision. Then, starting in 1974, a series of U.S. Supreme Court rulings scaled back the Court's support for school integration (Bowman, 2015; Frankenberg & Orfield, 2012; Hannah-Jones, 2019; Ryan, 2010).

Yet, scholars have demonstrated that teaching students to engage in critical, measured reflection and discussion with those whose perspectives are different than their own will prepare future citizens who can do the same (Hess & McAvoy, 2015). For example, a recent study found that students who participated in organized deliberation over political issues had better perspective-taking abilities than those who did not. The authors of that study concluded that

> The ability to identify rationales for positions with which one disagrees, in particular, is critical in a democracy. If students can identify legitimate rationales for positions in opposition to their own, they have at least started to understand the nature of the controversy, to understand that reasonable people can disagree. (Avery et al., 2014, p. 853)

How do we cultivate civic agency that is politically efficacious in a context in which many students—especially White students of privilege—have little regular contact with people whose race and class background and experience is substantially different from their own?

Civic Education Requires Deliberate Teaching and Teachers Require Support

Civic education requires deliberate teaching. We cannot expect the knowledge and skills of responsible civic engagement to be transferred by osmosis. A recent examination of knowledge of civics administered in 2011 found that the majority of American citizens do not understand such foundational concepts as checks and balances and the importance of an independent judiciary. Only one-third of Americans could name all three branches of government; one-third could not name any. Just more than one-third thought that it was the intention of the Founding Fathers to have each branch hold a lot of power, but the president has the final say, a concept closer to a monarchy than a democracy (Gould et al., 2011). Given these conditions, we cannot expect sound civic education to occur through passive, informal learning.

The challenge of producing an educated and engaged citizenry has also proven to be more complex and complicated with the emergence of social media and digital learning. This has made it much more difficult for high school students and the general population to possess the tools necessary to sort fact from fiction and become informed citizens. In 2018, Soroush Vosoughi, Deb Roy, and Sinan Aral investigated the differential diffusion of all of the verified true and false news stories distributed on Twitter from 2006 to 2017 (Vosoughi et al., 2018). The data comprised 126,000 stories tweeted by 3 million people more than 4.5 million times. Falsehood diffused significantly farther, faster, deeper, and more broadly than the truth in all categories of information, and the effects were more pronounced for false political news than for false news about terrorism, natural disasters, science, urban legends, or financial information. They found that contrary to conventional wisdom, robots accelerated the spread of true and false news at the same rate, implying that false news spreads more than the truth because humans, not robots, are more likely to spread it. These and other findings suggest strongly that we need civic education to equip students to become a more knowledgeable and engaged citizenry.

To do this, schools and educators require support. Precisely because civic education is political, teaching it is challenging. Even the teaching of pedestrian democratic dispositions and skills like critical thinking and toleration for diverse cultures and beliefs is often controversial. It is not uncommon, even today, for teachers who try to create engaging, hands-on lessons about the Holocaust or slavery to run into trouble with parents and administrators who find the lessons insensitive, inappropriate, or threatening to their sense of entitlement. When these teachers are publicly reprimanded—or fired—it serves as a strong disincentive for their colleagues to take a similar risk (Burkholder, 2011). Today, very few teachers encourage robust deliberations of civics issues in American K–12 schools. Teachers cite a lack of content knowledge, ability to "control" spirited discussions, lack of time to dedicate to items that are not covered in standardized tests, and potential parent complaints as key reasons. Writing in 2016, Thomas Fallace imagined that only a crisis of epic proportions could create the social context for change needed to revise our current practices (Fallace, 2016; Goldstein, 2019). It seems that crisis is now.

Four Ways of Conceptualizing the Importance of History for Civic Education

History is central to civic education. It is important for both the design and implementation of civic education as policy *and* for the content and pedagogy of civic education as a curriculum. What follows are four ways of thinking about the significance of history for civic education policy and practice.

History as a Form of Civic Reasoning

Important as historical understanding is to effective civic agency, history does not repeat itself. Historical learning is not utilitarian in this sense. We cannot study the past in order to avoid repeating the mistakes of the past. History is not a roadmap. Even more, history is not a sacrosanct set of warnings that we are obligated to obey. However, none of this is to say that history does not serve a crucial purpose in a democracy.

History is a category of civic reasoning. If taken seriously as a discrete mode of thinking, history helps people navigate the complexities of democratic citizenship.

History is critical to civic reasoning because it engenders contextual thinking. An essential historical concept, *context* is an explanation for how and why things happened in the past. Things happened, in part, because sets of circumstances—context—allowed them to happen, or even caused them to happen. Circumstances inevitably change. Historical thinking is a disciplined way of thinking through that change in context. This is an essential skill of democratic citizenship and governance. Moreover, it is an essential responsibility for us as we contemplate issues of civic education in our own time. How well we think through our current context will shape the consequences and significance of any actions we take now.

History as Confronting Legacies of the Past

Although we are strong advocates of historical learning as integral to civic education, the main point of this chapter is a bit different. This chapter looks at history in order to better understand how civic education has been shaped by power dynamics that have excluded certain peoples and ideas. The aim in this discussion is to confront that history. It is essential to confront history in order to meet the central problems that challenge civic education. That is because the idea of civic education that guides this project—one of cultivating civic reasoning—assumes a "we" of civic discourse that cannot simply be assumed. The politics of civic education, the legacies of injustice, and the diffusion of falsehood all challenge that assumption. In this context, it is only by "working-off-the-past" that the "we" necessary for civic discourse can be forged (Neiman, 2019).[3] That includes both the "we" of civic education as policy and the "we" of civic education in the classroom. Our goal is to advance the kind of transformative civic education that scholars like James A. Banks argue helps all citizens—including those from marginalized groups—become efficacious and participatory citizens (Banks, 2017).

History as a Repertoire of Evidence and Examples

History provides evidence and examples of how real people engaged crucial civic issues in the context of crisis, conflict, and injustice. In May 1944, 32 Black high school seniors in Julia Brogdon's "Problems of Democracy" class composed and sent individual letters to the College of Charleston requesting information about entrance requirements and admission to the school (Baker, 2006). These actions challenging violations of the 14th Amendment arose out of the class's comparative analysis of racially restricted admission policies at municipal colleges in the United States. In this sense, they also provide evidence of how a certain model of civic education was enacted in certain classrooms during the World War II and immediate postwar era.

By 1933–1934, according to Thomas Fallace, about one-third of all U.S. high schools had adopted some version of the "Problems of Democracy" course (Fallace, 2016). As Fallace recounts, the idea of the course derived most immediately from progressive

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[3] For an in-depth discussion of the concept of Vergangenheitsaufarbeitung ("working-off-the-past") as understood and practiced in Germany and reconsidered in the context of the United States, see Neiman, S. (2019). *Learning from the Germans: Race and the memory of evil*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

curriculum planning in the 1910s, 1920s, and 1930s, as represented by the report of the National Education Association's (NEA's) 1916 Committee on Social Studies. The case of Julia Brogdan in turn illuminates how a teacher enacted the idea in a particular classroom in the context of totalitarianism not only abroad, but at home under Jim Crow. As educators, scholars, and policy makers, we can learn from this model of civic education.

Historical Understanding and the Cultivation of Agency

The origins of Julia Brogdan's "Problems of Democracy" course were not only in the NEA, however. Brogdan graduated from Allen University in Columbia, South Carolina, and received her master's degree from Atlanta University, where she studied with Horace Mann Bond and W. E. B. Du Bois (Baker, 2006, pp. 66–67). Both Allen and Atlanta were historically Black institutions founded during Reconstruction, as was the Avery Institute in Charleston, where Brogdan taught. Her education and teaching at those institutions connected her with deep traditions of western thought and also with a trans-generational network of educational leaders and political activists who knew where they were in history and who understood themselves as historical agents. Cultivating a sense of historical agency is a crucial component of civic education. It is important for us as scholars and educators as well as for students. To become engaged citizens, we must believe that engagement matters.

LEGACIES—SEVEN HISTORICAL EXAMPLES

A historical perspective reveals how power dynamics in the past shaped civic education in ways that simultaneously mobilized concerted civic effort and excluded or discriminated against certain people and ideas. The remainder of the chapter considers how these forces shaped the practice of civic education and changing definitions of democracy and citizenship. It shows how diverse people fought to create more inclusive civic education and more just and robust visions of what it means to sustain a pluralist democracy that recognizes and protects the rights of all. A critical analysis of past examples of civic education and activism, this chapter argues, will help us cultivate the powers of civic reasoning and civic agency necessary to confront both the ongoing legacies of injustice and the current critical issues of our time.

First, a word about definitions. From a historical perspective, there are no a priori definitions of civic education. The idea of "civic education" as a "course in government" was an invention of the 20th century. For much of U.S. history, by contrast, the notion of civic education was more broadly conceived as "education for citizenship." The central problem of civic education in that context was a problem of "diffusion." It was about increasing access to the relatively undisputed content in reading, writing, arithmetic, history, and geography presumed to prepare people for citizenship. The point of this chapter is to examine the history of civic education—broadly conceived as "education for citizenship"—in order to recognize the historical tensions and contradictions that have attended that project in the United States and to learn how diverse people have mobilized their own resources, civic traditions, and ideas to address those contradictions. In the process, we also highlight factors that shaped the emergence in the 20th century of ideas of "civic education" that involved specific dedicated curriculum in Americanization, government, tolerance, and "problems of democracy."

Historical Agency and Civic Education in the American Revolution:
The Uses of History

Civic education was essential to the agency and activism of participants in the founding of the United States as an independent nation and the (re)formation of colonies as states during the revolutionary and early republican eras. Those participants included not only the famous Founding Fathers, but also ordinary men and women engaged in a variety of formal and informal governance and learning contexts from local churches, town meetings, and common schools to workingmen's associations, guild-like clubs such as the Freemasons, and a wide range of learning and literacy societies. Together with formal schools and literary institutions such as colleges, academies, and seminaries, these self-governing and often independently incorporated organizations formed the combined reservoir of social and political capital that constituted civic education and culture in Anglo America (Beadie, 2010).

A practical education in this culture involved initiation into a number of ordinary tools of associational life, such as the circulation of petitions, the drafting of articles of association, the writing of constitutions, the practice of basic parliamentary procedure, the presentation and voting of resolutions, minute-taking, and the raising of funds through pledges of joint responsibility and self-taxation. An intellectual education in this culture, meanwhile, included familiarity with the principles of government articulated in various traditions of political philosophy along with historical knowledge of prior experiments with different models of governance, political economy, and trade. As Benjamin Franklin explained in his famous *Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth* published in 1749:

> History will … give occasion to expatiate on the Advantage of Civil Orders and Constitutions, how Men and their Properties are protected by joining in Societies and establishing Government; their Industry encouraged and rewarded, Arts invented, and Life made more comfortable: The Advantages of Liberty, Mischiefs of Licentiousness, Benefits arising from good Laws and a due Execution of Justice, & c. Thus may the first Principles of sound Politics be fix'd in the Minds of Youth. (Franklin, 1749, p. 22)

To achieve these ends, Franklin recommended reading not only ancient history and classical authors, but "the best Modern Histories, particularly of our Mother Country; then of these Colonies; which should be accompanied with Observations on their Rise, Encrease, Use to Great Britain, Encouragements, Discouragements, & c. the Means to make them flourish, secure their Liberties, & c." (Franklin, 1749, p. 25). Writing as a loyal British subject and counsellor for a full generation before the events that would eventually precipitate the American Revolution, Franklin nonetheless specified the value of learning about the historical benefits that the colonies had conferred on Great Britain, the policies that either encouraged or discouraged their flourishing, and the means of securing their liberties.

The diffusion of such practical and intellectual civic knowledge proved essential in the conflicts with Great Britain that ensued. Colonial protests against the Stamp, Townshend, and Intolerable Acts of the 1760s and 1770s took the form of joint resolutions and non-importation agreements forged and enforced by local associations of ordinary households on the model of other voluntary associations and self-governing

bodies (Gross, 1976). Moreover, as Pauline Maier has shown, it was not only colonial representatives to the Continental Congress but also ordinary participants in many town, county, and colonial–level conventions who drew on principles and precedents from British and colonial history—especially including the Declaration of Rights of 1689—in drafting their own local declarations of independence in spring and summer 1776. Important was knowledge not only of specific prior cases of resistance to the Crown, but also of the form, principle, and practice of "declarations" as legal instruments by which claims of wrongdoing on the part of a king and his counsellors were publicly declared, the legitimacy of his authority disputed, and public support for his removal solicited (Maier, 1998, pp. 47–96).

Civic agency during the American Revolution thus drew on history in at least three ways: (1) as a sense of shared identity as a people with a common set of expectations, norms, and prerogatives regarding good government established by tradition and law; (2) as a repertoire of historical examples and precedents for understanding current predicaments; and (3) as a tradition providing a toolkit of practices and templates for action in current circumstances. All three of these uses of history remain resources for civic reasoning today.

Visions and Dilemmas of Civic Education in the Early Republic: The Power of Context

The next generation sought to institutionalize the education necessary to sustain this understanding of common history, legal prerogatives, and principles of good government. In 1795, the American Philosophical Society (APS)—which included among its members the nation's first presidents, leading scientists, and other political and cultural leaders—sponsored a prize contest for an essay proposing the system of education "best calculated to promote the general welfare of the United States" (Justice, 2013). A close look at the submitted essays reveals the logic and the dilemmas of civic education in the early Republic.

With regard to curriculum, the two winning essays by Samuel Knox and Samuel Harrison Smith differed in their emphasis on classical language learning versus modern languages and content. This difference illuminates the significance of history as a way of envisioning the expansion of citizenship and self-governance during the early republican era. In the late 18th century, an emphasis on history and geography as subjects of study provided a means of surmounting the obstacles to liberal learning that had long been constrained by an insistence on reading Latin and Greek texts in the original language. Reading such texts in translation or as summarized in histories by ancient writers like Livy and Plutarch or by more modern writers such as Charles Rollins became a popular and even standard element of English language curricula. Perhaps even more importantly, English-language translations and histories became widely available in print for those pursuing self-education.

Exemplifying this more accessible approach, Samuel Harrison Smith echoed Franklin before him in making history central to the curriculum, especially with respect to civic content. Higher grades of primary education should include "the concise study of General History and a more detailed acquaintance with the history of our own country; of Geography; of the laws of nature, practically illustrated in agriculture and

mechanics; and to commit to memory, and frequently to repeat, the constitution and the fundamental laws of the United States" (Smith, 1797/2013, p. 213).

Even as Smith presented an inclusive educational vision by grounding it in English education rather than classical languages and literature, his vision was constraining in other ways. For starters, Smith's proposal, like the other submissions, focused explicitly on the education of boys. In delineating the basic principles of his proposed system, Smith stated "that every male child, without exception, be educated" (Smith, 1797/2013, p. 213).

This gender exclusivity is surprising in two ways. First, as Margaret Nash points out in her essay on the topic, it cut against the grain of current trends in intellectual thought at the time (Nash, 2013). Female education was a common topic of discussion at the end of the 18th century among many of the same political and cultural leaders who comprised the membership of the APS. Indeed, several members—including Benjamin Franklin, Benjamin Rush, and even Thomas Jefferson in his 1785 *Notes on the State of Virginia*—were on record as favoring the systematic education of women. Second, the exclusion of women from Smith's plan contradicted existing practice. Girls and young women quite commonly attended school in many areas of the country in the late 18th century. Largely due to this widespread school attendance, female literacy rates rose significantly during the last half of the 18th century, becoming virtually equal with that of males by the 1820s. As the pool of literate girls and young women widened, so did the demand for female schooling beyond the elementary level, a demand that by the end of the 18th century was met not only by private tutors or schools held in women's homes, but by increasing numbers of academies and seminaries (Kerber, 1980; Nash, 2005; Norton, 1980).

Ordinary practice, in other words, already substantially exceeded the principles of school access with respect to sex stated in essays submitted to the APS contest in 1795–1797. To some degree, though to a lesser extent, the same was true of school access with respect to race. Free Blacks and some enslaved persons did attend school during the early republican era, particularly in northern cities but also in some border and southern cities such as Baltimore, Maryland; Raleigh, North Carolina; and Louisville, Kentucky (Horton & Horton, 1997; Lucas, 2003; Mabee, 1979; Moss, 2013; Nash, 1991; Tolley, 2005). Typically, such education occurred in charity or church schools organized specifically as "colored" or "African free" schools or in pay schools organized by independent teachers, including some established and taught by African Americans. In Philadelphia specifically, as Hilary Moss points out, publicly advertised Black schools date back to the 1720s, including an influential school for free and some enslaved Blacks founded by Anthony Benezet around 1750 that continuously operated well into the 19th century (Hornick, 1975; Moss, 2013; Nash, 1991). Given that context, Samuel Harrison Smith's stated principle "that every male child, without exception, be educated" *could* have been intended to include Black boys, though it is far from clear that it did.

Such explicit and implicit exclusions by race and sex in proposals for a system of education "best calculated to promote the general welfare of the United States" may not seem surprising to anyone not already familiar with common practices of female schooling and the existence of schools for Blacks in this era. To most modern readers, and even most historians, such exclusions by race and sex may be so taken for granted

as to hardly bear examination. However, recognizing the reasons that stated principles of access to education were more narrow than existing practice is essential to understanding the history and appreciating the ongoing significance of civic education in society.

It is important to recognize that it was precisely because of the public and civic purpose of the educational system they were proposing that Samuel Harrison Smith and other proponents of public education were so circumspect about the inclusion of women and African Americans in their plans. To appreciate this point, it helps to look closely at how Smith himself stated that civic purpose. At the end of his very long (90 pp.) *Remarks on Education*, Smith summarized the importance of education for the "individual citizen":

> The citizen, enlightened, will be a freeman in its truest sense. He will know his rights, and he will understand the rights of others; discerning the connection of his interest with the preservation of these rights, he will as firmly support those of his fellow men as his own. (Smith, 1797/2013, p. 216)

Here we have as clear and simple of a statement of the importance of an educated citizenry for the preservation of republican government as existed at the time. "Knowing one's own rights" and "understanding the rights of others" seems an obvious and innocuous statement of enlightenment logic in support of the value of public education for civil society. Yet, the statement also reveals how the language of citizenship (as distinct from that of "personhood") imposed limitations on the educational vision proposed. What rights, exactly, did a woman or an African American have in 18th century society? To what extent could one imagine including either in the term "freeman"? What would it mean to "understand the rights of others" when those others were women or African Americans?

What these questions highlight is the political nature of the document Smith created and the limits that politics imposed. Any document that answered the question posed by the essay contest—which was essentially to propose a national system of education—was of course a political document. That, in turn, meant that in order for the essay to have a prospect of winning the contest, and more ambitiously, for the proposed plan to win a hearing with a broader audience, it had to take that larger political context and audience into account. Precisely because contemporary debate connected the issues of female education and women's rights, Smith could imagine nothing he could say on female education that could win broad assent. For that reason, he said nothing and thus in effect limited his principles to something much less than existing practice.

This problem of political consensus at the heart of the civic education project was even more salient with respect to African Americans. Slaveholder power, land speculation, and the pursuit of wealth were essential to the revolutionary movement and to the confederation that successfully prosecuted the U.S. War for Independence. That coalition was institutionalized first in the Articles of Confederation and eventually in the U.S. Constitution. Maintaining that coalition through ongoing challenges to national independence remained a central preoccupation of the federal government through the early national period, up to the Civil War, and arguably to this day. In that context,

any ostensibly "national" program that challenged slaveholder power was politically untenable. Certainly, a proposal for a national public education system that explicitly proposed to educate Black males as citizens who "knew their rights" would have represented such a challenge. It is not surprising that no such direct challenge was made by APS essay contest participants.

More than that though, and somewhat more difficult to apprehend, is the point that Eric Foner made decades ago in his study of Thomas Paine. Paine recognized the fundamental moral contradiction embedded in a movement that cried for liberty even as it countenanced legal and political systems of bondage. "With what consistency, or decency," he asked in a newspaper piece published in March 1775, could the colonists "complain so loudly of attempts to enslave them, while they hold so many hundred thousand in slavery?" (Foner, 2005, p. 73). Yet, as Foner argued, slavery was essential to the revolution precisely because it removed a large portion of the laboring population from the prospect of political rights, and thus from the potential to challenge a landed gentry who never would have endorsed the revolutionary movement otherwise. "By eliminating altogether the question of political rights for the laboring population, slavery enabled the wealthy planters for whom Madison spoke to embrace republicanism and representative government" (Foner, 2005, p. 89).

Understood from this perspective, the very convergence of interests that made the republican experiment of the United States possible assumed the categorical denial of citizenship and basic human rights by race. A proposal for a national system of public education that depended on those in power agreeing to the principle that all laborers should be educated as citizens with political rights was not politically viable in a context where the coalition of confederated states had to be maintained in order to withstand external challenges. Understanding the significance of that context is essential for understanding the concept of liberty itself (Berlin & Hoffman, 1983; Davis, 1999; Nash, 2006). It is also an example of how contextual thinking is essential to civic reasoning. For indeed, the legacy of the revolutionary era context of confederation is with us still.

Of course, the fact that officially promoting the education of Blacks for "citizenship" proved politically problematic did not mean that Black communities did not themselves cultivate civic knowledge, agency, and activism. Enslaved persons pursued self-education and participated in clandestine schools and informal learning (Franklin & Higginbotham, 2011; Williams, 2005). Meanwhile, free Black leaders and communities increasingly drew on their own social and religious organizations and ideas to establish schools, confront anti-Blackness, challenge slavery itself, and assert equal rights and equal citizenship (Baumgartner, 2019b; Jones, 2018; Moss, 2009; Rael, 2002). As racist legal exclusions and anti-Black violence increased in the 19th century, these leaders and communities responded with civic-minded efforts to call Americans back to founding principles. In Connecticut, for example, Black women and girls seeking education stood up to violence against them and publicly asserted an alternative moral vision (Baumgartner, 2019a). In Boston, David Walker (1830) issued his *Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World* calling out hypocrisy in the land of "liberty."[4] In

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[4] David Walker's address was written in 1829 and printed in 1830 as a pamphlet entitled David Walker's appeal, in four articles, together with a preamble, to the coloured citizens of the world, but in particular, and very expressly, to those of the United States of America.

Philadelphia, the Reverand Richard Allen organized the first Colored or Negro Conventions while the businessman James Forten helped fund the establishment of the abolitionist newspaper *The Liberator*, and published a series of essays laying a foundation for the abolitionist movement that followed (Nash, 2006). This was civic education too—and in the fullest sense.

Civic Education and Sovereignty in the Common School Era: Tensions and Contradictions

Civic education became the leading rationale for promoting public schools at municipal, state, and territorial levels in the 19th century. While education sponsored by private groups at private expense could aim at many things—whether vocational, religious, social, or cultural—education at public expense required a justification in terms of the common or public good. Until the 1820s, schooling in Anglo-America developed in highly decentralized ways, primarily through local initiatives, though occasionally supplemented by state, municipal, or tribal funds on an institution-by-institution basis. Systematic development of schools at public expense at the state or territorial level began occurring in a major way during the 1820s and 1830s. Education for citizenship provided the central justification for this systems expansion.

This movement to expand schooling on a systematic basis included the sovereign nations of Indian Territory after the Indian Removal Act of 1830. Looking at the common school movement in comparative perspective with a focus on Indian Territory highlights the possibilities as well as some of the tensions and contradictions of education for self-government among sovereignties that sometimes conflicted with each other—tensions and contradictions that would come to a head in multiple ways during the Civil War.

An important fact to recognize about civic education and school system development in the United States during the common school era is the extent to which they depended directly on the expropriation of Native American lands. This dynamic had roots in the early republican era. Beginning in 1785 and 1787 with the provisions of the Northwest Ordinance, the federal government dedicated portions of newly acquired federal lands for support of education, a model it elaborated in subsequent territorial acquisitions and acts. From the beginning, Congress framed the justification for such provisions in terms of civic purpose: "Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged" (Tyack et al., 1987, pp. 20–42).

Essentially a byproduct of land policy, these federal provisions for school support used lands appropriated from Native Americans as a means of promoting White settlement. School lands offered settlers a benefit that incentivized the kind of family formation and institution-building necessary to occupy and hold the territory, while they also promoted the formation of citizenry and leaders who would establish and sustain Anglo-style systems of self-government, thereby converting the territory from Indian to White settler control (Beadie, 2016a; Beadie et al., 2016; Lee & Ahtone, 2020; Nash, 2019). Thus, Native dispossession and White citizenship education were directly connected in the common school era. Together, they operated as a central dynamic of settler colonialism in North America.

This dynamic became particularly relentless in the Jacksonian era of the 1820s and 1830s when, not incidentally, the elimination of property qualifications for voting and the expansion of White male suffrage in U.S. states increased the demand for additional Native land expropriation, racially exclusive laws, and racially restricted definitions of citizenship. As rights increasingly came to be seen as inhering in the person rather than in wealth or position, the question of which persons had inherent rights became more salient and more explicitly exclusive by race and sex (Berthoff, 1989). This was a period of escalating anti-Black, anti-Indian racism, including the passage of widespread anti-literacy laws in the South and the Indian Removal Act of 1830, all reinforced with vigilante violence, with some of it directly threatened and encouraged by the Andrew Jackson administration. Meanwhile, these new repressions of slavery and violations of Native treaties were justified by a new, specifically American, racist "science" of phrenology (Gould, 1981).

It was in this context that U.S. states established systems of common education and it was under this relentless pressure that some Native nations developed systems of schooling as well. Indigenous leaders at various stages of the settler colonial project promoted and facilitated certain forms of western education for their children and future leaders in a deliberate effort to enable them to be effective in advancing and protecting tribal interests with and against White settlers and the U.S. federal government. Thus, in the early 19th century, tribal nations such as the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, and Creek of the Southeast developed academic institutions that in many ways paralleled, imitated, and rivaled academies intended for White social and political elites (Castelow, 2002; Mihesuah, 1993; Snyder, 2017b).

One of the most influential of these institutions was Choctaw Academy. Founded in 1825 in Great Crossings, Kentucky, under a special joint agreement between the Choctaw Nation and the U.S. federal government, Choctaw Academy actively recruited and enrolled nascent leaders from 17 different Native nations, extending from the Ojibwe to the Seminole, from the Osage to the Shawnee.[5] At Choctaw Academy, students pursued a standard western academic curriculum on a model much like that articulated previously by Benjamin Franklin and William Harrison Smith, including English language studies, history, and classics. As detailed by the historian Christina Snyder (2017b), that curriculum led cadres of nascent Native leaders to articulate visions of national sovereignty for Indian nations replete with historical examples from ancient Greek city states, the U.S. Revolution, and Irish independence movements. As interpreted and taken up by Native students, in other words, the curriculum at Choctaw Academy amounted to a civic education for Native sovereignty.

This vision of education for sovereignty was cruelly betrayed with the Indian Removal Act of 1830 and the actions that followed. As Tsianina Lomawaima (2015) has argued, the federal government under the Jackson administration directly violated the federal Constitution and sacrificed Native sovereignty in order to facilitate the expropriation of Native lands by the states and White residents of Georgia and Mississippi, and thereby preserve the Union under threat of southern secession.

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[5] Choctaw Academy students came from the tribal nations and homelands of the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, Dakota, Iowa, Menominee, Mesquakie and Sauk, Miami, Ojibwe, Omaha, Osage, Ottawa, Potawatomi, Quapaw, Seminole, and Shawnee (Snyder, 2017a, p. 15).

For a decade or more after removal, surviving Indian migrants and leaders continued to send some of their most promising youth to school under prior arrangements, including at Choctaw Academy in Kentucky. In 1842, however, after repeated reports of deteriorating conditions at Choctaw, the General Council of the Choctaw commissioned one of their members, Peter Pitchlynn, to take their demands to Washington, DC, seize control of tribal school funds, and withdraw Choctaw students. Other nations of Indian Territory soon followed the Choctaw example, often with Pitchlynn as their representative, with the result that Choctaw Academy closed in 1848 and Native nations within Indian Territory established their own schools and school systems. Carrying forward practices and in some cases transplanting existing institutions from their original reserved territories in Georgia, Mississippi, and elsewhere in the South, Indian nations such as the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, and Creek initially concentrated tribal resources, including federal annuities intended for education, in a small number of institutions intended to educate tribal leaders (Castelow, 2002; Mihesuah, 1993; Snyder, 2017a; Steineker, 2016b) but soon expanded schooling on a common school model to include a wider range of students.

Importantly, a number of Choctaw alumni went on to take up leadership roles as promoters of developing school systems during the 1840s and 1850s. As detailed by historian Rowan Steineker with respect to the Creek Nation and by Christina Snyder with respect to the Choctaw Nation, the resulting systems in Indian territory focused on making basic or common education more universal among ordinary households, as well as on educating promising students as teachers and leaders. According to Snyder, the Choctaw Nation schools hired mostly Native teachers and taught children and adults in both English and Choctaw. Much like developing common school systems simultaneously being established in other states and territories such as Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, they matched central funds with local initiative and funding (Steineker, 2016a). In this respect, the school systems of Indian Territory in the common school era effectively provided civic education, or education for citizenship, in self-governing sovereignties with the potential to operate as states-within-a-state on a parallel with (though still distinct from) those of other states and territories in the federalist union of the United States (Lomawaima, 2015).

Though such a possibility of course presented its own tensions and potential conflicts, they were not entirely different from those that attended other territories with linguistically and/or culturally distinct populations, particularly after U.S. aggression and acquisition of territory in Mexico in the 1830s and 1840s. Most communities in New Mexico, and many in Arizona, Colorado, and Texas, continued to employ Spanish-speaking teachers in their schools (or German-speaking teachers, as the case required) to reflect Catholic tradition and teaching (or Lutheran or Mormon teaching) for decades after the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the 1846 admission of Texas to statehood (Blanton, 2004; Getz, 1997; Lozano, 2018; McDonald, 2004). For that matter, German communities and Catholic communities throughout the United States with a variety of ethnic backgrounds (Belgian, Czech, French, Welsh) continued to hold school in their home languages taught by teachers who shared their ethnic, religious, and linguistic backgrounds through much of the 19th century (Justice, 2005; Tyack, 2003; Vinyard, 1998).

At the same time, territories and states before the Civil War maintained considerable autonomy over who was defined as a "citizen" and (thus) also what "education

for citizenship" looked like. Paradoxically, perhaps, this condition of semi-autonomous sovereignty allowed both for a degree of cultural pluralism and for multiple forms of racial exclusion. This kind of racialized citizenship occurred in the Nations of Indian Territory as well. Thus, Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole, who had brought enslaved Blacks with them to Indian Territory from the Southeast and increased their slaveholding for cotton farming in the Territory, practiced a racially repressive regime of law and education that paralleled in some respects the rest of the slaveholding South. With schooling more directly under tribal authority and subsidized more directly by tribally held central funds (albeit from federal sources), the systems increasingly defined access to such funded schools in terms of a racially exclusive idea of tribal membership. Specifically, most tribally run schools in Indian territory excluded African American residents, many of whom were currently or historically enslaved by tribal members (Snyder, 2017a; Steineker, 2016a). In this regard, too, the school systems of Indian Territory paralleled those of common school systems established in other U.S. states and territories in the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s, almost all of which explicitly specified their school constituencies and inhabitants eligible for citizenship as "White" (Beadie, 2016a; Thorpe, 1909).

Thus, on the eve of the Civil War, civic education and public schooling in the United States was simultaneously pluralist and racially exclusionary. This fundamental tension between collective sovereignty and equal citizenship was endemic to the common school project and endures today. It continues to challenge attempts to shape a civic education policy that extends to all regions and populations with equal justice.

Antebellum Black Activism and Postbellum Educational Reconstruction: Contingency and Consequence

Founded during the era of slavery, America's first public schools were neither designed nor intended to serve African Americans. To the contrary, most Whites viewed it as logical to prohibit Black access to antebellum public schools, as they did not view free Blacks as eligible for American citizenship. This is why even in northern states with relatively robust systems of public education, Whites routinely barred Black youth from public schools before 1865 (Anderson, 1988; Davis, 2011; Douglas, 2005, pp. 12–60). Common schools taught citizenship explicitly through a curriculum of Protestant morality, American civics and history, American-style grammar and spelling, the geography of the young nation, and enough reading, writing, and mathematics to prepare adults to read a newspaper and pay their taxes. At the same time, common schools taught citizenship implicitly by refusing to include many African Americans, Native Americans, Chinese Americans, and Mexican Americans, among other students of color. In this way, public schools were one of many institutions that constructed an explicitly racialized conception of American citizenship (Kaestle, 1983, pp. 38–39, pp. 171–179; Litwack, 1961, pp. 113–152; Mabee, 1970, pp. 139–184; Moss, 2009, pp. 1–13; Rael, 2002, pp. 1–5; Woodson, 1968, pp. 229–255).

African Americans viewed education as essential to emancipation, self-sufficiency, and political equality. When they were denied entry to the new common schools, Black northerners petitioned local governments for admittance, but were met with fierce resistance from Whites who either ignored these pleas or created segregated schools for

Black students. Such schools sprouted in Boston, Detroit, Hartford, New Haven, New York, Newark, Philadelphia, Portland, Portsmouth, Providence, Rochester, and Trenton, as well as smaller towns like Nantucket and Salem. Faced with the grim choice of total exclusion from the common schools or access on a segregated basis, many northern Black families accepted the latter. In some cases, White school leaders sweetened the deal by hiring Black teachers and administrators for the "colored" schools of the North (Burkholder, in press; Douglas, 2005, pp. 1–60).

As racial tensions intensified and civil war loomed, a growing number of Black leaders began to question the wisdom of state-sponsored school segregation. Like other Americans, they saw plainly the relationship between public schools and citizenship. To advance their argument that African Americans deserved equal rights, Black leaders insisted that the public schools accept Black students on a nondiscriminatory basis (Baptiste, 2014, pp. 343–397; Lubat, 2010; Mabee, 1979, pp. 183–187; Moss, 2009; Murphy, 2014).

African American campaigns to abolish segregated schools appeared in Nantucket and Salem in the 1840s and spread to Boston, Rochester, and beyond as a defining feature of northern Black political protest. Speaking on behalf of integrationists in Boston in 1849, Benjamin F. Roberts argued that "exclusive schools" were an obstacle to their "common rights" as citizens, and furthermore that segregated schools created "the odious distinction of caste" that was anathema to American democracy (Bigelow et al., 1849, pp. 24–48).

Led by Black abolitionists and their White allies, the school integration movement was joined by Black students and parents, especially mothers, who viewed race-based school assignments as demeaning, discriminatory, and unjust. As Black school integrationist William C. Nell wrote from Boston in 1855,

> In the dark hours of our struggle, when betrayed by traitors within and beset by foes without, while some men would become lukewarm and indifferent, despairing of victory; then did the women keep the flame alive, and as their hopes would weave bright visions for the future, their husbands and brothers would rally for a new attack upon the fortress of color-phobia. Yes, Sir, it was the mothers (God bless them!) of these little bright eyed-boys and girls, who, through every step of our progress, were executive and vigilant, even to that memorable Monday morning (September 3, 1855), the trial hour, when the colored children of Boston went up to occupy the long-promised land. (*The Liberator*, 1855, emphasis in original)

Nell added that Black mothers accompanied him to persuade White school administrators that Black families wanted to attend "White" schools. Black women visited the homes of White teachers and school committee members and pledged to have their children "punctually at school, and neat in their dress," and to aid their instructors in all other ways (*The Liberator*, 1855). Black women participated in political actions, visited with White school teachers and administrators, and encouraged children to recognize their presence in previously all-White schools as a form of patriotic protest. In this and many other instances in antebellum era, Black girls and women made claims on the public as education activists (Baumgartner, 2019a, 2019b).

Struggles for school integration in the North gained the support of prominent civil rights leaders who insisted that state-sponsored segregation represented a dangerous

form of state-sponsored discrimination. In 1859, Black abolitionist Frederick Douglass made the provocative argument that African Americans should prioritize school integration over the most prized of citizenship rights—equal suffrage. Douglass argued that children would get to know each other, thus breaking down prejudice and creating a new social context where Black Americans would be treated equally. He concluded, "Contact on equal terms is the best way to abolish Caste: *it is caste abolished*" (Douglass, 1859).

The primary goal of early Black school integrationists like Douglass was not to equalize educational opportunities for Black youth (although many hoped it would do so), but instead to transform the civic function of public education by symbolizing Black equality and reducing anti-Black prejudice. They were joined by Black families who realized that segregated schools engendered an unequal distribution of state resources. As a result, a growing and diverse chorus of Black northerners recognized school segregation as a terrible weapon of oppression, and school integration as a powerful force for equality.

This call for equal citizenship to some degree pushed against powers of self-government and state sovereignty. As outlined in the previous section, civic education and school system development in the United States operated on a pluralist model on the eve of the Civil War. Citizenship and civic education were defined by largely independent sovereignties on a state-by-state, territory-by-territory basis. The resulting systems paralleled each other morphologically, but also differed from each other in important ways, including forms of cultural membership and racial exclusion. In New Mexico, for example, a large non-English speaking population organized schools, selected teachers, leaders, and other public officials who shared those language and cultural traditions (Getz, 1997; Lozano, 2018, pp. 89–110). Similarly, in Mormon Utah, alternative traditions of household formation, property ownership, religious authority, and government informed the cultural content and leadership of schools and school systems (Esplin & Randall, 2014; Limerick, 1987, pp. 280–288). The nations of Indian Territory, in this respect, were not wholly different from other territories of the West where a pluralist approach to cultural and political sovereignty persisted. Meanwhile, many states, territories, and nations exercised their sovereignty in racially exclusive ways. The Oregon state constitution of 1857, for example, explicitly excluded free Negroes and mulattos from residing in the state and from all rights of property or access to courts of justice. It further specified that "no Negro, Chinaman, or mulatto shall have the right of suffrage." On what basis could such racially exclusive definitions of citizenship—and of citizenship education—be challenged and changed?

During the Civil War, the multiple sovereignties that composed the country came into direct conflict with each other and with the federal government. That conflict resulted in a consolidation of federal power. It also produced attempts to define a common standard of citizenship and civic education. Through Reconstruction amendments to the federal constitution and other acts, Congress redefined citizenship and civil rights to include African Americans (Anderson, 2007). In this context, the African American movement for school integration in the North achieved some success. Between 1866 and 1877 every northern state except for Indiana that had previously required or permitted school segregation outlawed segregated schools.

This was a crucial victory that compelled White school leaders to permit Black students to attend public schools, and it opened new opportunities for Black educational,

economic, and social advancement. It did not, however, end racial discrimination and segregation, and in fact school segregation increased as White school leaders found ways to gerrymander school assignments and isolate Black students well into the 20th century. Because racially segregated schools permitted school leaders to not only hoard the best resources for White children, but also symbolically deny African Americans equal citizenship, the struggle for school integration would become a defining feature of the 20th century Black civil rights movement (Davis, 2011, pp. 72–96; Douglas, 2005, pp. 68–83; Du Bois, 1955/2002, p. 158; Painter, 1977, p. 49).

From the 1860s through 1880s, Congress also considered a series of proposals that would have established a federal system of funding and basic regulation for common schools (Beadie, 2016b). The explicit rationale for such a system rested solidly on the idea that the survival of republican government required universal education for citizenship (Black, 2018). Meanwhile, under state Reconstruction governments, African Americans themselves organized common schools and school systems and established many important institutions of Black higher education, sometimes affiliated with church denominations or missionary organizations (Butchart, 2010; Favors, 2019; Green, 2016; Span, 2009; Williams, 2005). After two decades of "educational reconstruction," however, the federal government abandoned the sponsorship and protection of such institutions and the enforcement of constitutional principles, allowing for the violent suppression of Black civil and human rights by explicitly White supremacist governments under Jim Crow state constitutions. Despite the 14th Amendment, the power to define citizenship and civil rights essentially returned to a state-by-state basis in the U.S. South. As the historian James Anderson succinctly summarized the ensuing history, "Both schooling for democratic citizenship and schooling for second-class citizenship have been basic traditions in American education" (Anderson, 1988, p. 1).

In the West, however, the Civil War had different, and in some ways, opposite effects. Whereas the federal government essentially withdrew from responsibility for enforcing common standards of citizenship, civil rights, and education for African Americans in the South, it actively deployed its consolidated power to force assimilation through education for Indian nations and, to a lesser extent, other religious and language minorities in the territorial West. There, the federal government used its consolidated power to exclude Chinese from immigration and naturalized citizenship while violently seizing control of most Native land and resources for national railroad, timber, mining, and manufacturing interests and development (Adams, 1995; Anderson, 2007; Beadie, 2016a, 2019a; Cronon, 1991; White, 2011).

It was at this point that U.S. education policies for settler populations and for Native Americans fundamentally diverged. Despite the prewar existence of common school systems in Indian territory and serious proposals in the 1890s for an independent state of Sequoya created from Indian territory, Indian nations and peoples were not accorded the same dispensation as former White confederate powers, or even as the persistently Spanish-dominant territory of New Mexico (Burton, 1995, p. 249; Lozano, 2018; Meinig, 1998, pp. 174–175, pp. 301–305; Wickett, 2003, p. 171). Instead, in the 1880s and 1890s the federal government imposed a system of forced land allotment and assimilation through a federal Indian boarding school system (Adams, 1995; Gram, 2015; Lomawaima, 1994; Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006). More specifically, through the Curtis Act of 1898, the federal government actively abrogated land and treaty

agreements with nations in Indian territory and destroyed existing school systems in favor of the federal system of Indian boarding schools. Thus, the United States implemented two fundamentally divergent education policies at the end of the 19th century: one policy that allowed for maximal state prerogative with respect to education under White control, even in the face of fundamental violations of federal law; and one that assumed maximal federal authority with respect to education for subjugation of Native Americans, even including a distinct federal system of schools.

Federal education policy in the aftermath of the Civil War thus demonstrates the fundamental contingency of history. For a 20-year period following the Civil War, the possibilities of equal citizenship and citizenship education for African Americans seemed open. The potential for plural sovereignty for Native education also persisted. At the end of the 1880s, however, both windows of opportunity closed. They remained so for another 50 to 80 years. Those consequential collective choices have had legacies that cannot be undone. They foreclosed alternative realities that cannot be recaptured. To confront that history is to share recognition of that loss. It is also to realize how collective choice matters in our own time. In this way, history as civic reasoning is essential to the cultivation of civic agency.

Civic Education, Nationalism, and "Americanization" in the Early 20th Century: Lessons and Limits

In the 19th century, schools promoted good citizenship through basic education in reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and history. An examination of textbooks in those subjects would quickly reveal a version of geography, history, and English language rhetoric that valorized White Anglo-Saxon Protestant political institutions, religious traditions, and economies as superior (Stratton, 2016). Nonetheless, that emphasis was more a general reflection of dominant prejudices than the product of an orchestrated plan to promote a singular vision or catechism of "American" ideals. By comparison, versions of civic education developed in the early 20th century became more deliberately nationalist, and hence more contested.

Immigration, labor conflict, and World War I shaped this shift in the content and aims of civic education. After 1890, U.S. corporate agriculture and industry significantly expanded their recruitment of displaced and laboring populations from around the world—including Japan, Eastern and Southern Europe, and Mexico. In this context, an array of federated nongovernmental organizations developed to address immigrant issues. Different organizations represented different views about immigrants and immigration. Some ethnic, religious, and mutual benefit societies such as the Knights of Columbus and various Jewish Federations offered immigration services for newcomers with whom their members shared a common identity. Other groups like settlement houses and the YMCA sought to address immigrant issues as matters of social welfare, including child labor, housing, public health, youth education, and recreation. Explicitly nationalist organizations such as the Daughters of the American Revolution, sought to initiate youth into certain patriotic rituals and ideas of American history. More nativist organizations, meanwhile, such as the American Protective League, the Immigration Restriction League, and the Ku Klux Klan sought to restrict the rights of immigrants and the criteria for immigration and naturalization. These

diverse views came to a head in the 1910s and 1920s, especially with U.S. entry into World War I (Mirel, 2010).

Although the U.S. government had traditionally exercised little direct authority with respect to education in the states, officials in the Department of Labor and the Bureau of Education in the Department of the Interior began implementing "Americanization" policies indirectly in 1914 and 1915. In doing so, they followed a model of "hidden" government long pursued at the federal level, especially with respect to education (Beadie, 2019c; Steffes, 2012). Specifically in 1915, the Bureau of Education established a Division of Immigrant Education in close cooperation with a nongovernmental organization that became the National Americanization Committee (NAC). The NAC aimed to coordinate the various Americanization and immigrant service activities of chambers of commerce, corporations, patriotic societies, fraternal orders, and educational institutions at local and national levels. Meanwhile, in 1914, the U.S. Department of Labor's Bureau of Naturalization began working with public schools in certain cities to sponsor citizenship education. In 1916, in the context of war preparedness, Congress established a Council of National Defense and commissioned it, among other things, to work with state-level defense councils on war information and Americanization. Once the United States entered World War I in 1917, those councils became involved with activities of the War Industries Board, focusing, for example, on rooting out labor "radicalism" and "alien sedition" (Van Nuys, 2002, pp. 33–69).

Educators, for their part, variously created, participated in, and responded to these demands for explicit Americanization. Many progressive educators of the 1890s and early 1900s—for example, Jane Addams, Ella Flagg Young, and John Dewey—were "internationalists" who—though not without racial prejudices of their own—nonetheless favored pluralist approaches to education, and tended toward pacifism. By the mid-1910s, however, schools came under increasing pressure to adopt more explicit "Americanization" policies and practices. Among the practices widely adopted in response to such pressures were English-only instruction; daily flag salutes; pledges of American allegiance and loyalty; explicitly nationalistic textbooks in American and state history; and an extra-curriculum of (usually sex-segregated) clubs that made membership dependent on the exhibition of certain kinds of behavior, beliefs, and personal characteristics (Fallace, 2015; Tyack et al., 1987, pp. 154–176).

Still, education for citizenship continued to take multiple and various forms across time, and sometimes simultaneously. In Los Angeles, for example, according to Zevi Gutfreund's account, public schools variously promoted five different models of Americanization from 1910 to 1940. The first model, rooted in the settlement house movement's work with the families of immigrant laborers, pursued a broad approach to Americanization that included women as well as men, and adults as well as children. This model relied primarily on White women teachers and social welfare workers who visited immigrant laborer families to teach English language skills and social norms, with an emphasis on maternalist notions of housekeeping, health, and hygiene. As in many other cities and states, these networks of women teachers and social reformers lobbied successfully at both district and state levels for funding to make their version of home-based settlement work an official responsibility of public schools, resulting in passage of California's Home Teacher Act of 1915 (Gutfreund, 2017; Raftery, 1992).

A second model, rooted more in the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization, focused more narrowly on education of immigrant adults for naturalized citizenship. Founded in 1912, the program focused almost exclusively on European immigrants, especially after the passage of the 1917 and 1924 immigration acts, which reinforced Asian exclusion. Identifying its target audience as "foreign born White men and women of voting age," the program also largely excluded Mexican immigrants (Gutfreund, 2017, p. 16). In fact, leaders of the program and within the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization actively coordinated with nativist political groups in the state of California seeking revisions of federal law that would exclude Mexican immigrants from naturalization as well (Molina, 2014).

Partly in response to these exclusions and to the nativism apparent in much Americanization programming in the early 20th century, Japanese and Mexican communities developed their own approaches to language learning, acculturation, and citizenship education. Those included Japanese language schools and Mexican consulate schools (Asato, 2006). The first Japanese language schools emerged in Hawaii in the 1890s and in California and Washington State in 1902, becoming widespread on the Pacific Coast by the 1920s. Conceived from the start as supplemental to public schools, they provided instruction that paralleled and responded to Americanization, including lessons in Japanese language, history, culture, and moral training. Similarly, Mexican consulate schools, founded in the 1920s and modeled in part on Japanese and Hebrew language schools, taught Spanish language and Mexican history and culture in a supplementary, afterschool format. Ethnic educational institutions such as these effectively offered a notion of citizenship and civic education that was not singular or exclusive, but potentially multicultural and multinational, with multilingual students potentially serving as bridges of transnational understanding (Sanchez, 1993, pp. 108–125).

Finally, the fifth model identified by Gutfreund, which he ascribes largely to teachers and students themselves, represented yet another vision of civic education in the form of "World Citizenship" clubs in the 1920s and 1930s. Modeled in some ways on the League of Nations, the clubs celebrated diverse membership and focused on learning about other nations and cultures of the world through study, but also through visits from consulate officers or travelers with experience in other countries and familiarity with current international events. This shift in some Los Angeles schools reflects broader shifts from the loyalty-focused programs of the World War I period to more intercultural models of the 1920s and 1930s (Selig, 2008). At the same time, as Gutfreund points out, intercultural models of citizenship education thrived most prominently in the few schools and neighborhoods with truly diverse populations at a time of increasing local and federally reinforced ethnic and racial segregation.

Beyond organizing and implementing particular programs of Americanization in schools, educators also occasionally asserted leadership in the civic education of the broader public. In 1924, for example, the principal and teachers of at least one elementary school in Seattle with a historically diverse population deliberately chose to cast a Japanese American boy in the role of George Washington in the annual President's Day school play, itself probably an artifact of Americanization programming. The school staff also actively and publicly defended their choice in the face of the considerable White backlash that followed. Interestingly, this casting decision occurred in 1924, the year that the highly restrictive Johnson–Reed Immigration Act passed, with Washington

State's Albert Johnson its lead sponsor. It is likely that educators acted in part to address that context. As conceived by these educators and leaders, civic education was not merely a matter of socializing newcomers to existing norms. It was about challenging students, parents, and dominant society to re-examine exclusionary assumptions and practices, thereby educating the public at large (Lee, 2011, pp. 105–141).

The Seattle school district provides other examples of this kind as well. They include the District Superintendent's resistance to adoption of the daily flag ritual promoted by the Daughters of the American Revolution in the 1910s. They also include explicit lessons about civic equality on the eve of U.S. entry into World War II. In 1941–1942, after the bombing of Pearl Harbor and on the eve of Japanese American internment, several principals chose to hold school assemblies on the subjects of interethnic friendship and tolerance (Nelson, 1988; Pak, 2002). It should be noted, however, that these examples of resistance to nativism and affirmation of civil rights seem to have been most explicitly taught at schools with large non-White or ethnically diverse populations. Evidence suggests little comparable programming at the vast majority of schools in the city that were predominantly White. In other words, the notion of civic equality supposedly represented by the U.S. model of government seems to have been *least taught where it was most needed*, that is, in the segregated schools of White middle class students. This reality of race and class segregation continues to limit the potential of civic education today.

Creating an Anti-Racist Civic Education: Advancement and Backlash

The crisis of World War II made it possible for teachers to critically investigate problems of American democracy in the classroom. Spurred by a global war that pitted brutal fascist regimes against American ideals of democracy and "fair play," civic education expanded to include a new expectation—racial and religious tolerance, an ideal that evolved through the changing contexts of the postwar and emerging Cold War eras. At the heart of this movement was the nation's first explicitly anti-racist pedagogy.

At the outbreak of World War II in 1939, Americans tended to be both racist and anti-Semitic and Whites used the power of the law, judiciary, and the police to enforce racial inequality (Brilliant, 2010; Dudziak, 2011; Gordon, 2015; Marable, 2007; Myrdal, 1962; Southern, 1987; Sugrue, 2008). When reformers realized that Nazi racism and American White supremacy presented a dire threat to the war effort, they recognized a truly extraordinary educational challenge (Smedley & Smedley, 2018).

Anthropologist Franz Boas at Columbia University sought to battle American racism by changing the way that Americans understood the concept of race. A German-born Jew, Boas was the leading scientific authority on racial egalitarianism. He believed Americans were prejudiced because they did not know the scientific facts about human race. He asserted that accurate information would effectively reduce American prejudice, and that these lessons would be most effective with young people. The best way to reach large numbers of American youth with new scientific information was, of course, in public schools (Boas, 1941a, 1941b, 1941c; *Chicago Defender*, 1939; *The New York Times*, 1939); thus began an unprecedented anti-racist education campaign by Boas and other social scientists to combat false Nazi racial doctrines through American K–12

schools, an effort that ultimately transformed the function and purpose of civic education (Burkholder, 2011).

The movement took off when it became clear that the war was destabilizing race relations at home. As *The New York Times* reported, "The tense atmosphere created in the world at large is reflected in the classroom. The pupils, reading the newspapers and hearing it discussed at home, are aware of the ill feeling between the Jews and the Germans, the Chinese and the Japanese, and other nationalistic groups" (Fine, 1938, p. 46; see also Baker, 2010; Barkan, 1992; Selig, 2008; Williams, 2006).

Teachers seized the opportunity to nurture patriotism and support the war effort. During the 1930s, many schools had adopted an approach to civic education promoted by the NEA known as the "Problems of Democracy" course (Dorn, 2007; Fallace, 2016). A central idea of this approach was that students should conduct their own investigations of public policy issues in dialogue with each other. In certain contexts, such as diverse urban districts of the North and Black urban high schools in the South, curriculum leaders and teachers pursued this approach by examining contemporary issues of race and race relations. Many of them understood this work as being civic in nature, as it was intended to bolster and protect democratic norms. As one extolled, "Now that the daily headlines have invaded the American classroom with reports of national rivalry and race hatred, we should not barricade ourselves behind routine dictionary work but launch a counterattack for the coming victory of democracy." A rash of new textbooks, teacher training programs, and intercultural curricula helped educators understand that human diversity resulted from learned cultural differences, not innate racial ones (Anonymous, 1952; Bellafiore, 1941; Giordano, 2004; Pak, 2002).

In a curriculum developed primarily with reference to northern Whites, anthropologist Ruth Benedict authored teaching materials so that educators could explain scientific concepts of race and culture to American youth. In 1946 she published *Racism Is Vulnerable*, writing, "English teachers have a strategic position in helping to create a new world able to free itself from the curse of racism." Building on Boas's work, Benedict asked teachers to do two things to "inoculate" children from racism and fortify democracy. First, they needed to talk about race in scientifically accurate and egalitarian terms. She cautioned that the goal was not to "make everybody 'love' everybody else," but instead to learn to judge people as individuals, without reference to racial identity or national origin. Second, she believed teachers could expand children's worldviews by using literature to introduce cultural relativity, or the idea that all cultures were of equal worth. She wrote, "Good novels and plays and poems are generally better material on cultural conditioning, even for the serious anthropological student, than formal books on the 'American way' or the 'Italian people' or 'Poles'" (Benedict, 1946, p. 300). Benedict asked teachers to discuss how ingrained assumptions about etiquette, cleanliness, and family relations created biases, and encouraged teachers to discuss how minorities in America lived differently than the White majority because of cultural differences, not racial ones (Benedict, 1942a, 1942b, 1946, 1948; Benedict & Weltfish, 1943).

Under the extraordinary pressure of war, it became more common for White teachers to introduce texts by and about African Americans, Chinese Americans, Mexican Americans, and Native Americans with the explicit goal of combatting racism. Black teachers, mostly restricted to Black students in both the South and the North, had been

teaching "Negro history" for at least a decade, but wartime pressures to teach tolerance created an opportunity to expand these lessons.

Citizenship education now required instruction in the science of racial egalitarianism and the history and culture of minority groups. In many areas of the country, teachers compelled their young charges to study the science of race, sing "Negro" spirituals, talk to Native Americans and Chinese Americans, read novels about the immigrant experience, and research their own family's ethnic heritage. Students at all grade levels put on plays, read poetry, studied local race relations, and sampled food from around the world all for the purpose of learning racial tolerance and cultural appreciation in order to be better democratic citizens (Burkholder, 2011).

Black teachers expanded lessons on Negro history, racial equality, and race pride inside of all-Black schools (Burkholder, 2012; Dagbovie, 2007). As college professor Merl Eppse put it, teaching "Negro History" was at times "like sitting on a ton of dynamite" in the Jim Crow South. Echoing anthropologists, Eppse suggested that Black educators had a special role to play, writing, "If prejudice is based on misunderstanding, then it is the Negro's duty to be armed with facts and attitudes to show the prejudiced person the other side of the controversy" (Eppse, 1938). The president of the Virginia Teachers Association agreed: "the Negro teacher not only can conscientiously but should wholeheartedly share in the current rise of Americanism. We cannot inculcate in our pupils too great love for the American principles of religious freedom, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of assembly" (*VTA Bulletin*, 1939, p. 2).

Black educators insisted that racism could be transcended through effective classroom instruction, thus lending their voices and ideas to the expanding anti-racist education movement. "The false smoke screens that have been made to place Negro Americans in a derogatory position can be removed through the process of education," wrote Chicago teacher Madeline Morgan (Morgan, 1944, p. 7). From Virginia, Flora Basset added, "All America is not blind to the fact that democracy does not sanction race superiority, as a few mis-educated people would have us believe" (Bassett, 1940).

Over the course of World War II, expressions of racial prejudice would be labeled as ignorant and uneducated. In contrast, knowledgeable democratic citizens were expected to be tolerant of diversity and reject claims of racial superiority. As the *Negro History Bulletin* reported in 1943,

> Among the youth of both races in the South it is considered evidence of scholarship to be able to say that they have studied the Negro scientifically and can speak intelligently on the background and present status of the race. Those who once prided themselves of considering any thought of the Negro as beneath their notice are now classified as the ignorant and backward members of the community. (*Negro History Bulletin,* 1943, p. 164)

Writing from Missouri, Black educator James Scott added

> Another lesson which we as a nation should learn from the experiences of this war is the disastrous consequences of racism. We are now witnessing in the case of Hitlerite Germany a dramatic demonstration of the fact that in a world of many races adherence to a doctrine of ruthless racism is as suicidal as adherence to a doctrine of ruthless individualism would be in a society composed of many individuals. (Scott, 1944, p. 8)

By contextualizing the American battle against White supremacy as part of the global struggle against fascism, Black teachers created bold new lessons during the height of Jim Crow. This explains why teachers like Julia Brogdon in Charleston could ask Black high school students to write letters to White college presidents challenging discriminatory admissions practices and calling on them to embrace democratic ideals. Black educators situated this work in long traditions of Black political and educational activism, but the War and the example of Nazi racial totalitarianism gave their work a new sense of moral urgency and authority.

At first, the conclusion of World War II made anti-racist education more important than ever. As one educator put it, "In the face of the intergroup tensions that disturb the peace of our schools, communities, and country, what shall we regard as the necessary qualities of a good citizen for public education? How shall he act when faced with a problem involving racial or religious prejudice? How can we educate our children for participation as good citizens in the typical mixed community?" (Cole et al., 1946, p. 3). A small but vocal number of educators insisted the time was ripe to eradicate racism through classroom instruction. A truly effective postwar civic education would have to consider "American ideals and American practices in housing, in education, in employment, [and] in political rights" (Smiley, 1946, p. 339; see also Cole et al., 1946; Quillen, 1945; Spaulding, 1951; Van Til, 1945). A Black teacher from Virginia noted,

> Because bias, prejudice, and discrimination come only through learning, the public is becoming aware of a need for a preventative and remedial type of intercultural education. The public naturally looks to the school as the chief agency to correct many evils. In order to be well informed, intelligent, and worthy citizens, all children regardless of the color of their skin have to be taught to live well together. (Lewis, 1954, p. 113)

In 1946, a Teachers College professor surveyed K–12 teachers, asking, "What are American boys and girls learning of sound attitudes toward relations between Christian and Jew, Negro and White man, 'old American' and those more recently come to America? What are they learning about the American way of life?" In response, dozens of teachers described civic curricula stretched out over weeks or even months. Many moved from discussions of the Nazi persecution of Jews to discrimination against African Americans at home. Students responded to prompts like, "What Is Democracy?" and "What America Means to Me." One teacher explained,

> Readings on race, culture, prejudice, and American constitutional freedoms, and reports on outstanding members of minority groups and on community housing projects for Negroes followed. The unit closed with a 'Town Meeting' re-examining, in the light of knowledge and insight gained during the month, the topic "To Get the Kind of World We Want"—a world in which American institutions would be in harmony with American ideals. (Smiley, 1946, p. 340)

After the War, the social context for these lessons shifted quickly (Burkholder, 2011). Within 2 years administrators pressured teachers to scale back lessons that examined the science of racial equality or the blatant inequalities of American democracy. In the emerging McCarthy era one of the markers for communism was whether an individual supported racial equality, and teachers as public employees faced close scrutiny

(Fallace, 2018; Hartman, 2008; Taylor, 2011). As one social studies teacher wrote in 1952, "The atmosphere of fear and uncertainty has penetrated all strata of the system, not only the teaching ranks, but as high as the new Board and as low as the staff employees. None are certain, none are secure" (Anonymous, 1952). The teacher noted that colleagues had abandoned lessons on racial equality and the United Nations. "Once, free discussion of controversial political issues was permitted, even encouraged. Now, for the probationary teacher, such a discussion is tantamount to declining tenure" (Serviss, 1953). *The New York Times* reported, "Many educators and publishers are worried as they see censorship and attack becoming more widespread each day" (Fine, 1953).

Thus, even as the Civil Rights movement entered what some have called its "classical" phase marked by the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954, countervailing movements attacked and undermined anti-racist pedagogy and activism, both directly and indirectly. During World War II, in 1942, the U.S. federal government had rounded up tens of thousands of residents of Japanese ancestry, most of them U.S.-born citizens, and incarcerated them in concentration camps based on a long history of racist Asian exclusion. At the same time, the Federal Bureau of Investigation created files on academics of color who worked on race issues, including the leading Black intellectual, scholar, and activist W. E. B. Du Bois. Immediately after the War, in 1947, leading White academics like the Harvard-based historian Arthur Schlesinger labeled the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People a "communist organization," an act that aided White southern state governments in the political persecution of educators at all levels who participated in the civil rights movement (Lewis, 1994; Morris, 2015; Urban, 1992; Williamson-Lott, 2018). Explicit anti-racist education retreated after 1948. In this new context, teachers faced a new dilemma: how to promote racial egalitarianism without talking about the science of race or racial injustice. In response, teachers developed a colorblind approach to civic education. This embodied the ideal that scientists like Boas and Benedict had articulated—teachers and students would judge everyone as an individual without reference to racial or national identity, but left enduring legacies of racism largely untouched. Although it is commendable that some teachers opposed racial prejudice, it is also clear that this colorblind pedagogy masked racial oppression and did little to dismantle student biases or help them understand how the larger structures of social injustice violated democratic ideals (Burkholder, 2011, pp. 168–170; Gordon, 2015).

The way in which McCarthyism became intertwined with White supremacy after World War II—suppressing Black teachers, professionals, and academics in particular, and transforming anti-racism work more generally—is a lesson in the simultaneity of opposing movements in history. That reality in turn contradicts popular American assumptions of "progress" as the inevitable direction of historical change. With respect to the Civil Rights movement specifically, the historian Jacquelyn Dowd Hall (2005) warned that just as the movement to recover and realize Black civil rights had a long historical trajectory, so did the "so-called backlash against it." At the same time as anti-racist pedagogy and Black civic education gained momentum in the 1930s and 1940s, for example, the U.S. government also enforced New Deal housing, home loan, transportation, and relief policies that actively constructed a racial apartheid in American cities and agricultural districts (Donato, 2007; Erickson, 2016; Erickson & Highsmith, 2018; Rothstein, 2017). As we are being reminded now, efforts to combat false presumptions

of White supremacy are never safely in the past, but ongoing historical trajectories that we are part of as actors in history, one way or another. It is up to us to decide what kind of historical agents we want to be.

Struggles for Self-Determination in the Civil Rights Era: Toward Pluralist Visions of Civic Education

African American and Mexican American educational activists challenged educational discrimination in movements that dated back to the common school era. Beginning in the 1920s, civil rights organizations representing African Americans and Mexican Americans executed a series of successful legal campaigns against segregated public schools (Tushnet, 1987; Valencia, 2008). These legal attacks culminated in *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954, which profoundly altered the relationship between public schools and citizenship education. Even if the physical facilities and other "tangible" factors of White and "colored" schools were equal, the Court reasoned, segregating Black students on the basis of racial identity violated the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment.

The U.S. Supreme Court determined that public schools had a duty to prepare all youth for citizenship and that this could only be accomplished in desegregated schools. Identifying public education as "perhaps the most important function of state and local governments," Chief Justice Earl Warren wrote,

> Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society. It is required in the performance of our most basic public responsibilities, even service in the armed forces. It is the very foundation of good citizenship. (*Brown v. Board of Education*, 1954, p. 493)

This education included awakening children to American values, preparing them for professional training, and helping them adjust normally to their environment. "In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education," Warren concluded; "Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal" (*Brown v. Board of Education*, 1954, p. 495).

School desegregation was a contested policy, but the idea that integrated schools were the "very foundation of good citizenship" persisted, echoing claims by Frederick Douglass and other Black educational activists over the previous century. Both Douglass and Warren recognized that mixed schools were a powerful symbol of equal citizenship, and that, in contrast, segregated schools institutionalized White supremacy and violated the democratic ideal. Many Black educational activists had advocated for school integration since the 1840s, but after World War II the vast majority of Black citizens refused to countenance the insult of state-sponsored discrimination (Bell, 1980; Klarman, 2007; Kluger, 2004; Minow, 2010; Ogletree, 2004; Patterson, 2001). The *Brown* ruling affirmed the relationship between school integration and equal citizenship and marked the start of a sweeping Second Reconstruction where the federal government enforced the civil rights of African Americans (Bunche, 1951, pp. 215–216; Marable, 2007).

The Black civil rights movement intersected with long-term struggles for educational equality by other marginalized groups, including Puerto Ricans and Mexican

Americans. Mexican American families and organizations had been fighting their own battles against illegal school segregation in California and elsewhere in the Southwest since the 1910s. A series of cases in Arizona, California, Colorado, and Texas, including *Romo v. Laird* (1925), *Del Rio Independent School District v. Salvatierra* (1930), and *Roberto Alvarez v. the Board of Trustees of the Lemon Grove School District* (1931) resulted in crucial victories. The historic *Mendez v. Westminster* case in 1947 established a legal precedent for *Brown* by finding the segregation of Mexican American students in California to be illegal, and *Delgado v. Bastrop Independent School District* (1948) reached a similar decision in Texas. Latinx educational activism evolved in the postwar era alongside the rising militancy of the Mexican American and Puerto Rican civil rights movements (Behnkin, 2011; Bernstein, 2011; Blanton, 2014; Brilliant, 2010; Donato et al., 2016; García, 2018; Gonzalez, 2013; Lee, 2014; McDonald, 2004; Morales, 2018; Muñoz, 2011; Ortiz, 2018; Powers, 2008; Sanchez, 1993; Strum, 2010).

In the early 1960s, Latinxs launched a renewed offensive against exclusionary, discriminatory, and subtractive practices in the public schools. This movement unfolded among Puerto Rican communities in the Northeast and Mexican American communities in the Southwest. All demanded the right to cultural and political self-determination in education, a demand that was distinct from the struggle for integration.

Movements for self-determination in education by Latinxs and other minority groups reshaped the civic function of public education. For more than a century, schools had pushed a deliberately assimilationist agenda designed to compel immigrants and racial minorities to conform to White, middle-class, Protestant norms (Beadie et al., 2017; Kliebard, 2004; Mirel, 2010; Molina, 2014; Noboa-Rios, 2019; Selig, 2011). Teachers unapologetically emphasized "lessons in English and patriotism" in order to "weld the many peoples of any community into one body politic and create throughout the nation the unity and power that come from common ideals, a common language, and a uniform interpretation of citizenship" (Cody, 1918).

Compulsory lessons on English language and patriotism, long contested by Mexican American and Puerto Rican communities, came under new scrutiny in the civil rights era (Farber, 1970; San Miguel, 2013; San Miguel & Valencia, 1998; Valencia, 2008; Valenzuela, 1999). In a letter to the editor of the *Los Angeles Times* in 1963, John F. Mendez explained, "The Mexican community is not concerned with 'integration' or 'assimilation,' but with 'bi-culturalism.' We very definitely would like to retain the best of the Mexican culture and also the best of the Anglo-Saxon culture." He concluded, "I honestly believe this would make the Mexican-American a better citizen of his community and country" (Mendez, 1963).[6]

Latinx educational activists agreed that the public schools played a key role in fortifying American democracy and preparing good citizens, but rejected discriminatory practices including forced assimilation. Puerto Ricans complained they were "treated as inferior" by teachers in New York and other cities, where Anglo teachers looked down on students who spoke Spanish (Kihss, 1964, p. 1). Interviews with

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[6] In 1971, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights documented "slightly more than 2 million Spanish sur-named pupils" in American public schools, or 4.6 percent of the total enrollment. Approximately 1.4 million, or 70 percent, attended public schools in the five Southwestern states of Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas. See U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. (1971a). *Report I: Ethnic isolation of Mexican Americans in the public schools of the southwest.* U.S. Government Printing Office.

teachers and school administrators revealed these sentiments were not misplaced. As one elementary teacher explained, "The Spanish that these little Mexican kids know is just a poor combination of English and Spanish slang. Actually, these kids have no language at all, because they speak bad English and bad Spanish." A principal reported that "We try to discourage the use of Spanish on the playground, in the halls, and in the classrooms" (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1972, pp. 19–20). An Anglo school leader in Texas added, "I think they [Mexican Americans] want to learn English. And I think that they want to be full Americans. And since English is the language of America, I believe that they want to learn English" (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1974, pp. 3–5). Latinx students resented these bigoted assumptions and demeaning practices. "Schools try to brainwash Chicanos," complained one. "They try to make us forget our history, to be ashamed of being Mexicans, of being Spanish. They succeed in making us feel empty, and angry inside" (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1972, p. 3).

Anglo educators punished Mexican American children for speaking Spanish with fines, spankings, and standing in the corner, among other humiliations. These rules applied not only in classrooms, but in the hallways, on the playground, and in the cafeteria. One student recalled, "When I was in elementary school they had a rule not to speak Spanish but we all did. If you got caught speaking Spanish you were to write three pages saying, 'I must not speak Spanish in school'" (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1972, p. 18). The stated purpose of these rules was not to torment Spanish speaking children, but to encourage them to learn English and assimilate as quickly as possible. Teachers viewed English language proficiency and adjustment to dominant White cultural norms as essential components of citizenship. Accordingly, in 1971 the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights found that "grades given to Mexican American students in citizenship subjects such as 'work habits' and 'cooperation' were consistently lower than those given to non-Mexicans" (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1971b, p. 40).

Anglo school leaders resisted Latinx demands for educational reform until finally students forced the issue. In March 1968, Mexican American students at Los Angeles's Lincoln High School organized a massive school boycott. Marking "the beginning of a revolution," thousands of Mexican American students in East Los Angeles walked out of school to protest English-only language policies, discriminatory IQ testing, racist teachers, a White-washed curriculum, and the lack of Mexican American teachers and guidance counselors (Torgerson, 1968, p. B1).

The 1968 East Los Angeles "blowouts" represented a new and more radical youth-based educational activism. As part of the Chicano movement, these young activists took pride in their "brown" racial identity and scorned assimilation in favor of pride in *la raza*. School strikes, speeches, demands, picketing, and sit-ins spread from school to school. Students demanded more respectful teachers, the right to speak Spanish, the opportunity to study Mexican history, more Mexican American teachers and administrators, bilingual education, and increased student rights (Bernal, 1997; Briegel, 1974; Garcia & Castro, 2011; Petrzela, 2015, pp. 39–68; Rosales, 1997, pp. 175–195; San Miguel, 2013, pp. 24–32). Echoing cries of "Chicano Power," school blowouts erupted in Denver, Chicago, and in dozens of towns and cities in Texas in the late 1960s. Puerto Rican activists in cities like New York, Boston, and Springfield, Massachusetts made similar demands for educational equality, often working together with African American

activists to generate meaningful reforms. These movements gained national attention and alerted Americans to the dilemmas and concerns of Spanish speaking students (Garcia, 2015, pp. 25–27; Massachusetts State Advisory Committee, 1972; Navarro, 1998; San Miguel, 2001, 2013).

In 1968 President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Bilingual Education Act into law, encouraging "new and imaginative programs" to aid students with limited English language proficiency. Although modest in scope, it signaled the federal government's rejection of English-only laws and provided federal funds to support English language learners. Six years later, the Supreme Court in *Lau v. Nichols* strengthened federal support for bilingual education. For many Latinx citizens, bilingual education signaled a more inclusive form of citizenship education. As New York's first Puerto Rican Congressman Herman Badillo explained, "Second-class status must no longer be imposed on those persons who do not speak English and we must not prevent such persons from sharing in the rights and privileges of citizenship. We exist in a multilingual and multicultural environment and all segments of the community must be afforded full respect and equal participation" (Pasquariello, 1973, pp. 27–43).

Concurrently, Native Americans also fought for a more pluralist vision of education, seeking community control of schools in both traditional public schools and federally run reservation schools. A growing number of Native American college and graduate students pursued education degrees so that they could work as teachers in their own communities. In 1972 the Indian Education Act provided federal funding for Indigenous bilingual and bicultural education materials development, teacher preparation, and parent involvement in schools. Even more importantly, 3 years later, the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act empowered Native American communities to operate their own schools and social services. This offered the first opportunity for Native communities to control their own schools in a way comparable to the control exercised by some Nations in Indian Territory in the 1840s and 1850s before the Civil War. The era saw a tremendous growth in Indigenous-controlled schools, like the Rough Rock Demonstration School in Chinle, Arizona, that emphasized Navajo language and culture in the school's curriculum and pedagogy. By 1970, there were 34 Indigenous-controlled schools with bilingual and bicultural approaches to empowering Native youth, though together these schools enrolled only a fraction of all Native children (Lomawaima, 1994; Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006, pp. 114–133; McCarty, 2010).

Many African American educational activists in the North also expressed an interest in community-controlled schools in the late 1960s. Supporters wanted Black parents to make key decisions related to curriculum and instruction, teacher hiring, community relations, finances, and administration (Erickson & Morrell, 2019; Rickford, 2016). This movement built on a long tradition of separate, Black-controlled schools known for training generations of leaders, including the historically Black colleges and universities (Anderson, 1988; Baker, 2006; Cecelski, 1994; Favors, 2019; Green, 2016; Walker, 1996). A community-controlled public school experiment in New York City put this reform to the test in 1968, to mixed results. Frustrated by the limitations of community control within the public schools, hundreds of Black families abandoned public schools to attend independent, Afrocentric schools (Perlstein, 2004; Podair, 2002; Rickford, 2016; Taylor, 1997, pp. 176–207).

Meanwhile, these experiments with Black community control in the urban North occurred just as many southern African American communities lost influence over their schools in the wake of school desegregation. Although many African American leaders and youth had agitated over decades for school equalization and eventual desegregation through a combination of social protest, political activism, and legal action, in the end southern White politicians and administrators retained control over many aspects of implementation. As a result, many Black schools closed, tens of thousands of Black educators lost their jobs, and most Black parents found themselves significantly alienated—if not outright excluded—from the schools their children attended (Baker, 2006; Cecelski, 1994; Fultz, 2004; Walker, 1996). Many displaced teachers and educators in turn migrated to expanding Black urban communities in the North and West. Some pursued new careers in federal service, including as teachers with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which offered some federal benefits and guarantees of non-discrimination, and actively recruited them after World War II. As documented by Kahlil Anthony Johnson (2016, 2018), this historical migration to reservation and off-reservation schools in the era of self-determination marked a strange inverted echo of earlier historical moments when Blacks and Indigenous peoples interacted in colonial institutions and contexts. In this new historical moment, Black teachers played dual and perhaps conflicted roles in Natives' own efforts to realize community-controlled schools.

These overlapping movements for community control of public education in the late 1960s emphasized Black, Indigenous, and Latinx families as powerful agents of educational reform. Elected representatives and school leaders began to make substantial changes to educational theory and practice. Over the next two decades, bilingual education was strengthened through key court rulings, executive actions, and vocal Native American, Chinese American, and Latinx educational activism (San Miguel, 2004). Although bilingual education programs eventually drew the wrath of conservatives, they thrived and eventually contributed to a more plural vision of civic education (Banks, 1996; Hartman, 2019a, pp. 200–221; Jefferson, 1979; Petrzela, 2015, pp. 19–38).

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Current Context and Demands to Confront History

On June 7, 2020, an interracial group of high school students in Montclair, New Jersey, organized a protest to affirm that Black Lives Matter in schools and the broader community. More than 4,000 students and families showed up in support of the students' demands to make the local public schools more fair and equitable for Black students. They listened to Black students at Montclair High School describe the pain they suffered at this high-performing, integrated high school, and demanded desegregated classrooms, a more diverse faculty, and an explicitly anti-racist curriculum (Martin, 2020).

The Black Lives Matter at School rally in Montclair was part of a global movement protesting the violent murder of George Floyd, a Black man in Minneapolis, by a White police officer. These grassroots social movements seek to identify and challenge systemic racism not only in policing and public education, but also in virtually every other area of social and political life, including health care disparities laid bare by the coronavirus, which disproportionately affects communities of color (Burch et al., 2020; Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2020).

In many ways, the current context of protest and challenge is a moment of hope. Speaking at a virtual town hall meeting in support of Black Lives Matter, former President Barack Obama explained,

> in some ways, as tragic as these past few weeks have been, as difficult and scary and uncertain as they've been, they've also been an incredible opportunity for people to be awakened to some of these underlying trends. And they offer an opportunity for us to all work together, to tackle them, to take them on, to change America and make it live up to its highest ideals. (Obama, 2020)

At the same time, protesters demand a confrontation with history. Such a confrontation is arguably necessary in order to reimagine and reconstitute the "we" that makes civic discourse and reasoning possible. The National Academy of Education civic reasoning and discourse project seeks to awaken Americans to the long history of systemic racism and inequality and to help the United States live up to its highest democratic ideals. A history of civic education in the United States reveals strategies to remake public schools as potent sites of democracy building and community empowerment that ensure civil rights for all. What follows are some reflections on the lessons of history for the future of civic education in the United States.

Learning from the Past

Fortunately, history provides a repertoire of examples to draw on in pursuing the project of revitalizing civic education. Educators in the past have stepped forward both within and beyond the classroom to play roles in the civic education of youth and the public at large. They have challenged common narratives and assumptions about who is and should be included in the American story. They have created public lessons designed to help students, teachers, and members of the public to recognize and articulate principles of tolerance, due process, and equal citizenship. They have challenged Americans regarding their treatment of immigrants, their ideas about race, and their violations of Native sovereignty and principles of federalism. They have led teachers and students in protesting totalitarian structures at home as well as abroad. They have helped communities take charge of their schools and their children's education. We can learn from their strategies and experiences.

Even as we draw on a repertoire of past examples of civic education, however, we must also think through important issues of context in our own time. How well we think through those issues of context will shape the consequences and significance of any actions we take now. For example, we must consider how we construct the purpose and constituencies of civic education and the effect of those conceptualizations for who is recognized as having rights and who is included in our vision of the public. Knowing that the idea of "education for citizenship" allowed leaders of the early republic to ignore the schooling of women and African Americans and narrow their vision of civic education to White males, we must consider how far our vision of civic education encompasses all "persons," including both the powerful and the powerless, the undocumented and the homeless, not just the citizen and the taxpayer.

Similarly, we must consider how the problem of consensus will shape civic education in our time. Knowing that the challenge of maintaining a confederation of states

in the face of foreign threats and internal rebellion led leaders to sacrifice Native sovereignty, the rights of African Americans, and the U.S. Constitution during Indian removal and Jim Crow, we must consider how far civic education will challenge dominant narratives even in the face of resistance. More fundamentally, we must consider at what scale or level of government we promote the goals and negotiate the content of civic education. How will we recognize plural sovereignty without sacrificing the principle of equal recognition and participation in civic discourse and reasoning? Correspondingly, we must consider the simultaneity of advancement and backlash in the promotion of civic education and civil rights. Knowing that anti-racist educators in the North and Black educators in the South developed their most creative lessons challenging racist ideas and structures of education and access even as new federal policies further institutionalized racial segregation in housing, education, and welfare, we must be aware that new racial structures are likely to take form even as—or because—old ones are destabilized. How do we develop the capacity for continued engagement with such systemic injustices?

Cultivating civic agency is a crucial component of civic education. To be effective citizens we must *understand where we are in history*, *understand ourselves as historical agents*, and *believe that engagement matters*. When Peter Pitchlynn of the Choctaw Nation in Indian Territory successfully took the fight for Native control of tribal school funds to Washington, DC, in 1842, he understood himself as an agent of his tribe's General Council involved in a broad project of nation-building for his own tribe and more broadly, for all of the Nations in Indian Territory. In 1944, when Julia Brogdan designed a lesson at the Avery Institute that led the students in her "Problems of Democracy" class to challenge racial exclusion at the municipally owned College of Charleston, she understood herself as an educator working in a multi-generational tradition of African American civic education reaching back to Reconstruction and before. At the same time, both Pitchlynn and Brogdan understood that in confronting injustice, they were calling the United States back to its own constitutional principles. In this sense they acted as citizens even as the broader American society did not fully recognize that citizenship.

Looking to the Future: Four Recommendations

The Curriculum of Civic Education Must Confront History

In order to re-imagine and reconstitute the "we" of civic discourse and reasoning, the curriculum of civic education must confront history. In the past, civic education has often functioned as a program of forced assimilation and violence against Native, Black, and Latinx communities. State-sponsored education for Native Americans was a component of settler colonialism aimed at the eradication of Native peoples and cultures to secure the material gain of their land and resources. Schools were part of this strategy, and later, the curriculum was part of this effort: American Indians were covered in the early colonial era, then removed from the story as if they ceased to exist—or vanished—from the land. In a similar vein, efforts to correct the racist portrayal of African Americans and Latinx in the curriculum have been only partially successful. A history of civic education shows that discrimination against students of color in American public schools is not an aberration or an accident, but instead is the

logical result of citizenship education in a nation founded on racialized slavery and settler colonialism. This history must be confronted.

Yet, history also shows that civic education has been contested, fraught with multiple meanings, and vulnerable to resistance, reform, transformation, and even sabotage. The intimate nature of schooling means that teachers like Julia Brogdan and scholars like Ruth Benedict have the power to awaken potentially revolutionary political thought in young people, and that students like those in Los Angeles can use civil disobedience, political pressure, and lawsuits to substantially improve educational equality. This history can help students understand themselves as historical agents. It must also be part of civic education.

The Country Must Recommit to the Civic Purpose of Public Education

A civic education renaissance will require more robust popular support for the civic function of public education, an ideal that has been lost in the current emphasis on high-stakes testing and college and career readiness. Following decades of neglect for the civic purposes of education, it is now apparent that a majority of Americans do not understand such foundational concepts as checks and balances and the salience of an independent judiciary. Public trust in government is only at 18 percent, and voter participation is at its lowest point since 1996. Scholars and educators need to persuade Americans that citizenship education is essential to bolstering democracy in the 21st century. An educated public, in turn, can support state laws mandating vigorous civic education, including not only courses in government and politics, but also courses that emphasize national and global struggles for human rights. Explicit instruction in U.S. government and politics helps students understand the constitutional framework of American governance, while studying historical examples of human rights violations serves as both a cautionary tale of what happens when democratic norms are violated, but also how everyday people have triumphed over brutal, state-sponsored regimes of tyranny and injustice. Today, only 12 states require public schools to teach about anti-Semitism and the Holocaust, and only 4 require instruction in lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender history. Without these kinds of laws in place, most teachers will skip what they see as difficult or controversial subjects. Once these state laws are passed, in contrast, universities and nonprofit organizations can offer professional development to augment classroom instruction, and teachers and administrators have more authority to teach inclusive histories that emphasize core democratic ideals (Anderson, 2019; Burkholder, 2019; Povich, 2019; Schwartz, 2019; Shapiro & Brown, 2018; Vosoughi et al., 2018).

Teachers Must Be Supported to Lead Effective Civic Education

To begin, fortifying civic education requires a massive infusion of resources to teach stronger and more effective history education in K–12 schools. History is a category of civic reasoning that helps people navigate the complexities of democratic citizenship. It is essential for civic reasoning because it engenders contextual thinking, requiring people to investigate *how* and *why* things happened in the past. This process, in turn, generates a more critically informed citizenry that understands how to think through

issues in context. Citizens that recognize how this process has worked historically are better positioned to dismantle educational inequalities in the present. This is especially imperative in the current moment when social media and false news stories have made it much more difficult for Americans to sort fact from fiction. Civic education must cultivate the skills of historical analysis, reflective inquiry, and critical thinking so that all of us can evaluate competing claims, deliberate with others, engage in civil dialogue, and advocate effectively for justice. More effective civic education means stronger and better history education, an objective that will require new approaches to teacher education and professional development (Fallace, 2016; Hartman, 2019b; Parker, 2019).

Civic Education Pedagogy Must Be Reimagined to Advance Racial Justice

Twenty-first century civic education must offer meaningfully integrated curricula, pedagogy, and practice with the explicit objective of advancing racial justice. This means we must transform existing pedagogy and curricula by welcoming the voices and critiques of scholars and educators of color. Justin Kreuger argues that settler colonial narratives are pervasive in social studies curriculum, writing, "There is a consistency to their delivery and presentation that creates clear lines of delineation concerning indigenous people and 'actual' Americans" (Krueger, 2019, pp. 294–295). U.S. history textbooks portray Native Americans in biased ways, for example, by disproportionately speaking of them in colonial and early American history, but failing to recognize their continued contributions in recent history and contemporary society, reinforcing the stereotype of a "vanished race." Scholars have established that African Americans and Latinxs, likewise, are portrayed inaccurately in contemporary K–12 curricula (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014; Loewen, 2007; Ortiz, 2018; Takaki, 2008; Zimmerman, 2002; Zinn, 2015). Bettina Love argues that radical new pedagogies are necessary to achieve true equality. She writes, "Abolitionist teaching is the practice of working in solidarity with communities of color while drawing on the imagination, creativity, refusal, (re)membering, visionary thinking, healing, rebellious spirit, boldness, determination, and subversiveness of abolitionists to eradicate injustice inside and outside of schools" (Love, 2019, p. 2).

The answer is not simply more African American, Native American, or Latinx history, but instead a smarter and more critical approach to teaching these essential components of U.S. history (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2019). Indigenous scholars have developed a range of anti-colonial and anti-racist strategies designed to support self-determination, center Indigenous cultures and knowledge systems, and inspire Native American students. African American and Latinx scholars also have developed emancipatory curricula and pedagogy designed to advance liberation and racial justice. These programs have tremendous value for educators committed to reimagining civic education. This integrated approach must be delivered in racially, ethnically, and socio-economically mixed classrooms that treat all students, educators, and families equally. The astronomical rates of segregation and inequality in American public schools are inherently anti-democratic and unsustainable. They cement educational inequality into place and provide a terrifying object lesson in state-sponsored, institutionalized racism that takes place with either the tacit acceptance or active encouragement of those in power. This must change, as segregated and unequal public schools cannot function as sites of effective citizenship education in a modern democracy (Brayboy,

2005; Frankenberg et al., 2019; Locke & Lindley, 2007; Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006; Payne & Strickland, 2008; Steineker, 2019).

American public schools have always espoused civic education, but they have never successfully prepared all students to act as agents of history in realizing a more just and plural democracy. A historical analysis provides some suggestions on how to critically interpret civic education in the past so that we can reimagine a new kind of civic education for the future.

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4

Agency and Resilience in the Face of Challenge as Civic Action: Lessons Learned from Across Ethnic Communities

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INTRODUCTION

Carol D. Lee and James D. Anderson

The United States is situated with a complex history. On one hand, it represents one of the most powerful examples of democratic governance in human history, but on the other, it is a nation born on the back of two holocausts—(1) the effects of the colonial takeover of the existing Indigenous nations resulting in a massive loss in the Indigenous populations surviving into the 19th century, and (2) the enslavement of millions of Africans followed by more than 100 years of legal apartheid (Jim Crow). Throughout its history, these and other racial and ethnic minority groups have historically wrestled with de facto and de jure discrimination and continue to disproportionately experience

inequalities. In addition, other marginalized groups have struggled to gain an equal footing in the United States, including first-generation immigrants at particular points in our history, those without legal citizenship status, those facing intergenerational poverty, those designated as disabled, women, members of the LGBQT community, and certain religious minorities, among others. While each of these communities represents a unique American experience of overcoming adversity and developing a sense of collective agency and resilience, this chapter illustrates the stories of minoritized racial/ethnic communities in the United States, and includes a section on a rural White community in Appalachia.

In this chapter, the authors focus on how struggles around the meanings and enactment of citizenship and societal membership unfold in agentive education in these communities. They examine in historical and current contexts the factors and forces that shape what citizenship and community membership means—including opportunities and constraints—and how through civic action these communities demonstrated agency and resilience. In so doing, these groups moved the nation forward in coming closer to achieving the goals articulated at its founding—the preservation of the rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. These contestations over achieving the fullest sense of citizenship involved the utilization of complex knowledge in navigating the nation's system of checks and balances, as well as imagining and crafting ways of interrogating established and entrenched powers in ways that cumulatively over time represent successive compromises. These include compromises that shifted balances of power. The examples of community agency in pursuit of the rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness offered here are also intended to illustrate the complexity of what such pursuits involve and mean.

The equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment ("nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws") is about persons, including citizens, aliens, and the undocumented. The most commonly referenced and frequently litigated phrase of the 14th Amendment is the equal protection of the law clause. Over time it has figured prominently in a wide variety of landmark Supreme Court cases, including *Plessy v. Ferguson* (segregated schooling), *Brown v. Board of Education*, *Meredith v. Jefferson County Board of Education*, and *Parents v. Seattle School District*, (racially discriminatory schooling), *Korematsu v. United States* (Japanese Internment), *Loving v. Virginia* (interracial marriage), *Afroyim v. Rusk* (right of citizenship), *Roe v. Wade* (reproductive rights), *Reed v. Reed* (gender discrimination), *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*, *Grutter v. Bollinger*, and *Fisher v. Texas* (affirmative action in higher education), *Plyler v. Doe* (the right of children of undocumented immigrants to public education), and most recently, *Obergefell v. Hodges* (same-sex marriage).

Because we continue to live in times when so many dominant group Americans believe they have constitutional rights as "citizens" that do not extend to marginalized and undocumented groups, it is critical that civic education cultivates an awareness of the rights of persons under the equal protection clause in contradistinction to the rights of citizens. The fact that such rights are consistently denied speaks to the failure of democratic practice to live up to constitutional law and democratic principles. The case of *Plyler v. Doe* (the right of children of undocumented immigrants to public education) exemplifies a good civic lesson that distinguishes the rights of "person" under the U.S. Constitution.

Certainly, there are some once-settled questions being contested today, but citizenship cannot be included in the once-settled questions. From the Naturalization Act of 1790 to contemporary efforts to repeal the 14th Amendment, the question of citizenship reflects problems of racial ideology, nationality, and identity that remain with us since our colonial beginnings. Debates over citizenship have been continuously contested in theory, law, and politics throughout American history. Struggles over citizenship are issues that have zigzagged throughout the American experience, emblazoning the history of U.S. democracy with conflict and ambiguity whenever the question of citizenship has arisen. The bitter disputes of today echo loudly the issues of birthright citizenship, naturalized citizenship, racial heritage, assimilation, and national identity that were debated a century and a half ago during the passage of the 14th Amendment. Some of the major concerns voiced today—who is entitled to be a citizen, who should be allowed to enter the United States, how they should be treated when they do enter, can they be assimilated into the "American way of life," and what are the social consequences—date back to the debates over the citizenship clause of the 14th Amendment and the concurrent amending of the naturalized citizenship act. Indeed, the long-standing struggles over citizenship and immigration have generated centuries of political debate, major judicial decisions, and stacks of federal and state legislation. Furthermore, disputes about citizenship and immigration invariably include an examination of what it means to be an American, cutting across the social fabric and interweaving themselves into issues of education,[1] law,[2] race (Diamond, 1998; Jung, 2005; Tyner, 1999), gender (Cott, 1998; Peffer, 1999; Yuval-Davis, 1997), class (Barrett, 1992), sexuality (Burgett, 1998; Sommerville, 2005), and national identity (Brenkman, 1993; Hollinger, 1997; Kerber, 1997; Smith, 1997; Vecoli, 1996). The citizenship question should be examined as the long citizenship struggle that is also manifested in contemporary orders to ban Muslims from entering the country, efforts to revoke the citizenship of American-born children of unauthorized immigrants, and calls for American citizens to "go back where they came from." To be sure, these are provocative and sometimes explosive issues. Nonetheless, they are part and parcel of the long citizenship struggle.

The authors argue that understanding these histories over the meaning of citizenship and the examples of civic agency within different communities offered in this paper are important in efforts to prepare students to engage in civic reasoning, discourse, and action. These are stories that inspire hope that our system of government can be navigated, as well as stories that demonstrate how addressing the needs of those most vulnerable in our society also support the healthy development of all. They also demonstrate the complex processes of negotiating differences in point of view, in interests, in relations between majorities and minorities, and between the state and the individual.

These histories of ethnic minority communities navigating access to and the demands of citizenship represent a conundrum that may be particularly unique to the United States. The United States is a relatively young nation compared to others in the world. The construct of the nation–state is complex in human history as national borders shift

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[1] *Plyler v. Doe*, 457 U.S. 202 (1982), a Supreme Court case affirming the right of children of undocumented immigrants to public education (Barber, 2001; Gilreath, 1999).

[2] *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, 60 U.S. (19 How.) 393, 400 (1857); *Elk v. Wilkins* 112 U.S. 94 (1884); *U.S. v. Wong Kim Ark*, 169 U.S. 649 (1898); *Takao Ozawa v. U.S.*, 260 U.S. 178 (1922); *U.S. v. Bhagat Singh Thind*, 261 U.S. 204 (1923); *Perez v. Brownell*, 356 U.S. 44 (1958); and *Afroyim v. Rusk*, 387 U.S. 253 (1967).

over time, influenced by patterns of migration and warfare. In many cases, the construct of ethnicity has a longer consistent history than nationality. For example, one finds ethnic groups such as the Roma distributed across national borders in Europe (e.g., Bulgaria, southern France, Hungary, Romania, Spain), but also in other parts of the world. In multi-ethnic societies such as the United States, people are often navigating multiple categorical identities, that is, the meaning and boundaries of ethnic identity (or multi-ethnic identity) and national identity. The mixed history of immigration policies in the United States (Ewing, 2008) along with discrimination focused on the Chinese, Irish, eastern European, Jewish, and most currently, Muslim and Latinx populations highlight these complexities. In each of these cases—spanning several hundred years—these populations have been targeted in both the media and public policies as "the other" and positioned negatively. At the height of the eugenics movement in the United States in the early part of the 20th century, short tests presumed to scientifically measure IQ were administered and policy briefs reported that these people were intellectually inferior and therefore should not be admitted into the country (Gould, 1981). These deficit meta-narratives were also picked up and reflected in the organization of and goals for schooling. It was not just a matter of segregation of populations by race/ethnicity, but also by the nature of their educational experiences (Tyack, 1974). One extreme example, of course, are the boarding schools to which Native American children were forced into during the late 19th century (Adams, 1995; Churchill, 2004).

The authors have consciously used the term ethnicity as opposed to race. The distinction is important for the very problem space this chapter seeks to explore. Race as a construct is relatively new in human history (Gould, 1981). It is a category created explicitly to warrant European colonization and efforts to enslave particular populations based on the argument that there are hierarchies of human communities that can be distinguished by skin color and that those determined to be "White" were superior; based on that innate superiority, they were authorized to subjugate those who were determined not to be "White." Charles Mills (1997) in *The Racial Contract* provides a comprehensive history of the evolution and unfolding of this ideology. Interrogating this construct of race is deeply important to preparing young people to engage in civic reasoning and discourse precisely because the underlying assumptions behind the construct so deeply inform policies and practices along multiple dimensions across our history in the United States. There is substantive scientific evidence that there is no biological validity to the construct of race (Blackburn, 1998; Kolbert, 2018). It is an artificial category that has in interesting ways been contested across history. For example, there is evidence that when groups such as the Irish and Italians began immigrating in larger numbers to the United States, they were not considered White (Ignatiev, 1996). Policies around racial segregation have shifted over time in different regions of the country around whether a particular group was identified in policy as White (Williamson et al., 2007).

Ethnicity, on the other hand, places groups of people in history (Helms & Talleyrand, 1997). In particular, for peoples of African descent in the United States, ethnicity rather than race places them in a history that extends far back in human history, including beyond the period of enslavement of Africans in the Americas. However, there is also an additional complication even with ethnicity. In the context of the United States, pan-ethnicity emerges in unique ways. For example, immigrants from Colombia, Mexico,

and Venezuela become Latinx when they enter the United States; immigrants from China, Japan, and Vietnam become Asian Americans; and Indigenous nations and tribal communities—such as Cheyenne, Lakota, and Navajo—become Native American. People who are descendants of those enslaved from primarily west Africa, as well as persons of African descent who immigrate from Ghana, Jamaica, and Nigeria, become African American. In the case studies of education offered in this chapter aimed at preparing young people in these communities for civic engagement, one will see how the experiences in these communities reflect both pan-ethnic shared actions as well as distinct experiences by virtue of their intra-ethnic identities. While much of this chapter traces histories of educational efforts within these four broad pan-ethnic groups, it is equally important to understand how ethnicity plays out within European descent communities within the United States. At this point in American history, European descent ethnic group distinctions—English, Germans, Irish, Italians, etc.—do not have the political constraints they previously had in our history. For many, however, the distinctions still play out in terms of intergenerational family cultural practices and extended social networks beyond the United States. With all pan-ethnic immigrant groups, the generational status of families matters—first generation versus second and third generations.

With regard to African American, Asian American and Pacific Islander, Latinx, and Native American pan-ethnic groups, however, there are political and economic challenges that remain to be wrestled with through active civic engagement, civic engagement informed by reasoning, and through discourse both within these communities and across the nation. This chapter consciously includes a section on Appalachian communities for several reasons. First, poor White communities have and continue to be absent from discussions around equity and reaping the rewards of citizenship. Second, it is a community that also captures interesting dimensions of how we understand ethnicity and how it plays out in the United States. On one hand, historically White Appalachians tend to be of Scottish Irish backgrounds. On the other hand, the region includes a historic African American community (Affrilachia). While it is a community that historically and continues to wrestle with intergenerational poverty, it is also a community with evidence of resilience in how the community organizes its schools and communities to prepare young people to wrestle with the challenges of achieving the rewards of citizenship. The Appalachian community illustrates how issues of class and intergenerational poverty are systemic, and confound our assumptions about White privilege.

Additional attention in this chapter will be paid to citizenship questions that have particular histories with regard to African American, Latinx, and Native American populations. For Native Americans, of course, they represent the original inhabitants, the existing nations that were here when colonial powers invaded. There are Tribal nations that have complex sovereign status within the United States. African Americans who are the descendants of the enslaved did not immigrate to this country by choice. Despite the contentions over immigration from Central and South America today, there are Latinx populations in southwestern states who became part of the United States by virtue of annexation of territories that were originally part of Mexico. So, these histories are complex and must be understood in terms of civic discourse in the public domain. Their histories complicate our conception of citizenship.

The citizenship question—what it entails and what rights and opportunities it requires—must be understood in broader terms than the nation–state. If there is anything this recent COVID-19 pandemic has made abundantly clear, it is how we are interconnected as a human community across the world and across national borders. There are so many ways that our general health and well-being as humans in the 21st century are so deeply intertwined with knowledge, technologies, and economics developed within and across nations. In many ways, modernity is perhaps the most powerful construct at work across the world. Thus, the question arises not merely of what citizenship in a nation means, but equally important, what it means to be a citizen of the world. This question, a question of fundamental human rights, in many ways supersedes the question of national citizenship. As noted earlier, the 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution states "nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." It does not say any citizen. These foundational ethical propositions are reflected in the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, adopted in 1948 after World War II. Article 1 states:

> All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act toward one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

This is virtually the same ethical proposition articulated in the U.S. Declaration of Independence:

> We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness…. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed…. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness.

So, the ethical commitment to the idea of human rights is at the heart of civic reasoning and should inform and propel civic discourse and action. Understanding how ethnic communities in the United States have wrestled with this humanistic goal in the organization of schooling is important and a goal of this chapter. The authors understand in this work that education, broadly speaking, includes but is not limited to schooling. It includes work in communities as well as social and political organizing efforts. Social and political movements teach the public, albeit not necessarily with the same takeaways, and how these efforts have unfolded reflecting agency and resilience in these communities is important. Understanding the multi-faceted goals these communities have articulated is equally important as they grapple with what are often dual goals of national identity and sustaining the rights of these cultural communities to self-determination. In many ways, the complexities of these tensions are reflected in the kinds of conflicts the founders anticipated, structuring a system of government with checks and balances to provide ways to navigate complexities between majority and minority rights, individual rights and the state, scope of powers between federal,

state, and local governments, scope of powers among the three sectors of the executive branch, pathways through which the Constitution can be amended, and pathways for resistance. Ultimately, it is this complex civic problem space that young people need to understand and be able to interrogate.

Each of the sections that follow offer historical and contemporary illustrations of how these ethnic communities have organized schooling, have organized key stakeholders, and organized both schooling and informal educational experiences for youth with the explicit goal of preparing young people to wrestle with the complexities of civic engagement, including the need and responsibility for such engagement.

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INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AND CIVICS EDUCATION IN THE 21ST CENTURY

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> *Who could we collectively become?*
> *What roles, relations, and responsibilities do we have with each other?*
> *With other-than-human life?*
> *With the land and the waters upon which all life depends?*
> *How should we nurture and uphold those relations?*

At the core of Indigenous education are our ancestral teachings about how to be a good human and live a good life, and to fulfill our responsibilities to be good relatives. We think of these as our ethical or axiological commitments in what we very reluctantly might call, in English, Indigenous civics. Central to these ancestral teachings are what we think of as communal responsibilities to intergenerational kin relations and how these senses of responsibility generate the routine practices of everyday life. Kin relations in this sense are not bound by human centrism or supremacy (e.g., Bang, 2016; Kimmerer, 2013; Wynter, 2003). Learning communal responsibilities is critical for young Indigenous people, and each generation has found different ways to reanimate and uphold these responsibilities, undeterred by colonial negations. Furthermore, Indigenous communities have continued to evolve their practices of teaching these responsibilities, despite the forced or coerced schooling imperatives imposed by settler-colonial nations like the United States. Settler-colonialism is defined as a form of coloniality characterized by the ongoing occupation by settlers of Indigenous territory, which form foundational societal structures and shape everyday life in the United States (Wolfe, 2006).

In this section, we focus on the Indigenous communities whose homelands are in what is now the United States, collectively referred to as American Indians, Alaska Natives, and Native Hawaiians. This term is intended to refer to the at least 1,100 Tribal nations, Alaska Native villages, Hawaiian homelands, and the many "off reservation" communities with which the United States shares these lands. Indigenous communities have unique political status, histories, cultures, knowledges, territories, and more; for example, there are more than 200 distinct Indigenous languages spoken by Indigenous peoples in the current United States, and Native Hawaiians and Alaska Natives hold importantly distinct political status and historical experiences. We also recognize that there are many other Indigenous peoples in the United States, from First Nations peoples whose homelands are in what is currently called Canada, as well as the many other Indigenous peoples who have come to the United States under various conditional circumstances from other continents. Much of what follows could be relevant for civics education and the broader Indigenous diaspora but it is not our intent, or perhaps our place, to argue that here.

What roles, relations, and responsibilities do we have with each other? With other-than-human life? With the land and the waters upon which all life depends? Indigenous communities across time have adapted and imaginatively and resiliently created the conditions for the continuation of Indigenous forms of education and the cultivation of communal responsibilities in each new generation. In this section, we take up broad notions of education, and are particularly mindful of those contexts in which Indigenous ways of knowing and being in good relations continue to be taught, as well as the contexts of formalized schoolings that have more recent histories. While some of the historical harms inflicted on Indigenous peoples across history are better known, like those of boarding schools (e.g., Child, 2018; Lomawaima, 2018), we suggest that harm continues to emerge in routine classroom practices, both implicitly and explicitly, by teachers and by students, and is routinely unrecognized. Thus, we write this section aiming to support and amplify the ongoing efforts of Indigenous resurgence by Indigenous communities who continue to develop forms of their own civics education toward their own thriving. These efforts also have to prepare young people to resist the ongoing assimilative demands and process of erasure characteristic of systems of education defined by settler-colonialism. This section aims to articulate some of the core challenges of U.S.-based civic education for Indigenous youth and put forth aspects of Indigenous civics education as a way to fulfill our ongoing responsibilities to stop harm, and also to insist on the fullness of Indigenous sovereignty (e.g., Lomawaima & McCarty, 2002), the need for Indigenous or U.S. civics education, and continuing to develop our collective capacities to see the beautiful, brilliant, adaptive ways that young people, their families, and communities persist and change. We argue that grappling with the complex challenges of civics education for Indigenous youth, as well as learning from Indigenous communities' persistence, is consequential for all people. Indeed, it is fundamentally necessary for just democracies to be possible (e.g., Borrows, 2019).

So, how should we nurture and uphold our relations and responsibilities? From our perspectives, forming just, ethical, and sustainable societies—the endeavor any civics education should reach for—must be predicated on developing our collective capacities and responsibilities with the lands, waters, and peoples with which we live. Collective capacities and responsibilities are at the heart of Indigenous civics education. Collective capacities refer to the systems of relationships set in place within Indigenous communities to ensure the well-being of all life (e.g., relationships with lands, governance, child welfare, etc.) (e.g., Whyte, 2012). We use lands and waters here as expansive relational terms, not reductive to substances. In order to really engage the core question that this section opened with—*who could we become?*—one must also ask if civics education will continue to pursue forms of logic and practice that are predicated on the erasure of present and future sovereign Indigenous peoples (e.g., Deloria, 1974, 1979; Stanton 2019; Tully, 1995; Wilkins & Lomawaima, 2001). That is, can civics education cease to position Indigenous peoples as existing only in the past by creating a civics education that cultivates U.S. democracy's commitment to Indigenous thriving and sovereignty? Indeed, Lomawaima and McCarty (2006) have detailed the ways in which Indigenous thriving has been constructed as dangerous to U.S. democracy and is precisely opposite to the conditions of Indigenous inclusion in many schooling contexts, what are called "safety zones," over U.S. history. These safety zones are sterilized and stereotyped representations of Indigenous peoples crafted to legitimize the United States and its

harms (Benally, 2019). They and others (e.g., Beaulieu, 2006; Demmert et al., 2006; Lee & McCarty, 2017) have argued that until the cultural heterogeneity of Indigenous peoples and our full thriving is central to education and pedagogy, our inclusion will continue to be a source of harm and an erosion of democracy. Thus, any form of civics education aiming at a just democracy in the United States cannot be accomplished without understanding and reckoning with settler-coloniality, racism, and the histories and structures that have created the present.

Civics education has had, and continues to have, a role in the kinds of historicity that become commonplace in peoples' sensibilities in the present and in imagining the future. Thus, we also ask: Can civics education cultivate a vision of U.S. democracy that strives to strengthen collective capacities to understand the whats and hows of anti-colonial and anti-racist societies? Also, perhaps most expansively: Can civics education learn from Indigenous communal responsibilities—engaging Indigenous civics and civics reasoning in grappling with the question of how we should nurture and uphold relations—in ways that create the possibilities of thriving for not only Indigenous students but all students? There are whole fields of history, philosophy, and legal studies, among others, and generations of communal expertise, experience, and governance that have taken up versions of these questions with profound insights. We are not experts in these fields; we are educators. We are working to understand the implications of these fields for engaging young people and for civics education broadly, and write this to the fields of education. Megan is Ojibwe and Italian descent and studies human learning and development and the design of learning environments. Bryan is Lumbee and studies higher education and the development of Indigenous leadership and nationhood.

We suggest that the following five dimensions are necessary, but not sufficient, for civics education in North America that can cultivate our collective capacities to enact just, sustainable, and culturally thriving societies. These include (1) understanding and confronting the ongoing dynamics of settler-coloniality in U.S. history and narratives of the United States that perpetuate violence, erasure, and invisibility of Indigenous peoples; (2) developing the political and ethical commitments, namely the civic responsibility, to uphold Indigenous sovereignty and engage in nation-to-nation relations; (3) ethically holding and grappling with the heterogeneous conditions of migrations that differentially shape experiences and the racialization of "peoples of color, including Indigenous peoples from other places," and subsequently the complex work of relational solidarities across communities toward collective thriving; (4) creating forms of education that cultivate collective capacity to understand and generatively engage Indigenous peoples, their histories, sovereignties, knowledge systems, and distinct experiences with racialization and its impacts on their communities; and (5) supporting the development of civics education for thriving Indigenous nations and engaging the broader possibilities they open toward liberatory futures for all peoples.

Accomplishing serious engagement with these dimensions is predicated on the ontological foundations of the conversation. The ontological foundations, or what Lyons (2000) has called the "terms of the debate," and who sets them matters. U.S. civics education often unreflectively reproduces coloniality in a myriad of ways, but it is especially pronounced through reductive discourses of Indigenous peoples and their histories in ways that perpetuate the erasure of Indigenous sovereign presents and futures

in civic reasoning. This happens through the positioning of Indigenous peoples as of particular pasts, through the transformation of tribal diversity into singular discourses of race, and of racist processes of minimizing our knowledges, forms of governance, and ways of life. In short, U.S. civics education tends to be a site in which violence against Indigenous peoples is normalized and co-constructed with U.S. democracy itself. Part of our task here is to make plain how some forms of violence are lived and felt in U.S. civics education for Indigenous youth. However, this is not sufficient. Educators must also come to understand Indigenous peoples and Indigenous civics education from, and in service to, Indigenous communities. This section alone can only invite and motivate that. Accomplishing that would require much longer engagements and partnerships with Tribal nations. Perhaps this section can help to cultivate the relational conditions for such partnerships to be liberatory.

So, who could we collectively become? The positioning of Indigenous peoples sits at the ethical and political heart of U.S. history and democracy and who we could collectively become. The recognition of Indigenous peoples' ongoing sovereignty must be central, not momentary, to U.S. civics education if just forms of life are to be possible. We define sovereignty as the inherent rights of Indigenous peoples and their Tribal nations to determine their own futures. It is an inherent right; it is not defined by another government entity. However, it has come to manifest as a legal and political status that is established through the unique relationships between Tribal nations and the U.S. federal government. In creating the United States, not only did settlers remake their homelands on the territories of Tribal nations across North America through violence, but they also crafted and signed treaties that recognized Tribal sovereignty and territory. To protect their collective capacities, Tribal nations and communities signed these treaties, under various conditions, and in doing so, ceded 2 billion acres of land (though Indigenous peoples continue to engage with some ceded lands through subsistence rights), with the understanding that the three fundamental promises of health, education, and the general welfare of their peoples would be upheld (Deloria & Lytle, 1983). Treaty-making and these fundamental promises continue to be central parts of governance for both the United States and Indigenous peoples. Thus, civics processes in the United States have been fundamentally shaped by trust responsibilities to and with Indigenous peoples, and relations with Indigenous peoples have shaped the making of the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and many other bedrocks of U.S. democracy.

We emphasize treaty rights and trust responsibilities because it is important to fuse the idea that while there is a history that speaks to the beginnings of the relationships between Indigenous peoples, the U.S. federal government, and larger questions around civics, there is also very much a present—that is, these relations are ongoing. Reframing non-Indigenous peoples' understanding of these relations to be something ongoing and not only historical are central to Indigenous futures. Indigenous peoples' relentless insistence on upholding treaty rights across U.S. history is in itself evidence of Indigenous peoples' remarkable agency and speaks directly to the difference in historicity undergirding Indigenous and U.S. civics. To be clear, the upholding of Indigenous sovereignty and U.S. trust responsibilities is not only the domain of Indigenous peoples. The cultivation of civic reasoning and everyday forms of communal life have always been implicitly, if not explicitly, in a dialogic relationship with treaties and should be

central to who all U.S. citizens understand themselves to be. If U.S. civics education seeks just and ethical democracies, it must, at minimum, work to cultivate all peoples' collective sensibilities and ethical responsibilities to nurture and uphold Indigenous sovereignty. Indigenous sovereignty is a shared endeavor, a continuing endeavor, and it is tied to the understanding of communal rights and collective responsibilities central to civics education, and more broadly, history and social studies. Thus, as educators consider what roles, relations, and responsibilities they should be cultivating with students, they must engage with Indigenous peoples' histories and sovereignties over the past, present, and future.

Critically important, however, is the recognition that not just any presences of Indigenous peoples in civics education will do. The conceptual presences, or absences, of Indigenous peoples' across time are routine sites in which U.S. nation–state perspectives are reproduced. These formations are also the educational interactions that tend to socialize people into what their communal and civic responsibilities are (or the justification of their absence) to Indigenous peoples (e.g., Sabzalian, 2019a). Alcoff (2007) argues that racialized societies are in a constant state of myth maintenance due to a desire to perceive their own actions as moral, or at least excusable. Indigenous scholars and allies have argued that that settler-colonial societies have a particular investment in forms of myth maintenance with respect to Indigenous peoples as a way to justify Indigenous land theft; Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) have called this form of myth maintenance "genesis amnesia" and Tuck and Yang (2012) discuss a similar concept as "settler moves to innocence" (see also Calderon, 2014a).

The United States is a settler-colonial nation. Settler-colonial myth formation rests on the perpetual erasure and dehumanization of Indigenous peoples—from these territories and others. One routine and problematic narrative in civics classrooms is that Indigenous people are of the past, have been eliminated, or that the state-sanctioned injustices inflicted on Indigenous people and territories are a part of ancient histories (e.g., Calderon, 2014b; Shear & Krutka, 2019; Shear et al., 2015). Important work by Shear et al. (2015) found that 86.6 percent of state-level standards relating to Indigenous peoples are related to pre-1900 content. These historicized positionings are often coupled with reductive or minimizing narratives that recreate hierarchical human organizations that are inflected through White and western supremacies. Meaning, civics classrooms routinely characterize Indigenous peoples' ways of life, relations to lands and waters, systems of governance, knowledges, beings, and even the very population sizes of Indigenous peoples and territories as explicitly and routinely less than, underdeveloped, unimportant, or entirely erased. It is important to note that civics is not alone in these forms of erasure; it is shared across many domains. A subtler yet equally harmful narrative is one that fabricates or elevates flattened constructions of Indigenous peoples' cooperation and consent to participate in the disfigured forms of life being imposed through violence. While U.S. history has reimagined treaty agreements as always peaceful and desired interactions between Tribal nations and newly settled colonists, they were often forced or coerced. Signing a treaty to avoid total genocide is not a just or humane form of consent or governance. These forms of erasure teach that sovereignty and Indigenous knowledges and ways of being are not central to contemporary struggles for justice and to collective problem solving and future-making.

Indigenous practices of sovereignty are more than abstracted concepts or only political terms for Indigenous peoples; they are the fabric of Indigenous peoples' everyday lives. Indigenous sovereignty and communal relationships are defined by forms of consent, reciprocity, and respect that considers mutual lives and lifeworlds, as evidenced in ceremonies, forms of Indigenous governance, and other intellectual traditions (Kimmerer, 2012; Simpson, 2014), and thereby are explicitly not defined by forms of coercion. They are how to show dignity and respect as living beings to one another. They are the ways in which knowledge systems are enfleshed in day-to-day interactions, in generation-to-generation interactions, and in interactions with extended kin relations. Sovereignty in this sense is living and evolving—it is in the making and being of life; thus, sovereignty matters (e.g., Barker, 2005; Deloria & Lytle, 1998; Miller, 2006; NCSS, 2018). Routine cultural practices and everyday forms of life are fundamentally connected to sovereignty and the foundational promises and responsibilities that form the beginnings of the United States through treaties and accompanying trust responsibilities. Civics education engaging with Indigenous meanings of sovereignty could be central to helping all students develop into citizens that can live responsible lives and contribute to more just worlds (see a resonate argument from Jacob et al., 2018).

Excavating what Dahl (2018) names as "democratic theory's implication in and dependence upon settler colonialism for its foundational value and logic" and transforming the conceptual terms with which educators teach about Indigenous peoples is paramount for creating just civics education (see also Haynes Writer, 2010). The ongoing formation of Indigenous peoples as historical is a central and deeply problematic conception that is reproduced in civics education, with devastating impacts to not only Indigenous peoples, but also people across the United States broadly. This formation creates the conditions for the negation of Indigenous peoples' futures. It produces citizens who have no ethical attunements to the violence they are participating in or feel no ethical responsibility to stop them. Recent research examined the difference in people's conceptions between those that supported Indigenous Peoples Day and those who wanted Columbus Day upheld. Those that wanted Columbus Day upheld had higher stereotyped perspectives about Indigenous people and stronger national identities, suggesting an oppositional correlated relationship between negative perceptions of Indigenous peoples and positive perceptions of national identity (Eason et al., 2021). Indeed, many people are socialized into denying Indigenous peoples' presence as sovereign peoples as a necessary function of their pathways to justice. We suggest that this socialization is ubiquitous because Indigenous erasure is a necessary corollary to the continued occupation of Indigenous territories. They see the erasure and systematic denial of Indigenous peoples' sovereign presences and futures as perpetuating an American mythology that makes Western constructions of human supremacy, its expressions of White supremacy, and coloniality normative (Brandzel, 2016). These dynamics are accompanied by repeated forms of the logics of terra nullius and (White) human entitlement to the use and extraction of life—dehumanized human life and other-than-human life. We are suggesting here that the denials of Indigenous peoples' sovereign presences and futures are central conditions for civics and society, and yet, the denial does harm to everyone. A central challenge of civics education for all human beings is related to the climate crisis that has placed every single life on the planet at risk. Despite

this collective challenge, the logics of Indigenous erasure and denial continue to ignore opportunities to restore or cultivate right relations with lands and waters. Thus, continued dismissal of Indigenous peoples and their knowledge systems will prevent the necessary decision making and adaptive capacities for societies to thrive and survive. Indigenous scholars have argued for decades that engagement with Indigenous peoples and their ways of knowing are necessary and beneficial for all people (e.g., Deloria & Wildcat, 2001; Douglas et al., 2020; Kimmerer, 2013; LaDuke, 1999).

A particularly central and growing challenge in the United States is in wading through dynamics of Indigenous erasure and processes of racialization that have unfolded over time and their current manifestations and dynamics both within Tribal communities as well as Tribal communities' relations with and across the broader United States, specifically with communities of color. Tribal nations are distinct political and cultural entities, each with their own homelands, histories, governments, cultural practices, languages, values, desires, and needs for civic education—not a uniform, racialized group. The collapsing and erasure of Indigenous nations as distinct peoples into a homogenized racial group are central to the erosion of Tribal nations' sovereignty (e.g., Brayboy, 2005; Calderon, 2014a; Sabzalian, 2019b). Indeed, processes of racialization and race-based rights (both arguments for racial inclusion and exclusion) are processes within settler-colonial nations that have been used as tools to erode Indigenous peoples' sovereign rights and to create ongoing discord within and between racialized communities. Importantly, for educators this means working with and beyond an understanding of civics education as tied to racial formations in the United States. For example, it becomes necessary to understand how settler colonialism has racialized entire populations through hierarchical human organization toward particular ends (e.g., Indigenous peoples as relegated to the past or eliminated, Black peoples being dehumanized and enslaved, linguistic assimilation and extinctions, exploitive and violent forms of labor, detention, and deportations particularly with immigrant, migrant, and undocumented communities). Coming to understand these dynamics is necessary not only for Indigenous peoples of these territories, but also for raced Indigenous peoples from other places that have come to have new identities, and for settlers that have created communities and life (e.g., Shear et al., 2018). The ways that people understand and transform the complexities and multiplicities of conditions of migratory pathways (e.g., from enslavement, to asylum, to desires for better lives, and many others) for the different communities and the histories that have unfolded to create the present will consequently shape all of our collective futures.

Communities and nations across the world are working toward grappling with what might be called "pluriversality" or what the Zapatistas refer to as "a world of many worlds" (e.g., Escobar, 2016; Jackson, in press), which carries important distinctions from multiculturalism. The United States is such a world and has been, though it works to deny this truth, often resulting in the racialization of Indigenous peoples into a single group. This has become increasingly complex over time as Indigenous communities are multi-racial communities and discourses of race are further fracturing ancestral systems of kin relations and belonging. The construction of race as a biological determinant has been engineered to socially disfigure Indigenous systems of belonging over U.S. history, creating logics of Indigenous personhoods and Indigenous citizenship based in biologies and blood quantum, not their genealogies (Reardon & Tallbear, 2012;

Tallbear, 2013). The reduction of Indigenous personhood to racialized constructions of human beings is so taken as truth by U.S. paradigms that U.S. policy over time has been engineered to "dilute" Indigenous blood lines through policies such as broad-scale federal relocation programs that engineered Indigenous peoples into mixed-race places such as urban centers, and was intended to promote interracial marriage (e.g., Krouse, 1999). Furthermore, these dynamics were all part of broader efforts for U.S. accumulation of Indigenous lands and the erosion of Indigenous nations.

While these issues are saturated across history, the reductive and racialized logics of biology born of White supremacy often governs Indigenous citizenship and belonging in ways that continue to be central challenges for Indigenous peoples today. These issues are particularly acute in federal court cases known as the "Freedman cases" or through "disenrollment cases" such as Nooksak 306 (e.g., Galanda & Dreveskracht, 2015). The Freedman cases concerned questions about Indigenous citizenship of Black Indigenous peoples whose descendancy was intertwined with enslaved Africans and Cherokee people. In the Nooksak case, 306 tribal members who were active community members, who had been living on their tribal lands for generations, and who also had Filipino ancestry were disenrolled by the Nooksak Nation based on claims that their lineage was illegitimate or insufficient for Tribal citizenship. The dynamics of these cases become increasingly complex as United States law and domination was used to further erode Tribal sovereignty and Indigenous communities' rights to self-determination. Even though we see these decisions as profoundly problematic and born of settler colonialism and racism, Indigenous communities have the sovereign right to decide their own citizenship. While we are absolutely in favor of engaging in collective activism and political diplomacy to change these inhumane decisions, mobilizing U.S. law to force it can be enactments of the erosion of Tribal sovereignty. These are examples of the profound perversities of intertwined settler colonialism and racism that are ever-present realities for Indigenous peoples.

Furthermore, the dynamics of racialization and legislative belonging based in biologized logics are not only relegated to specific communities or theoretical abstractions; for most Indigenous peoples, they are routine realities to navigate in other ways. For example, those considering partnership and childbearing often have to grapple with a kind of mathematics of blood quantum, citizenship, and documentation—a colonial impact calculus. This calculus can mean accepting how choosing to have children with someone from a different Indigenous nation than one's own, or none at all, will impact the life course of future children. Of course, this is most importantly about culture and language, but it also impacts a child's blood quantum and their documented belonging. Asking "Will my children have enough documented blood quantum to be eligible to be citizens of their Indigenous nations?" is a real question for many Native people. Issues of partnership, identity, and belonging have become an increasing focus of study and challenge for adolescent development (e.g., Schultz & Noyes, 2020).

The lived complexity of learning the interplay and liminality of Indigenous sovereignty and being racialized are central challenges that often impede Indigenous youth development (Brayboy, 2005), highlighting how important it is that educators take up issues of Indigenous sovereignty and racialization. Understanding the complexities of these dynamics is one of the demands placed on Indigenous youth today. This is central to the task of developing healthy identities, as well as the ethical and intellectual clarity

that we all will need of the next leaders who are tasked with navigating the challenges that all communities will face in the future.

To imagine and enact just futures for all living beings, we must engage with and examine the relational constructs that are settled, assumed, and normalized. Educators, in particular, are tasked with facilitating child and human development, often through civics education, and as such must understand how these constructs operate in order to imagine new worlds elsewhere to settler-colonial domination. The formation of Western-conceived nation–states globally rests on the simultaneous eradication of Indigenous nationhood and formation of racialized subjects (e.g., Wynter, 2003). Central to the ethical and political imagining for just worlds is the necessity to grapple with the co-constitution of race and processes of racialization alongside Indigenous erasure that together create paradigms of human supremacy and its dominant expression of White supremacy. That is, race—and the hierarchies that emerge from it—connected to the erasure of the original inhabitants of North America (Indigenous peoples) created the conditions for Western normativity to be the enclosed grounds of future formations (Lyons, 2000). Although these dynamics are foundational, they are not ontological for Indigenous people. Put plainly, Indigenous peoples being definitionally positioned as only a racial minority is an act of erasure because it claims race and not sovereignty as the singular grounds by which they will be known. It creates the conditions for Whiteness to the central challenge for Indigenous peoples to live lives of wellbeing and thriving. Indigenous peoples' presences and futures being only engaged through discourses of racial inclusion erases our origins as peoples and creates the conditions for our personhood to be defined through Whiteness and the nation–state even if a racially just nation–state could be achieved. Racialized discourses are constructed by the settler-state, resulting in definitions designed to confine or constrain Indigenous peoples while exempting settler-states' responsibility for stealing land and dishonoring treaties (Coulthard, 2014). What is central here is to recognize how the politics of inclusion and recognition co-mingle in ways that perpetuate harm on Indigenous peoples, past, present and future, and how this perpetuation continues to harm all living beings.

To seriously engage Indigenous civics education would require sifting through these complex dynamics carefully as often these relations are animated through settled, normative perspectives of U.S. nation–state histories, practices, and rhetorical forms. This is a profound challenge, in part because the harms already inflicted, including the theft of lives and humanity, continue unabated. It is hard to create new worlds and relations that are not defined by negations, loss, or survival. Yet, communities have also created joyous, thriving life, despite relentless structural violence. Educators are tasked with facilitating human development; doing so without consideration of Indigenous sovereignty, they reify the conceptual foundations of settler colonialism and perpetuate harm against Indigenous students. Importantly, these dynamics have been in place long enough that many educators were also raised in these systems and perpetuate these problems unwittingly. Furthermore, the materials and systemic demands (e.g., standards) on educators indeed facilitate their participation in these ongoing harms (e.g., Shear et al., 2015). We consider it their responsibility to work toward disrupting these harms and also to deeply understanding how ancestral forms of agency, love, dignity, and continual worldmaking have made it possible for Indigenous peoples to continue, and to insist that the fullness and beauty of this also be a part of the work of

Indigenous civics. That is, they insist that the conceptual foundations of Indigenous peoples be more than colonial negations and racialized forms.

Indigenous children and youth are tasked with navigating these multiple demands and paradigms with respect to "civic life." Youth must learn what their responsibilities are to and within their Indigenous communities, while also developing capacities to respond to the civic demands of life in relation to the United States. Centrally this has meant continuing to insist that the United States respect and uphold sovereignty and to fulfill its trust responsibilities per the law. Learning to skillfully assert that Indigenous people have the right to exist and to continue to develop as peoples is not a simple task. It is complicated by the need for Indigenous youth to also learn to refuse to allow these definitions to define who they are, and also who they may become. That is, the Indigenous youth must also learn to disallow the negations of their personhoods as Indigenous peoples to become their core sense of identity and intellectual life. These demands are, at best, incommensurate, and require a certain level of emotional, intellectual, and identity dexterity.

We suggest that it is more accurate to understand these demands as structuring a central task of Indigenous children's childhoods to learn to navigate what Brayboy and Chin (2020) call terrortory. They define terrortory as the "simultaneous presence of the imaginary Indian and the absence of an actual Indigenous person" (Brayboy & Chin, 2020). They argue that the "logics of terrortory rely on disconnection—on obscuring the continuum of violence and domination" (p. 23). Their work importantly adds affective language to the dynamics of settler-colonialism—how it feels to experience these dynamics. We emphasize here the ways in which Indigenous students, classrooms, and schools enact terrortory. These demands stand in resonant tension with what Deloria called the affective dimensions of spatial knowing and the possibilities of human maturation for Indigenous people—but also all people (e.g., Deloria, 1979; Richardson, 2007). Living, present-day Indigenous students are regularly erased in learning environments—that is, they are subject to people enacting their ontological denial. Their real persons become absent while learning environments produce imaginary Indians. These dynamics structure their lived experiences beyond content in the classrooms—it structures the dynamics of their relations and routine interactions with peers, teachers, and staff. They learn that their personhood must become an incomplete aberration of their whole selves. Scholars have documented that the perpetual micro-assaults, a form of being pushed out, often result in school departure (Johnston-Goodstar & Roholt, 2017). While Indigenous communities have longstanding strategies to combat such systemic oppression, they are committed to futures where their children are no longer faced with these demands as a condition of their education. It is important for readers to recognize that our articulations here are wholly incomplete given the complexity of these challenges, and that the issues and ideas that they are trying to communicate are not new. Other Indigenous leaders and scholars before them have articulated and struggled to bring light to these issues for broader audiences (e.g., Horne & McBeth, 1999; Little Bear, 2006; Lyons, 2000).

We have chosen to utilize a vignette of Megan's son's experiences across three acts to concretize the conceptual ground that they have articulated and to mark what a lived experience of civics in schooling represents for Indigenous youth. We include a fourth act aimed at recognizing the forms of education that have emerged from

within Indigenous communities and the ways these give rise to fundamentally different forms of civic education. We utilize these vignettes to illuminate the lived resiliencies of Indigenous youth and Native Nations that do and must navigate the complexities of the demands articulated. The acts are introduced through a prologue of historical moments aimed at making clear the kinds of historicity persistently reflected in Indigenous communities' perspectives on civic responsibilities and the ways Native peoples have pursued these issues over generations. We end with an epilogue that we intend to demonstrate the echo of these issues currently and what might be central for movements toward just worlds in which Indigenous peoples help to lead.

Prologue: What Roles, Relations, and Responsibilities Do We Have with Each Other?

Indigenous communities have long engaged in robust systems of education that taught young people the many different aspects and demands of communal life. These forms of education ranged from understanding histories, sciences, spirituality, economics and trade, land and water stewardship, governance structures and practices, and child rearing, among many others. Indigenous education also taught people about civic responsibility, and there is no documentation of the creation of long-term imprisonment practices in Indigenous societies of North America. The point here is that Indigenous communities developed a sense of living together in ways that respected the rights of each other and created practices and routines on mutual consent, as well as the resolution of disputes and differences. Our purpose is not to detail this history—they are not historians—but it would be remiss to start a prologue that began with the great disruptions to these systems of education that came with contact and the beginnings of the United States. Thus, it is time to fast forward to the founding of the United States.

After the end of the Revolutionary War in 1789, the United States placed departments pertaining to Indigenous relations in the newly formed War Department. Some treaties that include trust responsibilities to education had already been ratified at this point. Three decades later, on March 3, 1819, the U.S. Congress passed a law called the Civilization Fund Act. The Act's intent was to provide monetary resources for missionaries to educate Indigenous peoples on reservations. More specifically, the Act noted "That for the purpose of guarding against the further decline and final extinction of the Indian tribes, adjoining the frontier settlements of the United States, are for introducing among them the habits and arts of civilization...." It continued by noting, "and an account of the expenditure of the money, and proceedings in execution of the foregoing provisions, shall be laid annually before Congress" (Prucha, 2000, p. 33). Embedded in the Act was a sum of $10,000 to be used annually for these purposes. The fundamental goal of this was to "civilize" Indigenous peoples by assimilating them into a White education and ways of engaging the world. The timing of this Act is important because it was an early demonstration of the ideologies that guided the 1830 Indian Removal Act (IRA). The IRA set into place the possibilities for Andrew Jackson (known for his hostilities toward American Indian peoples) to push Indigenous peoples west. Removal included the so-called Five Tribes (Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole). Forms of education emerging within tribal communities on the heels of removal were fundamentally shaped by Jacksonian elimination policies and the Civilization

Fund Act laid the groundwork for further development of what is commonly known as Indian residential schools or boarding school era, infamously exemplified by the Carlisle Indian Industrial School founded by Richard Henry Pratt in 1879. While educational efforts that removed children from tribal communities with the intention of assimilating them had been in motion since as early at 1634 in what is now Maryland, as well as at both Harvard and Dartmouth in the same century, the Civilization Fund Act created the conditions for the emboldened scaling—through violent and coercive means—of these forms of educational policy.

Almost 100 years after the Civilization Fund Act, Seneca scholar Arthur C. Parker, in his classic article titled *The Social Elements of the Indian Problem* (1916), again names the civic challenges of the time. In his article, Parker writes, "We wish to lay down seven charges, out of perhaps many more, that the Indian makes at the bar of American justice. Whether the white man believes them or not, true or not, he cannot discharge his obligation to the red man until he considers them and understands that the Indian makes them because he at least feels that they are just" (p. 254). The seven charges included robbing the American Indian of:

> (1) freedom of actions; … (2) economic independence; … (3) social organization; … (4) … a race of men--the American Indian--of intellectual life; … (5) moral standards and of racial ideals; … (6) a good name among the peoples of the earth; … (7) a definite civic status. (pp. 254–255)

These are serious claims published in the *American Journal of Sociology,* 8 years before American Indian peoples—the *original* inhabitants of the lands that would become the United States—would earn the right to vote. More specifically of education and "intellectual life," Parker writes:

> Human beings have a primary right to an intellectual life, but civilization has swept down upon groups of Indians and, by destroying their relationships to nature, blighted or banished their intellectual life, and left a group of people mentally confused…. The Indians must have a thought-world given back. Their intellectual world must have direct relation to their world of responsible acts and spontaneous experiences. (p. 258)

Parker points to the importance of relationships to land and the connections with their intellectual life. Despite this law many states continued to deny Indigenous peoples the right to vote through claims to their own state constitutions. Arizona, for example, did not allow Indigenous people to vote until 1948. Utah was the last state to allow Indigenous peoples to vote in 1962. More than 100 years later, American Indians continue to fight for their intellectual worlds and self-determining rights to engage in their own educational and schooling practices on terms that suit them. Two hundred years rush by with a blink of an eye as it relates to American Indian peoples and their education. The rush elides the erasure of the history, the presence of Indigenous peoples, and the multifarious acts of erasure themselves. Many of the challenges that Parker outlined in 1916 remain relevant and are an important part of understanding the civics of American Indian peoples.

Seventy years later, in 1987, a congressional hearing of the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs was held to introduce S.Con.Res.76, which was in essence a

renewed recognition of U.S. obligations to Indigenous nations. A remarkable set of leaders—Oren Lyons, Suzan Harjo, Vine Deloria, Jr., Richard Real Bird, and many others from multiple Tribal nations, including Crow, Lummi, Mille Lacs, Oneida, Onondaga, Quinault, and Red Lake—presented oral and written testimony at the hearing detailing the intellectual, political, and communal systems that Tribal communities have continued to cultivate. The session engaged and recognized that the ideals of democracy and systems of representation reflected across the Iroquois Confederacy as well as other Tribal nations served as the intellectual foundations of the U.S. Constitution. In their testimonies these intellectuals and Tribal leaders also argued that the legitimacy of the Constitution was inextricably bound to Indigenous nations. The bill passed in 1988 and contained four key points, including an acknowledgment of the historical debt of the United States to the Iroquois Confederacy and other Indian nations for their demonstration of democratic principles and their example of a free association of independent Indian nations (the founding of statehood); a reaffirmation of the government-to-government relationship between the United States and Indian tribes; a reaffirmation of the trust responsibility and obligation of the government to Indian tribes, including Alaska Natives; and an acknowledgment of the need to exercise good faith in upholding treaties with the various tribes. Importantly, the final clause of the bill reads:

> Congress also acknowledges the need to exercise the utmost good faith in upholding the treaties with various tribes, as the tribes understood them to be, and the duty of a great Nation to uphold its legal and moral obligations for the benefit of all its citizens so that they and their posterity may also continue to enjoy the rights they have enshrined in the United States Constitution for time immemorial. (H.Con.Res. 331; see https://www.govtrack.us/congress/bills/100/hconres331/text)

What is regnant here is that the relations between Indigenous peoples and the civic responsibilities of the United States have been constant—they are not bound to any singular time in history. A civics education that fails to fundamentally engage Indigenous peoples fails to uphold its legal and moral obligations. This starts with a serious and critical examination of "rights" and how these create belonging (what often is discussed through discourses of citizenship) as core concepts that much of civics education is built on.

We suggest that a fundamental issue in considering civics in the United States is the construction of the individual in relation to groups and what kind of ethics and logics this relational construal establishes. It strikes them that communal—or group—rights are often erased by what is a singular or preferred focus on individual rights and that this fundamental difference in construal is consequential to the core of what civics education is or can be. Stark and Stark (2018) argue for a return to relational paradigms of sovereignty, as distinct from rights based, which "foregrounds responsibilities to one another and creation, which sustains us all" (p. 17). This model of relations is central to Indigenous peoples and perhaps a core challenge for Indigenous learners to understand and navigate. Indigenous peoples recognize individual rights; however, individual rights are often placed secondary to an emphasis on group rights: the rights of a nation, or a community, or peoples. Furthermore, Indigenous rights are not wielded to exclude

or to create privileges for some. They are claims to fundamental dignities of life. The link between rights and responsibilities is an important one and fundamentally shapes what communal or civic responsibilities are. If Indigenous peoples are in relation with one another, with lands, with waters, and with ideas, they are necessarily responsible to and for these things—they are kin. One cannot divorce rights from responsibilities. These are not obligations; they are a recognition of and a maintenance of connections or relations. If we live well, the relationships are reciprocal; we care for others, who care for us. This is not to be confused with a quid pro quo, but one of mutual assistance, care, relationality, and kinship. This is the "why" of rights. In Indigenous communities, rights are made purposeful insofar as they enable people to fulfill their responsibilities to and with others. Many Indigenous knowledge systems are characterized by many sets of relationships and responsibilities that give rise to the how of cultural and communal practices. Taking up these multiplicities of meanings could enhance the education of all young people.

Civics is often rooted in the past; it is in histories of new countries, sacred documents, and aspirational moments and treatises. This raises a question of how to make sense of beginnings and origins. What kinds of historicities are engaged in formulating a collective present and future? As noted elsewhere (Brayboy & Chin, 2020; Brayboy & Tachine, 2021; Vaught et al., in progress) beginnings and origins are not always the same things. Indigenous peoples' communal rights (held by communities and nations but embodied in individuals) are located in the lands and waterways from which Indigenous peoples emerged. Our origin stories tell us that we are of the Earth. These are our origins and beginnings. Civics starts with some other place. It is located in a document, and may be the Magna Carta, Plato's *Republic*, or the Declaration of Independence. These are beginnings, but not origins. Indigenous peoples emerged from the earth, waters, and sky, and have dwelled in place since it birthed us, and continue to live here now and into the future. Indigenous peoples respect and honor the past, but actively refuse being locked in and through it. The continued absence of these realities within civics education are acts of epistemic violence that perpetuate White supremacy and setter colonialism (e.g., Seawright, 2014).

What does this mean for civics education? Our response exists in four parts, centered by Indigenous peoples' present and future, in their communities and in their children, or, in this instance, Megan Bang's son. Bryan Brayboy's sons could find their places in these narratives; so could Megan's daughters, or our nieces, nephews, and grandchildren. We include our work as educators and scholars in the final act, with the intention of rooting these issues in lived presences, in relational presences, and in the learning experiences of young people in the midst of forms of civic education across the multiple contexts of their lives.

Act I: Erasure and Invisibility

When my (Megan's) high schooler, who is a citizen of Walpole Island Ojibwe First Nation and Navajo Nation, was assigned to read the Declaration of Independence for school, I bought him the "Merciless Indian Savage" t-shirt that is common across Indian country and suggested he wear it to class. We laughed that he should sit under the "Blackhawks" hockey flag that hung in his classroom, too. His school civics project

could start with him going to every "Blackhawks" flag in the school and taking a pic-
ture with different Native t-shirts on, and then making a meme that says "Where are
the Natives?"

First to note, Megan's son is navigating citizenship across four nations: Walpole Island, Canada, Navajo Nation, and the United States. He is a citizen of Walpole Island Ojibwe First Nation and the United States. He is eligible for citizenship in both the Navajo Nation and Canada, but is not currently enrolled. The past and the present come together here in deeply lived ways for him. There is an aspirational document that frames the United States origin story. That document is called the Declaration of Independence. Its second paragraph opens thusly, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." These are aspirational statements, even though their formations were also deliberately exclusionary. Twenty-nine paragraphs (or statements) later, the document reads, "He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions." Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness married to the merciless Indian savages. There is no acknowledgment that the Constitution and the bicameral legislature and generally the three bodies of government are rooted in structures credited to the Haudenosaunee (often referred to as the Iroquois Confederacy). The past erases the contributions of Indigenous peoples and frames us as savages. In the current moment, however, the lesson for civics is that Megan's son is surrounded by caricature that erases and makes his present-day status invisible. While these experiences may not be central for Indigenous children who attend Tribal schools or on-reservation K–12 public schools, it is important to recognize that only 24 percent of school-age Indigenous youth go to schools that are on reservations and even fewer are Tribally controlled schools. Another and important way of saying this is that 76 percent of Indigenous children live in urban and suburban contexts where they are often the only, or one of very few, Indigenous children. That is the experience of being minoritized in these ways and is a normative experience for Indigenous youth. For children who have completed their K–12 schooling on-reservation who are college-going, they too will come to face these dynamics, as only 8.7 percent of college-going Indigenous students go to Tribal colleges, expanding the number of Indigenous youth who experience these demands. These dynamics are routine and shared by Indigenous youth; they are not exceptional.

Thus, while these issues are exemplified in particular ways in this vignette, to mindfully and genuinely engage Indigenous peoples and civic education in the 21st century is to make them visible and present as both peoples who once were, who still are, and who could and should be leaders for all communities in the future. The stories of the past are rooted in violence, land theft, and failure to live up to the promises embedded in treaties and laws. They are also rooted in rich inventions and nuanced knowledge systems that are relevant today for not only Indigenous peoples, but everyone else as well. The past is connected to communal senses of care and relationality. In the 21st century, the presence is in the 5.4 million Indigenous peoples in the United States and in their roles as children, mothers, grandparents, chief executive officers, teachers,

stay-at-home dads, and many other contributors in today's world. Indigenous people should not be only seen as caricatures tied to sports teams or as mythical figures from the past. The visibility must be on terms that do not create entrapments to colonial conquest. Presence must prevail over absence.

Act II: On Attempts of Erasure's Permanency

We (Megan's family) live on our original territories in an intergenerational home, on the shores of Lake Michigan and close to the Chicago river and other waterways that have been central to the movement of our people. The place that is the homelands of the Ojibwe, Odawa, and Potawatomi people—the three fires people. We live in a place that has been an inter-tribal place since time immemorial where the diaspora of tribal nations—Sauks, Meskwakis, Kickapoos, Hochunk, Menominee, Miami and others— would frequent for trade and exchange. We live in a place where a Black man, Jean Baptiste Point du Sable, married a Potawatomi woman, Kitiwaha, in the 1770s, had two children, and made life here as the political claims to the territory between the French, English, Spanish, and eventually the United States unfolded across their lifetimes. We live in a place that was ceded through a number of treaties over time starting in 1795 that were focused on our waterways, eventually leading to the Treaty of Chicago that began in 1821 and more later in 1833. We live in a place where Indigenous leaders contested the validity of some of these treaties, where Black Hawk led a resistance of Sauks, Meskwakis, and Kickapoos to resettle on their original territories—an effort that was met with open gunfire by a frontier militia orchestrated by U.S. officials. We live in a place where others would contest the legitimacy of the ceding of these homelands for decades, and centuries to come. We live in a place now called Evanston, founded by John Evans, the former governor of the Colorado Territories, whose leadership is responsible for the Sand Creek Massacre of Cheyenne and Arapaho peoples, and whose fortune that the town was founded on was made by his policy work of opening the West for land grabbing and railroads.

We live in a place whose histories of migrations and segregation is present in every turn in the city, in the legacies of schooling, in the reparations that hang in the air and the ballot. The streets we travel are named after this history in every way, with Tribes' defeats and generals' names valorized at every turn. The town and schools don't celebrate Native Heritage Month at all. I used to think, and mostly still do, that heritage months were an implicit ceding of invisibility in all the other months. But [having] no month, just nothing about Native peoples at all, has a surprising sting of ontological denial and dismissal of history, of relevance, of personhood. It's not that there's nothing. The town held the Custer Street Fair for years. The fair was moved to another town in 2019. Some students have asked for Indigenous Peoples Day, though it hasn't manifested substantively. My children have been asking for several years that the schools at least create a land acknowledgment and that teachers be trained to implement it, but there's been little traction and they endure the terrortory in schooling every day. The plea, for a day, of an acknowledgment, of some form of legibility, is really more about the desire to have some way of asserting our presence, our right to be.

> *Thankfully, we live in a place where the oldest urban Indian Center in the country was formed by peoples who survived forced, coerced, and chosen migrations here through relocation policies. We live in a place where there are dozens of community organizations that create programs and opportunities for all of us to continue to learn and nurture our responsibilities. We live in a place where Nimkii continues to learn about his kin relations and communal responsibilities through programs, community members, and elders—and from the lands and waters our ancestors have always been in relations with. We live in a place where people travel to other tribal communities to continue to learn and exchange. Where we travel to Walpole, to Navajo. We live in a place where community members work to revitalize their language use. We live in a place where we continue to make life together as Native peoples grounded in our own sovereignties and civics, despite coloniality.*

There are many places like Evanston, built on or through the violent removal and killing of Indigenous peoples. Many of the individuals who live in those places are unaware of the history or the beginnings of the place. The history begins with the sign on the side of the road that reads "Evanston, est. 1863." The term "est." erases much of what came before; those erasures are permanent, so much so that, without irony, Indigenous Peoples Day is ignored, while the tradition of the Custer Street Fair continues. Evanston could be anywhere and everywhere. The civics of the 21st century must be aware of the beginnings of its current state. History and presence matters. While those who live in Evanston are physically distant from Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho peoples, the "est. 1863" should be linked there. The massacre of Cheyenne and Arapaho people in the territories in which John Evans was the governor allowed those lands to be opened, and railroads to be built. The building of railroads led to Evans creating wealth, and his ability to buy land—that land he bought is the original territories of the three fires peoples and has contested legal history. This is what established Evanston. This is what continues to define Evanston.

We would argue that one role of civics education in the 21st century is to recognize these presences and these connections. Land becomes place when peoples imbue it with meaning. There can be, however, different meanings attached to the same set of lands, making the same land different places. There is an opportunity to expand meanings of the interconnections between peoples and place in both the past and present. People should know where they live and its histories to understand its present and future.

Given the legalized required participation in schooling and its current state of practice, schools and schooling create significant developmental challenges for Indigenous youth who, like all youth, are trying to make their way in the world and figure out issues of identity, belonging, and purpose. They must not only learn to survive and navigate the onslaught of epistemic violence and ontological denial of their very existence that schooling imposes, but they must also learn their roles and responsibilities in their Tribal nations. Indeed, Indigenous youth must learn the truth that U.S. democracy is imposed on Indigenous peoples (Champagne, 2005; Dahl, 2018), and "wielded with impunity as the first and most violent weapon of mass destruction" (Grande, 2015, p. 50). However, these critical perspectives alone are not sufficient for Indigenous civics education. Indeed, criticality alone in civics education, even if focused on injustices, can participate in erasure. Criticality alone creates the conditions for Indigenous youth to

form identities, their knowledge, their reasoning based in the harm, in coloniality, in racism, in the negation of who they are as Indigenous people. This can put in motion forms of life that put the problems of harm and coloniality above the work of making life with kin relations. This is not only true for Indigenous youth; the problems of criticality alone are shared with other youth and communities.

Many Indigenous nations and communities have developed their own forms of education that have centered teaching and learning in Indigenous culture, language, and traditions while also cultivating youths' capacities to contribute to Tribal nations' needs and to navigate non-Indigenous societies. Rough Rock Community School in Rough Rock, Navajo Nation, Arizona, that opened in 1966, is such a place. While the school has significantly transformed over the years, its core vision states, "Our students will be resilient, lifelong learners who are skilled in the Diné language and culture, college and career ready and contributing citizens in a global multicultural society" (see www.roughrock.k12.az.us). The school continues to educate hundreds of Indigenous youth annually. It is the first American Indian community-controlled school and played a key role in advancing American Indian Self Determination. It also was the first contemporary school in the United States to teach in and through Diné language, marking a turn from colonial ontologies in education. In 2013, tribes in Washington State in partnership with the office of public instructions, created the State-Tribal Education Compact Schools that mark an important new era of Tribally developed forms of schooling that best serves Tribal communities' needs. These are but two examples of thousands. What is crucial to recognize is that like continuing to demand the recognition of Tribal sovereignty, Tribal communities have continued to create forms of education, including Indigenous civics, toward community well-being.

Act III: Citizens of Multiple Nations—Living in Good Relations

As Nimkii, Megan's son, prepares to hunt this fall, so we and our extended family have our traditional foods. He is also learning of our ancient treaties with the deer people who have agreed to feed us if we rightly treat them and the lands and waters we share. We are also reading our treaties with human peoples, those with the United States and with Canada. He is frustrated that we have to navigate Illinois hunting lotteries to access lands. He wishes we could just go to Canada to hunt at Walpole. We are talking about how we will be hunting in a place close to where Black Hawk led resistance. We are learning about why the protection of our lands and our hunting, fishing, and harvesting rights is fundamental to who we are, even if on ceded lands. We haven't been taught that the treaty with the deer people [is] amended because of our treaties with the United States or Canada. We are thinking about what the fires in the West mean for Native Nations there, the places that raised him through much of his childhood and that he carries love and responsibility for. We are discussing why re-learning our language is important. Why things like blood quantum and epigenetics are growing challenges for Native nationhood. Why passing the Violence Against Women Act has been hard or how policies of assimilation, relocation, or the cutting of supply chains of basic subsistence to reservation communities is a persistent strategy of the United States. Why structural data invisibility of Native people in the census or with COVID-19 is so harmful. Why when he is 18, voting in tribal elections is important but also voting in American

elections is important. About how many of our relatives have served in the military and why they have done that. We are talking about how the foundations of democracy aren't an American invention and are reflected in the Haudenosaunee confederacy. How Native peoples have always had our own political systems and expectations about how to be a good member of our communities. How those are different across our Nations and not all the same. Why our ongoing struggle for existence is a problem of structure and ongoing practice—not a historical exception. How it's a fundamental challenge that we as Native people have to grapple with as central to our life. We seem to always end these conversations on the core of our ancestral teachings of mino-biimadaziwin—that our job is to continually work at being a good human being, to live an ethical life. He is learning why it is important that he is upholding our treaty with the deer people. He is learning to understand our place and responsibility as human people with our lands, waters, and our extended kin relations, [and with] other humans as well as the rest of life we share places with. The politics of that basic idea are hauntingly complicated in a settler-colonial state and yet central to his adolescence.

The lives of Indigenous peoples are complicated because of multiple citizenships and, equally, our lack or denials of citizenships. The fact that Nimkii (Megan's son) hunts is not just to feed his family and be in good relations. It is, as Megan and her family have constructed it, fulfilling his treaty rights. While Indigenous peoples have, in some ways, pushed the past away, it is important here. The 1885 Treaty of Walla Walla noted that tribal peoples could hunt and fish "at all usual and accustomed places and stations." The right to do so has extended beyond the Yakama peoples who signed the treaty. The other lessons being imparted to young Indigenous peoples (like children) is that they are part of different nations. They have responsibilities across those nations. They have challenges in them because of the tensions between the nations. History matters; so does power. The United States has long-standing relationships with Tribal nations and communities rooted in treaties, in their promises, and in their recognition of a unique status. Simultaneously, because so many have either never learned or have forgotten the beginning (borrowing from Bourdieu and Passeron, they suffer from genesis amnesia), Indigenous children must continue the fight to fulfill their responsibilities—to animate their sovereignty (Stark & Stark, 2018). This work is to make sure they remember and have the territory, the space, and the possibilities of enacting their responsibilities (Coulthard & Simpson, 2016; Deloria, 1979), and to recognize that they have a membership; that is, they are part of a community or nation besides the U.S. memory and beyond a politic of colonial recognition.

With that memory comes elements; as noted earlier, responsibilities. Act III is a direct commitment to be in good relation with other peoples, with place (lands that have been imbued with meaning), with knowledge, and with ourselves. Relationships matter and they must be recognized, honored, nurtured, and maintained. They are reciprocal. We care for others and they care for us. The land feeds us, and we care for it. Indigenous civics education starts with communal rights and the concomitant responsibilities. It teaches about how people should nurture and uphold relations. How people should uphold responsibilities across generations—past, present, and future. All of this emanates from the fundamental relationships between rights and responsibilities that Indigenous civics is grounded in.

Act IV: Native Nations, Leadership, and Educational Self-Determination

What does self-determinations look like? I, Bryan, asked myself [this] as I reflected on my travels across the United States and engagements with Indigenous peoples who are working toward creating futures of their own making. I reflected on the work of the Kamehameha Schools, established through the trust of Bernice Pauahi Bishop, that seeks to meet the educational needs of Native Hawaiian children to engage in high level schooling, including Hawaiian language and culture. She passed away in 1884; the almost 400,000 acres she left as a gift to shepherd her peoples through education is now worth approximately $12 billion. The foresight and love of the gift and visions humble me.

I consider the Waadookodaading immersion school founded to ensure the continuation of Ojibwe language. The name means "a place where people help each other." It teaches the language and the culture rooted in relationships and larger notions of relationality. It had created the conditions for elders to talk and walk homelands with Ojibwe youth, totally in Ojibwe again.

And, I think about the fishing camps throughout Alaska, the northwest continental United States, the great lakes or the hunting camps throughout the Midwest, Northeast, Southwest, and Southeast where children learn to not only provide for their families, but to also learn how to be in relation to place and the animals that inhabit that space. This is where children learn to be members of their communities and parts of their place. I realize that learning is ubiquitous; so is teaching and foresight.

Communities continue to show extraordinary commitment and care to regenerating Indigenous civics despite a wide range of conditions and ongoing stressors. For example, Kamehameha schools, building on the foresight, care, and generosity of Bernice Bishop, educates more than 6,000 Native Hawaiian children per year. It provides them with opportunities to excel in a schooling environment while also ensuring that they have the opportunity to learn their language, customs, culture, and have a sense of pride knowing that they can be both grounded as members of their community and excel in school. Waadookodading has a very different context and history as a public Bureau of Indian Education school, 3,500 miles away, for Ojibwe children to be immersed in their language and culture while excelling in school. They think and process in Ojibwe while also facing the challenges of the 21st century. The camps along the Yukon River, in communities in northern Arizona, where Nimkii hunts, and in Robeson County, North Carolina, are places where children learn to be in good relations with all around them and they hear lessons on the importance of schooling. In our work with Indigenous communities, neither of us have ever had anyone say that learning to read, write, and do math is unimportant; what many members of Indigenous communities have said is that the ability to learn to do those things should not come *at the expense* of learning to be in good relations with other humans, animals, and places, or at the expense of their own languages, cultural practices, and fulfilling their responsibilities. There is a clear vision that one can, in fact, do both; that is wisdom, generosity, and foresight.

Learning happens in and through doing. We learn to be in relations with one another and place through big acts and small ones, by understanding that we learn

in and through place. Additionally, we learn "book knowledge" and the education of communal rights and responsibilities. Issues of "civics" and questions about what young people need to learn about political systems, about governance, and communal participation is not a new question—all societies grapple with this and these challenges change over time. They are necessary to being in good relations with and in imagining and enacting our futures. The erasure of Indigenous peoples and contributions from the public sphere of civics education does not mean that we are not engaged in self-determining acts. Imagine if all young people were given the opportunities to learn about these remarkable endeavors and the forms of life communities continue to strive for.

Epilogue: Who Could We Collectively Become?

We are in a moment pregnant with the potential of change and the desperate need for change. We began writing this in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic and the 2020 national elections, when there was a national debate raging around the importance of "patriotic education" that wanted to protect the United States against the naming of the ideology of White supremacy, or the grappling with realities of the nation's complex history. It seemed there was an argument for civics education to be nationalist in a way that many were very concerned was a turn from the possibilities of democracy. Civics education has always been participating in particular nationalist discourse with respect to Indigenous peoples and to U.S. history. What we are proposing here is potentially a disruption of the "origins" or neat stories of the United States. The intent is to reframe commonly held beliefs that are known to be mythical. Brayboy and Chin (2020) argue that myths become truth through erasures and violence. We reject that framing of re-examining history; we are almost 250 years away from these aspirational words: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness," and Americans' histories, realities, and presences are not equal. Calls for the inalienable right of Indigenous sovereignty are viewed with derision and framed as undermining and forestalling equitable futures because they continue to be seen as a threat to individual rights. Asserting communal rights, Indigenous rights, is not unpatriotic. Nor does it have to mean the denial of individual rights or persons. But civics education must recognize sovereignty and the original inhabitants of the lands that now comprise the United States for any forms of justice to exist. We refuse to end our work here in the negation; civics education has the potential to lead in addressing the questions with which this section began. Across this section, we have worked to animate and explicate five necessary dimensions for creating a civics education that can achieve what we continue to think possible, if all people work to do the following:

1. Understand and confront the ongoing dynamics of settler-coloniality in U.S. history and narratives of the United States that perpetuate violence, erasure, and invisibility of Indigenous peoples;
2. Develop the political and ethical commitments, meaning the civic responsibility, to uphold Indigenous sovereignty and engage in nation-to-nation relations;

3. Ethically hold and grapple with the heterogeneous conditions of migrations that differentially shape experiences and the racialization of "peoples of color, including Indigenous peoples from other places," and subsequently the complex work of relational solidarities across communities toward collective thriving;

4. Create forms of education that cultivate collective capacity to understand and generatively engage Indigenous peoples, our histories, sovereignties, knowledge systems, and distinct experiences with racialization and its impacts on Indigenous communities; and

5. Support the development of civics education for thriving Tribal nations and engaging the broader possibilities they open toward liberatory futures for all peoples.

The broad scale implementation of these dimensions we suggest would support the development of new generations capable of dreaming who we might collectively become in ways that are not enclosed by harm. Engaging issues of U.S. civics and Indigenous civics carefully and deeply raises important questions and possibilities not only for Indigenous youth but also youth whose own communal histories and conditions of forced enslavement or migration to the United States intersect with settler colonial paradigms to imagine beyond their negations as well. Civics education that meaningfully engages Indigenous peoples and paradigms could cultivate the ethical sensibilities to foreground relations and responsibilities with each other rather than individualisms and hierarchies of harm. It could cultivate leaders with the knowledge and sensibilities needed to address the challenges of the 21st century, particularly those around adapting to a changing climate, environmental decline, and transforming the layers of social systems that produce ongoing violence and are implicated in the roots of the current relations between human peoples and the places we live; those that see transforming the social, political, and economic assumptions and arrangement of life that have created them as ripe with possibilities for nurturing new forms of life and new forms of relations. The construction of relations and positions of Indigenous peoples globally, past, present, and future, is core to this endeavor for all peoples.

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AFRICAN AMERICAN EDUCATION AS PREPARATION FOR CIVIC ENGAGEMENT, REASONING, AND DISCOURSE

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This historical overview of African American education focuses on efforts within the community from Reconstruction through the 21st century to design and carry out educational efforts aimed at preparing young people to understand, resist, and wrestle with the challenges to citizenship rights rooted in the nation's history of slavery, legal apartheid, and ongoing structural impediments to full equity. These efforts involve professional educators working collaboratively within schools and professional associations, families and community members taking the lead, and influences of social, political, and cultural theorists over the decades. These efforts also involve alliances among community, professional, and social movement organizations. This history is offered as evidence of agency around addressing the challenges of civic engagement, and as a consequence, civic reasoning and discourse that go beyond political organizing around desegregation of schools, representing internal priorities within the African American community over the centuries. This history is not intended to suggest that there is a monolithic conceptualization of how to prepare African American youth for taking on the responsibilities and opportunities of citizenship, but rather to convey that despite heterogeneity there has been a consistent, internally-driven set of efforts rooted in beliefs about the power of this community not seeing itself simply as subjects and objects of oppressive beliefs, practices, and policies, but rather consisting of agents of its own change.

This section is organized chronologically with a focus on three distinct eras: immediate post-emancipation, the early to middle 20th century, and post-*Brown v. Board of Education* through the early 21st century. Black agency existed in each epoch, though it looked different depending on the context. Black educators, parents, and activists morphed and evolved their efforts to deploy schools and educational spaces for racial uplift and to promote full citizenship and civic participation. What remained constant was a deep appreciation for Blackness in all forms—history, culture, values, institutions, and in Black people themselves—and a belief that a high-quality education steeped in civic preparedness was worth fighting for. Each new generation built on the foundation of their education ancestors to move the battle forward.

The authors identify particular strategies that Black educators and their allies employed at different times and in different contexts to empower the Black community to initiate change. Strategies like the creation of separate schools, the development and teaching of a counter-curriculum, and the inclusion of Black-themed content are threaded throughout Black educational history. These and the other strategies discussed below highlight the fact that Black people have never been mere subjects of White supremacy but agents of empowerment who sought to teach subsequent generations about citizenship and the demands of civic reasoning and discourse.

Black Education Post Emancipation

This section begins with initiatives in the African American community at the end of the Holocaust of Enslavement. During slavery, it was illegal for African Americans to learn to read or write, facing penalties of severe physical punishment and even death. As a consequence, African Americans saw literacy as a tool in their efforts to be liberated, viewing literacy as endowing not only potential economic uplift but equally important community empowerment.

Upon emancipation it became readily apparent that the former enslaved population emerged from the "peculiar institution" with a vision of citizenship that included a civic commitment to universal education. The underlying foundation of their social and political movement for universal education rested on their deep sense of self-reliance, self-determination, and their newly acquired citizenship, specifically the power of Black men to vote and shape the politics of the postbellum South. From the outset the former enslaved population envisioned universal education based on state constitutional provisions, statutes, and local regulations of public education. They could not achieve their vision, however, until they were able to register to vote under military Reconstruction in 1867.

Meanwhile, from the outbreak of the Civil War until military Reconstruction, the Freed People built a "Sabbath School System" throughout the South that operated mainly in the evenings and on weekends. The Sabbath schools reached thousands of children and adults unable to attend weekday schools. By 1869, the Freedmen's Bureau offered a conservative estimate of more than 1,500 Sabbath schools enrolling more than 107,000 students. Such schools were established, paid for, and sustained by Black communities as part and parcel of their movement for freedom and equality. Still, the Freed People's most important campaign to implant a new vision of universal education in the South was the incorporation of tax-supported public education into southern state constitutional law.

Under the Military Reconstruction Acts passed in 1867, Congress empowered its occupying armies to register all eligible male voters (only men could vote at the time) and call for new state constitutional conventions. Consequently, the former Confederate states witnessed for the first time the massive registration of Black male voters as well as their critical participation in reshaping southern constitutions. Of the approximately 630,000 Whites and 750,000 Freed People that registered in 10 former Confederate states, newly registered Black voters comprised a majority in Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina. The South immediately saw a new and different civic vision inserted into southern constitutional law.

Some of the new civic values included tax-supported universal public education, the explicit forbidding of racially segregated schooling in the constitutions of South Carolina and Louisiana, and the barring of school segregation in the Mississippi constitution. More importantly, with their newfound political power, the Freed People set on a course to build a system of free and equal public education. Although the Freed People did not accomplish all they envisioned, they effectively changed the course of southern education from Reconstruction until the end of the 19th century. To be sure, education curriculum and facilities were not exactly equal in all categories between Whites and African Americans, but the postbellum political power acquired by Black voters and the education equality principles inserted into the new southern

constitutions established and sustained a system of relative equality from emancipation to the end of the 19th century.

The political power of Black voters and the resulting system of more or less educational equality maintained from Reconstruction to the dawn of the 20th century stands in marked contrast to the era of disenfranchisement and gross education inequality of the Jim Crow era. As southern Whites recaptured southern state governments in the late 19th century, they altered or eliminated the provisions calling for funding equality between Whites and Blacks as well as clauses explicitly forbidding or failing to embrace racially segregated schooling. In their place, the White "redeemers" as they were called created a legally mandated system of racial segregation and inequality, attended by an elaborate set of unwritten and customary practices of racially separate and unequal schooling. This system remained intact for the first seven decades of the 20th century, in spite of the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision that declared it unconstitutional in 1954.

Black Education During Legal Apartheid in the 20th Century: A Focus on the Work of African American Teachers

Coming out of Reconstruction (1865–1877) into the early 20th century, African Americans faced re-structured challenges under the period of Jim Crow. During this era of legal segregation, Black teachers played a significant role in the preparation of young people to engage with systemic racism. They carried out this work through the organization of curricula, liberatory pedagogical practices, and professional organizations of Black educators that advocated politically. Their work always existed as a counternarrative to the work to preserve White supremacy.

In 1919, Georgia educator Mildred Lewis Rutherford, a verbal advocate for restoring lost knowledge about the Confederacy, announced at a meeting of United Confederate Veterans that she would crusade for the "truth of history." She expressed her concern that 81 percent of White students studied from Georgia texts that did not elevate states' rights, including the right of secession; noted slavery as the rationale for the war between the states; focused on the cruelty of slaveholders; and elevated Lincoln. The Rutherford Committee's subsequent publication, *A Measuring Rod to Test Text Books*, became the guide she and other White women used to conform the Georgia curriculum into a way of allowing schools to become the conduit through which the wisdom of Jim Crow and restriction of Black opportunity could be perpetuated through the training of generations of White citizens (McRae, 2018). Collectively, they erased African American history from textbooks and crafted a celebratory American history, with "great leaders and great causes, thus producing proud patriotic [White] citizens" (McRae, 2018, p. 144).

Many historic texts assume that Rutherford and subsequent generations of efforts by White women to elevate White superiority through textbooks created reduced aspirations among Black educators and their students (Ferguson, 2002). Unfortunately, these characterizations fail to illuminate the power of the Black educator working in concert with their local, state, and national organizations and using their interconnected network to infiltrate the curriculum of Black schools. In at least four ways, Black education became a means through which the plans of Rutherford could be disrupted. These include the utilization of a counter-curricular strategy, the weaponizing of civics, the building of resilient students, and the modeling of civic activity.

One way that Black educators countered strategies to construct a history dominated by White glory and laudable values and victories was a counter-curricular strategy that infused Black history into the visual and invisible curriculum of Black schools. While Rutherford would not formally introduce her plan to elevate Whiteness in national memory until 1919, Black educators already understood the ways Blacks were diminished in the nation in the years after Reconstruction. As early as 1908, when race violence became particularly viral, they already understood the need to counter in schools the public representations of who Black children could be and how Black history appeared in schools (Givens, 2021; Walker, 2018). By 1915, Carter G. Woodson, a former educator of 30 years, had launched the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History. He used this organization and his presence in teacher association meetings to introduce Black educators widely to curricular materials that could be used to infuse Black culture into Black school communities (Givens, 2021).

Throughout the decades that followed, teachers countered the substandard and southern-perspective textbooks with a viable counter-curriculum for Black students that infused Black art, history, and culture in varied ways through many southern, segregated, Black schools (Walker, 2018). The educators utilized oratory contests and dramatic presentations to celebrate the poetry of Blacks, and they enthusiastically embraced Woodson's vision of Black history week as a yearly celebration of Black accomplishments (Givens, 2021; Walker, 2018). In addition to pedagogically countering the limited historical textbooks, the numerically-strong Black teacher organization in Georgia also fought directly against the lack of inclusion of Black accomplishments in the textbooks. It was an organizational fight for the inclusion of Blacks in textbooks that was echoed in other ways in other states across the South over decades (Walker, 2018).

However, in addition to crafting a counter-parallel plan of Black infusion to refute American's diminishment of their contributions and humanity, Black educators also intentionally weaponized civics education. This second plan coincided with the year Rutherford proclaimed her intent to reclaim the values of the Confederacy in textbooks. Her plan was rejoined indirectly by a Black educator also from Georgia, Lucy Laney, during the annual meeting of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1919. Laney proclaimed that Black educators had already been working to overthrow inequality. However, now they would begin a new strategy: "We are going to start anew in a way we know is going to be effective. We are going to start at the bottom with the children. We'll teach them history, vote, government" (Walker, 2018, p. 154). Laney also imagined a generational strategy, but a different one that would allow Black educators to appear to school boards to be fulfilling state mandates as they taught civics education. In reality, however, she was articulating an intent to lay a curricular foundation for resistance.

The ways educators embraced Laney's vision of using civics to create a generational strategy for resistance is evident in remaining materials from varied schools that exemplified engaged democratic activities in segregated schools. In 1924, when the first public high school for Black children since Reconstruction opened in the state of Georgia, Booker T. Washington High School, Principal Charles Harper began to teach lessons on political awareness. As the years progressed, he involved all students and the surrounding community in aggressive campaigning and electoral activities as students in the Independent and Progressive Parties fought for power and were rewarded

with office-taking during elaborate ceremonies in the courtyard in front of the school—complete with bands, banners, and flags for the winning party (Walker, 2018).

In the 1930s, the principal at Valena C. Jones School in New Orleans, Louisiana, organized her entire elementary school into a republic. Each classroom represented a state with elected officers that ranged from governor, lieutenant governor, treasurer, secretary of state, senators, judges, police officers, and so on. The students were required to develop parliamentary procedures, make rules, and pass resolutions for the good of the republic. A generation later, at Beach High School in Savannah, Georgia, the students created a plan to get everyone in the city registered to vote (Walker, 2018). In the 1960s, Principal Ulysses Byas crafted a plan to allow students to practice democracy through engagement in a student self-regulated democratic study hall. These select examples of activities encouraging segregated Black students to learn the principles of democracy appeared in numerous schools throughout the South (Walker, 2009, 2018).

Principal Byas explained the sentiment for the focus on civics set in motion by Laney. According to Byas, by creating a curriculum that taught students what America was supposed to be, the students would be able to learn that they were the victims of unfair American practices. He explained that people had to know someone did something to them, and that when people know that they are being harmed, the foundation is laid to become indignant. Ultimately, indignance at mistreatment would lead to change. The accuracy of Byas's 1960 summation about the role of civics in the Black schools is presciently captured in the *Atlanta Daily World* in 1932. Referring to the democratic practices the editors witnessed in the Booker T. Washington High School in Atlanta, the paper observed: "If the young of today are trained in the use of the ballot … these same young people … will not sit passively … and let themselves be barred from complete citizenship" (Walker, 2018, p. 4). In 1938, the paper foresaw the birth of a civil rights movement because of the curricular strategy utilized in Black schools.

In a third, equally significant strategy, Black educators built students who had the resilience to counter oppression. In English classes, teachers appropriated European poetry such as "If" or "Invectus" and insisted that Black children across the South memorize these and other poems with similar ideas. Lines such as "keeping [their] heads when all around them were losing [theirs] and blaming it on [them]" or being victimized by the "bludgeonings of chance" but having an "unconquerable soul" helped build students whose heads might later be "bloody, but unbowed" (Walker, 2018, pp. 155–156). As far as White school boards could discern, the teachers were teaching poetry. Yet, the teachers themselves reportedly gave messages to students that told them to make sure they were listening to the words. Put another way, as students memorized particular selected poems—importantly, the same poems across the South—the wording created a foundation to enable numbers of children across states to believe they could achieve in a segregated and oppressive world. Through the intentioned messaging in their literature, the teachers built resilient, self-efficacious students who would refuse to be daunted because of challenging circumstances (Walker, 1996, 2018).

The intentioned messaging also appeared in assemblies and widely-embraced Black teacher beliefs. Inside and outside classrooms, principals and teachers taught the students to aspire and to believe they could be anything they wanted to be, despite the truth that segregation confined their job opportunities (Walker, 2018). At assemblies, one principal reminded students that they needed to "love themselves" as Black people,

notwithstanding the negative images they encountered in White America (Walker, 2018, p. 153). He told them they were more than the Little Black Sambo character that the Julius Rosenwald Foundation, through its library fund, first put into Black schools, and that indeed the pharaohs of Egypt looked like him, like them. In his words and the many replications in the other mandatory assemblies that comprised part of the curricula of Black schools, teachers and principals intentionally prepared the students to have the confidence to create and live in a world the educators fully expected would one day be created. As one president of the teachers' organization explained at a teachers' meeting in 1944, the job of the Black educator was to prepare the children "for the world of tomorrow" (Walker, 2018, p. 153). Through verbal affirmations, the teachers repeatedly engaged this process of resilience-building.

A final form of citizenship activity might also be observed among Black educators in Black schools, although this activity is less visible to students in earlier decades. This aspect is one where the educators engage in and model democratic practices. Through their organizations, the educators lobbied state school boards, federal education agencies, presidents, and others as a way of forcing into public conversation the need to provide equality for Black schools. In the earliest decades of the formation of NAACP chapters, educators were among the people who launched these chapters. In the 1940s, some educators led citizenship groups to spur registration in the Black community. By the 1950s, their activities included encouraging Black educators to register to vote, taking students to register to vote, marching to protest inequality, and running for public office. Throughout, the educators used their classrooms and school assembly platforms to repetitively affirm students to believe they could become a part of America (Walker, 2018). Indeed, among the activities that led to the infamous Bloody Sunday in Selma was the marching of Black teachers, an activity some youth reported as having inspired their own engagement (Crosby, 2015).

Rutherford may have intended the continuation of Jim Crow and limited civic participation through her plan for textbooks, but throughout their years in segregated schools, Black educators engaged in counter-messaging designed to address directly the reductionist vision for Black children planned by Rutherford and many others. Their success can be measured by the students they produced—the Martin Luther King Jr.s and Thurgood Marshalls and Oliver Hills, Blacks smart enough to overthrow the system under which their educators labored. It can be measured by the multitude of southern Black children, educated in segregated schools, who one day did begin the process of resistance now referred to as the Civil Rights Movement (Favors, 2019). To suggest that Black people had no resilient response to the plans of Whites against them is to miss fully the work of Black educators in Black segregated schools.

Importantly, the counter-messaging or the different kind and quality of literacy and civic reasoning envisioned and practiced by African Americans in the Jim Crow era rested squarely on the choices their ancestors made during the antebellum and Reconstruction eras. The first generation of post-slavery Black educators was comprised of men and women who struggled successfully to become literate under the oppressive constraints of slavery (Williams, 2005). They carried into the post-slavery environment complex and complicated historical experiences learned over nearly 250 years of slavery. As Phillip D. Morgan (1998) documents, on the eve of the American Revolution, nearly three-quarters of all African Americans in mainland British America lived in the

Chesapeake and Low Country region. This regional concentration provided structural support for the creation of a distinctive African American culture and the intergenerational transmission of patterns of meaning and shared values within the constraints of a dominant slaveholder's culture. Folklorist Roger Abrahams characterized this subterranean process as two cultures living "cheek to jowl for a matter of centuries, entertaining each other, subtly imitating each other in selective ways, but never fully comprehending the extent and meaning of these differences" (Abrahams, 1992, p. xxiv). As for African Americans, over the centuries within shared spaces, they accumulated new historical experiences that they transformed into cultural practices, institutional arrangements, and alternative belief systems and through which they interpreted, arranged, and hammered out the meaning of education for their communities, even as they interacted with powerholders imposing severe constraints on them. Hence, it should come as no surprise that they emerged from slavery with a distinctive consciousness of literacy and long-standing conceptual models in which dominant values of literacy were borrowed, redefined, and transmuted into their own ideas of civil society. Within the walls of dominance and subordination, African Americans created and recreated a distinctive and resilient value system of education and civic reasoning.

In 1883, Richard R. Wright, principal of Augusta, Georgia's "Colored High School" (later renamed E.A. Ware High School), was sworn and examined by what is now the U.S. Senate Committee on Health, Education, Labor & Pensions. The Senate Committee toured southern states to collect evidence on the conditions of capital, labor, and education in support of the Blair Education Bill that proposed millions of dollars in support of primary and secondary education (Jenkins & Peck, forthcoming). Although the Bill never became law, the Committee collected volumes of information on labor, capital, social, education, and racial conditions in the southern states. Being the principal of the first and only public high school for Black students in the State of Georgia made Wright a prime educator to interrogate about race, education, and labor in the postwar South. Following a series of questions about "colored farm laborers and farmers" in the state of Georgia, the investigation shifted from issues of labor and education to a query by Senator Henry Blair regarding Wright's views on the "Race Question." Wright readily understood the inquiry as an interrogation of his views regarding the comparative superiority and inferiority of the Black and White "races." His response provides a window into the history and civics taught in Black schools (Blair, 1885). One can only imagine the Committee's (which included senators from Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, and Virginia) reaction to Wright's understanding of arguments about race, particularly presumptions of White supremacy. As he informed the committee:

> It is generally admitted that religion has been a great means of human development and progress, and I think that all the great religions which have blest this world have come from the colored races—all. In other words, what is called the Aryan race has not originated a single great religion. I believe, too, that our methods of alphabetic writing all came from the colored race, and I think the majority of the sciences in their origin have come from the colored races. (Blair, 1885, p. 813)

Realizing that he was speaking to an all-White committee that routinely extolled the supremacy of White civilizations, beginning with Egyptians, Wright expressed his belief in the Egyptians as a Hamitic or colored race:

> Now I take the testimony of those people who know, and who, I feel are capable of instructing me on this point, and I find them saying that the Egyptians were actually wooly-haired negroes. In Humboldt's *Cosmos* … you will find that testimony, and Humboldt, I presume, is a pretty good authority. The same is stated in Herodotus, and in a number of other authors with whom you gentlemen are doubtless familiar. Now if that is true, the idea that this negro race is inherently inferior seems to me to be at least a little limping. (Blair, 1885, p. 813)

The mere fight against teachings of Black inferiority compelled Black educators to resist both teachers and pedagogical content exalting White supremacy. W. H. Spencer, who spent 8 years as a teacher in public schools in Columbus, Georgia, objected to the employment of southern White teachers in Black public schools because they would teach White supremacy to Black children. Having taught in and observed schools that employed southern White teachers, Spencer observed that White teachers "would always teach [Black] children that they were inferior" (Blair, 1885, p. 580). Consequently, Spencer stressed the need for Black teachers and anti-racist White teachers.

Jelani M. Favors has documented this subterranean process ("second curriculum") in his long history of Black college student activism (Favors, 2019), and Vanessa Siddle Walker has done the same for Black public educators during the Jim Crow era (Walker, 2018). The "Hidden Heroes" of the Jim Crow era stood on the shoulders of the first post-slavery generation of African American educators. Although their definitive story is yet to be told, anecdotal testimony provides windows into the nature and content of their pedagogical beliefs and civic reasoning. The testimony of two prominent Black educators in the early 1880s gives a clue as to how they evolved education values of their own.

Thus, the campaign by Mildred Lewis Rutherford to foster a false narrative of Confederate honor and White supremacy echoed loudly the resistance and counter-curriculum activities that Black educators like Wright and Spencer waged during the Reconstruction and Gilded eras. From an outer gaze and a position of dominance, Jim Crow's champions failed to understand that White power was not the whole story, and not even the main story. For African American educators and students, the main story unfolded off-stage, beyond the direct observation and control of Jim Crow power-holders. This off-stage or second curriculum was produced and reproduced over generations, transmitting values and fundamental meanings that contradicted the teachings of White supremacy and undermined the constraints of Jim Crow power relations. Shaped and modified for each new epoch, African American subterranean culture, including its counter-curriculum, constantly evolved a resiliency and civic reasoning angled toward a democratic citizenship of freedom and equality. In vital respects, the counter-curriculum in Black culture is the most democratic value system in American history. It is no wonder that the products of this value system fed their ideological descendants, who continued the assault on systemic racism and social and economic inequality.

African American Efforts in the Post-*Brown* Era: Community Organizing and Social Movements

The particular nature of Black agency would necessarily change after the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision that declared legal segregation of K–12 schools by race unconstitutional. The change was slow, though. Southern states did not rush to

desegregate their schools and states outside the region were not bound by the deci-
sion, which meant racial segregation in schools continued there, too. Even when school
desegregation did occur, Black students often suffered. Though some contemporane-
ous scholars and federal reports absolved schools of responsibility and pointed to
Black communities and families as the root of Black underachievement (Coleman et
al., 1966; Mosteller and Moynihan, 1972), others indicted schools and school officials
for perpetuating White privilege and White supremacy (Clark, 1965; Hamilton, 1969).
More contemporary scholars make the same argument that schools deliberately stunt
Black educational and therefore civic potential. Black students encounter an alienating
curriculum and pedagogy that privileges White vantage points, a cultural disconnect
between school environments and Black students' social and cultural backgrounds, a
system of tracking that targets them for remedial or special education classes, and con-
tinued underfunding of predominantly Black schools (Horsford, 2011; Ladson-Billings,
1994, 1995; Lomotey, 1990).

An additional consequence of desegregation efforts that did occur was the massive
loss of Black teachers and administrators in desegregated schools (Hudson & Holmes,
1994; Picott, 1976) as well as closing of all Black schools (Cecelski, 1994). Anderson
(2006) offers a comprehensive overview of the political maneuverings behind this
decimation of the Black teaching force in the South post *Brown v. Board of Education*
and how these shifts in teachers, administrators, and all Black schools are entailed in
long-standing legal structures to constrain and redirect Black education. These shifts
in the teaching force matter for efforts in the community to use education as a tool for
empowering Black students to resist racism and develop the dispositions to use the
tools of citizenship to empower the African American community.

As has been previously discussed, Black communities never sat idly and allowed
Black children to be demoralized, demonized, and undereducated. The same held true
for the post-*Brown* era, and the effort to bolster the quality and relevance of educa-
tion for Black youth continues into the 21st century. Fed up with the large discrepancy
between expected results and actual achievements of Black children in desegregated
schools, Black communities and activists have taken several paths to deploy education
and schools as a means to make real the promises of the Constitution. Three of those
paths include forcing changes to existing schools, creating alternate formal schooling
options, and creating informal educational opportunities.

One way that Black educators in the post-*Brown* era sought to remake existing
schools was through the community control movement. As a thoroughly democratic
idea, community control allowed community residents to participate in policy making,
have more power over hiring and curricular decisions, and more fully link the school to
the community. Advocates argued that the inclusion of Black–centered materials, use of
students' backgrounds as a springboard for learning, incorporation of different perspec-
tives of reality into the classroom, and connection of education to real-life situations
and the community—all of which were lacking in White-controlled schools—boosted
students' self-esteem, feelings of belonging, and cultural pride. Such an education pro-
duced well-rounded and intelligent individuals ready to use their knowledge to initiate
social reform and improve the conditions of the communities from which they came.

The most famous community control effort took place in the predominantly Black
and Puerto Rican New York City neighborhood of Ocean Hill-Brownsville in 1968.

Parents and community members there took advantage of a new opportunity put forth by the New York City Board of Education that allowed residents to elect their own local school boards with power over curricular and personnel decisions. They moved quickly to infuse Black content in the curriculum and hire teachers who knew and valued Black and Puerto Rican children. They argued these and other changes would transform local schools into the kind of institutions that emphasized unity and collective responsibility and taught students "that you are a person, that you are of value, that you are of worth" (Perlstein, 2004, p. 127; see also Podair, 2002). Famed author and activist James Baldwin applauded the community control experiment as an antidote to what New York schools (and other White-controlled schools) regularly taught Black children:

> It is the school that makes vivid to the child his helpless inferiority. It does this by having no respect whatever for the child's experience.… The school assures him … that he deserves his condition.… When the school is finished with him … he is ready for the streets, the needle, the jail, the army, the garment center, ready to be used in nearly any way whatever. (Baldwin, 1974, pp. xi–xii)

The community control movement was larger than the Black community or New York City schools. Local activists across the country sought to de-bureaucratize the system and create smaller districts with increased community input. In many ways, their efforts echoed far older initiatives, some from even before public schools existed in any meaningful way, to allow parents and community members to determine how their children's schools would be run (see Jefferson Letter to Cabell, 1816). Though those initiatives focused on White parents and communities, 1960s Black activists commandeered and repurposed the argument for local control for their own ends in their battle to upend White supremacy and instill in students cultural pride and civic principles and sensibilities.

The same spirit of remaking existing schools in the image of their local communities— as well as accurately representing the breadth of the American populace—can be found in the battles over curriculum and pedagogy in today's schools. There, Black educators (and allies) leverage their demands for Black representation with a desire to increase the educational and life chances of other minoritized groups. While their educator ancestors needed to create (sometimes surreptitiously) a counter-curriculum for segregated Black schools, today's educators devise curricular innovations for children in *all* American schools. For instance, they have advanced the notion of multicultural education, which is defined by Banks and Banks (2004) as "an idea, an educational reform movement, and a process whose major goal is to change the structure of educational institutions so that male and female students, exceptional students, and students who are members of diverse racial, ethnic, language, and cultural groups will have an equal chance to achieve academically in school" (p. 1). Similarly, advocates of culturally responsive pedagogy or culturally sustaining pedagogy argue that schools should be places that either connect learning to students' cultural knowledge and lived experiences (Gay, 2000; Ladson-Billings, 1994, 1995) or as sites that "perpetuate and foster—*to sustain*—linguistic, literate, and cultural pluralism as part of the democratic project of schooling and as a needed response to demographic and social change" (Paris & Alim, 2014, p. 88, 2017). The demands and guiding principles of Black Lives Matter activists fit here, as well (Black Lives Matter, n.d.).

These curricular and pedagogical efforts, like those of their Black educator ancestors, seek to transform existing schools into spaces that promote social transformation, justice, and human dignity and are explicit manifestations of how Blacks deployed schools to instill in students civic reasoning toward a democratic citizenship and equality.

A second way Black communities have modified and evolved their tactics to achieve the educational and civic potential of Black youth in the post-*Brown* era is through the creation of alternate formal schooling options. Like W. E. B. Du Bois before them, they do not fall for the trap of equating *segregated* schools with *separate* schools. As Du Bois declared in 1935,

> separate schools for Black youth are needed just so far as they are necessary for the proper education of the Negro race. The proper education of any people includes sympathetic touch between teacher and pupil; knowledge on the part of the teacher, not simply of the individual taught, but of his surroundings and background, and the history of his class and group; such contact between pupils, and between teacher and pupil, on the basis of perfect social equality, as will increase this sympathy and knowledge. If this is true, and if we recognize the present attitude of white America toward black America, then the Negro not only needs the vast majority of these schools, but it is a grave question if, in the near future, he will not need more such schools. (Du Bois, 1935, p. 328)

Black independent schools were born from this impetus (Ratteray, 1992; Rickford, 2016; Shujaa, 1994). Many African American parents come to the conclusion that mainstream schools fail to provide their children with an education that prepares them to be productive citizens able to face the challenges of an increasingly technological and global society. With the centering of Black knowledge systems, cultures, and histories, the expectation is that children will be encouraged to understand themselves as a part of the African Diaspora, important contributors to the progress of the human race, and agents in social reform equipped to uplift and strengthen the Black community (Asante, 1987, 1991; Karenga, 1993).

The African-centered educational movement was a major community-based effort from the 1970s forward (Lomotey & Brookins, 1988; Shujaa, 1994). The Council of Independent Black Institutions was founded in 1972 and served as the organizational umbrella for independent African centered schools in cities across the country—including Atlanta, Chicago, Los Angeles, New York, Philadelphia, and Washington, DC, among others. These schools in many ways were a natural outgrowth of efforts in the Black community to affirm education as a tool for community empowerment through developing students with a strong sense of identity, rooted in a comprehensive understanding of African and African diaspora history and culture (Bethune, 1939; Bond, 1935). These efforts were directly influenced by the work of scholars and activists like Arthur Schomburg who, with John Edward Bruce, established the Negro Society for Historical Research in 1911, an organization connected to efforts leading to the establishment of the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture in 1926 in New York City; and Carter G. Woodson, who established the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History in 1915, wrote the prophetic volume *The Mis-education of the Negro* in 1933, and whose work and advocacy inspired what has become Black History Month in February of each year. Similar attention to a shared Black culture rooted in African traditions was also

reflected in the arts in movements such as the Harlem Renaissance during the 1930s and 1940s and again in the Black Arts Movement of the 1960s and 1970s.

It should be further noted that there is parallel focus in the fields of Black psychology and human development on immersion in the study of African, African diaspora, and African American history and culture, especially as principles derived from such studies are embodied in pedagogical practices and contribute both to a positive sense of identity as well as positive academic outcomes (American Psychological Association Task Force on Resilience and Strength in Black Children and Adolescents, 2008; Bowman & Howard, 1985; Boykin & Bailey, 2000; Chavous, 2000; Hale-Benson, 1986; Sellers et al., 1998; Spencer et al., 2003). Among the two oldest schools in this tradition still operating are the New Concept School of the Institute of Positive Education (established in 1972) and the Betty Shabazz International Charter Schools (established in 1998), both in Chicago (Lee, 1994). While many of these Afrocentric schools started as independent, some are currently serving as either charter schools or public schools. These schools serve as exemplars of community-centered schools in the Black community established to build a strong sense of community and agency to prepare new generations of young people who understand the need for and urgency of being active in civic life in order to address inequities experienced by peoples of African descent in the United States.

Advocates of Afrocentric schools, a subset of Black independent schools, argue that it is valuable in all K–12 subjects, not just the arts or humanities where such content is often relegated. Carol Lee (1994), for example, describes how, at the New Concept School, students working through a unit on aeronautics built a model wind tunnel and studied air pressure, air lift, and the nature of aerodynamics while researching the story of the Tuskegee Airmen. Those studying architecture tested the strength of certain shapes in construction as well as the Egyptian pyramids.

Another, though now defunct, example of an Afrocentric educational model is the set of schools created by the Black Panther Party. As the fifth point in its Ten-Point Program, the Panthers proposed "an education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in present-day society. We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else" (quoted in Heath, 1976, p. 249). The Panthers' vision was most fully realized in their Oakland Community School (OCS), a model for Afrocentric schools operated by Panthers and others across the country that was operational from 1971 to 1982. It ran year-round and educated hundreds of students in its lifetime. The school implemented (to varying degrees) pedagogically progressive ideas with an Afrocentric twist. The mission of the school shifted over time but was always anchored in serving the local community and equipping Black youth with the mindset, skills, and knowledge they needed to succeed (Brown, 1992; see also Huggins & LeBlanc-Ernest, 2009). The school drew recognition from Black community members, lawmakers, and an assemblyman for its efforts. In 1977, California Governor Edmund "Jerry" Brown issued OCS a commendation for its high quality work (Brown, 1992).

Boarding schools and homeschooling are additional examples of alternative formal schooling options. For instance, The Piney Woods School in rural Mississippi is an

independent coeducational boarding school that focuses on the education of Black students from the United States and abroad. It embodies what Akoto (1992) found to be the case at other historically Black boarding schools: that their attention to cognitive development, the cultural orientations of the child, and social and emotional maturation create lasting positive impacts on students (see also Alexander-Snow, 2011). Some parents turn to homeschooling for similar reasons. According to Puga (2019), homeschooling parents even consider their decision to be an act of protest against the racism and alienation their children experienced in formal schooling contexts (see also Mazama, 2015; Mazama & Lundy, 2012).

A third way the Black community has sought to improve the educational conditions and outcomes for Black youth in the post-*Brown* era is the creation of informal educational spaces. The most famous example of informal education as empowerment, resistance, and politicization was the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee's Freedom Schools in Mississippi in summer 1964. The Freedom Schools blended the teaching of traditional academic subjects and what they called a "Citizenship Curriculum" with the explicit purpose of "train[ing] people to be active agents in bringing about social change" (Mississippi Freedom School Curriculum–1964, 1964/1991, p. 9). Charles Cobb, an architect of the schools, argued, "If we are concerned with breaking the power structure, then we have to be concerned with building up our own institutions to replace the old, unjust, decadent ones which make up the existing power structure" (Cobb, 1963/1991, p. 36). Students, then, were expected to use their newfound knowledge to force changes in their formal schools and work for racial equity inside and outside the classroom.

Evidence indicates that students did, in fact, use their knowledge to challenge Mississippi power structures. Students at one Freedom School wrote their own version of the Declaration of Independence and argued, "In the course of human events, it has become necessary for the Negro people to break away from the customs which have made it very difficult for the Negro to get his God-given rights.… We do hereby declare independence from the unjust laws of Mississippi which conflict with the United States Constitution" (Freedom School Students of St. John's Methodist Church, Palmer's Crossing, Hattiesburg, Mississippi, 1964/1991, p. 35). Others expanded legal protections for school-aged youth by challenging the prohibition against wearing "freedom buttons" on school grounds (*Blackwell v. Issaquena Board of Education*, 1966; *Burnside v. Byars*, 1966). Still others reflected back on their time in a Freedom School as an inspiration for future activism. As former student Eddie James Carthan put it, "The Freedom Schools shaped my future, my thinking, my outlook on life, they challenged me to do the things I've done and to have the mindset that I have. If I had to attribute anything to my community involvement, I would attribute it to my attending the Freedom School" (Hale, 2016, p. 1). Lastly, the Children's Defense Fund continues the tradition of Freedom Schools though summer literacy and cultural enrichment programming (Children's Defense Fund, n.d.).

Another example are rites of passage programs for Black youth, which focus on the aspects of a child's development and learning that occur outside any formal schooling context. The purpose of such programs, according to Warfield-Coppock (1992, p. 472), is "instilling a strong, positive sense of self and achievement in African American youth and returning a sense of empowerment to African American families

and communities." Black youth engage in a set of activities or celebrations that mark the transition from one stage of life to another but also bond them together, integrate them into the wider Black community, and reinforce cultural traditions. For instance, the Brotherhood/Sister Sol's Rite of Passage Program, in New York City, offers weekly sessions that encourage critical thinking skills, leadership development, global awareness, and community responsibility for Black and Latinx youth (The Brotherhood/Sister Sol, n.d.). Those that complete the program create an "Oath of Dedication" and assume additional leadership roles in the organization.

Conclusion

Black community efforts, whether before or after *Brown*, that link education to the creation of the good and just society are the ideological descendants of ancestors like the abolitionist and author Frederick Douglass. After being told by his enslaver that learning would "forever unfit him to be a slave," he remembered, "from that moment, I understood the pathway from slavery to freedom" (Douglass, 1845/1988, pp. 58, 59). Douglass understood the benefits of education beyond his own literal personal freedom. As he told a group of Black students in 1894, "Education … means emancipation. It means light and liberty. It means the uplifting the soul of man into the glorious light of truth, the light only by which man can be free. To deny education to any people is one of the greatest crimes against human nature" (Douglass, 1894, p. 12). It is this pursuit of light, truth, and emancipation that has propelled Black communities in their battle to remake schools or in their creation of alternative spaces, and it is this pursuit that can propel American education—and democracy—forward.

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HISTORICIZING LATINX CIVIC AGENCY AND CONTEMPORARY LIVED CIVICS

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We bring to this discussion of civic action among Latinx populations in the United States an expanded notion of agency and resilience and a reframing of civics as a form of lived Latinx civics (Cohen et al., 2018; de los Ríos & Molina, 2020). Here, we use resilience not to talk about individuals but instead locate resilience in larger sociocultural systems (e.g., families, communities, institutions, and organizations). This notion of resilience focuses on groups of people developing and employing agentic practices, both with ingenuity and in ways that amplify culture. In particular, we focus on ecological resilience in which diversity is not a deficit but an essential resource of any resilient and sustainable ecology across longer time scales and institutions (Gutiérrez, 2016). While the focus of this section is on Latinx peoples in the United States, we are mindful of the shared histories of legal, social, and educational inequities Latinx communities have endured, as well as the significant variance experienced by Latinx peoples. By situating the histories of resistance and agency in their particular geographical, historical, local, linguistic, and sociopolitical specificities, we hope to call attention to the forms of exclusion from civics and citizenship experienced by Americans of Mexican and Puerto Rican origin.[3] These forms of exclusion were explicitly designed (in codified law and in lived practices) to limit access to social and educational institutions, as well as political, cultural, and economic life.

We engage in this conversation about Latinx civics mindful of the critiques against the term "Latinx." The term is meant to bring under an umbrella category different communities from distinct nations and racial backgrounds that have to some extent a shared colonial past and linguistic history such that they can be grouped for political purposes. However, in an effort to create a unifying term, several racial nuances are ignored, flattening out differences and histories that matter. For example, some argue that "Latinx" centers Spanish/European ancestry, marginalizing Indigeneity, and ignoring African roots (Banks, 2006; Bost, 2003; Santiago, 2019a). The term also does not take into account differences between Latin American nations and does not include the Caribbean, nor does it consider the distinct immigration experiences that

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[3] We focus on the experiences of communities of Mexican and Puerto Rican origin, as these are the two cultural communities for which there is the most literature, but recognize the shared history of experiences across a more pan-Latinx analysis. There are limited documented histories of central and southern American origin communities in the United States.

are intertwined with colonialism (Salazar, 2019). Puerto Ricans, for example, are U.S. citizens because Puerto Rico is a territory of the United States. Yet, Puerto Ricans are misidentified as Latinx immigrants from other nations (Doubek & Campbell, 2018). It is within this context that we discuss Latinx civics, fraught with complexities regarding race/ethnicity, nationality, citizenship, and language.

Of relevance to this section, we consider the consequences of this homogenization on addressing documented accounts of Afro-Latinx civic agency. Latinx are racially diverse and it is this racial ambiguity and constantly changing relationship to immigration and language that U.S. political and social structures have used to disenfranchise Latinx communities (Santiago, 2019b). As a result, Latinx communities have developed various forms of resistance practices in response to the shifting labels imposed on them and their attendant forms of oppression. Some of these histories have been more well-documented than others.

For example, while there is a well-known history of civic activism in Afro-Latinx communities, there are few academic accounts recorded before the 1970s, as racializing practices categorize Afro-Latinx peoples as either Black or Latinx. As a result, documented Afro-Latinx civic agency before the 1970s is difficult to find despite their rich histories of activism. Such dichotomous forms of racialization relegate their presence as historical actors to one group, thus erasing their complex racial experiences and unique historical contributions as Afro-Latinx people. The few documented events of Afro-Latinx resistance surfaced in the late 1960s when many Puerto Ricans embraced an identity rooted in the African diaspora and Blackness. Black nationalism helped inform and develop these identities (Torres & Velázquez, 1998). However, the documented Black Puerto Rican experiences are not representative of other Afro-Latinx, such as Afro-Colombianx or Afro-Cubanx. Thus, it is challenging to discuss Afro-Latinx contributions when social and historical structures have obscured their identities and experiences. We note this history, as it is important to discuss shared civic engagement and histories of U.S. Latinx people without promoting reductive notions of what it means to be Latinx.

At the same time, where there is oppression, there is resistance and rich forms of learning and cultural and civic life, in which civics are appropriated in the home and community's cultural practices. These are also intergenerational forms of learning in which agentic and resistance practices are situated in cultural and sociopolitical practices. Here, we draw on a transformative understanding of agency generally defined as "breaking away from the given frame of action and taking the initiative to transform it" (Virkkunen, 2006, p. 49), while moving from "independently acting individuals into a collective subject of sustained transformation effort" (Virkkunen, 2006, p. 43). Our theoretical and empirical work on agency focuses on people becoming historical actors in which people negotiate everyday dilemmas and push against the intentions of systems and their designers (Gutiérrez, 2020). As we will discuss, historical actors repurpose tools, such as the law, toward new ends, and to resist local and historical sociopolitical inequities (Gutiérrez et al., 2019). For example, one such response, as detailed below, involved engaging with the legal system, the development of new forms of schooling that privileged educational dignity, and engagement in intergenerational linguistic, cultural, and civic practices in the home and community to make possible new forms of participation across institutions in which one's full humanity could be

realized. Such analyses necessarily require explicating the fundamental notion of what counts as citizenship, civics, agency, and resilience.

The Disconnect Between Latinidad and School Civics

Civics education in K–12 classrooms tends to focus on themes related to patriotism, government, and laws. This common pedagogical approach is a reflection of how state social studies content standards privilege narrow ideas about what counts as civics and citizenship. Social studies education researchers have acknowledged these limitations and instead emphasize the need for pedagogical approaches that consider greater complexity of what counts as civic agency (Jaffee, 2016; Salinas & Alarcón, 2016; Salinas et al., 2016; Torney-Purta et al., 2007). Researchers have proposed a number of strategies toward this end. For example, classroom simulations may help empower students of color to engage in political processes (Lo, 2017). Action research positions students as civic agents who research a community problem and develop and implement action plans (Levinson, 2015). These pedagogical approaches, although promising, do not directly address the civic divide between schools and home. For example, some Latinx translingual youths—those who draw from multiple languages, symbol systems, and modalities of communications from their unitary semiotic repertoire (Canagarajah, 2013; García & Wei, 2014)—deploy Spanish as a civic tool. Many Latinx students regularly translanguage—move fluidly across their "named languages" (Otheguy et al., 2015)—as they attain, sharpen, and share political and civic information. While not all Latinx youth identify as bi/multilingual, even Latinx students who identify as monolingual often have their language practices marked and sorted (Brooks, 2019; Flores et al., 2015) based on how their bodies are racialized in classrooms (Flores & Rosa, 2015).

School's narrow understanding of language has supported racialized "common sense" notions of "Standard English" as the primary medium through which civic education can be taught and engaged (Haney-López, 2003). As Luis Moll (1998, p. 8) has argued, "The most common strategy in education … is simply to accommodate the status quo, without addressing the receiving context or taking into account the diversity of the children in the schools." Historically, the ideals of U.S. citizenship and what counts as civically-informed people converge around ideas of a White Anglo-Saxon nation of English-dominant speakers who embody middle-class markers. Thus, the language practices of many Latinx bi/multilingual students and their families and the everyday cultural practices of which they are a part are often not recognized or viewed as a rich resource for learning civics (Salinas et al., 2016). However, the socializing mechanisms of schooling have helped to sustain notions of the "ideal civic participant" as an English-speaking citizen engaged in a particular set of civic practices that do not always index the civic dispositions, discourses, and linguistic identities of Latinx youth.

We push back on social science research that argues that Latinx families are the least likely to participate in political activism (Bloemraad et al., 2011; Martinez, 2005). Employing a "lived civics" framework, we delineate the savvy ways that Latinx youth and families indeed have done and continue to "do" politics across modes and languages. We expand Cohen et al.'s (2018) concept of "lived civics" as it provides fecund soil for thinking about the community-based literacies through which Latinx youth explore issues of related concern, contest racialized narratives, and resist oppressive

legislation and practices in their communities. A lived civics framework sees students' lived experiences as the critical starting point to explore and interrogate inequality and applicable methods for social change. School-based civics content delivery frequently engages current event discussions, simulations of democratic processes, and service learning projects often steeped in White middle-class norms (Mirra & Garcia, 2017; Rubin, 2012; Salinas et al., 2016; Vickery, 2015). These approaches, however, too often fail to explicitly address the interests, racialized and linguistic identities (Jaffee, 2016; Salinas & Alarcón, 2016), and lived experiences of Latinx youth, "whose perspectives on the state and democratic processes are often dramatically different than so-called mainstream attitudes" (Cohen et al., 2018, p. 2). This section builds on these approaches that conceptualize meaningful civic learning experiences as those that connect deeply to the racialized and linguistic identities and lived cultural experiences of historically marginalized Latinx youth (de los Ríos & Molina, 2020). Such approaches are attuned to the increasingly consequential and complex ways that advanced technologies intersect with issues of race, power, immigration, language, literacies, and historical and contemporary in/equity.

In the following sections, we first historicize and exemplify civic agency across three salient approaches taken up by Latinx communities: (1) a legal case that centered youth and community lived experiences, (2) alternative education spaces that prioritized Mexican identity and culture, and (3) community organizing that engaged in confrontational actions modeled after Black power movements. We then situate contemporary forms of lived civics across Latinx communities and showcase several of the agentic practices through which Latinx youth and families continue to participate in their historical and current struggle for self-determination and civil and educational rights and dignity as they advocate for their well-being. As argued here, activism and resistance have always been central to the social fabric of Latinx communities' livelihoods, identities, and lived practices. The aim here is for this discussion of the lived civics of Latinx communities to further research on Latinx civics and provide the field with more expansive and situated understandings of Latinx communities' agentic and resistance practices that advocate for a new kind of civics for social and structural change.

Historicizing Latinx Civics

Legal Advocacy: Francisco Maestas et al. v. George H. Shone et al. *in Alamosa, Colorado (1912–1914)*

Francisco Maestas et al. v. George H. Shone et al. is one of the first documented legal challenges to Mexican-origin school segregation. As in other school districts, Alamosa, Colorado, had no school segregation laws on the books against Mexican-origin children. Up to this point, it was customary for Mexican-origin children to attend White schools. However, in 1910 the new school district policy required Mexican-origin children to attend "Mexican schools" to segregate them from White children (Donato et al., 2017).

In response, community members formed the Spanish American Union to challenge the segregation order. Whereas other challenges to Mexican school segregation relied on support from the Mexican consulate (Donato & Hanson, 2017), the Alamosa community came together to mobilize through a multi-pronged approach. Initially, parents

met with school officials and made their grievances known via local newspapers to no avail (Donato et al., 2017). When this proved unproductive, the community led one of the first school boycotts rather than to send their children to the "Mexican school."[4]

Unlike other cases—such as *Mendez v. Westminster* and *Gonzales v. Sheely* (Valencia, 2005)—that would follow *Maestas*, the Maestas et al. attorney did not apply the "other White" legal strategy, which claimed that Mexican-origin children were White and therefore should have access to White schools. Instead, the Maestas et al. attorney "used the Colorado State Constitution to challenge segregation because it was illegal for schools to distinguish and classify children in public schools according to color or race" (Donato et al., 2017, p. 4). Rather, it was the school district attorney who argued that Mexican-origin children were White, and, as such, could not be racially segregated.

The racial dodging made language (instead of ethnicity) a key aspect of the court trial. School district officials and their attorney argued that Mexican-origin children lacked English proficiency to attend White schools. Attending segregated schools would allegedly offer Mexican-origin children a more supportive environment where they could learn English (Donato et al., 2017). The plaintiffs challenged deficit ideas about bilingualism, specifically that Mexican-origin children could not speak English, when in fact they could. The Spanish language became a proxy for racial segregation, one that was repeated in other regions of the country (Saenz, 2004). The language argument was one of many legal loopholes (Santiago, 2019c) along with claiming that Mexican-origin children were racially Black (Donato & Hanson, 2017) or Indigenous (Madrid, 2008) that was enacted in various parts of the country.

Alternative Education Spaces

Colegio Altamirano in Hebbronville, Texas (1897–1958)

With either poor or no schooling facilities, Mexican-origin families sought to create an educational space for their children where one did not exist. These informal and formal learning spaces became known throughout Texas as escuelitas (Barrera, 2006). Escuelitas were community initiated, funded, and controlled (Goetz, 2020), which gave parents and other community members the opportunity to develop their own curriculum—one grounded in Mexican culture, identity, philosophy, and Spanish language.

Colegio Altamirano was one of the longest running escuelitas to offer such an education to Mexican-origin children in Texas. Initially funded through middle class Tejanos and later continued with mutualista (Mexican-origin community-based mutual aid groups) support, school organizers sought out well-educated teachers and resources for their students (Goetz, 2020). The school was named after Mexican philosopher Ignacio Manuel Altamirano (Barrera, 2006), an Indigena Mexican nationalist novelist and philosopher (Rulfo, 2014), whose name is reflective of the values and philosophy that the school, its educators, and students hoped to espouse. "The escuelita's goals were also to 'prepare every Mexican child with the knowledge of their mother tongue to facilitate the learning of the English language.' A bicultural existence was essential in the new social order" (Salinas, 2001, p. 84).

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[4] The first Mexican-origin led school boycott took place only 2 years earlier in San Angelo, Texas (De León, 2015).

Spanish was the primary vehicle for retaining Mexican nationalist identity, culture, and ideals. Tejano families in Hebbronville did not see preparing their children to participate in the United States and retaining Mexican identity as dichotomous; in other words, lived civics was multicultural and multilingual where their Mexican origins supported them to excel (Mireles, 2006). Many escuelitas relied heavily on Spanish-language newspapers in part because of the limited financial resources to purchase textbooks (Goetz, 2020). This meant that children enrolled in escuelitas read about such topics as the Mexican Revolution (1910–1920), el Partido Liberal Mexicano's struggle for political and economic freedom, labor organizing, separation of church and state, and the need for free press and speech. As a result, escuelitas became a unique space that invested in preparing children to become active civic agents in the United States, but one founded on Mexican Revolutionary ideals.

Alternative Mexican Schools in Chicago (1910–1940)

During this same time period 1,400 miles away, Mexican-origin families were leading similar alternative Mexican schools in Chicago. As early as 1910, families and community members relied on their networks with supporters of the Mexican Revolution to create community-led educational programs. Fearing a "demexicanization" process that students were encountering in schools, these alternative education spaces were meant to supplement a U.S. education system that dismissed and devalued Mexican culture and knowledge (Rios, forthcoming).

Similar to Colegio Altamirano, the Chicago alternative schools relied on a form of transnational pedagogy. Whereas Hebbronville families relied on their proximity to Tamaulipas, Mexico, to access curricular resources in Spanish and hire Mexican teachers, Chicago community members took a different approach. In this case, many of these alternative schools were framed around a 1920s nationalist identity and philosophy that permeated during and after the Mexican Revolution (Rios Perez, forthcoming).

Like in *Maestas* and Colegio Altamirano, Mexican-origin families in Chicago recognized that English was the language of power in the United States. Hispanos, Tejanos, and Midwestern Mexican-origin families understood that English was necessary to navigate in the United States; "language functioned as a signifier for power, and the escuelitas operated as a vehicle for communities to negotiate" (Goetz, 2020, p. 3). Although English was the necessary language, Spanish was the language of resistance. Speaking Spanish in a space where it was actively discouraged challenged negative stereotypes of Spanish and bilingualism. It also defied the notion that civic identity in the United States was exclusively tied to English, White identity, and culture.

Escuelitas in Texas and the various alternative schools in Chicago were part of coordinated efforts to retain Mexican identity in direct defiance of Americanization. The schools' sustainability across different geographic locations and time scales, and their grounding in revolutionary ideology, were more than happenstance. Efforts to resist Americanization and center Latinx cultural practices continued long after escuelitas and alternative schools closed their doors. Huelga (strike) schools in Houston (as part of an effort to boycott Houston Independent School District in the early 1970s), Escuela Tlatelolco in Denver (1971–2017), and the current Academia Cuauhtli in Austin, Texas, are all a part of a 100-year legacy of Mexican-origin resistance against narrow ideas of

who and how one is considered a civic agent in the United States. "Escuelita history from the late 19th century to the mid-20th century provides us not only with an origin story for Mexican American studies but also with the paradoxical understanding that a decolonized space in the margins can also be a liberating force in the center" (Goetz, 2020, p. 168).

Shortly after the end of Colegio Altamirano and other alternative education systems, the Black and Brown power movements emerged. While previous forms of Latinx resistance in the Southwest, for example, centered around Mexican nationalism, Black and Brown movements of the 1960s and 1970s, although distinct in a number of important ways, were both grounded in revolutionary philosophies and advocated self-liberation and self-determination (Farmer, 2017; Muñoz, 2007). Similar to the generations of activists before them, the Young Lords, Brown Berets, and other youth organizations across various Latinx communities centered their activism in their cultural identities. Puerto Rican youth emphasized their Blackness and saw themselves as part of a Black diaspora, whereas Chicanx youth claimed indigeneity (San Miguel, 2005; Torres & Velázquez, 1998). In the Southwest, the Chicanx movement was exemplified through resistance practices such as the 1968 student walkouts (Bernal, 1998; Muñoz, 2007). What remained constant across generations was Chicanx youth's demand for access to a quality education that centered their histories and cultural identities (García & Castro, 2011; Gutiérrez, 1998).

Community Organizing

Preserving household and community culture, including their histories and home language, was a common goal across many Latinx communities. Puerto Rican-origin families, like Mexican-origin families in Texas and Chicago, organized after school programming to challenge Americanization efforts (Sánchez-Korrol, 1996). Although both groups made similar demands, Puerto Rican-origin families took a distinct approach. Parents and families in New York, for example, took the lead in demanding transformative change through community organizing. Unlike the previous examples of legal challenges and the formation of alternative schools, Puerto Rican-origin families in New York did not try to gain access to existing schools or create new spaces for education. Instead, New York parents sought out to create leadership positions for themselves and youth in existing schools and community. Afro-Latinas were pivotal in leading some of these major efforts.

ASPIRA (1961–Present)

Schools have often been sites of contestation for Puerto Rican and Mexican-origin families and thus served as the impetus for these communities to create alternative spaces that supported the development and maintenance of rich cultural practices and future community leaders. Antonia Pantoja—an Afro Puertorriqueña—held such a vision that led to the development of ASPIRA, a Puerto Rican advocacy organization (Pantoja, 2002). Although she believed her work as ASPIRA's director to be her most important accomplishment, Pantoja, a well-established community organizer and social worker, also helped create the Hispanic Young Adult Association (later the

Puerto Rican Association for Community Affairs), and the Puerto Rican Forum, which in addition to ASPIRA became the contexts for Puerto-Rican civics learning and action (Pantoja, 2002). Of relevance to the focus of this section, ASPIRA's multigenerational and cultural approach embodied the tenets of a lived civics.

ASPIRA was more than a service agency for Puerto Ricans; it sought to create a youth-led movement. Through local high school-based ASPIRA clubs, the organization helped aspirantes develop "positive identification with their community" (Pantoja, 2002, p. 100), with the purpose of identifying and addressing community issues. As was the case with Mexican-origin alternative schools, ASPIRA sought to instill in ASPIRA youth (aspirantes) a sense of agency grounded in Puerto Rican identity. As Nieto (2018) has noted, the organization was "dedicated to teaching young people about their culture, history, and reality" (p. 8), as learning about and developing a strong connection to their Puerto Rican origins helped prepare aspirantes to advocate for Puerto Ricans as youth and later in life as adults. Successful aspirante-led efforts included protesting the City University of New York's entrance requirements, which made it difficult for many Puerto Rican youth to attend available post-secondary institutions (Pantoja, 2002). ASPIRA's 60-year history of multigenerational activist engagement has given rise to and supported meaningful youth-led movements.

Community-Controlled Schools in New York (1966)

While ASPIRA gained significant local and national prominence, other Puerto Rican organizations also engaged communities in a range of agentic civics practices. After years of attempting to work with district officials to improve schooling conditions for their children, African American and Puerto Rican parents turned to grassroots efforts. United Bronx Parents—led by Evelina López Antonetty, an Afro Puertorriqueña—shifted their strategy from seeking partnership with schools to employing more confrontational political methods—practices more aligned with those of the Black power movement (Lee, 2014). The tension between the school district and community members came to a head in 1966, when African American and Puerto Rican parents successfully boycotted I.S. 201 in Harlem in an effort to gain community control of the school after the Board of Education ruled that I.S. 201 "would be integrated because it would be half black and half Puerto Rican" (Lee, 2014, p. 173). As with Mexican Americans in Houston 4 years later (San Miguel, 2005), school officials exploited Puerto Ricans racial complexity, categorizing Puerto Rican students as White to abide by school integration policies while still denying students access to White schools—thus, ensuring the continuation of segregation and White supremacist actions.

The result of the community control effort was a community-elected governing board that oversaw three decentralized school districts (Pritchett, 2002). Similar to las escuelitas in Texas and alternative schools in Chicago, Puerto Rican community members hired Puerto Rican teachers and centered Puerto Rican culture, but this time also privileged Black culture and history. The resulting "culturally nationalist pedagogy" (Lee, 2014, p. 169) was grounded in Puerto Rican and Spanish speaking identity as the "basis for their political empowerment" (Lee, 2014, p. 2). As with the Mexican-origin resistance practices, Puerto Rican community members emphasized the importance of their children learning English to function and advocate for themselves in the United

States, but not at the expense of Spanish. This activism would eventually lead to the establishment of P.S. 25, the first bilingual school in the Northeast, which continues to operate a bilingual program today (Lee, 2014). This emphasis on bilingualism led to greater advocacy for bilingual education for Puerto Rican students, including the 1974 ASPIRA Consent Decree that established bilingual education in New York City public schools (Santiago, 1986).

In this section, we have historically situated the resilience and agentic resistance practices of various Latinx communities in asserting their right to participate fully in civic life with their identities, cultural histories, and aspirations intact. Through the centering of Latinx cultural practices, parents and community members leveraged with intentionality Latinx history, culture, and home language to support the development of children's agentic practices.

"Lived Civics":
The Ingenuity of Latinx Youth Cultural Practices of Political Participation

The past two decades have been replete with grassroots movements composed of Latinx, immigrant-origin, and other youth of color working to dismantle racial and systemic inequality. Increasing cruelty enacted against Latinx families through legislation—including detention and family separation of asylum seekers, anti-sanctuary city policies, termination of Temporary Protected Status, and efforts to rescind Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) protections—coupled with aggressive anti-immigrant rhetoric have served as fertile grounds for Latinx communities to respond agentively and hone youths' critical literacies to name their worlds (Ayon, 2016; de los Ríos, 2019; de los Ríos & Molina, 2020; Pallares, 2014; Terriquez et al., 2018; Zepeda-Millán & Wallace, 2018). Scholars argue that Latinx family discussions in the home about these experiences of marginalization can foster a sense of collective responsibility to elicit social change (Wallace & Zepeda-Millán, 2020). Toward that end, there has been an expansion in creative lived political action among Latinx young people and families.

One prominent example is the rise of young Latina girls in Texas employing "activist quinceañeras," in which they leverage their cultural rite of passage practice of "quinceañeras" (sweet 15 birthday parties) as a site for mass voter registration for their families, friends, and greater neighborhood (Pinetta et al., 2020). These young women and their families often work in partnership with youth advocacy groups like "Jolt Initiative" who oversee and run the voter registration logistics for their predominantly Latinx guests at their quinceañeras (Gamboa, 2019). This practice has become a prominent act of resistance and has spread across Latinx youth communities around the nation. Latinx youth movements for justice are drawing from a number of innovative civic strategies, like "activist quinceañeras," to bring awareness to their communities' intergenerational concerns and often do so through "communal actions" (Wray-Lake et al., 2018). In this next section, we briefly highlight other recent and notable ways that Latinx youth and families are leveraging their ingenuity for political participation in their grassroots communities.

Youth-Led Immigrant Rights Movement: DREAMers and Anti-Deportation Techniques

Undocumented immigrant youth and their allies have been leading one of the most vibrant, creative, and inclusive youth social movements of the 21st century (Patler, 2018; Patler & Gonzales, 2015; Terriquez et al., 2018; Zimmerman, 2016). Shortly after the bipartisan legislative proposal called the Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors Act (the DREAM Act) made its initial congressional appearance in 2001, there was a steadfast charge of immigrant youth-led activism focused on raising awareness for the DREAM Act (Olivas, 2020). Most versions of the DREAM Act argued it would provide conditional permanent residency for certain eligible undocumented young adults who were brought to the United States as children, and a possible eventual path to citizenship (Patler, 2018).

When the latest version of the DREAM Act failed to pass in the Senate in December 2010, many undocumented youth began to take their own "autonomous path" (Márquez-Benitez & Pallares, 2016) that rejected the criminalization of their parents, denounced the need for youth exceptionalism, and instead worked to foster a larger and more inclusive undocumented community (Pallares, 2014). Terriquez (2015) noted the important early leadership of multiple marginalized identities like undocumented LGBTQ students at various levels of leadership within the broader movement and how it catalyzed "intersectional mobilization," which Terriquez defines as high levels of activism among an oppressed subgroup within an already marginalized constituency.

Various sit-ins, hunger strikes, protests, and social media campaigns were initiated and conducted by youth-led activist organizations in efforts to urge the Obama administration to stop deporting undocumented young people (Zimmerman, 2011). Later, youth-led activism evolved with DACA, the discretionary program established by President Obama in 2012, which emerged out of congressional failure to enact comprehensive immigration reform. The greater undocumented youth movement's shift to civil disobedience reflects how the undocumented youth-led movement changed to one that has "increasingly used direct action to bring attention to broader issues of immigrant, civil, and human rights as a strategy for social and policy change" (Zimmerman, 2011, p. 14). Since 2013, the youth immigrant movement and its allies have primarily concentrated on executive action to stop deportation, rather than advocate for legalization, with an emphasis on individual anti-deportation cases to underscore the contradictions and abuses of immigration policy (Márquez-Benitez & Pallares, 2016).

Sanctuary Pedagogies in Homes and School

Immigrant communities in the United States continue to live in what has been theorized as "the enforcement era" (Chen, 2020). In this climate, many parents are pushed to negotiate and model strategies for overcoming complex oppressive forces impacting their and their children's everyday livelihoods. For example, when targeted Latinx neighborhoods become sites of hyper immigration enforcement, immigrant and mixed-status families swiftly learn to shift their routes to K–12 school and work, change their routines, and everyday cultural practices to protect themselves from Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE; Valdivia, 2019). In her Southern California

study, Valdivia has theorized these intergenerational family practices as "strategies for sanctuary-making." Some of these sanctuary making practices have included changing the time parents and children leave to and come home from school and work, sometimes leaving several hours before or after the designated time. Another example Valdivia provides is families choosing to shop and pay more at grocery stores like Sprouts and Trader Joe's, which are found primarily in White affluent neighborhoods, instead of Mexican grocery stores like Vallarta and Northgate situated in working-class Latinx neighborhoods, where ICE officers tend to congregate.

Taking up a lived civics framework in schools urges a reconsideration of the narrow push to assimilate students into existing political systems by attending to students' identities and localized civic perspectives, allowing them the space to reimagine and enact new social futures. One example is a school's appropriation of the familiar Catholic Mexican religious ritual of Posadas as a means for mobilization and raising awareness around targeted political issues and policies through candle-lit processions with family members, school actors, and the local labor community. The Social Justice Posadas model (de los Ríos & Molina, 2020; de los Ríos et al., 2015, 2016) is a partnership founded in 2008 between a high school Chicanx/Latinx Studies program and a prominent day laborer center in Southern California. In its appropriation, this spiritually-grounded cultural ritual is reinterpreted through an immigrant rights lens. The central metaphor of Mary, Joseph, and baby Jesus seeking refuge in the original Posadas cultural practice is replaced with immigrants seeking sanctuary, human rights, and pathways to citizenship. This approach transforms civic pedagogies of rote memorization of knowledge about the branches of government into participatory inquiry in which students pursue scholarly readings and remedies to self-identified community issues like immigration enforcement. Students in this partnership have led participatory research projects, created and circulated media to raise awareness that matter to them, conducted close readings of local, state, and federal legislations impacting immigrant families, as well as mobilized to halt rampant police checkpoints in their communities and contributed to the larger passing of California Assembly Bill 60, Safe and Responsible Driver Act, in 2014.

Digital Testimonios, Digital Protests, and Hashtag Movements

Latinx activist communities have increasingly leveraged new media technologies to participate bi/multilingually in U.S. civic and political life, especially through digital testimonios (Benmayor, 2012; Zimmerman, 2016), translingual podcasts (de los Ríos, 2020), and digital protests and hashtag movements for racial justice (Bonilla & Rosa, 2015). Specifically, scholars have studied how young people engage in "participatory politics" (Kahne et al., 2015) to challenge anti-Latinx, anti-Black, and anti-immigrant sentiments, practices, and policies. Bonilla and Rosa (2015) emphasize the power of digital protests and hashtag movements within Black and Black Latinx struggles for racial justice. Bonilla and Rosa contend that some of the most important hashtag campaigns that emerged out of #Ferguson were targeted at "calling attention to both police practices and media representations, suggesting that social media can serve as an important tool for challenging these various forms of racial profiling" (p. 8). Another example of online contentious politics includes Zimmerman's (2016) study of Latinx undocumented youth's "coming out" events where they declared their legal status at

protests and meetings and across social media, including digital stories, blogs, and podcasts. As a form of participatory politics, Zimmerman refers to these practices as forms of "transmedia testimonios" in which activists give accounts of their immigration experiences, reveal their legal status, and document their participation in civil disobedience. Through the concept of digital and transmedia testimonio, Zimmerman demonstrates how undocumented youth agentically expand the confines of state-sanctioned public spheres and what it means to participate politically.

Black Lives Matter

Latinx communities' support of and participation in the Black Lives Matter movement have been overwhelmingly strong (Hope et al., 2016; Zepeda-Millán & Wallace, 2018). An essential part of the Black Lives Matter movement is that it advocates for *all* Black lives concentrating on those who "have been marginalized within Black liberation movements," especially women and members of the LGBTQ community. This call to action inherently also includes the lives of Afro-Latinx and Black Latinx people, which make up a significant portion of the Latinx community in the United States. According to a 2016 Pew Research Center survey, one-quarter of the nearly 60 million Latinx people residing in the United States identified as Afro-Latinx or Afro-Caribbean, or of African descent with roots in Latin America.

As Lorgia García-Peña (2020) recently stated, "Two struggles—Black liberation and immigrant rights—are intertwined and must be confronted together, which means acknowledging there is racism in the project of Latinidad." With increasing calls to recognize and dismantle anti-Blackness in the greater pan-Latinx community by grassroot activists and academic scholars, it is important to recognize the vital leadership and civic participation of Black Latinx people in the Black Lives Matter movement. Importantly, moreover, Black Latinx and non-Black Latinx communities are increasingly hitting the streets to participate in the Black Lives Matter protests nationally and internationally throughout Latin America (Campos Lima, 2020).

There are certainly a number of historical reasons for this renewed focus on Black identities; notably, the Black and Brown power activists of the 1960s emphasized Black and Latinx identities that previous generations had not (San Miguel, 2005). This reconciliation with Indigeneity and Blackness is part of a larger history that continues to evolve today. For example, Krista Cortes (2020) documents Afroboriqua mothering as an AfroLatinx[5] multi-generational practice in spaces that center Blackness through Afroboriqua cultural practices and activism in the California Bay Area. In this space, Bomba workshops are more than dance and music classes. They function as sites of intergenerational cultural resistance, continuing traditions that were once banned to repress rebellions while simultaneously fostering kinship, revolutionary parenting, and Black Boriqua activism that challenged homophobia on the island and celebrated queerness in the community.

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[5] We echo Cortes's (2020) use of the terms "AfroLatinx" and "Afroboriqua" to describe her scholarship, as she argues that those two identities are inextricable and intertwined.

Creative Performance and Songwriting with Corridos

Broadly, songwriting can be a vehicle through which young people navigate and assert their multiple identities. Youth songwriting often draws from issues of personal, social, and political importance and is shared with audiences such as family members and peers (Deroo & Watson, 2020; Kinney, 2012; Watson & Beymer, 2019). For many Mexican and Central American-origin youth, Mexican regional music remains an indelible part of their transnational youth popular culture (García-Hernández, 2016; Villa, 2019), where the close reading, songwriting, and cultural performance of corridos (border ballads) have been theorized as critical and creative translingual forms of resistance (de los Ríos, 2018, 2019).

Corridos—Mexican ballads that embody the musical, poetic, and oral tradition of struggle (Paredes, 1958)—have historically been seen as "for the *pueblo* … one of the most typical expressions of the Mexican masses" (Simmons, 1957, p. 7). Like a grassroots form of news and journalism, the Mexican corrido once disseminated news about the battles of the 1910 Mexican Revolution and future combat to the general populace. Corridistas (balladeers) would put current events into songs, attuning the structure and cadence in its traditional form (Paredes, 1958). As a form of intergenerational storytelling, Latinx youth have drawn on their unitary linguistic repertoire to author, compose, and perform corridos across digital platforms and physical spaces—like public school campuses—to bring awareness to issues that matter to them, including harmful ICE policies and practices, linguistic racism, and social in/justice (de los Ríos, 2019). Some of the most recent examples include the virality of originally authored and performed corridos in Spanish critiquing the mass shooting in an El Paso, Texas, Walmart targeting Mexican communities (Blanco, 2019) as well as corridos in support of #BlackLivesMatter and racial justice (Hermanos Herrera, 2020).

Latinx Indigenous Communities' Cultural Sustainability as Civic Practice

Similar to other Latinx activism, comunidades Indigenas from Latin America also resist erasure through cultural practices, specifically through teaching youth music, religion, literature, and languages. As in Tejas, Colorado, Illinois, and New York, Maya Guatemalan community members in Los Angeles have also created their own educational settings, in this case, courses to teach Maya-origin youth K'iche' and Q'anjob'al to children of Mayan immigrants (Batz, 2014). Again, these minoritized Indigenous languages are of particular importance in terms of maintaining an Indigenous cultural identity and rebuffing attempts to homogenize Indigenous people as part of a Latinx diaspora with its Spanish language hegemony. Youth learning their Indigenous languages is also fundamental to advocacy. Indigenous youth engage in sophisticated translanguaging practices when they interpret for previous generations who must navigate legal (Carcamo, 2016) and public services unavailable in their minoritized Indigenous languages (Miller, 2020).

The Enduring Fight for Puerto Rican, Chicanx, and Latinx Studies

Civic action is situated in emergent social movements and their historical antecedents. The historical struggles for Ethnic Studies are rich and robust, and they

have long centered Latinx people's histories, literary traditions, cultural perspectives, linguistic practices, and self-determination. Movements for Latinx Studies—especially Puerto Rican Studies and Chicanx/Mexican American Studies—sought to create spaces for Latinx communities within K–12 and higher education institutions, similar to ASPIRA and community-controlled schools in New York in the 1960s. The fight for Ethnic Studies has spanned more than 60 years, providing the context for youth-led movements to sustain their intergenerational, multi-racial, multi-ethnic, and multilingual character and civic solidarities.[6]

The dismantling of Arizona's Tucson Unified School District's Mexican American Studies Program by far-right xenophobic elected officials in 2012 was once again a struggle for curricular autonomy and transformation—a struggle that led to large-scale civic actions. These included youth-led community protests, sit-ins, walkouts, and online petitions and campaigns to protect the reputable Mexican American Studies Program (Cabrera et al., 2013; Cammarota, 2016; Ginwright & Cammarota, 2011; Otero & Cammarota, 2011). The subsequent rise in intergenerational grassroots campaigns to establish Ethnic Studies courses in school districts across the country, especially in California (Cuahtin et al., 2019; de los Ríos, 2017), continue the legacies of activism that have worked to socially and politically transform educational institutions.

Conclusion: The Future of Latinx Civics Remains Intergenerational

With the centrality of the Black Lives Matter social movement and the consequential Presidential election in the United States, the urgency of civic engagement was heightened dramatically in 2020. The Trump administration's unfettered discrimination toward Latinx and immigrant families further amplified Latinx youth's social consciousness and political participation, particularly in the Southwest (Wray-Lake et al., 2018; Zepeda-Millán & Wallace, 2018). As Wray-Lake et al. (2018, p. 201) argue, "Latinx youth are actively making sense of what today's political context means for them, their futures, their families, and their ethnic/cultural groups, often in emotional terms." The result was increased everyday engagement in participatory politics, intergenerational grassroots organizing, and the reinvention of traditional cultural practices to participate politically in their communities (de los Ríos & Molina, 2020).

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[6] Throughout the 1960s, Latinx students—alongside their Black, Indigenous, and people of color student peers—were inspired by civil rights movements, as well as global struggles for liberation, to instantiate a youth-led social movement to challenge the canon of the university and its settler-colonial histories. Initially identified as "Third World Studies" (Okihiro, 2016), the essence of the demand for Ethnic Studies was inspired by the everyday lived civic practices of those resisting racism internationally and to politically align themselves against imperialism and empire throughout the Global South. The fight for Ethnic Studies was a multi-ethnic, multi-racial, and multilingual coalition of young people that culminated in the longest student strike in U.S. history at San Francisco State University (Umemoto, 1989). Within this coalition, Latinx high school and college students organized to challenge and replace Eurocentric curricula and, instead, establish and institutionalize their own curricular autonomy (Bernal, 1998; Bonilla, 1987; García & Castro, 2011; Muñoz, 2007; Rodríguez, 1990). The resulting development of Puerto Rican Studies and Chicano/Mexican American Studies served to address the many racial inequalities endemic in both K–12 and universities, as well as their erasure of Latinx people and their history of contribution. Although this struggle was "lived civics" at a broader scale, it too centered Latinx history, cultural perspectives, and linguistic practices as a means to disrupt the settled curriculum.

Thus, despite the important geographic and cultural heterogeneity in Latinx communities, the intergenerational character of their resistance, revival, and civic practices persists, with parents, grandparents, and other family members involving younger generations in side-by-side participation in cultural practices. It is through these intergenerational practices that youth have "learn[ed] about the marginalization and systemic barriers affecting the Latinx community" (Pinetta et al., 2020, p. 9). Through these parental and caregiver cultural practices, young people can develop a "sense of collective responsibility to help members of their community who are in need" (p. 9). Oftentimes, such responsibility manifests itself through intergenerational lived civic actions and participation in social movements that advocate for the well-being, humanity, and civil and educational rights of Latinx people as exemplified in the activist quinceañera, Social Justice Posadas, and the Black Lives Matter movement described previously.

In closing, we hope this discussion has called attention to the expansive ways Latinx communities have enacted lived civics historically and in the current moment. We argue that ecologies help to confer resilience and transformative agency and that such understandings should trouble extant notions of such constructs—constructs that are predicated on understandings of agency and resilience as intrapersonal rather than interpersonal accomplishments. Furthermore, we have pushed on civics education conceived ahistorically and principally in terms of access to participation; instead, this section asks participation into what? It has also elaborated, instead, transformative forms of participation as essential to rethinking what counts as civic engagement, its practices, and social organization in cultural communities.

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ASIAN AMERICAN EXCLUSION AND THE FIGHT FOR INCLUSION

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The Asian American category represents incredible diversity along ethnic, linguistic, religious, generational, historical, and social class dimensions. The 1980 U.S. Census grouped Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders together into the category of Asian and Pacific Islander (API), which further broadened the pan-ethnic category. The diversity of the API category has been a subject of debate for decades, with many scholars and community activists calling for disaggregated data (Espiritu, 2006; Lee & Kumashiro, 2005). A growing number of Pasifika community leaders (Pacific Islanders), for example, have pushed back on the API category, arguing that Pacific Islanders have a distinct history linked to colonization, displacement, and dislocation, which make their struggles similar to those of other Indigenous communities (Gegeo, 2001).[7] This section will focus on those categorized as Asian Americans (e.g., those with origins in East Asia, Southeast Asia, and the Indian subcontinent). Despite important differences among Asian Americans, this group shares a common experience of exclusion from the United States, and from the early 20th century to the present, Asian Americans have challenged, resisted, and advocated for inclusion in the United States. By examining historic and contemporary examples of Asian American agency regarding citizenship, the authors highlight both common experiences shared by those categorized as Asian Americans and the important differences within the group. Furthermore, they discuss the ways that Asian Americans have been represented in the K–12 curricula.

Asian American students have consistently reported high levels of racist harassment related to their perceived level of English proficiency, immigrant background, and culture, and this discrimination has been associated with increased levels of mental stress (Lee et al., 2009), depressive or anxiety disorders (Gee et al., 2007), and suicide ideation (Choi et al., 2020) among Asian American youth. Notably, levels of anti-Asian sentiment and discrimination have historically increased significantly during periods of national domestic and foreign policy crisis. For example, the economic challenges faced by the United States in the 1980s fueled the rise of anti-Japanese sentiment (Heale, 2009) and more recently, the COVID-19 pandemic and the xenophobic rhetoric surrounding the pandemic has resulted in significant anti-Chinese sentiment. Indeed, the image of Asian Americans as perpetual foreigners is a central racializing discourse that has framed Asian American experiences in the nation since the 19th century, reflecting what political scientist Claire Jean Kim refers to as a form of civic ostracism that casts Asian Americans as "immutably foreign" (2000, p. 16). In contrast to White immigrants who are absorbed into the nation within a generation, Asian Americans remain identified as perpetual foreigners even when they have been in the United States for multiple generations.

As a result, the history of Asian Americans has been marked by struggles to be included in the nation. For example, the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which barred Chinese immigration and declared Chinese immigrants ineligible for naturalization, made Chinese immigrants the first group to be subjected to exclusionary

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[7] See the Pacific Islander Community Association (PICA-WA) website at http://www.picawa.org.

immigration policies. The rhetoric surrounding Chinese exclusion relied on ideas that Chinese immigrants were permanently alien and therefore threatening to the nation (Lee, 2003; Ngai, 2004; Takaki, 1998). The anti-Chinese sentiment that fueled the Chinese Exclusion Act quickly extended to a broader anti-Asian sentiment that targeted Indian, Japanese, and Korean immigrants, which ultimately restricted immigration to the United States for other Asian groups for decades (Lee, 2003).

Anti-Chinese activists in the late 19th century also attempted to strip U.S.-born children of Chinese immigrants of the right to birthright citizenship, arguing again that people of Chinese descent were incapable of assimilation. In 1895 anti-Chinese exclusionists denied Wong Kim Ark, a California native who had visited China, the right to re-entry based on the argument that Wong Kim Ark was not a U.S. citizen. Wong Kim Ark hired an attorney and filed a writ of habeas corpus, claiming the right to reenter the United States as a native-born citizen under the 14th Amendment. The U.S. Supreme Court case of *United States v. Wong Kim Ark* (1898) ultimately affirmed birthright citizenship to all persons regardless of race (Lee, 2003).

The perception of Asian Americans as being "forever foreigners" (Tuan, 1998, p. 18) and not full American citizens regardless of their generational status is perhaps best exemplified by the 1944 *Korematsu* case. The *Korematsu v. United States* Supreme Court case is the most well-known of the three cases challenging the Japanese American internment during World War II (the other two being *Hirabayashi v. United States* and *Yasui v. United States*). The three cases collectively challenged President Roosevelt's Executive Order 9066 that detained 120,000 Japanese Americans, most of whom were native-born U.S. citizens, in remote internment camps. Under the guise of military necessity, the U.S. government, without any proof, accused Japanese Americans of being disloyal to the United States, and alleged that they were engaged in, or predisposed to engaged in, acts of espionage or sabotage (Serrano & Minami, 2003). It took almost four decades before Fred Korematsu's criminal conviction was overturned in 1983 due to the efforts of two Nisei (second generation Japanese Americans) attorneys and their supporters (Hashimoto, 1996). Concurrently, grassroots civil society organizations such as the Japanese American Citizens League launched a successful redress campaign, which resulted in the formation of a federal commission to examine the government's actions, proclamations by Presidents Ford and Reagan acknowledging the that the internment was unjust, and the passage of the Civil Liberties Act in 1988 (Tateishi & Yoshino, 2000).

As with other minoritized communities, Asian Americans' struggle for inclusion and belonging in the United States has involved the fight for educational opportunities, including access to public schools. In the 1870s and early 1880s there were approximately 3,000 Chinese children living in California, with most of the population in San Francisco. Despite the large number of Chinese children in San Francisco, however, there were no public schools that allowed Chinese children. In 1884 Joseph and Mamie Tape, Chinese immigrants, sued the San Francisco Board of Education for denying their daughter admission to the local school because of her Chinese ancestry. In 1885 the Superior Court ruled in favor of the Tapes, and the California Supreme Court later upheld the decision. California exclusionists responded by passing an act authorizing segregated schools for Chinese students (Ngai, 2012).

The U.S. Supreme Court case of *Lum v. Rice* (1927) involved the American-born daughter of Chinese immigrants, Martha Lum, who had been denied entry to the White

school in their town of Rosedale, Mississippi, on the basis of her race. In *Lum v. Rice* the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously upheld the decision of the Mississippi Supreme Court, citing the 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision. Although the *Lum* decision was not officially overturned until the Supreme Court outlawed school segregation in the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* decision, Chinese families were able to gain access to White public schools for their children in some Delta towns by the late 1930s and to many by the late 1940s (Lee, 2017).

While early Asian American resistance to exclusion focused on single ethnic groups, during the Civil Rights era, Asian American activists embraced pan-ethnic identities as Asians and/or Asian Americans. By organizing multiple national-origin groups under a pan-Asian label, Asian American activists focused on common experiences with racial discrimination. This instrumental response allowed relatively small ethnic groups to form a bigger voice in the fight against racism (Espiritu, 1993). Asian American activists during this period also built cross-racial coalitions with other communities of color to fight against racism, economic inequality, and global imperialism (Maeda, 2005; Prashad, 2002).

Significantly, Asian American activists during this period rejected the characterization of Asian Americans as "model minorities" that the dominant group used to silence the concerns raised by Civil Rights activists (Maeda, 2005; Pulido, 2008). In the post–Civil Rights era, student activists, including Asian American college students, demanded cultural recognition in the form of Ethnic Studies and since the 1980s, resistance to the model minority stereotype has been central to the work of Asian American Studies (Prashad, 2006). The rise of an Asian American political consciousness and resistance to the use of the model minority stereotype was important because it was a repudiation of the stereotype's assimilationist, exploitative, and racist assumptions. The model minority characterization, for example, not only ignored the diversity of the lived and material realities of different Asian American groups but also simultaneously situated Asian Americans within the larger national myth of progress and freedom while positioning them as a clearly defined Other within a national racial order dominated by White Americans (Wu, 2013).

The Asian American population has grown tremendously since the Civil Rights era and the demographic changes have created new challenges to uniting under a common racial category. Asian Americans from Southeast Asia and the Indian subcontinent argue that the Asian American category privileges East Asians and masks the diverse histories and experiences of Asian Americans. Critical refugee scholar Yen Le Espiritu (2006, p. 418) has argued that "if Asian Americans are to build a self-consciously pan-Asian solidarity, they need to take seriously the heterogeneities among their ranks and overcome the narrow dominance of the professional class and that of the two oldest Asian American groups."

While some Asian Americans trace their histories in the United States back more than six or seven generations, many more live in immigrant or refugee families. Among more recent arrivals, some have relatively clear pathways to legal citizenship but others face exclusionary immigration policies. Notably, there has been an increase in the deportation of immigrants with criminal convictions, including Southeast Asians who came to the United States as refugees (Chen, 2019). The United States has repatriation agreements with Cambodia and Vietnam, and is currently negotiating with Laos

to accept nationals with final removal orders (Mentzer, 2020). Approximately 16,000 Southeast Asian Americans have received final orders of deportation since 1998, most for criminal convictions for which they have already served time. Although some Asian Americans, including some Southeast Asian Americans, have extensive transnational ties, most of the Southeast Asians who are at risk of being deported do not have strong ties in Southeast Asia. Crucially, the Southeast Asia Resource Action Center and other Southeast Asian American organizations have been active in fighting for immigration policies that are "grounded in the principles of fairness, family, and second chances" (SEARAC, 2020).

Although the dominant narrative surrounding undocumented immigrants focuses on Latinx communities, approximately 1.7 million undocumented immigrants are of Asian descent (Ramakrishnan & Shah, 2017). Many undocumented Asian immigrants live in relative social isolation in the shadows, which makes them vulnerable to exploitation and their children isolated from social capital (Yoshikawa, 2011). However, some undocumented Asian Americans have ventured out of the shadows to organize for immigration rights. In fact, the "original Dreamer," Tereza Lee, is a Korean American who continues to fight for immigration reform 19 years after she inspired the first DREAM Act. The fight for comprehensive immigration reform, including the rights of undocumented immigrants, has led to collaborations between Asian American youth groups and older established Asian American organizations. For example, the organization Revolutionizing Asian American Immigrant Stories on the East Coast (RAISE), a pan-Asian undocumented youth-led group, has been working with the Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund. Central to RAISE's mission is the disruption of the "model minority racial tokenism" that erases the struggles within the Asian American community (RAISE, 2020).

As Asian American communities continue the fight for equity and justice in the 21st century, there has been a growing divide among Asian Americans regarding the role of cross-racial coalitions. Some Asian Americans view the interests of Asian Americans as being separate from the interests of other groups of color, while others argue that Asian Americans should stand together with Black, Indigenous, and Latinx communities. Attitudes regarding affirmative action, for example, reflect the diverse opinions regarding cross-racial solidarity among Asian Americans. In 2014, Students for Fair Admissions sued Harvard, alleging that the holistic admissions process, which considers the whole person including racial background, discriminates against Asian Americans. A vocal coalition of Asian American organizations joined the call to end affirmative action, and have embraced the stereotype of Asian Americans as deserving model minorities in their fight. Chinese Americans are the most vocal opponents to affirmative action among Asian Americans, but there exists a significant generational divide whereby younger Chinese Americans are much more likely to support affirmative action than their parents' generation (Poon & Wong, 2019). While anti-affirmative activists have received a lot of attention in the media, a much larger number of Asian American organizations support affirmative action and the related goals of remedying the legacies of systemic racism against all communities of color, expanding definitions of eligibility, and democratizing education. Not insignificantly, Asian Americans who support affirmative action have criticized the model minority stereotype for failing to capture the diverse experiences of Asian Americans and for the implicit anti-Blackness

at the core of the stereotype. The Federal Court upheld Harvard's race conscious admissions in October 2019, but the battle continues with Asian Americans on both sides of the debate actively engaging in advocacy.

Representations of Asian Americans in K–12 Curricula

Ideas and perspectives regarding Asian Americans are produced and reproduced through the formal curricula, and for decades, Asian Americans have consistently struggled for equitable representation within K–12 school curricula. Groups such as the Sikh Coalition and the Lao Advocacy Organization of San Diego, for example, have fought for the inclusion of different voices within social studies curricula in large part because of the increased levels of discrimination, bullying, and hate crimes that have occurred, especially post-9/11 (Constante, 2017, 2019). Some of these groups have achieved several notable legislative and policy successes, including the passing of a California bill mandating the teaching of Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Hmong history in schools and the development of revised social studies standards in Tennessee to include Sikhism (Constante, 2019).

Studies reviewing how Asian Americans are represented within social studies curriculum standards and textbooks across the country have similarly noted that how marginalized Asian American stories are to the dominant historical narratives. Within the formal curriculum, scholars have found that Asian Americans are primarily situated historically within particular time periods, for example, early Chinese immigration in the 19th century and the Japanese American internment in World War II (An, 2016). This representation is deeply problematic because it perpetuates stereotypes and renders invisible the complicated and diverse experiences of Asian Americans (e.g., Filipinos, Indians, Koreans, Vietnamese) over time (Harada, 2000).

Even when Asian American experiences are included in the curriculum, their stories are depicted in assimilationist ways that do not challenge the master narrative of American progress, freedom, and opportunity. For example, the various forms of prejudice faced by Chinese and Japanese Americans in the late 19th century and in the 1940s are part of the narrative of Asian Americans overcoming discriminatory obstacles, working hard, and eventually achieving the American dream (Suh et al., 2014). This problematic portrayal of Asian Americans as model minorities not only serves to reinscribe the existing racial hierarchy within the United States, but also ignores the continuing economic and social disparities both within the Asian American population and between Asian Americans and Whites (Wu, 2013). For instance, while textbooks highlight the overall economic successes of Asian Americans, they fail to note that higher proportions of Asian American families (e.g., Vietnamese and Chinese families) live below the federal poverty level (Harada, 2000) or that Southeast Asian youth are at a higher risk of juvenile delinquency or dropping out (An, 2016). As Rodriguez and Kim (2018) point out, a singular Asian American immigrant narrative cannot address the significant differences in the experiences of an immigrant who is a well-educated, highly paid professional fluent in English, and a political refugee with minimal formal schooling and a limited command of English.

Asian Americans, are, in addition, frequently depicted as passive agents in textbooks and curricular standards. Many curricula, for instance, greatly minimize the

civic actions taken by early Chinese railroad workers and Japanese American internees (e.g., strikes, protests, and petitions) to resist the unjust and harsh treatment that they received. Similarly, the significant role of Filipino farmworkers fighting for increased worker rights in the farmworkers movement is omitted, with the curriculum standards largely focusing on the role of Mexican farmworkers and leaders such as Cesar Chavez (An, 2016). In a similar vein, most of the state curriculum standards are largely silent about the role of Asian Americans during the Civil Rights Movement even though scholars have documented how Chinese and Japanese Americans joined the multiethnic coalition supporting the NAACP in its civil rights lobbying and also for its work in landmark civil rights cases such as *Brown v. Board of Education* (Wu, 2013).

The diverse histories of immigration among Asian Americans pose significant challenges to conventional conceptions of state-based citizenship and national identity that are promulgated in schools. In many ways, however, the lived experiences of Asian Americans strongly suggest that a society-based *transnational* citizenship framework is far more relevant than a state-based conception of citizenship (Fox, 2005) because the transnational networks and activities of Asian Americans have shaped the multiple identities, mores, and affiliations of generations of Asian Americans in a myriad of ways. Studies, for example, have shown how different groups of Asian Americans such as Chinese Americans and Filipino Americans have consistently been engaged in political, civic, and economic activities across national boundaries, thus resulting in conceptions of citizenship that are more *flexible* and fluid (e.g., Ong, 1999; Rodriguez, 2002). Simultaneously, many Asian American groups, including Pakistani Americans, continue to be associated with cultural, religious, or familial networks that transcend state boundaries. These networks, especially when positioned in oppositional ways to narrowly defined national discourses about citizenship, can potentially contribute to a sense of alienation or feelings of what Ghaffar-Kucher (2015) calls "imagined nostalgia" (p. 203)—an idealized conception of a time and place—of the home community. It is, however, important to note that these transnational networks are not unique to the Asian American community but instead mirror the kinds of global linkages, discourses, and structures that have historically been an integral part of U.S. society (Coloma, 2006).

Much of the civic education curricula found in schools, however, presumes a unitary national identity and a conception of citizenship that is primarily centered on the nation–state. This conception of citizenship is deeply problematic for students, especially Asian American students, because it ignores the many global networks and transnational cultural, economic, and familial linkages that exist within communities within the United States. This limited citizenship framework, furthermore, does not recognize students' fluid and multiple constructions of identities and affiliations that exist independently of their formal legal status. South Asian immigrant youth, for example, need to navigate multiple affiliations that impact their linguistic, religious, class, and cultural identities (Maira, 2008).

Such curricula, in addition, frequently explicitly or implicitly juxtapose "good" American culture or values with the "problematic" home culture or religion of students, thus positioning these students as outsiders. Studies, for instance, have shown how teachers' perspectives of Islam as oppressive send young Pakistani American youth messages that being a Muslim is not compatible with being an American (Ghaffar-Kucher, 2015). Notably, in spite of these problematic constructions of citizenship within

the curricula and in schools, other studies have also shown that young American Muslims from communities with significant transnational links actively draw on their different identities and affiliations to assert their place in U.S. society, address injustices, and call for greater inclusion (El-Haj et al., 2011).

While the scholarship on the representation of Asian Americans in the formal curriculum paints a bleak picture, there is growing evidence that Asian American communities are creating culturally relevant civic engagement opportunities for Asian American youth in community-based organizations (Chan, 2009; Kwon, 2013; Lee et al., 2020). These programs build on Asian American youths' cultural backgrounds, teach leadership skills, offer opportunities to discuss issues of importance to their communities, and encourage civic agency (Nygreen et al., 2006).

Conclusion

As this brief discussion of Asian American civic engagement demonstrates, Asian Americans represent a complex and heterogeneous pan-ethnic group with varied histories and experiences in the United States and wide-ranging responses to exclusionary policies and practices. Despite the vast differences among Asian American groups, all are subjected to the stereotypes of Asian Americans as perpetual foreigners and/or model minorities. In the face of exclusion and discrimination, however, Asian Americans have always been active agents in fighting for justice and inclusion. The diversity of experiences and perspectives within the Asian American category and the active agency of various Asian American communities are not adequately reflected in the national narratives regarding Asian Americans or in the curricula on Asian Americans. Moving forward, the authors call for a more nuanced representation of Asian American perspectives in national dialogues and in the curriculum. Finally, they call for a more inclusive and broader definition of citizenship that incorporates and recognizes the complexities of the multitude of national and transnational affiliations that exist within many Asian American communities, and indeed within many other communities. A narrowly defined state-based conception of citizenship and national identity that positions other transnational identities and affiliations as inferior or antithetical to the values of the national community will serve to further marginalize diverse Asian American youth. Nevertheless, the authors are heartened by the willingness of many Asian American youth to challenge racist hierarchies, actively assert their rights and place within the larger national community, and work toward a more just and inclusive society.

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AN APPALACHIAN SPRING: HOPE AND RESILIENCE
AMONG YOUTH IN THE RURAL SOUTH

Deborah Hicks,[8] Executive Director, *Partnership for Appalachian Girls' Education*

Gabrielle,[9] also known as Gabby, is an adolescent girl growing up in a remote corner of the Blue Ridge Mountains, in the heart of Southern Appalachia. The boundaries of her community, known to most as Laurel, are marked on one side by the East Tennessee state line and on the other by the beautiful Laurel River. She lives in what locals would call a *holler*—a place where the hills give way to clearings for roads and clusters of homes and other buildings. In every direction, mountains and hills mark the landscape, and on these hills, wood-frame homes are scattered alongside single and doublewide trailers. Finally, standing tall are the small rural churches that are central to community life.

It is a beautiful place to grow up in America, but life in this remarkable landscape does not work for young people quite as it may appear to outside visitors. For starters, there is the unique challenge of being an adolescent youth in a place so removed from the schools and town centers that offer ladders of opportunity. In the 1980s, Gabby's rural school district began a process of consolidation that started with bringing all middle school youth to a single school. As a result, Gabby's bus ride to the county's one middle school can now be up to *2 hours one way*, over winding roads for most of the journey. In 2015, the historic rural school in Laurel, once a K–12 community school, closed for good as a public K–5 school. Now, even kindergarten children face long bus rides to reach the nearest elementary school. Afterschool and summer learning opportunities are tenuous and difficult for many families to juggle. Virtual learning in the time of COVID-19 has deepened issues of inaccessibility related to broadband access and tools for connecting; 40 to 50 percent of students in Laurel have no internet access from their homes.

Yet, Gabby and other young people see the world outside in terms of possibilities. Gabby is a gifted, imaginative student with a special love for science, technology, engineering, and mathematics. She can imagine becoming an inventor. "Sometimes when I see things, I just close my eyes and imagine how it works," she says. "When I got to the Leonardo daVinci page in a *National Geographic* magazine, I was like 'Wow!' He was kind of like me … I draw things, and I call them my inventions."

The United States and other modern economies tend to think of inequalities and hardships from living in poverty as an "urban" problem. In the opening of the third decade of the 21st century, national attention has justly and rightfully turned to the suffering experienced by communities of color in cities. But what about young people such as Gabby, and the tens of thousands of other young working-poor and working-class White youth growing up in rural parts of Appalachia, as well as throughout small towns in the Southeast, Midwest, and Northwest? Shouldn't these youth have opportunities that will enable them to achieve their full potential and future careers, such as a career Gabby might envision for herself as a scientist?

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[8] The author is grateful to Shirley Brice Heath for her insightful comments about an earlier draft of this section, and remains fully responsible for this final version and its content.

[9] All student names are fictional.

The author makes a point of confession here of growing up in a small town in the Blue Ridge Mountains. Her hometown has things in common with the hundreds of communities such as Laurel scattered throughout Appalachia and the South. It is partly for this reason that in 2010, she was drawn to found the Partnership for Appalachian Girls' Education, or PAGE.[10] In its second decade, PAGE is helping girls growing up in some of the South's most vulnerable and economically distressed areas become empowered learners and critical thinkers, prepared to engage and connect locally and globally. What can this experience teach us about creating opportunities for civic engagement among youth growing up in America's invisible poverty: the poverty known for generations by working-poor and working-class people, most of them White, in Appalachia?

Resilience and Strength in Appalachia

For some, the very word Appalachia conjures up images of White poverty. It is easy to remember photographs taken by Dorothea Lange or James Agee, or the "War on Poverty" pilgrimages of presidents and presidential hopefuls to front porches in West Virginia and Eastern Kentucky. Maybe, one can picture more contemporary images of families, including children, paying a heavy price for the opioid epidemic that has cut an especially destructive path through rural, historically White communities. Images of political conservatism emerge, too, with many of these connected to the election of Donald Trump in 2016. Some would go so far as to place the blame for the 2016 election results on working-poor and working-class Whites in places such as Appalachia. This ignores the fact that hedge fund managers in Greenwich were equally, though perhaps more quietly, part of a broad-based coalition of Trump supporters in 2016—and beyond (Osnos, 2020).

News stories tend to focus on the distressing statistics. In a 2019 ranking of the "25 Worst Counties" in terms of poverty, education, and quality of life by the news and opinion publication *24/7 Wall Street*, 12 of the most distressed counties were in Appalachia (Stebbins & Sauter, 2019). A special report in *The Guardian* chronicled life in what U.S. Census Bureau surveys from 2008–2012 recorded as the poorest White town in America: Beattyville, in Eastern Kentucky's Lee County. The article's portrayal of a community in the grip of the opioid epidemic is painfully captured in its header: "America's poorest white town: abandoned by coal, swallowed by drugs" (McGreal, 2015).

These injustices and the many obstacles to opportunity are *part* of what needs to be seen, heard, and understood by those outside of Appalachia. They capture the unavoidable realities: life can be hard in this beautiful part of the rural South. For generations, people in the region have suffered from persistent poverty and lack of sustainable, healthy jobs; from the environmental destruction of their mountains and poisoning of their water by outside corporations; from the lack of educational opportunity for students in rural communities; and now from the devastating impact of the opioid epidemic on families and whole communities.

Stories from inside Appalachia help capture what life can be like in America's most invisible poverty. Consider for instance the poisoning of Appalachia's water, one of the

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[10] See https://pageprograms.com.

region's many natural resources. Ron Rash, a novelist and professor of Appalachian Studies, writes in a *New York Times* op-ed piece about the drinking water in Eastern Kentucky's Knott County (Rash, 2016). "Some of it is brown. Some of it is yellow. Some of it smells like sulfur," Rash quotes from an interview with Brent Hutchinson, who directs the Hindman Settlement School in Knott County. Years of problems—from coal mining, industrial waste, old pipes—have gotten too little attention on a national level. The destruction of Appalachia's mountains has drawn more attention, and justly so, to the ways in which rural people have paid a heavy price for cheap energy. In the documentary film *Hillbilly* (Rubin & York, 2019), co-producer Silas House tells of 3-year old Jeremy Davidson in southwestern Virginia, killed by a half-ton boulder. The boulder was dislodged during the illegal cutting of a road for a strip-mining operation above the family's singlewide trailer. It barreled downward, crashing through the walls of the trailer and onto the bed where Jeremy was sleeping.

We need to bring to national visibility these stories and injustices, and to demand justice, human rights, and environmental rights in Appalachia. Of equal importance to these stories of poverty, exploitation, and pain, however, are stories of hope, resilience, and resistance. The author is often reminded in her educational work in the Blue Ridge Mountains that the students and families served are proud and strong. They sometimes resent the degree to which the word Appalachia, especially for those living outside the region, calls up images from America's War on Poverty that persist in today's media coverage. Local residents want people to see a more complex and hopeful region where families, communities, and local schools and churches have created the bedrock for young people to look toward a more positive future in which they can become leaders.

Elizabeth Catte, a public historian who lives in Virginia, points out in *What You Are Getting Wrong About Appalachia* that stock narratives and stereotypes do not begin to capture the history and resilience of this region (Catte, 2018). Young people are more than ready to share the complex stories of the region they know, *their* Appalachia. Some are joining youth across the nation and world in advocating for human rights, racial justice, and environmental justice. Black writers, educators, intellectuals, and artists have been inspired to write about their Appalachia, sometimes using the term Affrilachia. Before any of us can imagine the new communities that would engage youth from this region, we need to look and listen more deeply to understand the diversity of strengths that already exist there. A good place to start would be with three things that people in rural Appalachia value above all else: family, church, and community.

Life in the small towns and communities PAGE serves is shaped by the special meaning of *place* for people who, as locals might say, have generations in the soil. It means one thing to be from the Laurel community; another to be from Spring Creek. Each of these communities has its own tightly knit families, churches, and community centers. *Family* is of greatest importance in local communities. This is an enormous source of strength for young people, especially when their immediate families suffer the effects of opioids or poverty. Time and time again, adult members of extended families step forward in selfless ways to parent children whose biological parents are unable to fully care for them. Great aunts, Mamaws (grandmothers), and other extended family members take on parenting roles with total care and commitment. Their caretaking is supported by local churches that serve more than a religious function. Rural churches serve as centers of community life. Even the smallest, most rural communities are

known by their churches. On Sundays, song, prayer, and good homecooked food in the fellowship hall provide grounding for later civic engagement.

Then, there are the small schools, which are also centers of community life. One of the saddest moments in the author's 11-year history as a social entrepreneur in Appalachia was watching the closing of the Laurel community's beloved small school, once a K–12 community school set in a beautiful mountain valley next to Laurel Creek. From the large sunny windows of the now empty classrooms can still be seen the creek and the green of the woods behind it. Local teachers from the community itself, some having either gone to the school or were daughters and sons of former teachers, taught each student as though he or she were a cherished member of an extended family. "You knew you were supported and you knew that everybody's life mattered…. That's what our school was like," says Cynthia Belcher, a former K/1 teacher at Laurel School who had attended the school herself. With the loss of local jobs in Laurel, the demise of family farms and tobacco crop subsidies, and the movement of families closer to steady sources of work (e.g., Walmart, Lowe's, consolidated public schools), enrollment in Laurel School declined from 99 students in 2000 to 49 K–5 students in 2015. At an emotional meeting of the local Board of Education, held in a packed school auditorium, Laurel School was permanently closed as a public school. "It felt … to me like a *death* because it was such a big part of my life," narrates Deborah Chandler, who graduated from Laurel School and had been a teaching assistant there.[11]

The impact of these rural school closings for local people and communities has been profound. Members of the communities served in PAGE still talk about the closing of their schools with sadness and anger. They feel the loss deeply and acutely. In some instances, small rural schools have been reimagined as community or cultural centers and still function as centers of community life. Local people struggle to make these reimagined spaces more than museums or relics of the past, when schooling was place-based and integrated with community in a way that cannot be replicated in consolidated schools.

In a more positive vein, young people in Appalachia are heirs to the strong community value placed on local schools and teachers—now embodied in stories. Oral histories passed down from parents, elders, and other locals provide them with a sense of strength and identity: this is *my* history too. Education in this sense serves as even more than a "ladder of opportunity," as today's corporate-oriented educational language might frame things. It serves as a way in which young people can develop identities that are tremendous resources for civic engagement: pride in their regional identity, a feeling of place-based belonging, an expectation to work hard and achieve, and a deep respect for learning. Small rural schools may have been more progressive models of education than we could imagine in the sense of preparing youth for civic life and leadership.

A final resource for youth growing up in Appalachia thrives in the colleges and other educational institutions found across the region. These can serve as stepping stones leading students like Gabby to achieve their imagined futures. Private funding and visionary leadership have yielded exemplary models of postsecondary education

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[11] See https://pageprograms.com/the-girls-projects/interdisciplinary-labs/installations/the-laurel-school.

for working-class rural students. A leading example is Berea College in Kentucky, founded in 1855 by abolitionists. In its first year of opening just after the Civil War, Berea served 96 Black students and 91 White college students. Since that beginning, Berea has become known for making a 4-year liberal arts college degree accessible for all. No student in need of financial aid (this includes most of the College's students) pays tuition. Berea College is known for high-quality stretching throughout its programs, teaching, and various centers. The renowned feminist scholar bell hooks is one among the many Berea College faculty who create a progressive educational experience of the highest quality for students. Many, like bell hooks, are themselves from the Appalachian region. Generations of working-class students have found their way into civic engagement through regional schools and colleges such as Berea College. They experience economic opportunity and racial justice on campus and carry these principles with them back into their communities and out into the world.

Pathways to Civic Engagement

Time and time again, when living or working inside Appalachia, the strength and resilience of local people and communities stand out above all else. On the one hand, the strengths of local communities spring from the bedrock values of family, church, and school. Then, there are the strengths of Appalachian people themselves. Grit, expectations of hard work, and a strong sense of place-based identity appear over and over in memoirs from this part of America.

How then can we build on these strengths while creating new opportunities for youth growing up near the former coalfields of Eastern Kentucky and West Virginia, or the former tobacco-growing farmlands of Western North Carolina or Southwest Virginia? This is a question that takes us back to Gabrielle, an imaginative student growing up in a remote corner of the Blue Ridge Mountains. She reflects efforts in the PAGE initiative to provide the innovative education that could help her achieve her full potential. Rather than reinvent the educational wheel from scratch, PAGE has drawn on some existing traditions and models of success—both from within the region and beyond—to create new pathways to opportunity. Educators need to imagine new kinds of community that can empower youth to think of themselves as engaging in the future, both locally and beyond as global citizens. Lessons learned from PAGE as well as prior decades of inspiring place-based teaching can help point out new pathways to building communities of discourse and action.

One of these lessons connects to the popular mantra of Think Locally, Act Globally, and the many variations on this theme. Education that can empower rural youth needs to reimagine the synthesis between the two: local place-specific education and new ways to connect and engage with global communities. A synthesis of the two can yield promising kinds of teaching and learning to prepare young people to lead and engage in progressive, effective ways. PAGE strives for this creative synthesis through first building on the traditions of place-based education in the region served. Settlement schools provide one inspiration for the work done in PAGE. Schools such as the Hindman Settlement School and the Pine Mountain Settlement School in Eastern Kentucky have since the early 1900s served as models of progressive, site-specific education, combining studies of literacy and humanities, environmental education and

farming, and Appalachian arts and storytelling. Similarly, PAGE has looked to the Blue Ridge Mountains as a living laboratory for study of the humanities, science, and the arts. Students engage with new digital tools to tell their stories, and those of people, places, plants, and even the night sky from the vantage point they have in places such as Laurel and Spring Creek. PAGE's year-round learning opportunities integrate critical and cultural studies of the region, what some would term *Appalachian studies*. In order for rural students to be engaged citizens of the world, they must first understand their unique places and voices within it. They need a language for talking with pride about regional identities, and for *talking back* to the most demeaning stereotypes about hillbillies and poor Whites.

Part of this synthesis involves reimagining the role of diversity in place-based rural education. PAGE seeks out the narratives that may have been less historically visible in Appalachia. In 2018, an Interdisciplinary Lab engaged teams of veteran 8th and 9th grade PAGE participants in a multimedia project about two historic schools. The story of one of these small schools, Laurel School, was more familiar to some students who, like Gabby, came from this rural community. The second, the Anderson Rosenwald School, was less familiar to many. The two-room wood-frame school is set on a side road in the Mount Olive community in Mars Hill, North Carolina. It was one of many Rosenwald schools built in the rural South for Black children in the time of segregated schooling through a matching grant from Julius Rosenwald (then-president of Sears, Roebuck & Co.) and community donations of funding and labor. This is a critical part of the story of education in Appalachia, and an important story of the partnerships that PAGE hopes to build. Youth participants did oral history interviews with community activists seeking to reclaim the school as a community space and museum. The young people learned and applied skills in still photography and videography; they then edited the multimedia content for an evening exhibition. On an unforgettable July evening, guests moved between two installations in classrooms that had been transformed into stories, voices, and images from two historic schools.[12]

Diversity must also of course be experienced in global ways. PAGE makes a deliberate effort to help girls in Appalachia connect and engage in new ways with global communities and their histories. PAGE acts on this goal through a literature program that strives for deep, reflective engagement with books: what the child psychologist and Harvard University professor Robert Coles once described as a "literature of social understanding" (Coles, 1989). It has been a joy and an education in teaching to watch another student, a girl living in a holler called Lumptown not far from the former Laurel School, devour book after book in PAGE. Her selections included the memoir by Nobel Prize laureate and girls' education activist Malala Yousafzai: *I Am Malala*. Another student once shared that the most memorable experience she had in all her years in PAGE was getting to know an elderly woman who had once known Anne Frank, when both were growing up Jewish in pre-war Amsterdam. This high school student, looking back at her years in PAGE, remembered most vividly her close reading of *The Diary of Anne Frank*—brought to life by a lengthy engagement with a woman who could speak of Anne Frank with the particularity that makes this diary so heart wrenching and important.

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[12] See https://pageprograms.com/the-girls-projects/interdisciplinary-labs/installations.

Malala Yousafzai and Anne Frank are voices, current and past, in a new global community that Gabby and her peers will create in Appalachia. It is critical that they see themselves as becoming able to move comfortably between deep engagement with their own local communities and thoughtful, imaginative engagement with global voices. It is within our reach to make this kind of engagement possible in "classrooms"—that is, interdisciplinary, lab-like spaces for designing, reading, and creating. We can strive for the best mingling of place-based teaching ideas—such as settlement schools and small rural schools—with global thinking *and* action. New digital tools make it possible to connect across geographic distances in empowering ways, guided by wise teaching and time for the reflective assessment of here and there, then and now.

The second lesson learned in PAGE is closely related to the first. The organization has learned over the course of a decade that the humanities—story, literature, and history, integrated with visual and documentary arts—have a critical role to play in preparing young people for civic engagement. PAGE's interdisciplinary labs have historically been humanities labs, where even the youngest participants create digital stories, do oral history research, create podcasts, and design site-specific projects that integrate writing, research, the visual arts, and new technologies. Working deeply with story, digital literacy, and extended discourse helps these young people acquire critical thinking skills and confidence. In PAGE's literature program, girls learn that each member of a small reading group has an important role to play in the understanding of complex stories, characters, and themes. In these learning contexts, with a student:teacher/intern ratio that never exceeds 10:1, PAGE participants learn how to engage with diverse ideas and other voices. They experience a supportive place for finding their own voices, for becoming young leaders in a learning community where they cannot fail. This is a beginning point for civic engagement.

Building on the ways that Berea College, small rural schools, and settlement schools have built community and created opportunity for rural students, PAGE hopes to help girls and young women in Appalachia connect, learn, and lead in new ways. It is a long haul that requires sustained commitment. What community leaders in Appalachia most dislike about educational research is the tendency of university teams to come in with a bold new idea and enthusiastically implement a project with a fresh influx of grant dollars, only to leave after 3 to 5 years with no plan for sustainability. Creating more civic engagement among rural White youth will require building relationships and partnerships over time, *with* local educators and community people, and in collaboration with education colleagues across the nation.

It is inspiring to imagine the new coalitions that could emerge with such investments in rural education. Even in communities that might, based on recurring stereotypes and assumptions, appear lost from the devastation of opioids and the demise of coal mining and tobacco farming, one can find incredible energy. Youth in Appalachia are hungry for new opportunities that will enable them to become part of national and global conversations and movements. The desire to innovate expressed by young Gabby in Laurel, a Blue Ridge Mountain community, is no anomaly but part of a larger opportunity, if we can only seize it.

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LESSONS LEARNED: CONCLUSION

Carol D. Lee

Citizenship is complicated and multifaceted. One dimension entails basic human rights, regardless of one's legal status within the nation–state. Another dimension is legal and has a complex history of evolution within the United States. Native Americans have a unique position within this legal construct because of the 574 federally recognized Tribal nations and additional 63 state recognized tribes, 229 federally recognized Alaska Native villages, the Hawaiian homelands with their own systems of governance, and those who live largely outside of such Tribal nations and reservations. A third dimension relates to people's identities living within the United States, often involving multiple identities because the United States is essentially a nation of immigrants—some by choice and others forced. As Chua and Rubenfeld (2018) observe, "For all its flaws, the United States is uniquely equipped to unite a diverse and divided society.… Its citizens don't have to choose between a national identity and multiculturalism. Americans can have both. But the key is constitutional patriotism. We have to remain united by and through the Constitution, regardless of our ideological disagreements."

There are multiple take aways from the histories of efforts in ethnic communities in the United States to achieve the rights of citizenship as articulated in the country's founding documents. The first is the clear evidence of agency within communities, despite facing significant historical and persistent challenges. These histories provide clear and convincing evidence of how educators, families, and community stakeholders have played key roles in organizing both supports that have been independent of government services and simultaneously organizing to recruit government services and changing laws and institutional practices. They demonstrate that despite poverty, racism, and structural discrimination, communities still have agency and power. These communities are not simply subjects, but most importantly, agents. These complex histories are alive today and provide powerful lessons within and across communities.

A second take away is the evidence of the impactful roles that teachers can play when organized and connected to communities, and of how community-based organizations can prepare young people to be productively engaged as active agents of change.

A third take away is the importance of understanding the history and evolution of laws, judicial decisions, and institutional practices that illustrate the complexities and nuances of the nation's wrestling with the meaning of citizenship and with conundrums in the civic domain. How these laws, judicial decisions, and institutional practices shifted by virtue of civic engagement demonstrates the breadth of pathways through which civic decision making can unfold.

Finally, these histories are inspirational. They provide clear and convincing evidence of how communities, despite facing persistent political and economic challenges, demonstrate agency in creating visions of empowerment and in organizing structures and practices—within institutions and within families—to prepare members of each generation to be active participants in building a more democratic space for all.

The authors made the decision to craft this chapter because these histories are largely unknown in the general public or in the field of education, broadly speaking.

These histories need to be incorporated in the public education system as well as part of the training of teachers and others working in the public education sphere.

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5

Civic Reasoning and Discourse Amid Structural Inequality, Migration, and Conflict

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New Jersey High School Student at a Black Lives Matter Protest, June 2020.

INTRODUCTION AND DEFINITION OF PROBLEM SPACE

In the aftermath of the murder of George Floyd, young people across the United States and the world were at the forefront of protests against racial violence and police brutality. As made visible in the photograph on this page, young people are engaged in civic and political discourse rooted in the connections between contemporary experiences of racial violence and injustice and the historic legacies continuing to underpin life in the United States today. In fact, as protests unfolded across the country, varied opinions about the very nature of civic discourse and action (e.g., toppling statues, disregarding curfews, writing graffiti on public property) were tied to differing, contextually embedded understandings of national history. The contexts in which young people live and learn frame and shape their civic understandings, influencing the form and content of their civic discourse and action.

Young people, regardless of their race, ethnicity, or socioeconomic status, live amid enduring patterns of social and economic inequality and injustice, though depending

on their positioning in their society they may respond differently (Shin et al., in press). Educational spaces—sites of the civic reasoning and discourse that are the focus of this National Academy of Education (NAEd) panel—are shaped by these broader realities. The social contexts committee of the NAEd Panel on Civic Reasoning and Discourse explores the connections between the social and political contexts structuring youth experience in the United States and globally, and how those experiences relate to the opportunities for and enactments of civic discourse and reasoning in the United States. In this chapter, the authors highlight three interwoven aspects of context that are under-explored in the traditional research on civic education—structural inequality, migration, and violence. The goal is to better understand how social and political contexts shape civic learning differentially. This understanding is necessary to develop meaningful classroom approaches to civic reasoning and dialogue.

This chapter first explores how inequalities, migration, and violence mark the contexts within which young people around the world develop as citizens and also shape the content, nature, and limits of civic discourse and reasoning. It then considers diverse forms of civic participation and promising, contextually informed practices. Finally, it draws out implications for civic reasoning and discourse in the United States.

PUTTING CIVIC REASONING AND DISCOURSE INTO CONTEXT

Several decades of research illuminate how civic development takes place amid unequal access to resources and rights, thereby informing varied experiences and perspectives, and creating differential connections to, motivations for, and approaches to participation in public life (e.g., Abu El-Haj, 2015; Banks, 2008, 2017; Bellino, 2017; Cohen et al., 2018; Ladson-Billings, 2004; Levinson, 2012; Rubin, 2007). In classrooms, students are often treated as unencumbered subjects who come to civic dialogue with the same histories and vested interests. These assumptions preclude authentic dialogue drawing on the rich civic understandings that young people develop through their varied community experiences. In what follows, the authors explore how inequality and injustice lie at the center of social and political life, contributing to experiences of civic "congruence" and "disjuncture" between what young people have "learned about the ideals of the United States … and their personal experiences as citizens" within particular social, economic, institutional, political, and historical contexts (Rubin, 2007, p. 458). The experience of civic disjuncture can lead to important, critical perspectives on democratic practice, as exemplified in the opening image of a young Black Lives Matter protester. Interventions aimed at enhancing the civic learning of young people—including those directed at civic discourse and reasoning—must be developed with an awareness of how these gaps, tensions, and opportunities for critical analysis and engagement shape youth civic experience and development.

In this section, the authors examine three key dimensions of the contexts framing youth experiences with civic life. First, the authors explore the ways that structural inequalities shape and constrain the varied educative settings in which children and youth learn citizenship. Historically rooted social differences (e.g., race/ethnicity or socioeconomic class) structure differential opportunities, outcomes, and experiences with social and political life, including educational experiences.

Second, they examine how increased global migration is profoundly reshaping family, community, and schools in the United States while broadening young people's civic identities and the communities in which they are positioned as civic actors. Migrants fleeing conditions of economic and societal precarity experience multiple disjunctures as they are often unable to access rights or experience structural inclusion in the countries in which they seek asylum—what Brysk and Shafir (2004) call the "citizenship gap." Moreover, through processes of migration, people develop multilayered and nuanced affiliations across nation-states (Yuval-Davis, 2011). This citizenship gap and these transnational affiliations frame the citizenship identities of many young people in the United States as well as in other countries around the world.

Finally, the authors discuss violent conflict as both a consequence of and a contributor to the disruption of civic life. Young people growing up in contexts of violent conflict experience extreme civic disjuncture. At the same time, in post-conflict societies, civic education is promoted as a high stakes activity aimed at repairing the social and political fabric, with implications for individual citizens and democratic institutions and governance. Global comparisons from settings of extreme conflict and that examine educational responses in different phases of conflict (e.g., latent conflict, acute conflict, and post-conflict) are useful in shedding light on possible approaches to thinking about violence and its potential effects within the United States.

In what follows, the authors argue that these three critical, consequential, and intersecting dimensions of context—structural inequality, migration, and violence—undergird contemporary citizenship in the United States and in many countries around the world, fundamentally shaping the content and nature of young people's civic discourse and reasoning.

Structural Inequality

Structural inequalities are part of young peoples' evolving understanding of themselves as citizens—a lived, daily civics central to learning and identity (Cohen et al., 2018; Rubin, 2007; Rubin & Hayes, 2010). It is beyond the scope of this chapter to address all of the dimensions of structural inequality that shape young people's experiences and understandings across various national contexts. In what follows, the authors choose to explore racial injustice in the United States as one robust example. Race is always inextricably bound up with other aspects of structural inequality, compounded by class, gender, sexuality, and disability. A focused examination of race—a particularly powerful dimension of the historic civic context in the United States—offers a layered depiction of the varied ways that one dimension of structural injustice influences all young people's civic development.

Numerous interpretive studies of civic learning and identity describe how young people's rights and experiences as citizens are fundamentally shaped by their positionality within racialized systems (e.g., Abu El-Haj, 2007; Brayboy & Lomawaima, 2018; Ghaffar-Kucher, 2012; Guajardo et al., 2008; Kwon, 2013; Lee, 2005; Levinson, 2012; Maira, 2009; Nygreen, 2013; Rubin et al., 2009; Shirazi, 2019). This includes experiences with state institutions and their agents, for example, law enforcement and the judicial system; school-based disciplinary practices; curricular treatments of race and inequality; and academic and social divisions within schools. It includes legacies of

denial of the injustices by those in power as well as rich traditions of civic and political activism within families, communities, and schools that nurture and influence the civic engagement of young people from varied walks of life (for examples of the influence of historical legacies of activism, see Anderson, 1988; Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006; McAdam, 1988; Siddle Walker, 1996; Warren, 2010; and Chapter 3 in this report). Young people draw on such experiences to make sense of their relationship with the state, with consequences for civic discourse and reasoning.

In the United States, research on civic learning and engagement has often focused on the gap in the performance of low-income youth of color and their White, more affluent peers on measures of civic knowledge and engagement (i.e., Lutkus et al., 1999). This disparity reflects the limitations of the measures typically used to ascertain civic learning and engagement, which put undue emphasis on traditional markers such as knowledge of facts about the political system and intent to participate in formal civic acts, such as voting. It is also connected to inequities in access to high-quality, school-based civic education for low-income communities, particularly in relation to the degree of student-centered, discussion-based, and experiential practices—all considered best practices for civic education—provided by schools (Guilfoile & Delander, 2014; Kahne & Middaugh, 2008). For racially and otherwise minoritized youth, however, the frequent absence of optimal learning opportunities in civics classrooms echoes their daily experiences with racialized and other systems of injustice, both outside and within school settings. These facets of inequality shape the contexts within which young people are expected to engage in civic discourse, informing the nature and content of their reasoning.

For example, young people's experiences with law enforcement and carceral violence can affect their sense of trust in the legal and judicial system (Cohen et al., 2018; Rubin et al., 2009). In the United States, negative encounters with state agents, police in particular, are part of many young people's daily civic lives. Nationally representative surveys and comprehensive studies of local neighborhood policing corroborate the widespread nature of such experiences (Morris Justice Project, n.d.; Rogowski & Cohen, 2015). This is a "hidden curricula" of adjudication, incarceration, and policing that negatively positions marginalized young people in relation to the state, undermining positive versions of civic life offered in the overt curriculum (Justice & Meares, 2014). Cohen and Luttig (2020) argue that this carceral violence is so endemic that it forms an essential part of the political knowledge of Black and Latinx youth. Racialized experiences of justice shape the contexts within which young people talk and think about civic life, deeply informing their civic reasoning and discourse, as we see in the recent swell of activism around anti-Black racism and police violence.

Students who have experienced only congruence between lived civic experience and official civic promises, and who have not been exposed to the disjunctive experiences of others, can develop a problematic "complacency." In Rubin's 2007 study of civic identity development across distinct school and community contexts, one such student defined good citizenship as "just enjoying being in the place, not worrying completely about politics or what's concerning the world outside" (p. 472). Students with limited exposure to different perspectives on civic life can feel doubtful about the challenges their peers have faced; for example, Frank, an affluent White student in a homogeneous suburban school district, explained that he felt that students who spoke

out on civic issues were making "a big deal out of nothing" (p. 468). School-based practices, as will be described later, can mitigate this by providing opportunities for young people to learn from the experiences of their peers (Freedman et al., 2016; Seider & Graves, 2020). Disjunctive encounters with institutionalized authority in public space are often mirrored in classrooms and schools, compounding the inequitable experiences described previously. Classroom management and school discipline practices, for example, can constitute an implicit, affective civic education that socializes children and youth into particular forms of civic identity in relation to the institutionalized authority of the state. For example, restrictive behavioral management programs and strategies, a common feature of education in urban, high poverty contexts, demand compliance to institutional authority even in situations of clear unfairness, creating stifling contexts for meaningful civic discourse (Graham, 2019).

The term "school-to-prison pipeline" is increasingly applied to describe the apparent connections between educational exclusion and justice system involvement (Ginwright, 2004). There is extreme disparity in disciplinary referral and suspension rates for students of color in U.S. schools. African American students, both male and female, are referred for discipline and suspended at two to three times the rate of their White peers (Fabelo et al., 2011). Similar disparities exist for Latinx students, Native American students, and students in special education across racial groups (Office for Civil Rights, 2014), and there are indications that this disproportionality may extend to bisexual, gay, lesbian, and transgender students as well (Himmelstein & Bruckner, 2011; Poteat et al., 2015). The negative consequences associated with exclusionary discipline include "academic disengagement, depressed academic achievement, school dropout, and increased involvement in the juvenile justice system" (Gregory et al., 2017, p. 256). The result is the exclusion of particular groups of students from opportunities for civic discourse and reasoning by decreasing the amount of time they spend in class (or in school) and the quality of that time. More consequentially, such practices position racially and otherwise minoritized students as outsiders to the civic community. These experiences can educate youth into limited and disenfranchised identities as civic actors, but can also foment critical consciousness and, potentially, be leveraged within educational spaces to enrich civic discourse and reasoning (Seider & Graves, 2020).

Curricular treatments of race are also part of the contextual architecture of young peoples' civic development, framing discourse and reasoning in and outside of school spaces. Textbooks, pedagogies, and learning standards can be distant from or at odds with students' racial and cultural identities and experiences (Epstein, 2008) or they can be consistent with the power and privileges that other young people experience. Banks (2020) has described ways in which the mainstream or dominant school curriculum reinforces the cultures, languages, and experiences of majority groups within the United States. Mainstream school knowledge often depicts the cultures of Europeans as central to the development of the United States and the contributions made by other groups as marginal. Moreover, such curricula tend to minimize both the brutality of slavery, genocide, and other forms of racial violence, as well as the long history of political resistance to oppression (Brown & Brown, 2015; Chandler & Branscombe, 2015; King & Chandler, 2016; King & Woodson, 2017; Leonardo & Porter, 2010; Woodson, 2015). Not only can the curriculum ignore some groups' experiences, but it can also reinforce stereotypes and promote a sense of exclusion. For example, Muslim youth in U.S. schools often

encounter nationalistic curricula that cast them as enemy-aliens whose very citizenship and identity is in conflict with the state (Abu El-Haj, 2015). Within this curricular context, neither privileged students nor those who have less privilege are encouraged to critically analyze connections between their own experiences and observations and historical patterns (Brown & Brown, 2015). Possibilities for civic discourse are constrained by these curricular omissions and manifestations of racial injustice. Indeed, civic discourse limits the full potential of civic dialogue by constraining opportunities for all students to engage with each other in free and open discussion on complex and polarizing issues.

"Status differences" among young people may create differential access even within schools with high-quality civic learning opportunities (Cohen & Lotan, 2014). Within racially and socioeconomically diverse schools, hierarchies mirroring those that permeate the surrounding society persist by means of students' interactions, classroom practices, parental intervention, educator misconceptions, and school structures (Lewis & Diamond, 2015; Oakes, 1985; Oakes et al., 1997; Rubin, 2003, 2008; Yonezawa et al., 2002). These dynamics, reflective of intractable structural inequalities, also provide a fraught and inequitable context for the development and expression of civic discourse and reasoning.

Young people's varying experiences of injustice and othering, both within schools and beyond, position them differently in relation to citizenship. Structures of inequality separate young people in schools and communities, limiting possibilities for authentic and meaningful discourse across difference and opportunities to learn about and from unfamiliar experiences. Finally, young people's lived experiences of structural inequality, alongside their experiences of rich cultural and political traditions of community resistance, contribute to unique civic understanding and ways of being that are currently underexplored in formal educational settings. The literature indicates that the historical argument being made by the young Black woman in the opening image in this chapter is likely to have developed outside of rather than within school. Centering varied student civic experiences inside schools is essential to the full enfranchisement of all youth; a multiplicity of experiences and points of view must be meaningfully incorporated into practices aimed at developing civic reasoning and discourse.

Migration

Global migration trends are changing how people experience, understand, and orient toward citizenship and belonging (Abu El-Haj, 2007, 2015; Banks, 2009; Banks et al., 2016; Suárez-Orozco, 2001; Yuval-Davis, 2011), reshaping contexts for and content of youth civic reasoning and discourse. Mass global migration, forced displacement (due to wars and environmental disasters), and statelessness affect many young people's understanding of and relationship to civic belonging. These conditions require careful attention to how young people living in conditions of mobility, economic instability, and legal precarity develop as civic and political actors, and the implications for civic reasoning and discourse. The implications are particularly important in the United States, where Suárez-Orozco (2018, p. 2) notes that "over 25 percent of children under the age of 18, a total of 18.7 million children, have an immigrant parent."

Although civic and political participation are typically conceptualized in relation to one's juridical citizenship, when citizenship is viewed as a lived, everyday experience,

many people, including youth, actively engage as civic and political actors, even without the formal rights conferred by states (Bosniak, 2006; Levinson, 2011; Sassen, 2004; Yuval-Davis, 2011). Recent research illustrates that children and youth develop multifaceted citizenship identities and practices through their experiences growing up across transnational social fields. Transnational social fields reference both actual movement of people across borders, but also the practices through which immigrant communities sustain ongoing relationships with multiple places through media, cultural, linguistics, and political practices, as well as cross-border familial relationships (Basch et al., 1994). Modern technologies are a key component of transnational social fields, making it possible for people to maintain significant ties with people, places, cultural forms, economies, and politics of "home." Transnational social fields complicate the landscape, purposes, and repertoires with which young people engage in civic dialogue while interacting within and across multiple state contexts. Given the large numbers of youth in U.S. schools who live transnationally, and the political and economic influence that the United States has on countries across the world, a global perspective is particularly important when thinking about civics education.

For many children, youth, and families, migration also creates new vulnerabilities as they deal daily with the consequences of unauthorized status. A growing body of research explores how children and youth who are undocumented, or who live in mixed status families, learn to navigate the public sphere, negotiating multiple obligations around school and work, while not putting themselves and their families at risk of detention and deportation, and how teachers can address these complexities (Abrego, 2006, 2008; Allard, 2015; Dabach, 2015; Dreby, 2015; Gonzales, 2011, 2015; Mangual Figueroa, 2017). Research in the United States has documented the challenges young people face as they transition from the space of public education (a right still guaranteed to children regardless of their juridical status) to post graduate life, focusing on the extent to which they can leverage social capital to fulfill (or not) their aspirations (Enriquez, 2011; Gonzales, 2010, 2011; Sepúlveda, 2011). For many undocumented young people, this transition begins even before exiting K–12 schools, when jobs and driver's licenses come into play and when undocumented status as an identity becomes a stigma to hide, closing off social relationships. Immigration status also mediates young children's understandings of differential access to rights (e.g., to move freely in public and across borders) and future opportunities (Mangual Figueroa, 2011, 2017; Oliveira, 2018). One of the particular challenges for civic education (and civic dialogue) is that children and youth growing up in unauthorized or mixed status families are deeply knowledgeable about civic and political life, but their knowledge and experiences must, for the most part, remain silent in both formal and educational contexts (in addition to mainstream public political spaces) (Gonzales et al., 2015). Inclusion of children and youth who live with unauthorized status, or who are in mixed status families, in civic dialogue requires careful thought to the particular risks of visibility and voice for these communities.

Young people growing up in transnational social fields may develop a sense of belonging that does not line up neatly with the states in which they reside. Whether they are actually moving physically between two or more countries, or they are living in one place but in a community that maintains ongoing contact with the social, cultural, linguistic, and political spheres of "home," these young people are having experiences,

learning about, and developing affiliations across multiple boundaries of belonging. A range of experiences—from occasional or routine trips "home" to the everyday linguistic and cultural practices within families and communities; to consumption of international media; to political action on behalf of the "homeland"—educate young people to feel a sense of belonging to the places from which they or their families migrated (Abu El-Haj, 2015; Dryden-Peterson & Reddick, 2017; Dyrness & Sepúlveda, 2020; Jaffe-Walter, 2016; Oliveira, 2018; Sánchez, 2007; Wolf, 2002; Zuñiga & Hamann, 2009). Thus, whereas the social incorporation of newcomers is typically premised on a belief that with time, they, or at least their children, will primarily orient to the new nation-state, this is no longer necessarily the case (Dyrness & Abu El-Haj, 2020; Suárez-Orozco, 2001). In some cases, the legal right to vote in one's country of origin is maintained, so young people are formally participating in multiple political systems. These transnational realities require young people to understand and adapt civic reasoning and discourse to multiple contexts.

At the same time, states continue to structure and mediate legal definitions of citizenship and formal opportunities for exercising one's civic voice. Refugees and asylum-seekers find themselves caught between global promises, and the commitments and capacities of the states willing to host them (Bonet, 2018; Dryden-Peterson, 2016), inhabiting "the gaps between states" (Haddad, 2008, p. 7). Developing knowledge, skills, and dispositions toward civic engagement is often deemed irrelevant to displaced populations who lack formal opportunities to participate and whose future participation is unknown (Dryden-Peterson & Reddick, 2017; Dryden-Peterson et al., 2019).

Even with formal legal immigration status, the affiliative ties cultivated through experiences growing up in transnational social fields often develop in concert with young people's encounters with racialized landscapes that position them as "impossible subjects" (Ngai, 2004/2014) of the nations within which they reside. For example, in the post 9/11 era, Muslim, Arab, and South Asian youth in the United States (Abu El-Haj, 2015; Ali, 2014, 2019; Ghaffar-Kucher, 2012; Maira, 2009) and Europe (Garcia-Sánchez, 2013; Jaffe-Walter, 2016; Ríos-Rojas, 2011; Tetrault, 2013) found that their capacity to identify as "Americans" or as "Danes" or "French" or "Spanish" was continually challenged by the racist political discourses and policies that framed their communities as threatening and unassimilable subjects of the nation. Islamophobia and public discourse around U.S. military involvement in Muslim-majority countries influence the relationships that students form with one another and their teachers in U.S. schools, as well as the conversations that take place there (Abu El-Haj, 2015; Bajaj et al., 2016). For example, everyday civic rituals such as pledging to the American flag became flashpoints for contentious civic dialogue around the meaning of national belonging, the parameters of patriotism, and what constitutes acceptable political critique of the country—dialogue that was often suppressed rather than engaged. (Similar conflicts over civic rituals have arisen in other contexts, for example, around whether or not athletes can kneel during the national anthem.) Policies of detention, deportation, and exclusion, as well as educational projects that claim to "counter violent extremism" targeting Muslim communities, are part of the context for youth civic development (Ali, 2016; Nguyen, 2019). The long history of policies that threaten Latinx communities with detention and deportation in the United States has been compounded by the recent intensification of restrictive policies, punitive measures, and hateful speech

directed at these communities, fundamentally shaping the ways that children and youth understand their place in the United States (Hernández, 2008). Many young people's civic reasoning and discourse is situated within and in response to political speech and policies affecting their communities.

Finally, transnationalism can be a generative context for young people's civic learning, supporting them to develop critical consciousness about rights and justice across borders. Young people who have experienced life across states, learned of family members' experiences, or have lived with the vulnerability of unauthorized status are often cognizant of uneven and inequitable access to rights across borders. This comparative perspective educates many young people about political perspectives that can lead to activism around both local and global issues (Abu El-Haj, 2015; Ali, 2019; Dyrness & Abu El-Haj, 2020; Dyrness & Sepúlveda, 2020; Maira, 2009; Nicholls, 2013a; Shirazi, 2019). One challenge is how to integrate their perspectives, often nurtured in and out of school contexts, into formal civic education. This is particularly important because their perspectives often are not part of and may even contradict mainstream narratives taught in state schools, and thus, can expand the scope of civic dialogue in classrooms. Young people from migrant communities learning in formal civic education settings have a right to opportunities for civic dialogue in which their narratives can be heard and engaged.

Violence

National, political, and ethnic conflict, a core feature of many contexts, including the United States, is salient to young people's civic development, in many cases setting parameters for civic discourse and reasoning. Democratic civic education is often posited as an antidote to political conflict and violence, an ideal pathway for fostering informed, engaged, and ethical citizens (Bellino et al., 2017; Davies, 2004; Freedman et al., 2008; Levine & Bishai, 2010; Weinstein et al., 2007). In settings emerging from recent violent conflict, civic reasoning and discourse intersect with societal goals for peacebuilding, democratic consolidation, and violence prevention. This global context is relevant for discussions in the United States for several reasons: teachers who seek to support young people from communities that have experienced war must know about those contexts; moreover, understanding the impact that violence has in shaping civic experiences elsewhere can shed light on the violence that is embedded within the U.S. context. Young people in post-conflict settings develop amid civic education initiatives, curricula, and practices that tend to cast them as future "peacemakers" (McEvoy-Levy, 2006), discursively linking youth citizenship and peacebuilding (also see Bickmore, 2004). However, young people's everyday experiences in contexts shaped by partial, fragile, or contentious peace processes may impede these imagined civic roles. Despite stated commitments to open, civic dialogue, some post-conflict settings lack the political and structural shifts required to support these engagements and the democratic norms on which they depend.

Incomplete or contradictory democratic processes paradoxically expand opportunities for civic expression and participation while simultaneously restricting everyday rights and freedoms. In the context of postwar Guatemala, for example, young people are positioned as "wait-citizens" in which the rules and norms of the authoritarian

past co-mingle with recent democratic reforms (Bellino, 2017). Collective movements and Indigenous demands for inclusion in this context have repeatedly met with state repression and violence, and civic engagement is criminalized in public discourse. The danger inherent in being associated with popular movements is an enduring legacy of authoritarianism; these risks are inseparable from the contexts in which young people develop as citizens and exercise basic rights. Young people's sense of civic efficacy interacts with their interpretations of, and identifications with, historical injustice and the civic messages mediated by teachers, families, peers, and communities (Bellino, 2016; Rubin, 2016a, 2016b). Accordingly, conceptions of "good citizenship" in this setting revolve around young people's dispositions toward embracing or avoiding risk (Bellino, 2015b).

Similar tensions characterize youth civic development in postwar El Salvador, where high rates of criminal violence and emigration are both outcomes of violent civil war and legacies of the structural inequities that contributed to conflict and division (Dyrness, 2012, 2014). In high-risk settings such as these, youth citizenship cannot be separated from daily experiences with violence, which reinforces a sense of abandonment by the state and resentment toward an "inverted" civil contract (Bellino, 2015a, p. 120; also see Freedman & Abazovic, 2006). Young people make strategic decisions about civic participation based on their everyday experiences with state actors and institutions, their levels of (dis)trust in fellow citizens, and the ways that citizenship has been historically constructed and contested. These decisions can lead young people to challenge oppressive conditions, such as during the Arab Spring or in recent Black Lives Matter protests; young people's sense of civic disenfranchisement can galvanize movements for social change. Risk and resistance co-exist, shaping, constraining, and also spurring civic discourse and action.

In many national settings, teaching about ethnic and civic identity in nuanced and complex ways conflicts with state sponsored narratives, and thus is not only difficult but also potentially dangerous (Zembylas & Bekerman, 2008). In the aftermath of Rwanda's genocide, for example, critical thinking was identified as an explicit goal for civic education and a necessary deterrent for future violence, ensuring that citizens would question authority and recognize propaganda. But this goal was undercut by an increasingly repressive political context in which alternative viewpoints on the history of genocide and the existence of ethnicity would not be tolerated. As the state institutionalized a single national identity narrative, laws prohibiting "genocide ideology" have made it virtually impossible to question this viewpoint (Freedman et al., 2008; King, 2014; Russell, 2019).

Political repression and access to rights shape the possibilities for civic learning and expression. Threats such as physical violence and surveillance impede open dialogue and collective organizing, necessitating alternative forms and spaces for civic engagement. These studies remind us that a narrowing range of acceptable discourse in the public sphere has implications for the ways that schools are able to address the root causes and consequences of conflict, particularly when legacies of violence continue to mark young people's social worlds. When open, critical dialogue is restricted in any society, young people learn more than the boundaries around what can be said and not said; censorship also impacts how young people understand themselves and their rights and obligations as democratic citizens. Beyond calculations of exercising one's

civic voice in ways that are secure, feasible, and socially acceptable, fear and distrust have an affective impact on the relationships forged between citizens and the state and between members of distinct identity groups. They also extend to young people's conceptions of civic agency more broadly, reinforcing compliance and submission to authority figures, and risking a sense of impotence and fatalism in the face of impenetrable, unresponsive state structures.

Civic dialogue should pay particular attention to including marginalized communities because these groups of youth are most likely to be alienated and excluded from mainstream civic life. Without their voices, civic discourse is diminished for all people, not just for those who are marginalized. Recognizing the constraints that contexts of inequality, global migration, and violence place on young people's civic expression means that we need to constantly work to equalize power within schools, particularly between groups with unequal status. Doing so requires broader acknowledgment of historical and structural inequities in the formal curriculum, while supporting young people's efforts to participate in their democracies and recognizing the varied modalities through which young people are making civic arguments. Studies accounting for promising practices identified in the previous section illustrate how thoughtful curricular approaches, youth activism, participatory action research, and arts-based modalities enact these principles.

All countries, including the United States, contend with difficult decisions about how to address histories and legacies of violence such as colonialism and enslavement, as well as more localized sources of societal discord. Educational research illustrates the prevalence of conflict avoidance in civic education initiatives, particularly in settings impacted by armed conflict. Curricula can silence, neutralize, and rationalize periods of violence, and these difficult topics are often delivered through rote pedagogy rather than critical or constructivist approaches (Brown & Brown, 2015; Paulson, 2015; Quaynor, 2012; Sabzalian & Shear, 2018), suggesting that they are closed for discussion in schools. The routine avoidance of conflict that characterizes curricula in post-conflict settings poses a conundrum: on the one hand, civic education should be grounded in young people's lived experiences, which may include direct exposure to conflict and its legacies; on the other hand, efforts to understand the dynamics of conflict are pedagogically—and often, politically—fraught. Intergroup tensions and grievances are often ongoing, impeding possibilities for historical distancing. Moreover, for members of historically oppressed groups, constructions of identity are linked to these conflicts (Bashir, 2008). Yet, membership in marginalized social and political identity groups functions in different ways in different societal contexts and may not predict one's civic orientation or stance on historical grievances in a universal way across societies. A multi-country comparison of young people learning in similarly designed civics classrooms across Northern Ireland, South Africa, and the United States suggests greater attention is needed to the conditions that govern how group identity affiliations matter to young people's civic learning (Shin et al., in press). The study in the end demonstrates the likely role of national context and particular histories of conflict in explaining different countries, and the ways that youth become civically engaged.

Curricular erasures, coupled with unfulfilled promises to reconcile root causes of violence, risk further alienating particular identity groups from the national imaginary and can lead to intentional efforts to disengage from civic life. Schools contribute to

"failed citizenship" when they do not help young people develop a sense of civic efficacy and structural inclusion (Banks, 2015). In extreme cases, lack of political voice, isolation from state services, and experiences of discrimination and disenfranchisement motivate young people to take up arms, becoming a driver of violence.

Given the persistent tensions over curricular representations of conflict, some civic initiatives opt to emphasize skills and competencies over knowledge, casting these as neutral, apolitical, and individually developed. Rather than discuss, analyze, or critique the conflicts that students encounter on an everyday basis as relevant to their civic development, the goal is to support young people in developing the skills to engage in critical reasoning and dialogue as nonviolent means for participation and resolution of conflicts. Amidst decades of armed conflict in Colombia, for example, state-led efforts to infuse citizenship competencies across the curriculum have explicitly linked to peace-building efforts, aiming to reduce the negative effects of citizens' routine exposure to violence (Chaux, 2009). Critiques of Colombia's approach argue that emphasis on civic discourse and critical reasoning in the absence of curricular coverage of the country's armed conflict risks perpetuating civic disjunctures and normalizing violence (Mejía & Perafán, 2006; Padilla & Bermúdez, 2016; Rodríguez-Gómez et al., 2016). Consequently, young people are increasingly skeptical of the nation's peace process and the possibilities for dialogue as a means for resolving conflict (Velez et al., 2019).

This skepticism is expressed more acutely by young people living in communities controlled by armed groups and criminal networks, where everyday civic actions have limited impact (Nieto, n.d.; Velez, 2019). In the United States, as described in the first section of this chapter, civic education that focuses on the development of these skills without attention to students' experiences of racial injustice can result in frustration and distrust in state institutions, including schools (Abu El-Haj, 2015; Clay, 2018; Rubin, 2007). Individual competencies such as discursive, reasoning, and conflict resolution strategies cannot be separated from the broader contexts in which they are developed and exercised.

Open discussion in school spaces of controversial topics, such as violent conflict and societal divisions, can raise concerns for educators and families, particularly in times of heightened polarization and partisanship. Even in stable democratic contexts with low levels of violence and high economic growth, studies report that teachers tend to depoliticize, dehistoricize, and deracialize periods of violence to avoid confronting highly contested topics (e.g., Abu El-Haj, 2015; Mulimbi & Dryden-Peterson, 2019; Teeger, 2015). Tensions within polarized societies permeate civic curricula, posing challenges for open dialogue among educators and young people. Conflict, in all of its manifestations, permeates the contexts within which young people develop their capacities for civic reasoning and discourse; it can both spark and repress civic engagement.

In the first portion of this chapter, the authors have outlined the ways that structural inequality, migration, and violent conflict frame youth civic learning and engagement, with implications for civic discourse and reasoning within and beyond schools. Young people's civic experiences within structurally inequitable societies shape civic identity disparately and consequentially. Those with more critical views or marginalized perspectives are sometimes openly censored in schools, not allowed to voice their civic concerns and experiences. Moreover, young people can be positioned differently in

relation to allowable speech, creating rifts and inequalities in whose voices are nurtured, valued, and validated. Indeed, the very manner of speech can vary depending on young peoples' direct or indirect connections to particular issues and concerns; the promotion of dispassionate speech often encouraged within school settings as a marker of critical reasoning can delegitimize or even penalize more impassioned or emotional discourse that may arise in response to experiences of justice and injustice.

The social and political contexts of civic life are complex, contentious, and structurally unequal. Traditional approaches to civic education have fallen short in accounting for the ways that the school environment and its surrounding settings shape civic learning and engagement, often neglecting forms of civic discourse and action that develop amid these uneven structures, disjunctive experiences, and fraught histories. "Failed citizenship" can result (Banks, 2017). Meaningful forms of civic education—including those aimed at developing civic discourse and reasoning—can only be built on a clear understanding of how social and political context shapes civic learning and engagement.

DIVERSE FORMS OF CIVIC PARTICIPATION AND PROMISING, CONTEXTUALLY INFORMED PRACTICES

Drawing on what is known about the ways that belonging and disjuncture frame young people's civic identities, this section describes diverse forms of civic participation emerging from young people's experiences within contexts of inequality, conflict, and migration, and describes a selection of contextually informed educational approaches that recognize and amplify the civic learning and voice of youth. The authors begin by expanding definitions of civic practice to encompass the sociopolitical and affective realms of experience, showcasing activist initiatives as powerful contexts for the development of civic discourse and reasoning. Next, they examine three intersecting approaches to civic education that engage youth in dynamic explorations of their lived experiences within the civic and political spheres: (1) critical curricular approaches in which young people engage with questions of power and inequality to understand and act on within their society; (2) youth action research initiatives that develop critical inquiry skills embedded in an activist frame; and (3) arts-based approaches to developing critical counternarratives through which young people analyze and speak back to conditions of injustice and insert their voices into civic dialogue.

Sociopolitical Development, Affect, and Activism: Civic Reasoning and Discourse In Situ

All civic reasoning and discourse is embedded within young people's social and political realities. Practices aimed at strengthening these skills and capacities go hand-in-hand with sociopolitical development, defined as growth in young people's "knowledge, analytical skills, emotional faculties, and capacity for action in political and social systems" (Watts et al., 2003, p. 185). Civic identity development is deeply affective as well; as a lived practice, citizenship is entwined with people's sense of belonging to communities at multiple levels—local, national, and transnational (Abu El-Haj, 2015; Bellino, 2017; Yuval-Davis, 2011). Young people craft civic and political practices in

relation to their sense of inclusion or exclusion from civic and political spheres. These can be enhanced by both "macrosupports," larger school structures that facilitate youth civic belonging, and "microsupports," which are small, daily acts of support within the school environment (Freedman et al., 2016). Practices of civic reasoning and discourse must engage young people's affective attachments to civic and political life and occur within a web of supports, both structural and interactional.

Ginwright and James (2002) offer a framework for and practices to support young people's sociopolitical development that includes developing their analyses of power; affirming, exploring, and building identity; working to create systemic change through collective action; and drawing on and embracing youth culture in this political involvement. Youth activism emerges from young peoples' civic experiences, understanding, and opportunities amid contexts of structural inequality, conflict, and migration. Youth-led groups, such as the Black Youth Project, have focused attention on disproportionate policing practices, using research to galvanize and inform advocacy and activist efforts (Cohen, 2012). High profile school shootings in the United States have ignited the widespread civic engagement of young people in multiple fora, sparking national debate and inciting political discourse and legislation (Knight Abowitz & Mamlok, 2019). Undocumented youth have led the movement advocating for changes to U.S. immigration law that has kept them in limbo (Gonzales et al., 2015; Nicholls, 2013b). Youth from varied socioeconomic backgrounds have also been at the forefront of climate action (Gallay et al., 2016) and gun control advocacy (Knight Abowitz & Mamlok, 2019). Youth activism in contemporary contexts draws on new forms of communication and interaction. For example, during the Arab Spring of the early 2010s, young people's use of social media was a powerful force for organizing local action and generating international attention and support for the movement (Herrera, 2014).

Youth organizing can be a cultural practice and a context for civic development, in which young people experiment with distinct civic identities, discourses, and strategies (Kirshner, 2008, 2009). Young people's civic identity formation depends on their access to particular discursive communities and the underlying ideologies that motivate those discourses; they draw on available discourses and ideologies as they develop attitudes toward collective action on particular social justice issues. As previous sections have shown, these discursive repertoires are culturally and historically situated and can, in some cases, actively work against traditional models of civic discourse. Educational experiences that foster sociopolitical development, critical inquiry, and belonging contribute to the civic empowerment of youth, supporting their authentic engagement in civic discourse and reasoning (e.g., Abu El-Haj, 2009; Clay, 2018; Dyrness, 2012; Morrell, 2004; Watts et al., 1999).

Critical Curricular Approaches

A variety of critical curricular approaches show promise for developing informed and engaged citizenship identities and practices among young people. These approaches are rooted in the understanding of how context frames civic learning and development described in the first section of this chapter. Critically relevant civics establishes a framework for youth to analyze disjunctive experiences rooted in the racial and economic inequality impacting their daily civic lives (Clay & Rubin, 2020; Cohen et al., 2018); this

can include discussion of controversial and relevant civic issues (Hess, 2009; Kahne & Middaugh, 2008) and "teaching into" political events with racially minoritized and immigrant and undocumented students (Jaffe-Walter et al., 2019; Rubin, 2015).

Critical approaches to history education (King & Woodson, 2017; Parkhouse, 2018; Rubin, 2012; Woodson, 2015) and critical transnational curricula (Bajaj & Bartlett, 2017) can also provide a basis for student understanding of the civic inequalities and challenges confronting their communities. Brown and Brown (2015, p. 104) note that "curriculum is about memory making, or the way a nation imagines and shapes what people come to know about the past and present." Curriculum, in social studies, is deeply political; the way that content is framed and presented can either upend or reinforce entrenched misconceptions of the country's past and present. Unfortunately, the social studies curriculum has traditionally played a role in upholding a Eurocentric view of U.S. history. In their review of social studies standards, Shear and colleagues (2015, p. 69) explain that, "despite recent movements to address social justice issues, and the one-sided nature of U.S. history textbooks, social studies scholarship routinely finds that Euro-American voices dominate textbooks and content standards." Race and racism have not been fully or effectively engaged within the frameworks created by the National Council for the Social Studies (Chandler & McKnight, 2009), tending toward a "raceless perspective" (King & Chandler, 2016, p. 9) that ignores the context of historical learning. Approaches to history education that critically and directly engage with questions of race and power create more authentic and meaningful contexts for civic reasoning and discourse for all students, no matter their social and political positioning.

Similarly, critical curricular approaches to human rights and peace education can help young people connect their lives and experiences with a broader civic discourse of rights (Bajaj et al., 2017). The extent to which schools might explicitly engage with conflict may depend on the political-societal conditions in which they operate; some contexts may allow for approaches that explicitly engage with conflict, while educators in other contexts may be limited to more indirect approaches that focus on developing skills such as perspective taking and conflict resolution, depending on the broader peace and conflict dynamics operating in society (Bar-Tal & Rosen, 2009). Bekerman and Zembylas (2012, p. 196) posit teachers and students as "critical design experts" who create "small openings … to navigate through contested narratives," even in the context of intractable conflicts. In their work across Cyprus, Israel, and Palestine, they find that these openings depend on sociohistorical, political, and educational conditions such as the nature and extent to which oppositional identity groups interact on a daily basis in society, in formal political spheres, and in school spaces. Curriculum can frame engagement in civic discourse and reasoning in productive and affirming ways when attentive to the contextualized experiences of youth.

Youth Participatory Action Research

Acknowledgment and analysis of structural inequality provides the basis for some of the most powerful civic learning experiences available to young people, providing opportunities for analysis, voice, and participation in change. Youth participatory action research (YPAR) provides meaningful opportunities for young people to develop

civic voices as researchers and change agents in their schools and communities (Fine et al., 2004; Guajardo et al., 2008; Morrell, 2008; Rodríguez & Brown, 2009). YPAR is premised on recognizing young people as experts on their own lives and the contexts that constrain and enable their civic expression. This recognition is key to empowering youth as civic actors with the power to challenge and change oppressive conditions (Cammarota & Fine, 2008; Ginwright et al., 2006). Moving from knowledge production to acting collectively on that knowledge is a distinctive element of YPAR, one uniquely suited for supporting young people's civic development (Ginwright, 2008).

The scope of YPAR projects can range from small-scale classroom efforts to investigations spanning numerous school districts and communities. Many student action research projects focus on investigating and improving the school as a social and academic unit. In one California university partnership with schools serving largely underrepresented minority and low-income students, researchers co-constructed "inquiry groups" with high school students, meeting monthly for discussions that led to presentations to school faculty (Jones & Yonezawa, 2002). An ongoing student action research initiative sponsored by the University of California, Los Angeles, apprentices urban youth as critical researchers (Morrell, 2004). Researchers from the City University of New York Graduate Center worked with more than 100 youth from urban and suburban high schools in New York and New Jersey to assess racial equality in schools 50 years after the *Brown v. Board of Education* school desegregation decision (Torre & Fine, 2006). Within social studies classrooms, YPAR-based curricula open up opportunities for relevant civic discourse and reasoning (Rubin, 2012; Rubin et al., 2017).

YPAR approaches support young people in understanding and participating in civic dialogue and debates, particularly when they are directly impacted by the issues under discussion. Speaking back to and complicating dominant discourses through counternarratives is a central component of many YPAR projects (Cahill, 2006; Kohfeldt et al., 2016). Collaborations often aim to connect young people to local decision makers, allowing youth to enter conversations they are typically barred from, voicing their experiences with civic disjunctures, and making demands directly to accountable agents and institutions (e.g., Dallago et al., 2010; Ginwright, 2008; Kirshner, 2008, 2010).

YPAR collaborations can create more egalitarian contexts, even when these educative spaces are set within highly unequal or constrained institutional environments such as prisons (Torre & Fine, 2006) or refugee camps (Bellino & Kakuma Youth Research Group, 2018). Importantly, youth empowerment through approaches like YPAR necessitates attention to youth status and agency, with attention to cultural norms and local expressions of agency, as well as broader structural arrangements in which youth are embedded (Wong et al., 2010). A persistent goal and challenge across this work is supporting young people in accessing civic voice and power, attending to lived experiences of civic disjuncture in ways that support discourse and reasoning.

Arts-Based Approaches

Arts can be an important vehicle for engaging civic issues of direct relevance to the social, cultural, political, and economic conditions affecting children and youth (Abu El-Haj, 2009; Bell & Roberts, 2010; Fisher, 2005a, 2005b; Kuttner, 2016; Rhoades, 2012). Forms of civic learning that go beyond the cognitive to engage young people

physically, emotionally, and aesthetically—embodied approaches—offer new forms of critical, justice oriented, culturally sustaining, civic education practice. For example, Kuttner (2016) describes a tradition of youth cultural organizing that leverages the arts and other forms of cultural expression for the purposes of organizing political action and change. Drawing on a case study of Project HIP-HOP, Kuttner argues that this kind of cultural organizing "[t]eaches young hiphop artists to use artistic practice and other forms of cultural expression (e.g. rituals, celebrations) to challenge oppressive ideologies and catalyze action toward social justice" (Kuttner, 2016, p. 536).

In the aftermath of 9/11, Al-Bustan (an Arab American community arts organization) created opportunities for Arab American youth to develop films in which young people spoke back to dominant, racist images of their community, thus leveraging the arts for political expression (Abu El-Haj, 2009). Abu El-Haj argues that this kind of programming creates democratic counterpublics in which youth learn to develop a politics of inclusion, inserting their voices into spaces of exclusion. Winn has shown the power of poetry (Fisher, 2005a, 2005b) and Theatre of the Oppressed (Winn, 2011) to engage racially minoritized youth, and in the latter case, incarcerated and formerly incarcerated girls to write, speak, and perform their experiences. In doing so, they create community, critically explore White supremacy and structural oppression, imagine possible futures, and participate in shaping public discourse about their communities. Norman (2009) explores the power of participatory youth media (forum theater, photography, and film) in Palestine to support individual and collective agency to engage in reflection, action, and advocacy, particularly in relation to creating counternarratives about their community that counter racist discourse and advocate for peace. In all of these examples, the arts created a space for young people to wrestle with and respond to the felt dimension of their experiences with exclusion, injustice, oppression, and violence. Moreover, one of the most promising aspects of arts-based civic education is that by moving beyond discourse and reasoning to engage affective learning, these approaches hold the potential to offer counternarratives and images that can build bridges between communities often stuck in singular narratives and political positions.

These examples of contextually attuned forms of civic education provide educators with a roadmap for developing more relevant and effective approaches to the civic enfranchisement of their students. Traditionally, civic participation has been described and measured in relation to intent to participate in mainstream political and community activity, such as voting or volunteering. However, recent research and theory has expanded our understanding of how young people participate civically, challenging us to reconsider what counts as civic engagement and practice. Moreover**,** recognizing that young people develop their civic and political identities in relation to social/ecological contexts that are, for many, shot through inequality and conflict also requires rethinking the design of civic learning opportunities to directly address these contexts. Contexts of inequality, conflict, and migration shape the nature of civic learning such that particular forms of discourse and reasoning are more or less possible, or more or less effective. Of course, each of these approaches may be implemented poorly, or in ways that subvert critical aims. To be effective, these approaches must be rooted in an understanding of civic disjunctures, and support young people's development of knowledge, skills, and opportunities for meaningful change.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CONSIDERING CONTEXT
IN CIVIC REASONING AND DISCOURSE

The authors recommend that school-based interventions to cultivate youth civic reasoning and discourse be constructed with attention to the importance of the contexts in which young people develop. We need approaches to civic education that account for the ways that contexts of inequality, migration, and violence shape civic learning and engagement, including forms of civic discourse and action that develop amid uneven structures, disjunctive experiences, and fraught histories. Educational experiences that foster sociopolitical development, critical inquiry, and belonging contribute to the civic empowerment of all youth, supporting their authentic engagement in civic discourse and reasoning.

1. Civic education programs should help all students, including those from both privileged groups and minoritized groups, acquire the knowledge, attitudes, and skills needed to participate in the civic communities of their schools, communities, and countries, recognizing that the needs of different students may vary depending on their positions in society and their experiences.
2. Contextually grounded approaches to curricula should validate all young people's civic experiences and create authentic and meaningful contexts for civic reasoning and discourse, helping all students develop a sense of political efficacy and inclusion within the nation-state.
3. Civic education programs should help all students to develop reflective identities with their cultural communities, the nation, and the global community.
4. Opportunities for youth civic engagement should be meaningful for them. Youth participatory action research has been found to provide meaningful opportunities for young people to develop civic voices as researchers and change agents in their schools and communities; when youth engage in discourse and reasoning on authentic topics with civic impact, they develop civic agency along with expression and thinking skills.
5. Arts-based approaches have been found to go beyond the cognitive to engage young people physically, emotionally, and aesthetically, offering new forms of justice-oriented, culturally sustaining, civic education practice that can deepen young people's civic development in ways that attention to discourse and reasoning alone cannot. Arts-based approaches can draw young people not just into dialogue, but into affective relationships and collaborations with others within and across social groups.

CONCLUSION

The authors write this in a moment of global crises. COVID-19 is raging across the world, disproportionately affecting the most vulnerable. Support for democracy is declining. Economic inequality within and between countries is rising. Unstable and unjust social and political conditions, violent conflict, and the unequal impact of environmental destruction have led to the largest numbers of displaced persons in recent history, with consequences for nations everywhere. Incarceration and police brutality affect minoritized groups in many societies. Many young people are growing up in

conditions of economic, social, and political vulnerability that leave them with little reason to trust the state and its institutions, including schools, to provide them with the tools for crafting bright futures. Thus, it should come as no surprise that studies exploring young people's knowledge and attitudes toward democratic governments demonstrate increased skepticism, particularly in settings where inequality, injustice, corruption, and violence are features of everyday life. Meanwhile, we are witnessing a global rise of youth activism and an expanded set of issues and modalities that link young people's concerns within and across national borders. Our current moment is ripe with reason for both concern and hope for young people's futures as civic and political actors.

 This chapter has argued that young people's civic development is always shaped by the social and political contexts in which they grow up—contexts that, for many children and youth, are riven with injustice and inequality. The authors have focused on the specific ways that structural inequality, migration, and violent conflict shape young people's civic development and foster new expressions of civic engagement. Civic education, including the practices of civic reasoning and dialogue, must be grounded in an understanding of the ways that social and political contexts differentially mediate young people's development as civic actors. It must be attentive to the ways that young people conceive of themselves as civic actors and the varied ways in which they exercise civic voice.

We can create powerful opportunities for young people's civic learning when we attend to the ways that their civic development is shaped by these constraints and opportunities. We need to think about how young people internalize and use the civic knowledge and skills (learned in schools and elsewhere) in their everyday lives. Too often, civic education "proceeds as though all students draw upon an identical well of experiences to make meaning from the curriculum" (Rubin, 2007, p. 451), as if all students come to the classroom on equal terms. We design civic reasoning and dialogue with the presumption that what matters is creating a framework for the most rational and well-reasoned argument to prevail. However, neither young people nor the contexts within which they live and learn exist on a level playing field. Civic learning is embodied, enacted, and mediated differentially by cultural frames, historical legacies, and social, economic, and political forces that shape the modes and content of discourse and reasoning.

Civic dialogue must pay particular attention to including the political expressions and protest of marginalized communities because these are the groups of youth most likely to be alienated and excluded from mainstream civic life. Without centering these voices, civic discourse is diminished for all people, not just for minoritized and marginalized groups. Recognizing the constraints that contexts of structural inequality, global migration, and armed conflict place on young people's civic expression means that we need to constantly work to equalize power within schools, particularly between groups with unequal status. Doing so requires broader acknowledgment of historical and structural inequities in the formal curriculum, while supporting young people's efforts to participate in their democracies and recognizing the varied modalities through which young people are making civic arguments. Studies accounting for promising practices identified in the previous section illustrate how critical curricular approaches, youth activism, participatory action research, and arts-based modalities enact these principles.

An episode of the National Public Radio podcast *Code Switch* produced in January 2020 explored research on cross racial friendships in the United States, focusing on the long-term consequences of racially isolated schooling on friendship patterns (Meraji & Demby, 2020). One particularly notable finding was that cross-racial friendships are seriously impeded by many White people's preference for avoiding conversations about race and racism, preferring to maintain "colorblindness," in marked contrast to the desire by youth of color (and people of color in general) to talk about race and racism with their friends (Bonilla-Silva, 2003). This small example about the difficulties of cross-racial friendships in the United States reflected a larger, global problem of failed civic dialogue across social and political differences. In contrast, during the national and international Black Lives Matter demonstrations in summer 2020, a multi-racial coalition of people united to protest anti-Black racism, igniting powerful civic dialogue both among participants and the general public. This powerful movement arises from and draws on the strengths of civic reasoning and knowledge developed within the social and political context of Black communities. The Movement for Black Lives illustrates vividly why engaging young people in robust forms of civic reasoning and dialogue must begin by drawing on the distinct, often contradictory experiences that youth have had within their social and political worlds. Civic action aimed at equality and justice begins with civic dialogue that directly engages the vastly different sociopolitical contexts that shape young people's lives.

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6

Learning Environments and School/Classroom Climate as Supports for Civic Reasoning, Discourse, and Engagement

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CONTENTS

LEARNING ENVIRONMENTS AND SCHOOL/CLASSROOM CLIMATE AS SUPPORTS FOR CIVIC REASONING, DISCOURSE, AND ENGAGEMENT

John Dewey and Lev Vygotsky, among other prominent educational theorists, broadly noted the social nature of education, inquiry, and human conduct (Dewey, 1922; Vygotsky, 1978). In more recent decades, researchers interested in understanding young people's social and political development have become increasingly aware of the contextualized nature of the learning process, focusing on how individuals' social interactions in both formal and informal learning environments promote or inhibit learning (Carretero et al., 2016). Most civic education policy makers and many practitioners have remained focused on factual learning about structures of government and expectations of civic behavior (such as voting); they have paid less attention to students' developing capacities for civic reasoning and discourse with others, or to the specific characteristics of the learning environments that allow for the practice and development of such skills.

As research on civic education from several disciplinary perspectives has expanded, however, some common understandings regarding these developing skills have emerged. These understandings include, for example, that the nature of the climate or context within learning environments is integral to developing the skills (cognitive, interpersonal, and intrapersonal) and dispositions necessary to engage in civic reasoning and discourse. Thus, research to support effective encouragement and practice of civic reasoning and discourse requires identifying and mapping not only this development but also the characteristics of the broader classroom and school climates in which this development is most likely to occur.

In particular, an examination of research on these issues in order to identify trends, gaps, and areas for collaboration, especially activities that the National Academy of

Education might encourage, has been largely missing. The purpose of this chapter is to synthesize existing literature on how formal learning environments support (or detract from) young people's civic reasoning, discourse, and (in turn) civic engagement. In addition to relevant literature from several areas of education, the authors incorporate concepts from political science as well as several branches of psychology (including community, developmental, educational, and political psychology) that approach this topic from different theoretical perspectives. Taking into account the strengths and limitations of available literature, including how well it generalizes across educational settings and contexts, they follow this review with recommendations for strengthening research on this topic and conclude with some initial recommendations for teachers and administrators who seek to develop learning environments to foster students' civic skills and dispositions in a variety of contexts.

DEFINING THE PROBLEM SPACE AND CHALLENGES

It is important first to define the scope of the focus on *learning environments* in general and on school and classroom climate in particular. The academic journal *Learning Environments Research: An International Journal* describes learning environments as including "the social, physical, psychological, and pedagogical contexts in which learning occurs and which affect student achievement and attitudes" (Springer Nature Switzerland AG, 2020). Based on this definition, the authors posit that a given learning environment comprises numerous, interrelated, and constantly shifting factors. Young people are exposed to numerous learning environments that can influence how civic discourse and reasoning skills develop, including family, neighborhoods, peers, community and religious organizations, and online spaces as well as schools. This chapter focuses on formal learning environments within K–12 schools as perceived by students, administrators, and teachers. For consideration of the impacts of out-of-school factors on student learning, readers should consult Chapter 5 in this report on the social and ecological contexts of schooling. This chapter focuses primarily on face-to-face interactions, with some discussion of digital learning opportunities as employed within formal educational settings; readers should consult Chapter 7 in this report for a broader exploration of online spaces for civic reasoning and discourse.

Moreover, and as further defined below, this chapter focuses on *school and classroom climates*, or the qualities of these formal learning environments as experienced by members of the school and classroom community, including though not limited to teachers, administrators, and (importantly) students (Schweig et al., 2019). As climates within a given school or classroom are formed from the collective experiences of multiple people, they develop and change over time as the individuals within them develop and change. This forms a recursive loop between the development of the individual and of the learning environment within the classroom/school (Freedman et al., 2016b). The importance of climate has been underscored by Cohen et al. (2010, p. 74), who described school climate as "the single most powerful K–12 educational strategy" for supporting the knowledge, skills, and dispositions central to participation in a democracy.

While the climates of learning environments within schools are theorized to be distinct from formal curriculum and pedagogical strategies, they affect how students may respond to course content or activities. Teachers' pedagogical choices have a reciprocal

relationship with the learning environment: While the selection and effectiveness of teaching methods is informed by the broader environment in which specific activities take place, feelings of support, safety, or challenge within the environment are in turn determined in part by the use of particular teaching methods (Hahn, 1996). In this chapter, the authors consider pedagogy insofar as it shapes the learning environment but do not provide in-depth descriptions of specific teaching methods; rather, referring readers to Chapter 8 in this report for further elaboration on pedagogies that are successful in promoting civic reasoning and discourse.

The authors also acknowledge the need to place the emphasis on *civic reasoning*, *discourse*, and *engagement*, including their manifestation in contexts outside the school. This means focusing on publications that exhibit a clear connection between learning environments and these particular processes and/or outcomes. In defining these terms, Stitzlein in Chapter 1 in this report poses the "key civic question" as "What should we do?" The focus is on actions, taken by a group, toward a desired outcome that is aligned with a sense of ethical responsibility. Within this framing, Stitzlein considers civic discourse as a context for reasoning, in which individuals work together through discussion and deliberation to support inquiry and empirical investigation while also engaging with the emotional aspects of civic questions. For the purposes of this chapter, the authors consider "engagement" as broadly inclusive of the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and behaviors (current or intended) that both represent and inform courses of action that could be taken in response to a civic issue or opportunity. This is similar to what Torney-Purta and Amadeo (2011) have called "emergent participatory citizenship." While those in the field generally theorize that engagement follows civic reasoning and discourse, it is important to acknowledge that experiences in other contexts shape the background that young people bring to formal learning environments. In turn, these environments will shape students' civic discourse and reasoning skills, as well as their propensity for future inquiry and civic engagement beyond the classroom.

Even with this framing, considering civic reasoning and discourse in formal K–12 learning environments presents challenges. The first challenge is that neither "learning environments" nor their "climates" are unitary entities. Rather, there are several features of an environment that scholars, practitioners, or policy makers may have in mind when using these terms. As a case in point, in Chapter 2 in this report the authors describe effective learning environments for civic reasoning and discourse as constituting a number of characteristics, in that they must:

> draw and build on students' prior knowledge, promote a sense of emotional safety, establish relevance through engagement with real-world problems, provide opportunities to develop personal and collective efficacy through scaffolded and iterative challenges, support students in questioning sources of information and beliefs, interrogating their own assumptions, and wrestling with complex and contradictory ideas, and ensure access to a multiplicity and variety of cultural and ideological perspectives, including ones that resonate with students' own lived experiences and those that are less represented in the dominant culture. (p. 70)

This statement suggests that any of a number of features of an environment's climate may act as a support (or deterrent) for providing students with opportunities to engage

in civic reasoning and discourse in ways that support further engagement. In a similar vein, Conklin in Chapter 8 in this report describes a positive classroom discourse climate as being characterized by three factors: establishing personal trust between teachers and individual students; containing developmentally appropriate scaffolding by the teacher; and continuing consistent threads of discussion over time (as opposed to moving between multiple varied, isolated points of discussion). What is clear from both chapters is that when referring to a "positive" climate, one may mean a climate that is supportive, safe, and/or intellectually challenging for any number of reasons. Because of this, careful attention to how terms are used and how researchers assess different aspects of the school and classroom environments is warranted when looking to apply research findings to policy and practice.

Second, the effectiveness of any approach toward creating an effective formal learning environment may depend on where a school is situated geographically and within broader discourse communities. At the time of this writing, the United States and other countries have seen a recent rise in political contention and what many see as a decline in democratic norms of discourse. At the same time, social divides pertaining to race, immigrant status, gender, wealth distribution, and many other characteristics have exposed stark differences in how people perceive and address issues. Levinson and Fay (2019) noted that completely open discourse may even pose threats to the safety or well-being of some students (e.g., deliberations about immigration policy for immigrant students or bathroom access for transgender youth). Consideration of the specific learning environments in which students address civic issues thus becomes important, both for supporting individual students' learning and for raising policy- and practice-based questions about how educators should balance competing considerations and interests when promoting civic discourse and reasoning.

This consideration of multiple dynamic social and cultural contexts also raises a third challenge in that each individual's particular set of contexts inhabited and experiences garnered uniquely shapes how they learn (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, 2018a). Schweingruber (2020) pointed to the National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine report *How People Learn II* as indicating the socially situated nature of civic reasoning, distributed across students. This is based on the fact that various individuals in any given learning environment perceive its climate differently (a feature also noted in Chapter 8 in this report), and may learn from that climate differently. Students enter schools and classrooms with differing life experiences that are embedded in different life settings, informed not only by the beliefs of adults around them but broader cultural beliefs as well (Torney-Purta & Amadeo, 2011). In turn, they interact with classmates, staff, and faculty in their schools in ways that inform the approach they take to civic issues. These approaches may at times be different from learning processes experienced in community or family settings (Freedman et al., 2016a), particularly when those out-of-school experiences are characterized by conflict or marginalization (see Chapter 5 in this report).

Also important are individuals' identities and attitudes toward various groups or institutions, as well as the extent of interest in social or political issues. Other variations reflect systemic ways in which educational contexts tend to privilege or dismiss voices of students from particular backgrounds or those who embrace particular identities (as Mirra & Garcia, 2017, have documented). This challenge is especially salient among

adolescents, who are beginning to construct their own political identities (Prior, 2010; Sears, 1983) and becoming cognitively and socially equipped to take into account the perspectives of others holding different viewpoints (Franzoi et al., 1985; King & Baxter Magolda, 2005). However, adolescents are also very sensitive to the reactions of the peer groups with which they affiliate, to the attitudes that their parents express, and to a wide range of emotions that they may experience in interpersonal interactions. Thus, attention to the developmental status of students within particular school and classroom settings becomes another dynamic process to take into account.

Given this context, this chapter addresses four questions:

1. What is meant by the term "climate" in the context of formal learning environments? What specific features of the learning environments are important to address, both in individual classrooms and schools?
2. What features of learning environments and climates support students' civic reasoning and discourse, and why are they effective?
3. How do students perceive and shape these learning environments? What might account for individual and group differences in experiences within a particular school or classroom? In particular, what role is played by social group membership (e.g., race, ethnicity, gender, immigrant status, sexual identity) and/or individual identity?
4. What are the barriers that educators face in establishing learning environments that promote civic reasoning, discourse, and engagement?

This chapter's exploration of these four questions has led to envisioning a program of research with the potential to shape the design and implementation of robust school climates for students' civic reasoning and discourse that would be effective with a wide range of students. In addition, this chapter provides recommendations for teachers, administrators, and other stakeholders (including teacher educators and professional organizations) who wish to help establish learning environments that foster civic discourse, reasoning, and engagement.

WHAT IS MEANT BY THE TERM "CLIMATE" IN THE CONTEXT OF FORMAL LEARNING ENVIRONMENTS?

Prior to making recommendations for creating educational climates conducive to civic discourse and reasoning, it is important to understand what is meant when describing an environment's "climate" or using other related terms. Educators taking steps toward productive climates should do so with an understanding of the various ways in which it has been operationalized and studied in the literature. As described earlier, distilling the specific characteristics of climates within formal learning environments is complex because "climate" is not a single static characteristic or entity, nor is it necessarily experienced in the same way by different individuals. Rather, it is a collection of factors interacting with each other that can sometimes change even over short periods of time. Appropriately, research on formal learning environments tends to use multi-dimensional models to capture the various aspects of an organization's climate, although some dimensions are more often studied than others.

Adding further complexity, the "climate" of a learning environment can be applied to a school as a whole or to a particular classroom within it. This section poses two questions that Schweig et al. (2019) believe that educators should ask when examining the interrelated features of school/classroom climate: (1) What is meant by climate? and (2) How is it assessed?

What Is School and Classroom Climate?

Berkowitz et al. (2017) reviewed several models outlining core components of school climate. While specific definitions varied across models, the most prominent positive dimensions were strong interpersonal *relationships*, a sense of *safety* (emotional as well as physical), a feeling of *connectedness*, and reliable *supports* for learning. Beyond these broad dimensions are more specific terms. These include the *ethos* of a school (Campbell, 2006) or of teachers (Flanagan et al., 2007). Others are the *pedagogical climate* resulting from teachers' classroom organization and setting of an atmosphere, *relationship quality* among peers or between students and teachers (including the absence of bullying), the role of *student voice* in meaningful school decision making, perceptions of *equity* in how students from different backgrounds are treated, *openness* in discussions, and a general sense of *belonging*. Taken together, these various constructs capture many ways in which the quality of learning environments can support student learning: Students are motivated to learn in an environment where they feel emotionally safe and valued (by adults or by each other), and where they are supported to engage in authentic and meaningful ways (see the concluding chapter in this report titled Recommendations for Practice, Policy, and Research; National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, 2018a).

While these general characteristics of climate have been considered in relation to civic outcomes, some other aspects of climate pertain more directly to the perception of environments as being supportive for specific civic reasoning and discourse activities. From this latter vantage, a focus on the degree of openness for discussion, specifically of social issues where controversy may exist, is particularly important. From this viewpoint, a climate conducive to students' development of competencies for civic engagement is one that fosters discussion in ways that expose youth to differing and sometimes conflicting opinions (see review by Campbell, 2019). Such an environment incorporates many traditional features of climate identified by Berkowitz et al. (2017) and aligns with the way learning environments can be informed by core learning principles (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, 2018a); open discussion is characterized by a sense of safety in sharing one's viewpoints, and this can be fostered by positive interpersonal relationships.

A further distinction is required between school and classroom climate. One of the earliest, most influential articles on civic education climate was a review written by Ehman (1980) soon after the "first wave" of political socialization research. It distinguished between school-level and classroom-level factors supporting civic discourse and participation. At the school level, he argued that norms, policies, and opportunities for student participation contribute to a community where civic discourse is (or is not) valued. Following Ehman's work, others have focused on how shared civic norms and values among students and staff at a school in support of particular civic outcomes

(e.g., voting, civic character) can in turn shape the climate of a school (Campbell, 2006, 2019; Seider, 2012), in a mutually reinforcing way.

A second layer suggested by Ehman (1980) is climate within the classroom. Even within a single school, students interact within several different environments that can facilitate or inhibit their learning (each with its own climate; see Berkowitz et al., 2017). Authors who discuss this level describe a consistent connection between the pedagogies enacted in the classroom for the purposes of encouraging discussion, argumentation, and dialogue along with the overarching atmosphere (e.g., its degree of support and safety) in which these activities take place. This connection between climate and pedagogy, detailed earlier (e.g., through discussion of Hahn, 1996), was also reflected in Geboers et al.'s (2013) use of the term "pedagogical climate" in their literature review to discuss ways in which civic education influences student outcomes.

How Is Climate Assessed?

Beyond acknowledging the multiple aspects of climate, it is also important to consider the variety of ways in which these constructs have been operationalized (Schweig et al., 2019). Researchers have employed a variety of methodologies to assess various components of climate, both as they characterize the learning environment generally and as specifically related to environments designed to support civic learning and engagement. Some use observation and case study, identifying exemplary schools and classrooms (e.g., Seider, 2012) or documenting the range of openness found in typical classroom environments (e.g., Hahn, 1991). However, while features of climate can be construed as organizational characteristics, they are experienced uniquely by each person within an environment. Thus, researchers also interview individual students and teachers (e.g., Flanagan, 2013), or conduct content analyses of the nature of particular discussions (e.g., Kuhn et al., 2013). That said, the most common way to assess aspects of climate, both by researchers and by educational leaders at both the state and local levels, is through the use of students' self-report scales (Berkowitz et al., 2017; Schweig et al., 2019). Such scales are often based on only a few questions; therefore, even when they have undergone rigorous psychometric testing, their brevity limits the extent to which they provide actionable information. In fact, sometimes only a single question is used: For example, Campbell (2012) acknowledged that a distinct limitation of his measure of school ethos is that it was based on one item about the importance of voting for good citizenship.

Assessments of the openness of a classroom discussion climate, the most frequently assessed facet of climate pertaining specifically to civic reasoning and discourse, often do not capture quality or even frequency of discussion. Instead, they provide information on whether participants perceive the classroom environment as conducive to such discussions. One of the most well-known and rigorously tested measures of this construct is the Openness of Classroom Climate for Discussion scale, initially developed by Ehman (1969). This scale was developed around the same time as several survey-based studies of young people's political socialization in the fields of psychology and political science (Hess & Torney, 1967; Jennings & Niemi, 1974). Different versions have been developed over the years, using items from several sources (Hahn, 1998; Hahn & Tocci, 1990; Torney et al., 1975; Walberg & Anderson, 1968). Notably, versions of this scale have been adapted by international teams of researchers for the civic education studies

fielded by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) beginning in the 1970s (Torney et al., 1975), including the 1999 IEA Civic Education Study (CIVED; Torney-Purta et al., 2001) and the International Civic and Citizenship Education Studies of 2009 (ICCS:09; Schulz et al., 2010) and 2016 (ICCS:16; Schulz et al., 2017). These studies have reported very similar results based on nationally representative samples of students in schools drawn from more than 45 countries. The scale contains the following items:

> When discussing political and social issues during regular lessons, how often do the following things happen? (Never, rarely, sometimes, often)
>
> 1. Teachers encourage students to make up their own mind.
> 2. Teachers encourage students to express their opinion.
> 3. Students bring up current political events for discussion in class.
> 4. Students express opinions in class even when their opinions are different from most of the other students.
> 5. Teachers encourage students to discuss the issues with people having different opinions.
> 6. Teachers present several sides of the issues when explaining in class.

The Openness of Classroom Climate for Discussion scale has been a robust predictor of students' civic knowledge and engagement both across countries and across more than five decades, not only in the IEA studies themselves (e.g., Knowles et al., 2018; Lin, 2014; Torney et al., 1975), but also in smaller-scale data collections (e.g., Avery et al., 2013; Gniewosz & Noack, 2008; Hahn, 1998). Results from these analyses are featured prominently throughout the remainder of this chapter. Although it is the most widely used and discussed scale embedded in the IEA civic studies, there are other scales measuring students' sense of the effectiveness of student voice in addressing school issues (Torney-Purta et al., 2001), students' assessments of the quality of student–teacher relationships (e.g., Maurissen et al., 2018) and teachers' or principals' reports of the openness of climate (e.g., Quintelier & Hooghe, 2013). Other large-scale survey programs, such as the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health, similarly provide scales both for use in secondary data analyses and in primary data collections (e.g., Flanagan et al., 2007).

Outside of these large-scale survey instruments, survey-based studies have incorporated other self-report measures of climate characteristics including students' perceptions of discussion openness (e.g., Kahne et al., 2013) or fairness within the classroom (e.g., Gniewosz & Noack, 2008) or within the school (e.g., Karakos et al., 2016). For example, instruments by Brand et al. (2003) assessing school climate in the middle school context have been used by several researchers to assess aspects of climate in association with civic engagement (Geller et al., 2013; Guillaume et al., 2015; Karakos et al., 2016). These include dimensions with specific connections to civic participation at school (e.g., experience of a democratic school climate), as well as more general measures of perceptions by students of their relationships with each other and with teachers that may be associated with civic outcomes. Taken together, the variety of measures used underscores the complex and myriad ways in which a school or classroom "climate" can support civic reasoning and discourse. This provides background to keep

in mind when considering key findings from research employing these measures and approaches as they are presented in subsequent sections of this chapter.

Challenges of Defining and Measuring Climate

Practitioners should bear in mind the assumptions and contexts in which school and classroom climate research takes place. Learning environments are complex and assessing them necessitates simplification, especially if one is limited to survey measures. Furthermore, as Morine-Dershimer (2006) notes, investigations of the discourse present in classrooms are often tied to the subject matter of the course being observed. Insights gleaned from research in one context and subject might not translate to another. This issue becomes particularly salient when considering that much of the research on formal learning environments for civic discourse and reasoning at the class level has been situated in social studies classrooms despite the fact that, as the authors of the concluding chapter in this report titled Recommendations for Practice, Policy, and Research note, civic discourse and reasoning take place in all subject areas. In addition, although research on climate (both qualitative and quantitative) has produced important insights, several measurement challenges remain to be addressed. Researchers should be explicit about which aspects of climate they are measuring (and from whose viewpoint) and to which outcomes these features are expected to connect. For example, in theorizing approaches to studying Black youths' sense of belonging at school, Gray et al. (2018) conceptualized institutional and instructional opportunity structures specifically (including teachers' modeling of civic behavior and frequency of sociopolitical discussions) as being predictive of students' sense of belonging. Beyond this, many consider outcomes that measure civic engagement or action (current or intended), but do not include assessments of civic reasoning or discourse. Rather, reasoning and discourse are assumed to be the mediating mechanism through which characteristics of a learning environment's climate influence the engagement outcome.

Because of the nature of existing large surveys, it is not usually adequate to use these methodologies alone to examine the specific meanings that students place on climate, or the specific ways in which it is embedded into school contexts. Although survey-based studies of classroom and school climate are useful, a broader array of methodologies would enhance understanding of learning environments. These include qualitative and mixed-methods studies, as well as longitudinal work tracing students' experiences and activities. Examples include Sakiz's (2017) evaluation of interventions designed to improve perceptions of school climate among Turkish students with disabilities, Mischel and Kisantas's (2020) mixed-methods study about the impact of bullying on school climate, and Malin et al.'s (2015) longitudinal, mixed-methods study on civic purpose in adolescence as expressed in different contexts. Qualitative studies are time consuming but important, especially because of their ability to describe several dimensions of context in addition to discussion processes or to deeply assess the nature of discourse within a targeted learning environment (e.g., the micro-ethnographic discourse-analytic approach described by Green et al., 2020). Multi-method studies, perhaps including methods such as focus group interviews with teachers, could also advance research in this area (Torney-Purta et al., 2010). Regardless of the approach taken, a challenge for researchers is to distill and adequately describe results gained

with a variety of methods (often in a variety of contexts with a wide range of students) to make them helpful to those outside the research community.

WHICH FEATURES OF LEARNING ENVIRONMENTS AND CLIMATES SUPPORT STUDENTS' CIVIC REASONING AND DISCOURSE, AND WHY ARE THEY EFFECTIVE?

There is a consistent connection between the environment in which learning takes place and the success of learning activities (see Hahn, 1996, 1998, for an overview). A climate that is open for discussion of issues and respectful of student voice, even when it involves disagreeing with peers or teachers, has been found to support reasoning and quality discourse about civic issues. This in turn fosters important civic engagement outcomes, such as the exploration of alternative courses of civic action and understanding the kinds of reasons individuals give for holding particular opinions. Green (1983), in a review of early studies on the then-emergent field of linguistic process research in teaching, found that classroom contexts for discourse arise through teacher and student interactions, and that these contexts impact how discourse takes place and how it is interpreted by participants. Likewise, learning environments and climates for civic discourse and reasoning specifically are co-constructed by educators and students in schools and classrooms. In this section, the authors focus specifically on the role of educators in creating climates for civic discourse and reasoning, both through their own interactions with students and by providing opportunities for students to engage with teachers and with each other (Kuhn et al., 2019).

Climate at the Classroom Level

Overall Impacts of Classroom Climate

Although based on correlational findings, an association between an open classroom climate for discussion and youths' civic outcomes is well-documented, spanning more than 40 years and across many countries (early examples being Hahn, 1998; Torney et al., 1975). This association was one of four key findings in Knowles et al.'s (2018) review of 100 research studies that had analyzed survey data from the IEA's CIVED and ICCS:09 studies across multiple nations. Similarly, two literature reviews drawing from studies employing a broad range of data sources have highlighted an open discussion climate (or "pedagogical climate") as an important factor for teaching civic or moral education (Geboers et al., 2013; Schuitema et al., 2008). These reviews drew from research conducted across multiple national contexts. The literature they summarized documented associations between positive climates and civic engagement as defined in a number of ways, including knowledge, attitudes, and current or intended action in both conventional civic- and social action-oriented spheres. For example, an analysis of ICCS:09 data across 38 countries and more than 5,000 schools found that variation in open classroom climate accounted for 5 to 8 percent of the variance between schools in students' egalitarian values (Carrasco & Irribarra, 2018).

The extent to which students vary in their perceptions of climate have led some to wonder to what extent teachers shape classroom climate (Hart & Youniss, 2018). This

section focuses on research that describes features of open climates over which teachers have some control, and will later discuss students' perceptions and experiences. A first step toward establishing a classroom climate conducive to discourse is willingness on the part of the teacher to encourage civic discourse at all, and then being able to incorporate appropriate pedagogies to do so (Hahn, 2010). As Stitzlein notes in Chapter 1, civic reasoning and civic discourse differ from reasoning and discourse more broadly because of their connection to questions of common action (i.e., the "What should we do?" question). Many teachers feel unprepared to lead students in discussions of controversial public issues that would help develop students' civic reasoning and discourse skills (Hess & McAvoy, 2015; Kuhn, 2019; Parker & Hess, 2001; Reznitskaya & Wilkinson, 2017). In some cases, teachers fear negative reactions from parents or community members if they include contradictory views on controversial topics, a topic discussed briefly in a later section (see also Hess & McAvoy, 2015; McAvoy & Hess, 2013). A larger number of teachers, however, simply lack confidence in their classroom management abilities to effectively lead such discussions. Teacher educators could address this problem by modeling strategies for future teachers and providing space to practice (Pace, 2019; Parker & Hess, 2001).

One specific solution Kuhn et al. (2019) reported as effective is transferring more of the managerial role to students themselves by having them engage in discourse in various structured forms in pairs and small groups. Middle school students, these researchers found, are quite able to engage in serious discussion of challenging issues, with an adult largely overseeing rather than serving as a conduit through which all talk passes. In fact, one product of students engaging in argumentation in the classroom is the likelihood of the students becoming increasingly aware and accepting of norms governing their discourse. During the course of an intervention designed to facilitate the development of argumentation skills in electronically mediated dialogues, Kuhn et al. (2013) observed an increase in metatalk (i.e., talk about the discourse in which one is engaging). Students increasingly held themselves accountable to these self-imposed norms regarding acceptable argument moves and called their peers to task when these were violated. This indicates development of the metacognitive skills needed for these learners to direct their own activities in similar situations in the future (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, 2018a). Indeed, in reflecting on such findings, Zorwick and Wade (2016) noted that such norms potentially go beyond the context of a specific activity and inform behavior in a broader range of deliberative contexts. These student behaviors have the potential to impact the character of future interactions in classrooms as well as communities; this speaks broadly to the importance of the role of the student in shaping the climates within a variety of learning environments.

Second, teachers can model cogent political reasoning, disclosing their opinions and leaving space for student disagreement (Hess, 2009; Hess & McAvoy, 2015; Journell, 2017). Interestingly, while many teachers believe that neutrality (rather than disclosure) creates an appropriate class climate, many researchers argue this is not necessarily the case. Certainly, disclosing opinions with the explicit or implicit understanding that the teacher's opinion is the "correct" view can be counterproductive and even unacceptable (Kelly, 1986), yet many teachers actually create more closed climates while trying to remain neutral. This is particularly so if opinions are inadvertently disclosed (Niemi & Niemi, 2007) or teachers unintentionally choose materials or topics for discussion that

privilege one position over another (Clark et al., 2020; Journell, 2017). Although teachers should not make the classroom a platform for their political views, the other extreme of providing no models or opportunities for expressing opinion sends the implicit message that political thinking is not important or even dangerous. It is important to recognize, however, that this is often difficult for teachers, as they may fear sanctions as a result of expressing their opinions (Zimmerman & Robertson, 2017). For example, Geller (2020) noted that recent political circumstances have made even some basic facts politically charged. Teachers in Geller's study feared that correcting misconceptions, addressing inaccurate media, or even supporting student advocacy (e.g., during the March for Our Lives walkouts protesting gun violence) could be viewed as biased by students, parents, or administrators.

Beyond modeling reasoning, teachers play an important role in setting the norms for civic discourse in all classroom interactions. In reflecting on what was learned about improving classroom civility in their study of deliberation on contentious social policy issues in four Midwest high schools, Crocco et al. (2018a) acknowledged that skillful facilitation is key. In deliberative contexts, explicit teacher guidance is vital to ensure that students respond to their peers' viewpoints in a respectful manner. Such guidance is especially important when classrooms include individuals from both dominant and marginalized social groups (such as those defined by race or ethnicity or by immigration status). Discussion without close teacher guidance can increase the likelihood of intergroup conflict and stereotyping (Banks, 2008). One approach is to incorporate students' perspectives when setting ground rules for deliberation. Parker (2006, 2010) argued that deliberative elements should be pervasive in classrooms, for example, when setting behavioral expectations. Some teachers opt for structured methods, such as "accountable talk" protocols, to make sure that the classroom environment remains respectful and conducive to discussions while scaffolding intellectual standards and reasoning skills such as the need for evidence (Michaels et al., 2008). Such efforts appear to be noticed by students: Gniewosz and Noack (2008) found that higher perceptions of fairness within the classroom predicted lower intolerance toward foreigners among German youth.

Finally, teachers can establish respectful and supportive relationships with students. While emotional support and positive relationships are key components of positive climates generally, they are especially crucial for the development of civic reasoning and discourse given the potential discussion of controversial social issues and the propensity for disagreement or discomfort among members of the classroom community. Maurissen et al. (2018) argued that positive student–teacher relationships set the context in which deliberations can openly take place. Using data from the ICCS:09 study in 38 countries, they found a correlation between students' positive perceptions of relationships with teachers (both individual and aggregated across the school) and their perceptions that their classrooms are open for discussion. In addition, the quality of such relationships were themselves positively related to greater civic knowledge and stronger norms of citizenship (Isac et al., 2013). The authors also see this focus on strong relationships, particularly between educators or adult leaders and students, as a core component of action civics programs (e.g., Andolina & Conklin, 2020, discussing Project Soapbox; Mikva Challenge, 2020).

Climate in Groups Within the Classroom

Teachers also have opportunities to construct micro learning environments such as small groups and online spaces. These can have substantially different dynamics when compared to the macro class environment. A full recounting of group pedagogies is beyond this review's scope. The social interactions within group contexts, however, are significant to the development of civic reasoning and discourse. Kuhn (2015) found little difference between the quality of work in tasks devoted to concept acquisition completed by individuals compared with groups. However, she found that collaborative work both between students who shared a position and with those who held an opposing view was a key advantage in the development of argument skills. Both approaches to collaborative work require seeking to make one's ideas understood, as well as seeking to understand those of another. It has been known for a couple of decades that differences in group structure as well as task structure influence this process (Cohen, 1994). In addition, according to Johnson et al. (2010), collaboration can benefit students' socio-emotional well-being by, for example, reducing anxiety and raising self-esteem, as well as promoting positive feelings toward classmates and peer-to-peer interactions.

Group work can also cultivate feelings of collective efficacy among students. This is particularly true in cases where group activities focus students' attention on working together to address issues of importance in their communities beyond the school. For example, Gallay et al. (2020) drew on work by Elinor Ostrom to describe how characteristics of effective groups (including mutual respect, responsibility, and communication) could be applied in educational practices designed to cultivate students' support for the environmental commons. One of the themes identified by Gallay et al. (2020) in analyzing 4th–12th graders' essays on their experiences with place-based stewardship education in Michigan was the importance and power of working as a team of change agents in their communities alongside peers as well as teachers and community partners. Relatedly, some students' responses indicated that they had personally developed skills needed as a member of a team, especially when navigating diversity in experiences and perspectives within groups.

Online spaces such as discussion forums are another approach increasingly used by teachers to foster civic discourse. The focus in this chapter is only on classroom-based applications of digital learning spaces. For a fuller treatment of the opportunities and limitations of online environments for supporting student civic reasoning and discourse, see Chapter 7 in this report. Choosing to use digital spaces as a classroom environment for civic reasoning and discourse involves tradeoffs, some of which may be more or less appealing to teachers depending on their goals for student knowledge and skill development. For example, online learning environments differ in terms of the pace and type of interaction among students and instructors. These environments are typically asynchronous and rely on reading and writing skills, which tend to require more investment of student time than speaking and listening (Blankenship, 2016; Larson, 2003). Content analysis of student work, however, suggests that a benefit of the slowed pace is that students have more time to process information and compose more thoughtful responses (Blankenship, 2016). In addition, online discourse has the benefit of preserving a record of the exchange, enhancing opportunity for reflection by students as well as teachers (Kuhn, 2015).

Asynchronous online environments also tend to elicit broader participation than face-to-face settings. Larson (2003) noted that students who are reluctant to participate in classroom discussions are more likely to contribute to online forums. More recently, Clark et al. (2015) found that female high school students tended to express a preference for online forums when discussing controversial issues and participated in them at levels similar to male students. Anonymity in discussion forums also appears to encourage female participants. Clark et al. (2015) found that female students' participation in online forums was related to perceptions of the overall classroom climate when student names were visible. When students discussed a controversial issue using a pseudonymous screen name, the association with classroom climate perceptions disappeared and participation rates were roughly equal for male and female students.

Educational websites may also offer students a means of developing civic discourse and reasoning. Stoddard et al. (2016) offered one of the few in-depth analyses of an online civic learning platform in their study of the iCivics program. While the game-based structure of the content of iCivics offered many learning opportunities, these researchers identify ways in which iCivics could improve, such as providing students with more opportunities for deliberative thinking or weighing multiple considerations or perspectives. Some of these issues may have been mitigated more recently to strengthen its use as a means of developing civic discourse and reasoning skills. The iCivics platform is only one example, however, and more research is needed to evaluate the potential of such digital environments.

Climate at the School Level

Turning to the school level, one reason that a positive climate is thought to be associated with civic discourse, reasoning, and engagement outcomes is due to the presence of widely shared core values among members of the school community. Early research on school-level climates for citizenship education focused on comparing public schools, private schools, and charter schools in the United States. Campbell (2012) noted several studies that found differences favoring private and charter schools in civic skills and volunteer activity, although findings on civic attitudes (including tolerance) were more mixed. In reflecting on these differences, Campbell posited that the sense of mutual trust and shared values, such as that afforded by a common religious tradition in the case of Catholic schools, could result in a shared ethos within a school that fosters civic outcomes.

Campbell (2012) also noted that Catholic schools were not the only settings able to cultivate a civic ethos. When members of the school community shared strong views on the importance of certain activities for good citizenship (e.g., voting), civic outcomes among students were stronger. He suggested that research on charter schools could explore what it means to have a strong school ethos for civic education, particularly when they incorporate a civic mission explicitly in their mission statement (e.g., Cesar Chavez Public Charter Schools for Public Policy in Washington, DC; Chavez Schools, 2020). Broad school missions also provide a context through which teachers can make instructional decisions that are aligned with school values; for example, Ladson-Billings (2000) described how a math teacher in an African-centered school in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, selected activities designed to hone math skills in application to racist

zoning laws, thus connecting to youths' developing understanding of sociopolitical consciousness. These principles are extensively illustrated in Seider's (2012) research on the connection between school culture and civic character development in a Boston charter school. Specifically, he noted a shared commitment to working for continuous improvement and a sense of community in fostering civic character. In earlier grades, this included a focus on behaviors leading to a harmonious environment within specific classrooms; in older grades, this included respect for diverse viewpoints about issues and students working together across differences.

Seider's case study research highlights additional features of the overall school culture that speak to broader principles about what constitutes a positive school climate for civic discourse, reasoning, and engagement. School leaders can intentionally strive to create a particular culture (or ethos) in their schools. A review of research sponsored by the Wallace Foundation (Leithwood et al., 2004) found that superintendents and principals played a valuable role in shaping the culture of schools and promoting student learning. In particular, the report found that effective school leaders articulated a vision for the school, provided the necessary tools and training to achieve that vision, and created the support structures needed to sustain work toward the community's goals. That said, what is unique about setting a school climate in support of civic reasoning and discourse is that, practically by definition, the most supportive climates are those in which leaders explicitly take into account student voice in these processes. School leadership is in and of itself a learning environment for civic reasoning and discourse, and the focus on consequential decisions in the schools that students attend means that the issues being discussed are relevant and connected to personal experience (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, 2018a). Yet, despite the benefits that come from having students involved in decision-making processes, authentic opportunities for student engagement remain limited (Brasof & Mansfield, 2018), often due to perceptions of youth as being unprepared to contribute meaningfully to the work of a school.

Nevertheless, research has documented benefits of incorporating and valuing student voice, particularly when it comes to students' subsequent civic action. Mansfield et al. (2018) presented a continuum of incorporating student voice, building on work by Mitra et al. (2014) and others, ranging from students "being heard" to collaborating with adults to being prepared to take on leadership roles. Flanagan (2014) noted that students who believed that teachers within their schools respected students' diverse perspectives were themselves more committed to civic dispositions. However, student voice appears to be especially effective in encouraging further civic action when it contributes meaningfully to school decision making. Studies employing data from the IEA civics studies, both in the United States (Godfrey & Grayman, 2014, using CIVED) and cross-nationally (Maurissen et al., 2018, using ICCS:09), found a positive association of students' perceptions of schools as responsive to students' voice in decision making (which can be considered a feeling of collective efficacy within the school context) to their perceptions of classrooms as open to discussion. Perceived responsiveness to student voice also had strong and unique effects on important civic outcomes themselves. In a separate analysis focusing specifically on Flemish youth participating in ICCS:09, Maurissen et al. (2020) found that both individual perceptions of the importance of student voice in school decision making and averages at the school level were related

to greater support for immigrants' rights. However, the openness of classroom climate itself was not. Similarly, using CIVED data, Torney-Purta et al. (2008) found that confidence in the value of student voice was related to knowledge about children's rights, although classroom discussion climate was not. Student voice in school was also a stronger predictor of attitudes toward immigrant rights and social movement citizenship than was classroom climate.

Mitra et al. (2014) have pointed out that active and meaningful student participation in school decision making is rare in the United States. Yet, Mitra et al. did identify some examples of school-wide efforts that engaged youth meaningfully. They described a California secondary school serving immigrant and working-class youth that engaged students as leaders in responding to important school issues. One key feature was the importance placed on cultivating skills for civic reasoning as well as capacities for taking on leadership in school improvement efforts: skills and roles at the higher end of the continuum of student voice. Situating these activities within the broader community context was also important.

More broadly, a positive school climate also contains positive and supportive relationships among individuals in the school, building on the need for feelings of emotional safety within the learning environments identified earlier. Guillaume et al. (2015) used surveys to examine the association between school climate, measured by Brand et al.'s (2003) school climate measure, and "emergent" civic engagement behaviors among middle school youth of color from a city in the Midwestern United States. They found that perceiving a more positive school climate, defined by characteristics such as teacher helpfulness and positive relationships among students, was related indirectly to civic engagement through perceptions of connectedness at school. This suggests the importance of meeting students' needs for support and inclusion when supporting their participatory development. Moreover, Jagers et al. (2017) found that positive climates within homeroom classes (e.g., involvement in setting rules) were predictive of civic engagement of Black and Latinx middle school youth only when the school at large was perceived as treating students of different social group backgrounds equitably. This suggests that part of the effectiveness of overall school climates comes from providing a setting in which individual classroom climates can be effective.

Similar findings emerge when operationalizing school climate in other ways as well. Flanagan et al. (2007) found associations between students' perceptions of teacher ethos in the school (standards of respect, fairness, and tolerance as perceived by students) and students' civic commitment and belief in America as a just society; these findings were consistent for students across racial/ethnic groups. A context of safety in the school is also important. Using a person-centered analytic approach with ICCS:09 data, Reichert et al. (2018) examined how perceptions of various aspects of school and classroom climate cohered into different patterns across countries within the Nordic region. In examining predictors of such patterns, Reichert et al. noted that, when there are substantial instances of bullying and social exclusion in a school, climates for developing active citizenship appear to be reduced.

Finally, extracurricular activities within the school environment provide contexts in which skills of deliberation may be honed, much in the same way as classroom activities. As one example, student councils are commonly considered as a mechanism for providing students with a voice in school decision making and in creating an open

climate that is respectful of students' opinions. A survey of 524 administrators conducted by the *Education Week* Research Center (2018) found that student government was the most commonly reported place where students were thought to be able to express their civic voices and rights (36 percent), ranking slightly higher than classroom activities and assignments (33 percent). However, there is mixed evidence on the extent to which student councils effectively provide authentic and consequential opportunities to inform how schools function. Importantly, McFarland and Starmanns (2009) noted that U.S. public schools serving students from low-income and/or minoritized racial and ethnic groups often lacked student councils altogether, or had councils charged with overseeing social functions rather than meaningfully contributing to decision making within a school. By contrast, elite public schools (which tended to serve more privileged students) granted their student councils more decision-making power and autonomy. The nature of involvement itself can also vary across student councils; Halfon and Romi (2019) classified student councils in Israel into four groups along two dimensions: one representing the extent to which councils encouraged volunteering in the community, and the other representing how councils fostered students' rights. Of note is that there was one group of councils that did not encourage either type of involvement.

Other activities center on the importance of democratic deliberation in schools and other contexts to promote civil discourse (Ladenson, 2012; McGranaham, 2020). Particularly important in these activities is having students justify their ideas as part of a mutually accepted norm of discourse (Kuhn et al., 2013; Michaels et al., 2008). Ladenson's Intercollegiate Ethics Bowl program asks students at the high school or college level to develop arguments about a variety of issues taking into account stakeholders' values as well as relevant facts. The quality of these arguments and students' responses to counterarguments is judged in a competition. However, equitable access to such extracurricular contexts is often limited due to the fees that many schools charge to participate in such activities (Putnam, 2015).

In summary, in addition to classroom environments, the structures for discussion and participation introduced by a school's influential adults are essential in creating the supportive context needed for civic discourse and reasoning. Creating a school-wide culture for civic discourse can reinforce and enhance such learning in the classroom. Extracurricular activities can provide additional opportunities for discourse, reasoning, and engagement.

Limitations of Research on Features of Learning Environments

While researchers have highlighted the substantial role of class and school climate, there are areas that remain understudied. Earlier work contains notable studies relevant to climates for civic reasoning and discourse for elementary students (Angell, 1991; Bickmore, 1999), but most of the research described here focuses on climates as experienced by adolescent students. Notable exceptions include Seider's (2012) focus on civic character development in the early grades and Mitra et al.'s (2014) discussion of "carpet time democracy" activities. While adolescence is an important period for the development of civic reasoning and discourse skills, additional research on the nature of learning environments in the early years of schooling is warranted (see

the concluding chapter in this report titled Recommendations for Practice, Policy, and Research; Patterson et al., 2019).

Second, there is room in this research arena for a more nuanced discussion of the intended civic outcomes of positive school and classroom climate. The work presented here focuses on a variety of civic reasoning, discourse, and engagement outcomes. Certainly, the positive impact of climate on such outcomes is generally consistent. More innovative research, however, might detail the nature of supports for specific civic competencies that encompass lived experiences out of school and take into account ways in which broader social structures in and out of school either privilege or marginalize those experiences. Some existing work in this area is discussed in the next section, but more is needed.

Third, additional research should focus on how learning environments for civic reasoning and discourse may function similarly or differently across subject areas. While opportunities for civic reasoning and discourse exist across the disciplines (see the concluding chapter in this report titled Recommendations for Practice, Policy, and Research), the vast majority of the research that considers the nature of classroom climates for civic learning focuses on civics or other social studies–related content areas. This makes it challenging but important to bring the perspectives of other disciplines to bear when discussing civic issues; for example, the consideration of climate change as a civic issue inspiring youth action involves the incorporation of knowledge from an array of scientific disciplines to engage in informed reasoning and discourse (Cherif et al., 2019). Little is known, however, about the nature of science classroom climates as they support civic reasoning and discourse specifically. Work exploring the teaching of socio-scientific issues in science classrooms holds particular promise, as many of the same principles described above are discussed in research in this area (Walsh & Tsurusaki, 2014; Zeidler et al., 2011). However, researchers and practitioners alike focused more on how these learning environments support scientific reasoning rather than on civic reasoning about social issues or on potential civic actions (e.g., Kuş, 2015, in Turkey; Nuangchalerm, 2009, in Thailand). Citizen science projects may further inform this work through their focus on the scientific process as experienced in community contexts (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, 2018b). Turning to literacy education, Mirra and Debate Liberation League (2020) provide an example of research foregrounding climate issues through their description of how a group of middle school students integrated personal identities and experiences into their experiences with policy debate. This resulted in an English/ Language Arts learning environment in which student voices and experiences were central and valued as part of civic dialogue in ways that are not typical of conventional debate programs.

Fourth, the role of schools and (especially) classrooms in the development of competencies for critical consciousness (Watts et al., 2011) is another area that would benefit from additional work, even while acknowledging the limitations of traditional civic education in cultivating these abilities (see Chapter 3 in this report). Godfrey and Grayman's (2014) analysis of CIVED data is one example of research tying classroom climates to these specific outcomes. Diemer et al.'s (2008) analysis of data from the National Education Longitudinal Study of 1988 focused on the role of race relations in school as predictors of sociopolitical development among low-income youth of color.

Each of these studies noted the limitations inherent in using existing data to measure the types of social action thought to be fostered through critical consciousness. However, this also suggests that there is ample room for further research. Given the role of students' own backgrounds in such development (and specifically, their experiences with marginalization), some relevant research appears in the following section.

Finally, research is needed to connect teacher education practices to teachers' abilities to establish open climates in K–12 schools. Researchers should examine the features of teacher preparation programs that best prepare teachers to establish climates where civic discourse and reasoning can thrive. In one of the few studies of teacher education practices related to establishing open climates, Pace (2019) documented the practices of four teacher educators in England, Northern Ireland, and the United States as they prepared future teachers to facilitate the teaching of controversial issues and create open classroom climates. The teacher educators utilized contained risk-taking strategies, which alerted preservice teachers to be prepared for unforeseen difficulties that might be associated with addressing controversial issues in their class. Strategies were discussed for addressing some of these potential difficulties (such as managing emotional moments and reflecting on positionality) before they actually happened in class. Follow-up studies that track preservice teachers as they move into their own classrooms should investigate the extent to which teachers effectively follow through with such strategies from their methods courses. Professional development focusing on promoting civic discourse in the classroom shows promise in increasing both teacher self-efficacy and student perceptions of climate (Barr et al., 2015). However, more thorough study is needed to identify best practices for such programs, especially in classrooms where students are not used to being allowed to express their opinions or where they perceive risk to themselves in doing so.

HOW DO STUDENTS PERCEIVE AND SHAPE
THESE LEARNING ENVIRONMENTS?

It is especially important for educators to understand the influence of students in shaping classroom and school climates. The *Education Week* survey of administrators (*Education Week* Research Center, 2018) found that respondents viewed the classroom as one of the principal places in schools where students can express their civic voices and opinions. We assume that students who participate in learning environments with the features described above are more likely to have positive experiences engaging in high-quality civic discourse compared to students lacking such opportunities. However, students' own perspectives on topics and their prior experiences both in school and in the community more broadly shape how learning environments are ultimately formed, and also how students perceive and benefit from experiences in their schools and classrooms. As Green (1983) notes, and as acknowledged earlier, discourse and the construction of meaning in classrooms is dependent on interactions between and among both teachers and students. Thus, understanding student perceptions of the classroom and events therein is an important part of understanding classroom climates for civic discourse.

Students' Experiences in the Classroom

Differences in Perceptions of Classroom Climates

Not all students share the same view of a given classroom as a space to talk and learn, or one in which civic discourse is encouraged. Indeed, individual perceptions of climate have been found to be more predictive of student outcomes than aggregate ratings or ratings provided by teachers or principals (Quintelier & Hooghe, 2013). Both Hart and Youniss (2018) and Campbell (2019) cite this variation as evidence of a problem of endogeneity, where variables that have not been measured impact the outcome of a study. In short, cross-sectional surveys cannot disentangle respondents' pre-existing differences from their reports of recent experiences. Students who have long had more interest in political and social issues, for example, may both feel more comfortable in classroom discussions and report stronger dispositions toward civic involvement. Temperamental characteristics such as shyness may also similarly contribute. Another explanation (and the authors' primary focus in this chapter) comes from Michaels et al. (2008), who acknowledged that some youth are socialized (by specific aspects of their family background or interactions in their neighborhood) to shy away from engaging in discourse in public, including at school. Such differences in socialization are an expected part of a diverse educational landscape reflecting varying norms and values across (for example) religions, ethnicities, nations of origin, or community groups. Because such variation in norms among members of a classroom reciprocally contribute to how learning environments are perceived by those in the classroom, this issue makes causal direction hard to specify.

One set of such individual differences includes enduring personal and group identities. Individual identities are multi-faceted and, especially in young people, may shift. In addition, different elements of an individual's identity can become more or less salient depending on circumstances. In the concluding chapter in this report titled Recommendations for Practice, Policy, and Research, Lee et al. have reviewed literature on the development of identity and its relation to civic discourse and reasoning. Here, the focus is on what happens when aspects of student identities intersect and interact with features of their learning environments, how they are perceived, and how students learn to negotiate within them.

Researchers have been able to associate elements of individual or group identity to perceptions of learning environments relevant to civic discourse and reasoning. For example, group differences, both in terms of demographic characteristics such as race or gender and in terms of affiliations such as religious or political beliefs, can impact individuals' prior knowledge or framing of a given issue. In one study, Crocco et al. (2018b) noted the role of positionality in determining students' approaches to the discussion of immigration policy. Students' identities in relation to the topic under consideration, particularly as members of immigrant families, informed their approach to classroom discussion. While classroom discussion and deliberation pedagogies might be egalitarian in their intent, members of some groups may find their voices ignored or repressed by the majority in such exercises (see Chapters 5 and 8 in this report; Fraser-Burgess, 2012; Young, 2000). Thus, providing support for engaging with diverse perspectives may be an especially important part of an open classroom climate, especially for students whose experiences with the political and legal system are characterized by

conflict, uncertainty, and marginalization (see Chapter 5 in this report). In part because group identity deeply informs participation and boundaries of acceptable topics for debate, these students may benefit from experiences designed to allay their anxieties, foster a sense of trust, and facilitate a gradual learning process about being members of a "civic public." Conklin in Chapter 8 in this report similarly suggests that when the teacher opens questions of current concern to class members, such as their experiences of inequality, lack of connection to the community, or discrimination, discussion can be an entry point to "critically relevant civics." Taken together, this suggests that educators may benefit from training on how to be sensitive to these issues as they attempt to create these settings.

Group identity also guides behavior and shapes the beliefs of individuals who hold that identity (Brown, 1991; Gilbert, 1994; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Focusing on students engaging in discussions and deliberations, Fraser-Burgess (2012) argued that group identities incorporate foundational beliefs and ideas (e.g., based on religion or traditions) that play a role in defining an individual's identity. When such beliefs conflict with those of the majority, she argues that engaging in a discussion of those ideas results in a situation where "the student must either repressively transcend his or her group identity beliefs or face further social marginalization" (Fraser-Burgess, 2012, p. 496). While several responses in this situation may also be possible (particularly if the learning environment itself is adaptable), Fraser-Burgess's framing may be helpful in understanding findings of racial differences in classroom climate perceptions based on group comparisons in large-scale survey data. For example, Campbell (2007) found in analysis of CIVED data from the United States that, on average, White students tended to perceive classroom climates as significantly more open than did students of color. Campbell also noted an inverse relationship between the racial heterogeneity of the classroom and students' overall perception of an open classroom climate. Racially diverse classrooms were generally perceived as less open than homogenous classrooms (regardless of the predominant race of students in the classroom). Similarly, Torney-Purta et al. (2007) found that students who indicated they were of Latinx ethnicity reported their classrooms to be less open on average than did their peers who did not self-identify in this way. In fact, when these group differences in classroom climate perceptions were statistically controlled, the size of differences in scores on conventional civic outcomes such as civic knowledge and intent to vote was considerably reduced. Findings such as these deserve reflection with the aim of better understanding how to improve perceptions of classrooms as being open by all students.

Gender (binary self-report of male or female) has also been predictive of perceptions of classroom climate, with female students perceiving more openness on average than male students in many countries (Barber et al., 2015; Hahn, 2010; Knowles et al., 2018; Maurissen et al., 2018). The impact of gender on perceptions of classroom climate was moderated by the degree of confidence students had in the value of student voice in school more broadly; such confidence in student voice was more strongly predictive of classroom climate perceptions for male students, resulting in smaller gender differences among students with high degrees of confidence (Maurissen et al., 2018). This finding is particularly interesting given that the dynamics of social interaction can privilege the voices of male students over female students in classrooms. For example, Crocco et al. (2018b), in their study of deliberation on controversial issues such as immigration

policy, found that contributions that were more traditionally masculine in nature (typically couched in statistical explanations, and most often coming from male students) were less often challenged or dismissed than were contributions that focused on relational issues (more often interpreted as feminine). Moreover, as Michaels et al. (2008) noted when reflecting on gender dynamics in the classrooms they observed, girls may be socialized not to raise objections when they disagree with another's viewpoint.

Another factor affecting perceptions of classroom climate is socioeconomic status. A review of studies conducted using IEA data sets concluded that students of lower socioeconomic status tended to report less openness of classroom climate than did their higher-income peers (Knowles et al., 2018). Michaels et al. (2008) described instances of socioeconomic privilege that they witnessed when observing the implementation of accountable talk protocols (rules for peer interaction and use of evidence). To put these findings into context, however, analyses of ICCS:09 data from Chile, a country with high degrees of structural inequality and economic segregation impacting the education system, revealed that socioeconomic differences in the openness of classroom climate for discussion were not as dramatic as observed differences in civic knowledge (Castillo et al., 2015). However, both were key predictors of anticipated future civic participation. Thus, while Castillo et al. raise concern over the ways in which schools perpetuate existing political inequalities through inequitable opportunities for acquisition of civic knowledge, they see promise in the promotion of open classroom climates as a strategy for encouraging more equitable political participation.

Differences in the Functioning of Small Groups

Individual and group differences also impact the dynamics found within smaller discussion groups. In general, there is evidence that identity or salient group membership (national, religious, racial) influences students' interpretation of information (Barton & McCully, 2005; Epstein, 2009; Porat, 2004). However, these factors are associated with varied behavior depending on the identities or affiliations of other group members. Goldberg (2013), for example, found that Mizrahi and Ashkenazi Israeli students' self-reported ethnicity was associated with differences in the way they discussed a controversial issue with group members, depending on whether those group members shared a common ethnicity. In discussing the Israeli Melting Pot policy, an instance of controversy between members of the two ethnic groups, non-mixed ethnicity groups tended to reinforce their own identities more often than those in mixed ethnicity groups.

Students' political affiliations and their impact on discussion groups has also been examined as an influence on student behavior and perceptions of the classroom (Clark, 2018; Hess & McAvoy, 2015; Kahne & Bowyer, 2017), especially in the broader social context of ideological bubbles, fake news, and partisan polarization. Political scientists have found that ideology or prior beliefs can impact reasoning about political and social issues in adults (e.g., Lodge & Taber, 2013), though studies of the impact of ideological composition of discussion groups have often reached divergent conclusions (Esterling et al., 2019; Farrar et al., 2009; Kuhn & Lao, 1996; Kuhn et al., 2018; Lao & Kuhn, 2002; Schkade et al., 2007). Empirical research on political affiliation's impact on discourse and reasoning for young people is relatively sparse, particularly in the context of formal learning environments. However, Stoddard and Chen (2016), in a study of discussions

about a controversial social issue among small groups of young adults, suggested that political identity affected the dynamics of discussion groups. In particular, mixed-political identity groups (liberal/conservative) tended to have richer discussions with more divergent points of view expressed than did homogenous groups. Clark (2018) found that high school students with strong partisan identities tended to increase their repertoire of arguments (see Cappella et al., 2002) in ways that favored their own position shortly after an online deliberation. This took place regardless of whether they were in mixed or uniform partisan identity groups.

Differences in Climate's Association to Civic Outcomes

In addition to considering differences among students in their experiences in classrooms, it is also important for educators to consider the ways in which classroom climate may influence anticipated future engagement differently for students who are members of different social groups. Specifically, there may be a compensatory effect of classroom climate on civic engagement. For example, the openness of classroom climate has been found to moderate gender differences in civic outcomes. Using CIVED data from 28 countries, for example, Barber and Torney-Purta (2009) found that the differences between male and female students in support for women's rights were smaller in schools with higher average reports of classroom climate openness; this was due to more support for gender equality among male students in schools with more open climates. In another analysis of CIVED data in the United States, Godfrey and Grayman (2014) found that the association between an open classroom climate and students' sense of collective efficacy in school decision making was stronger among non-White students compared to White students. Similarly, Campbell (2008) found stronger effects of open classroom climate on intent to vote among students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds compared to those from higher socioeconomic backgrounds. This set of conclusions, however, should be viewed with caution, as other research has identified ways in which some features of a climate can exacerbate existing inequalities. In Dutch schools, for example, Wanders et al. (2019) found that differences in youths' societal involvement associated with parent education were more pronounced among students who perceived their relationships with teachers to be the most positive.

An open classroom climate may be especially important in providing support for engaging with diverse perspectives in ways that lead to future engagement. Campbell (2007) found that the more racially and ethnically heterogeneous a classroom was, the less that students within the classroom saw themselves as future informed voters or active political participants. However, discussion in open classroom environments, particularly those fostering rich intercultural dialogue that credits different experiences and recognizes positionality of participants, may partially compensate for these effects. The authors are encouraged by this because Campbell (2007) also found that highly open classroom climates mitigated the lower levels of intended participation sometimes associated with students in racially diverse classrooms. Similarly, following the 2012 U.S. election, Kawashima-Ginsberg and Levine (2014) found that students from racially diverse schools who reported more frequent engagement with controversial issues in school showed higher political engagement than those who did not. This scattered set of findings suggests that this topic should be further investigated.

Students' Experiences at the School Level

Students also perceive and shape the school environment beyond their classrooms in various ways. In his review of early research, Ehman (1980) recognized extracurricular activities as spaces in which peers could be brought together to encourage civic norms. One way in which extracurricular contexts encourage civic development is by providing space for young people to discuss personally salient social issues with peers. To connect to the earlier discussion of student voice, such activities provide dedicated spaces and structure to foster the types of discussion that may be recognized as an important part of school decision making by administrators.

Seider (2012) highlighted how some extracurricular discussion groups for young men and women provided space for discussion of issues particularly salient to their developing gender identities. These included discussion groups that were tied not only to social issues in the community, but also to issues in the school (e.g., disciplinary practices). Other activities have similarly used connections to students' social identities to create safe and engaging environments in which youth could discuss social issues. Extracurricular groups such as gay–straight alliances (GSAs), for example, can promote feelings of inclusion, encourage engagement and activism, and influence the climate of schools as a whole. Mayo (2013b) and Lapointe (2016) argued that such groups can provide models for teachers wishing to incorporate the voices of LGBTQ individuals into the curriculum, where they have typically been excluded (Thornton, 2003). Furthermore, Mayo (2013a) argued that students and teachers involved in GSAs are able to take steps to foster a generally more inclusive school environment. A study of 33 GSAs by Poteat et al. (2018) noted that higher levels of involvement in these organizations were related to higher civic engagement and advocacy among students.

Other extracurricular or co-curricular activities characterized by broader opportunities for peer interaction also potentially serve as an important bridge between learning within classrooms and the broader climate for civic reasoning within schools. Thapa et al. (2013) highlighted service learning as one example of how teaching and learning activities connect to the larger climate of the school and have a role in promoting civic development. Specifically, service learning activities that take place in collaborative environments, where students are encouraged to interact with and build on each other's ideas, are thought to be particularly effective for developing civic competencies. While there is extensive literature on service learning, little of it explicitly ties to civic discourse skills, however.

To this point, there has been an implicit assumption that students' experiences of particular climates within a school have an impact on their civic engagement, often through shared opportunities for reasoning and discourse. However, in understanding individual variability in perceptions of climate, it is also possible that levels of actual civic engagement among youth within schools can have a bearing on the type of climate perceived, a reciprocal causality similar to that suggested earlier. This possibility has been explored in a series of studies in middle schools in the urban Southeastern United States. Individuals with higher levels of civic participation (reports of helping or leadership in the school or local community) reported stronger relationships in school, believed rules to be more consistent, and reported a more democratic school climate; they also reported lower degrees of bully victimization. This finding was also

observed at the group level; cohort-level average of civic participation was associated with a democratic climate (Karakos et al., 2016).

Also on this topic, Geller et al. (2013) compared the associations of different forms of civic engagement to climate perceptions. Some associations were found in expected directions (e.g., higher degrees of personally responsible civic behavior were positively associated with perceiving positive relationships, fair rules, and democratic climates). However, participating in leadership activities was associated with perceiving school rules as less consistent and fair. Geller et al. acknowledged that the participants in this third study were enrolled in schools in which young African American men were disproportionately suspended, suggesting that youth were responding to present and critical issues of inequality witnessed in their school community. Involvement in youth participatory action research (YPAR) has similarly been found to be related to Black students' critical analyses of their schools (Hope et al., 2015). These results illustrate that in some contexts the reasoning and discourse skills gained through meaningful, active involvement in supportive structures that center the perspectives of youth and their communities, including but not limited to YPAR, youth organizing, and leadership opportunities, appears to be associated with students becoming more critical of injustice in their school environment (Akom et al., 2008; Caraballo et al., 2017; Kirshner & Ginwright, 2012; Mitra et al., 2014). These findings call to mind a variety of social movements over the past 50 to 60 years in which civically engaged youth took social action against unjust environments in their schools, including (though not limited to) walkouts sponsored by the Brown Berets in response to Chicano students' treatment in California schools in the 1960s, activities to support the lack of action in support of GSAs and LGBTQ students in Utah high schools in the 1990s, and (more recently) activities in response to the shootings at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School and in support of the Black Lives Matter movement (Cherif et al., 2019; Mansfield et al., 2018; Wray-Lake & Abrams, 2020).

Limitations of Research on Students' Influence on Learning Environments

Opportunities exist to expand research into ways students perceive and shape learning environments and, as important, to inform other areas of research, teacher preparation, and policy. Much of the research presented here, particularly at the classroom level, relies on data from large-scale survey programs. These surveys may not be able to identify specific practices and conditions that serve to create learning environments for civic reasoning and discourse. While no survey can capture all of the potentially relevant factors affecting the classroom and school climate, they help to generate hypotheses that could be further tested using more rigorous quantitative research designs such as randomized control trials (e.g., Barr et al., 2015) or within-subjects longitudinal designs. Realistically, however, such studies are difficult to conduct in schools and classrooms and can be difficult to appropriately contextualize.

Moreover, many of the studies cited here rely on categorical indicators of membership in demographic groups (e.g., by race or gender), an approach that has limited explanatory value for exploring young people's complex and intersecting identities (Freedman et al., 2016a). Research examining a broad range of civic engagement outcomes and/or that considers features of learning environments as moderators of group differences adds some nuance; however, research using complementary methodologies

(particularly qualitative approaches like case study analysis) provides important insight into how individual youth construct their civic identities. Research on differences in how particular groups perceive classroom climates includes relatively few investigations involving characteristics such as immigrant status (for exceptions, see Abu El-Haj, 2007, and follow-up studies) or being an English language learner.

Although studies of students' civic engagement and perceptions of the civics curriculum often carry implications for research on learning environments, extended exploration would be needed to make such connections explicit. For example, work by Rubin (2007) and Rubin et al. (2009) documented that many students in urban schools, with student bodies marginalized by both socioeconomic status and race, lack trust in school institutions. This is often due to lack of connections between their own lived experiences in their families and neighborhoods and what they experience at school (Speer et al., 2019), or to limited sense of safety or empowerment within schools, particularly when working with teachers or other adults affiliated with the school (Wray-Lake & Abrams, 2020).

On one hand, negative experiences with educational authorities, including with inequitable and harsh disciplinary practices, have been shown to have long-term effects on political trust and participation later in life (Bruch & Soss, 2018). No-excuse classroom management approaches employed by some urban charter schools are posited, based on ethnographic analyses, to have similar effects on reproducing social inequalities by encouraging compliance-oriented rather than participatory-oriented approaches to civic life (Graham, 2020).

At the same time, Mirra and Garcia (2017) highlighted how a re-conceptualization of civic life toward actions for social justice lends itself to models of engagement foregrounding the voices of students from minoritized communities. Such an approach is often found when researchers examine learning environments outside of the school context, including grassroots youth activism organizations (Kirshner, 2008, 2009) and digital spaces (see Chapter 7 in this report). Indeed, when discussing how critical social capital can support civic development through the cultivation of collective efficacy, particularly for Black and Latinx youth, it is more likely to be community organizations rather than schools that are described as contexts in which this could be developed (Akom, 2003; Akom et al., 2008; Ginwright, 2007; Sampson et al., 1999). What is not always clear is how formal learning environments (which Mirra and Garcia, 2017, argue have historically perpetuated inequalities in civic learning) could be re-envisioned to provide climates offering fruitful spaces for such action and reflection.

WHAT ARE THE BARRIERS THAT EDUCATORS FACE IN ESTABLISHING LEARNING ENVIRONMENTS THAT PROMOTE CIVIC REASONING, DISCOURSE, AND ENGAGEMENT?

Despite considerable evidence on the qualities of learning environments that promote civic reasoning and discourse, it is often a challenge to implement these features within actual school and classroom environments with students who may have vastly different backgrounds in discussing political or social issues. This section addresses these barriers at the school, classroom, and individual levels. Many are directly related to the two major challenges identified earlier: contexts beyond the school and individual differences in students' characteristics and experience within and outside of school.

Within a school, an important factor is how the school responds to external pressures (e.g., policy mandates from the district or the broader context of the community, including its political and/or partisan dimensions). School leaders adapt their behavior to the social context in which schooling takes place in ways that may influence the climate for civic discourse, reasoning, and engagement among students. In some cases, such as mandates for testing that determine funding or school evaluations, there is little choice. Many schools, perceiving that raising test scores is the key to the evaluation of their school, restructure the school schedule to prepare for required tests. Most states do not have assessments of civic discourse and reasoning skills, preferring to focus on civic knowledge if civic-related topics are tested at all (Brezicha & Mitra, 2019). Basic reading and computational skills are often emphasized at the expense of less frequently tested conceptual skills and understandings necessary to make sense of political or social topics (Fitchett & Heafner, 2010).

Civic reasoning and discourse should not exclusively exist in social studies curriculums and classrooms. However, while opportunities for civic reasoning and discourse exist across the curriculum (see the concluding chapter in this report titled Recommendations for Practice, Policy, and Research), many believe that there is a unique set of language and practice existing in the social studies that supports the development of civic reasoning and discourse skills. Thus, time devoted to these topics is critical to helping students develop the core understanding needed to engage in civic-related problems outside of the social studies classroom, whether in other content areas or more broadly in their schools and communities (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, 2018a). However, testing requirements and the pressure to boost math and reading scores, particularly in the elementary years, can often reduce the time available for civic reasoning and discourse by reducing the space for social studies (Fitchett et al., 2014; Thomas, 2005). To compensate for reduced time, teachers often attempt to integrate social studies content with literacy instruction, but researchers studying such integration typically find that literacy becomes the primary goal and other content or skills development is incidental (Boyle-Baise et al., 2008; Brophy & Alleman, 2008). Within social studies courses themselves, concerns about preparing students for system-wide tests can also reduce attention to discussions that can develop civic discourse and reasoning. Journell (2010), for example, studied six teachers in Chicago during the 2008 election. While all six felt it was important to discuss the election with students, several of the teachers reported tension between their desire to incorporate this current event with pressure to prepare students for an examination required for graduation.

Social and political contexts can also influence school and classroom climate. Historically, educators in the United States have often been sanctioned for encouraging discourse about controversial issues or attempting to teach subjects perceived as beyond the comfort zones of administrators or community members (Zimmerman & Robertson, 2017). In fact, some teachers fear that their discussions of controversial issues will invite criticism (McAvoy & Hess, 2013). As discussed earlier, the result is that many teachers commit to maintaining a neutral stance in the classroom, which can result in political opinions going unexamined, as Journell (2012) found in his study of six teachers during the 2008 election.

Often, societal forces without explicit connections to schooling result in alterations to the way schools function. One example is the increasing social and political

polarization in the United States and elsewhere. In a relatively well-publicized incident, conservative parents objected to their students hearing a message from then-president Barack Obama at the beginning of the 2009 school year even though the message was focused on encouraging students to work hard in school (McAvoy & Hess, 2013). In other cases, parents and community members may influence students' sense of the school as a welcoming place to learn. Macgillivray (2004), to give just one example, highlighted a school facing resistance from community members as it sought to include LGBTQ students in its non-discrimination policies.

A related concern is that school personnel may become uncomfortable with student expressions of political opinion and, in turn, may restrict opportunities for students to express and defend their opinions in the classroom. Levinson and Fay (2019) used vignettes to elicit reactions from education scholars, administrators, teachers, and students. There was considerable disagreement about how schools and teachers should respond to discussion of divisive political issues. Disagreements occurred, for example, on what constitutes appropriate student political expression in the classroom, or whether students should be allowed to express support for policies if their classmates would be negatively impacted by those policies. In such situations, it is understandable that many teachers restrict student opinion expression.

Many of the barriers to creating environments conducive to civic discourse and reasoning in schools stem from external factors. These shift over time, and researchers continually identify new barriers (or new manifestations of old barriers) to creating productive civic learning environments. In the current period of political polarization and shifting political norms, studying the interplay of these factors and school environments is particularly crucial.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

In the process of conducting this review, the authors found substantial literature that either directly or implicitly describes and investigates high-quality learning environments as contexts where students can engage in civic discourse leading to a range of potentially beneficial outcomes. There are many ways for researchers to extend this work, attending both to individual development and variation in experience and to broader contexts. A general principle is that civic discourse is both an essential component of the process of civic education and a facilitator of individual outcomes that span social and political reasoning, knowledge, and behavior. It is also deeply contextualized by factors at the school, community and family levels. In concluding, the authors make some specific recommendations.

Research Directions That Address Changing Social and Cultural Contexts

Acknowledge the Need for Research That Adapts to Changing
Political and Social Landscapes in Which Discourse Takes Place

At the dawn of the third decade of the 21st century, the norms of civic discourse are in flux. Students and teachers have few models of respectful disagreement and productive civic discourse from beyond the classroom. Researchers cannot ignore the

current political context of discourse, both nationally and locally. A normative conversation about the value of different forms of civic reasoning, such as that described by Westheimer and Kahne (2004), in an age of widening political and social divides may be essential. For example, the civic reasoning and discourses that promote consensus or compromise are different from those intended to combat entrenched injustice.

Increase Research Focused on the Interplay Between the School and the Community

After an extensive review, Torney-Purta et al. (2010) expressed concern that research that considers only in-school or out-of-school factors ignores overlap in individuals' membership in numerous communities. In this vein, research on learning environments should not ignore the opportunities and challenges provided in the community surrounding the school. While other papers in this project describe the broader context of civic learning, and how such contexts are mediated by proximal settings including families, peers, and schools (see Chapter 5 in this report), the focus here is on recommendations for research addressing explicit areas of overlap between school and other contexts. Service learning, to provide one example, is thought to support the development of youth civic dispositions (particularly in light of social inequality) because youth have an opportunity to have contact with individuals whose perspectives vary from their own (Flanagan, 2014). Activities designed to foster youth empowerment, including leadership and grassroots organizations for youth social action, are potentially a very valuable context (Kirshner, 2009; Mitra et al., 2014), and additional research on the interaction of empowerment with the formal learning environment is warranted (Speer et al., 2019).

In particular, up-to-date empirical documentation (e.g., Macgillivray, 2004) is needed to specify the various mechanisms through which community contexts shape the willingness to discuss issues within the learning environment. For example, there is fear of community pushback on the part of some teachers wishing to discuss controversial issues (McAvoy & Hess, 2013). In-depth examination of such events can help educators and researchers understand the frequency and ramifications of instances of community pressure that may cause teachers and schools to alter curricula, policy, or activities. Tools that use network analysis techniques to better understand community contexts (e.g., Paluck et al., 2016) hold particular promise in this regard. Collaboration with scholars who study school and community policy should also be encouraged. As social environments are prone to change, continued research on the interaction between the community and the school environments is necessary.

Conduct Research on Environments Beyond Traditional, In-Person Classes

While digital civic literacy is covered more fully in other sections in this report (see Chapter 7), new technologies have created new educational spaces for civic discourse and reasoning, including forums for digital interaction/discussion and websites (and programs) such as iCivics that scaffold civic thinking. Despite increased interest in these digital spaces, their impact on civic discourse, reasoning, and engagement remains relatively understudied. In particular, researchers should more fully explore the interactions that these online or simulated educational environments promote, and how these

interactions compare to and connect with those in face-to-face contexts (Larson, 2003). As digital environments are increasingly prevalent in youth civic discourse and engagement, research on these climates is becoming particularly important (Middaugh et al., 2017).

Furthermore, research designed to study civic skill development within extra-curricular or co-curricular environments that link instruction within the school with engagement in community contexts is warranted. This could expand on work on conventional service learning contexts in ways that are familiar to educators (e.g., Billig et al., 2005). It also needs to be updated to consider more empowerment-oriented approaches to such involvement. In doing so, special attention should be paid to the context of these environments and how students are likely to engage with the individuals whom they meet in the communities outside of school. Furthermore, the role of students themselves in creating and taking leadership in these opportunities should be at the forefront.

Research That Foregrounds Attempts to Understand the Individual Student's Experience

Consider How Multiple Developmental Contexts Interact

Ehman (1980) was prescient in commenting about the importance of extracurricular activities for cultivating the peer relationships that can support civic learning (a focus that continues until today), and more recent research has considered peer interactions in the context of small groups within classroom settings (e.g., Kuhn, 2015). Research on informal civic learning environments also points to peer relationships in and of themselves (alongside other groups such as families) as an important context for developing skills related to civic reasoning and discourse (Richardson, 2003; Wilkenfeld & Torney-Purta, 2012). These interactions take place both in face-to-face and online contexts. If students attend school (and specific classes) with a particular group of peers, there is also likely to be overlap between peer networks and experiences in formal learning environments.

McDevitt and Kiousis (2007) developed a model to conceptualize how peers and parents each influence the associations between classroom discussions and later civic outcomes; they posited that peer groups are especially important contexts for cultivating capacities for protesting and nonconventional forms of participation, whereas more conventional forms of participation were more often cultivated through parents. Researchers could more fully consider how the informal peer context and specific features of formal educational learning environments relate to each other, particularly as they create (or constrain) supportive climates for civic learning and discourse. For example, Morine-Dershimer (2006) has noted the need for researchers to more fully explore student dynamics and discourse as taking place in small group work, and recent work by Green et al. (2020) highlights the potential of micro-ethnographic discourse analysis to aid in such exploration by providing a framework for theoretically grounded inquiry into complex learning processes. From another methodological vantage point, social network analysis may be useful in assessing how peer networks interface with the more formal organization of students existing within schools. This approach has been used to study aspects of young people's civic development from

other vantage points, but it has not been adequately integrated into methodologies for studying school or classroom climate.

Further Examine Developing Reasoning and Discourse Skills as Processes
Through Which a Supportive School/Classroom Climate Shapes Civic Outcomes

By drawing on a variety of literature from different disciplines, the authors have laid out evidence that the climate of a learning environment shapes opportunities for dialogue, which in turn has the potential to influence attitudes or lead to civic action. They have also highlighted literature that examines how teachers and peers construct opportunities for argumentation and dialogue within formal learning environments, and ways in which these opportunities support civic reasoning and discourse skills. At present, however, it is implied that the broader climate of classrooms and schools shapes reasoning and discourse skills (which in turn prepares youth for further civic action). There are very few studies that explicitly follow this pathway of linking an open climate to civic action through increased civic reasoning skills, however. Research that directly tests links between climate and discourse skills is needed to assess whether the cognitive and social processes that are thought to be encouraged within an open discussion climate are indeed being developed in a way that equips students for participation in and outside school. An increased use of randomized controlled trials (advocated by Campbell, 2019) is one approach to strengthening research in this area. However, there are also important caveats in this area related to appropriate generalizations across social contexts that should be further developed through qualitative and mixed-methods work. Taken together, the resulting knowledge base could strengthen the theory of change that could inform practical interventions in this area.

Also important is increased attention to the relationship between thinking and discourse as related to action. Throughout this chapter, the authors have made reference to discourse, reason, and action as three mutually enforcing pillars of civic development. Reviewing the large literature on how thinking and reasoning develop in the second decade of life and beyond exceeds the scope of this chapter. However, such development, which is substantial albeit variable across individuals, is crucial to consider when linking discourse to action. Thinking is implicit in discourse, and discourse may provide a particularly effective path to its development (Kuhn, 2019; Michaels et al., 2008; Olson, 2016). Moreover, thinking is essential to civic action; without well-reasoned conviction to give them purpose, civic actions are unlikely to be sustained (Malin et al., 2015).

Connect Research on Reasoning and Discourse Skill Development
to Research in the Field of Socio-Emotional Learning

Finally, the foregrounding of reasoning and discourse processes placed emphasis on a primarily cognitive approach to understanding the developmental underpinnings of civic action. However, in keeping with the acknowledgment that human learning integrates perceptual and affective components along with cognitive factors (see the concluding chapter in this report titled Recommendations for Practice, Policy, and Research; National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, 2018a), the authors have also summarized clear evidence that the socio-emotional components of civic action

cannot be overlooked. Particularly important are feelings of belonging and safety that are encouraged through positive, open school and classroom climates. Looking at the issue in this way, there is an opportunity for increased theoretical and practical connections between programs in civic engagement and in socio-emotional learning (SEL).

Jones et al. (2019) recently outlined a framework for understanding SEL in practice that highlights the ways in which cognitive, social, and emotional skills develop through supportive relationships. They highlight particular SEL initiatives developed from work in school districts to foster positive school climates. These initiatives were developed through close research–practice partnerships and in ways that were responsive and grounded in meaningful theories of change. While Jones et al. (2019) discuss SEL's roots in prevention science—a framework not traditionally tied to civic-related outcomes—the two traditions overlap extensively (Catalano et al., 2002; Cohen et al., 2010; Kia-Keating et al., 2011; Wentzel, 2015). This overlap in traditions has considerable potential for considering the role of school and classroom climate as related to civic outcomes in nuanced ways (Andolina & Conklin, 2020).

Expanding and Developing Research Infrastructure

Beyond the specific and substantive recommendations provided, the authors also note a few general recommendations for encouraging the collecting and sharing of relevant data in further research. The first acknowledges that many of the findings presented in this paper are based on research from the IEA civics studies. From the vantage of understanding the U.S. context in particular, this presents a limitation as the United States has not participated in these studies since CIVED in 1999. A recommendation for further research in this area, therefore, is to resume participation in the IEA's civics and citizenship education studies. This could be accomplished through full national participation or through involvement via state-level benchmarking, which takes place using the same instruments but later than the main testing. Through such involvement, the United States would gain up-to-date information about students' opportunities to benefit from civic discourse and from an atmosphere of mutual respect in their schools, which could assist in identifying ways to improve educational programs to encourage civic participation. The next International Civic and Citizenship Education Study, slated for 2022, will include many of the same psychometrically rigorous measures of civic participation and attitudes in classrooms and schools used previously (including those relating to class and school climate) while also considering new or updated measures to assess current issues and challenges (International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement, 2020). Ensuring that national assessments (such as the National Assessment of Educational Progress [NAEP] civics and history assessments) include measures of classroom and school climate is also important.

A second suggestion recognizes that infrastructures to support data sharing, whether from international surveys or from studies specific to a particular country or region, would also help foster further research. For example, CivicLEADS, funded by the Spencer Foundation and housed at the University of Michigan's Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research (Regents of the University of Michigan, 2020), has become a repository for information on studies in this area, including those conducted using qualitative or geospatial methodologies as well as survey-based studies.

Available resources include more than 20 data sets with accompanying instruments, codebooks, and bibliographies of published research. With expanded funding, this could become a source for enhancing networks and collaborations between researchers to foster and develop new projects, either using archived data sets or encouraging new data collections specifically addressing topics raised here. Furthermore, CivicLEADS or another source could provide a bulletin board or even an early warning system about threats to open discourse and suggestions from teachers about how to deal with them.

IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHERS AND ADMINISTRATORS

Given the associations between democratic school and classroom climates and the development of student civic reasoning and discourse, educators should be encouraged to promote such environments in their particular contexts (and should have the backing and support of administrators). These efforts, however, must be carefully contextualized in light of the political and social climate of the community that surrounds the school. Based on the literature reviewed above, the authors offer several recommendations for educators toward building classrooms conducive to the development of civic reasoning and discourse.

Encourage Climates That Are Conducive to Civic Discourse Consistently Across the School

Democratic discourse thrives in schools where faculty, administrators, and staff are conscious of it and emphasize it. Although discussions of social and political issues commonly take place in social studies classes (and are thus the focus of much of the research literature), there are ample opportunities to engage in civic discourse and reasoning in other school subjects. Engaging with civic issues from a scientific perspective (such as citizen science projects) or a literary perspective can emphasize to students that civic discourse takes place in a variety of contexts and illustrate the transferability of discursive skills.

While classroom pedagogy and climate are important, educators can make the development of civic discourse and reasoning a priority in school governance and policies, extracurricular activities, and other elements of the school. This must be contextualized within the communities surrounding the schools. The aim is that students should see civic discourse and reasoning modeled across multiple school contexts and, in turn, have many opportunities to engage themselves. If a given school emphasizes civic reasoning, discourse, and engagement as part of the ethos of the school (Campbell, 2006), classroom activities and climates, and extracurricular opportunities, it sends the message that such skills and dispositions are valuable foundations for civic life. Furthermore, students should be encouraged to suggest new activities that promote these aims, particularly in the realm of using digital technologies.

Ensure That Teachers Are Prepared and Supported

Teachers who engage (or want to engage) students on political and social issues are often concerned that they will become targets of ire from parents or community

members, or even students who have objections to the content or format of class discussions. If the school values civic discourse and reasoning, there should be procedures and plans for dealing with challenges. Students who have become engaged because of innovative programs are often the best defenders of those programs. Furthermore, as much as possible, incorporation of civic reasoning and discourse skills in school mission statements and policies can lay the groundwork for responses to criticism. Relatedly, when there are strong networks of educators and administrators committed to engaging students in civic reasoning and discourse, the school can better respond to unforeseen pressures.

Professional organizations can also play a role in supporting teachers as they create spaces for civic reasoning and discourse. In addition to providing resources and strategies for teachers as they strive for open classrooms and schools, organizations such as the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) or the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, through public statements, policy advocacy, and the development of standards, can serve as a counterweight to public discourse that may stifle open discussion of controversial issues. As Hahn (1998, 2010) notes, NCSS has served a similar role in previously contentious political times through issuing statements in support of open discussion of ideas.

Model Civic Discourse and Reasoning for Students and Create Spaces for Students to Practice These Skills

Because educators have considerable power to shape student thinking, they should be conscious about how they model civic behaviors. Open discussion of current events and controversial issues with the allowance of multiple, reasonable viewpoints models the value of civic thinking to students. Avoidance of controversy and opinion expression, on the other hand, sends the message that such issues and skills are not important to citizens. In turn, teacher educators should challenge future teachers to consider dilemmas of practice that exist around such discussions and help develop professional judgment about how to facilitate productive discussions appropriate to the needs and concerns of different developmental levels, student populations, communities, and contexts (Pace, 2019).

Provide Opportunities for Collaboration in Class

Collaborative learning environments in which students talk about political and social issues allow students to develop discursive skills (Kuhn, 2015; Kuhn et al., 2019). The social interaction inherent in collaborative learning or group discussion helps build these skills for later civic participation (Hess, 2009; Hess & McAvoy, 2015). Educators should be intentional about structuring these activities (e.g., which students collaborate with each other in class). Diverse groups often present opportunities for students to engage with a range of ideas and often result in rich discussions (Goldberg, 2013; Stoddard & Chen, 2016).

Engage in Organization and Advocacy

Teachers and administrators intending to engage in any or all of the above may find themselves constrained by local, state, or even national policies. For example, restrictions on funding availability or mandates for testing can shift the focus to easily measured rote learning and disincentivize more robust civic reasoning and discourse. While educators certainly should exercise the power and influence they have in their local communities to create environments that promote civic reasoning and discourse, they must also strive to voice their concerns in statehouses. Professional organizations and teachers' unions can also serve to amplify teachers' voices at the state and national levels.

Recommendations for Practice

- **Climate as a context for content learning:** A learning environment's climate is theorized to have a reciprocal relationship to both the content of a course and the selection and effectiveness of pedagogy. Much of what is known about how classroom climates foster civic reasoning and discourse in particular comes from research conducted in the social studies and other civics-related content areas. However, similar principles may also inform how civic discourse happens in other content areas, such as literacy and science. More research in this vein is especially needed if one accepts the assumption that civic learning should take place across the curriculum.
- **Modeling of civic norms by teachers and administrators:** Staff within a school can serve as powerful models of what civic reasoning and discourse means. At the classroom level, for example, teachers' disclosing of personal opinions and providing opportunities for student disagreement can foster an open climate for political and social discussions. Across the school, administrators can set civic norms through their own inclusion of students' perspectives in their decision-making. Such norms are particularly powerful when shared and consistently communicated by staff members within a learning environment.
- **Development of civic skills and dispositions through scaffolding:** As students begin to deliberate on civic issues and develop a stronger conceptual base, they may need support and structure from more knowledgeable others (such as teachers) to guide their participation. Explicit teacher facilitation can support students' abilities to engage in such discussions, holding high intellectual standards for civic reasoning and ensuring that discussions remain respectful, open, and fair. Over time, students should be encouraged to develop the metacognitive skills needed to monitor their own participation in similar contexts without this explicit guidance.
- **Authenticity and real-world relevance:** Optimal learning environments for civic reasoning and discourse provide opportunities for students to hone their skills on authentic problems relevant to the world around them. This may include discussions of civic issues pertinent to the community in which the school is located and/or recognition of current national or global social and political issues as topics of discussion. It can also involve the treatment of the learning environment itself as a civic context, in which youth apply their reasoning and discourse skills to contribute to decision making and norm-setting within schools and classrooms.
- **Respect for personal experience:** The particular set of social contexts each student inhabits and the associated experiences within them shape how that individual learns. Given that no two individuals within a learning environment have the same background, no two will respond to the climate of that learning environment in the same way. Recognizing this, optimal learning environments account for one's positionality in engaging with civic issues, and build in opportunities of support for engaging with diverse perspectives. This is of particular importance

when considering how schools and classrooms have historically privileged or marginalized the experiences of students with particular social or cultural backgrounds.

- **Safety and emotional support:** Given the potential for disagreement or discomfort that may come with the discussion of civic issues, a sense of safety, respect, and emotional support is a particularly crucial component of the climate of an effective learning environment for civic reasoning and discourse. Students who report stronger relationships between students and teachers, and among peers in a school tend to feel more connection to their schools and to perceive their schools and classrooms as more open to discussion and inclusive of student voice. Acknowledging the intertwined nature of cognitive and affective components of learning, this suggests that a more explicit and purposeful connection between principles developed as part of social-emotional learning and principles of civic learning may be warranted.
- **Development of self- and collective efficacy:** Through engaging in civic discourse in open, supportive and challenging school and classroom climates, students develop confidence in their own ability to engage with civic issues that they take with them outside of the learning environment. Moreover, opportunities for engagement with teachers and groups of peers has been found to foster a sense of collective efficacy. This is particularly evident when students have experiences of working with a group to affect change in their community or their school.
- **Opportunities to move from discourse to action:** In many cases, the presentation of authentic problems in a learning environment presents opportunities for students to engage in social action, as students look to implement changes discussed relevant to their school or community. Student leadership opportunities, youth participatory action research projects, and youth organizing are all examples of activities that can be implemented in learning environments to encourage meaningful and active involvement within supported, developmentally appropriate structures.

CONCLUSION

Developing students' civic reasoning and discourse skills for future civic engagement is a challenging and complicated objective, particularly in light of supporting future civic engagement. The success of curricula and pedagogy designed to fulfill this objective is inextricably linked to the environment in which activities takes place (Hahn, 1996). This chapter has examined the various tools used to assess the climates of learning environments within classrooms. In addition, it has focused on factors that shape students' experiences in classrooms and schools as a whole. If a student has had an opportunity over time to be a member of a learning community that is open to group participation and also where individual students' views and varied backgrounds are respected, that usually means that student has had the experience of high-quality civic discourse. This participation in turn has likely contributed to the student's own skill, confidence, and disposition to participate, with the many present and potential benefits noted in this chapter. If one were to deconstruct the constructs of school and classroom climate, some of their characteristics might be better understood. It might then become possible to understand how to encourage changes in policies and educational practices, with the potential to orient educators toward the new realities of school-aged populations, who are being prepared to be the new population of voters, parents, work associates, friends, and community participants.

Classroom and school climates are never totally predictable. They depend on a variety of factors and are not easy to change, especially in the short term. Consistent policies

and practices on the part of teachers and administrators promoting the inclusion of current issues on a regular basis, or support for school-wide values and behaviors that promote student agency and voice, can gradually build learning environments suitable for civic reasoning and discourse. A range of international and national research studies have useful information for teachers and administrators about some factors influencing climates at school. Most teachers recognize variation in classroom and school climates. The authors believe it is possible and useful to describe and assess climate as an organizational feature of formal learning environments. In particular, they have focused on respect for the unique contributions from students of all backgrounds, students' perceptions of openness to their contributions, and assistance to students in providing the spaces and guidance necessary to hone their ideas. Of particular importance is teachers' awareness of the everyday out of school contexts in which students live and the factors that encourage or inhibit their civic reasoning and discourse. These can all be useful in providing educators with some ideas about actions to take to further the goals of civic reasoning, discourse, and engagement.

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7

Rethinking Digital Citizenship: Learning About Media, Literacy, and Race in Turbulent Times

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CONTENTS

**RETHINKING DIGITAL CITIZENSHIP:
LEARNING ABOUT MEDIA, LITERACY, AND RACE IN TURBULENT TIMES**

The practice of politics is changing in the digital age. Indeed, whether one considers mainstream electoral politics or major social movements, the central role of social media and of the digital revolution more generally is clear. Youth are at the forefront of these

changes (Krueger, 2002) and are showcasing their sense of agency, strategic creativity, and commitment as exemplified by their central roles in large-scale movements such as the #blacklivesmatter, #marchforourlives, and the DREAMer movement. Overall, youth participate in politics online at higher rates than adults (Smith, 2013). These new political practices have been described in various ways, including "connective action" (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012), "e-expressive" participation (Gibson & Cantijoch, 2013), "connected civics" (Ito et al., 2015), and "online participatory politics" (Cohen et al., 2012). Such online political activities are interactive, often peer-based, and generally not deferential to institutional or elite guidance. This shift has transformed the ways that information is accessed, the ways that discourse and reasoning occur, and ultimately, the tools of political participation. To be sure, this transformation creates opportunities; in other ways, it creates challenges.

In this chapter, the authors focus on these opportunities and challenges and on ways that educators might better prepare youth for civic reasoning and discourse in the digital age.[1] More specifically, they analyze differing efforts to support reasoning and discourse by helping youth interact safely and civilly in online spaces, assess the reliability of information, leverage the power of connected learning opportunities, and engage in political action online. The authors find that there is a need to rethink what it means to educate for digital citizenship. Current media literacy efforts have value, but they often focus on individual skills, behaviors, and orientations and fail to prepare students to understand, recognize, and respond to structural factors, particularly racism, as they relate to discourse and reasoning in the digital age.

BROAD SHIFTS IN TECHNOLOGY, POLITICS, AND CULTURE
THAT ALTER CIVIC DISCOURSE AND REASONING

Over the past 20 years, our understanding of our digitally networked (Castells, 2000; Raine & Wellman, 2014), participatory (Jenkins, 2006), and connected (Ito et al., 2013) society has shifted substantially. Rather than signaling a separation between how individuals interact online and how they do so in the physical world, the past two decades highlight how digital technologies mediate nearly every setting in our lives. Digital tools and culture affect how individuals learn, communicate, and reason civically. More than a decade ago, media scholar Henry Jenkins (2006) argued that these changes signaled a *participatory culture,* acknowledging that people today do not simply consume media—they also produce, remix, and expand on it.

This kind of peer-to-peer communication altered the nature of institutional influence. Indeed, one used to need institutional support from, for example, a television producer or a newspaper editor to share a perspective with a sizable public. Individuals' opportunities for discourse generally occurred at meetings unless it was between family and friends. Now, as a result of online social networks, media platforms, and

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[1] Along with others in this report, the authors define *civic reasoning* broadly as an effort to respond to the question, "What should we do?" Civic reasoning is done by both individuals and groups and should be informed by many factors including empirical understanding of the situation and the impact of varied responses, strategy, and emotions such as empathy and righteous indignation. Similarly, they use the term *discourse* to refer to discussions that might occur through varied media and again should be both guided by and influence one's civic reasoning.

varied websites, an individual can share one's ideas at scale with far less institutional oversight.[2] Many youths take advantage of these opportunities. As Jenkins et al. (2006, p. 9) highlighted, both youth and adults can now "archive, annotate, appropriate, and recirculate media content in powerful new ways." Young people, in many ways more than others, are engaging with these opportunities. In 2013, 36 percent of youth ages 15–18 reported creating or sharing media with a political focus in the prior 12 months. By way of contrast, 6 percent in this age group worked on a political campaign and 4 percent donated money to a cause or politician (Kahne et al., 2016). Moreover, while many youth do not actively create politically oriented content, they do rely heavily on social media and their participation in online social networks for news (Gottfried et al., 2016; Robb, 2017). In addition, studies have found that online political engagement is more equitably distributed across race and social class than many other forms of political participation such as voting (Cohen et al., 2012; Correa & Jeong, 2011). Indeed, these efforts by youth, and perhaps especially by youth of color, highlight their creativity, their ability to resist ongoing and at times life threatening forms of oppression, and, fundamentally, their resilience and desire to engage. Youth engagement has powered several of the most important social movements of our era. These movements aim to change the answers to critically important questions regarding how the police behave, whether and when racism and sexism are addressed, who gets to be a citizen, who one gets to marry, and the sustainability of our planet. As a result, increased engagement in these online participatory practices—practices labeled as participatory politics in this chapter—have the potential to promote political voice and influence and to do so in ways that are more equitable.

This relatively hopeful framing, taken as a statement of the possibilities of media production for shaping and engaging in civic reasoning and discourse, highlights youth agency and the potentially empowering opportunities of digital culture. Moreover, it is, the authors believe, a helpful counterpoint to the disparaging rhetoric often aimed at youth capacities and activities generally and at their engagement with social media. Indeed, this framing of participatory culture—drawing as it does on youth interests and prosocial leanings—has substantially informed how many progressive educators consider modernizing classroom instruction to align with the 21st century needs of learners (Mirra & Garcia, 2020). The optimism of possibility and the proliferation of maturing civic participation in every crevice of the internet, however, must be tempered. The authors do not wish to either glorify youth or to imply that digital politics are a panacea. The technological, cultural, and political shifts that have taken place also create risks and challenges related to discourse and reasoning.

One set of challenges grows out of the changed nature of gatekeeping. In earlier eras, news organizations were largely able to mediate access to politically oriented information and perspectives. The gatekeeping capacity of these legacy news organizations has been greatly diminished because individuals and organizations have countless ways to share their perspectives with sizable audiences (Madison & DeJarnette, 2017). Today, as Robb (2017) found, 13–18-year-olds were more likely to get their news from social media

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[2] To be sure, the web platforms and search engines are institutions and, in some important respects, can play gatekeeping roles, structuring opportunities for discourse and exposure to content. As discussed later in the chapter, the roles they play, however, are rarely shaped by traditional journalistic values (see Madison & DeJarnette, 2017).

than directly from an institution such as a news show or newspaper. This does not mean that institutional influence has vanished. Rather, as the influence of traditional news organizations has declined, the influence of other institutions has grown. The largely invisible, implicit policies major platforms such as Facebook and Twitter employ regarding user privacy, the forms of speech that are allowed, and the algorithms that determine the kinds of content that users encounter are all calibrated to the interests of for-profit companies that may not be motivated to promote high-quality discourse or reasoning. For example, Facebook controls what information can be seen and the processes through which content can be flagged for moderation (e.g., Gray & Suri, 2019). In October 2019, Facebook's terms of use policies allowed political ads to make false claims (Kang, 2019). As a result, an advertisement with deliberate mistruths about presidential candidate Joe Biden circulated on Facebook despite major networks like CNN refusing to air the ad. When Facebook decides to enable fake videos of political figures to circulate, that choice is of enormous consequence for both discourse and reasoning.

The places of participation matter; platforms shape the kinds of interactions and set the rules of what is permissible and possible in these spaces. Reflecting on the ways that platforms such as Facebook amass power, Srnicek (2016) explains how "platforms became an efficient way to monopolise, extract, analyse, and use the increasingly large amounts of data that were being recorded" (pp. 42–43). Rather than the vision, just a decade earlier, of online space as a freeing environment for participation, platforms limit where civic discourse occurs, through what means, and for the gain of whom. This emphasis on *platforms* (van Dijck et al., 2018) shifts our understanding of an open and robust internet to one that is rather a conglomeration of platforms with their own fiefdoms of values.

Technological change has also expanded choice regarding access to news and perspectives. Specifically, the ease of accessing news and commentary on cable television and on the internet have dramatically expanded opportunities for choice regarding exposure to civic reasoning and discourse (Prior, 2007). In so doing, these changes have dramatically expanded the need for educators to orient students toward seeking out a range of views and to enable students to make informed judgments about the quality of what they find. News and media literacy efforts, then, are intended to help young people learn to search for, evaluate, and select online information while understanding the potential motivations, expertise, perspectives, and biases of that information.

Finally, the digital age has dramatically changed the control (and lack of control) one has over one's political identity. For example, the digital revolution has expanded opportunities to participate anonymously (which may make problematic engagement more common) and it has also expanded varied forms of surveillance by platforms, other companies, and governments. The permanence and broad access of others to one's online content has also highlighted the importance of what Elizabeth Soep (2014) termed the "Digital Afterlife" because one's thoughts can be repurposed by others to make very different points than those originally intended. Moreover, unlike most politically relevant comments that youth make in face to face contexts, those made online can be examined at a later date by, for example, potential employers or college admission officers. These dynamics necessitate that educators help youth develop a new kind of consciousness regarding expressions of one's temporal political identity and beliefs.

The significance of these technological changes has been amplified by several broader cultural shifts. Specifically, trust in institutions has declined over the past

several decades. Trust in government declined from its peak in 1964 at 77 percent to less than 25 percent in the past decade. Similarly, trust in mass media declined from 72 percent in 1976 to 32 percent in 2016. What is particularly striking is that these declines occurred for most major institutions. For example, trust in public schools has declined from 62 percent in 1975 to 31 percent in 2017 and trust in the medical system has declined from 80 percent to 37 percent over the same period (Zuckerman, 2017).

Coupled with declining trust, partisanship has increasingly characterized our political culture. For the first time since the Pew Research Center began tracking this topic in 1992, in 2016 a majority of both Democrats and Republicans said members of the opposing party "stirred feelings of fear and anger in them" (Pew Research Center, 2016). This increasing partisanship and the growing animosity toward those one disagrees with is relevant because research indicates that such feelings introduce significant biases into the reasoning process. Scholars studying ways that motivations impact reasoning, or *motivated reasoning* (Kunda, 1990), find that reasoning and discourse tied to highly charged issues often trigger "hot cognition" and that affect-laden beliefs bias information processing (Lodge & Taber, 2005). This process prompts individuals to look for evidence that aligns with their preexisting views (confirmation bias), to find reasons to reject perspectives that contradict their beliefs (disconfirmation bias), and to view arguments that align with their views more positively than equally supported arguments that do not align with their prior perspectives (prior attitude effect) (see Kunda, 1990; Taber & Lodge, 2006). These processes also diminish the likelihood of learning through discourse and, in particular, the likelihood of learning through exposure to divergent views. Indeed, rather than learning from new information, studies find that when individuals are exposed to substantive new information that contradicts prior strongly held beliefs, they often become even more committed to their prior beliefs (Redlawsk, 2002).

The challenges posed by these technological, political, and cultural changes are substantial and often reinforcing. The combination of diminished gatekeepers, the ease of circulation, heightened partisanship, lack of trust in the news media, and the ability to post content anonymously have both enabled and motivated the creation and circulation of deeply combative and disrespectful discourse—content often imbued with racism. In a recent Youth Participatory Politics Survey, 39 percent of all students, including 45 percent of Black and 47 percent of Latinx students, reported seeing or experiencing racist statements and interactions online (Cohen & Berk, 2015). Similarly, a study of approximately 260 high school youth's experiences of direct and indirect racial discrimination on the internet found that 71 percent of Black, 71 percent of White, and 67 percent of multiracial/other adolescents reported seeing racial discrimination online, whereas 29 percent of Black, 20 percent of White, and 42 percent of multiracial/other youth reported experiencing racial discrimination (Tynes et al., 2008).

In addition, a tremendous volume of falsehoods circulates online. Buzzfeed's analysis found, for instance, that false stories circulated to a greater degree than accurate stories in the run-up to the 2016 election (Silverman, 2016). Increased partisanship and choice regarding content have also led to increased engagement in echo chambers, which may well make false and offensive content more common. Such partisanship coupled with enhanced choice also appears to have diminished the kind of cross-ideological interchange that is needed for groups to both learn from and come to understand one another (Mutz, 2006; Pariser, 2011).

Given the complex and quickly changing context of discourse and reasoning, the need to develop a wide range of skills for digital reasoning and discourse—capacities for collaboration, participation, critique, and expression—is substantial (see Hobbs, 2010; Jenkins et al., 2006; Mihailidis & Thevenin, 2013). As Howard Rheingold (2008, p. 99) has written:

> This population is both self-guided and in need of guidance: although a willingness to learn new media by point-and-click exploration might come naturally to today's student cohort, there's nothing innate about knowing how to apply their skills to the processes of democracy.

The complex forms of dialogue, the deep knowledge it often requires of community members, and the ways individuals' expertise is networked illustrate the layers of learning that shape and are shaped by participatory, digital civic literacies. Ito et al. (2013, p. 6) refer to these forms of learning that are "socially embedded, interest-driven, and oriented toward educational, economic, or political opportunity" as connected learning. Focusing on the kinds of out-of-school civic practices that youth and adults engage in, Ito et al.'s (2010) delineation of connected learning stems from their scrutiny of how youth are often "hanging out, messing around, and geeking out" with peers in digital contexts.

Connected learning centers socialization and community in how individuals frame changes in our digitally mediated culture; not simply seeing new civic uses of digital tools, we can consider societal changes as opening up new practices, such as acknowledging the digital spaces in which participatory culture thrives as connected civics—"a form of learning fostered via participatory politics that emerges when young people achieve civic agency linked to their deeply felt interests, identities, and affinities" (Ito et al., 2015, p. 17). These practices involve "'little p' politics" that contrasts with more overtly "'big P' Politics" that Jenkins et al. (2015, p. 162) describe. By casting light through this participatory lens, youth cultural activities that can be seen as disconnected from partisan, political beliefs are reified as complex forms of civic reasoning.

Though connected learning originally emphasized learning outside of schools, efforts to understand how youth connected learning is fostered and supported in schools has shaped literacies, civics, and educational technology research over the past decade. Furthermore, concerted efforts to bridge out of school literacy practices and interests into classrooms has long been recognized as a form of powerful pedagogical practice. From emphasizing how youth popular culture can meaningfully elevate some classroom learning (e.g., Ladson-Billings, 1995; Morrell, 2008) to exploring forms of youth media production (Halverson, 2010; Jocson, 2018) to focusing on the tools for media participation in schools (Ortlieb et al., 2018; Wissman & Costello, 2014), a participatory lens can recast what work, assessment, and learning look like in schools.

REDESIGNING CIVIC EDUCATION FOR A DIGITAL DEMOCRACY

As the accompanying chapters in this report illustrate, the prospect of engaging students in civic reasoning and discourse in the context of formal classroom instruction has always been a fraught proposition for public school educators. Considering the delicate negotiations involved in introducing potentially controversial current issues

to the curriculum—including managing student disagreements, parent concerns, and their own opinions and beliefs—teachers are often wary of taking on the task (Hess & McAvoy, 2014). Arguably, the advent of the digital age amid increasing political polarization has made these practices even more difficult to implement as a connected culture has created a two-way mirror effect—a full range of voices and perspectives can be present in the classroom alongside the students in the seats at any moment, and what happens in that classroom can be communicated back out into the public sphere to become the subject of heated discussion and debate (Allen & Light, 2015).

Yet, despite the challenges, educators are finding it more necessary than ever to engage in these efforts, particularly in light of both the opportunities afforded by a vibrant participatory culture and the challenges posed by hate speech, virulent online racism, and online misinformation campaigns (Mirra & Garcia, 2017). The rancorous discourse and voter manipulation efforts surrounding the 2016 presidential election have sparked renewed interest in the role of schools in offering students a rigorous civic education that can prepare them to participate effectively in democratic life, which is becoming increasingly digital.

In this section, the authors first note existing efforts in research and practice to define and promote skills for digital reasoning and discourse, highlighting the discourse and reasoning skills that are most frequently addressed. They examine three current priorities—safety and civility, information analysis, and civic voice and engagement—and the ways that educators are grappling with them. In doing so, the authors summarize the extant research literature on these practices and their effects. They also discuss gaps in the research literature and ways to respond.

The authors' analysis and suggestions regarding needed studies, however, moves beyond suggesting ways to examine these efforts on their own terms. The authors believe that current efforts frame the need too narrowly. In particular, they argue that increased attention to race and racism is essential and that there is a great need for approaches to teaching digital reasoning and discourse that are grounded in values of equity, empathy, and anti-racism. The authors find that as educators, researchers, and policy makers seek to define digital citizenship and the roles that schools should play in fostering it, some define the term apolitically to encompass how young people should comport themselves online while others define it in terms of supporting youth to raise their voices and produce media for the purpose of social activism (Choi, 2016). This finding leads the authors to articulate a broader critique and provocation to the field about the need to situate civic discourse and reasoning skills within the broader social, political, and cultural contexts of digital communication and to clarify what they believe the normative values and ethics are that should guide democratic discourse and reasoning writ large in online (and offline) settings.

The last section of this review provides a case study focusing on young people's need for skills for digital reasoning and discourse that are attentive to race and anti-racism. Following this review, the authors discuss policy options and other broader implications.

Current Digital Citizenship Education Efforts

Based on the authors' review of the limited (but growing) body of research studies and curricular resources available, they have developed a typology of digital citizenship

FIGURE 7-1 Typology of current digital citizenship education.

illustrating three domains of the digital civic learning context that educators are currently attempting to address, to varying degrees, in schools (see Figure 7-1). While these domains overlap in practice, the authors tease them apart here for the purpose of highlighting trends across the civic education landscape.

In the **safety/civility** domain, educators focus on the reasoning and discourse skills that students need to understand and manage their online presence, identify and avoid risky online behavior, and interact with others safely and respectfully. This focus emerges as a response to concerns previously raised about the longevity of young people's "digital footprints" that can follow them into adulthood, the collection of individual data by educational institutions and corporations, and the rancorous, divisive tone of much online discourse.

In the **information analysis** domain, educators focus on the reasoning skills that students need to understand and analyze the source, nature, and purpose of the information they encounter online. This focus reflects recognition of the multiple forces leading to the circulation of misleading and inaccurate content that is influencing today's civic and political discourse.

In the **civic voice/engagement** domain, educators focus on the reasoning and discourse skills that students need to leverage online platforms to develop and share their perspectives on civic issues and engage in authentic digital civic participation. This focus speaks to continued efforts to spark youth interest in public life and translate engagement into digital contexts.

Safety/Civility

Marcus is an eighth grader at the local middle school. He creates a fake Instagram account, not under his name, and posts a picture of his rival school's basketball team. The rival school's basketball team is mostly black, and Marcus posts a racist message

about the players underneath the image. Other students from Marcus's school find the post and also post racist jokes about the players. (Common Sense Education, n.d.)

The scenario above is drawn from an 8th grade lesson plan published by the nonprofit organization Common Sense as part of their Digital Citizenship curriculum (Common Sense Education, n.d.; James et al., 2019). The lesson aims to help students develop strategies they can utilize when encountering cyberbullying and hate speech online; teachers are instructed to guide students toward becoming "upstanders" rather than bystanders by taking actions such as "defending the person being targeted" and "raising general awareness about the issue at school or in your community." The tagline for this strand of the curriculum reads, "We are kind and courageous."

This lesson is indicative of the most common understanding and enactment of digital citizenship operating in schools today, which revolves around considerations of safety, privacy, and internet etiquette. A national study of teachers conducted by Common Sense reported that 58 percent of teachers have used a digital citizenship curriculum and that "digital drama, cyberbullying and hate speech" and "privacy and safety" were the first (46 percent) and second (43 percent) most common digital competencies taught in U.S. schools (Vega & Robb, 2019). In multiple states that have proposed or passed laws mandating the inclusion of digital learning in school standards, including California and Texas, the term digital citizenship is embedded within calls for students to weigh the benefits and risks of their online decisions and make responsible, positive choices in their online reasoning and dialogue (see SB1839, 2017; SB-830, 2018). These calls largely focus on individual behaviors and actions rather than analysis of deeper structural influences and collective challenges.

For instance, in the lesson about online hate speech excerpted above, racism is both conceptualized and addressed at the interpersonal level; an individual expresses racist ideas and other individuals (e.g., the students in class) develop strategies to counter or silence those ideas and instead promote kindness and acceptance. The lesson does not delve into the ways that online environments operate to perpetuate and magnify discourse that has long undergirded systemic racism in the United States and beyond, nor does it offer avenues to pursue change beyond individual expressions of tolerance.

Despite the ubiquity of curricula that highlight the "civil" in civic discourse, it is crucial to note that the research base informing the development and effectiveness of these instructional materials is extremely thin. For instance, while organizations like Common Sense and Google publish "research reports," this research generally does not include evaluations of the impact of their curriculum. Often, their reports draw on e-surveys of parents, teachers, or youth, or conceptual arguments from education writers (e.g., calls for students to be taught "digital hygiene" [Sklar, 2017]). Sometimes these groups draw on summaries of general research on youth digital practices and factors that shape it to provide a rationale for the design and focus of their curriculum (e.g., James et al., 2019). In Google's report *Future of the Classroom* (Google, n.d.), the authors cite the work of Middaugh et al. (2017) to support their claim that "including online safety within the school's curriculum is key to helping children become safe and responsible users of technologies" (Google, p. 7), despite the fact that the cited article specifically states that more active and robust digital engagement—rather than narrow safety instruction—contributes to positive student outcomes. In addition, despite the

fact that as of May 2020, the Common Sense curriculum has 91,187 registered schools globally and approximately 77,000 in the United States, including 75 percent of all Title I schools, the effectiveness of the program has not been systematically evaluated (email from Common Sense sent to Brendesha Tynes, May 4, 2020).

Evaluations of internet safety programs, which the authors consider to be separate from digital citizenship programs due to their specific focus on consumption and risk, appear to be lacking as well. The National Institute of Justice supported one of the first quasi-experimental studies of the effectiveness of the I-Safe curriculum and found that participants in the treatment group improved their internet safety knowledge (Chibnall et al., 2006). Large effect sizes were noted in treatment versus control group; however, no changes in risky behavior were noted, perhaps due to low baseline levels. Other studies of the Missing (Crombie & Trinneer, 2003) and HAHASO—Help, Assert Yourself, Humor, Avoid, Self-talk, Own it—program show little to no changes in participants' behavior (see Mishna et al., 2011).

The Crimes Against Children Research Center conducted a content analysis of internet safety programs, including i-SAFE, NetSmartz, WebWiseKids, and iKeepSafe (Jones et al., 2014). Researchers noted that the digital literacy messages students received asked them to "think before you click or post" (66 percent of materials), "check your social network privacy settings and be careful who you friend" (55 percent), and "consider what information you put online says about you" (55 percent). They also found that no program they reviewed had full lessons on one topic across sessions and none were able to integrate homework assignments into the lesson. In addition, researchers note that like other digital citizenship curricula, few of the programs have rigorous evaluations of their effectiveness (Jones et al., 2014).

Perhaps because of decades old literature on developing and evaluating programs, bullying and cyberbullying prevention and interventions diverge from this pattern. Recent meta-analyses and systematic review of 100 evaluations of school bullying interventions show that they are effective at reducing perpetration by 19–20 percent and victimization by 15–16 percent (Gaffney et al., 2019b). Similarly, a meta-analysis of 24 studies (15 of which were randomized controlled trials) evaluating anti-cyberbullying programs shows they are effective at reducing victimization by 14 percent and perpetration by 10–15 percent (Gaffney et al., 2019a). Only a small number of these studies were conducted in the United States, however.

With the exception of anti-bullying programs, the classroom practices in this domain, while attracting a great deal of attention and concern among parents, educators, and curriculum developers, appear to lack a solid evidence base and highlight the need for more inquiry into their appropriate place within a more complex and nuanced digital citizenship approach.

Information Analysis

A person searching online for information on Martin Luther King, Jr., might have, until a few years ago, seen martinlutherking.org in the first several results in a web search for information about the civil rights leader. The website, titled "Martin Luther King: A True Historical Examination," bore several commonly understood markers of trustworthiness. In addition to its often high ranking in search results, it had a straightforward

URL with King's full name, a ".org" top-level domain, and relatively clean web design. However, the site was anything but neutral. In fact, it was owned and run by the White supremacist organization Stormfront. The main page of the site uses decontextualized quotes from Federal Bureau of Investigation audio tapes in an attempt to portray Dr. King in a negative light and delegitimize him as a leader in the civil rights movement.

Martinlutherking.org was an early example of a cloaked website, or one "published by individuals or groups that conceal authorship or feign legitimacy in order to deliberately disguise a hidden political agenda" (Daniels, 2009a, p. 661; Ray & Marsh, 2001). Daniels (2009b) interviewed students as they attempted to evaluate martinlutherking.org and reported that they struggled to uncover the sponsorship and aims of the site. This example highlights the fact that young people need support to learn how to evaluate online information. However, it is also important for young people to understand and critically analyze the political motivations and strategies underlying online information. There is a particular need to support students to critically analyze the backers, motivations, and messages of and consider ways to respond to race-related and racist digital content.

Research on how young people evaluate digital content builds on and extends decades of research in media literacy, the "active inquiry and critical thinking about the messages we receive and create" (Hobbs & Jenson, 2009). According to the National Association for Media Literacy Education, media literacy entails "the ability to access, analyze, evaluate, create, and act using all forms of communication" (Culver & Redmond, 2019, p. 1) and is conceived as both a way of protecting oneself against misinformation and a component of engaged, empowered civic activity (e.g., Hobbs, 2010; Mihailidis & Thevenin, 2013). Critical media literacy goes a step further to situate such reasoning within structures of power, voice, and equity, focusing not just on helping students determine the reliability of information online but on the structures that highlight certain voices while attempting to minimize others (Middaugh, 2018).

When deciding whether a source is credible, users should consider whether a source is trustworthy; is the person or organization presenting the information honest and unlikely to attempt to deceive the reader? Users should also consider expertise: what are the source's background, training, and experiences, and do those make the source likely to provide accurate information? Decisions that users make about trustworthiness and expertise, and ultimately credibility, may vary because credibility is not an objective feature of a source. Instead, judgments of credibility are contextual and vary based on the motivations, expectations, beliefs, experiences, and perspectives of the person judging information—as well what other information is available on the same topic (Metzger, 2007). Even if they focus on a process for evaluating information instead of determining the credibility of discrete sources, teachers still privilege certain epistemologies and forms of evidence while discounting others (e.g., boyd, 2018).

The abundance of online information and the motivation, skills, and knowledge required to effectively navigate it present a challenge to young people. In a 2017 survey (Robb, 2017), 44 percent of students 15 to 18 years old said they could identify fake news stories and nearly one-third admitted that they had shared a story online that they later found out was inaccurate. In another survey (Cohen et al., 2012), 84 percent of youth reported that they and their friends would benefit from instruction in how to tell if a given source of online news was trustworthy.

Young people's belief that they need more support learning to reason about online information is borne out in studies of their approaches to evaluating digital content. In studies in which students navigated search results to find information, students often clicked on the first or second result and expressed the belief that the higher a site was listed in the results, the more trustworthy it was (Gwizdka & Bilal, 2017; Hargittai et al., 2010; Pan et al., 2007). Instead of recognizing how algorithms generate results and how results can be manipulated through search engine optimization, these students trusted search engines to rank results by credibility. Once on webpages, students rarely judged information based on its source (List et al., 2016; Walraven et al., 2009). Instead, students focused on how closely the information matched what they were searching for and on the appearance of the website, including whether it appeared to present a lot of evidence (Barzilai & Zohar, 2012; Coiro et al., 2015; McGrew et al., 2018). Thus, young people may use the projected usability of information as a key element of their decision to use it (Gasser et al., 2012).

Most studies in this area have not asked students to evaluate information on social and political topics that are pertinent to civic reasoning and discourse, and more research is needed on how young people approach evaluations of contentious information. The need for such work is especially great given studies showing that directional motivation (a desire to find information that backs up beliefs one already holds) is often a powerful driver of behavior in the political realm (Ditto et al., 1998). Additionally, research is needed into young people's evaluation behaviors in out-of-school environments as they interact with information of their choosing. Ethnographic studies like that of Horst et al. (2010) could examine the strategies, resources, and knowledge young people draw on as they search for, evaluate, and use information online in their day-to-day lives. Attempts to learn more about these behaviors through surveys and interviews (e.g., Madden et al., 2017) are limited because young people's self-reports of their evaluation behaviors may differ from what they actually do in practice (Flanagin & Metzger, 2010; Hargittai et al., 2010). Finally, more attention needs to be paid to unequal access to opportunities to learn online evaluations skills. Gaps in digital skills exist along lines of race, class, and gender, even among those with equivalent access to the internet (Gasser et al., 2012; Hargittai, 2010). For example, Leu et al. (2014) found that more affluent students had an additional year's worth of instruction related to online reading abilities that are key for online reasoning and discourse (i.e., abilities to find, evaluate, integrate, and communicate online information) compared to students from lower income families.

Current support for curricular focus on evaluating digital content is quite thin. For example, in a 2013 study 33 percent of high school students did not report having a single class that focused on how to tell if information found online was trustworthy and only 16 percent reported having more than a few class sessions on this topic (Kahne et al., 2016). A 2015 nationally representative survey of high school age youth (Kahne & Bowyer, 2019) asked if they had had opportunities in school to learn how to effectively share their perspectives online in the past 12 months, and 64 percent responded "never."

When students have opportunities to learn to evaluate online information, they can improve. In a nationally representative survey of 15–27-year-olds, Kahne and Bowyer (2017) found that students who reported having media literacy learning opportunities were better at rating the accuracy of posts containing political arguments and evidence.

Additionally, intervention studies suggest that instruction in online evaluations can improve students' abilities at a range of grade levels, from elementary school through college (McGrew et al., 2019; Walraven et al., 2013; Wiley et al., 2009; Zhang & Duke, 2011). These studies have tested a range of approaches, including prompting students to draw inferences about a source's authority, motivations, and overall trustworthiness (e.g., Kammerer et al., 2016; Pérez et al., 2018; Zhang & Duke, 2011), outlining and supporting students to practice components of information problem solving on the internet (e.g., Argelagós & Pifarré, 2012; Caviglia & Delfino, 2016; Ibieta et al., 2019; Walraven et al., 2013) and using mnemonic devices to present steps for evaluating online information (e.g., Mason et al., 2014; Wiley et al., 2009).

Another set of studies tested a set of lessons designed to teach students approaches to evaluating information based on understanding of expert practice. Wineburg and McGrew (2019) conducted a study of the online search and evaluation strategies of professional fact checkers, historians, and Stanford University undergraduates. They found that fact checkers used a set of strategies to efficiently and effectively find and evaluate online information. Perhaps most importantly, fact checkers engaged in lateral reading. Landing on an unfamiliar site, they prioritized finding out more about the site's sponsoring organization or author and opened new tabs to search for information about the author or organization outside the site itself. In contrast, most historians and students engaged in vertical reading—they stayed on webpages and evaluated them based on surface-level cues like webpage appearance, name of organization, and lists of references. These findings were used as the basis for studies that tested lessons to teach high school (McGrew, 2020) and college students (McGrew et al., 2019) to evaluate social and political information online using strategies like lateral reading. For example, McGrew et al. (2019) reported that college students improved in their online evaluation skills after a 150-minute intervention in a first-year writing course in comparison to students in another class who received no instruction in evaluating digital sources.

In addition to these curricular interventions developed by university-based researchers, several nonprofit organizations have developed media and news literacy lessons. For example, the News Literacy Project developed Checkology, a series of digitally delivered lessons that are designed to teach students to evaluate news sources and arguments. However, these programs have not all published evidence of efficacy. Some, including the News Literacy Project, base claims of success on surveys of teachers and self-reports from students after completing the lessons but not on measures of students' ability to evaluate digital content.

Although these projects have taken promising steps in investigating the student learning that may result from lessons in digital evaluations, more is needed. First, investigations are needed on attempts to embed lessons in digital evaluations in the content and disciplinary learning goals of classrooms. This may help ensure that digital evaluations do not become just a curricular add on, but are instead seen as part of a larger effort that includes generating questions, discussing and debating issues and evidence, and planning and taking action. Secondly, more interventions that address evaluations of contentious information are needed. Given the prevalence of divisive social and political content online and the role that directional reasoning plays in influencing decisions about whether information is credible, digital literacy lessons are limited if they do not engage with politically charged topics. Finally, research is currently limited by

the quality and range of measures available. More diverse measures that reliably assess students' search and evaluations strategies are needed. These measures should account for students' prior knowledge and beliefs on the topics they are asked to evaluate and gauge students' motivation to engage in effortful evaluations.

Furthermore, current media literacy efforts need to expand to include a focus on the contexts, power, and motivations that underlie the production and spread of mis- and disinformation. In particular, efforts should help youth understand the ways in which mis- and disinformation is often produced and spread purposefully for political or ideological gain—as in Stormfront's design and promotion of martinlutherking.org. More research is needed about the ways teachers could support students to understand the production and spread of misinformation as a political act, and often one intended to promote racism and White supremacy. Young people need help considering not only how their analysis of information should change, but what actions they could take in response to misinformation that might discourage its spread and promote greater racial equity. If young people learn to see the production and spread of misinformation as political instead of accidental, they may be better positioned to do this work.

Additional hurdles remain. Even if they know how to evaluate information, people may still willfully post and share misinformation that aligns with their political views or ideological positions. In a 2016 survey, 14 percent of respondents said they shared a story that they knew was fake (Barthel et al., 2016). Furthermore, some theorists argue that media literacy may even backfire because its goal of growing students' skepticism and ability to critically question evidence aligns with the goals of groups responsible for spreading disinformation—and doing so by sowing distrust and skepticism of evidence. As media studies scholar boyd (2018) argued:

> It's an entirely different thing to talk about these issues when the very act of asking questions is what's being weaponized. This isn't historical propaganda distributed through mass media. Or an exercise in understanding state power. This is about making sense of an information landscape where the very tools that people use to make sense of the world around them have been strategically perverted.

Furthermore, boyd (2018) warns that attempts to "fact check and moderate our way out of this conundrum" with citizens with vastly different epistemological frames of civic life will fail without deeper soul-searching about how to talk through deep ideological differences in ways that invite vulnerability and storytelling but maintain the literal and symbolic safety of minoritized civic groups. Thus, even robust media literacy education that includes supports for students to analyze and critique structures of power and politics will not, on their own, fix the torrent of online mis- and disinformation or necessarily lead to a more well-informed electorate. The authors return to this challenge in the section on next steps for the field.

Civic Voice/Engagement

"Accessing competent care is another hurdle Black folks shouldn't have to navigate."

"Is COVID-19 a crisis within a crisis for Black women?"

These headlines were featured prominently in May 2020 on the homepage of the Black Youth Project website, a digital platform "that highlights the voices and ideas of Black millennials" (Black Youth Project, n.d.). This platform is one strand of a larger nonprofit and research initiative that seeks to create authentic and relevant content by and for members of the Black community in order to support their civic awareness and engagement. Digital media production and dissemination outlets are creating conduits that collapse the boundaries between civic discourse and action by connecting young people to public audiences and facilitating the expression of their civic reasoning. In turn, as a growing number of teachers seek to help their students transition from analyzing digital civic discourse to engaging in it themselves, they are wrestling with questions regarding who young people should be in conversation with and what this dialogue should seek to accomplish.

Just a few years ago, teachers and students had to engage in concerted efforts to make the writing produced in classrooms visible to a wider audience beyond the school building. Digital media now makes it possible for students to share their writing with a public beyond their teachers and classroom communities, adding levels of authenticity and relevance to what were previously solely academic exercises. For example, student efforts to write memos or essays stating and supporting their opinions about controversial social issues can now be posted online as blogs or transformed into multi-modal social media posts, which research suggests could increase interest in civic issues (Levy et al., 2015). The tension over who to make these posts available to speaks to the broader concern addressed at the start of this section about the status of young people in schools as not-quite-citizens and the role of schools in supporting youth civic expression; while some educators keep blogs and posts restricted in the classroom, others seek mediated engagement with a wider audience (Levine, 2008).

Small-scale descriptive studies are beginning to document the ways that educators seek to leverage these digital tools as a means for students to practice digital civic discourse and its potential impacts. Middaugh (2019) suggests that instruction about how to recognize and interrupt "outrage language" online—what she calls "mindful circulation"—can help young people produce more nuanced and productive online conversation, thereby contributing to the creation of healthier democratic counterpublics. Further research suggests that encouraging young people to compose and publish multi-modal texts that reflect their civic experiences and aspirations—and carry the potential for authentic response from members of the public—can help young people feel motivated to pursue further forms of online and offline civic engagement even amid their continued hesitance regarding the divisive context of online discussion (James & Cotnam-Kappel, 2019; Journell et al., 2013; Middaugh & Evans, 2018). In addition, drawing on an original longitudinal survey, Kahne and Bowyer (2019) found that youth who had instruction tied to creating, commenting on, or sharing digital media became much more likely to engage politically using digital tools in the year following that instruction.

Some educational organizations have responded to the desire to encourage youth civic discourse while maintaining the boundaries of school-sanctioned speech by launching youth publishing platforms. Such platforms connect young people across geographic boundaries around common topics of public concern through allowing them to post and comment on others' content while simultaneously providing identity protections and content monitoring to mitigate fears about privacy and incivility, thus

creating mediated liminal publics that can serve as a training ground for the unfiltered digital public sphere. KQED, a northern California public radio station, produces a wide variety of youth-directed interactive content; in the run-up to the 2016 presidential election, it spearheaded the Letters to the Next President project in conjunction with the National Writing Project, which asked young people from across the United States (with guidance from their teachers) to post multi-modal "letters" discussing issues that they hoped to see addressed by the president-elect. The letters were published on a platform that allowed members of the public to get a sweeping view of the civic interests of nearly 12,000 young people who represented a wide span of demographic groups and to analyze how young people engaged in civic reasoning and discourse (Garcia et al., 2019). Participants reflected the diversity of youth in U.S. schools, with more than 92 percent of the letters coming from public schools, 39 percent from Title I eligible schools, and 36 percent from schools with more than 50 percent non-White students. The research indicated that the letters reflected civic interests that were mediated by the students' identities and the challenges facing the particular communities in which they lived stratified by the social constructs of race and class. Digital media thus provided a bridge between various civic levels (local, national, and global) and between individual and structural views of civic life. The National Writing Project has developed additional opportunities for youth publishing about civic issues, including the Writing Our Future project and the Marginal Syllabus project. The latter takes advantage of open-source annotation software to allow any text to become a site of remixing and community dialogue (Mirra, 2018b).

These platforms share a commitment to providing opportunities for young people to develop civic voice. Initial studies of youth online civic discourse suggest that young people are motivated to participate in authentic communication with individuals beyond their immediate context because it supports their developing sense of themselves as citizens and makes them feel that their views on public issues matter (James et al., 2016; Middaugh & Kirshner, 2014). Efforts to construct conceptual frameworks for quality online civic discourse are just beginning; Hodgin (2016) suggests that such efforts need to consider interpersonal, pedagogical, and wider political implications. What kinds of discourse moves invite or shut down dialogue? How do these moves correspond to particular types of civic reasoning? What are the best approaches to teaching such moves? Mirra and Garcia (2020) suggest that intentionally designed online communities that engage students from different geographic and demographic locations in civic dialogue mediated by teacher instruction about critical civic empathy (Mirra, 2018a) may offer a potential path forward, but much more empirical research is needed to tease out the structure and impact of such efforts.

As the field seeks to address these questions, teachers and researchers are also pushing to articulate the relationship between civic discourse and action with young people; while discourse itself represents an important form of action, civic discourse has a particular relationship to further forms of participation and engagement in a democratic society. The extent to which educators should be facilitating opportunities for students to engage in online and offline civic and political action represents another (and thornier) frontier for civic education in the digital age.

Roughly concurrent with the proliferation of digital media over the past 15 years has been a turn in civic education scholarship and practice toward youth-centered and

action-oriented approaches to civic learning in schools that adds complexity to conceptualizations of reasoning and discourse. Whereas previous approaches to formal civics stressed the elements of existing community and political structures and practices and sought to integrate young people into them, emerging research is seeking to privilege the experiences of young people as a starting point and support them in leveraging the levers of democracy to create civic change (Blevins et al., 2016). This focus on action and change in both online and offline contexts presents more possibilities and dilemmas regarding the appropriate role of schools in supporting youth voice (Greene et al., 2018).

As we have discussed earlier in this chapter, the rise of youth engagement in participatory politics within informal learning contexts has exposed both opportunities and problems of practice around discourse and reasoning that school-based educators can play a role in addressing. A lived civics approach insists that to address issues like hate speech and misinformation, educators should begin by engaging meaningfully with the experiences of young people—including those they have online—and move beyond the classroom and into the community so that young people can explore both what they have experienced and ways that they can act on issues central to their lives and priorities (Cohen et al., 2018). A complementary approach of connected civics advocates for the merging of popular culture, participatory politics, and student interest in the formation of shared civic purpose (Ito et al., 2015). These frameworks are in conversation with "action civics" programs in schools, including Generation Citizen and Mikva Challenge, that encourage students to conduct inquiry around issues they see in their communities and present the results of their research in multi-modal forms to civic leaders in order to seek solutions.

Such programs are becoming popular in school districts because their curricula leverage student civic discourse and reasoning for the purpose of authentic action in communities and support them to inquire into controversial and political topics. Participatory politics has highlighted the range of civic action in which youth can be engaged prior to reaching voting age that tackle the deepest challenges of American life (e.g., racial inequity, climate change, gun violence), and as such is ushering in a reckoning about young people as political actors whose beliefs and opinions do not switch off when they enter school buildings.

Youth participatory action research (YPAR) is a civic education practice that for years has been utilizing digital media as a tool to amplify the voices of young people and highlighting critical consciousness as a fundamental aspect of youth civic reasoning in an inequitable society (Akom et al., 2016; Garcia et al., 2015). YPAR challenges the positioning of young people in public life as "not-yet-citizens" and asserts their status as knowledge producers and bearers of expertise about the challenges they experience in their communities; it also challenges normative ideas about what kinds of discourse and reasoning can be considered valid in public decision making. For instance, YPAR inquiries encourage young people to consider their own testimonies and the stories of their elders as data that is just as valid as sociological statistics in describing communities, and they insist on the right of young people to express their expertise in a myriad of forms, from the spoken word to video documentaries to memes, rather than conforming to normative forms of deliberation (Mirra et al., 2015).

These stances have made YPAR a much more contested civic education practice in schools than action civics or more consumption-oriented forms of media literacy.

YPAR practitioners and others who advocate for practices of civic interrogation have documented the tensions inherent in encouraging students to engage in critique of structures of schooling and society while operating within those schooling structures (Kwon & de los Ríos, 2019). These instances embody the tensions of fostering authentic youth civic discourse and reasoning in school settings and speak to challenges that researchers and practitioners need to address to navigate complex issues of political identity, controversy, protest, and issues of power in merging online and offline publics. These tensions inform critique of current digital citizenship education efforts.

Pushing the Field Further: Confronting Inequity

As the authors analyzed the existing efforts to define and address digital civic discourse and reasoning skills, they found that many of them operate from a narrow philosophy regarding the nature and purpose of citizenship. For instance, many of the practices in the safety/civility domain seek to promote respectful dialogue and warn young people of the dangers of cyberbullying, but do not elaborate on the ways that trolling and online hate speech often transcend the interpersonal and reflect structural manifestations of racism, misogyny, and other systemic social ills. Many of the practices in the information analysis domain that encourage young people to evaluate the online sources they encounter should do more to engage with accompanying social and cultural considerations related to the influence of existing beliefs, prejudices, and trust that influence what we choose to believe.

While some may have initially hoped that the digital public sphere would transcend the intractable social challenges of analog society and offer an egalitarian—or even utopian—context for discourse and reasoning, the proliferation of hate, misinformation, and discord online reinforces the fact that digital citizenship education cannot pretend to take place in a vacuum.

In order to more vividly illustrate how practices of civic discourse and reasoning are mediated by social context in ways that demand further consideration of shared values, the next section of this chapter offers an exploration of how race is represented in online communication. This exploration adds complexity to each of the domains of the digital citizenship typology presented earlier. It complicates the safety domain by showing how racism proliferates in online dialogue. It complicates the information analysis domain by showing how misinformation is often designed to maintain systemic inequity across institutions. It pushes the civic voice and engagement domain to incorporate racial literacy into considerations of democratic education. An exploration of this problem of practice will provide the catalyst for the authors' discussion of a reconstructed vision of digital citizenship.

Problem of Practice

The authors have outlined extant research on civic discourse and reasoning along with the forms that digital citizenship efforts may take in traditional settings. As noted, this research neglects the increasing amounts of race-related messages that youth are exposed to online, the informal learning opportunities that youth may receive online, the demeaning messages that young people need to be equipped to counter and

critique, the recent disinformation campaign designed to sow racial division in the United States, and skills that youth may possess to assist with race-related information analysis.

The research cited below provides case studies and currently unpublished data to support a need for critical race digital literacy (Tynes et al., 2020), which includes a focus on media as in research using the term "critical race media literacy" (King, 2017; Mills & Unsworth, 2018; Yosso, 2002), but moves beyond this term to account for the race-related digital skills required to navigate a post-2020 online landscape. This term is informed by critical race theory (Crenshaw et al., 1995), traditional definitions of digital literacy (e.g., Buckingham, 2008; Martin, 2008) and calls for educators to help youth develop a critical lens to read race in words and the world (Yosso, 2002).

Tynes et al. (2020) define critical race digital literacy as "the knowledge, skill, and awareness required to access, identify, organize, integrate, evaluate, synthesize, critique, create, counter, and cope with race-related media and technologies." They further note that these skills include

> the ability to critically and laterally read race and intersecting oppressions in digital contexts; the ability to recognize and subvert the ways that technologies (algorithms, artificial intelligence, bots, etc.) oppress certain groups while maintaining the status quo for others, and foment racial division to suit political and economic ends; the development of historical knowledge and a lens to situate racist content, anti-Blackness and whiteness; an understanding of how attention and emotion have been weaponized in complex digital terrains, including internet politics, education, work, social interaction and entertainment, and cultivating capacities to navigate them; creating digital media, artifacts and processes in ways that embody a person's interests and help to organize and liberate communities; and being able to reflect on each of these competencies. (p. 4)

In online contexts, the ability to critically read race in digital space (e.g., a fake Facebook profile created by Russians to deliberately mislead White conservative social media users, deep fake videos, etc.) along with understanding how forms of oppression based on race, class, LGBTQ status, and sex may overlap is central. Students should understand that racism is foundational to American culture and history, not simply a feature of exceptionally bad individuals or groups (Crenshaw et al., 1995; Delgado & Stefancic, 2000). A critical race digital literacy perspective would provide young people with the tools to navigate digital spaces that may draw on centuries of racist narratives from offline spaces (Kendi, 2016).

Learning Opportunities

A number of studies suggest that youth can be provided with opportunities to learn critical race digital literacy skills and broader 21st-century skills needed to become full participants in our democracy. In an analysis of discussions on BlackPlanet.com, for example, Dara Byrne (2007) found that race-specific conversations were most commonly engaged, with education, slavery, racism, AIDS, voting, and justice as the keywords most used. Other studies have shown that participants are also engaging in political organizing, critiquing dominant narratives, and policing racist infractions modeled for them on social media platforms (Tynes et al., 2011). Studies also suggest

that social media sites and their affordances provide this generation with a unique opportunity to engage in complex discussions about race with those expressing divergent views, those who are similarly positioned, and those who are more advanced and culturally sensitive. Despite the presence of online racial discrimination, social media platforms are important tools that empower youth to construct identities that counter dominant discourses about underrepresented groups. They also allow group members to become powerful political forces that collectively can help to reshape aspects of the American racial landscape, as was the case with social media more broadly in the 2008 presidential election (Tynes et al., 2011).

Young people are able to further develop their critical race digital literacy skills through participation in political movements online such as the Never Again movement and Black Lives Matter. For example, in their study of more than 40 million tweets related to #blacklivesmatter, Freelon et al. (2016) found that Twitter was used on several occasions for informal learning. Participants were exposed to conversations about police brutality that often countered mainstream narratives or went unreported (Freelon et al., 2016). Interestingly, they noted that under Black Lives Matter hashtags, conservatives could educate themselves with the images, videos, and comments from the tweets. Other research has shown that people using these hashtags could engage in digital counterpublics and pedagogies of resistance to a range of community concerns (Hill, 2018). They might also resist criminalizing techniques of state power as technologies allow for "new surveillances" or "a reconstitution of the relations of surveillance between individuals and the State" (Hill, 2018, p. 290). Perhaps most important are the opportunities to mobilize and extend online civic practices into offline life (Tynes et al., 2016).

In their research on the largely White, middle to upper class Never Again movement against gun violence, Jenkins and Lopez (2018) found that students acquired the skills to lead the movement through debate, newspaper, student government, and drama clubs as well as civics and public speaking classes. More specifically the skills included investigation, dialogue, feedback, circulation, production, and mobilization (as previously outlined in Kahne et al., 2016). One of the movement's leaders and Marjory Stoneman Douglas shooting survivor, David Hogg, recounted in his bestselling book on the movement that his teachers "put such a huge emphasis on studying real world problems in the world today, so we already knew a lot about politics and social issues and just presumed that we could do something about them" (Hogg & Hogg, 2018, p. 20). Students appeared to also be trained to understand the concept of White privilege as they often called out positive coverage of White individuals in the media along with widespread support and the lack of coverage on issues of police brutality that affect other groups (Jenkins & Lopez, 2018).

Adolescent Online Reasoning About Race

Despite the myriad formal and informal learning opportunities that youth may have, these opportunities may fall short with respect to preparing youth for a post-2016 and 2020 digital landscape. There is no greater example of this than the ways that a foreign power was able to exploit deep-seated racial divides in efforts to undermine U.S. democratic institutions. The U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence

commissioned the company New Knowledge to conduct an analysis on tactics used by the Russian Federation's Internet Research Agency (IRA) to infiltrate the 2016 presidential election. Its report, titled *The Tactics & Tropes of the Internet Research Agency* (DiResta et al., 2018), recounts influence operations of the Russian government from 2014 to 2017. They note that this interference took three distinct forms: attempts to hack the voting systems, cyberattack of the Democratic National Committee, and a multiyear disinformation campaign designed to exacerbate social divisions (DiResta et al., 2018). The report further outlines the sheer reach of the Russian government on a number of platforms, including Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube. For example, the data set included 10.4 million tweets across more than 3,800 accounts, 116,000 posts across 133 Instagram accounts, and 61,500 unique Facebook posts across 81 pages. In addition, there were 187 million, 76.5 million, and 73 million engagements on Instagram, Facebook, and Twitter, respectively. The report also estimates that the Facebook operation reached 126 million people. Most importantly, the efforts were specifically directed at Black Americans and White conservatives.

The Russian government's sophisticated operation with Black Americans included an army of people attempting to engage them, as well as authentic Black media. The goal was to exploit the trust of Black audiences and create an immersive ecosystem, the report further notes (DiResta et al., 2018). Of the 1,107 YouTube videos for example, 1,063 focused on Black Lives Matter and police brutality. For the 81 Facebook pages, the largest number, 30, targeted Black people (with a focus on Right-leaning audiences coming in second with 25). The report also notes that the IRA created media mirages that surrounded targeted audiences. The report concludes by asserting that the IRA intended to blur the lines between fact and fiction and erode trust in media and the information environment. They also intended to sway opinion toward positions that were advantageous to Russians. These findings have implications for the lived experiences of Black Americans along with the ways in which blackness is viewed in the minds of other U.S. citizens.

Because so much of youths' learning and development is done online, where they are faced with a barrage of race-related material, they need critical race digital literacy skills to generate informed opinions (see Kahne et al., 2012, and Mihailidis & Thevenin, 2013), challenge oppressive and racist media narratives (Mills & Unsworth, 2018), and evaluate race-related material in general. To understand how youth reason about race online, Tynes et al. (2020) conducted a nationally representative survey of 10–19-year-old participants. Researchers extended the civic online reasoning framework from the Stanford History Education Group (Wineburg et al., 2016) to specific tasks related to critically reasoning about race-related content online (Tynes et al., 2020). Mastery level responses acknowledged that race or racism might play a role in what is being expressed in the online materials. Responses to four online tasks were evaluated and coded based on their competency levels for evaluating the race-related content presented.

One of the tasks asked youth to evaluate a Facebook page from the Russian disinformation campaign previously noted. The task presented participants with the following prompt: "Below is a screenshot of a Facebook group. Please review the group image and answer the follow-up questions." The screenshot was of a Facebook page titled Blactivist, a fake group that grew a following by espousing a commitment to Black issues and unity. The picture showed an event announcement for a "Black Unity

March" on the feed. Participants were asked if they would join the Facebook group and why (or why not). Results indicate that about 60 percent of the respondents reported that they would NOT join the Facebook group, while 9 percent said that they would join the group. About 31 percent said "I'm not sure." Only 8 percent of respondents were scored as "Mastery," indicating that they would not join the group because the profile was fake. Results of this study suggest a dire need for teachers *and* students to develop critical race digital literacy.

The Need for Tools to Critique Negative Messages

Despite the focus in digital civic education on safety and civility, no curricula, project, or program systematically helps youth to counter the racist messages (or messages about superiority for White students) they receive online. In the first study to specifically focus on adolescents' race-related discourse in monitored versus unmonitored chat rooms, Tynes et al. (2004) found that much of the dialogue was positive, but in the absence of social controls (in this case a host), the nature of discourse would shift to become more derogatory and racist in unmonitored rooms. Subsequent research has shown an exponential increase in these types of demeaning messages about race across the past decade (Tynes et al., 2015). Examples are provided in interviews from the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development–funded Teen Life Online and in Schools Project that Tynes, the principal investigator, conducted via Google Chat and Yahoo Messenger (2011–2014) with 10–19-year-old participants. Black and Latinx adolescents report being stereotyped as unintelligent, criminalistic, lazy, and dirty. When asked to recount their experience, a participant noted:

> I was on Facebook and I was scrolling on my news feed and it had a post and it said "black people be like" and it had three African American people and it showed them sounding out words with a book on their lap.

In addition, both are depicted as a scourge on the country that should not be afforded certain rights: "it was especially during the 2012 election that people were saying that Black people and Latinos shouldn't be allowed to vote."

Where experiences diverge includes reports of African Americans being represented as animals (e.g., President Obama's face on a monkey) and Latinx participants being constructed as perpetual outsiders who are in the country illegally. Mexican participants report the following experiences:

> my brother has a lot of friends online and I have some of the same friends and they were joking around first but then it got serious … they said "go back to Mexico you be*ner" [asterisk included by this study's authors] and "umm people would say Mexicans stink and they shouldn't be in USA" and things like that.

They are also mocked for having perceived stereotypical careers or large families:

> People would make stereotypical jokes about me because I'm Mexican, like that I was going to end up pregnant or that I was going to be a lawnmower and just making stereotypes like that.

Reports of being demeaned for being Spanish speakers or for language ability are also common. It is important to note that though the majority of participants were born in the United States and lived in the Midwest, they were exposed to images, videos, and language that may also be directed at Latinx immigrants in other parts of the country such as the Southwest.

Perhaps most egregious is the majority group inciting violence against Latinx and African American communities. For Latinx participants this could also be accompanied by justification for strict anti-immigrant laws, such as Arizona's Senate Bill 1070, which made it a misdemeanor to be caught not carrying proper documentation of immigration status. Participants provided a link to a video (KingCurtisJayy, 2012) in which three Arizona women advocated for shooting immigrants and went on to complain about teachers having to move at a slower pace so that English Language Learners can keep up.

Violence is incited and justified for African American participants as well, often using images of lynching Black bodies or nooses (for a more recent example, see Figure 7-2, of a Utah high school student "celebrating" Martin Luther King, Jr., Day). As a participant noted, African Americans also witness calls for genocide:

> I was on YouTube one day, watching an informational video about ethnicity and such, and someone put up a comment saying something like "white is the superior race, all black people should be extinct" and I was really surprised because I thought it was just a cruel joke, but it was not because they had a paragraph explaining why blacks are ruining the world and should "go."

FIGURE 7-2 "Happy national n----- day."
SOURCE: Carlisle, 2018.

Participants note justification for widely publicized killings of Black people, including Trayvon Martin. These experiences echo mainstream White supremacist dialogue that is prevalent on a range of online platforms. They also preceded the widespread acceptance of a presidential candidate (and then president) who incited violence and demeaned African American and Mexican people, calling the latter criminals and rapists (CNN, 2015); this was also followed by numerous police killings (Mapping Police Violence, 2015) and a rise in hate crimes, particularly in places where the president held rallies (Eligon, 2018; Feinberg et al., 2019).

RETHINKING DIGITAL CITIZENSHIP

Civics and reasoning in this current digital age offer myriad, important issues that educators, policy makers, parents, and students must consider. The authors presently see a need for forms of digital citizenship education that center digital contexts of learning, that ground such work in racial awareness, and that offer pathways for civic discourse that are not cordoned off solely by considerations of safety and civility in the new contexts of online socialization and distance learning.

Societal pivots to online interaction in the digital age have dramatically increased the need for new forms of digital citizenship education. In line with these needs, there is clear evidence that the new media described throughout this chapter have created opportunities for increased and relatively equitable political participation by young people—opportunities to exert agency, voice, and influence. Youth are tapping into this potential as exhibited most prominently in movements such as #blacklivesmatter and #marchforourlives. At the same time, there is evidence that many youth do not actively engage in these forms of activity. Just as civic learning opportunities in the physical world are engaged with at different levels, so are opportunities for civic learning in online spaces.

In light of the disparities in who participates and the various forms of online civic reasoning, the authors end this chapter with a specific focus on the gaps that feel most pressing and suggest a revised and reconstructed typology for digital citizenship today.

Specifically, they suggest that authentic and meaningful digital citizenship education must explicitly engage with the social, cultural, and political contexts that are reflected and extended in online spaces and take principled positions on the values that should guide democratic discourse and reasoning in a polarized 21st century society. Figure 7-3 illustrates how these priorities encircle the domains, and thus each individual digital citizenship intervention.

To further specify the call to recognize social, cultural, and political context in digital civics education, the authors suggest that efforts to address digital civic reasoning and discourse should be embedded in a pedagogical paradigm that explicitly acknowledges how social (and civic) institutions reflect hierarchies of power and privilege and how they can serve to perpetuate and/or challenge structural inequity across the social constructs of race, class, gender, religion, national origin, and more.

Situating digital civic reasoning and discourse within such a paradigm pushes this field to articulate a coherent response to the question "what values should guide how citizens communicate and make shared decisions in civic life against a backdrop of systemic inequity and the powerful forces of division that digital media magnifies?"
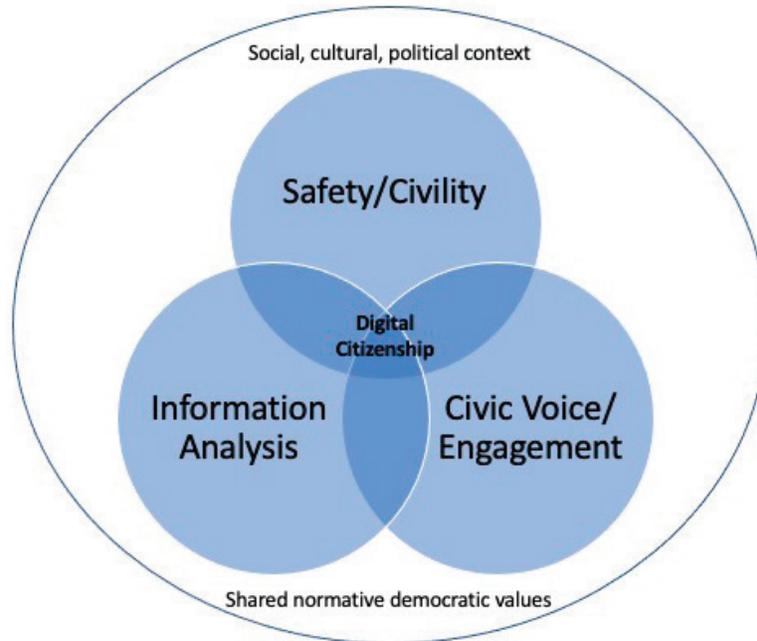
FIGURE 7-3 Emphasizing context and values in digital citizenship education.

While civics education has historically been committed to a liberal vision of reasoned and mutually respectful deliberation, the authors suggest that more inquiry is needed about what such deliberation can and should look like when grounded in values of equity, empathy, and anti-racism—and how to support educators to teach toward this delicate balance. They argue that this is the crucial task of digital citizenship education in the years to come, and turn now to a further explication of the "moves" that can aid educators and policy makers in articulating these values and lead toward an accompanying set of learning principles to be used in practice.

Moving Beyond Safety and Civility

There are widespread curricula on safety and civility, but few studies of whether they have any impact. Moreover, the focus of the curriculum and framing of goals are often problematic in that they obscure the ways that ills within our culture such as racism, misogyny, and heterosexism are often the factors that structure the problems people face with respect to safety and civility. Instead, the focus is on individuals and the need to be careful and polite. Yes, there is value in teaching kids to be careful and polite, but a curriculum that stops there is deeply problematic. Curricula should also teach youth about the more structural aspects of the brutal things that happen online—the exposure to racism, misogyny, etc.—so that they have a way to both understand it and discuss ways to respond to it.

Moving Beyond Discourse and Reasoning

While this chapter has focused on how individuals communicate and interpret across civic contexts in a digital age, considerations of youth civic engagement and innovation must also be taken seriously. Many of the movements online that opened this chapter reflect forms of participation that challenge the instructional foci of discourse and reasoning. Because we can see key features of these practices leading youth to be more equitably engaged than other forms of political expression and action, this is a key gap in existing literature. Studies and school-based supports for these practices are relatively rare despite emerging evidence that these practices help build civic capacity and interest.

Affirming the Centrality and Importance of Critical Race Digital Literacy

While the authors have addressed some of the few, preliminary findings in this area, current forms of online harassment, disinformation, and coordinated civic disruption are fomented across racist contexts. Additionally, racist vitriol seen online can mirror and even inspire similar forms of hate in physical settings (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2016, 2019). For example, after the 2016 election, the Teaching Tolerance project surveyed educators across the country and noted a dramatic uptick in racial slurs, symbols, harassment, and bigotry of students of color (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2016). They noted students emulating the coarse, racist language of the newly elected president. Two years later, they surveyed 2,776 educators and two-thirds of them witnessed a hate or bias incident; racism was most common as a motivating factor in 33 percent of the cases (anti-LGBTQ, 25 percent; anti-immigrant, 18 percent; anti-Semitic, 11 percent; and anti-Muslim, 6 percent) and 57 percent of these went unreported (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2019). Furthermore, educators reported that there was no response from administrators in 9 out of 10 racist or biased incidents. While there are concerns about how race is interpreted as part of civic discourse and reasoning across the digital typology, common pedagogical or scholarly commitments are not shared yet.

The synthesis offered throughout this chapter supports the authors' central premise that current efforts to articulate a vision for and educate students toward the development of civic reasoning and discourse skills in the digital age are largely occurring in ad hoc, patchwork fashion. They suggest that a stronger conceptual framework and evidence base are needed in order to bolster coherence and effectiveness in this developing field. Moreover, while parents, educators, and policy makers have understandably been scrambling to respond to narratives of risk and adapt to whirlwind advances in communication modalities, the field of educational research has a role to play in offering rigorous and careful examination of the paradigms guiding digital citizenship and the results they engender. In short, there is a need to rethink education for digital citizenship—a broader focus is needed.

Recommendations for Practice

1. **Opportunities for authentic online engagement:** Youth are immersed in digital content in all aspects of their lives and see countless examples of civic discourse and reasoning in action as they scroll through their social media feeds. Meaningful digital citizenship education should engage with this context as an authentic opportunity for learning rather than seek to step back or discuss topics in the abstract. While tackling real world content requires negotiation of controversy, it also serves as a catalyst for meaningful exploration, application, and analysis.

2. **Civic action through digital discourse:** More than ever before, the scope and reach of digital communication platforms has blurred the lines between speech and action. Meaningful digital citizenship education can encourage students to take action about civic issues they care about through the digital discourse they produce or share. While supporting civic action requires negotiation of the role of schools in democracy, it also connects student learning to the real-world workings of public life.

3. **Integration of civic learning as part of digital citizenship:** Efforts to engage youth in learning about online privacy or safety and to reason about online information should be integrated into larger questions of digital citizenship. Instead of being taught as isolated skills, lessons can engage youth in discussions about how their online reasoning connects to their civic discourse and action and engage students in gathering information, discussing issues and evidence, producing and circulating information, and organizing for change.

4. **Attention to critical analysis skills of online information:** Digital citizenship should involve not just teaching youth to evaluate online information, but supporting them to critically analyze the political and media contexts that incentivize the production and spread of misinformation, diminish our motivation to critically evaluate certain information, and grant some voices and perspectives more power while minimizing others.

5. **Structured support to prepare students for diverse digital engagements:** Discourse and reasoning takes place within communities and the digital world creates many opportunities to both connect with diverse others and to connect with those who share commitments and interests. When desirably enacted, both kinds of experiences can model for youth productive engagement in a democratic society. Of course, engagement with those who share (or do not share) interests and commitments can also lead to dysfunctional echo chambers and hostile pointless exchanges between those who do not agree. Schools are well positioned to support both kinds of connections, but doing so well will often require structured opportunities.

6. **Differentiated learning opportunities based on diverse student experiences:** Students should have opportunities to develop critical race digital literacy from kindergarten through undergraduate years. These opportunities should be differentiated to account for the diverging racial socialization experiences in the home, school and across online contexts. For example, some parents prefer to adopt colorblind racial ideologies and leave teaching about race to media and others explicitly provide children with messages of racial pride and preparation for bias. Learning opportunities should leverage the resources and learning experiences students bring to classroom settings.

7. **Critical examination of issue of representation in digital spaces:** Digital citizenship education should provide opportunities for students to learn how to determine the implicit values and ideologies, including those that are related to race, that are reproduced in digital spaces and materials. Students should be able to recognize, critique and counter stereotypes associated with their various social identities and place them in historical context. In addition, they should develop a positive sense of self with digital media and be exposed to educational materials that accurately represent their racial-ethnic group.

8. **Understanding of the importance of attention:** Students should understand the importance of attention and cognitive load in digital spaces. They should be provided with strategies to

avoid distraction and enhance their learning. Students should also be informed of ways that attention can be weaponized in digital spaces for political and economic ends.

9. **Awareness of the emotional dimension of civic reasoning and discourse:** Digital citizenship education should provide students with strategies to be able to monitor their own and others' emotions as they interact with digital media. Students should understand the ways that digital content is designed to stir particular emotions which can then inform their behaviors. They should be taught strategies to cope with viral traumatic events online that may lead to depressive and posttraumatic stress disorder symptoms.

10. **Examination of online communication and language:** Students should have opportunities to learn to evaluate how language may be used to reproduce social hierarchies. For example, metaphors such as "illegals" may be used to dehumanize immigrant groups. Students should also recognize codes and conventions of a range of genres and develop an awareness of how digital spaces are constructed through interactive communication.

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8

Pedagogical Practices and How Teachers Learn

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PEDAGOGICAL PRACTICES AND HOW TEACHERS LEARN

The multiple crises that have unfolded in the year 2020—from the COVID-19 pandemic to the killing of George Floyd and subsequent protests—have underscored the urgency of the core civic question: "What should we do?" How should we balance the health of our global community with economic needs? How should we redress the long history of violence and police brutality against Black Americans? These crises have further exposed existing fractures in society and heightened the need to address long-standing questions such as: How should we address economic inequality? How should we rectify the education debt (Ladson-Billings, 2006)? What should we do about climate change? The myriad complex and pressing questions we face call attention to the importance of fostering civic reasoning in our diverse and interdependent society—a task that schools can play a significant role in supporting. Pedagogical and curricular efforts must be centered on developing citizens' capacities to live in a diverse society, where citizenship offers protections for the interests of all members of a given society (Banks, 2017; Howard, 2004).

In this chapter, the authors consider what research suggests about how educators might best cultivate young people's civic reasoning and discourse in school settings. As Stitzlein (Chapter 1 in this report) lays out in the opening chapter, learning to reason civically and engage in civic discourse involves a wide range of knowledge, skills, values, and dispositions. Because "civic reasoning is the reasoning we do about what we should do" in a pluralistic society (Stitzlein, Chapter 1), it includes many complex skills and dispositions, such as the willingness and ability to listen to others, seriously consider new evidence and reasons, communicate effectively, give reasons for one's view, be fair-minded, share the discussion space, and seek fair and just solutions to complex problems. Furthermore, to reason civically relies on historical, political, and many other forms of knowledge—as well as having the tools to inquire to gain additional knowledge or evidence, and knowing how to discern the relative value of various pieces of evidence. Engaging in civic discourse—discussion and deliberation—draws on and facilitates civic reasoning.

Identity is also central to civic reasoning: *who* we are is central to *how* we reason. Importantly, although deliberation in the public domain may begin from positions that prioritize individuals' personal well-being, democratic deliberation includes an expectation that people do not advocate positions from pure self-interest; instead, they seek solutions that are attentive to the common good (Gutmann & Thompson, 1996). In this way, civic reasoning involves seeking solutions that promote a fair and just society and rectify current injustices—although what constitutes a fair and just society is itself an important matter for deliberation.

Given the complex range of capacities we aim to foster in young people, here the authors examine the pedagogical and curricular practices involved in developing civic reasoning and discourse in the context of K–12 schools. Specifically, this chapter explores three central questions:

- What pedagogical and curricular scaffolds are effective to help young people develop civic reasoning and participate effectively in high-quality discussion, deliberation, and debate?

- How do students' identities (racial, ethnic, political, etc.) influence how they experience and learn to engage thoughtfully with others about critical controversial issues?
- How can we best prepare and support educators to provide high-quality learning opportunities so that *all* students can further develop their civic reasoning, discussion, deliberation, and debate skills?

In what follows, the authors examine the research to date that sheds light on these questions. This analysis draws heavily on research conducted within the realm of social studies education, given the field's strong affiliation with civic education; however, the authors also point to scholarship from other domains that informs these questions and illustrates how educators can foster civic reasoning and discourse across the disciplines.

PEDAGOGICAL AND CURRICULAR SCAFFOLDS TO SUPPORT CIVIC REASONING

To ground these questions, we must first consider the broader goals toward which pedagogical and curricular scaffolds are oriented and the aims of schooling in a pluralistic democracy. An essential goal of a school curriculum is to educate students so that they will develop the knowledge, dispositions, attitudes, and skills needed to help create, sustain, and live in a diverse democracy, public spaces, and global community in which all groups can and will participate with equal protection under the law. To that end, pedagogical and curricular interventions in schools must be reflective of the diverse cultures, languages, and lived experiences that students bring to the classroom (Howard, 2003, 2020). Furthermore, civic reasoning should seek solutions that promote and sustain a more just democratic society.

Moreover, effective curricula must offer a comprehensive historical lens and a more inclusive accounting of history that acknowledges historic injustices in U.S. history, such as those that have led to marginalization of multiple groups (Brown & Brown, 2010). Finally, effective curricular and pedagogical scaffolding must be centered on a quest for democratic, equitable citizenship—a quest that is tied to the need to recognize, respect, and embrace people's participation in multiple cultural practices associated with race/ethnicity, language, social class, gender, sexual orientation, and assumptions about ability.

There is good reason to think strategically about how to establish the classroom conditions for civic reasoning and discourse; research illustrates that courses such as those in government, democracy, law, history, or economics clearly support students' civic learning (Gould et al., 2011; Levine & Kawashima-Ginsberg, 2017). In particular, classroom civic learning opportunities have a significant impact on students' commitments to civic participation (Kahne & Sporte, 2008). In fact, Kahne and Sporte (2008) found that classroom-based experiences had the most significant impact of those factors tested (e.g., extracurriculars) with predominantly low-income students of color when controlling for other background experiences and demographics. This suggests that focusing on pedagogy and curricula in courses that offer civic learning opportunities may support students who have not always had a voice or felt empowered to participate in our democracy (Kahne & Sporte, 2008; Lo, 2017). However, what pedagogical

and curricular scaffolds allow teachers to establish the conditions for high-quality civics learning in the classroom?

Curricular Scaffolds

In order to support the development of high-quality civic reasoning and discourse in youth, research points to a variety of curricular supports that may be generative. The research discussed below suggests that curricular scaffolds can support civic reasoning and discourse by providing an inquiry orientation, identifying authentic controversies to investigate, and providing models of how to leverage students' lives, experiences, and knowledge to become a part of the curriculum.

A key overarching approach across high-quality civics learning opportunities found in the literature is an emphasis on the value of inquiry-oriented instruction focused on deeper learning. However, across the curriculum, there is a persistent orientation to content knowledge as fixed information, which implies that the teacher's role is to impart that information and the student's role is to memorize it. State standards and high-stakes assessments tend to reify this orientation. For example, a comparison study conducted by the Education Commission of the States (n.d.) showed that existing civics standards focus primarily on the historic origins of the Constitution and its structures and functions. While having background knowledge is certainly important and impacts how students think about civic issues (e.g., Shreiner, 2014), an emphasis on knowledge alone can lead to imparting information without question and distilling civics down to a series of vocabulary terms along with rights and responsibilities of citizens. Furthermore, emphasizing the acquisition of fixed bodies of knowledge comes at the cost of supporting other aspects of civic reasoning and discussion, deliberation, and debate: when information is fixed, there is typically little to debate and diverse voices can be marginalized or silenced. Thus, if civic reasoning, discussion, deliberation, and debate skills are not explicitly called for, teachers may not prioritize them.

Research suggests, then, that one important way to support high-quality civic reasoning and discourse is through a reorientation of curricular frameworks and state requirements. The National Council for the Social Studies' C3 Framework for Social Studies State Standards (National Council for the Social Studies, 2013) demonstrates one effort to increase opportunities for civic reasoning through the framework's fore-grounding of inquiry as a curricular anchor. The C3 Framework is intended to serve as a guide for states that are revising their state standards and for practitioners creating curricula so that an inquiry orientation becomes the norm of social studies and civic learning. The Inquiry Design Model (Swan et al., 2018) is another resource to guide teachers in developing inquiry-oriented curricula. Similarly, some states have begun to implement curricular requirements that mandate the teaching of various elements of civic reasoning and discourse. The state of Illinois, for example, recently passed legislation that requires high school students to take a semester of stand-alone civics that includes not only instruction on government institutions but also current and controversial issues discussions, service learning, and simulations of democratic processes (see Illinois General Assembly HB 4025, 2015). While these curricular changes offer promise, research has not yet explored the extent to which these changes will impact teachers' practice.

In addition to foregrounding inquiry and featuring elements of civic reasoning and discourse in curricular frameworks, because high-quality civic reasoning and discourse rely on the participation and inclusion of diverse citizens, the curricula and perspectives that are represented in civic education spaces should reflect our pluralistic democracy. This can happen through making the formal school curriculum more inclusive and less White and Eurocentric, selecting civic topics that highlight democratic complexity, and using youth themselves—their knowledge and experience—as curricula.

Indeed, it is not only knowledge of traditional civic education topics (e.g., political institutions), but also knowledge of history and the framing of dominant narratives within societies that shape youths' conception of their role and opportunities for civic participation (see Bellino, 2015, 2016; Busey & Walker, 2017; Ho, 2010; Santiago, 2017; Vickery, 2017). History is replete with accounts of how the "other" has been excluded and marginalized in a pluralistic and increasingly diverse society (Banks, 2017; Crocco & Davis, 2002; Marable, 2002; Parker, 2003; Santiago, 2019; Yosso, 2002). School curricula cannot avoid difficult issues, stifle diverse viewpoints, or prioritize the voices and histories of some at the exclusion of others (Tyson, 2003). For centuries, discrimination, exclusion, prejudice, and injustice have been challenged, protested against, and seen as a black eye in the nation's pursuit of becoming truly democratic (see Marable, 2002). Because prekindergarten–12 public schools are typically the most diverse spaces that youth frequent, these schools hold promise as settings to instill the appropriate knowledge, skills, and dispositions for living in a diverse and inclusive democracy (Parker, 2010). As Banks (2008, pp. 131–132) wrote:

> When universal citizenship is determined, defined, and implemented by groups with power and when the interests of marginalized groups are not expressed or incorporated into civic discussions, the interests of groups with power and influence will determine the definitions of universal citizenship and the public interest.

Civics curricula should incorporate the interests, viewpoints, and voices of all members of our diverse society.

Furthermore, to advance civic reasoning and discourse, research indicates that curricula must include the authentic controversies and contradictions that animate our democracy (Abu El-Haj, 2007). In civic education, teachers are typically hesitant to discuss controversial issues in the classroom (e.g., Hand & Levinson, 2012; Hess, 2009a; Journell, 2011) and instead tend to focus on the "facts:" the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, the three branches of government, or any concept on a laundry list of important, albeit sanitized, ideals of our democratic values (Brown & Brown, 2011). The current polarized political climate has made teachers and administrators even more reticent about bringing up "sensitive" or "political" issues in the classroom (Rogers et al., 2017), often avoiding them in an effort to stay neutral or non-partisan (Sue et al., 2009). This is particularly true when the controversial issues focus on race and racial identity (e.g., Bolgatz, 2005; Sue, 2015; Walsh, 2008), or other "hard history" about racism, sexism, genocide, and oppression (Shuster, 2018)—despite the fact that civic educators have been calling for engaging with such issues for decades (see Hunt & Metcalf, 1968).

Although democratic ideals are important for students to learn (Parker & Lo, 2016a)—helping students develop high-quality civic reasoning requires that teachers

help students examine such ideals in all their complexity (Lo, 2019). While some students may see the principles laid out in the Constitution as foregone conclusions, other students' life experiences may cause them to view the Bill of Rights as a list of hypocrisies. As Cohen et al. (2018, p. 7) explain, race, ethnicity, and identity are significant influences on young people's daily experiences with civic life; for example, they note that "youth of color often have political knowledge regarding the unequal implementation of democracy that white youth do not have or do not recognize." Yet, existing civic education programming typically fails to capitalize on the experiential political knowledge that youth—especially those whose experiences have typically been marginalized—bring to classrooms.

Thus, in order to support high-quality civic reasoning and enable students to make sense of their lived experiences in an inequitable system, the knowledge that young people themselves bring to the civics classroom needs to be viewed as important curricular material. Teachers must strike a balance between highlighting democratic ideals and acknowledging realities of lived experiences (e.g., how do students deal with issues of police brutality when the Constitution says that all people are created equal or that there is due process?), and curricula should include deep discussions about the conflicts that exist between democratic ideals and students' lived experiences. The proposed "Lived Civics" approach to civic education is one example of how educators might bring race, ethnicity, and identity to the forefront and explicitly address how power and oppression operate (Cohen et al., 2018). Curricular approaches that center youth experiences should position students to both critically examine sources of injustice they experience and examine the history of resistance in their communities so that they gain an understanding of the political pathways others have taken to push against structural injustices and develop new policies and practices.

One example of a curriculum that centers youth knowledge is the action civics program Project Soapbox, in which youth choose a community issue of importance to them and then develop and deliver a speech to their peers and community members, often drawing on and incorporating personal experiences to build a case for action. Research among predominantly youth of color demonstrated that students who participated in the curriculum reported increased confidence in their rhetorical skills as well as greater empathy for others—dimensions of civic reasoning that were shaped in part by the personal experiences that many students drew on in crafting and delivering their speeches (Andolina & Conklin, 2018, 2020).

Pedagogical Scaffolds

Attention to the nature of the curriculum provides one avenue to support high-quality civic reasoning, but scaffolding students' civic reasoning skills and enabling them to participate effectively in high-quality discussion, deliberation, and debate also necessitates careful consideration of the pedagogy that brings students into conversation with that curriculum. In *Experience and Education*, Dewey (1938, p. 13) argued that "all genuine education comes about through experience." Discussion, deliberation, and debate, much like democracy, needs to be experienced by students in order for them to internalize democratic values, ideas, and beliefs. Four initiatives recommended by civic education experts (Gould et al., 2011; Levine & Kawashima-Ginsberg, 2017)

work against the content-as-fixed-information norm by presenting different instantiations of inquiry-oriented instruction focused on deeper learning that enable students to experience civic reasoning and discourse, including deliberation and discussion of controversial issues, simulations, action civics, and news media literacy. Next, the chapter highlights examples from each of these areas of work, along with additional pedagogical approaches that demonstrate promise for supporting students' civic learning: scaffolded listening and case studies.

Deliberation and Discussion

Engaging young people in the deliberation and discussion of public issues has gained traction as one important pedagogical approach for fostering their civic learning. Open discussion of issues in society and classroom discussion, including the discussion of controversial public issues, predict a wide range of valuable civic outcomes, including increased political knowledge, efficacy, political interest, tolerance, trust, participation, and expected and actual electoral participation (see Barton & Avery, 2016; Hess, 2009a; Kahne et al., 2013). Hess and McAvoy's (2015) study of political discussions in high school classrooms illustrated, for example, that participation in high-quality political discussions led students to place significant value on hearing the diverse perspectives of their peers, see disagreement as a normal part of democratic life, and view political issues as being more complex than they had previously thought. Other studies have shown that students who engage in thoughtful deliberations around race are more capable of understanding discrimination, prejudice, and injustice (Milner, 2013; Nagda et al., 2003; Parker, 1998); they tend to listen to and learn from multiple perspectives (Hess, 2002); and research suggests that they are more likely to become the kinds of leaders who are motivated and equipped to make institutional change through battling racism and transforming racist institutions (Flynn, 2012; Howard, 2003; Nagda et al., 2003). While much of this research has centered on social studies classrooms, research has illustrated that this important civic learning can occur across the curriculum, such as through students' engagement in analysis of literary texts that focus on civic issues (see Mirra, 2018) and through structured student dialogue that alternates between verbal and written exchanges focused on social issues (see Kuhn, 2019).

However, teaching students to "effectively" participate in classroom deliberations, discussion, and debate is complex because participation requires appropriately using a collection of skills, including self-regulation. A participant needs to make judgments about how to say something, when to say something, and when it is best to say nothing. Classroom discussion also differs from public discussion because, in the K–12 setting, it is a discussion among novices. Consequently, a teacher needs to nurture the willingness to participate while also developing the skills of good participation.

A robust body of research has demonstrated that controversy is a teaching tool that can be used effectively to support students' learning to discuss and deliberate political and public policy issues (e.g., Hess, 2002, 2009a, 2009b; Hess & McAvoy, 2015; Hess & Richardson, 2017/18). Through study of successful teachers, Hess has identified key principles that support teaching of controversial issues in the classroom. These include creating a classroom climate that welcomes all students and their perspectives; explicitly teaching students *how* to participate effectively and thoughtfully in

discussions of controversial civic issues (e.g., how to ask clarifying questions, how to use different kinds of evidence to support a claim); planning discussions carefully, including identifying open (not settled) political or public policy issues without a single right answer; providing students with opportunities to learn about the topic of discussion and with a model for discussion to structure their work together; providing multiple opportunities for discussion; and investigating issues that have meaning for students (Hess, 2009a, 2009b; Hess & Richardson, 2017/18). This chapter briefly explore some of these principles in greater detail.

Setting the classroom climate. In *Talking to Strangers*, Danielle Allen (2004) notes the important role that trust plays in a democracy. Attending to the classroom climate is necessary for building the trust that students need for discussion to go well, and indeed, the literature is clear on the importance of discussion and open-classroom climate in civics classrooms (e.g., Berkowitz & Gibbs, 1983; Hess, 2009a; Kawashima-Ginsberg, 2013; Levinson et al., 2012; Torney-Purta, 2002). To that end, students should build relationships by learning each other's names, getting to know each other's interests, laughing together, and becoming a learning community. Laying this groundwork to create a classroom climate that welcomes all students, including the multiple and conflicting views they may bring, is an often neglected but vital part of preparing students for discussion.

Planning for discussion. Parker and Hess have made significant contributions to understanding the kind of planning that is involved in supporting successful discussions of civic issues. Parker's (2003) work identifying generative texts and questions to discuss, and Parker and Hess's (2001) typology of different possible forms and purposes for classroom discussions have supported novice and veteran teachers in planning for and leading effective discussions.

Providing structure. Parker and Hess (2001) argue that a helpful starting point is for educators to teach "with" and "for" discussion. Teaching with discussion treats discussion as a learning activity that helps students deepen their understanding of the content. Teaching for discussion involves making the norms and skills related to discussion explicit. Importantly, it treats discussion as a skill to be learned and improved on (Hess, 2009a; Parker & Hess, 2001). Using structured discussion strategies such as those identified by Parker and Hess (2001) help students develop the skills associated with civic reasoning.

There is a growing body of discussion protocols that engage students in discussions that include Socratic seminar, Structured Academic Controversy (SAC), fishbowls, pinwheels, town hall meetings, and structured peer-to-peer, technology-mediated discourse (Brookfield & Preskill, 2012; Gonzalez, 2015; Kuhn, 2018, 2019; Parker, 2003; Ritchhart et al., 2011). Of these, SAC, developed by educational psychologists Johnson and Johnson (1993), is one protocol that has been frequently studied because it scaffolds students to engage in what the creators term "constructive controversy" (Johnson & Johnson, 1979). In a SAC, students move from low-risk paired discussion to a small group discussion with assigned roles, to more freeform small group discussion, and lastly to whole class discussion. Students work from common materials, know when

and for how long they will speak, and engage in argumentation. This protocol has been implemented widely across the curriculum and across age levels, from science deliberations focused on energy and environmental issues (see Johnson & Johnson, 1988) to social studies deliberations focused on juvenile justice and fair trade (see Avery et al., 2013, 2014).

Johnson and Johnson (1993) studied SAC and found that the strategy improves students' ability to engage in perspective taking, which is understood as being able to identify why others might reason differently about an issue. More recently, Avery et al. (2014) studied teachers using the SAC to investigate whether, post-participation, students reported improved knowledge about the issue and whether they showed more ability to engage in perspective taking than a control group. Their findings show that when compared to control classes that did not engage in SAC, participants scored significantly higher on a measure of perspective taking. This measure asked students to list reasons for and against an issue that they had not discussed.[1] This suggests that the skill modeled in the SAC had some transference when considering another issue. Second, they found that in deliberation classes, there was less variation of opinion after participating in the SAC, which suggests that the strategy may help people find common ground.

Hess and McAvoy (2015) also observed that these sorts of structures have an equalizing effect on discussion; the structures force those who talk too much to hold back and make space for those who hesitate to share and get into the conversation. Structures also reinforce the norms of discussion, often providing students with language (e.g., sentence starters) that models how to disagree.

Similarly, Kuhn and colleagues have studied a form of structured, peer-to-peer discourse that alternates between verbal and written exchanges (Kuhn, 2018, 2019; Kuhn et al., 2013, 2016). Paired students verbally discuss a social issue with each other, engage electronically in writing with successive pairs with opposing views, participate in a whole class debate, and finally craft a written argumentative essay in the form of a newspaper op-ed. Studies of this curriculum have demonstrated that students learn to uphold norms of discourse as participants in this community of practice and develop both argumentative writing skills and dialogic skills (Kuhn, 2018, 2019; Kuhn et al., 2013, 2016).

Simulations

Simulations and role-plays have a long history in the social studies (Baranowski & Weir, 2010; Druckman & Ebner, 2008; Shaftel & Shaftel, 1967), and are another set of pedagogical tools that teachers have used to advance students' civic learning. One program of research focuses on augmenting the Advanced Placement (AP) U.S. Government and Politics course by integrating five political simulations. These simulations support in-depth learning and balance the typical emphasis on breadth and factual recall in such a course. The simulations included Supreme Court hearings or Town Hall meetings and involve students playing roles that are "truthful" in reflecting reality, yet simplified (Parker et al., 2018, p. 256). Across a range of studies, Parker and his team

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[1] Johnson and Johnson (1993) looked at changes in perspective taking on the issue discussed.

(2011, 2013, 2016a, 2016b, 2018) have found that including simulations in the course supported students in learning "21st-century skills" and engaging meaningfully with the content when students also read texts with support during the simulations. At the same time, students in these studies did as well or better than their peers in traditional AP Government courses on the AP exam.

Role-plays and simulations have also shown potential to engage students and defuse some of the controversies that may arise in discussions. Findings from a past research study suggest that assigning roles offers a low-stakes entry point for students to engage with contentious issues (Lo, 2015). In a sense, the role acts as a *portal to plurality*—a gateway into the issues around definitions of "the good life" in a pluralistic liberal democracy. The stakes are low because everyone in the class is assigned a role, and students have the opportunity to try an opinion behind the safety of their roles without needing to "out" their own opinions about the issue. Importantly, not all topics are worthy of role-play, especially if the roles are derogatory, inauthentic, or portray a skewed sense of history that may induce trauma.[2] At the same time, this low-stakes entry into discussing controversial issues may help students practice civil dialogue and civic reasoning while learning to see multiple perspectives.

Action Civics

Action civics has emerged more recently as another approach to supporting students' civic reasoning and identity development, and a growing consensus of research links action civics curricula and practices to positive outcomes. Action civics practices are grounded in the theory that when youth voice and expertise are valued, and young people have authentic opportunities for expression, engagement, and reflection, then powerful civic learning can occur, thereby narrowing the civic empowerment gap and strengthening our democracy (i.e., Gingold, 2013; Warren, 2019). In action civics, students identify authentic issues of importance to them and their communities and are provided with guidance, skill instruction, and opportunities that enable them to "*do* civics and *behave as citizens*" (Levinson, 2012, p. 32).

An emerging body of studies focused on various action civics programs establish a link between action civics curricula and a host of promising outcomes, including civic skills such as public speaking. Case studies of a range of action civics programs have demonstrated positive outcomes associated with key action civics components such as an emphasis on student voice, and the creation of open classrooms where students discuss and debate current events (Battistoni, 2004; Berman, 2004; Blevins et al., 2016; Feldman et al., 2007; Kahne et al., 2006; LeCompte & Blevins, 2015; Syvertsen et al., 2009; Walling, 2007). More recently, Andolina and Conklin's (2018, 2020) study of the action civics public speaking curriculum Project Soapbox identified several factors that shaped students' greater confidence in their public speaking skills and increased valuing of listening to their peers' experiences with action civics; these included student interest in the topic under investigation, opportunities for students to practice (in this case, speeches), classroom climate, and scaffolding and resources embedded in curriculum materials.

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[2] See https://www.tolerance.org/magazine/spring-2014/tonguetied for warnings against using role-play to teach about slavery.

In redesigning the U.S. history course to focus on civic education, Rubin (2012) identified five key pedagogical practices, one of which was action civics. In further investigating youth participatory action research, a form of action civics, Rubin et al. (2017) explore key challenges in integrating the goals of action, authenticity, and youth empowerment inherent in action civics within the realities of classroom life that is typically shaped by adults, extrinsically motivated, and content focused. These challenges include preserving authenticity, managing conflicting goals, and navigating tensions around authority. Rubin and Hayes (2010) have also found that connecting students' lives and experiences to the topics under study is centrally important to successful civic learning in different contexts, yet challenging to do well.

News Media Literacy

A relatively new area of research has already shown the challenges students face in careful reading and assessment of online material (Kahne & Bowyer, 2017; McGrew et al., 2017, 2018). This work has made it abundantly clear that people of all ages need to become more media savvy and discriminating when they read materials online. In one study in a university setting, two 75-minute lessons focused on a few heuristics for evaluating the credibility of online materials were sufficient to improve university students' assessment of online content (McGrew et al., 2019). In another study conducted in a high school setting, eight lessons focused on explicit instruction in digital fact-checking strategies supported 11th grade students in significantly improving their assessment of online material (McGrew, 2020).[3]

Listening, Transactive Discussion, and Empathy

While the exchange of ideas through both speaking and listening in political classroom discussions is vital, as noted earlier, civic reasoning involves the ability to listen to others, making listening an essential component of civic reasoning and discourse that should be cultivated. Democratic theorists as well as experts on socio-emotional development have argued that interpersonal practices such as attentive listening—particularly to those different from ourselves—engenders empathy, allows for vulnerability, builds relationships, and develops a sense of connection among individuals, which are democratic orientations that lead, in turn, to broader outcomes, such as building trust and bridging political rifts (Allen, 2004; Cramer & Toff, 2017; Levine, 2013; Weissberg et al., 2015). According to Parker (2010), listening is crucial for discussion, and it is particularly important to cultivate the skills for listening across difference because "Equitable and trustworthy conjoint living is not only a matter of being heard but also of hearing others" (p. 2827).

There is some research that suggests avenues for the cultivation of listening for civic purposes, both empirically and theoretically. Hess and McAvoy's (2015) study, for example, illustrated that high-quality political discussions developed high school students' beliefs in the importance of listening to many sides before developing a position and the recognition that hearing different perspectives helped them clarify their own views.

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[3] These lessons are available for free online at sheg.stanford.edu.

Meanwhile, Andolina and Conklin's (2018, 2020) study of Project Soapbox in English and Social Studies classrooms found that features of the curriculum—the expectation that all students deliver their speeches in front of each other and the recommendation that teachers establish an authentic, highly supportive audience—facilitated students' careful listening to one another. Listening to one another, in turn, led students to feel greater connection to their peers, gain a deeper understanding of their peers' experiences, and develop an enhanced appreciation for perspectives other than their own.

One proposal for fostering listening comes from Nucci's (2016) suggestion to revitalize Berkowitz and Gibbs's (1983) seminal work on transactive discussion and combine it with Laden's (2014) notion of responsive engagement. Transactive discussion is "reasoning that operates on the reasoning of another" (p. 402), where individual transacts are moments when individuals engage with the reasoning of their discussion partner (Berkowitz & Gibbs, 1983). Representational transacts involve the listener simply restating or representing the speaker's reasoning, and operational transacts involve the listener operating on or transforming the speaker's reasoning. Transactive discussion is similar to Laden's (2014) notion of responsive engagement, in which individuals genuinely consider the ideas and thoughts of their discussion partners. Whereas Laden considers responsive engagement as an active form of social reasoning, Berkowitz and Gibbs see transacts as moments when individuals learn to develop ideas through reasoning. Both contend that genuine listening and reasoning with other ideas are important for the development of new ways of thinking.

Mirra (2018) suggests pathways to cultivating "critical civic empathy"—a form of empathy that acknowledges the role of power and privilege in shaping our interpretation of others' experiences, is public in nature, and leads to a form of empathy anchored by "mutual humanization" (p. 10). She showcases teachers who use stories and literary analysis to foster critical civic empathy, schools that employ debate grounded in humanization to foster students' recognition of multiple perspectives, and educators who engage students in youth participatory action research to cultivate agency and empathy.

Case Studies

Finally, normative case studies (NCS) are a structured way for students to engage in the kind of civic discourse and deliberation that can help support civic reasoning and build understanding of pluralism. NCS are "richly described, realistic accounts of complex ethical dilemmas that arise within practice or policy contexts, in which protagonists must decide among courses of action, none of which is self-evident as the right one to take" (Levinson & Fay, 2016, pp. 5–6). By presenting genuine, open ended dilemmas that have no clear, correct answers (Thacher, 2006), NCS prompt students and teachers to jump into purposeful discussion that embraces complexity and nuance, multiple perspectives, and issues that they may otherwise feel embarrassed or incompetent to talk about (Levinson, 2015).

Across all of these civic education practices, there is a common theme of active engagement in inquiry and investigation and a focus on deeper learning while explicitly supporting the development of knowledge and skills. The research reviewed here suggests that by integrating these pedagogical practices and supports, teachers and

students may engage in productive discussions, dialogue, analysis, and listening in the classroom and support students' civic reasoning.

Lessons from Research in Other Areas of Social Studies Education

Inasmuch as classroom work on civic reasoning involves inquiry into complex issues that have a range of plausible responses, evaluating and learning from complex texts, and discussion or deliberation, lessons learned from work on historical reasoning and social studies education more broadly may be useful. Fred Newmann's (1990) work remains a touchstone for specifying aspects of social studies instruction that create the space for students to engage in authentic intellectual work; arguably, civic reasoning and discussion, deliberation, and debate constitute authentic intellectual work in social studies education. Newmann (1990) and Newmann and Wehlage (1993) highlight the importance of the degree of higher order thinking, depth of knowledge, connection to world, substantive conversation, and social support for student achievement in classrooms where authentic intellectual work is supported.

Research that has focused on other kinds of authentic intellectual work in social studies such as historical thinking with sources, constructing and critiquing arguments, discussion of complex questions and texts, and conveying arguments in writing has found several key design principles to scaffolding students' and teachers' work toward these ends in classrooms (Monte-Sano et al., 2019). These include providing space for students to connect to the topic and extend background knowledge (Epstein, 2000; Goldberg, 2013; Reisman, 2012), along with opening up space for deliberation and interpretation through investigation of compelling or central questions with multiple plausible responses or controversy and offering or seeking out multiple perspectives in the sources under investigation (Monte-Sano, 2008, 2012; Monte-Sano & Allen, 2019; Reisman, 2012). Further design principles support literacy development in the context of historical inquiry—including reading complex texts, listening, speaking, writing (De La Paz et al., 2017; Fitzgerald & Palincsar 2019; Monte-Sano, 2008), and supporting analytical or disciplinary thinking/reasoning about evidence and claims—both their own and those of others (De La Paz et al., 2017; Fitzgerald & Palincsar 2019; Monte-Sano, 2008; Reisman, 2012). Finally, cultivating discussion, deliberation, and discourse about texts that is welcoming to a broad range of students (Applebee et al., 2003; Nystrand et al., 1998; Reisman et al., 2018) and designing assignments to support students' reasoning and provide a real-world purpose and audience for student work products, connecting past with present where possible (Goldman et al., 2016; Monte-Sano & Allen, 2019; Monte-Sano & De La Paz, 2012; Monte-Sano et al., 2019; Newmann, 1990), are key principles for scaffolding teachers' and students' work. These principles may apply when working toward the goal of supporting students' civic reasoning, though the authors are not aware of research that has tested these relationships.

Key Findings and Recommendations

Looking across the curricular and pedagogical scaffolds that are effective to help young people develop civic reasoning and participate effectively in high-quality civic discourse, there is considerable research that points to promising practices, both at

broad and finer-grained levels. With regard to pedagogical practices, there is consider-able evidence that engaging young people in various forms of deliberation and discussion of public issues provides valuable experience with civic discourse and involves many important aspects of civic reasoning, including critical thinking, listening, and valuing multiple perspectives. This research also gives guidance on key principles and practices for successful teaching of controversial issues, such as creating a welcoming classroom community climate, explicitly teaching students central skills for participating in discussion, planning discussions carefully, identifying generative issues for students to discuss, and providing various discussion models.

Meanwhile, smaller sets of studies provide cases of promising practices, many of which warrant further exploration. Specific forms of political simulations have been shown to foster important skills as well as political knowledge, while research on other forms of role-play and simulation suggests these pedagogies have the potential to offer engaging opportunities for students to engage with the multiple perspectives of contentious issues in low stakes ways, provided that the content of the simulations is selected judiciously. Action civics programs and pedagogies, too, have demonstrated ways of creating open classroom climates, fostering students' public speaking skills and sense of voice, and creating opportunities to listen carefully to others' experiences. Recent work focused on online materials has highlighted the need for students to learn how to reason carefully and discern truth of online information and has suggested some forms of explicit instruction that allow students to gauge the veracity of online materials. Other work points to ways to support careful listening and empathy, while case studies are another promising pedagogy for helping students build understanding of pluralism and practice discussion that engages complexity and multiple perspectives. Finally, work in other areas of social studies education is suggestive of ways to support many civic competencies among students.

While this work has demonstrated some important ways to foster various elements of civic reasoning and discourse, there are many areas that warrant further exploration. For example, there is a need for more research to look at the effects of various models of discussion and the impact of different discussion models on important aspects of civic reasoning. It is also unknown whether students actually get better at argumentation as a result of these strategies. Studies often measure changes in civic attitudes and knowledge, but do participants also become better at identifying good reasons and evidence? Additionally, more research is needed on how the identities of student participants contribute to varying impacts of these pedagogical practices. There has been less work that helps us understand some of the interpersonal aspects of these pedagogical practices and how one might investigate the development of some harder-to-capture aspects of civic reasoning, such as empathy and listening. Furthermore, more research is needed that explores how educators cultivate students' understanding of various democratic values—both their own and others.

In terms of curricular scaffolds for civic reasoning and discourse, there are many suggested paths that would benefit from empirical support. For example, while there is considerable understanding about curricular omissions of diverse communities, the persistent Whiteness of curriculum, the avoidance of complex topics like racism, and the lack of incorporation of students' lived experiences into curricula, less is known about the outcomes of students' engagement with more inclusive curricula

that include topics that highlight and engage democratic complexity, controversy, and contradictions, and use youth knowledge and experience as curricular material. More research is needed that examines how such a curriculum specifically supports students' civic reasoning and discourse. Similarly, current research provides suggestions of how inquiry-oriented curricular frameworks and standards that explicitly call for civic reasoning and discourse may be helpful for prioritizing civic reasoning and discourse, but there is a need to examine the links between the implementation of these frameworks and students' development of civic reasoning and discourse to determine how, if at all, these curricular supports are helpful.

THE ROLE OF STUDENTS' IDENTITIES

While the previously-mentioned evidence points to various curricular and pedagogical scaffolds that support the development of young people's civic reasoning and enable them to participate effectively in high-quality discussion, deliberation, and debate, as suggested above, young people do not enter the civic realm as blank slates. Identity has always had a significant influence on the manner in which people make meaning of their lives, realities, histories, and day-to-day experiences (Nasir, 2011) and are vital when it comes to students, their learning, and their experiences in schools and society. School curriculum and practices can help to celebrate, affirm, enhance, and build the identities of students (see Banks et al., 2005; Gay, 2000; Ladson-Billings, 1994, 2014), or conversely, can make students feel as if their identities are unimportant, inferior, or non-existent. The complexity of racial, gender, cultural, political, and language identities bears greater importance in a multicultural society (Flennaugh, 2016). To that end, schools can and should play a central role in creating brave spaces that allow multiple perspectives, diverse opinions, and controversial issues to be discussed and unpacked in a thoughtful, respectful, and civil manner (Hess, 2009a). Thus, students' identities matter, especially in a politically charged climate where issues such as immigration, homophobia/transphobia, police brutality, racial discrimination, gender inequities, and economic exclusion continue to plague millions of individuals. In the section that follows, the authors explore how students' identities (racial, ethnic, political, etc.) influence how they experience and learn to engage thoughtfully with others about critical controversial issues.

According to Banks (2017), students are more likely to develop a shared and connected commitment to and identification with a national identity and culture only when they believe that they are a meaningful part of the nation and that it acknowledges, reflects, and values their history, culture, and them as individuals. Students who have a strong sense of self, in which their identities are developed, are more likely to find positive ways to contribute to their communities and society. Therefore, school curricula can reinforce age-old ideologies of pathology, indifference, and exclusion, or seek to be a transformative agent that sees the contributions of all Americans. This means that the curriculum must do more than merely include diverse representations and identities, but must also teach how members of marginalized groups have resisted oppression and exclusion. Indeed, we cannot get to true problem solving that supports the common good if everyone's perspective is not represented, in part because we have an incomplete understanding of the problems our society faces.

Identity Interacts with History and Curricula to Shape Civic Learning

The development of diverse identities matters because students' understandings about the self, both the public and private, and the important layers of their lives are profoundly shaped by their families, homes, schools, and communities. Learning theory tells us that students' identities, knowledge, and experiences are important bridges to extend their learning (e.g., Nasir et al., 2014; National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, 2018; National Research Council, 2005). The existence of master narratives and the impact of those narratives on the experiences of students of color in history classrooms has been well-documented (Brown & Brown, 2010; Epstein, 2000, 2010), although youth development is complex and context sensitive, and youth sources of coping are often underexamined (Spencer, 2008). Woodson (2016) explored the impact of such master narratives on Black youths' civic agency among nine low-income youth in a mid-sized Midwestern city participating in a work readiness program and identified with a behavioral or mental health diagnosis, and found that emphasis on risk and dehumanizing values and the de-emphasis of historical agency and collective agency undermined Black youths' sense of civic agency. Woodson (2016) has called for a dismantling of the master narrative and the establishment of a critical and race centered narrative that highlights both the diversity of civic activists who have engaged in racial struggle and the multiple forms of civic activism that are possible.

Meanwhile, in post-war Guatemala, Bellino (2016) found that the different ways in which curricula presented information about historical injustice shaped youths' civic identity in the present. Bellino documented the ways in which this phenomenon played out differently within two communities—Indigenous and rural compared with urban and elite—in ways that reflected the identities of students and adults in those communities and resulted in different conceptions of citizenship. Hence, talking to students, hearing their realities, and listening to their social, political, and cultural concerns will be vital to the manner in which the nation continues to create a more inclusive and diverse notion of civic discourse centered on students' identity and agency (Woodson, 2016).

Thus, much of the disconnect that occurs between home, school, and the community is a result of the manner in which the cultural realities that students experience in the home and community are not consistent with what is taught and valued at school (Howard, 2020)—a disconnect that students from varied cultural, religious, political, etc., backgrounds may experience depending on the particular schools that they attend. As a result, conflicting values, beliefs, and behavior that are taught by the school challenges the very idea of how students respond to the fundamental question of "Who am I?" This question becomes particularly salient during adolescence, when youth identity is often coalescing. Many U.S. schools continue to be centered on core values that do not reflect the racial, cultural, and linguistic realities of many of today's students. Indeed, across time, the role and function of school has struggled to keep up with the country's ever-changing demographic realities. Thus, the idea of whose narrative will shape civic education remains.

Additionally, the "hard history" about racism, sexism, genocide, and oppression is generally absent from the curriculum (Shuster, 2018). Given the false representation of history such omissions convey, teachers' general unpreparedness in discussing these issues is damaging to all students but can be particularly detrimental to students of color (Brown & Brown, 2010, 2011; Combs, 2016; Lo, 2019). Some call it implicit bias

(Greenwald & Krieger, 2006), but Bonilla-Silva (2012) uses the phrase "racial grammar" to describe rhetorical moves that "[structure] cognition, vision, and even feelings on all sorts of racial matters" (p. 173). He suggests that racial grammar "[normalizes] the standards of white supremacy as *the* standards for all sorts of everyday transactions [thereby] rendering domination almost invisible" (p. 174). According to this view, racial grammar has the potential to shape and distort how students see themselves and one another. At the same time, Spencer (2008) highlights youths' agency in making meaning of their lives and the importance of attending to youths' coping strategies in the face of adversity. Considering the complex and context-sensitive nature of youth development (Spencer, 2008), in order for students to fully engage in all of their rights and responsibilities as citizens of a democracy, teachers may need to help them recognize and debunk the racial grammar that exists within the civics narrative while also building on youths' existing sources of coping and resilience.

Finally, a great deal of work in history education highlights the intersections of youth identity and their learning of history as well, but does not connect these ideas specifically to civic learning (e.g., Bordonaro, 2016; Epstein, 2010; Goldberg, 2013; Porat, 2004; Schweber & Irwin, 2003). Additionally, students engage with history in substantive and meaningful ways outside of the classroom, but do not always see the place for such engagement inside the classroom (Rosenzweig, 2000). Connecting the study of history and civics more explicitly could offer students opportunities to orient themselves in the world more fully through investigation into the past and present, enabling students to understand present challenges more completely and therefore positioning students to be better equipped to address current issues.

Learning Opportunities That Embrace and Build on Students' Identities and Experiences

Rubin (2007) and Rubin et al. (2009) report how youth from different racial and socioeconomic backgrounds have widely divergent daily civic experiences that shape how they engage with and make sense of classroom-based civic learning opportunities. Based on her research, Rubin argues for connecting in and out of school civic experiences so that schools can support students in becoming active citizens. Similarly, in postwar Guatemala, Bellino (2015) found that two schools with historically oppressed Indigenous groups used their students' daily experience with oppression as a way to study civic issues and that students in those contexts weigh the costs and benefits of political participation as they consider their role. In an elementary setting focused on a class project, the degree to which two students saw their own knowledge and experiences as relevant and were well positioned by the teacher in their interactions impacted their learning and sense of efficacy in "making a difference" (Mayes et al., 2016). Still, others argue that youth may participate more actively than adults perceive, but not in ways recognized by adults (e.g., Wood, 2015), particularly if those students have been marginalized in school or society.

Based on her research with diverse youth in urban contexts, Rubin (2010) suggests four overarching design principles to support students' civic identity development in the context of social studies courses—in this case, the principles were tested successfully in U.S. history courses. According to Rubin (2010), civic education should "build upon

students' own experiences with civic life, including daily experiences with civic institutions," "provide opportunities for students to consider and discuss key controversies in civic life," and "build students' skills of discussion, analysis, critique, and research" (p. 144). Furthermore, "civic education should build students' knowledge of their rights and responsibilities as citizens in a way that connects directly to their own concerns" (p. 145). Clay and Rubin (2019) develop these ideas further in defining *critically relevant civics* as an approach to civic learning rooted in the resources that students carry with them to school, grounding civic learning in the identities and experiences of students—a similar approach to the Lived Civics approach described earlier (Cohen et al., 2018).

Differential Access to High-Quality Civic Learning Opportunities

Students' identities matter not only in relation to their experiences with curricula but also in terms of their access to high-quality civic learning—as well as their opportunities to be heard when high-quality civic learning opportunities are made available. In a large-scale study of civic learning opportunities in high school, White students, students going to college, and students who attended higher socioeconomic status (SES) high schools had more high-quality civic learning opportunities available to them than students of color and students in lower SES schools—a consequential "civic opportunity gap" (Kahne & Middaugh, 2008).

Even when high-quality civic learning opportunities do exist—such as opportunities to engage in discussion and deliberation of public issues—students engage in these opportunities from unequal social locations. In *Talking to Strangers*, Allen (2004, p. 96) has this to say about the challenge of discussing public policy issues in an unjust society:

> Debates over these issues (unemployment, welfare, taxes, affirmative action…) are politically divisive not only because they are substantively difficult but also because they give citizens superb opportunities to reveal what their fellow citizens are worth to them.

Allen (2004) and other political theorists have critiqued deliberative democratic theory for its initial lack of attention to how speakers are differently heard within a deliberative forum (Sanders, 1997; Young, 2002). This research draws attention to the fact that the perspectives of minoritized communities can be easily dismissed by a majority that finds their needs inconvenient and/or threatening to their privileged positions. As a result, the expectation of "reasonableness" can become a tool for exclusion. As Allen's (2004) quote reveals, these discussions also make the most vulnerable people in society the subject of discussion, at times positioning them as a problem to be solved and in other instances questioning the legitimacy of their identities. Both of these problems appear when teachers bring political issues into the classroom.

The Problem of Who Is Heard

When public policy issues come into the classroom, educators need to be aware of the ways in which social inequalities related to class, race, ethnicity, gender, sexual identity, ability, and language may affect who speaks and how they are heard. As one example, Hess and McAvoy (2015) describe the ways in which discussions in one

teacher's non-tracked classroom were affected by race and class. A White, male student who came from a two-professor household, had been accepted to an Ivy League college, and had spent a semester in Washington, DC, as a congressional page (p. 165) dominated discussions. In contrast, another student in this teacher's class was the daughter of immigrant parents from Southeast Asia, and rarely spoke in discussions because:

> [other students] use a lot of hard words that, I mean, like when I talk, I like to use just simple words. But since they talk really professional, I don't want to, you know, talk to them. (p. 175)

Despite the teacher's efforts to create a classroom in which students felt comfortable with one another, the confidence and privilege of some students resulted in the silencing of others. Experiences such as these may deepen a sense of civic estrangement (Tillet, 2012) in students of color, who can feel as if the system works against them, even as they recognize their supposed membership within the system. This same study found that English Language Learners and students from lower SES backgrounds were significantly more likely to report that they hesitated to speak because they worried that they would be judged by their peers.

Students may also hesitate to speak because they hold minority views. Beck (2019) provides an in-depth discourse analysis of how one student, Jake, experienced a unit of study on same sex marriage. Jake, the only African American student in the class, was the one student who reported in a pre- and post-survey that he was opposed to marriage equality because it went against the moral teachings of his church. In an analysis of Jake's participation in class, daily reflections, final paper, and interview, Beck describes the ways in which Jake adopted a liberal anti-same sex marriage stance (based on a reading he had been assigned, written by a lesbian activist) and avoided making his religious beliefs explicit to the class. In the end, he was publicly supportive of marriage equality to his classmates, but in his final written reflection he said he was against legalizing same sex marriage. Beck notes that part of Jake's classroom behavior could be a response to holding the minority view in a class that was otherwise unanimously in favor of same sex marriage. Jake never exposed his true beliefs to his classmates and this seemed to preserve his sense of belonging with his peers. Others have found that students may not express their true beliefs if they hold a minority view or worry about peers' reactions (Hess & McAvoy, 2015; Hess & Posselt, 2002; Journell, 2012).

The Problem of What Gets Said

The other major concern related to identity and political discussions is the issue of fairness in the classroom. "Is it fair," many educators wonder, "to discuss an issue like same sex marriage (or transgender rights, affirmative action, or immigration) if the discussion is going to be sensitive to students who are already vulnerable in society?" The primary worry is that minoritized students will have to listen to (and possibly respond to) their classmates' ignorant comments about them. One study on microaggressions in college classrooms showed that students of color often experienced White students rejecting their experiences, subtly questioning their intelligence, and associating people

of color with criminality (Sue et al., 2009). This same study found that students of color also reported frustration with instructors who did not hear the insults or know how to respond when they did hear them. Research on high school discussions has found similar problems (Beck, 2013; Hess & McAvoy, 2015).

The relationship between fairness and discussions of controversial issues related to social justice involves many ethical questions and is an area still in need of research. Teachers need to think carefully about how they frame issues for discussion, how they will structure the talk, and whether they have prepared students with enough context for the discussion. An affirmative action discussion, for example, cannot be fair or worthwhile if students do not understand the history of racism and public schooling (past and present) as well as the complexities of policy implications, such as how affirmative action in college admissions privileges African American students from middle class backgrounds while students from low income backgrounds remain persistently underrepresented regardless of race/ethnicity.

Finally, considering deliberation and issues of social justice, the microaggression problem identified in the research shows that privileged students often do not know how to listen to minority views—particularly ones that make them uncomfortable. Intercultural dialogue is a different sort of democratic discussion most often associated with social justice education, because the aim is to create awareness about how people experience social exclusion/inclusion and power differences based on their identities (Kaplowitz & Griffin, 2019). While there is differential impact on particular populations of students when others fail to listen to minority views, the difficulty of listening to minority views pervades many classrooms and warrants attention across contexts: a White student in an ethnic studies class, for example, may feel reluctant to express beliefs that may not be shared by peers in the class. The tools and skills associated with dialogue may be essential precursors to effectively engaging in policy discussions.

Key Findings and Recommendations

Looking across what we know about how students' identities influence how they experience and learn to engage thoughtfully with each other about critical controversial issues, research points to the importance of students seeing their identities represented in curricula and learning how all members of the nation have participated civically in the past and the forms of civic engagement that are possible. Some research in this area also offers cautions that master narratives and the ways curricula present information about historic injustices can shape youths' sense of agency and identity in important ways, sometimes diminishing youths' sense of civic agency—particularly if the curricular emphasis is on youth risk rather than agency and resilience. Research in this area also highlights the general absence of hard history in the curriculum and some teachers' problematic participation in the use of racial grammar.

While evidence points to many ways that students' identities are not valued in classroom spaces, researchers have also highlighted curricular and pedagogical tools that center youth knowledge and identities and allow young people—particularly youth of color—to see themselves and be seen as valued and capable civic participants. There are some existing practices that have shown how schools can support students' civic identity development by building on students' identities and civic experiences, although

more research is needed in this area that documents the impact of such approaches on students' civic reasoning. Some research has identified ways in which students' social identities and positioning shape their participation in deliberation, often reinforcing existing social hierarchies and enabling dominant perspectives to dominate classroom discourse. There is a need to have more work that explores the relationships between inequities and civic reasoning, examining questions such as how do inequalities create challenges for civic reasoning? Can civic reasoning help to address inequalities? If so, how? Under what conditions? Research in this area would also benefit from studies that take up the complexity of students' multiple, intersecting identities and opportunities to engage in civic reasoning and discourse in varying contexts, given the dynamic, context-sensitive nature of youth development (Spencer, 2008). Similarly, the field would benefit from more research that explores children's agency and the ways in which youth actively resist and make sense of the civic messages that surround them (see Corsaro, 2020). We also need research that examines how teachers can authentically and equitably engage all voices in the classroom and find ways to disrupt existing social hierarchies. Some of this work may need to happen through the preparation of educators, the topic that this chapter turns to next.

PREPARING AND SUPPORTING EDUCATORS TO PROVIDE HIGH-QUALITY CIVIC LEARNING OPPORTUNITIES

Given that providing high-quality civic learning opportunities often rests in the hands of educators, this chapter now turns to research that illuminates how to best prepare and support educators to facilitate this learning. Although legislated civics requirements have gained momentum across the country and provide one leverage point for shaping civic learning practices, social studies teachers have not always been given support to teach these new requirements (Shapiro & Brown, 2018). Support is sometimes provided by school districts, but often the resources come from nonprofit organizations (e.g., Facing History and Ourselves, Mikva Challenge, Teaching Tolerance, etc.), which are not equally distributed across the country. Thus, teachers are not always equipped to engage students in civic reasoning, high-quality discussion, deliberation, or debate. The next section outlines research on what is known about the substantive aspects of equipping teachers with these capabilities, closing by highlighting the necessary policies and funding that must accompany these supports.

On an individual level, teachers' goals and dispositions, knowledge and understanding, and ability to enact instructional practices shape students' opportunities to learn (e.g., Hansen et al., 2018), suggesting domains for supporting and preparing educators. This section begins with an overview of these ideas before considering how to best prepare and support educators to develop the knowledge and skills needed to support students' civic learning.

Teacher Goals, Visions, and Values

Teachers' goals for teaching their particular subject matter likely have a role in shaping students' classroom experiences. For example, many social studies educators view their work as being grounded in four major disciplinary areas with the overarching

goal of preparing citizens (National Council for the Social Studies, 2013). Teachers typically have a range of goals for teaching their subject matter, and may reserve the most challenging goals for students in more advanced classes (Raudenbush et al., 1993). In addition, standardized, high stakes assessments *may* influence teachers' goal setting; therefore, the focus of these assessments can shape students' learning experiences (e.g., Grant, 2001; Kelly et al., 2007). *If* civic reasoning, discussion, deliberation, and debate are core goals for teachers, how teachers conceive of citizenship, for example, can shape students' opportunities to learn in the classroom (e.g., Ladson-Billings, 2004).

Just as Hess (2009a) found that skilled teachers of controversial public issue discussions carefully linked their purposes and practices, teachers aiming to support the development of students' civic reasoning should have both a vision and a set of practices that are consistent with democratic ideals such as justice, equality, and human rights (Joshee et al., 2017; Law, 2017). Reaching such goals has become increasingly challenging in the face of extreme political polarization, yet though the challenge is greater, the task is more important today than in recent memory.

Thus, teachers should also value engaging students across worldviews and lived experiences. Within a diverse and increasingly stratified society, students in the cultural mainstream as well as those on the margins of society must be informed of the realities of the "others" and must be introduced to tools, strategies, and disposition to understand, discuss, and ultimately address realities different from their own. In an era where unprecedented mass migration continues to shape the global landscape (Suárez-Orozco, 2019), students' ability to understand circumstances and challenges drastically different than their own will play an important role in addressing complex global problems such as climate change, worldwide hunger, poverty, xenophobia, and racism. Furthermore, teachers who successfully engage students in discussions about racism are more likely to become educational reform leaders (Buehler, 2013) and social justice leaders who promote an anti-racist stance (Ford, 2017). These embody the deliberative and civic skills that we hope young people can engage with in schools. Thus, teachers must prioritize having students learn about the range of human experience.

Knowledge of the Social Context of Civic Reasoning and Discourse

In addition to their purposes, there are many important bodies of knowledge and understanding that teachers should possess. Given their role within the broader social and political context, educators who engage students in civic reasoning and discourse should have a deep understanding of the broader context in which their instruction is embedded and how contextual factors such as structural inequality, patterns of human migration, and inter/intra-national conflict may interact with their efforts at building students' civic capabilities (see Rubin, Abu El-Haj, & Bellino, Chapter 5 in this report, for further discussion).

Teachers' Identities, Self-Awareness, and Racial Literacy

Another vital aspect of teacher understanding is a teacher's awareness of his or her own sociocultural identity and how that identity may shape his or her interactions in the broader world and in the classroom. Recent work in teacher education has

called for centering the subjectivities of both teachers and students to consider how these subjectivities shape classroom interactions (see Daniels & Varghese, 2020). Just as students' identities shape their engagement with civic reasoning and discourse, so, too, do teachers' identities shape the instruction that unfolds around civic reasoning and discourse. Thus, the preparation of educators for facilitating civic reasoning must attend to teachers' various subjectivities as well as teachers' racial literacy—the ability to discern and ask critical questions about the contemporary role of race in institutional structures and practices and the recognition that, despite being a social construction, this construction has tangible and deep impacts on student experiences and outcomes in education (e.g., Flynn et al., 2018).

Knowledge and Understanding of and Orientation Toward Students

In addition to these sets of consciousness, teachers' knowledge and understanding of students shapes students' opportunities to learn civic reasoning and deliberation. Teachers' awareness of students' funds of knowledge, including the resources and experiences students bring to the classroom, can shape the learning opportunities they provide (Moll et al., 1992). Additionally, as illustrated in earlier sections of this chapter, of particular importance in social studies is teachers' understandings of how students identify with the historical or social issues being studied and how students might experience the representations and silence embedded in curriculum materials or texts (e.g., Epstein, 2010; VanSledright, 1998; Woodson, 2015, 2016). Rubin et al. (2016) found that integrating youth participatory action research into teacher education coursework effectively supported novice teachers in understanding their students better and responding to their students productively in instruction, while Andolina and Conklin (2020) found that some teachers used the Project Soapbox curriculum to learn about their students and guide their curriculum.

Knowledge of and Orientations Toward Civic Content

Another central element for consideration in the preparation and support of educators is their understanding of civic knowledge, including knowledge of important silences in a curriculum, given that teachers' knowledge and understanding of social studies has direct implications for students' learning and classroom experiences (e.g., Fitchett & Heafner, 2017). This includes teachers' orientation to social studies as knowledge that is constructed and interpreted through inquiry (e.g., Monte-Sano, 2012) and therefore continuously recreated, critiqued, recycled, and shared (e.g., Ladson-Billings, 2001). With regard to teaching controversial issues through discussion, in particular, teachers must understand what constitutes a discussion (and what discussion is *not* [e.g., recitation, lecture with periodic questions]) and what constitutes a controversial issue (e.g., topics that are not settled nor have one right answer) (Hess, 2009b).

Teachers' understanding should also include a broad framework that recognizes the ways in which racial oppression and systemic inequalities have shaped American history, our current society, and the civic curriculum and practices that are most typical in American schools (see Brown & Brown, 2015; Ladson-Billings, 2006). Thus, in a subject like social studies, content area knowledge also includes an awareness of dominant

narratives embedded in textbooks and other instructional materials (e.g., Patterson & Shuttleworth, 2019) that can reify Whiteness and privilege dominant groups' histories while marginalizing, trivializing, or making invisible the role that oppressed groups have played in history (see Brown & Brown, 2011, 2015; Picower, 2009). While some teachers and students may feel uncomfortable with expanding the narrative to include accounts that expose the unequal access to core U.S. values, such as freedom, justice, fairness, and equal protection under the law, it is important to uncover the histories, stories, and experiences that have been told by countless people on the political margins about their struggle for and political organization for equal citizenship in the United States. Teachers need to be able to choose curricula that include the perspectives and influences of diverse groups as well as curricula that represent the particular students and cultural contexts in which they teach (see Banks et al., 2005). This might involve, for example, teachers engaging students in examining the complexity of culture and identity through learning about how some Indigenous cultures conceptualize gender and sexuality (Sheppard & Mayo, 2013), having students read literary texts authored by and centered on people with diverse gender, ethnicity, and cultural statuses to explore social, cultural, and political tensions (see Mirra, 2018), or having students examine the impact of a local coal power plant on neighborhood pollution (see Morales-Doyle, 2017).

Knowledge of Pedagogy

Teachers also need knowledge of pedagogy, how students may think about the content, and how to connect the content and the student in meaningful ways through instruction (Ball et al., 2008; Monte-Sano & Budano, 2013; Shulman, 1986). Being able to connect content and students requires teachers' racial literacy (e.g., Flynn et al., 2018), understanding of culturally relevant and sustaining pedagogy (Ladson-Billings, 2001, 2014), and racial pedagogical content knowledge (Chandler, 2015; King & Chandler, 2016)—"teachers' racial knowledge and how it influences content and pedagogical choices" (King & Chandler, 2016, p. 6).

Also involved in teachers' knowledge of pedagogy is their need for language to describe particular pedagogical practices. Grossman and McDonald (2008) revisit Lortie's (1975) argument that teaching needs to develop a "common technical vocabulary" that will allow both novice and experienced teachers to talk about common practices (p. 123), asserting that without such a framework for teaching, research on teacher education cannot progress toward improving practice. Classroom discussion and deliberation is one common practice in need of a vocabulary.

Teachers must also have the inclination and skills associated with teaching—and not avoiding—challenging or difficult topics. A number of scholars have offered important insights on how best to address controversial issues, discussion, and debate in the school curriculum (Hess, 2008, 2009a, 2015; Hess & McAvoy, 2015; Ho et al., 2017; Journell, 2016; McAvoy, 2016). Inherent in these important works have been reframing school curricula using an approach that is concept and issues-based, centered on high-quality public talk, and a pedagogical stance that challenges the traditional narrative of U.S. history and respects multiple viewpoints. As a result, concepts such as fairness, equality, meritocracy, and justice are reinterpreted and understood in a more critical lens.

Knowledge of How to Enact Instructional Practices

Closely tied to teachers' knowledge of pedagogy—and linked to all of their other understandings—is teachers' knowledge of how to enact instructional practices. That is, teachers must not only know and understand; they must be able to enact instructional practices that support student learning (Ball & Forzani, 2009; Fogo, 2014; Grossman et al., 2009). Instructional practices range from eliciting, listening to, and responding to students' thinking to working with families in support of students to setting up and managing small groups to facilitating classroom discussions (e.g., Conklin, 2019; Davis & Boerst, 2014; Fogo, 2014). One instructional practice that is central to supporting civic reasoning is discussion facilitation. The specification of different structures and purposes for classroom discussion, how to select texts and questions for discussion, and how to identify controversial issues are all part of the instructional practice of discussion facilitation that must be learned (Hess, 2002, 2009a; Parker, 2003; Parker & Hess, 2001). Reisman et al. (2018, 2019) specify particular instructional moves that new teachers enact within discussions of history content.[4]

Attention to and ability to enact instructional practices in ways that support *all* students' learning is deeply rooted in teachers' knowledge and understanding as previously articulated (e.g., Conklin, 2019; Hess, 2009a, 2009b; Kavanagh & Danielson, 2019; Kavanagh et al., 2019). For example, to be able to facilitate a discussion of the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program, teachers rely on different forms of knowledge (e.g., how their students might identify with DACA and personal experiences or knowledge that students would bring to this discussion; knowledge of what DACA is—its history, reasons for it, arguments for and against it—as well as knowledge of how the U.S. government is structured, executive actions, and checks and balances; knowledge of different pedagogical approaches to setting up a discussion of a controversial issue) *and* the ability to facilitate a discussion and implement discussion moves that welcome and value students' ideas and multiple voices, that acts on awareness of authority and positioning across participants, that positions students to listen to each other and build on or challenge each other's ideas, and that uses content and disciplinary understanding as resources. In facilitating productive discussions, teachers think about and conceive of using content as a space for inquiry and interpretation as well as know how to facilitate a discussion with a diverse group of students in a classroom space. To do this complex work, teachers need opportunities to learn about their students, about the content, and about pedagogy so that they have the understanding and the skills to enact this work in the classroom (e.g., what is civic reasoning, what can I do to enact civic reasoning in the real world, what civic reasoning resources and knowledge do students bring with them to the classroom, how do students develop civic reasoning over time, what instructional moves support students' civic reasoning and participation in discussion).

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[4] Although there have been important critiques of practice-based teacher education (e.g., Philip et al., 2018), a focus on instructional practice with new teachers does not necessarily sacrifice a focus on justice (e.g., Conklin, 2019; Kavanagh, 2016, 2018; Kavanagh & Danielson, 2019).

Preparing and Supporting Educators

The previous discussion highlights the knowledge and abilities that research suggests teachers should have in order to support students' civic reasoning. The final question for this chapter, then, is how to prepare and support educators to do this important work. How do we cultivate teachers' capacities?

Teacher learning involves acquiring, modifying, or fine-tuning skills, knowledge and thinking, and sociocultural and situated understandings (e.g., of norms, identities, roles, and tools in educational contexts [see Russ et al., 2016]). In professional development (PD) opportunities, the teacher, the school, and the learning activities interact in different ways to influence teacher learning (Opfer & Pedder, 2011).

Cultivating Socio-Political Awareness

Research in teacher education has highlighted some promising approaches to fostering teachers' awareness of their socio-political contexts. For example, teacher education programs have deliberately structured program coursework and experiences to help teacher candidates gain a complex understanding of the many overlapping layers of policy, geographic, and local district, school, and socio-cultural contexts (see Matsko & Hammerness, 2014; Williamson et al., 2016). Other approaches have focused on creating opportunities for novice teachers to form genuine relationships to learn with and from local communities (e.g., Guillen & Zeichner, 2018; Lee, 2018).

Broad Approaches

Research grounded in preservice teacher education has found particular pedagogies that are useful in supporting teacher learning, particularly conceptual tools and practical tools (Grossman et al., 1999, 2000). Conceptual tools include "principles, frameworks, and ideas about teaching, learning, and English language arts that teachers use as heuristics to guide their instructional decisions" (Grossman et al., 2000, pp. 633–634). Ideas about what constitutes discussion or controversy might be examples of conceptual tools for civic learning (e.g., Hess, 2009a, 2009b, 2015, 2017/18). Practical tools include strategies, practices, or resources that can be used directly and immediately in teaching (Grossman et al., 1999, p. 14). Examples of practical tools to support teaching civic reasoning might include structures for different discussions that are clearly laid out and tied to articulated purposes (e.g., Parker & Hess, 2001), along with approaches to critically examining texts, constructing and examining arguments, applying knowledge to new problems, and developing knowledge of text structures.

In teaching the instructional practices, a pedagogical approach of representing, decomposing, and approximating the target strategy or practice can support teachers in using practical tools in their classrooms (Grossman et al., 2009). Representations of a practice involves using examples of expert teaching and making hidden components that contribute to expertise visible. Decompositions involve identifying the work that is central to expert practice so that teachers can see and learn the practice. Approximations of practice include simulations of different aspects of teaching so that teachers can rehearse, gather feedback, reflect, and continue to improve. These pedagogies support teachers in learning the particular work and thinking involved in teaching (Grossman et al., 2009).

Another promising approach to teacher learning involves focusing on student work and thinking (e.g., Little, 2004). In studies across math, science, and social studies, researchers have found that attention to student thinking via analysis of students' written work or talk via video has created opportunities for teachers to develop their understandings of content, students, and pedagogy (Kazemi & Franke, 2004; Monte-Sano et al., 2017; Van Es & Sherin, 2008; Wilson, 2009; Windschitl et al., 2011).

In terms of structuring teacher learning opportunities, researchers have identified five features of effective PD, including a focus on deepening teachers' content knowledge; active learning opportunities for teachers to engage in meaningful analysis of teaching and learning (e.g., review student work, teach and receive feedback); coherence of PD with teachers' goals and expectations of teachers; sustained duration (including contact hours and span of time); and collective participation of groups of teachers from the same school, department, or grade level (Desimone et al., 2002; Garet et al., 2008; Yoon et al., 2007). The National Academy of Education's Teacher Quality White Paper (Wilson, 2009) recommends that policy makers abide by these five features of effective PD and provide access to high-quality PD. The White Paper specifies that courses or programs of 40 hours over 12 months (or more) are most effective (p. 6). Archibald et al. (2011) agreed with these five features of effective PD and added teacher buy-in and time for PD embedded into the school day as core features of effective PD that policy makers should keep in mind. In subsequent work, Desimone and Garet (2015) shared new insights, specifically that improving teachers' content knowledge and inquiry-oriented instruction is harder than changing procedural classroom behaviors, that teachers vary in response to the same PD, that PD is more successful when it is explicitly linked to classroom lessons, that PD research and implementation must address contexts where there is high student and teacher mobility, and that leadership plays a key role in supporting and encouraging teachers to implement ideas and strategies that they learn in PD.

Different types and models of professional development reflect a range of purposes. As Kennedy (2006) explains, PD that is focused on transmission is less likely to increase teachers' professional autonomy and expertise whereas transformative PD is more likely to increase teachers' professional autonomy. Darling-Hammond et al. (2017) found that transformative PD is more often found in high-performing countries and involves practices such as scheduling time for collaboration regularly in the school day, collective planning and assessment, including teacher research as part of the regular work load, and including teachers as leaders in PD. Perhaps similarly, Desimone et al. (2002) argue that reform-oriented PD (e.g., coaching, mentoring, study group or network) tends to include more of the features of effective PD than traditional PD (e.g., workshop, conference).

Specific Models

Within civic reasoning, discussion, and deliberation, Hess's professional development work integrates many of the ideas raised (e.g., Hess, 2009b): explicit instruction in conceptual tools such as discussion and controversial issues, offering practical tools such as models for discussion, giving teachers opportunities to develop as adult learners by experiencing discussions of controversial issues, offering materials to

support instruction, and support for teachers as they learn to do the work of discussion facilitation in classrooms.

Learning to Lead Discussions

Parker and Hess (2001) explained how having preservice teachers experience a good discussion using a SAC model was not enough for them to know how to use it, nor were they able to identify how the structure was modeling important features of a good discussion. This led Parker and Hess (2001) to articulate the distinction between "teaching with discussion" and "teaching for discussion." Teaching for discussion happens when teachers make explicit the skills and norms of good classroom discussion. This is an important starting point for helping future teachers to understand the features of discussion. Parker and Hess (2001) also contribute a typology of three types of discussions: deliberation, seminar, and conversation. Making these (and other) distinctions clear, helps teachers to understand how each has a different purpose/aim, lends itself to a different type of question, and requires a different set of materials.

Such explicit instruction about the purpose of different types of discussion is an important first step toward providing teachers with the language and skills needed to engage students in discussion, but research shows that teachers who want to use discussion often struggle with designing and facilitating discussion. There are a number of complex skills that teachers need to develop in order to lead a *good* discussion. Being able to identify these skills and the micro moves that teachers make to deepen learning within discussions are necessary for supporting novice teachers.

Learning to prepare open ended questions is one important skill. Hess (2009a) helps teachers move toward this understanding by distinguishing between a "topic" (an event, place, or process) and an "issue" (a question of public policy) (p. 40). A further distinction can be drawn between an open issue and a closed or settled issue (Hess, 2009a; Hess & McAvoy, 2015). Ideally, teachers should aim for discussions about open questions. Kohlmeier and Saye (2019) identify the difficulty teachers have with identifying discussable questions in a study of four teachers learning to lead seminars. Even after collectively designing the discussion about the constitutional question of flag burning, two of the four teachers struggled to ask open ended questions that lead to real engagement with the text and the issue (they were also the two with the least amount of experience with seminars). In these two cases, the open question about whether flag burning is protected speech did not lead to genuine discussion because the teachers did not know how to ask questions that invited argumentation. Their overreliance on factual questions in a recitation style is a well-documented problem within the field (Nystrand et al., 2003; Reisman, 2015; Reisman et al., 2018). Helping teachers to name and recognize this as *not* being discussion is important for developing the skills for proper discussion. Another discussion move that could be explicitly taught includes Nystrand et al.'s (1998) use of the term "uptake" to describe moments in which a student's comment is incorporated into a follow-up question by the teacher.

Additionally, in leading controversial issues discussions, teachers must learn to navigate incredibly complex decision making that is sensitive to the contexts in which they teach. Pace's (2019) cross-national examination of teacher educators who work in polarized settings to prepare novice teachers to lead controversial issues discussions

offers important insights and raises crucial questions about how to help novice teachers navigate the risky territory that they may be embarking on. In societies that are culturally, religiously, and socio-politically divided, teachers must learn to weigh questions such as whether to avoid the "risk of inflammatory speech" and/or "allow more extreme voices to be heard" (Pace, 2019, p. 255). Much more research is needed to get at the range of complex skills that teachers need to lead discussions.

Some recent work on leading open discussion in the history classroom demonstrates where future research on facilitating controversial issues discussions could go. These studies also illustrate the type of explicit instruction about discussion that is often lacking in teacher education programs. In a set of papers on preparing teachers to engage students in text-based discussions in the history classroom, Reisman et al. (2018, 2019) and Kavanagh et al. (2019) developed a framework for facilitating historical discussions, consisting of four practices: "(a) engaging K-12 students as sense-makers, (b) orienting K-12 students to each other, (c) orienting K-12 students to texts as sources of historical knowledge and evidentiary warrants, and (d) orienting K-12 students to the interpretive practices of the discipline" (p. 280). The first two parts of this framework help form the concept of discussion as a "collective inquiry" and not recitation (Bridges, 1988). The second two give purpose to the discussion, which in this case is deepening disciplinary knowledge (Kavanagh & Rainey, 2017). These researchers were studying a particular type of discussion, the purpose of which is "to build collective knowledge and allow students to practice listening, speaking, and engaging in historical interpretation" (p. 279). This is a discussion that would fall under Parker and Hess's (2001) label of a whole-class "seminar."

Reisman et al. (2018) found that novice teachers faced some common struggles when learning to facilitate. First, some candidates had trouble "engaging students as sensemakers" because they were not asking open, interpretive questions during discussion and instead resorted to asking recall questions (p. 284). Second, without open ended questions, students do not have opportunities to build on each other's ideas. Finally, novices had difficulty staying in what Reisman (2015) labels the "historical problem space." In other words, they were not able to raise the discussion to historical interpretation and argumentation. The researchers conclude by noting that the candidates did not receive explicit instruction on how to facilitate this higher level of discussion, because much of the methods courses in this study focused on planning and enacting lessons that used discussion. They hypothesize that more explicit instruction about facilitation moves that "are tied to disciplinary questions, concepts, and skills" may help develop this skill in novice teachers (p. 290). A later study shows that students became more proficient when they entered their field placements and had additional support for facilitating discussion (Reisman et al., 2019).

The research related to teacher education and learning to facilitate discussion shows that this is one of the most difficult skills for novice teachers to develop. It looks as if teachers can become competent in executing particular discussion strategies (SAC, fishbowls, etc.), but they often struggle to move from the activity to a larger discussion that allows for true argumentation. In part, this is because discussion requires improvisation—the teacher needs to be ready to respond to an idea (or help students to respond to each other) in a way that deepens the speaker's thinking and moves the discussion along for other students.

The research highlighted here focuses primarily on disciplinary reasoning and text-based discussions in the social studies classroom. There is more work to be done to investigate strategies that help students develop arguments (and not merely give reasons) within political discussions. More research on the effects of various discussion strategies (beyond seminar and SAC) would be helpful. Furthermore, it would be generative to explore how to develop argumentation skills in teachers. Part of good facilitation requires the teacher to get inside the arguments that students are giving and, on-the-fly, respond with a question that might provide a counterpoint, new piece of evidence, or identify a logical error. This requires some high-level thinking on the part of the teacher, and research could help the field learn how to develop these skills.

Outside of civic learning-focused PD, promising PD models (e.g., the National Writing Project, lesson study, and Learning Labs) that bring teachers together in community around content, students, and instructional practice may offer ideas that could be applied to supporting civic learning outcomes. The National Writing Project has been one of the most successful teacher networks to foster communities of educators coming together to develop as writers and as teachers of writing and ongoing learning together (Darling-Hammond et al., 2009; Lieberman & Wood, 2002).

Lesson study is another powerful tool for fostering teacher collaboration and learning. Originating in Japan and having been adapted in U.S. contexts (Darling-Hammond et al., 2009; Fernandez, 2002; Lieberman, 2009), lesson study includes teams of teachers collaborating on lesson planning, teaching and observing the lessons, reflecting together on the lessons' strengths and areas for improvement, and revising and teaching the lesson again. In the United States, one of the major benefits has been creating communities of practice and inviting others into one's classroom, thus changing professional norms of teaching (Lieberman, 2009). Lesson study has been used successfully to support and transform practice across content areas, including, for example, to scaffold teachers' increased use of authentic pedagogy with social issues over time (Kohlmeier et al., 2020).

Another PD model, Learning Labs, is also embedded in the school day and involves teams of teachers working to plan, enact, and reflect on teaching as they investigate aspects of teaching; however, Learning Labs do not focus on ideal or perfected lessons enacted by one teacher (Kazemi et al., 2018). Instead, Learning Labs involve teachers working together to enact a lesson as co-teachers by providing teachers with the opportunity to learn about some focal content together and then integrate it into a lesson that they immediately try out in a classroom with students. Learning Labs are structured around a "learning cycle" framework for teacher learning (McDonald et al., 2013; see University of Washington, n.d.)[5] in which teachers focus on a new area of learning—this may be content knowledge, student thinking or new understandings about students, or an instructional practice—and prepare to enact that new learning or integrate it into a lesson, co-teach that new learning in a live, supported environment with colleagues participating in PD, and analyze data gathered from the co-teaching of that new learning in preparation for teaching it again (e.g., examine video recording, samples of student work). Learning Labs challenge traditional norms of teaching in the

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[5] The Learning Cycle framework for teacher learning is also a core component of practice-based teacher education, which foregrounds learning instructional practices (or learning to do the work of teaching) in preservice teacher education while simultaneously focusing on equity, content, and students.

United States by offering tools and structures to encourage teachers to talk and think together about practice and students in each other's classrooms (e.g., "Teacher Time Outs") and to integrate new learning into classroom practice (Gibbons et al., 2017). Learning Labs originated in elementary mathematics and extended to science at the University of Washington (Thompson, 2017). Monte-Sano et al. are in the process of developing a model of Learning Labs for middle school social studies teachers learning to teach inquiry and argument writing with sources through their Teaching Reasoning and Inquiry Project in Social Studies, a Teachers as Learners project.

Contextual Factors as Supports and Barriers

In addition to the design of learning experiences for teachers, particular contextual factors likely support or impede teachers' focus on civic reasoning and discussion, deliberation, and debate. Access to high-quality curriculum materials created by professionals with deep content and pedagogical knowledge appears to support more expert instructional practice in social studies (e.g., Andolina & Conklin, 2020; Hess, 2009b; Reisman & Fogo, 2016). Standards that emphasize factual information and assessments that reinforce memorization of that information may work against teachers or at least create barriers for providing meaningful civic learning opportunities (Grant, 2001; Hess, 2009a), although such frameworks do not *have* to prevent teachers from doing this work (e.g., Parker et al., 2018).

Key Findings and Recommendations

Considering what is known about how to best prepare and support educators to help all students develop their civic reasoning and discourse capacities, there is a strong research base that outlines various domains for supporting educators. These domains include helping teachers gain an understanding of the social and political contexts in which they do their work, gain awareness of their subjectivities and own racial identity, develop goals and values that are consistent with civic reasoning and democratic ideals, and develop orientations toward students that help educators see the civic resources and experiences that students bring. Additionally, supporting educators involves attending to their orientations toward and knowledge of social studies content, helping them develop an awareness of dominant narratives and curricular silences, fostering their knowledge of pedagogy that supports civic reasoning and knowledge, and providing practice with enacting such instruction.

Research points to some suggested approaches for how to cultivate teachers' capacities, including providing educators with conceptual and practical tools, offering opportunities to engage in specific practices, focusing on student work and thinking, and engaging in high-quality professional development. We have gained important insights, for example, into how to support teachers in engaging in and leading deliberations and discussions of public controversial issues. There are also promising professional development models such as Learning Labs and lesson study that offer forms that PD could take.

While there is important research that has been done on helping educators learn to facilitate discussion of controversial issues and other forms of discussion, preparing

educators to cultivate students' civic reasoning is an area in need of further research. We need considerably more attention paid to the specific practices that support teachers in becoming skilled in implementing the complex practices that facilitate students' civic reasoning. We need more research that examines how to help teachers engage students who occupy unequal social positions with one another so that all students have opportunities to listen, speak, and be heard—and such research likely needs to address how teachers are prepared to examine their own social locations and subjectivities. Similarly, we need research that examines how teachers can be supported to foster students' empathy, their willingness to listen to others, and their examination of democratic values. It would also be fruitful for scholars to explore teachers' own roles as civic actors and agents of change—how they engage in their own civic reasoning, model these practices with students, and use their agency to navigate the systems within which they do their work.

Furthermore, in order to foster civic reasoning and discourse among all young people, scholars need to devote more attention to supporting teachers in what it means to do this work across varied grade levels and contexts. Much of the research in this area focuses on secondary teachers and teachers working in urban and suburban U.S. schools. As such, the education community would benefit from research that explores the support of teachers who are fostering civic reasoning in a range of contexts, such as in rural areas and across varying cultural, political, and national contexts (see Hahn, 2015; Pace, 2019). Furthermore, we need more scholarship that illuminates how to support elementary teachers aiming to engage younger children in consideration of and deliberation over how to live justly together.

In addition to the research that is needed in these areas, teachers also need access to high-quality curricular resources—which requires financial support—as well as substantial investments in time, funding, and district support to allow them to learn and practice new skills. In order for teachers to be able to engage in collaborative learning and planning, they need dedicated time available to participate in this work regularly, across time. Furthermore, school districts and states should attend to where and how such learning can occur through in-person, building, and district-level collaboration, as well as through the burgeoning opportunities made possible through online and virtual reality PD. Indeed, the COVID-19 crisis has highlighted new possibilities for online learning to connect civic educators in their collaboration and growth. Thus, districts must create policies and structures that enable such PD to take place, along with the substantial funding that makes such activity possible. These policies, structures, and funding, in turn, require policy action and advocacy at local, state, and federal levels.

CONCLUSION

Taken together, the body of research examined in this paper provides considerable evidence for practices that support the development of young people's civic reasoning while also pointing toward a rich terrain that warrants further exploration. Supporting the practices that are known to be generative and conducting additional research to deepen this work will require substantial investments—of time, advocacy, curricular resources, and financial support. Yet, perhaps like no other time in recent history, our democracy depends on continuing, expanding, and funding this vital work.

Recommendations for Practice

1. **Access to high quality civic practices and curriculum:** For students to develop civic reasoning, they must have access to high quality civic practices and curriculum. This means participating in classroom experiences that allow them to engage in construction of knowledge through inquiry-oriented instruction that leverages students' identities, background knowledge, and lived experiences. It also means access to diverse interests, viewpoints, and voices of all members of our society. Teachers should create access for students through careful planning and structuring of discussions, deliberations, and activities that help students engage with pluralism—and through curricula that offer such opportunities.
2. **Access to various sources of knowledge and multiple points of view:** Knowledge here is not limited to content (historical, civic, or otherwise). While content focused on the structures and functions of government is an important part of civic reasoning, students also need to be aware of multiple perspectives that depict past and current struggles of individuals and groups in society. At the same time, youth themselves hold important knowledge; their experiences can be used as civic curriculum.

   Similarly, teachers need to not only have knowledge of content but also pedagogy for how to structure and facilitate discussions, criticality, media literacy skills, authentic experiences, and student action. Both teachers and students need to develop socio-political awareness and racial literacy so that they can better understand and empathize with different perspectives that arise in the classroom. Furthermore, much of this knowledge should be constructed through facilitated dialogue rather than transferred.
3. **Development of agency through practical experiences:** Whether real or simulated, students need opportunities to experience what it means to be a part of the polity. Teachers should intentionally include these types of activities in their classrooms. With pedagogical practices that help students experience what it means to be civic actors, students will not only develop a better understanding of how politics works in real life, but also see themselves as part of the solution. By learning through doing, students can develop of a sense of agency and feel like their voice matters.
4. **Structured opportunities to engage students with authentic public issues:** Pedagogical practices that give students opportunities to engage with authentic controversies or contradictions that exist in society can help them examine and understand differing perspectives. Not only will students see that multiple perspectives exist on important societal issues, well-structured discussions of controversial issues and explicit instruction on deliberations may allow students to develop more empathy, listening skills, and a deeper understanding of the complexities of public life.
5. **Open classroom climate:** A key aspect of helping students engage with controversial issues or various pitfalls in our current system is to structure the classroom as a space where all students feel like they are able to openly share their ideas, even if they disagree with others in the classroom.

   This open-classroom climate can be achieved through community-building practices: the explicit use of structures and procedures that welcome and respect differing student perspectives, thoughtful interactions, and fairness of discussions. These protocols and processes need to be intentionally planned and should mitigate microaggressions and include basic rules of respect while making way for teachers to ask open-ended questions that leverage students as sense-makers.
6. **Development of criticality:** Given the current political climate, it is now more important than ever to help students develop skills that analyze information and experiences critically. This means utilizing pedagogical skills that help students develop critical and analytical skills associated with media literacy as well as a more reflective criticality toward how to create a more just and equitable society.

Intentional instruction on analyzing information should provide students with opportunities to examine existing systemic injustices while seeking more equitable solutions. To do so, teachers must also be critical of their own biases and develop their socio-political awareness.

7. **Balanced approach to cultivate students' understanding of ideal and reality:** Given that many of the Constitutional Principles students learn are ideals rather than reality, helping students engage in civic reasoning requires the teacher to balance these ideals with current realities.

This means teaching both about the inequities and injustices (i.e., systemic racism) that exist in our society, and the possibilities of a society where all people are created equal. Rather than focusing solely on past injustices or idealized versions of systems, teachers should help students understand how they can transform broken systems into more equitable and just versions.

8. **Understanding of self and others:** An important aspect of civic reasoning requires students and teachers to better understand their own perspectives, realities, and lived experiences, while at the same time seek to understand other's perspectives, realities, and experiences. The ways in which students' identities influence how they experience and engage civically means that teachers should create opportunities for students to hear different voices, see different perspectives, and experience different realities.

Intentional planning and explicit instruction on practices such as well-structured deliberations and discussions can help students develop this self-reflection and build empathy.

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Recommendations for Practice, Policy, and Research

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In Consultation with
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The goal of the National Academy of Education (NAEd) Civic Reasoning and Discourse initiative is to better prepare students to examine and discuss complex civic, political, and social issues by ensuring that the curricula, pedagogy, and learning environments that they experience are informed by the best available evidence and practice. This includes identifying opportunities to learn from well-established areas of interdisciplinary research on human learning and development, as well as current exemplars of instructional practice.

Civic reasoning and discourse skills are essential for students to develop as they prepare for citizenship, adulthood, and for becoming active members of the communities of which they are a part. Indeed, developing these civic capabilities is essential for the functioning of democracy itself. The subject of this report could not be more relevant as institutions and norms of democracy are increasingly being stress tested, as was tragically seen in the violent insurrection at the U.S. Capitol on January 6, 2021. In addition, political polarization, the proliferating use (and misuse) of social media,

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[1] In this final chapter, the authors present recommendations for practice, policy, and research, which are synthesized from materials in preceding chapters and in consultation and agreement with the steering committee.

Fundamental Questions Guiding the Report

- What are the cognitive, social, emotional, ethical, and identity dimensions entailed in civic reasoning and discourse, and how do these dimensions evolve? In particular, how do students develop an understanding of implicit bias and learn to weigh multiple points of view? How do educators understand the demands of conceptual change?
- What can we discover from research on learning and human development to cultivate competencies in civic reasoning and discourse and prepare young people as civic actors?
- What are the broader ecological contexts that influence the ability of our learning systems to support the development of these competencies? How do we create classroom climates and inquiry-oriented curricula that are meaningful to students' civic learning?
- In the context of schooling, what is the role of learning across content areas—social studies, geography, history, literacy/language arts, mathematics, and science—in developing multiple competencies required for effective civic reasoning and discourse? What are the pedagogical implications in these content areas?
- What supports are needed in terms of policy as well as in the preparation and professional development of teachers and school administrators to design instruction for effective civic reasoning and discourse that encourages democratic values and democratic decision making?

the spread of misinformation, and an erosion of public trust in democratic institutions, procedures, and principles present challenges for young people today as they navigate through information overload and learn to analyze competing claims. Of additional concern is the level of civic knowledge that has remained stagnant, with relatively low levels of student proficiency measured over the past two decades on the National Assessment of Educational Progress Civics Assessment (1998, 2006, 2010, 2014, 2018). Gaps based on race, ethnicity, and income are also present, highlighting the need to improve both access and quality of instruction for students from marginalized groups.

Despite these challenges, there is also reason for hope. Young people are finding and making their voices heard in debates, social movements, and other civic activities aimed at expanding the promise of liberty and equality for all. Students are also demonstrating individual and collective efficacy by addressing critical social problems affecting their generation and their communities on a range of issues from standing up to gun violence to building awareness of climate change.

All together, these realities underscore the centrality and importance for students to develop civic reasoning and discourse skills as part of their learning and development. In response to this need, the NAEd Civic Reasoning and Discourse initiative argues for a more robust and comprehensive form of civic reasoning and discourse education that goes beyond traditional civic education, government, and social studies classes that many students currently experience, if such classes are offered at all. It is important to note that the recommendations in this chapter are intended to be an enhancement to, not a replacement for, these classes. The authors believe that students must have a fundamental understanding of the history, values, and responsibilities of democracy and democratic processes to fulfill their civic roles (including electoral participation). They must learn to examine the complexities and conflicts of current and historical efforts to institutionalize democratic processes and values. This involves a wide range

of knowledge and dispositions involved in valuing complexity and the consideration of ethical dimensions of decision making.

The authors also recognize, however, that practice and research as they currently exist in more traditional forms of civic and democracy education are underdeveloped. To inform best practices, education researchers and practitioners need to draw insights from a broader disciplinary knowledge base to better understand how abilities in civic reasoning and discourse develop and what pedagogical practices are appropriate and suitable in various contexts. As such, one of the major contributions of this report is to connect basic research on student learning and what is entailed in learning the subject-matter disciplines to education in civic reasoning and discourse. The authors also believe in the centrality of inquiry and critical thinking skills that draw on a student's experiences, as well as developing empathy for others and the willingness to consider multiple points of view.

Developed under the guidance of an expert steering committee, this report provides a review and synthesis of current research, scholarship, and best practices to better understand the complexities involved in education for civic reasoning and discourse. In this concluding chapter, the authors outline a more comprehensive agenda, including recommendations for educational practice, policy, and further research.

Early in its work, the steering committee agreed on a shared definition of civic reasoning and discourse to guide the development of this report. The central question guiding the formulation of this definition concerns "What should we do?" and the "we" includes anyone in a group or community, regardless of their citizenship status. To engage in civic reasoning, one needs to think through a public issue using rigorous inquiry skills and methods to weigh different points of view and examine available evidence. Civic discourse concerns how to communicate with one another around the challenges of public issues in order to enhance both individual and group understanding. It also involves enabling effective decision making aimed at finding consensus, compromise, or in some cases, confronting social injustices through dissent. Finally, engaging in civic discourse should be guided by respect for fundamental human rights.

In addition to this shared definition of civic discourse and reasoning, the development of this report was guided by the following key propositions: (1) that learning to engage in civic reasoning and discourse is complex and should be addressed across the K–12 sector and across the curriculum; (2) that it needs to take into account the cognitive, social, emotional, ethical, and developmental demands of such learning; (3) that there is a need to situate the challenges of such teaching and learning in historical and ecological contexts; and (4) that preparing students with the knowledge, skills, and dispositions for civic reasoning and discourse is critical for their future civic, electoral, and community participation.

To operationalize its work, the steering committee identified key topics for working panels based on the current state of research in the field as well as the potential for new interdisciplinary linkages. These foci include (1) philosophical foundations and moral reasoning in civics; (2) learning sciences and human development (covering cognition and its relationship to identity, development across the life course, and implicit bias); (3) history of education for democratic citizenship; (4) agency and resilience in the face of challenge in education for civic action across ethnic communities; (5) ecological contexts; (6) learning environment, school climate, and other supports

for civic engagement; (7) digital literacy and the health of democratic practice; and (8) pedagogical practices and how teachers learn. Working panels were represented by leaders in each respective discipline and included emerging scholars (see Appendix A for steering committee, chapter authors, and panel members).

During the course of this project, input was also received from stakeholders and practitioners in the field of civic education during a 2-day workshop held in March 2020, an interactive virtual plenary session in November 2020, and through requested comments on earlier drafts of the chapters and recommendations included in this report (see Appendix B for workshop agendas and participant lists). The steering committee benefited from having this input along with material from the preceding chapters to inform the synthesis and development of key recommendations for practice, policy, and research.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PRACTICE, POLICY, AND RESEARCH

To prepare young people to engage in a complex civic problem space, they need to develop a body of knowledge, skills, values, and dispositions to become active and responsible civic agents. Students need an interdisciplinary knowledge base to critically engage in civic topics because real-world issues inevitably reflect multiple content areas in which students are learning. Development of empathy and dispositions to value complexity are additional important dimensions that prepare students to combat individual biases, acquire skills to participate in dialogue with those holding different points of view, and find compromises rooted in democratic ideals. These include engaging in moral reasoning, ethical concern for both the self and others, and identity commitments when considering multiple points of view and examining one's own assumptions.

As settings of learning and development, schools and other institutions also need to be cognizant of the larger societal contexts in which students live their daily lives in order to create a sense of belonging and connection. To do so, teachers and schools need to create learning environments that respect individuals' experiences, welcome all student voices, and structure opportunities for meaningful discussions. It is also critical to build on students' strengths and resiliencies to cultivate a sense of civic efficacy and for students to envision themselves as active civic participants. Finally, schools need to devote sufficient resources to creating innovative spaces for students where they can connect subject-matter content and other aspects of disciplinary knowledge to real-world issues in order to effectively develop civic efficacy and abilities to participate.

The following recommendations for practice, policy, and further research were carefully developed by the steering committee and reflect a synthesis of eight subpanels, whose work is reported in the preceding chapters in this report. These recommendations were also developed with insights from key stakeholders and educators who participated in public forums and provided invited comments. The authors recognize that the implementation of these comprehensive recommendations will be a challenging process, especially given the distributed nature of decision making in our republic, and perhaps involves the kind of civic reasoning and discourse among stakeholders that this report encourages.

Recommendations for Practice

I. Education for civic reasoning and discourse should integrate issues of identity development as well as moral and ethical development.

- The curriculum and learning environment that students experience should validate the unique life experiences of all students. Educators and parents should be aware that the perspectives and experiences of students are informed by cultural contexts, including the societal position of students and their families. This includes having an awareness that student learning can build on the intergenerational resiliencies and strengths embedded in the historical–cultural histories of their communities.
- Educators, policy makers, and parents should recognize that abilities for civic reasoning and discourse develops over time. For example, young children have the capacity for empathy, and elementary students' thinking about civic issues is personalized and based on everyday experiences. The abilities that students have to discuss social and ethical problems increase across the middle school years at which time students are able to discuss more complex scenarios and to reason more formally about civic dilemmas.
- Educators, policy makers, and parents should understand the importance and developmental necessity of discussing complex, challenging, and controversial civic and societal topics.
- Teaching civic reasoning and discourse should strive for both shared understanding as well as diversity in points of view in ways that reflect our pluralistic democracy. Teachers should engage the unique and overlapping identities that students bring to the classroom while also focusing on shared democratic values of society.
- Students should develop an understanding of the sovereign relationships between Indigenous Nations and the United States and the responsibilities of recognizing and upholding these relations. Students should further develop an understanding of relationships between the United States and its territories.
- Students should learn at least two ways of thinking about citizens and citizenship. Sometimes, these words define the legal status and rights of the members of a given political entity with articulated legal rights. Students should learn who has had legal citizenship rights and consider the fairness of such arrangements. These same words can also refer to active, responsive, and critical participation in any community in which people find themselves. The latter, more aspirational meaning informs this report and its recommendations.

II. Learning the complex demands of civic reasoning and discourse requires attention to self-examination of implicit bias, problems of conceptual change, and weighing multiple points of view.

- Students should cultivate an empathetic disposition to reflect on the needs, viewpoints, historical understandings, and cultural experiences of others with whom they might disagree. They should also develop a disposition to explore areas of compromise informed by democratic values and learn to disagree in ways that respect the dignity and humanity of others.

- Students should learn to identify and examine their own biases and social positions through pedagogical practices informed by research on implicit bias and the conditions that facilitate such examinations.
- Students should learn the role and mechanisms of dissent and redress in democracies.
- Students should be introduced to strategies for recognizing when bias is occurring in order to challenge preconceived ideas. Students should build an awareness that emotion-based "hot" cognition influences decision making. For example, this process involves how pre-existing attitudes and emotions influence their perceptions of and reactions to social and political issues as well as the types of information and media that they are likely to seek out.

III. **Civic learning should occur in classroom climates that are conducive to student discussion and engagement. Teachers should encourage student voice and engagement by respecting and drawing on diverse student experiences.**

- An open classroom climate makes explicit the need to show respect for others' opinions and cultivates spaces for discussion. Real-world issues should be presented using concrete examples to draw students into the discussion.
- Teachers should carefully plan discussions with explicit instructions and ground rules for effective participation that maximizes inclusivity.
- Schools and teachers should provide multiple ways and ample opportunities to participate in lessons and discussions. They also need to ensure the diversity and flexibility of instructional topics, material, and exercises that are relevant and meaningful to students' lived experiences.
- Teachers need to serve as role models and demonstrate how to engage in civic reasoning and discourse through teaching and facilitating group conversations and encouraging civic participation.

IV. **Education for civic reasoning and discourse should be taught through project-based, inquiry-oriented curricula and practices.**

- Teachers should guide students to identify, investigate, analyze, and discuss substantive questions and findings related to complex social issues or community concerns that are meaningful to them and consequential to their communities. Such pedagogical practices should avoid simplistic answers to complex questions, and students should also learn the particular histories and contexts of problems and issues.
- Students should learn to provide and analyze evidence for claims, discuss warrants for why evidence is credible, and anticipate potential counter claims.
- Students need to go through an iterative process of learning to develop their own points of view on public issues, including identifying the causes, consequences, and potential solutions to social problems and/or injustices. Teachers should support this *student driven* process and encourage students to identify, communicate, and advance their own informed perspectives.

V.   Learning to engage in civic reasoning and discourse should explicitly include strategies to help students gather, analyze, and thoughtfully circulate information in digital and other media, including identifying and combating misinformation.

- Schools should help students to develop the skills they need to engage with online information and communications. This also should include development of strategies such as lateral reading across multiple sources to analyze news media sources for credibility and potential information bias.
- Schools should also help students to develop the skills they need to participate in online communication in a safe and respectful manner. Students should be informed about how to manage their online presence as well as identify, address, and avoid online abuse, bullying, and other risky behaviors.
- Civic curricula should include attention to digital forms of civic engagement (e.g., ways to communicate thoughtful and impactful perspectives and ways to manage controversial interactions online).
- Students should develop skills to identify how vested interests, ideology, and discriminatory attitudes may be involved in information campaigns that seek to influence perceptions, attitudes, and action.

VI.   All of the core subject areas can contribute to the range of knowledge, skills, and dispositions that students need to develop in order to investigate problems that emerge in the public domain.

- Building on the vital role of social studies, other core subject areas offer deep learning opportunities for students to value complexity, examine multiple points of view, empathize with others, engage in ethical reasoning, and examine the reliability of sources of information. Each content area entails knowledge—conceptual, procedural, historical, epistemological, and ethical—that inevitably comes into play for students to tackle complex problems in the public domain. Repeated opportunities to learn in these areas across time and subject matters increase the transferability of civic reasoning and discourse skills to be applied across contexts and situations.

Civics-Related Classes (Including Social Studies and Government)

- Civic curricula should focus on in-depth content and conceptual knowledge of democratic practices and institutions related to local and national governance. This should include knowledge of the U.S. Constitutional framework and other democratic concepts and processes.
- Students should develop a comparative understanding of major political and economic systems. Conceptualizations and understandings of human rights both in the United States and globally should also be explored.
- Students should come to appreciate the right to vote and the necessity of getting information about candidates and issues before voting.
- Students should engage in actual democratic decision making at school. Simulations of democratic practices should also be explored for anticipated adult decision-making situations (e.g., town halls and organizational meetings).

Geography

- Students should develop basic geographical concepts and map skills, with both a national and global focus, that provide the knowledge foundation and perspectives needed to examine historical events and contemporary social issues.
- Students should understand how geographical factors can shape political and economic opportunities and challenges such as climate change.

History

- Historical knowledge and reasoning should be considered as an essential category of civic reasoning. It engenders contextual thinking, which requires people to investigate *how* and *why* things happened in the past, and better positions them to investigate the current events in depth.
- Students should develop skills in historical analysis of competing claims as well as the evaluation of source material (primary and secondary documents that may be part of the historical record or contemporary documents that provide us with insights—sometimes partial and sometimes biased—about historical actions and actors).
- Students should cultivate a sense that they are historical actors with a capacity for both individual and collective agency.
- The history curriculum should explore and challenge oppressive historical narratives, missing histories, and the persistence of inequities, especially those pertaining to non-dominant racial and ethnic groups as well as other marginalized populations. Students should also be aware of the progress that has been made by various groups over time, including the expansions of civil rights protections.

Literacy/Language Arts

- Advanced comprehension and production skills are necessary for students to reflect, analyze, discuss, and create complex texts. These are important given that many sources of information regarding issues in the public domain are text-based.
- Students should develop, make, and critique written and oral arguments. They should also develop, make, and critique multi-modal arguments that utilize multiple symbol systems encountered in digital environments.
- Students should develop skills in analyzing bias, point of view, accuracy of evidence used to support claims, and overgeneralization in rhetoric that they experience in the public domain.
- Students should explore literature across cultural traditions and historical time periods in order to enter worlds different from their own lived experiences and to understand how other communities have faced challenges and developed resiliencies. They should also explore literature reflecting their own unique cultures and historical challenges as resources for examining how current and personal dilemmas have been interrogated.

Mathematics

- Students should develop sufficient conceptual and procedural mathematical knowledge and habits of mind in order to frame, problematize, and critically examine claims made in the public arena that include mathematical data as evidence for claims.
- Students should acquire knowledge and skills in probabilistic reasoning, statistical inference, and interpreting mathematically-based representations such as data displays because such thinking is often employed when addressing problems in the civic domain.
- Students should develop computer science skills to analyze problems and understand how advanced modeling can address real-world problems. This includes understanding how algorithms in digital environments structure access and opportunity.

Science

- Students should cultivate an understanding of and respect for the explanatory power of science, including the values and propositions that shape the development of scientific knowledge and reasoning.
- Students should develop sufficient conceptual and critical inquiry skills in order to understand and evaluate claims and evidence that shape policies concerning scientific issues and society (e.g., public health and climate challenges).
- Students should develop effective skills for seeking out and analyzing reliable scientific sources, deliberating with different audiences in the public domain, and engaging in evidence-informed decision making.
- Students should develop an understanding of science as an institution as well as informed insights into its history and limitations. This includes how science is organized, regulated, and funded; the role of research vetting procedures and replication of findings; how ideologies may influence what is studied; and how science affects society.
- Students should build an awareness of and interest in contributing to citizen- and community-based science opportunities across the lifespan.

VII. Teachers and administrators should be effectively prepared to create high-quality civic learning opportunities that (a) are addressed across the curriculum, (b) build on the strengths and experiences of students, and (c) take students' developmental needs and trajectories into account.

- Ongoing professional development should be organized for teachers and administrators to learn about, implement, and reflect on their experiences in delivering the kind of civic learning opportunities discussed in this report. Professional development should model inquiry-oriented pedagogies with carefully planned and facilitated discussions.
- Professional development opportunities should address and assess how issues of identity are entailed in civic reasoning and discourse. Teachers and administrators should develop an understanding that students' identity development

is influenced by their experiences in the world. Teachers and administrators should also engage in self-reflection of their own identities, as these impact their teaching. These should be addressed both in teacher preparation programs and during ongoing professional development.

- Teacher preparation programs should recruit teacher candidates from different backgrounds to welcome diverse voices into the teacher workforce.
- Teachers and administrators should understand that engaging students in complex or controversial topics is important and necessary for their learning and development.
- Teachers and administrators should receive training in and tools for planning and facilitating student discussion of complex and/or controversial civic and social subjects across subject matters.
- In-service teachers should have sufficient planning and instruction time for collaborative opportunities to study how to engage students in civic reasoning and discourse within and across subject matters.

Recommendations for Policy

State and Local Standards

VIII. School systems should require courses in U.S. government and citizenship to be taught at both the middle school and high school levels.

- These courses should include studying and debating political processes and principles such as those found in the fundamental documents of democracy. They should also include historical grounding of how political processes, principles, and protections have evolved over time.
- Students should understand the process of free and fair elections along with other modes of citizens' participation.
- These courses should also address civic reasoning and discourse as discussed in this report.
- School systems should encourage multiple opportunities across the K–12 spectrum for students to engage in civic learning, particularly in ways that build on their personal and community knowledge and experiences. Schools should consider expanding these courses to be taught in a full academic year.

IX.   State and district standards for civic learning should (a) address the whole curriculum, (b) focus on project-based, inquiry-oriented curricula and practices, (c) build on the strengths and experiences of diverse students, and (d) be developmentally appropriate.

- Standards should address more than traditional civic knowledge. They should articulate the multiple dimensions of knowledge and dispositions required to engage in civic reasoning and discourse.
- Standards should address opportunities within and across subject matters to cultivate the development and transferability of civic reasoning and discourse skills across contexts and situations.

- Standards at the state and district levels should be written with coherence, manageability, and interdisciplinary connections in mind to avoid becoming an accumulated list of disjointed topics.
- State and district standards should include (a) explicit discussion of complex and controversial societal issues, and (b) the contributions of and challenges faced by groups based on minoritized statuses.
- Standards should require guidance for discussing controversial issues, protecting students' free expression, and teaching the difference between free expression and speech that harms the humanity, dignity, and safety of others.
- Standards should be designed in a developmentally appropriate way to ensure that the complexity of constructs and issues addressed in civics curricula are aligned with students' increasing abilities to reason about civic dilemmas across grade levels.

Funding and Resources

X. **Federal government, states, and districts should ensure that adequate funding and resources are available to develop, implement, and evaluate the high-quality, whole curriculum approach to civic reasoning and discourse described in this report.**

- Federal government, states, and districts should fund the development of high-quality resources produced by cross-disciplinary teams representing the range of expertise reflected in the recommendations of this report.
- School districts and schools should have sufficient funding and access to models for facilitating student discussion of complex and controversial topics.
- Federal government, states, and districts should fund professional development opportunities for teachers and administrators to develop, enact, and assess civic learning across the whole curriculum utilizing inquiry-oriented pedagogies.
- Professional development opportunities should also be funded to develop, enact, and assess the framework for learning articulated in this report.

XI. **Research infrastructures and incentives should be developed to generate up-to-date data on teaching and learning in the area of civic reasoning and discourse, including (a) conducting a prioritized review and revision of existing content frameworks and background questionnaires for the National Assessment of Educational Progress in civics and history; and (b) re-establishing and supporting participation by the United States (or individual states) in the International Civic and Citizenship Education Studies conducted by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA).**

- The National Assessment Governing Board (NAGB) currently plans to test civics and history in 2022 and 2025 at grade 8 using the existing frameworks and assessments. Assessment of civics and history at grades 4 and 12 (in addition to grade 8) is not scheduled until 2029, with reviews of the existing frameworks occurring prior to that administration. NAGB should prioritize

a review of the existing content frameworks for civics and history with consideration toward the inclusion of measures on civic reasoning, discourse, and engagement detailed in this report as early as possible. Relevant areas to be addressed include the ability to engage in deliberative discussions in ways that value complexity and differing points of view as well as the ability to examine the reliability of evidence and sources. The assessments should cover these areas while retaining sufficient items to assess trends in other civic-related areas. This review should include an examination of the student and teacher background questionnaires to gather information on opportunities that students have for acquiring civic reasoning and discourse skills (especially perceptions of classroom and school climates that encourage civic learning and participation).

- The U.S. Department of Education should support opportunities for national participation in the IEA International Civic and Citizenship Education Studies by either (1) supporting testing of a representative sample of students in the United States, or by (2) facilitating benchmarking participation by individual states. National participation could allow for the inclusion of measures closely aligned with civic reasoning and discourse skills in these tests that are administered to nationally representative samples or students across multiple countries.
- Institutions and agencies that conduct other national surveys, including longitudinal assessments, should explore opportunities to gather data on the role of students' abilities in civic reasoning and opportunities to practice civic discourse.
- Foundations and government agencies should be encouraged to establish grant programs to support research on the processes and challenges of enhancing civic reasoning and discourse of the type envisioned in this report as well as the development of methodological approaches to conduct research on these areas.

Role of Associations

XII. Professional organizations of educators and discipline-based educational organizations should engage in dialogue both within and across organizations to consider and articulate how they could contribute to civic learning, reasoning, and discourse across the curriculum and lifespan.

- Discipline-based educational organizations are encouraged to explore opportunities for dialogue within their memberships and constituencies on how to improve student abilities in civic reasoning and discourse. This includes both educational associations organized around subject-matter learning in particular disciplines as well as those engaged in research on education and development more broadly.
- Educational organizations should further explore topics addressed in this report through meetings with relevant sub-groups, presentations to the membership at annual meetings/workshops, and additional publications (especially directed to teachers and those who provide pre-service preparation).

Recommendations for Future Research

Curriculum and learning environments for high-quality civic reasoning and discourse education

- Further research in human learning and development as well as research on learning in the academic disciplines is needed to guide and evaluate the expansion of civic reasoning and discourse throughout the whole curriculum.
- Research is needed to more deeply understand interpersonal, affective, and ethical aspects of civic learning and instruction (empathy, perspective taking, and attitudes toward democratic values).
- Researchers should examine the conditions that facilitate learning to navigate difference and dissent as productive resources for expansive learning and effective decision making. This includes examining the pedagogical practices that facilitate such conditions as key features of classroom instruction.

Role of identity development in learning to engage in civic reasoning and discourse

- Researchers should further examine the role of student identities—along multiple dimensions—as these are entailed in (a) engagement in civic reasoning and discourse instruction, and (b) in developing a sense of individual and collective agency.
- Researchers need to pay increased attention to the opportunities and challenges presented by out-of-school environments for students' civic learning.
- Researchers should explore the integration of research on social and emotional learning into models of learning for civic reasoning and discourse.

Civic reasoning and discourse in digital spaces

- Researchers need to conduct rigorous investigation of the pedagogical practices that focus on the development of digital literacy skills, including those that focus on student safety, combating misinformation, and developing skills in identifying and challenging racist, ultra-partisan, and other manipulative and rhetorical messages.

Teacher preparation and teacher learning

- Teacher preparation needs to be informed by further research on the knowledge, skills, and dispositions that teachers need to implement the recommendations for practice discussed in this report in developmentally appropriate ways. Key research areas include:
  - Cognitive, epistemological, emotional, and ethical dimensions of civic reasoning and discourse;
  - Breadth of content knowledge relevant to civic issues, both current and historical;
  - Challenges of conceptual change and implicit bias; and
  - Pedagogical practices that prepare students to engage in this broad conception of civic reasoning and discourse in ways that promote a sense of safety and self-efficacy.
- Administrators need to be informed by further research on the knowledge and skills that they need to create conditions in schools and districts that support the ongoing learning of teachers in implementing the recommendations for practice

discussed in this report. Administrators include leaders at the levels of state boards of education, district leadership, and school-level leadership.

- Researchers should focus on investigating the opposition to discussing controversial topics based on a community's sociopolitical context. This includes factors that contribute to deep oppositions and underlying principles that can facilitate stakeholders' abilities to engage in reasoning around these points of contestation.

Assessment

- Assessments currently in use in schools typically target only cognitive knowledge. Research should support additional measures of and efforts to develop assessments of epistemology (e.g., valuing knowledge as simple or complex) and of ethics (e.g., knowledge entailed in ethical reasoning). However, this must be explored in expansive ways so as not to privilege any particular orientation beyond a commitment to democratic values.
- Further research is needed to conceptually and methodologically examine how to design assessments of skills and dispositions relevant to civic reasoning and discourse that go beyond content knowledge.
- Further research is needed to examine how to synthesize across broad and large-scale assessments as well as longitudinal data bases that offer insights into opportunities to learn this breadth of knowledge and dispositions.

Young people are developmentally ready and eager to take on their roles and responsibilities as civic agents. The recommendations in this report seek to create learning environments that are meaningful to students and draw from the strengths and resiliencies from their lived experiences.

The authors of this report recognize that not all students currently have the opportunities to receive high quality civic education. All stakeholders, including federal and state governments, districts and schools, teachers, families, and communities, need to work together toward improving students' abilities in civic reasoning and discourse, as well as improving the ways in which educators prepare youth to fully participate in, preserve, and advance our democracy and our democratic institutions.

As the authors wrote this report, the United States was grappling with several overlapping crises, which along with the unknown crises of the future make clear the imperative to prepare our next generation with the civic reasoning and discourse skills to answer the central question: "What should we do?"

The ability to dialogue with individuals who differ from us and to work together to confront our current and future challenges has been both facilitated and disrupted by the advancement of information technology. On the one hand, advances in information technology make possible the ability to access, generate, analyze, and communicate a broad range of information on pressing social issues. These advances also allow people to learn about and communicate with those beyond their immediate spheres, whether in service to learning about diverse cultures or to maintain diasporic ties. However, information technology has also led to increased polarization fueled by self-reinforcing social networks and media ecosystems based on similarity, with the potential for biased and misleading information and narratives shared and exchanged within them. It is important to keep in mind that we must address both the dangers and opportunities

of these technological transformations as students navigate these and other social and ecological changes that lie ahead. It is also important to recognize the power of civic reasoning and discourse to guide public action as groups with competing views work through differences, address critical issues, and participate in the electoral process. Together, we can ensure the future functioning of our democracy.

BOX R-1
Other Initiatives Addressing Civic Challenges

Other important recent initiatives in the civic education space that complement the work of this report include:

- The *Educating for American Democracy* (*EAD*) report and roadmap identify high priority civics content areas, provide recommendations for integrating the teaching of civics and history across K–12, and highlight best practices for civic instruction. It is a joint effort of iCivics, the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics at Harvard University, the School of Civic and Economic Thought and Leadership at Arizona State University, and Tufts University's Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning and Engagement and Jonathan M. Tisch College of Civic Life.
- The white paper on *Equity in Civic Education*, published by Generation Citizen and iCivics, calls for policies in support of high-quality civic education across states as well as enhanced partnerships with school districts and researchers to better facilitate and develop civics curricula and instruction.
- The National Council for the Social Studies *College, Career, and Citizenship (C3) Framework for Social Studies State Standards* provides guidance for states and practitioners to enhance their social studies programs, specifically in the areas of civics, economics, geography, and history. The framework is organized along an inquiry arc of four dimensions: developing questions and planning inquiries; applying disciplinary tools and concepts; evaluating sources and using evidence; and communicating conclusions and taking informed action.
- The American Academy of Arts & Sciences report *Our Common Purpose: Reinventing American Democracy for the 21st Century* provides strategies and recommendations that aim to improve the resilience of the American democracy. The report also calls for an expansion in opportunities and funding for young people to engage in national service as well as increased investment in civic educators and education to ensure civic learning across the lifespan and to prepare citizens with skills in debate and argument.

EPILOGUE

When Carol Lee introduced this issue of preparing youth for civic reasoning, discourse, and engagement at the annual meeting of NAEd in November 2016, none of us could have predicted the predicaments with which we would wrestle in 2020 and into 2021. Certainly the underlying inequalities around access to health care, the persistence of racism, and even the depth of political divisions were clear back in 2016. It is the case that the worldwide COVID-19 pandemic has exacerbated these inequalities and their impacts on the lives of so many, and in particular to minoritized populations and those living in persistent inter-generational poverty. The economic impacts on the middle class, including small business owners, of restrictions imposed to protect the public from the impact of the virus have also positioned people who never thought they would stand in lines for food to suffer as well.

Yet, what is so frightening about this convergence of pandemics (the public health crisis, the economic impacts, public displays of racism, and climate change) is how extreme views and acceptance of conspiracy theories have become such a part of the public space, as seen at the U.S. Capitol insurrection on January 6, 2021:

- An insurrectionist crowd invading the Capitol, with some carrying the war flag of the southern confederacy;
- Men wearing sweatshirts that said "Camp Auschwitz" with the letters 6MNE (6 million not enough);
- Members of Congress going against congressional rules by bringing guns into the Capitol with them and refusing to go through metal detectors installed after the Capitol invasion;
- The acceptance by millions of Americans of claims that the 2020 election was fraudulent and stolen, which were espoused by elected representatives to the House and the Senate, despite more than 60 dismissed court claims, including from the U.S. Supreme Court, and despite investigation of voting in states that show no evidence of widespread fraud;
- The refusal by members of the Congress to wear masks as they interact in public meetings with their colleagues; and
- Armed militia and groups of citizens protesting and initiating cases in the courts across the nation that wearing masks in the midst of this pandemic goes against their First Amendment rights.

In public, highly educated people are seen who advocate these claims and actions as well as identify with illogical conspiracy theories among certain politicians, business people, former members of the military, and some police officers.

The authors raise these current deep challenges for several reasons. First, they argue in this report about the importance of knowledge, and not just knowledge of history and political systems, but also knowledge of the content domains that students study in school (e.g., literacy, literature, mathematics, and science). The expansion of relevant civics knowledge beyond history and the social studies is one important contribution of this report. For example, there are important content knowledge dimensions to wrestling with how to address protecting the public from the spread of the virus alongside the needs of businesses, particularly small businesses, to survive through the pandemic.

However, the examples cited above strongly support the proposition that there are other dimensions of reasoning that are essential to develop in young people if we are moving forward to wrestle with these current challenges, understanding that some version of them will arise again. It is clear that rationality alone is not sufficient to understand what leads human beings to engage in the practices described above. This is not about one's political orientation, Republican or Democrat, progressive or conservative. One can see this in the positions taken by members of the public, including politicians at all levels of government, who have gone beyond the parameters of their strict political affiliations. These challenges point to the importance of developing dispositions of empathy for the other, of considering multiple points of view, of rejecting simplistic solutions to complex problems, of examining one's own biases, and of commitments to democratic principles rooted in the fundamental belief in the human rights of all peoples, ethical dimensions of non-negotiable beliefs about right and wrong, despite one's sole self-interest. These dimensions of knowledge and dispositions cannot be cultivated in a single civics or U.S. history course or, for that matter, a single course focused on literacy or science. Opportunities to develop this range of knowledge and dispositions can only be addressed in the universal sphere of public education as an agreed-on public good. Additionally, there must be broader ecological supports for developing both the capacity and the will to provide broad-scale supports for youth and for those who work with them to develop the capacity to do this work.

Our democracy depends on this.

Biographical Sketches of
Steering Committee Members and Authors

Thea Renda Abu El-Haj is a professor and the chair of education at Barnard College, Columbia University, and affiliated faculty in the anthropology of education program at the Teachers College. Dr. Abu El-Haj is an anthropologist of education and the former president of the Council on Anthropology and Education of the American Anthropological Association. For the past two decades, Dr. Abu El-Haj's research has explored questions about belonging, rights, citizenship, and education raised by globalization, transnational migration, and conflict. She is currently working on two projects. In a 2018 article titled Fifi the Punishing Cat and Other Civic Lessons from a Lebanese Public Kindergarten, published in the *Journal on Education in Emergencies*, she and her colleagues write about their longitudinal collaborative ethnographic study of public kindergartens in Beirut, Lebanon, focusing on the hidden curriculum of civic education that emerges in the context of conflict and refugee policy. With the support of the Spencer Foundation, she is the principal investigator of a recently completed national focus group study exploring the civic identities and civic practices of youth from American Muslim immigrant communities and their experiences growing up in the post 9/11 United States. Her second book, an ethnographic account of young Palestinian Americans grappling with questions of belonging and citizenship in the wake of September 11, 2001, won the 2016 American Educational Studies Association Critics' Choice Book Award (*Unsettled Belonging: Educating Palestinian American Youth After 9/11*, University of Chicago Press, 2015). Other publications about this research have appeared in *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*; *Curriculum Inquiry*; *Educational Policy*; *Harvard Educational Review*; *Theory Into Practice*; and the *Review of Research in Education.* Her first book, *Elusive Justice: Wrestling with Difference and Educational Equity in Everyday* Practice (Routledge, 2006), offers a critical account of the range of justice claims at play inside real schools, exploring several different, important dimensions of educational equity that are often ignored in contemporary educational policy debates.

James D. Anderson is the dean of the College of Education, the Edward William and Jane Marr Gutgsell Professor of Education, and an affiliate professor of history, African American studies, and the College of Law at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. His scholarship focuses broadly on the history of U.S. education, with a subfield on the history of African American education. His book, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860–1935* (The University of North Carolina Press, 1988), won the American Educational Research Association (AERA) Outstanding Book Award in 1990. Dr. Anderson was elected to the National Academy of Education in 2008. In 2012, he was selected as a fellow for Outstanding Research by AERA and received the Lifetime Achievement Award from the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education. In 2013, he was selected as a Center for Advanced Study Professor of Education at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. From 2006 to 2016, Dr. Anderson served as the senior editor of the *History of Education Quarterly*. He served as an adviser for and participant in the PBS documentaries *School: The Story of American Public Education* (2001), *The Rise and Fall of Jim Crow* (2002), *Forgotten Genius* (2007), and *Tell Them We Are Rising*: *The Story of Black Colleges and Universities* (2018). In 2016, he was awarded AERA's Palmer O. Johnson Award for best article. In 2019, he was awarded the IMPACT award from the Bruce D. Nesbitt African American Cultural Center at the University of Illinois. AERA awarded him a Presidential Citation in 2020, its highest award. Additionally, in 2020, Dr. Anderson was sworn into the Board of Trustees at Stillman College in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, and inducted into the Stillman College Educator Hall of Fame.

Megan Bang (Ojibwe and Italian descent) is currently serving as the senior vice president at the Spencer Foundation and is a professor of both the learning sciences and psychology at Northwestern University. Dr. Bang studies dynamics of culture, learning, and development with a focus on the complexities of navigating multiple meaning systems in an effort to create more effective and just learning environments, with a specific focus on science, technology, engineering, arts, and mathematics education. Dr. Bang has examined educator learning across career stages and the transformative forms of pedagogical practice. She is currently designing and studying teaching and learning about complex socio-ecological systems and their intersections with power and historicity. She often utilizes participatory methods to design and study both formal and informal learning environments and she has decades of experience designing learning with Indigenous communities that aim to transform the historical legacies and colonial conditions of education. This has meant that her work has aimed to cultivate new models and possibilities for education. Dr. Bang serves on the Board of Science Education at the National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, as well as the National Science Foundation's Education and Human Resources Advisory Committee and the Advisory Committee for Environmental Research and Education.

James A. Banks is the Kerry and Linda Killinger Endowed Chair in Diversity Studies Emeritus at the University of Washington, Seattle. He was the Russell F. Stark University Professor at the University of Washington from 2000 to 2006 and the founding director of the Center for Multicultural Education from 1992 to 2018, which has been renamed the Banks Center for Educational Justice. Dr. Banks is a past president of the American Educational Research Association (AERA) and the National Council for

the Social Studies. He is a member of the National Academy of Education and a fellow of AERA. Dr. Banks is a specialist in social studies education and multicultural education and has written or edited more than 20 books and 100 articles in these fields. His books include *An Introduction to Multicultural Education* (6th edition, Pearson, 2019), and *Diversity, Transformative Knowledge, and Civic Education: Selected Essays* (Routledge, 2020). His edited books include *Encyclopedia of Diversity in Education* (4 volumes, SAGE Publications, Inc., 2012), and *Citizenship Education and Global Migration: Implications for Theory, Research, and Teaching*, an AERA publication (2017). Dr. Banks is the editor of the Multicultural Education Series of books published by Teachers College Press, Columbia University. Research and publications by Dr. Banks have been widely recognized and honored. He has received honorary degrees from six colleges and universities, including the University of California, Los Angeles, Medal, and is a recipient of the Annual Faculty Lectureship at the University of Washington, the Social Justice in Education Award from AERA, the Distinguished Career Research Award from the National Council for the Social Studies, and the Lifetime Achievement Award from the National Association for Multicultural Education.

Carolyn Barber is a professor of educational research and psychology and the interim dean and Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation/Missouri Endowed Faculty Chair at the University of Missouri-Kansas City (UMKC) School of Education. She joined the faculty of UMKC in 2007 after completing her Ph.D. in human development (specialization in educational psychology) at the University of Maryland, College Park. Her research explores the ways that schools can support positive development in adolescents and young adults, and how those supports vary across social and cultural contexts. She has particular interest in the role such contexts play in the development of civic attitudes and behaviors. A quantitative methodologist by training, Dr. Barber specializes in the use of complex-sample and multilevel techniques to address these questions using large-scale survey data. Her research has been funded by the Spencer Foundation, the National Endowment for the Arts, and the National Science Foundation. She serves on the editorial boards of several journals focused on educational psychology and applied developmental psychology.

Nancy Beadie is a professor and the chair of educational foundations, leadership, and policy in the College of Education and adjunct professor in the Department of History in the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Washington. She is a fellow of the American Educational Research Association (AERA) and served as the senior editor of *History of Education Quarterly* from 2015–2020. Her current book project, *Paramount Duty of the State,* focuses on the historical significance of education as a matter of state and federal policy in the United States. Her previous book, *Education and the Creation of Capital in the Early American Republic* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), won the Outstanding Book Award from the History of Education Society. She has also written extensively on the history of higher schooling and on the history of women in education, work for which she has twice won the History of Education Society Best Article Prize. Other publications include essays on the rise of national educational systems in North America for the *Oxford Handbook of the History of Education*, edited by John Rury and Eileen Tamura (Oxford University Press, 2019), and another on federal education

policy and the rise of social science research in the centennial anniversary volume of the *Review of Research on Education* (AERA, 2016). Dr. Beadie has also served as the president of the U.S. History of Education Society and as the vice president of the AERA for Division F (History and Historiography).

Michelle J. Bellino is an assistant professor at the University of Michigan School of Education. Her research centers on the intersections between education and youth civic development, with particular attention paid to contexts impacted by armed conflict and forced displacement. She explores how experiences with violence, asylum, and peace and justice processes across diverse settings influence young people's participation in schools and society, future aspirations, and educational access and inclusion. In her work, she traces youth experiences from schools to their homes and communities in order to understand how knowledge and attitudes toward historical (in)justice travel across public and private spaces, as well as between generations. She draws on ethnographic methods and youth participatory action research to ask how young people construct understandings of justice and injustice while shaping an evolving sense of themselves as local and global civic actors. She is the author of *Youth in Postwar Guatemala: Education and Civic Identity in Transition* (Rutgers University Press, 2017) and the co-editor (with J. H. Williams) of *(Re)constructing Memory: Education, Identity, and Conflict* (Sense, 2017). Her work has been featured in *Harvard Educational Review*; *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*; and *Comparative Education Review*. She has been recognized as a Peace Scholar by the United States Institute of Peace and a postdoctoral fellow of the Spencer Foundation. Her book *Youth in Postwar Guatemala* (Rutgers University Press, 2017) won the Council on Anthropology and Education's Outstanding Book Award in 2018.

Bryan McKinley Jones Brayboy (Lumbee) is the President's Professor in the School of Social Transformation at Arizona State University (ASU). At ASU, he is the vice president of social advancement, senior advisor to the president, director of the Center for Indian Education, and co-editor of the *Journal of American Indian Education*. From 2007 to 2012, he was the visiting President's Professor of Indigenous education at the University of Alaska Fairbanks. He is a fellow of the American Educational Research Association and a member of the National Academy of Education. His scholarship is at the intersections of education, Indigenous studies, law, and policy, where he explores the ways that Indigenous knowledge systems engage and are engaged by institutions of higher education. He has been a visiting and noted scholar in Australia, Canada, and New Zealand. He received his B.A. from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and his master's degree and Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania.

Zoë Burkholder is the professor of educational foundations at Montclair State University, specializing in the history of school desegregation, educational equality, and anti-racist education. She is the founding director of the Holocaust, Genocide, and Human Rights Education Project. Dr. Burkholder is the author of *An African American Dilemma: A History of School Integration and Civil Rights in the North* (Oxford University Press, 2021), *Integrations: The Struggle for Racial Equality and Civic Renewal in Public Education* (University of Chicago Press, 2021, with Lawrence Blum), and *Color in the Classroom:*

How American Schools Taught Race, 1900–1954 (Oxford University Press, 2011), as well as numerous scholarly articles and political commentaries.

Adria Carrington is a retired Chicago Public Schools social studies teacher, former history department chairperson at one of the top 10 high schools in the nation, master teacher, mentor, educational consultant, and entrepreneur. Much of Ms. Carrington's work highlights the roles of marginalized groups in shaping the human narrative, especially that of U.S. history. She is currently working on an African-centered social studies curriculum for middle school and high school students. Her work includes the design of lessons that address reading strategies to help students make sense of complex texts, and strengthen inquiry methods, reasoning, and critical thinking skills. She is a strong advocate of project-based learning. Ms. Carrington has collaborated with educational researchers and teachers on the Project Reading, Evidence, and Argumentation in Disciplinary Instruction (project READI). Currently, she is collaborating on the Sensemaking in the Disciplines project, which focuses on critical skills required to examine literary and historical (primary and secondary sources) texts. These include both generic and discipline-specific skills and strategies.

Christopher H. Clark is an assistant professor of secondary education in the Department of Teaching, Leadership, and Professional Practice at the University of North Dakota. His research blends theories and approaches from political science, psychology, and communications to focus on how students and teachers think about politics, news media, and civic life. Currently, Dr. Clark is studying social studies teachers' perceptions and use of news media in the classroom, as well as teachers' thinking about teaching current events and controversial issues. His work has appeared in venues such as *Educational Researcher*, *Harvard Educational Review*, and *Theory & Research in Social Education*. He is currently collaborating with the Indigenous History and Literacy Project at Northeastern State University in Oklahoma to design lessons that incorporate Indigenous-authored primary sources into secondary U.S. history courses. Prior to academia, Dr. Clark taught psychology, history, current events, and philosophy at the high school level.

Hilary G. Conklin is a professor of teacher education and directs the secondary education program at DePaul University. Her research explores the design of teacher preparation experiences, the impact of these experiences on teachers' practices and their students' learning, and youth learning from civic education. A recipient of a National Academy of Education/Spencer Postdoctoral Fellowship, she has published her scholarship in journals including the *American Educational Research Journal*, *Harvard Educational Review*, *Teachers College Record*, *Elementary School Journal*, and *Journal of Teacher Education*, and has authored chapters in *Studying Teacher Education: The Report of the American Educational Research Association Panel on Research and Teacher Education* (Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2005) and the *Handbook of Research on Teacher Education* (3rd edition, Routledge, 2008). She has also written about her research in op-eds published in *The Atlantic*, *Time*, and *The Washington Post*. Before coming to DePaul, she was on the faculty at the University of Georgia. She is a former middle and high school social studies teacher and a graduate of Swarthmore College (B.A.), Brown University (M.A.T.), and the University of Wisconsin–Madison (Ph.D.).

Cati V. de los Ríos is an assistant professor of literacy, reading, and bi/multilingual education at the University of California, Berkeley's Graduate School of Education. She is a former Spanish, English language development, and ethnic studies high school teacher. Her research on Latinx youth civic and translingual literacies has been recognized by the Spencer Foundation and National Academy of Education (dissertation and postdoctoral fellowships), as well as the Ford Foundation (dissertation and postdoctoral fellowships). Professor de los Ríos is the recipient of several national awards including the Promising Researcher Award from the National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE); Alan C. Purves Award from NCTE; Janet Emig Award from NCTE; Early Career Achievement Award from the Literacy Research Association (LRA); and Arthur Applebee Award for Excellence in Research on Literacy from LRA. Her recent scholarship has been published in *Harvard Educational Review*; *Reading Research Quarterly*; *Journal of Literacy Research*; *Research in the Teaching of English*; and *Learning, Media and Technology*.

Dian Dong is a senior program officer at the National Academy of Education, where she guides and develops research programs and initiatives aimed at advancing high-quality research for use in policy and practice. She has an academic and research background in social psychology, program evaluation, and economic and political development. She holds an M.P.A. from Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs and a B.A. in sociology from the University of Maryland, College Park.

Sarah Warshauer Freedman is Professor of the Graduate School at the University of California, Berkeley. Her international studies have examined how schools can help youth navigate societal divisions, especially after major national and multinational conflicts, including wars and genocides. She has focused on how divisions relate to young people's civic engagement and their sense of social responsibility. She also has studied how young people learn to write and use writing to learn, with a focus on how social context affects their opportunities, motivation, and achievement. At Berkeley, Dr. Freedman directed the National Center for the Study of Writing and Literacy from 1985 to 1996, founded and directed the Multicultural Urban Secondary English master's and credential program, and has worked with the National Writing Project on both research and teacher development. A recipient of the 2020 Steve Witte Lifetime Achievement Award from the American Educational Research Association Special Interest Group in Writing and Literacies, she has received awards for her books and articles, including *Response to Student Writing* (NCTE, 1987), *Exchanging Writing, Exchanging Cultures* (Harvard University Press, 1994), and *Inside City Schools* (Teachers College Press, 1999, with Elizabeth Simons, Julie Kalnin, Alex Casareno, and the M-CLASS Teams). She is a member of the National Academy of Education, a fellow of the American Educational Research Association and the National Conference on Research in Language and Literacy. She has worked with the United Nations on education and social conflict, has been a fellow three times at the Stanford Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, and was a resident at The Rockefeller Foundation's Bellagio Center.

Antero Godina Garcia is an assistant professor in the Graduate School of Education at Stanford University. He studies how technology and gaming shape youth learning,

literacy practices, and civic identities. Prior to completing his Ph.D., Dr. Garcia was an English teacher at a public high school in South Central Los Angeles. His two most recent research studies explore learning and literacies in tabletop roleplaying games like Dungeons & Dragons and how participatory culture shifts classroom relationships and instruction. Based on his research, Dr. Garcia co-designed the Critical Design and Gaming School—a public high school in South Central Los Angeles. His recent books include *Everyday Advocacy: Teachers who Change the Literacy Narrative* (Norton Professional Books, 2020); *Good Reception: Teens, Teachers, and Mobile Media in a Los Angeles High School* (The MIT Press, 2017); and *Compose Our World: Project-Based Learning in Secondary English Language Arts* (Teachers College Press, 2021). Dr. Garcia received his Ph.D. in the Urban Schooling division of the Graduate School of Education & Information Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles.

Kris D. Gutiérrez is the Carol Liu Professor in the Graduate School of Education at the University of California, Berkeley. She brings expertise in the learning sciences, literacy, educational policy, and qualitative and design-based approaches to inquiry. Dr. Gutiérrez is an elected member of the National Academy of Education and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, a member of the board of directors of the National Academy of Education and the International Society of the Learning Sciences, and the past president of the American Educational Research Association (AERA). Dr. Gutiérrez held a presidential appointment from President Obama to the National Board for Education Sciences, where she served as the vice chair. Dr. Gutiérrez's research employs a critical approach to the learning sciences and to cultural historical activity theory by examining the cultural dimensions of learning in designed learning environments with attention to students and families from non-dominant and translingual communities. For example, her work on "third spaces" examines the affordances of syncretic approaches to literacy and learning, new media literacies, science, technology, engineering, and mathematics learning, and the re-mediation of functional systems of learning. Her work in social design–based experiments foregrounds the historical, political, and ethical dimensions of design research and theories of learning. Dr. Gutiérrez developed this new design methodology as a democratizing form of inquiry that seeks to make the design experimentation process a co-construction between different institutional stakeholders and communities. Dr. Gutiérrez's research has been published widely in premier academic journals and she is a co-author of *Learning and Expanding with Activity Theory* (Cambridge University Press, 2009). Dr. Gutiérrez has won numerous awards, including the AERA Division C Sylvia Scribner Award for influencing the field of learning and instruction, the 2020 Dr. John J. Gumperz Memorial Award for Distinguished Lifetime Scholarship (Language and Social Processes Special Interest Group, AERA), the 2016 Oscar Causey Award for influencing the field of literacy (Literacy Research Association), the 2016 Medal of Excellence from the Columbia University Teachers College, the 2014 Distinguished Contributions to Social Contexts in Education Research—Lifetime Achievement Award, and the 2014 Henry T. Trueba Award for Research Leading to the Transformation of the Social Contexts of Education (Division G, AERA). She was a fellow at the Stanford University Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, an AERA and National Education Policy Center fellow, and an Osher Fellow at the Exploratorium in San Francisco, California. Dr. Gutiérrez received

the AERA Hispanic Research in Elementary, Secondary, or Postsecondary Education Award and the Inaugural Award for Innovations in Research on Diversity in Teacher Education, Division K (AERA). She served on the U.S. Department of Education Reading First Advisory Committee and was a member of President Obama's education policy transition team.

Diana E. Hess is the dean of the School of Education at the University of Wisconsin (UW)–Madison and holds the Karen A. Falk Distinguished Chair of Education. Under Dr. Hess's leadership since August 2015, the UW–Madison School of Education has established new initiatives focused on strengthening and expanding its efforts around teacher education; diversity, equity, and inclusion; global engagement; professional learning; and community partnerships. The school has invested in new research centers, initiated a Grand Challenges program to jumpstart innovative and interdisciplinary research across the school, and launched Impact 2030—a $40 million, donor-funded initiative designed to strengthen Wisconsin's teacher workforce, support innovations in teaching and learning, dramatically increase scholarship support for students, and provide faculty and staff fellowships supporting cutting-edge research and innovation in programs. Dr. Hess's research focuses on civic and democratic education. Her first book, *Controversy in the Classroom: The Democratic Power of Discussion* (Routledge, 2009), won the Exemplary Research Award (2009) from the National Council for the Social Studies. Her second book, co-authored with Professor Paula McAvoy, titled *The Political Classroom: Evidence and Ethics in Democratic Education* (Routledge, 2015) won the American Educational Research Association's Outstanding Book Award (2016) and the Grawemeyer Award (2017). Dr. Hess also received the Jean Dresden Grambs Career Research in Social Studies Award from the National Council for the Social Studies (2017). In 2019, Dr. Hess was elected to the National Academy of Education. Her research has been funded by The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the Spencer Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation of New York, and the Robert R. McCormick Foundation. Dr. Hess is currently the principal investigator of a multi-year study of The Discussion Project, a professional development program that aims to help instructors create inclusive, engaging, and academically rigorous discussions in higher education courses. Formerly, Dr. Hess was the senior vice president of the Spencer Foundation, a high school teacher, a teachers' union president, and the associate executive director of the Constitutional Rights Foundation Chicago. Dr. Hess received her Ph.D. from the University of Washington, Seattle, in 1998.

Deborah Hicks is the founder and the executive director of the Partnership for Appalachian Girls' Education, a nonprofit organization that aims to create ladders of educational opportunity for girls and young women in Appalachia. From 2010–2021, she was a research scholar at Duke University. Dr. Hicks was raised in a small town in the North Carolina mountains. Educated in public schools, she earned a doctorate in education and human development from the Harvard Graduate School of Education. She is a researcher, social entrepreneur, and writer who for three decades has focused her work on the educational needs of children in poor and working-class America. A well-known voice in the education field for her writings about literacy, Dr. Hicks is the author of two earlier books, including *Reading Lives: Working-Class Children and Literacy*

Learning (Teacher's College Press, 2002). Her memoir of teaching, *The Road Out: A Teacher's Odyssey in Poor America*, was released in 2013 by the University of California Press. Dr. Hicks has appeared as a guest on national public radio, including *The Diane Rehm Show* and *The State of Things*.

Li-Ching Ho is an associate professor in the Department of Curriculum and Instruction and the faculty director of global engagement of the School of Education at the University of Wisconsin–Madison. Her research, conducted primarily in East and Southeast Asia, focuses on global issues of diversity in civic education, differentiated access to citizenship education, and environmental citizenship. She was previously a recipient of the University of Wisconsin–Madison's Vilas Faculty Early Career Investigator Award and the College and University Faculty Assembly's Early Career Research Award. She is a co-editor of *The Palgrave Handbook of Global Citizenship and Education* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2018) and has published research in *Theory & Research in Social Education, Journal of Curriculum Studies, Teachers College Record,* and *Teaching and Teacher Education*. She has also worked with scholars, teachers, students, professional organizations, and ministries of education in countries such as Brunei, China, Japan, the Philippines, Singapore, and South Korea.

Joseph Kahne is the Ted and Jo Dutton Presidential Professor for Education Policy and Politics and the co-director of the Civic Engagement Research Group (CERG) at the University of California, Riverside. Professor Kahne's research focuses on the influence of school practices and digital media on youth civic and political development. Currently, CERG, teamed with John Rogers from the University of California, Los Angeles, is partnering with Oakland, Chicago, Riverside, and Salinas on district-wide reform efforts as part of the Leverage Equity and Access to Democratic Education initiative. Professor Kahne is also engaged in longitudinal studies that examine impact and equity in relation to varied civic and media literacy learning opportunities and outcomes. Related work focuses on youth voice and on the impact of teachers' attention to students' lived experiences. With Erica Hodgin, he also coordinates the development of teacher resources for the Teaching Channel's *Deep Dive on Educating for Democracy in the Digital Age* collection. Professor Kahne was the chair of the MacArthur Foundation's Research Network on Youth and Participatory Politics. He is currently a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences Commission on the Practice of Democratic Citizenship, the National Academy of Education Initiative on Civic Reasoning and Discourse, and the Equity in Civic Education Steering Committee.

Carol D. Lee is a professor emeritus of education in the School of Education and Social Policy and in the Department of African-American Studies at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois. She received her Ph.D. from the University of Chicago. She is the president-elect of the National Academy of Education, a past president of the American Educational Research Association (AERA), AERA's past representative to the World Education Research Association, past vice president of Division G (Social Contexts of Education) of the American Educational Research Association, past president of the National Conference on Research in Language and Literacy, and past co-chair of the National Council of Teachers of English Assembly of Research. She

is a member of the U.S. National Academy of Education, the American Academy of Arts & Sciences, a fellow of AERA, a fellow of the National Conference on Research in Language and Literacy, and a former fellow of the Stanford University Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences. She is a recipient of the Distinguished Service Award from the National Council of Teachers of English, Scholars of Color Distinguished Scholar Award from AERA, the Walder Award for Research Excellence at Northwestern University, the Distinguished Alumni Award from the College of Liberal Arts & Sciences at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, The President's Pacesetters Award from the American Association of Blacks in Higher Education, the Lifetime Achievement Award from the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, and an honorary doctorate from the University of Pretoria, South Africa. She has led two international delegations in education on behalf of the People to People's Ambassador Program to South Africa and the People's Republic of China. She is the author or co-editor of 3 books, including *Culture, Literacy and Learning: Taking Bloom in the Midst of the Whirlwind* (Teachers College Press, 2017), 4 monographs, and has published more than 108 journal articles and book or handbook chapters in the field of education. Her research addresses cultural supports for learning that include a broad ecological focus, with attention to language and literacy and African American youth. She is a founder of four African-centered schools that span a 48-year history, including three charter schools under the umbrella of the Betty Shabazz International Charter Schools, where she serves as the chair of the board of directors.

Stacey J. Lee is the Frederick Erickson Wisconsin Alumni Research Foundation Professor of Educational Policy Studies and a faculty affiliate in Asian American studies at the University of Wisconsin–Madison. Her research focuses on the role of education in the incorporation of immigrants into the United States. She is the author of *Unraveling the Model Minority Stereotype: Listening to Asian American Youth* (2nd edition, Teachers College Press, 2009) and *Up Against Whiteness: Race, School and Immigrant Youth* (Teachers College Press, 2005). She received her Ph.D. in anthropology of education from the University of Pennsylvania, M.A. in political science from New York University, and A.B. in political science from Vassar College.

Peter Levine is the associate dean of academic affairs and the Lincoln Filene Professor of Citizenship & Public Affairs in Tufts University's Jonathan M. Tisch College of Civic Life (Tisch College). Trained as a moral/political philosopher, Dr. Levine has spent most of his career conducting applied empirical research and organizing professional efforts related to civic life in the United States, including sustained work on civic education, voting rights, public deliberation, social movements, and the measurement of social capital. Dr. Levine graduated from Yale in 1989 with a degree in philosophy. He studied philosophy at Oxford University on a Rhodes Scholarship, and received his doctorate in 1992. Before coming to Tufts in 2008, he worked for Common Cause, the Institute for Philosophy and Public Policy at the University of Maryland, College Park, and the National Commission on Civic Renewal. He also helped to found and then lead the Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning and Engagement, which is now part of Tisch College. At Tufts, Dr. Levine's primarily appointment is in Tisch

College. He directs the Tufts Civic Studies program, which offers an undergraduate major, the Summer Institute of Civic Studies, and the annual Frontiers of Democracy Conference. He holds tenure as a full professor in political science and has additional appointments in philosophy, science and technology studies, international relations, Tufts University College, the Data Intensive Studies Center, the Clinical and Translational Sciences Institute, and the Center for the Humanities at Tufts. He co-leads the university-wide Research Group on Equity in Health, Wealth and Civic Engagement. Dr. Levine is the author of eight books, including his most recent one *We Are the Ones We Have Been Waiting For: The Promise of Civic Renewal in America* (Oxford University Press, 2013) and the forthcoming *What Should We Do? A Theory of Civic Life* (also Oxford University Press). He has served on the boards or steering committees of such civic organizations as AmericaSpeaks, Street Law, Inc., the Newspaper Association of America Foundation, the Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools, Discovering Justice, the Kettering Foundation, the American Bar Association Public Education Committee, The Paul J. Aicher Foundation, and the Deliberative Democracy Consortium.

Sarah McGrew is an assistant professor in the College of Education at the University of Maryland, College Park. She studies educational responses to the spread of online mis- and disinformation. Her research focuses on young people's civic online reasoning—how they search for and evaluate online information on contentious social and political topics—and how schools can better support students to learn effective evaluation strategies. As a doctoral student, Dr. McGrew helped lead the Stanford History Education Group's development of assessments of students' civic online reasoning, conducted research on fact checkers' strategies for evaluating digital content, and tested curricula designed to teach these strategies to secondary and college students. In addition to investigating online reasoning curricula in secondary and college classrooms, Dr. McGrew's current research focuses on two related questions: how to best support teachers to learn online reasoning themselves and design lessons for students, and how to design lessons in online reasoning that are rooted in civic and community issues that students know and care about.

Nicole Mirra is an assistant professor of urban teacher education in the Graduate School of Education at Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey. She previously taught high school English language arts in Brooklyn, New York, and Los Angeles, California. Her research explores the intersections of critical literacy and civic engagement with youth and teachers across classroom, community, and digital learning environments. Central to her research and teaching agenda is a commitment to honoring and amplifying the literacy practices and linguistic resources that students from minoritized communities use to challenge and re-imagine civic life. Dr. Mirra's scholarship has appeared in a wide range of journals, including *Harvard Educational Review*, *Reading Research Quarterly*, *Review of Research in Education*, *Urban Education*, and *English Journal*. Her most recent book is *Educating for Empathy: Literacy Learning and Civic Engagement* (Teachers College Press, 2018) and she is a co-author (with Antero Garcia and Ernest Morrell) of *Doing Youth Participatory Action Research: Transforming Inquiry with Researchers, Educators, and Students* (Routledge, 2015).

Na'ilah Suad Nasir is the sixth president of the Spencer Foundation, which funds education research nationally. She has held a faculty appointment in education and African American studies at the University of California, Berkeley, where she also served as the chair of African American studies, then later as the vice chancellor for equity and inclusion. She also served on the faculty of the Stanford Graduate School of Education from 2000 to 2008. Dr. Nasir's research examines the racialized and cultural nature of learning and schooling, with a particular focus on the experiences of African American students in schools and communities. She recently co-edited *The Handbook of the Cultural Foundations of Learning* (Routledge, 2020) and *"We Dare Say Love": Supporting Achievement in the Educational Life of Black Boys* (Teachers College Press, 2018). She is also the author of *Racialized Identities: Race and Achievement for African-American Youth*, published by the Stanford University Press in 2012. Dr. Nasir is a member of the National Academy of Education and a fellow of the American Educational Research Association (AERA). She chairs the board of the National Equity Project, and serves as an advisory board member for the Public Policy Institute of California and the College of Letters & Science at the University of California, Berkeley. She is also the president-elect of AERA.

Walter C. Parker is a professor emeritus of social studies education and (by courtesy) political science at the University of Washington, Seattle. He studies civic education in schools and the depth-breadth problem in curriculum design. Dr. Parker is a member of the National Academy of Education, a fellow of the American Educational Research Association, and a senior fellow of The Center for Ethics & Education. His books include *Educating the Democratic Mind* (State University of New York Press, 1996), *Teaching Democracy: Unity and Diversity in Public Life* (Teachers College Press, 2002), *Social Studies Today: Research and Practice* (2nd edition, Routledge, 2015), and, with Terence A. Beck, *Social Studies in Elementary Education* (15th edition, Pearson, 2017). He has won exemplary research awards from the National Council for the Social Studies and the American Educational Research Association. His recent design-based research produced a new model for the high school government course. The model achieves deeper learning of the core concepts and practices of U.S. government and politics via student role-playing in a series of weeks-long political simulations.

Beth C. Rubin is a professor of education and the chair of the Department of Educational Theory, Policy & Administration at the Graduate School of Education at Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey. Dr. Rubin is an educational researcher who uses critical, sociocultural frameworks and qualitative tools to investigate how young people develop both as learners and as citizens amid the interwoven contexts of classroom, school, and community. She explores through school-based, ethnographic study how memory, identity, and belonging take shape within local settings marked by historical and contemporary structures of inequality. Dr. Rubin joins with educators and youth, drawing on social design methodology, to reimagine social studies and civic education as spaces to disrupt oppression and nurture connection and critical engagement. Her work appears in many journals, including the *American Educational Research Journal*, *Teachers College Record*, *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, *Harvard Educational Review*, *Curriculum Inquiry*, *Equity & Excellence in Education*, and *Theory & Research in Social Education*, and has been supported by the Spencer Foundation, the Fulbright Program, the

National Academy of Education, and the Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning and Engagement, among others. Her books include *Design Research in Social Studies Education: Critical Lessons from an Emerging Field* (Routledge, 2019) and *Making Citizens: Transforming Civic Learning for Diverse Social Studies Classrooms* (Routledge, 2012).

Maribel Santiago is an assistant professor of justice and teacher education at the University of Washington and a 2019 National Academy of Education/Spencer Foundation postdoctoral fellow. She specializes in the teaching and learning of race/ethnicity in K–12 history, specifically how people in the United States collectively remember the experiences of communities of color, and the consequences of such depictions. Her work centers on the production and consumption of Latinx social studies: *what* students, policy makers, and educators learn about Latinx communities, and *how* they conceptualize Latinx experiences. Dr. Santiago is part of an emerging collective of social studies education scholars complicating notions of Latinidad that often omits Indigenous and Black Latinx histories from the history curriculum. As part of this effort, Dr. Santiago leads the History TALLER (Teaching and Learning of Language, Ethnicity, and Race; pronounced tah-y r) research group. Her work has been published in *Cognition and Instruction*, *Teachers College Record*, and *Theory & Research in Social Education*.

Natalia Smirnov is an independent researcher, educational consultant, and learning experience designer based in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. She holds a Ph.D. in learning sciences from Northwestern University, where she researched the intersection of participatory innovation and civic learning through journalism production, community youth media, and technology-mediated political simulations. Her dissertation draws on theories from science and technology studies, participatory design, and transliteracies to explore the creative collaboration of human and non-human actors in contingent learning arrangements. Her research has been published in the journals *Cognition and Instruction*, *Journal of the Learning Sciences*, and *Written Communication*, as well as in *Contemporary Youth Activism: Advancing Social Justice in the United States* (Praeger, 2016) and other edited volumes. She is also trained as a facilitator of Transformational Social Therapy and is certified as a Warm Data Labs host by the International Bateson Institute. Presently, Dr. Smirnov is exploring the possibilities of prefigurative and post-capitalist pedagogy by organizing educational experiments with Incite Seminars, an anarchist education project in Philadelphia.

Sarah M. Stitzlein is a professor of education and an affiliate professor of philosophy at the University of Cincinnati. She is also the co-editor of the journal *Democracy & Education* and the president of the John Dewey Society. As a philosopher of education, she uses political philosophy to uncover problems in schools, analyze educational policy, and envision better alternatives. She is especially interested in issues of political agency, educating for democracy, citizenship education, and equity in schools. Her latest book *Learning How to Hope: Reviving Democracy Through Our Schools and Civil Society* (Oxford University Press, 2020) responds to current struggles in democracy. It explains what hope is, why it matters to democracy, and how to teach it in schools, universities, and civil society. Her previous book, *American Public Education and the Responsibility of Its*

Citizens: Supporting Democracy in the Age of Accountability (Oxford University Press, 2017), responds to the increasing hostile climate toward public education, especially in the era of school choice and lingering neoliberalism. It argues that citizens should support public schools as a central institution of democracy. Finally, her book *Teaching Dissent: Citizenship Education and Political Activism* (Routledge, 2013) investigates the role of political dissent in citizenship education. She has received support from the John Templeton Foundation, the Spencer Foundation, the Society for the Advancement of American Philosophy, National Science Foundation, and The Center for Ethics & Education. She received the University of New Hampshire Outstanding Professor Award and the University of Cincinnati Distinguished Teaching Award. She also received the American Association of University Women Postdoctoral Research Fellowship and the National Endowment for the Humanities Teaching Development Fellowship.

Judith Torney-Purta is a professor emerita of the Department of Human Development and Quantitative Methodology at the University of Maryland, College Park. Previously, she was a professor of psychology at the University of Illinois at Chicago. As a doctoral student at the University of Chicago, she designed the first attitude surveys in political socialization (based on insights gained from interviewing students). Her first co-authored book, *The Development of Political Attitudes in Children* (AldineTransaction, 1967), presented these survey data from U.S. elementary school children. This was followed in 1972 by *Civic Education in Ten Countries: An Empirical Study,* published by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). During the next two decades she used think-aloud problem-solving interviews to study U.S. young people's international knowledge and approaches to solving global problems. Following the democratization of Eastern Europe in the 1990s, IEA invited her to chair a collaborative process developing another international test and survey. The results were published in *Citizenship and Education in Twenty-Eight Countries: Civic Knowledge and Engagement at Age Fourteen* (IEA, 2001) and in *Strengthening Democracy in the Americas through Civic Education* (Organization of American States Unit for Social Development and Education, 2004). Her most recent book is a co-edited retrospective titled *Influences of the IEA Civic and Citizenship Education Studies: Practice, Policy and Research Across Countries and Regions* (Springer, 2021). She served as the co-editor of the *Handbook of Research on Civic Engagement in Youth* (John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2010) and of the *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology.* She has been elected as a fellow of the American Psychological Association and the American Educational Research Association, as well as a member of the National Academy of Education. The National Council for the Social Studies presented her with its Distinguished Research Career Award (2013). She currently serves on the advisory committee of CivicLEADS (an archive of datasets) at the University of Michigan.

Brendesha Tynes is a professor of education and psychology at the University of Southern California (USC). She is also the founding director of the Center for Empowered Learning and Development with Technology. Dr. Tynes is a developmental psychologist whose research focuses on the racial landscape adolescents navigate in online settings, online racial discrimination, digital literacy, and the design of technologies that empower students of color. Her work examines the impact of online race-related

experiences on academic, mental health, and behavioral outcomes. Recently, she was a recipient of the Lyle Spencer Award to Transform Education, which allowed her to conduct the National Survey of Critical Digital Literacy, a longitudinal study of the protective function of critical digital literacy skills in the association between traumatic race-related events online and mental health outcomes. Dr. Tynes has received numerous awards including Ford Foundation Predoctoral and Postdoctoral Fellowships, the American Educational Research Association Early Career Award, and the Spencer Foundation Midcareer Award. Before USC, she was an associate professor of educational psychology and African American studies at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. She was also a history and global studies teacher in Detroit Public Schools.

Vanessa Siddle Walker is the Samuel Candler Dobbs Professor of African American Educational Studies at Emory University. For 25 years, she has explored the segregated schooling of African American children, considering sequentially the climate that permeated the schools, the network of professional collaborations that explains the schools' similarities, and the hidden systems of advocacy that sought equality and justice. For her body of books and articles, Dr. Walker has received the Grawmeyer Award for Education, the Lillian Smith Book Award, and five awards from the American Educational Research Association (AERA): the AERA Early Career Award, the Best New Female Scholar Award (Research Focus on Black Education), the Best New Book (History Division of AERA), the 2019 Presidential Citation Award for Groundbreaking Research on Black Education, and the Outstanding Book Award (Moral Development and Education Special Interest Group). She is also a recipient of awards from the Conference of Southern Graduate Schools and the American Education Studies Association. Additionally, her work has been reviewed by *The Atlanta Journal–Constitution*, *The Atlantic*, *The New York Times*, and *The Wall Street Journal*, and her most recent book, *The Lost Education of Horace Tate: Uncovering the Hidden Heroes Who Fought for Justice in Schools* (The New Press, 2018), received a starred review in *Library Journal* and a red-lined review in *Publishers Weekly* and *Booklist. Publishers Weekly* also named the book as one of the Best Nonfiction Books of 2018. Dr. Walker is a member of the National Academy of Education, a fellow of AERA, and the 104th president of AERA. She has lectured widely nationally and internationally, including delivering the 2012 AERA Annual Brown Lecture in Education Research in Washington, DC. Her work has appeared in the PBS special *SCHOOL* and on a variety of educational podcasts.

Gregory White is the executive director of the National Academy of Education, an organization dedicated to the advancement of education research for use in educational policy and practice. He also serves as an adjunct lecturer in the Department of Sociology at Georgetown University. He formerly served as a program officer in the Education Directorate at the American Psychological Association, and previously worked in various roles for community-based civic and youth development organizations. In addition, his research interests are in educational equity, democracy education, and political socialization. He holds a Ph.D. in sociology from the University of Maryland, an M.S.W. from Boston University, and a B.S. from Boston College.

Joy Ann Williamson-Lott is the dean of the Graduate School and a professor of social and cultural foundations in the University of Washington College of Education. Trained as a historian of education, her work focuses on Black educational history and higher educational history. In addition to several articles and book chapters on topics ranging from the Black Panther Party's educational programs to the deliberate misrepresentation of the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision in high school history textbooks, she has written three books on college and university student activism in the mid-20th century. Her most recently published book, *Jim Crow Campus: Higher Education and the Struggle for a New Southern Social Order* (Teachers College Press, 2018), examines threats to academic freedom and First Amendment protections in Black and White, public and private institutions across the South against the backdrop of the Black freedom struggle and anti-Vietnam War movement. The book was named a 2018 INDIES Book of the Year Finalist in Education by *The Forward* magazine and won the Frederic W. Ness Book Award from the Association of American Colleges & Universities.

Appendix A

Steering Committee, Chapter Authors, and Panel Members

Steering Committee
Carol D. Lee (*Chair*), Northwestern University
James A. Banks, University of Washington
Sarah Warshauer Freedman, University of California, Berkeley
Kris D. Gutiérrez, University of California, Berkeley
Diana E. Hess, University of Wisconsin–Madison
Joseph Kahne, University of California, Riverside
Peter Levine, Tufts University
Na'ilah Suad Nasir, Spencer Foundation
Walter C. Parker, University of Washington
Judith Torney-Purta, University of Maryland

Chapter Authors and Panel Members

Defining and Implementing Civic Reasoning and Discourse: Philosophical and Moral Foundations for Research and Practice
Author:
Sarah M. Stitzlein, University of Cincinnati

Panel Members:
Anthony Laden, University of Illinois at Chicago
Peter Levine, Tufts University (*Panel Chair*)
Jennifer Morton, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Civic Reasoning and Discourse: Perspectives from Learning and Human Development Research
Authors:
Carol D. Lee, Northwestern University (*Panel Co-Chair*)
Na'ilah Suad Nasir, Spencer Foundation (*Panel Co-Chair*)
Natalia Smirnov, Independent Researcher
Adria Carrington, Chicago Public Schools (retired)

Panel Members:
Megan Bang, Spencer Foundation/Northwestern University
Hyman Bass, University of Michigan
Andy A. diSessa, University of California, Berkeley
Abby Reisman, University of Pennsylvania
Leoandra Onnie Rogers, Northwestern University
Alan H. Schoenfeld, University of California, Berkeley
Margaret Beale Spencer, University of Chicago
William F. Tate IV, University of South Carolina
Elliot Turiel, University of California, Berkeley

From the Diffusion of Knowledge to the Cultivation of Agency: A Short History of Civic Education Policy and Practice in the United States
Authors:
Nancy Beadie, University of Washington
Zoë Burkholder, Montclair State University

Panel Members:
James D. Anderson, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
Andrew Hartman, Illinois State University
Walter C. Parker, University of Washington (*Panel Chair*)
Rowan Steineker, Florida Gulf Coast University

Agency and Resilience in the Face of Challenge as Civic Action: Lessons Learned From Across Ethnic Communities
Authors:

Indigenous Peoples and Civics Education in the 21st Century
Megan Bang, Spencer Foundation/Northwestern University
Bryan McKinley Jones Brayboy, Arizona State University

African American Education as Preparation for Civic Engagement, Reasoning, and Discourse
Vanessa Siddle Walker, Emory University
James D. Anderson, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
Joy Williamson-Lott, University of Washington
Carol D. Lee, Northwestern University

<u>Historicizing Latinx Civic Agency and Contemporary Lived Civics</u>
Maribel Santiago, University of Washington
Cati V. de los Ríos, University of California, Berkeley
Kris D. Gutiérrez, University of California, Berkeley (*Panel Chair*)

<u>Asian American Exclusion and the Fight for Inclusion</u>
Li-Ching Ho, University of Wisconsin–Madison
Stacey J. Lee, University of Wisconsin–Madison

<u>An Appalachian Spring: Hope and Resilience Among Youth in the Rural South</u>
Deborah Hicks, Partnership for Appalachian Girls' Education

Civic Reasoning and Discourse Amid Structural Inequality, Migration, and Conflict
Authors:
Beth C. Rubin, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey
Thea Renda Abu El-Haj, Barnard College, Columbia University
Michelle J. Bellino, University of Michigan

Panel Members:
James A. Banks, University of Washington (*Panel Co-Chair*)
Sarah Dryden-Peterson, Harvard University
Sarah Warshauer Freedman, University of California, Berkeley (*Panel Co-Chair*)
Roberto G. Gonzales, Harvard University

Learning Environments and School/Classroom Climate as Supports for Civic Reasoning, Discourse, and Engagement
Authors:
Carolyn Barber, University of Missouri-Kansas City
Christopher H. Clark, University of North Dakota
Judith Torney-Purta, University of Maryland (*Panel Chair*)

Panel Members:
David Campbell, University of Notre Dame
Carole L. Hahn, Emory University
Deanna Kuhn, Teachers College, Columbia University

Rethinking Digital Citizenship: Learning About Media, Literacy, and Race in Turbulent Times
Authors:
Antero Godina Garcia, Stanford University
Sarah McGrew, University of Maryland
Nicole Mirra, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey
Brendesha Tynes, University of Southern California
Joseph Kahne, University of California, Riverside (*Panel Chair*)

Pedagogical Practices and How Teachers Learn
Author:
Hilary G. Conklin, DePaul University

Panel Members:
Diana E. Hess, University of Wisconsin–Madison (*Panel Chair*)
Tyrone Howard, University of California, Los Angeles
Jane C. Lo, Michigan State University
Paula McAvoy, North Carolina State University
Chauncey B. Monte-Sano, University of Michigan

Appendix B

Workshop Agendas and Participants

March 10, 2020

9:00 am – 10:00 am   **Breakfast**

10:00 am – 10:30 am   **Welcome, Project Goals, and Best Practices for Virtual Participation**
Carol D. Lee, Northwestern University
Steering Committee Chair

10:30 am – 12:00 pm   **Panel 1: Philosophical Foundations/Moral Reasoning**
Panel Chair: *Peter Levine,* Tufts University
Presenter: *Sarah M. Stitzlein,* University of Cincinnati
Discussant: *William A. Galston,* The Brookings Institution

12:00 pm – 12:45 pm   **Break**

12:45 pm – 2:15 pm   **Panel 2: History of Education for Democratic Citizenship**
Panel Chair: *Walter C. Parker,* University of Washington
Presenters: *Nancy Beadie,* University of Washington
  Zoë Burkholder, Montclair State University
Discussant: *Cristina Groeger,* Lake Forest College

2:30 pm – 4:00 pm	**Panel 3: Learning Environments and School/Classroom Climate**	
	Panel Chair:	*Judith Torney-Purta,* University of Maryland
	Presenters:	*Carolyn Barber,* University of Missouri-Kansas City
		Christopher H. Clark, University of North Dakota
	Discussant:	*David Campbell,* University of Notre Dame

4:15 pm – 5:45 pm	**Panel 4: Digital Literacy and the Health of Democratic Practice**	
	Panel Chair:	*Joseph Kahne,* University of California, Riverside
	Presenters:	*Antero Godina Garcia,* Stanford University
		Nicole Mirra, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey
	Discussant:	*Donna Phillips,* District of Columbia Public Schools

5:45 pm	**Meeting Adjourns for the Day**

March 11, 2020

9:00 am – 10:00 am	**Breakfast**

10:00 am – 11:30 am	**Panel 5: Disciplinary Underpinnings and Psychological Foundation**	
	Panel Chairs:	*Carol D. Lee,* Northwestern University
		Na'ilah Suad Nasir, Spencer Foundation
	Presenters:	*Na'ilah Suad Nasir,* Spencer Foundation
		Natalia Smirnov, Independent Researcher
	Discussant:	*Heidi Schweingruber,* National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine

11:45 am – 1:15 pm	**Panel 6: Ecological Context of Civic Reasoning and Discourse**	
	Panel Chairs:	*James A. Banks,* University of Washington
		Sarah Warshauer Freedman, University of California, Berkeley
	Presenters:	*Thea Renda Abu El-Haj,* Barnard College, Columbia University
		Michelle J. Bellino, University of Michigan
	Discussant:	*Matthew Diemer,* University of Michigan

1:15 pm – 2:00 pm	**Break**

2:00 pm – 3:30 pm	**Panel 7: Pedagogical Practices and How Teachers Learn**
	Panel Chair: *Diana E. Hess*, University of Wisconsin–Madison
	Presenters: *Hilary G. Conklin*, DePaul University
	Jane C. Lo, Michigan State University
	Paula McAvoy, North Carolina State University
	Chauncey B. Monte-Sano, University of Michigan
	Discussant: *Tina L. Heafner*, National Council for the Social Studies

3:45 pm – 4:45 pm	**Workshop Summary and Initial Identification of Key Insights and Recommendations for Teaching, Learning, and Policies**
	Moderator: *Carol D. Lee*, Northwestern University

4:45 pm	**Meeting Adjourns**

Participants

Thea Renda Abu El-Haj, Barnard College, Columbia University
James D. Anderson, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
Megan Bang, Spencer Foundation
James A. Banks, University of Washington
Carolyn Barber, University of Missouri-Kansas City
Hyman Bass, University of Michigan
Nancy Beadie, University of Washington
Michelle J. Bellino, University of Michigan
Amy I. Berman, National Academy of Education
Jan Brennan, Education Commission of the States
Zoë Burkholder, Montclair State University
David Campbell, University of Notre Dame
Leo Casey, Albert Shanker Institute
Christopher H. Clark, University of North Dakota
Hilary G. Conklin, DePaul University
Matthew Diemer, University of Michigan
Andrea A. diSessa, University of California, Berkeley
Dian Dong, National Academy of Education
Sarah Dryden-Peterson, Harvard University
Sarah Warshauer Freedman, University of California, Berkeley
William A. Galston, The Brookings Institution
Antero Godina Garcia, Stanford University
Frank London Gettridge, National Public Education Support Fund
Roberto G. Gonzales, Harvard University
Cristina Groeger, Lake Forest College
Carole L. Hahn, Emory University
Michael Hansen, The Brookings Institution
Andrew Hartman, Illinois State University
Tina L. Heafner, National Council for the Social Studies
Diana E. Hess, University of Wisconsin–Madison

Justine Hipsky, Mikva Challenge
Tyrone Howard, University of California, Los Angeles
Emma Humphries, iCivics
Joseph Kahne, University of California, Riverside
Deanna Kuhn, Teachers College, Columbia University
Anthony Laden, University of Illinois at Chicago
Carol D. Lee, Northwestern University
Peter Levine, Tufts University
Robyn Lingo, Mikva Challenge
Jane C. Lo, Florida State University
Paula McAvoy, North Carolina State University
Ted McConnell, Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools
Sarah McGrew, University of Maryland
Nicole Mirra, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey
Voncia Monchais, Mikva Challenge
Chauncey B. Monte-Sano, University of Michigan
Jennifer Morton, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
Na'ilah Suad Nasir, Spencer Foundation
Walter C. Parker, University of Washington
Lawrence M. Paska, National Council for the Social Studies
Donna Phillips, District of Columbia Public Schools
Abby Reisman, University of Pennsylvania
Leoandra Onnie Rogers, Northwestern University
Beth C. Rubin, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey
Tom Rudin, National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine
Cathy Ruffing, Street Law
Alan H. Schoenfeld, University of California, Berkeley
Heidi Schweingruber, National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine
Lena Morreale Scott, University of Maryland
Natalia Smirnov, Independent Researcher
Margaret Beale Spencer, University of Chicago
Rowan Steineker, Florida Gulf Coast University
Sarah M. Stitzlein, University of Cincinnati
William F. Tate IV, University of South Carolina
Judith Torney-Purta, University of Maryland
Elliott Turiel, University of California, Berkeley
Brendesha Tynes, University of Southern California
Kathryn Wentzel, University of Maryland
Jennifer Wheeler, Street Law
Gregory White, National Academy of Education

Second Workshop
Plenary Session: Civic Reasoning and Discourse[1]
November 6, 2020

10:50 am – 11:10 am **Introduction**
Carol D. Lee, Northwestern University
Steering Committee Chair

11:10 am – 12:00 pm **Breakout Sessions**
Breakout One: Learning and Development
Moderator: *Leoandra Onnie Rogers,* Northwestern University
Presenters: *Na'ilah Suad Nasir,* Spencer Foundation
      Natalia Smirnov, Independent Researcher
Final discussion summary: *Alan H. Schoenfeld,* University of
               California, Berkeley

Breakout Two: Philosophical Foundations/Moral Reasoning;
History of Education for Democracy
Moderator: *Jennifer Morton,* University of North Carolina at
      Chapel Hill
Presenters: *Nancy Beadie,* University of Washington
      Zoë Burkholder, Montclair State University
      Sarah M. Stitzlein, University of Cincinnati
Final discussion summary: *Andrew Hartman,* Illinois State
               University
               Rowan Steineker, Florida Gulf Coast
               University

Breakout Three: Social/Ecological Contexts of Civic Reasoning
and Discourse; Pedagogical Practices and How Teachers Learn
Moderator: *James A. Banks,* University of Washington
Presenters: *Hilary G. Conklin,* DePaul University
      Beth C. Rubin, Rutgers, The State University of
      New Jersey
Final discussion summary: *Jane C. Lo,* Michigan State University

Breakout Four: Learning Environments, School/Classroom
Climates; Discourse and Reasoning in the Digital Age
Moderator: *Judith Torney-Purta,* University of Maryland
Presenters: *Carolyn Barber,* University of Missouri-Kansas City
      Antero Godina Garcia, Stanford University
      Nicole Mirra, Rutgers, The State University of
      New Jersey
Final discussion summary: *Sarah McGrew,* University of Maryland

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[1] This plenary session was an online event as part of the NAEd 2020 Annual Meeting. The session was attended by more than 200 attendees, including NAEd members, fellows, and invited external stakeholders.

Breakout Five: Lessons Learned: Agency and Resilience in the
Face of Challenge as Civic Action
Moderator: *Cati V. de los Ríos,* University of California, Berkeley
Presenters: *James D. Anderson,* University of Illinois at
              Urbana-Champaign
              Megan Bang, Spencer Foundation
              Kris Gutiérrez, University of California, Berkeley
              Deborah Hicks, Partnership for Appalachian Girls'
              Education
              Li-Ching Ho, University of Wisconsin–Madison
Final discussion summary: *Maribel Santiago,* University of
                          Washington

12:00 pm – 12:50 pm **Group Discussion**
                     Moderator: *Gregory White,* National Academy of Education