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Power in Plain Sight: Exploring the Class Privilege at in Curriculum at Wealthy High Schools

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In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

MASTER OF ARTS

in

INTERNATIONAL AND MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

by

Miriam Romero Gross

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Under the guidance and approval of the committee, and approval by all the members, this field project (or thesis) has been accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree.

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Instructor/Chair

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Date

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"I am no longer accepting the things I cannot change. I am changing the things I cannot accept."

— Angela Y. Davis

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ABSTRACT

While secondary education has moderately improved in its approach of racial and gender issues in the classroom, social class remains an undiscussed topic, especially in school communities serving students of the highest social classes where financial privilege often intersects with racial privilege. The lack of discussion of social class is considered against the role schooling is meant to play in creating good citizens and the different ways that is construed. Taking into account research into the identity formation of wealthy adolescents, the hidden curriculum in secondary schools that supports the current social order, and pedagogical practices that could be used to disrupt the status quo, this project produces a curricular approach to social science that could create more justice-oriented citizens. The project proposes a curriculum for World History that confronts the historic nature of social privilege and power by naming the oppressor and their benefits, developing empathy through stories of the oppressed, and supporting students in developing a justice-oriented praxis. An outline for the unit and lesson plans are included.

Keywords: Education of Wealthy Students, Social Class in Education, Critical Pedagogy in Privileged Secondary Schools, High School History Curriculum, High School Citizenship Education

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

It has been thirty years since Peggy McIntosh introduced the world to her famed "Invisible Knapsack" of white privilege. She was brought to the work by the realization that her struggle not just to make men understand their male privilege, but to get them to a place of wanting to give up some of that power, was not unlike a set of white privileges she had not recognized herself (McIntosh, 1989). This launched a larger discourse on what white privilege signified. Now, in 2018, it is past time to expand the conversation of privilege and power again in our discourse on education.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The concept of privilege has become a mainstream concept in American society but in the current debate privilege is generally assumed to be synonymous with both white and wealthy without an examination of the intersections and divergences of the two. There is still limited research on exposing students to either concept in a meaningful way at the high school level but especially with the financial or class privilege side. Most of the work that is being done on high school campuses is almost entirely focused on racial privilege and falls into one of three categories: surface level platitudes, used to make students aware of the concept without orienting them to any different way of living or using that privilege; "confessional pedagogies" (Tanner, 2017) which leave students wracked with feelings of guilt, even wishing to disavow their race to disavow their privilege (although never to give up their social privilege) but also unprepared to use it as an asset; or paternalistic programs, such as service learning programs, which seek to assuage that guilt through limited action that is rarely focused on systemic solutions (Cann & McCloskey, 2017).

Yet the improvements in critical whiteness at wealthy high schools are robust compared to the education those students receive to explore and critique their class privilege and the cost to others it comes at. By failing to do this work, current high school education misses the mark in giving students an understanding of their social positioning and its origins which is particularly needed for students who are white (Matias, 2013), wealthy and stand to inherit positions of power. Because a true pedagogy of privilege is not about confession but about understanding systems of power that secure that privilege (Leonardo, 2004), secondary education in most contexts fails in a paramount responsibility of schooling; the responsibility to create critical citizens who are equipped to work towards a just society (Freire, 2013; Giroux, 2017). With many students uninformed about the current injustices they must work against or their own positionality within systems of oppression, not even having a reasonable awareness of the level of inequality that exist in our current society (Flanagan & Kornbluh, 2017), how can they work towards improvement.

This disconnect is particularly risky in the context of high schools serving highly privileged students (specifically white, wealthy students) because the privilege enjoyed by most of these students will work with their superior education to elevate them to positions of power as adults. Once in those positions, it is of paramount importance that students are prepared to use their power and privilege to dismantle rather than perpetuate systems of inequity in our modern society. To ensure this will be the case, students must not only be exposed to systems of inequity but prepared to be justice oriented citizens (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004a).

While much research has been done on introducing a critical praxis centered on privileged identities in higher education and/or teacher training programs, such work is still limited in high school contexts. This is unfortunate given the significant role high school is meant to play in

identity formation and education of future citizens. Much of the work done at the higher education level is actually attempting to guide students and future teachers in unlearning norms and single narratives that were introduced to them at a young age and then solidified during high school as a part of the identity and world lens they bring to young adulthood and college (Cabrera, 2012; Loewen & Banks, 2009). Further, research which does exist for high school programs is largely focused on a broad approach based on race without exploration of how class privilege intersects with racial privilege. What is needed is a curriculum specifically around class privilege to guide students to confront their privilege, explore systems of inequity, and develop language for and action opportunities to be allies for social justice (Littenberg-Tobias, 2014). Critical to this is the development of deep empathy for a humanized “other" to be motivated to act in their favor. This curriculum must be something that is used with all students, not just in an elective, that gives them the context and skills to critique the role social class plays in their lives and the world around them and to understand that they enjoy privileges at a cost to others.

BACKGROUND AND NEED

Extensive work suggests that one of the greatest privileges of whiteness in America is to grow up without thinking about one’s race. White students, and to a much lesser degree wealthy students of color, are able to go through their primary and secondary school educations without a consciousness that their life experiences are in any way framed by the color of their skin. Most white students have never given consideration to what it means to be white, or how their lives might be different if they were not part of the “normative” group. This is steadily being recognized by educators as problematic with well-intentioned efforts at diversity and inclusion popping up in schools as represented in a variety of studies (Denevi, 2004; Denevi & Pastan,

2006; Jill Ewing Flynn, 2012; Griffin, Brown, & Warren, 2012; Matias, 2013; Tanner, 2017; Welton, Harris, La Londe, & Moyer, 2015). Just as those with racial privilege don't need to think of their identity in racial terms as children, students who grow up with economic resources spend little time exploring or understanding how their lives may be different had they not been born into such circumstances. From young ages students of color and students of low economic status are inevitably aware of the inequities of their lives and it forms the basis of much of their identity (Tatum, 2003). It is only the former though, white privilege, that is entering mainstream dialogues, even offering widely attended national student conferences.

White students and students with economic privilege are then unaware of the cultural and economic wealth that so clearly shapes their experiences and opportunities. Instead, these students are often given and affirmed in messages of a merit-based, individualistic society. These students are told that by virtue of the hard work of their parents they enjoy their positions in life, and that with hard work of their own they will maintain or improve those conditions (Levinson et al., 2015). This is affirmed in that which they see around them, and because class is "not discussed" in the classroom in "polite" society (hooks, 1994). Great care has been taken historically to avoid discussion of race within the dominant group, to avoid and silence discourse on how it is used as a tool of inequality (Sue, 2016). Similarly, the increasing lack of income mobility in the U.S. has been minimized and ignored for decades making it a "topic that is both central to current political discourse and especially misunderstood is economic inequality" (Rogers & Westheimer, 2017, p. 1). It is the critical responsibility of education to prepare a citizenry that is aware of and comfortable talking about these issues without defensiveness (Sue, 2016) at least and prepared to change them at best.

While critical whiteness studies at the secondary schooling level have much further to come, their moderate success makes more pressing the need to address class oppression in these contexts. The lack of understanding of privilege makes students susceptible to further misperceptions of certain realities of our social economy. The strong belief in American meritocracy leaves little room to explore or understand structural inequities in the system. This socialization is strengthened by a system that trains students to be ignorant about racism as a societal structure (Yeung, Spanierman, & Landrum-Brown, 2013). By not confronting structural racism and institutional inequities that students of privilege benefit from and exist alongside, it is easy for these youths to develop a consciousness that those who have less than them, white or not, have less largely of their own lack of effort, that the students and their families play no role in those limitations. With each white wealthy young adult schooled and raised to believe strongly in these ideas, and the hidden curriculum working almost silently to imply the lower value of people of color (Leonardo, 2004; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002; Sue, 2016), it is no surprise that we now have a society where racism is acknowledged, but nobody believes themselves to be a racist, nobody questions or even speaks much about the role of class, and systems of oppression are able to continue unquestioned.

Two additional social constructs obfuscate the embeddedness of our power structures in identity development; exceptionalism and politics. Students are further grounded in their perception of meritocracy by the rise of Black and minority exceptionalism, which was starkly increased with the election of America's first African American[1] president. In a "post-racial" world, messages are given and received that with a Black president, a sprinkling of CEO's of

[1] Because the experiences of individuals with Black skin in America are the same whether the person is a descendent of the original slaves forced to America or a visitor from an African nation, this paper uses the term Black to represent the community in most instances. Because of the notable derision the forty-fourth president of the United States was subjected to based on his father's heritage, African American is used intentionally here.

color in corporate boardrooms, and just enough reporters of color on the nightly news, that the American Dream must truly be available to all. Yet Swalwell succinctly sums up that “in fundamental ways, the United States is becoming more separate and less equal" (2013a, p. 4). In some independent schools, this message is enforced by student’s own classmates, where a few representatives of different racial groups from families which have achieved sufficient wealth to attend the most elite schools alongside their white peers are perceived as proof of America’s meritocracy. In such cases it is wealthy students of all ethnic identities being told that anyone who does not enjoy the same levels of economic privilege and opportunity they do must not have worked hard enough for them or be smart or otherwise skilled enough to achieve better status regardless of their skin color, implying that privilege is a non-issue.

Further distracting from the conversation is the continued use of political ideologies. In the dominant discourse about social support systems it is lauded that Democrats support the poor because they support the social safety net, and that they should therefore be the party of communities of color and Republicans support “restoring America’s greatness” which is a dog whistle for white superiority. Both sides point with confusion and animosity to figures like Secretary Ben Carson, and the general increasing number of wealthy Black political conservatives elected (Henry, 2013) while less frequently questioning the high wealth held by major members and supporters of the Democratic party as they campaign on programs to “support” the poor. While it is reasonable to claim that supporting the platform of the Conservative party in the era of Donald Trump is supporting inequity, it is false to claim that opposition to his policies or party are necessarily in support of social justice. Just as the Democratic Party of 2018 is struggling to address classism in its midst, it is imperative that educators discourage students from hiding behind any political party affiliation in approaching this work.

LOCAL CONTEXT

This project began as an exploration of whiteness as experienced in independent schools and specifically how peers could impact one another's developing white racial consciousness. My initial research took me to observe classrooms, tour campuses and interview educators seeking to bring social justice to their elite campuses. While I found the expected; campuses with clear superior resources offering intimate classes and untold extracurricular opportunities where the privilege was palpable, I also found unexpected things, including greater racial diversity and awareness of white privilege than I had anticipated. In observing students, I saw that one of the greatest forms of privilege they struggled to identify with was that of their higher social class; one spoke to her class about how "uncomfortable" she had been *made* to feel in her public school for her family's wealth compared to that of her peers. In speaking with teachers, this challenge took greater shape. One educator asserted that "the issue of class… is the hardest one to get to" (Personal Interview, July 2018) while another talked of students who "got it" but would tell their teacher that it just "wasn't for them" to try to enact justice in their communities. These issues were not necessarily specific to white students; they seemed to be universal for students whose parents could comfortably pay more than forty-thousand dollars a year for their tuition. In these institutions, classism is endemic, down to the school struggling to create a policy around meal delivery to campus that could avoid scholarship students from feeling socially ostracized.

In these interviews and observations, I learned that the students who engage in classroom conversations about equity or join the related clubs are generally those who were already thinking about issues of justice, limiting the substantial changes in views or perspectives the student body overall could realize. Compounding these challenges, I heard stories of the constraints that college readiness, overscheduling, and other demands left for attempts at school-wide initiatives, events,

or additional courses that might address these issues. Finally, I was confronted with the lack of consistent preparation teachers who truly supported working for social justice had in bringing it to their classrooms; struggling to contact regional organizations for curriculum support, having disparate outcomes from class to class, or missing opportunities for timely integration of current events or community outreach. I realized that across the many Bay Area schools serving students who are arguably some of the most financially privileged children in the country, many from very politically "liberal" families, there was a paralysis around addressing the financial privilege these students enjoy. This led me to wonder, how might these educators be equipped to spur all of their students to consider their financial privilege and understand how classism benefits them at a cost to marginalized groups.

CURRICULAR PROJECT

In seeking to transition the project to be about class in wealthy schools and with the goal to create something that could be used by all of the schools I had met with and their peer institutions, I settled on a curriculum that could be inserted into the standard tenth grade World History course. This project will represent just a few weeks in the year-long course but is meant to provide students with a lens to critically analyze history and their own present situations for issues of class, power, and financial privilege to develop a strong citizenship praxis as individuals. The project will be grounded in research on adolescent identity and past empirical studies working with this and other populations to consider the way that social class impacts power dynamics.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

This project seeks to answer the following essential questions:

1. How can curriculum engage students in a wealthy high school in creating an open dialogue around class privilege so they can humbly develop their own social justice praxes?
2. How can this be done in a way that reaches all students rather than just those already open to such ideas?
3. How can educators be equipped to do this work?

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

In approaching this project, the consideration of the problem and its relevant research is approached with two lenses; citizenship and adolescent development. Citizenship explores the ideal and real role that education plays in developing citizenship among students while adolescent identity development seeks to complement those goals with the real ways in which student identity formation can take place.

CITIZENSHIP

Few will disagree that a primary objective of schooling is to create good citizens (Pancer, Pratt, Hunsberger, & Alisat, 2007; Pancer, Rose-Krasnor, & Loiselle, 2002). Of course, depending on who is speaking, the definition of good citizenship varies significantly (Littenberg-Tobias, 2014). For many, developing skills to continue future civic presence and volunteering is sufficient. The citizenship framework developed by Kahne and Westheimer is particularly effective at delineating different levels of citizenship schools and programs may be oriented towards. They suggest that "good citizenship" is actually a step ladder with three levels; the personally responsible citizen, the participatory citizen, and finally, the justice-oriented citizen (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). The phases of this citizenship ladder are presented here:

Stage 1: The Personally Responsible Citizen

The personally responsible citizen obeys laws and respects her fellow citizens. She is charitable, giving of time or money to causes in her realm of influence, whether that be donating to a food drive, serving at a soup kitchen, or giving monetarily to an organization serving those in "need." This person is also kind to all persons, regardless of social status. This level of citizenship may be developed through anti-bullying programs, classes on mercy, and community values. For the personally responsible citizen, presence and local charity are sufficient for good citizenship, they do not need to have any connections outside of their immediate sphere of influence.

Stage 2: The Participatory Citizen

The participatory citizen is likely to take on greater leadership in social action. She is active in some way in local government or organizations, possibly sitting on a board, and takes organizing roles for charity projects. Rather than bringing in a can of food for the food drive, she is setting up the food drive to give the personally responsible citizen an opportunity to demonstrate their good citizenship. She has developed a sense of care for those affected by inequity, which drives her actions. She is engaged in collective commitments for social good and is also rule abiding and respectful of all.

Stage 3: The Justice Oriented Citizen

The justice-oriented citizen is aware of structural inequalities and their impacts on communities. She is critical in her participation with charity organizations and eschews one-off efforts for remediation of suffering preferring to address root causes. These individuals have felt such strong

feelings of care and empathy for individuals that they were moved to act on behalf of entire communities to enact structural change. The justice-oriented citizen is not necessarily identified politically as a liberal; their cause issues and believed solutions may be conservative in nature, for example some who favor school privatization in the pursuit of "competition" to benefit poor students. These small cases aside though, the predominant leaning of a justice-oriented citizen would inevitably be to more liberal political ideologies in the interest of intervening to correct historically unjust systems.

Cipolle (2010) also presents three stages of white critical-consciousness development; charity, care, and social justice, with her framework offering similar definitions of the stages but shedding light on an important element that bridges the last two; empathy. Empathy allows individuals to shift from participation or care to desiring justice for themselves and others based on an understanding of their shared humanity. Empathy, like Bebout's (2014) "skin in the game", allows individuals with power and privilege to desire to use it to build a more just and equitable world. This is critically important as one of the most effective defense tactics that resistors can use in exploring privilege to steel themselves against the development of empathy with those oppressed by the systems creating that privilege. Educators must see the creation of empathy as guideposts on a student's journey towards a justice orientation.

While these stages are presented as a ladder, with students often needing to move through participatory citizenship on their way to justice orientation, for many educational programs the target destination for students is one of the three, not a full progression. This paper will explore how some programs that strive for more traditional definitions of citizenship; personally responsible or participatory; versus those who seek to create more engaged justice-oriented

citizens. Because of the importance of empathy in assisting students in transitioning from participatory citizenship to justice oriented citizenship, and because empathy with oppressed communities is particularly tricky to develop for children of the oppressor (van Gorder, 2007), this will also be given particular focus in the exploration of research on this area and development of curriculum to address it.

ADOLESCENT IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT FRAMEWORKS

When developing the civic orientation of students, we are seeking to change their identity; the way they see themselves and their responsibilities in the world. In order to explore how this can be done most effectively, this paper considers larger theory around adolescent identity development; critical to consider in helping students develop and articulate a social justice praxis as a part of their identities and to develop a framework so that they can grow. Marcia's Ego Identity Interview provides a useful framework based on a young person's level of exploration and commitment to their identity. Those who have deeply explored and committed to their identity are considered to have identity achievement (Pancer et al., 2007) also referred to as "identity realization." Meaning and empowerment play important roles in identity realization by giving students the opportunities to explore and commit. Here, Stage Environment Fit Theory comes into play in requiring that students be given opportunities to explore and commit to elements of their identity that are appropriate for their current level of development (Starbuck & Bell, 2017) so that they can appropriately engage and grow from experiences. This means that to bring students towards a praxis of justice, they must be given appropriate levels of responsibility to feel empowered in their exploration of their own identities and general social justice content with appropriate scaffolding to take on a level of responsibility for their self and community that

they are prepared for (McQuillan, 2005), with this evolving over time as they develop as individuals.

Research in this area suggests that identity realization must be crystalized with hands-on experience. Having a level of responsibility and challenge contributes to a student's sense of agency and increases the value they experience through their work (Cipolle, 2010; Furco & Billig, 2002). Here again, appropriately scaffolded empowerment opportunities (McQuillen, 2005) that give students discretion in how they appropriate their time allow them to explore areas that may have sufficient meaning for them to want to commit. Students respond positively to having opportunities to engage in their communities in ways where they can see their own impact (Pancer, et al., 2002, Westheimer & Kahne 2004) to derive meaning. For example, Pancer and colleagues introduce a concept of "vital engagement" where youth experience "enjoyed absorption over sustained activity participation and the activity links the participant to the outside world in a way that feels that the work will have value and is meaningful/significant" (Pancer, et al, 2002). This type of meaningful engagement also leads to both a sense of empowerment and an internalization of competency which contributes to a sense of actualized self (Starbuck & Bell, 2017). It is these meaningful experiences and sense of engagement that can help a student move from an identity awareness to a realized civic identity, and the types of experiences students have can dramatically impact whether they find themselves oriented towards participatory or justice citizenship.

RELATIONSHIP TO THE TOPIC

As a white alumnus of a private high school, this project is personal. While my family was not rich, I was very comfortable and I have had significant privilege in my life. I hold my own high

school education accountable for not sufficiently leading me to critique that privilege while also not exposing me to social justice concepts. This brings me to this work and informs my view of its importance. That being said, I will actively manage my work to leave any assumptions or biases out of the project. The fact that the curriculum for the particular class for which I will be making recommendations has changed since my days in California schools, replacing "Western Civilizations" with "World History", creates some distance that will facilitate my approaching the curriculum without bringing my own habitus to the project. Further, having read extensive research on becoming a white ally myself and the experience of many white adults in learning about institutional racism and how they have benefitted from it, and seeing first-hand the way that class and race overlap in offering privilege to many around me, I will use those past informal observations to drive frames of inquiry in this work, but my driving force will always be the needs of the students & teachers this curriculum is intended for.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PROJECT

Schools and teachers face competing priorities when developing students to be good citizens but also meeting academic expectations of systems and parents. Especially in independent schools, parents have an expectation of their high tuition buying their students superior readiness for a top college, and in high school this can become the priority to the exclusion of all else. Further, teachers have limited time for extra projects, especially with tight curriculum standards, and the resistance of many students to learning about privilege can be strong in environments steeped in it. This project is specifically set in World History because there is flexibility to align this work to the content standards for the topic and because in a World History course, as compared to an American History course, students will have less initial dissonance in hearing ideas that may be

new to them around income inequality and social stratification than they would when directly discussing such issues in their own society. Because these students are likely to graduate and pursue highly competitive higher education and career progressions that will place them at positions of power and influence (Bartels, 2010), and the white college educated *men* especially will "hold a disproportionate amount of societal power relative to women and people of color to both recreate and sometimes challenge the existing racial paradigm" (Cabrera, 2014, p. 31), introducing these ideas to these students and planting seeds for justice is critical work.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Racism- A system designed to give priority and advantages to one specific race so that power structures can be expanded and maintained by that race. In the context of this paper, that race identified is white (Tatum, 2003).

Racist- A beneficiary of racism, whether or not those benefits are intentionally achieved or received with a full understanding of the system (Tatum, 2003).

Social Justice – The proactive creation and reinforcement of policies and practices as well as reinforcement of attitudes and actions that ensure all persons have equitable access and opportunities while receiving equitable treatment, agency and outcomes without marginalization or paternalism (Adams, Bell, & Griffin, 2007)

Privilege – A special advantage, immunity, permission, right or benefit granted to or enjoyed as a result of membership in a group that is considered the norm in society which can be relied on as normal and expected (Wildman & Davis, 1997).

White Privilege – A set of social and economic benefits, conveniences, and extra perks given to persons who identify as or are identified as racially white without their having to earn them whether they do or do not actively seek them (McIntosh, 1989).

Class Privilege– A set of social and economic benefits, conveniences, and extra perks given to persons who are born into or acquire significant wealth and/or social status whether they do or do not actively seek them[2].

Intersectionality- The overlap of identities that an individual is personally associated with which creates a unique experience with benefits and challenges which cannot be understood as merely the sum of the experience of each identity on its own. (Crenshaw, 1989) Can refer to a combination of race, class, gender, ability, education, wealth, location, occupation, sexual orientation, marital or other legal status.

[2] Defined by the author based on the widely accepted sister definition of white privilege.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

"Change means growth, and growth can be painful. But we sharpen self-definition by exposing the self in work and struggle together with those whom we define as different from ourselves, although sharing the same goals" (Audre Lorde, Sister Outsider).

While primary and secondary education should ideally prepare students to be effective, critical citizens (Freire, 2000; Giroux, 2017), it is instead a vehicle to reproduce the status quo of disproportionate power structures through a hidden curriculum and disparate ideas of what good citizenship looks like. American students, of or soon to be of voting age, are prepared to be citizens by a system that directs them as passive beings in a wholly undemocratic approach (McQuillan, 2005). For some, this social reproduction is desirable (McLaren, 1989; Quinn, 2018), and in the context of families who send their students to private schools, or even superior suburban schools, it is likely their intent to maintain their children's status in the same positions of elevated privilege that afford them the opportunity to attend the better school to begin with (Hagerman, 2018; Levinson et al., 2015; Nieto, 2005). Here, mere personally responsible citizens are the common goal, or to some lesser extent participatory citizens, but rarely if ever is the goal the formation from the elite the creation of truly justice-oriented citizens. Yet this is the choice that Freire offers us; to continue the norm or to empower students to challenge it (Negrón-Gonzales, Opoku-Agyemang, & Talwalker, 2016). Many community members, especially conservatives, call to keep politics out of education, but to empower students to create a more just world in the future, there is no separation of the two (Giroux, 2017; hooks, 1994). Instead, students should be empowered with multiple perspectives (Swalwell, 2013a) and a critical consciousness with which to evaluate them.

It is against this backdrop that we seek to identify how curriculum can engaged wealthy students in becoming justice minded. To determine a course forward, this paper will evaluate

three bodies of literature. First, research about the students of privilege themselves must be considered, specifically how the individual and collective identities of students in wealthy high schools have been formed and need be considered in approaching this work. Secondly, educators must confront the hidden curriculum in schools and general society that they are working against and how alternative narratives and voices can be used to counteract the myths of individualism and racial hegemony in society. Finally, the work of creating justice-oriented citizens requires an understanding of pedagogies that seek to create good citizens, with a lens towards how different types of "good" citizens are formed. Only with a foundation in these three areas can we begin to design curriculum that will disrupt privilege in wealthy high schools.

I. PRIVILEGED STUDENT IDENTITIES

"Real education should consist of drawing the goodness and the best out of our own students. What better books can there be than the book of humanity?" – Cesar Chavez

Swalwell encourages educators seeking to create justice-oriented citizens to start by assessing where their students are in thinking about power, privilege and justice through discussions and reflections (2013a). Similarly, in order for students to have effective conversations about social justice issues, they must rehumanize the other (Griffin et al., 2012; hooks, 2003; Matias, 2013), but first they must explore their own positionality and privileges. In order for students to have effective conversations about social justice issues, this is critically important in developing student confidence by helping them to understand and explore the power structures around them (Kincheloe, 2008). Swalwell offers some specific frames that must be considered along more general research into the identities of privileged adolescents; the ways that their racial and class privilege(s) inform their sense of knowing and understanding the world around them, and where that leaves opportunity for entry into discussion of their positionality. Only with a grounding in

these considerations can educators prepare to work with students of privilege to develop justice-oriented identities.

MAPPING CITIZENSHIP ORIENTATIONS

Swalwell introduces four different types of student interpretations of a justice mindset that show very different frames of reference (2013b, 2013a). Some of these truly map onto our definition of a justice-oriented citizen while others are more aligned with a participatory or even personally responsible citizen even though the students she studied all considered *themselves* to be justice-oriented. Students with each lens can be taught slightly differently, and different learning activities are more likely to lead them to one place over another. The first frame Swalwell introduces, which is most aligned with a justice-oriented citizen, is the "Activist Ally" who not only understands the systemic nature of inequities but is engaged towards making change. This individual also demonstrates and is motivated not only by empathy for the oppressed, but an understanding of the cost to their own humanization of being an oppressor (Bebout, 2014; Freire, 2000; Kivel, 2011). The second frame, which we might most closely align with a participatory citizen, is the "Benevolent Benefactor". Also heavily engaged with improvement of the circumstances of those who are oppressed, this student does not recognize the deep-rooted systemic causes of oppression in society similar to many paternalistic figures involved in service work (Cann & McCloskey, 2017) and social justice dialogue (Leonardo & Porter, 2010). Next, the "Meritocrat" relies heavily on the idea that anyone can succeed with hard work and sees value in giving of their time or money to a few *select* causes that mitigate discomfort for the oppressed but does not see a need for active engagement in the system or understand the systems that prevent some from succeeding even with hard work. This student most likely aligns with the

personally responsible citizen. The final student mindset that Swalwell introduces does not align to any particular citizen time because, as she points out, Kahne & Westheimer did not account for active resistance, this is the "Resigned" student. Students ascribing to this last frame see the systemic nature of oppression, but feeling themselves powerless to make any change to the system, actively disconnect as much as possible; thinking themselves like Henry Thoreau in an imagined "cabin in the woods" apart from greater society.

These four frames introduced by Swalwell have some overlap with four types of citizenship found by Pancer et al, (2007). Here, understanding of systemic oppression was left out of the classification entirely, further demonstrating the varied expectation of "good citizenship" in the field and removing the ability for any of their frames to represent a true justice-orientation. In Pancer's model however, a unique element of "identity achievement" is introduced as a means for consideration. Here, the "Activists" are termed as such for their high levels of engagement in both political and community activities and also present with a high level of identity realization, suggesting that such engagement is a part of who they are as individuals. These students could be considered participatory or justice-oriented citizens depending on their motivations and ability to critique the system. Pancer also introduces a category of "Helpers" who are also well developed in terms of their identity but are not likely to engage in political activity at all, preferring community action projects already taking place. We would likely call these individuals personally responsible citizens, and they may be synonymous with Swalwell's benevolent benefactors.

Perhaps most interestingly, Pancer introduces the "Responders" who are active when called upon by Helpers or Activists but otherwise uninvolved and present with low identity achievement. It might be easy at first glance to characterize these individuals as mere meritocrats, but with intervention and assistance in identity formation, they may evolve into benevolent

benefactors or, ideally, into activist allies. Identifying the helpers with this potential is a key opportunity for social justice educators. Finally, Pancer introduces the Uninvolved who are not at all active and suggests they have low identity achievement. The "uninvolved" are different from the resigned in that they have not been seen to *choose* their lack of engagement and they haven't demonstrated an understanding of the systemic challenges of our society for equity.

While these frames are useful to consider, the tension between them reminds that educators should be cautious though in assuming where individual students are without hearing from the students themselves about their genuine thoughts and motivations. For some students, "performing" or "bull-shitting" is the norm at these schools in spite of the rigorous coursework whether the topic is or isn't related to social issues (Gaztambide-Fernández, 2011). Specific to this work, students may treat social justice as another "intellectual performance" (Ayers, Quinn, & Stovall, 2008) with wealthy students especially claiming care for the oppressed as a way of enacting social capital as a "good person" in general discourse without having a true personal commitment to their statements (Gaztambide-Fernández & Howard, 2013), passing themselves off as aligned with one of these frames comfortably without their hearts truly being aligned with the work. Conversely, resistance is sometimes chosen and can be transformational in certain contexts (Solórzano & Bernal, 2001) so a student who seems resigned or uninvolved may have more genuine interest and feelings, but not yet had sufficient opportunities to develop a strong identity or learn about the nature of systemic oppression. As such, resistance is easily misunderstood or miscategorized just as another student's performances could make them appear more of an ally for justice than they are. As a way for students to explore & demonstrate their views, action is important in a social justice classroom (Ayers et al., 2008), and this also gives teachers a more authentic assessment of where students are.

SOCIAL CLASS AS IDENTITY

Howard (2008) had been the first to suggest that privilege was an identity and Seider built upon this in exploring how a privileged identity could impact students' abilities to develop a critical praxis in high school, finding that when exposed to content around systemic inequalities these students did develop more systemic explanations for poverty, but were unable to see those same systemic factors as leading to financial privilege, especially their own. In this instance, the students would use both naturalizing and legitimizing ideologies to explain their positions and actively resisted developing empathy for homelessness (Seider, 2011). This aversion to empathy avoids a threat to dominant ideology which allows students to avoid confronting the role they play actively or passively in perpetuating an unjust system. These ideas are so embedded in our understandings that a discussion of income inequality is absent from the curriculum standards of most states and even those states that reference it do only that; reference it without any interrogation of causes (Rogers & Westheimer, 2015).

Education can be a mitigating factor in these understandings; it has been shown that the children of more educated parents are more likely to indicate institutional factors to an extent when explaining poverty, but these same students are still more likely to attribute wealth to individualistic factors (Flanagan et al., 2014). The same study noted that this later occurrence was consistent with students who came from families of less privilege as well; when parents had less education, students were even more likely to indicate individualistic reasons for wealth.

Ensconced in these privileged academic environments, students learn a very specific way of relating to the world that is removed from the far less affluent circumstances of a growing majority of the country. This leaves them far removed from the true life experience of individuals

in poorer circumstances (Ballard, Caccavale, & Buchanan, 2015; Gaztambide-F, n.d.) and susceptible to uniformed, stereo-type based understandings of those different experiences (Howard, 2010). A lack of personal understanding reduces the ability of students to develop empathy for other groups (Thein, Guise, & Sloan, 2012 as referenced in Hunt & Seiver, 2018;). This is not limited to school populations that are exclusively wealthy; a study of one hundred and fifty one adolescents found that while students may have loose friendships across social classes, their intimate friendships are predominantly homogeneous in terms of social class with some degree of intention (Papapolydorou, 2014).

Even though many students may be seen as attempting to distance themselves from the legacy and privileged nature of these institutions by claiming they are choosing and earning their own paths (Gaztambide-Fernández, 2011), their attendance is often multigenerational. Because student isolation in these environments – an isolation that is guarded by administrations and communities (Howard, 2008) - has normalized affluent students' experiences and allowed their identity to become tied to their wealth (Howard, 2010), it becomes a source of identity that must be defended (Seider, 2011). Similarly to how white students identify themselves as "colorblind" to avoid accusations of racism, wealthy students use legitimizing frames to indicate how their social status is the result of their or their family's hard work (Howard, 2008, 2010; Seider, 2011), something anyone can achieve with similar sacrifice.

For those students who are driven by schooling to challenge these assumptions, Seider suggests that some become more than defensive of their privilege, becoming less empathetic in a realization that they want to maintain their own place in the hierarchy (Seider, 2008, 2011). However, Ballard and others (2015) found that seeing that they could be impacted by unexpected unfortunate circumstances made students more inclined to help, perhaps because in the schools in

their study the position that privilege came with responsibility was central to the schools' missions and identities. Seider also presents Kluegel & Smith's idea of compromised images whereby students of privilege take their new understandings of inequality and structures and hold them alongside their historic frames of meritocracy without allowing the former to call into question the latter (Seider, 2011). This can be seen in other studies as well and aligns with the legitimization that students often express in inequity being "the way the world works" or students who claim to believe in fairness also express a sense of entitlement about their own superior schooling (Howard, 2010), demonstrating a marked dual consciousness.

WHITE RACIAL IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT

Because of the limited work on social class as identity, it is useful to think of another way in which an identity associated with power is explored and recognized by those who benefit from it; whiteness. When Janet Helms outlined WRID (White Racial Identity Development) in 1993 it was a time where there had been an ongoing conversation around whiteness for a few decades, but she was the first to concretely outline a process for white racial identity development. This marked an extension of increasing work on the impact of whiteness on white communities, extending a shift that had begun in the late 70's to explore white supremacy as a problem for white people (Helms, 1993), not just as a "Black problem" as it had often been considered and often continues to be (Bebout, 2014; Okun, 2010; Tatum, 2003). Her model was introduced as a two-stage process by which white individuals develop a white anti-racist identity, with those two stages encompassing six phases. The first stage represents abandonment of racism and encompasses first contact and then disintegration & the second stage, developing an anti-racist identity, as encompasses reintegration, psuedo-indepdendence, immersion-emersion, and

autonomy (Helms, 1993; Lawrence & Tatum, 1999). The second-to-last stage, immersion-emersion, had been a later addition by Helms to present the ability of whites to autonomously explore whiteness (Helms, 1993) and this is a critical stage in considering education and student autonomy. Subsequent adjustments and critiques have changed these references from stages to statuses and not only reminded practitioners that not everyone will reach each stage, but that progression through them is not always linear (Joseph E. Flynn, 2015). It has also been suggested that the statuses could be more fully understood if an additional phase of "naivete" was added at the start (Sue, 2016), which is only relevant to primary education.

Contact- As the first stage, contact is where most white persons find themselves by default and is often a state of believed colorblindness where the individual does not see race in institutional processes and likely does not believe they see it in their individual interactions, resenting a suggestion that they are "white" (Matias, 2013). Schools can continue to perpetuate this state through curriculum and even diversity campaigns that focus on ignoring difference rather than acknowledging or celebrating it (Tanner, 2018).

Disintegration- The second stage is generally the result of a jarring experience or curriculum presented where a student feels the need to question their prior ignorance. At this point, just seeing one's self "in color" is revolutionary (Matias, 2013). At this phase a student recognizes something may be different than they understood and begin to question the system around them, resulting in a sort of confusion that can manifest as guilt and shame. This has been seen as early as middle school as a result of curricular content in the area of racism (Smith, 2013) or with college students who begin to see racialized others as humans with challenging experiences (Cabrera, 2014) and through adulthood (Kivel, 2011; Okun, 2010) with similar effect.

Reintegration- Depending on how the student reacts to the feelings experienced in disintegration,

and the support they receive in this exploration (Sue, 2016), they may continue to reintegration. In reintegration, an individual wishes to disavow their newfound awareness of something being amiss; this can be particularly emotional for adolescents (Denevi & Pastan, 2006; Tanner, 2017). This could also be considered a phase of denial, and it has manifested with more overt racism and experiences of "victim blaming" (Schulz & Fane, 2015) or claims of reverse racism (Cabrera, 2014) to rationalize the status quo. Falling back on definitions of racism as merely interpersonal acts is a common defense mechanism to avoid continuing to reintegration as well (Cabrera, 2014).

Many individuals find themselves stalled at or before the reintegration phase, which has overlap with but is not synonymous with resistance. Flynn (2015) specifically states that resistance is commonly present in the first three statuses and that without successful intervention many will stall and continue to exist at one of these statuses as a result of it. Up to this point, an individual identity is developed and if someone is able to suppress their feelings of dissonance fully, or sense too much social threat in continuing to question the system, they will reintegrate and stay there, as white men are particularly apt to do and demonstrate with repeated denials of the role of racism in current society (Cabrera & Corces-Zimmerman, 2017). Alternatively, some individuals, and hopefully a growing number of students, will continue to develop an anti-racist identity, cycling into and through phase two and the remaining three stages as curricular interventions (Smith, 2013; Tanner, 2017; Yeung et al., 2013) and extra-curricular activities (Griffin et al., 2012; Tauriac, Kim, Lambe Sariñana, Tawa, & Kahn, 2013) have been shown to incite.

Psuedo-Independence- Some, but unfortunately not nearly enough, students continue into psuedo-independence, where they begin to develop a more positive identity in exploring what it means to be white with less shame, but still a great deal of confusion. These individuals are not ready to

take on significant anti-racist work, possibly because of the internal work that remains for them, but they support others doing that work and wish to exist in a world without systemic racism, beginning to align themselves differently and explore possible actions (Tanner, 2017).

Immersion-Emersion- The next stage is immersion-emersion, where an individual actively seeks to take on the work of being both anti-racist and accepting of their whiteness. Individuals in this phase are believe to be prone to seeking one another, but it is likely that being introduced to a community that is supporting one another in this work can hasten the transition of someone still in the psudeo-independence phase as well. Here an individual may be beginning to cultivate not just an anti-racist identity but a separate social practice of allyship as defined by Waters (Cabrera, Watson, & Franklin, 2016).

Autonomy- Finally, in the last stage an individual finds themselves with autonomy. This individual is actively seeking to create a more just world and has a positive relationship with their whiteness, perhaps seeing the power it gives them to work for change, perhaps having reclaimed some of their more specific ethnic roots such as Irish or Italian (Denevi, 2004).

Sue offers an alternative sixth and seventh stage, "Integrative Awareness" and "Commitment to Antiracist Action", which break the fully realized self-identity (integrative awareness) and orientation towards a justice praxis (commitment) of the autonomy stage into separate pieces (Sue, 2016).

In moving through these stages or statuses, white males are most resistant (Sassi & Thomas, 2008; Trainor, 2002) perhaps because they lack any intersectional identity or empathy of having been oppressed while white women can fall back on their gendered experience to develop empathy. The intersectionality of identity for students who are white but have other non-dominant identity markers (queer, female, minority religions, disabled, etc.) or are otherwise bi-racial or

marginalized can have a significant impact on individuals and groups in identity formation (Cabrera et al., 2016) and discussion of racism and other isms.

II. NAMING THE HIDDEN CURRICULUM IN WEALTHY HIGH SCHOOLS

"My schooling gave me no training in seeing myself as an oppressor, as an unfairly advantaged person, or as a participant in a damaged culture. I was taught to see myself as an individual whose moral state depended on her individual moral will" (Peggy McIntosh).

Schools and media in Western Culture tell the stories of the victors in such a way as to imply they are the only stories there are to tell in curriculum for all subjects and at all levels, representing what many have called a hidden curriculum that supports a continuation of current power structures (Mahmoudi, Chadegani, Eghbali, & Amini, 2015). This dominant curriculum thwarts justice by obscuring the many injustices present in past and present society, impacting what is taught, how it is taught, and the relationships in the learning environment where it is taught to ensure society continues its status quo (Hunt & Seiver, 2018; Yosso, 2005). (See also, Apple, 1986; Gandin & Apple, 2002). Darder conveys the essence of this curriculum particularly well:

> "Western political and economic interests distort the perceptions of the other, where an underlying hidden curriculum is the assimilation of the other, in order to preserve the classed, racialized, gendered, and sexual hierarchies or supremacies of Western cultural domination." (2015, p. 69)

This deeply entrenched curriculum is challenging to combat for educators. Even though alternative reading packets and materials have been shown to increase engagement and retention (Martell & Hashimoto-Martell, 2011; Nokes, Dole, & Hacker, 2007), they face challenges of acceptance (Loewen & Banks, 2009). One study found that even when students in a high school history course were presented with an exhaustive reading packet of different perspectives that they derived significant value from, many of them still couldn't accept it as offering equal

credibility as a standard textbook (Martell & Hashimoto-Martell, 2011). Alternative sources are also risky for educators to implement; without a solid understanding of their context and the ability to convey that context to students, one-off additional sources can be reviewed with a lens that perpetuates the dominant narrative. In an audit of three reputable sources of curriculum for a lesson that shares an indigenous voice, it was found that only one provided even close to sufficient support for the educator to ground the document in appropriate context (Stanton, 2012).

Specifically in relation to the hidden curriculum of class power and privilege, "most educational systems have no mechanism to foster within the privileged the self-defeating notion that they enjoy the benefit of their lives by impoverishing and oppressing others. Injustice is either obscured in the immediate or highlighted in the remote and distant" (van Gorder, 2007). In the face of these challenges, it is incumbent on an educator who wishes to create justice-oriented citizens that she "directly challenges patterns of oppression embedded within the structures and cultures of schools" (Levine & Au, 2013, p. 76). To do so, this paper explores some of the dominant narratives in the hidden curriculum that must be addressed; individualism, an acceptance of the status quo, and messages heard outside of the classroom; and explores the way that alternative narratives can be expressed through counter stories and stories of resistance.

INDIVIDUALISM

Individualism is a founding principle of American society, promising that each individual's actions can have great impact and that each citizen can control their own destiny through their own choices and efforts. Individualism plays a number of roles in perpetuating systems of inequity, especially in current American society. The idea has been heavily promoted since the late nineteenth century when Horatio Alger's "Ragged Dick" rags to riches story was published

and distributed widely in schools (Matias, 2013). All students, but especially white wealthy and upper middle-class students, are told that by virtue of the hard work of their parents they enjoy their positions in life, and with hard work of their own, they will maintain or improve those conditions (Levinson et al., 2015).

More recently, this historic frame of individualism has been used as an argument against social action programs because for example, affirmative action conflicts with ideas of a pure meritocracy (Hunt & Seiver, 2018). The tenets of individualism form the base for the notion of participatory citizens as the ideal "good" citizens (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004a). While Tocqueville called America a society that put the whole ahead of the individual and this may still have been the case in the era of the New Deal, this is increasingly not the state of our nation (Seider, 2011). One need only look at the shift in tax brackets for the wealthiest Americans over the past decades to see a much-changed national focus; while tax rates for the richest individuals were ninety percent or higher in the two decades after World War Two, they fell to the seventies for more than a decade hence (Bradford Tax Institute, n.d.). Today the highest tax rate paid by any American individual is just thirty-seven percent (Berger, 2017). This fact alludes to a difference in political ideology promoting individualistic explanations for income inequality. Even though liberal and conservative teachers are equally likely to discuss (or more commonly not discuss) income inequality and its causes in class, conservative teachers are more prone to referencing individualist causes for wealth and poverty (Rogers & Westheimer, 2017).

The perceived validity of individualism is affirmed in what students see around them, and because class is "not discussed" in the classroom in "polite" society (hooks, 1994), the belief in our pure "Ameritocracy" as defined by Akom (2008) persists without an understanding of the institutional racism that supports it. In seeking to compile a review of the extant literature on

social class and its role in adolescent identity formation, Carolyn Hunt & Machele Seiver (2018) affirmed that there is little work to be found. They rationalize this with the notion that Americans are less comfortable talking about class than even race or gender (Hunt & Seiver, 2018). Of course, if class isn't being acknowledged in the classroom, class cannot possibly be critiqued in the classroom, and as a result an acceptance of our class norms becomes a natural part of the hidden curriculum in schools, reproducing age-old systems and further stratifying our society.

In regard to perpetuating racism, individualism drives an emphasis on racism as consisting of entirely individual acts committed with active personal malicious intent. Thinking of racism so narrowly leads many to stubbornly cling to the idea that because they as an individual have not knowingly committed an act of racism, they are not racist (Cabrera, 2014; Okun, 2010), and by the same definition most in their circle are not. This obscures the conversation and drives attention away from macro-level analysis of racism's enduring role in shaping society by instead focusing on the responsibility of each individual to make change by being "personally responsible" (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004b).

Correspondingly, a devout insistence on the frame of individualism in looking at who has and does not have wealth masks the inherited nature of social class. This has repeatedly been shown to be true with students who enjoy class privilege themselves, who even when exposed to ideas of structural inequities retreat to legitimizing frames of individualism to rationalize their own position and familial wealth (Howard, 2010). As a part of legitimation, the cocoon of individualism often extends to the family unit (Howard, 2010; Seider, 2011) without any recognition of the passing of class privilege between generations that may have facilitated their continued success, and students attributing the financial comfort of their family to the individual

hard work demonstrated by past generations (Howard, 2010; Seider, 2011). Even with introductions to systems of inequity, students are not able to connect their family's past success with their own "luck in the birth lottery" to see unequal advantage or disadvantage based on their family's income.

The idea of individualism as a backbone of our culture is perpetuated widely in the American education system and used as a hegemonic tool. One only needs to think of the emphasis at many schools on competition to see the focus on individual contributions that is so unlike collectivist culture in other societies (Faitar, 2006). As Adam Howard says, "in an environment where competition is the order of the day, there is little room for arousing collective concern for anything other than self-interest" (2008, p. 58). These individualist frames don't start and end in the classroom; like all hidden curriculum many of them are brought from home, perpetuated by media, and pervasive across all social interactions. This commitment to individualism creates resistance to ideas of systemic injustice for students of privilege because it flies against a key narrative that their position in society at present and in the future is entirely based on their own achievements and accomplishments (Okun, 2010).

ABSENCE OF SYSTEMIC CRITIQUE IN SCHOOLING

To develop students who will work to reduce inequities in our society, students must reach the third, justice-oriented phase, yet it is recognized that quite often, students cannot be successful here because their schooling lacks a focus on critique of current systems (Jill Ewing Flynn, 2012; Freire, 2013; Mahmoudi et al., 2015; McQuillan, 2005; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004a). Children are often generous and caring, especially in their earlier years, and have an innate sense of justice and wanting to help others (Derman-Sparks & Ramsey, 2011; Flynn, 2012) but schooling often

fails to provide a direction for those intentions in larger society (Negrón-Gonzales et al., 2016). Without a foundation in social justice, students are prone to "victim blaming" where they attribute challenges in a minority group to the cultural norms or lack of good behavior on the part of the group rather than structural inequities (Schulz & Fane, 2015) (see also- Johnson, 2005 & Lazarre, 1996; Sleeter, 2000, as referenced in R. A. Gaztambide-Fernández & Howard, 2013), falling back on an individualistic lens.

Developing a critical consciousness is critically important in developing student confidence by helping them to understand and interrogate the power structures around them (Ayers et al., 2008; Kincheloe, 2008). Having this opportunity, engaging in that critique, and developing an understanding of how to truly make a more just world through social justice education has inspired some students to pursue related careers (Anderson, 2016) and can connect a student's education to their life's work and passions (Ayers et al., 2008). Such a background can at least prepare them to not be neutral participants in perpetuating inequity as adults (Sue, 2016).

Freire (2013) calls for "conscientizaco;" a true critical praxis that is made one's own through a focused, critical education and a personal commitment to authentic critique of one's own world. Specific to history courses, Segall's critical history education framework encourages students to consider the sources of information and interrogate inconsistencies in narratives which can be done with written assignments (Martell & Hashimoto-Martell, 2011) or thoughtful class discussions (see also, Segall, 1999). Unfortunately, such exploration of systemic causes of racial and class privilege is largely absent from Western education and the culture that it exists within. In fact, textbooks reinforce that whites are innocent in the suffering of the world (Leonardo, 2004) just as they reinforce the innocence of the wealthy. As a result, many students, regardless of the

privilege they do or do not enjoy have an individualist understanding of success in society that fuels Akom's Ameritocracy. Instead of a "hidden curriculum", students should be given all perspectives and viewpoints along with critical thinking skills to explore them so that they can form their own beliefs and become thoughtful citizens (Ayers et al., 2008; Swalwell, 2013a).

HIDDEN CURRICULUM OUTSIDE THE CLASSROOM

Educators cannot expect their classrooms to exist in vacuums; the lens that students bring to the classroom is heavily influenced by what happens outside of it, creating a situation where if the educator does not provide accurate context, students will naturally situate their new learning in their already held dominant narratives (Griffin et al., 2012; Stanton, 2012). This requires working with students to be critical of messages from home and media; but must also explore messages students are exchanging informally with peers. While much of education is focused on the reifications of formal pedagogies, as much if not more of student learning, especially as it relates to identity formation, is informal. This can be facilitated through reification when learning includes discussion and action paired with reflection (Welton et al., 2015) but it is often entirely unplanned learning, much of which cannot happen in a classroom (Quinn, 2018). It is this informal education that creates much of the foundation for our identities (Levinson et al., 2015). This can happen in groups of peers, creating submerged networks (S. Ginwright & Cammarota, 2007) to question traditional thought and information, but it can just as easily perpetuate majoritarian beliefs

For many students, informal learning is not just more influential than classroom learning, but it is the only influential learning; students who feel passed over or disempowered by the system loose engagement and are labeled as bad students by a society unprepared to critique the

system (McQuillan, 2005; Quinn, 2018). Informal learning can also happen in formal non-classroom setting like a peer to peer conference (Pancer et al., 2002), dedicated discussion group (Griffin et al., 2012) or through organized activities and student groups, all of which can more effectively give students a strong sense of agency (Quinn '18) to strengthen their identity and continue their learning. Increasingly, this also includes learning done online, with the likelihood that digital media will amplify the power structures and dominant narratives students are already invested in (Mirra, Morrell, & Filipiak, 2018) as a result. Without critical media literacy skills being taught in schools, online learning can be damaging sooner than it can be empowering. Teachers planning to challenge dominant narratives in their classroom must be prepared to work against messages received outside of it. Similarly, teachers must be self-critical and mindful when selecting classroom materials themselves; many lesson plans available informally online support the same dominant narratives teachers may be trying to get away from (Stanton, 2012).

COUNTER STORIES FOR HUMANIZATION

Many students with nascent awareness of their white racial identity want to be able to "get it" and move on without continuing to talk about it over and over (Joseph E. Flynn, 2015) because they don't see ties to structural racism, but still see racism on an individual level. These individuals take an "it's not me" attitude (Jill Ewing Flynn, 2012) and don't see value in "over-discussing" or participating in larger action around justice issues, representing the "white moderate" warned of by Martin Luther King Jr. (2003) in his 1963 letter from the Birmingham Jail shortly before his death. This inability to connect to the experiences of the oppressed in a meaningful, empathetic way, also applies to wealthy students and their ability to understand class oppression (Flanagan & Kornbluh, 2017; Griffin et al., 2012; Hunt & Seiver, 2018; Mistry, Brown, Chow, & Collins,

2012) (See also Thein, Guise, & Sloan, 2012 as referenced in Hunt & Seiver, 2018). These students are experiencing guilt, which they want to put aside. Guilt is not useful; what is needed is sympathy that can inspire action. When groups confronted with their privileged status develop sympathy, it is a focus on the other, a de-centering of the self, and can be a motivation to act on behalf of that other (Iyer, Leach, & Pedersen, 2004). Non-dominant narratives and counter stories can break through and create sympathy, even empathy that can be paired with an awareness of one's own role and power in oppression.

Privileged students need access to personal stories and narratives that humanize oppressed groups they may have never encountered (Gaztambide-Fernández & Howard, 2013; Swalwell, 2013b). In spaces where there are significant representative groups of different backgrounds, intergroup dialogue is an effective pedagogy for developing understanding (Griffin et al., 2012; Tauriac et al., 2013; Yeung et al., 2013) of the experiences of other groups. This can improve the commitment to social justice for participating students (Denevi & Pastan, 2006; Griffin et al., 2012) and lead to the development of strong intergroup friendships (Griffin et al., 2012) which is critical in giving the marginalized and the beneficiary of oppression intimate relationships with the "other" (hooks, 2003).

Whether they grow up in homogenous communities or attend more diverse schools, students with racial privilege (Sassi & Thomas, 2008) and class privilege are oblivious to the daily experience of their marginalized counterparts without concrete examples (Gaztambide-Fernández & Howard, 2013). Some educators seek to bridge this gap through curricular content in the form of videos or articles (Howard, 2008) or games that stimulate the experience of living in poverty (Griffin et al., 2012; Mistry et al., 2012) with both showing moderate success, more so in the case of the latter.

A particularly common and useful strategy is story-telling, a common tool in Peace Education. This is why, for example, Israel-based Parent's Circle brings members of their community to speak to students in small groups to talk about working towards peace (Anvi & Bacha, 2006). In another program in Israel, a participant acknowledged that it was story-telling that humanized the "other" for her more so than in any prior workshops she had attended (Bar-On, 2009). Such story telling has been proven repeatedly to effectively develop understandings in students (Matias, 2013) which can develop empathy. It is precisely because stories can "catalyze the necessary cognitive conflict to jar dysconcious racism" (Ladson-Billings, 1998, p. 14) and give context with real lived understanding that stories are a key tenet of critical race theory (Ladson-Billings, 1998, 2014; Taylor, Gillborn, & Ladson-Billings, 2009) even though story-telling is not valued in traditional academia because there aren't enough "traditional" data points (Ladson-Billings, 2014).

Unfortunately, in mostly homogenous school communities, a drive towards story-telling can put undue pressure on minority students in a setting by putting people of color in a position to feel like they are constantly educating their peers (Leonardo & Porter, 2010) which can lead to an exhaustion and fatigue unique to communities of color (hooks, 2003). Further, in the increasing number of spaces where minority students make up an extreme minority, asking a single individual to speak for an entire group can result in very narrow and inaccurate understandings of a group's experience (Kumashiro, 2000) while putting those students at risk for retraumatization. Educators must be vigilant to seek stories from external sources. Primary source documents can help students develop empathy and explore new perspectives but must be used carefully and shared in a way that challenges rather than perpetuates presumed understandings of the community represented (Stanton, 2012) (See also Freire, 2000; Wineburg, 2001). In one effective

example, a teacher got students in Baltimore intrigued in issues of poverty and justice in their local area with an episode of popular show "The Wire" but followed that up with a Youth Participatory Action Project where students engaged members of the same neighborhoods featured on the show in research (Lucas & Clark, 2016). This approach complimented a media source that could perpetuate stereotypes with actual voices in what O'Connell has referred to as "humble encounters" (Lucas & Clark, 2016).

Another "other" students must be introduced to as they explore the historical and institutional roots of oppression are the resistors. Typical hidden curriculum thrives on hiding voices of dissent. It is critical to help students learn about those in history who have used their power to stand against inequity in all forms (Swalwell, 2013a) so they can see models to look up to. It is not enough to mention Oskar Schindler as one person with power who subverted an oppressive system; students must be exposed to the history of activism by those with power. In concert with these alternative narratives, students should explore the overlap between past and current systemic inequities so they can place themselves in the shoes of those former activists, which is more likely to empower students and show them the way to being activist allies themselves (Swalwell, 2013a).

Fishman acknowledges that working against this hidden curriculum is not easy and encourages teachers to see themselves as "committed intellectuals" who push forward against this difficult task (Fischman & Haas, 2009). It may be helpful for educators to think of their goals in this area as the creation of communities of practice. Communities of practice share a common purpose such as social justice, and work towards it together with both reinfections and participation (Scanlan, 2013) as a peer group. Communities of Practice can be sites to initiate collective action and a democracy praxis for students (Homana, 2018), and readily serve as a

space to create a social justice practice (Scanlan, 2013). For the group, a community of practice creates trust and build respect for others (Homana, 2018) building an informal social community (Tanner, 2017) that can lead to a brave place of discussion and growth. Here, an individual can facilitate a renegotiation with the community and their self about beliefs and understandings (Scanlan, 2013) of their social order. Participation in such a group has been tied to higher instances of participatory citizenship but can also strengthen a social justice identity (Homana, 2018) with the right intent. These programs, regardless of form, will struggle to exist without school or organizational support (Tauriac et al., 2013) and buy-in from parents and the larger community (Homana, 2018; Luminais & Williams, 2016).

III. PEDAGOGIES OF CITIZENSHIP

"If school is about preparing students for active citizenship, what better citizenship tool than the ability to critically analyze the society?" (Gloria Ladson-Billings)

Inside and outside their classrooms, students must be empowered through justice-oriented pedagogy to develop healthy self-awareness and prepare to be justice-oriented citizens. Students need accurate language & vocabulary (Denevi, 2004; Jill Ewing Flynn, 2012; Matias, 2013, 2013; Welton et al., 2015) to discuss issues with one another (Lucas & Clark, 2016), to express themselves in a classroom that values student voice and is led democratically (Swalwell, 2013a), and to engage society at large. They need skills and tools (Luminais & Williams, 2016; Welton et al., 2015) that can be worked into their own praxis in exploring and acting upon issues of social justice in their lived experiences. This common language and tool set should be the basis for peer discussions that lead to a praxis where students critique the world around themselves (Ayers et al., 2008; Freire, 2013) and work together to confront their forms of privilege, explore systems of

inequity, and seek ways to be allies for social and racial justice (Kivel, 2011; Littenberg-Tobias, 2014).

The skills, vocabulary, and academic context that facilitate a justice praxis are not resources that can be handed to students in a classroom through books, but a toolbox they must develop through experiences and scaffolded interventions. One framework for engagement designates different factors or interventions as initiating or sustaining, with both being necessary for student engagement towards personal growth (Pancer et al., 2002) and can be a starting point for planning. In this model, the engagement of a thoughtful teacher at the personal level or introduction of a student organization on campus at the institutional level can be an *initiating* factor for student engagement. Past that initial realization, ongoing peer support and collaboration provides necessary *sustaining* support to the individual in developing a new praxis (Sue, 2016) and developing a justice-oriented healthy racial identity. This model also recognizes the need for sustaining institutional support from a school, for example a campus climate that welcomes divergent thinking (Pancer et al., 2002; Tauriac et al., 2013).

Interventions and programs should give students the opportunity to develop leadership skills and become empowered (Berger Kaye, 2010; Starbuck & Bell, 2017) through meaningful activities. Students must discuss possible solutions to problems, consider the ideas of themselves and others, foresee challenges and adjust plans, and practice individual and collective skills, all while articulating themselves and accessing outcomes to develop leadership skills (Berger Kaye, 2010; Luminais & Williams, 2016). Student outcomes in leadership and identity formation are also strengthened and monitored through reflection activities (McQuillan, 2005). Such intentional opportunities in the context of a social justice or community engagement program also contribute

to students beginning to see themselves as change agents (Cipolle, 2010) especially when they see meaning in the work they are doing (Pancer et al., 2002).

These experiences should include project based learning and community-based social action projects that address injustice (Swalwell, 2013a). In her year-long ethnographic study of two wealthy high schools, Swalwell found that

> "…those activities emphasizing personal connections to injustice, critical self-reflection, listening, and relationship-building over time with people from marginalized groups tended to elicit more Activist Ally thinking than did those activities that emphasized abstract knowledge, emotional disconnection, intellectual opining, and unidirectional service projects or short-term field trips" (2013a, p. 111).

While this statement was drawn after the data had been collected and has not been directly tested, it aligns with other work in the field. Through 'vital engagement' which is established when students find their work to be meaningful (Pancer et al., 2002) students can see their impact on themselves (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004b) and in demonstrating their academic skills together they can reaffirm their own potential for impact from collective action (Kwon, 2006). In many schools, such experiences manifest as service learning programs and critical pedagogy projects. Each of these pedagogies requires appropriate implementation to develop justice-oriented citizens.

SERVICE LEARNING

While a community service or volunteer program is focused on stand-alone activities and positioned only as benefiting the receiver, a service learning program is a multi-layered program positioned to benefit both the receiver of the service and the practitioner (Furco & Billig, 2002). Further, service learning represents activities that are done both for and *with* others, "working in partnership with those who will benefit from the service activities" (Wade, 1997, p. 22). This

distinction is important for effectiveness in creating students who grow up to be adults with an orientation towards both service *and* social justice, and a high level of autonomy particularly engages students (Lucas & Clark, 2016). Studies have shown that required hours alone do not impact community commitment in students (Ballard et al., 2015; Yang, 2017), creating personally responsible citizens at best. Definitions of service learning vary, but generally include five components: meaningful acts of service, formal reflection, instruction, connections to academic learning, and personal development (Berger Kaye, 2010; Cipolle, 2010; Wade, 1997). In practice, there are even more variations of the inclusions, but schools and students are best served if all of these components are present and effective as a base.

The current literature on service learning programs and projects, oriented more towards creating participatory citizens, rather than justice-oriented citizens through service learning programs, does not deeply incorporate the necessary work of de-centering whiteness or challenging the income gap and introducing respect and value for different groups to students. This should also be incorporated into each component of the program not just to develop better justice-oriented citizens, but to avoid a paternalistic approach that re-centers whiteness (Cann & McCloskey, 2017) or furthers perceptions of clients as an "other" (Negrón-Gonzales et al., 2016).

CRITICAL PEDAGOGY

Critical Pedagogy placed in schools and community-based organizations can help students develop capacity, desire, and interest in social issues and methods of their transformation (Freire, 2013; Ginwright & Cammarota 2006). Tenets of Critical Pedagogy include the empowerment of students to transform injustice (McLaren, 1989), the development of academic skills (Morrell, 2006), and critique of dominant narratives (S. Ginwright & Cammarota, 2007; Noguera, 2006).

Critical pedagogy requires knowledge co-creation rather than banking education, with leaders providing scaffolding and facilitation without providing over-direction. Most significantly, students engaged in critical pedagogy are deeply refining their skills related to analysis and critical thinking. While these skills are easily forgotten in a test-driven environment (Kincheloe, 2008; Quillen, 2010) they are critical in preparing students for the very role of being an informed, critical citizen that Freire assigns responsibility to education to create.

Interestingly, the manifestation of these pedagogies is often different by the racial and social class of a school. True critical pedagogy, which interrogates systems, especially in one of its most powerful forms, Youth Participatory Action Research, has been studied primarily where oppressed students compose a majority of the student body (Garcia, Mirra, Morrell, Martinez, & Scorza, 2015; Morrell, 2006; Morrell & Duncan-Andrade, 2004; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004b). These projects are enormously empowering and give students of all backgrounds a powerful understanding not just of systems they live within but means to impact change for the better (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2007; Welton et al., 2015). Unfortunately the few comparable programs placed in white, wealthy schools, demonstrate a lack of critique when studied (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004b).

The version of YPAR studied in those wealthy schools still developed action skills for students and also taught about civic engagement, but they were oriented towards participatory citizenship, not social justice-oriented citizenship, with an absence of critique in the curriculum. While these schools receive less micromanagement from test-focused state boards (Howard, 2008) and have greater per-student resources, the increased pressure on college readiness and reduced perceived benefit in challenging the status quo limits the scope of social justice focusses. One notable exception, which was considered with Westheimer & Kahne in mind, has been a

successful elective at an elite all-girls school in Baltimore where students received academic content, had deep reading, and did a substantial community project (Lucas & Clark, 2016). In her own study, Swalwell (2013a) found that both schools conducted small participatory ethnography projects that students responded incredibly well to; at both sites students were disappointed that the projects fell at the end of the year and had limited time allocated which may demonstrate that it is not the students who are resistant to such approaches in privileged schools.

POSITIVE VIOLENCE

Swalwell (2013a) recommends starting all work with privileged students around justice with a discussion of the meaning of power and what power they have as individuals which fits into the importance of recognizing positionality at the start of any critical pedagogy project (Kincheloe, 2008). These discussions are not easy, especially for privileged students in the nascent stages of their discovery & identity actualization. White students have to embrace the discomfort (Bebout, 2014; Cabrera et al., 2016; Denevi & Pastan, 2006; Leonardo & Porter, 2010) even become comfortable with being confused (Tanner, 2017), as they engage in this work as must all students with class privilege. In many classroom pedagogies founded in a critical praxis, the white wealthy student is the inevitable oppressor identified (Trainor, 2002) and this may lead white students to believe that traditional safety norms like "speak your truth" do not apply to them in these spaces (Jill Ewing Flynn, 2012). They are not wrong. Students must be engaged not in "safe" spaces, but in "brave" spaces with community norms oriented towards respectful disagreement (Arao & Clemens, 2013; Jill Ewing Flynn, 2012), thinking of their discomfort as "growing pains" (Cabrera et al., 2016).

Fanon says that non-physical violence is required (Leonardo & Porter, 2010) to shift to justice-oriented thinking, making feelings of "safety" impossible. True to that statement, white and wealthy students often find themselves feeling attacked and uncomfortable (Bebout, 2014; Denevi, 2004; Joseph E. Flynn, 2015; Sassi & Thomas, 2008; Seider, 2011) in contexts where privilege is under discussion, whether as an individual or systemic issue. Yet if those feelings are assuaged through promises of "safety" as they often are, marginalized students quickly recognize the spaces are not safe for them, marking these places sites of false negotiations where oppressive colorblindness and ignorance of class is established as a proxy for direct dialogue (Leonardo & Porter, 2010). In these spaces, all students, but especially students with dominant identities, have a responsibility to grow and push themselves (Cabrera et al., 2016; Denevi & Pastan, 2006; Leonardo & Porter, 2010) which can lead to an internalization of competence and belief in one's skills. (Luminais & Williams, 2016; Starbuck & Bell, 2017) enhancing necessary feelings of empowerment for students (Denevi, 2004; Luminais & Williams, 2016) to move forward.

Students must also be encouraged to drive genuine personal meaning from this work rather than "playing the part." While Swalwell notes the importance of students seeing the need for their own humanization by engaging in justice work, there is a fine line between recognizing one's own "skin in the game" (Bebout, 2014) or the cost to one's own identity and humanity through being an oppressor as explorers of white privilege have done (Bebout, 2014; Denevi & Pastan, 2006; Kivel, 2011) and using the suffering of others to enact a positive self-identity and enrich one's own skills and social position (Cann & McCloskey, 2017; Gaztambide-F, n.d.; Swalwell, 2013a). Critical self-reflection allows students to make space to find meaning in the curriculum and work, and for teachers to affirm whether that critical self-reflection is truly taking

place. If students are engaging in projects for their own academic benefit alone and not the benefit of others, they have not truly reached justice-oriented citizenship.

In conclusion, the way that wealthy students are educated and socialized does not currently prepare them to be justice-oriented citizens. What limited literature exists suggests that interventions with these populations are limited in frequency and effectiveness, yet the capacity exists within justice pedagogies to rise to the task. This literature review cannot be sure what challenges may emerge in implementing these pedagogies in this context but it aims to present those norms that committed educators for justice are likely to come up against, how peers have deconstructed those norms in other situations, and what pedagogical practices are most likely to support the objective. This information provides the starting point from which the curriculum for this project is developed.

CHAPTER 3: THE PROJECT AND ITS DEVELOPMENT

I change myself, I change the world." — Gloria Anzaldua

BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE PROJECT

The project is a multi-day curricular unit meant to be incorporated into an existing tenth grade World History course in California. Over thirteen class days, the unit introduces students to considerations of social class and wealth as power in modern and historic times in a way that aims to lead them to be justice-oriented citizens, mindful of their financial privilege. Because research has shown that short-term interventions do not lead to lasting results (Mistry et al., 2012), the unit is intended to be woven as a thread throughout an entire year or semester but could also be treated as one culminating unit towards the end of the year if necessary. New curriculum must flow from interventions that have already been tried and explored, from the deep research on the development of a critically conscious practice that already exists in academic research. Many of the recommended elements are inspired by successful full-semester or year courses (Howard, 2010; Lucas & Clark, 2016; Swalwell, 2013a; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004b). Spreading the unit over the academic year gives the teacher the opportunity to discuss power and social class extemporaneously in other areas and tie it back to this unit but does require keeping students engaged in the conversation on an ongoing basis. It is my hope that this unit framework will be useful to the seasoned teacher for social justice as well as to those teachers just starting to introduce social justice into their praxis. The unit assumes that teachers have already spent some time establishing community norms in the classroom and setting up the space as a "brave" rather than "safe" space (Arao & Clemens, 2013) and is designed for a one-to-one technology model.

The unit is broken into three parts; an initial three-day lesson introducing power and social class, a recommended five single day explorations of justice allies driven by wealth inequity, and final culminating projects which are designed to include a service learning project and a group essay representing five class periods spread over three weeks for a total of thirteen fifty-minute class periods through the unit. In order to facilitate engagement over time, it is recommended that parts two and three be done in dedicated project groups with the creation of a collaborative timeline as a formative assessment along the way. It is also suggested that individual student journals are maintained separate from class notes for reflection ongoing throughout the project and academic year with an emphasis on the project. All elements of the project are centered on student-driven inquiry and twenty-first century skills are incorporated as appropriate. The unit is intended to develop empathy with individuals experiencing poverty through rehumanization of the other and to help students see themselves as activist allies. As such, the experiences of those impacted by poverty and the activist allies themselves are central.

As it is presented here, an overview is presented of each of the three parts of the overall unit. Parts one and three are very specific, and as such, are spoken to in specifics with exact curricular interventions provided. Part two is meant to be defined more by the implementing educator. In support of this goal, this part is first discussed in broad terms with a lesson plan template provided alongside the lesson plans for part one and three in APPENDIX A. Also provided in this chapter is a guide for the implementation of part two so that educators can effectively create lessons that meet the goals of the unit, as determined by application of a rubric provided in APPENDIX B to be known as the Developing Awareness of Power for Social Justice Evaluation Rubric. Examples are provided in this chapter of how this rubric can be utilized. All elements of the unit are presented visually in the following chart.

Lesson	Learning Activities & Applicable Academic Standards	Length of Time	Origin of Lesson
Phase I: Getting Started			
1: Introduction to Power	Students will develop an understanding of power and privilege overall with a specific exploration of ageism *Teaching Tolerance Social Justice Standards*	One class (50 minutes)	Teaching Tolerance Lesson ("What is Ageism?," 2017) Adapted by Author
2: Exploring Global Poverty	Students will learn about the Gini Index and explore data and information about current and past income inequality in the world. *Teaching Tolerance Social Justice Standards & California Historical Analysis Skills*	One class (50 minutes)	Developed by Author
3: Developing Critical Literacy	Students will begin to develop critical literacy tools to recognize single story narratives. They will also explore levels of power using Figueroa's Framework. *California Historical Analysis Skills*	Partial class (30 minutes)	Developed by Author
Phase 2: Power & Privilege in Specific Historical Context			
Lessons 4-8: Exploring Past Class Struggles	In each of five lessons students will explore events and persons tied to the struggle for equality in a historical context in world history. *Teaching Tolerance Social Justice Standards, California Historical Analysis Skills & California World History Content Standards*	Five class periods (50 minutes each)	Developed by Teacher based on Rubric and Resources provided by Author
Phase 3: Connecting to your Modern Community			
9: Expanding Understandings of Poverty	Students will reflect on commonly held understandings of causes of poverty and then research whether these are facts or stereotypes. *Teaching Tolerance Social Justice Standards & California Historical Analysis Skills*	One class (50 minutes)	Developed by Author
10: Service Learning Project	Students will launch their service learning projects in class with the development of their interview protocol. *Teaching Tolerance Social Justice Standards*	One class (50 minutes) and two weeks out of class	Developed by Author to be implemented in collaboration with community partners
11: Group Essay	Students will develop a group essay about how power has maintained inequality over time with evidence from class learning. They may an optional policy or social action extension. Students will have one full and two half sessions to collaborate and edit in class and one session for presentations. *Teaching Tolerance Social Justice Standards & California Historical Analysis Skills*	Two full and two half class sessions over two-three weeks	Developed by the Author

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROJECT

My initial research interests in the Master's program at University of San Francisco's School of Education were in after school programs with an emphasis on those serving recently arrived immigrant students. Over the course of the program and through personal reflection in our Foundations course, I found myself wrestling with the realization that students born into privilege are still being socialized to maintain it without learning to critique systems or preparing to own their place in oppression. I wrestled with this in particular because it had been my own high school experience, and I could see how generation after generation continue to be minted in this fashion. Recognizing that my own background gives me access to these spaces, my research interests shifted to working with communities of privilege to create justice orientations amongst future generations of heirs-apparent to power and privilege.

This specific project emerged from my pilot study. Initially, I had sought to learn how students discussed and understood racial privilege in wealthy private schools. What I found was that whiteness was openly discussed in Bay Area private and even public high schools serving wealthy students more than it had been in the past but talking about wealth was still a viewed as taboo. I even noticed this in student work at a school I had the opportunity to observe. This led me to see this significant gap in the current work and opportunity to contribute to the field through a curriculum that could bring social class into the conversation in these settings.

In setting to develop a means for wealthy and independent high schools to tackle the conversation around social class, I recognized a few fundamental constraints to work within; schools are not prepared to add entirely additional courses in this area, and student-led extracurricular organizations tend to attract those who are already engaged with an issue. As such, I began to explore what existing core class would be the best fit to discuss issues of class with all

students. The selection of a liberal art seemed natural. I chose World History for reasons related to its placement in the overall curriculum and the content itself. First, most students take World History in tenth grade in California, an age when students are beginning to come into their own in terms of identity. Secondly, World History, as the precursor to American History the next year, is a time for students to explore events they are less familiar with and less intimately connected to than American History. While the curricular connections may have been easier in American History, for those students likely to demonstrate resistance, placing this unit within a class that is less tied to their personal identity seems more fitting to avoid a cognitive disconnect or active resistance. It is my hope that these same themes would be continued in the students' exploration of American History, but that learners would be more receptive to deeper exploration there after exposure in the World History course.

With the goal of creating a 10th grade World History unit in mind, I set to develop a framework based on research of social justice education that could ensure it would be as effective as possible. I have blended elements of critical pedagogy and service learning into the curriculum and modeled some elements on how students have effectively been led to explore their racial identities, given that class is a similarly close element of identity. I believe this curriculum will serve well those teachers of affluent students who wish to broach conversations about financial privilege in their World History courses.

THE PROJECT

OVERVIEW

All lessons were developed to fit in a lesson blueprint based on Understanding Design (Wiggins & McTighe, 2005) so all learning activities build towards formative assessment projects with summative assessment along the way. Each lesson provides a launch to engage students followed by opportunities to explore, de-brief, and apply in collaborative ways that support student understanding. The lessons are designed to work along California's current Common Core standards for World History ("2016 History-Social Science Framework - Curriculum Frameworks (CA Dept of Education)," 2016) and the Teaching for Tolerance Social Justice Standards for curriculum ("Social Justice Standards," 2017).

Part One

The first part of the curriculum is intended to ground the students in an understanding of power and social class. These three days are as much about unlearning as learning for students, as it is important for them to begin to question accepted hegemonic ideas of power being rightly consolidated with the wealthiest in society before they move to critique. This point of launch is also an opportunity for teachers to get an assessment of where students are through learner self-reflection on their beliefs around power and privilege; the teacher should use this information to create balanced groups for the second two portions. In order to quickly open students' minds to the impact that being disempowered can have, the unit begins with an exploration of ageism; an oppression tenth grade students feel personal alliance with. Students then build towards an understanding of the way that poverty traps individuals and creates a lack of power in of itself

through a poverty simulation and exploration of various data and texts. Because the intention is to elicit curiosity and openness not confession, activities such as "privilege walks" or the popular "ten chairs" activity which center on acknowledgement of privilege as the primary goal are intentionally left out of this introduction. Instead, the goals are awareness, understanding and critique that can collectively build towards action.

Part Two

The second part of the unit, which is spread over the greatest amount of time, inserts a day to explore activism alongside five different already-existing units in a standard World History course. This will allow the class to build on the context understanding of each of those periods to explore period- specific issues of financial power and privilege, gradually shedding light on themes over time while giving students multiple opportunities to develop authentic opinions and reactions to each set of events and circumstances. This part and the following are meant to be completed in consistent groups of three to five students. Each should follow a similar format, and assumes it is scheduled after the associated history unit for contextual grounding. These days expect students to read text in advance of class, to then explore a variety of primary and secondary source documents in class and to have a discussion about the documents in their groups. To contextualize and build towards their final project, students will add all the major events and dates around each period into a master timeline and develop their own research questions for independent inquiry. These questions can be assigned as homework and will build to the final project. Finally, students will journal about their individual understandings and feelings, with an emphasis on how this information differs from the "standard" narrative of that time in history. For schools with longer periods than a standard fifty minutes, this research could be started or completed in class.

If lessons do not explicitly call out issues of power tied to wealth, they cannot achieve the goal. Not only does the systemic nature of oppression need to be considered, but the oppressors must be named and the benefits they reaped from those system displayed. These lessons must also feature specific historic individuals who worked for change so that students can see models of activist allies. Lessons must include a variety of personal narratives of the oppressed as well to humanize them and engender empathy. The combination of narratives from the impacted communities should serve to decenter the wealthy saviors. To that end, activists should be chosen who have roots both in oppressed communities and who came from upper class backgrounds to decenter the concept of saviors while also showing students people like themselves who have chosen the justice ally path. Finally, critique must be central to each lesson; students must develop and practice academic skills that allow them to be critical citizens in modern society and in observing historical society.

In creating lessons for this unit or modifying those from other sources, teachers should consider the Developing Awareness of Power for Justice in Social Science rubric developed for this project for evaluation of lesson plans in line with the examples which will follow. The recommended units are listed in the table below with the curricular unit they should follow or be embedded in. Greater emphasis has been put on more recent events to encourage students to think about connections to the modern world and ultimately their own community in the final project. Seasoned teachers may wish to add additional opportunities for students to add to their timelines or reflect on issues of class inequity in other units, especially on the impact of World Wars and the periods before and after them on the lower classes.

Unit (Selected from California World History Standards)	Historical Figure(s)/ Events to focus on from selected unit as areas of focus for power and privilege in that time period
1750–1917: Revolutions Reshape the World	1. The French Revolution's Classist Roots & Abbé Sieyès
Industrial Revolutions	2. Tolpuddle martyrs & East Anglia Labor Uprising- the fight against organized labor & use of penal colonies as punishment
International Developments in the Post–World War II World	3. Che Guevara & Guatemala 4. The Soweto Uprisings
Nation-Building in the Contemporary World	5. The Arab Spring

While this curriculum does not deal with race directly, students are likely to see its rise as a hegemonic tool in comparing the later events to those earlier in Europe. Ideally, the teacher will have introduced the historic construction of race in examining colonialism.

Part Three

The final part of the unit brings in the previous pieces and adds community elements in the creation of a summative project. This part of the unit has two major pieces: a service learning component and a group essay developed in class. While the final pieces represent some of the largest time commitments for both faculty and students, they are critical to helping learners develop their own justice-oriented praxis and ensuring that the unit genuinely fulfills the goals of critical pedagogy. The teacher should take care to schedule these components when they can receive the appropriate care and attention, which may be different for example for an A.P. course, where everything could be left for after the A.P. exam while the standard World History course teacher may want to schedule the community parts earlier in the Spring to avoid conflict with finals burn-out.

The Service Learning Project

For this component of the unit, the school will need to partner with local organizations serving working poor communities. If the school has a service learning program in place, the associated faculty should be consulted. For this component, students will sign up for out of class shifts to volunteer with the organization to see their work being done up close. Students will also work with organization staff and interview organization clients after their volunteer shifts to create informational materials the organization can use. The interviews of clients will help to develop personal connections with clients experiencing poverty in a meaningful way that benefits the student, the organization, and the client. In order to facilitate this, one class session will be dedicated to training on having these conversations in a considerate manner and to brainstorm good and bad questions. In order to make the creation of materials for the organization a truly collaborative process that decenters the wealthy students as "saviors", the organizational contact and clients will provide feedback on the work and be partners in its creation. Students will also reflect on their experience in their journals. The groups for this part of the project will likely be different than for the rest of the unit to allow students to be placed in groups working with organizations most meaningful to them to ensure a meaningful overall experience.

The Group Essay

Composing the secondary summative assessment for the unit, each group will develop an essay that explores common themes of social class oppression throughout history and compare these themes to social inequity today. Student groups will use their composite understandings of homelessness or poverty in their own community from the service project as a lens to discuss and explore these issues and possible social and political results. It is recommended that a part of the paper also reflect a policy recommendation or social action (if the teacher chooses) by students

that would reduce inequity in their local community. These essays should have three days of class time for guided research and collaborative work, with the remainder of the work being completed out of class.

As a capstone to the unit, each group will present their findings and policy recommendation in a final day of discussion, followed by a group reflection. Students will submit a final reflection of their own with a focus on how the narratives they have explored differ from the common narrative of class struggle and how their own views have shifted. Teachers should also work with the school paper to publish the student's proposals and narrative accounts of the community service experiences or produce a class blog so that these learnings and ideas can be shared back with the community and the students can have their own experience of local engagement and activism.

GUIDE FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF PART TWO

In the pursuit of creating activist allies who are aware of and critical of not just the privilege of their high social class but its relation to the marginalization of others, the relationship between power and wealth must be explored alongside the exploration of history curriculum. The curriculum advocated for here recommends at least five days dedicated to the exploration of power and its creation or perpetuation of poverty. In determining whether lessons meet these standards, teachers should evaluate the lessons in three areas based on the "Developing Awareness of Power for Social Justice Evaluation Rubric": a critique of power, the centering of experiences of the oppressed to support empathy development, and support for the development of each student's individual justice praxis. These three elements work in concert to prepare students to be activist allies. The following section explains the three areas that curriculum should

be evaluated against for this part of the unit. After this overview of the rubric, two examples of its application are presented evaluating a total of four existing lesson plans available online, two within each example, for their ability to meet the criteria of lessons for this part of the unit.

THE DEVELOPING AWARENESS OF POWER FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE EVALUATION RUBRIC

The Developing Awareness of Power for Justice in Social Science rubric has been developed for this project and could be applied to other Social Science projects to ensure issues of power and oppression are being presented in ways that are likely to develop justice-oriented citizens. The rubric calls for curriculum evaluation in the following three areas.

Rubric Area One: Critique of Power

Teachers should ask themselves two questions as they evaluate their curriculum for a critique of power. First, does the curriculum illustrate how those in power benefited from the oppression of others? This should be demonstrated by the assignment of agency for those who created and manipulated laws and policies to create and maintain unequal distributions of wealth and the ways in which they and their communities materially benefited from the creations of such oppression. Systems of inequity cannot be treated as inanimate things that existed naturally but must be explored as creations of their powerful beneficiaries. Second, it must be asked whether the curriculum carves out space for connections to current events and systems. While this must be done carefully to ensure students are creating their own opinions and connections and forming their own perspectives rather than "performing" to win a favorable grade, history cannot be considered in a vacuum. Class discussion and student journals should be encouraged as a place

for student to explore modern connections and apply their historical critiques to modern circumstances.

Rubric Area Two: Center Experiences of Oppressed & Support Empathy Development

It is critical that students from privileged backgrounds exploring any conditions of oppression connect with the content on an emotional level rather than solely treating it as an intellectual experience. This requires humanization of the oppressed and the development of empathy for their circumstances. Teachers should firstly ask whether the curriculum includes first-hand accounts of the lives of oppressed groups to develop empathy. This should include a variety of accounts and can offer varied mediums both so that students who don't connect with one may connect with another and so that they understand the experiences as endemic. This also requires that students begin to see the potential for change at the hands of committed activists and think of themselves as possible influencers of change. To this end, educators should ask two more questions. First, does the curriculum illustrate one or more activists working towards equality? And further, are the activists from both powerful and oppressed backgrounds? The latter balances decentering savior complexes while showing students individuals they could relate to taking action for those oppressed peoples whose experiences are so different from their own.

Rubric Area Three: Support the Development of a Justice Praxis

Finally, teachers must ensure that whether the rest of the year's curriculum does or does not effectively do so, these units support students in the development of a justice praxis. Ideally, these questions would be considered for all curriculum, but here the scope is applied to these particular lessons on power and inequality in history. First, teachers must ask whether the curriculum includes discussion activities so students can become comfortable speaking about the

material and practice making evidence-based arguments. Developing comfort with talking about these issues is critical for students to be able to do so beyond the classroom. Secondly, one must ask if the curriculum creates a space for critical reflection; this allows students to process things in their own time and expand their personal positions. Thirdly, educators must query whether the curriculum recognizes students as knowledge creators of their own, offering appropriately scaffolded opportunities for research and addition to the class community's understandings. Finally, in developing the justice praxis of their students, teachers must evaluate whether the curriculum provides opportunities for students to practice critical analysis of documents or media from the time. These skills can be developed for application to historical and current contexts, creating more effective justice oriented global citizens.

EXAMPLES OF RUBRIC APPLICATION

The Developing Awareness of Power for Justice in Social Science rubric listing considerations expressed above are presented in APPENDIX B. To aide educators in applying these considerations to their own curriculum or that made available to them, the following section analyzes some readily available lesson plans for two of the recommended content areas; the Soweto Uprising and the Arab Spring. The plans were evaluated as meeting, starting to meet, or not at all meeting the standards of each recommended area. Because of the recency of these events, more content is available to select from which could also make the rubric more challenging to apply, hence their selection for focus as example. Each lesson has been given a grade of zero to two on each rubric point; a two represents meeting the standard, a one represents some evidence of the standard, a zero represents that the standard is in no way met.

Soweto Uprising Curriculum

These lesson plans hail from different continents and approach the topic with some differences in method. The first plan comes from the University of California at Irvine's History Project (Got Citizenship?, 2013) which provides free history lesson plans for high school level courses with activities and resources included. The second plan comes from the National Education Union in the United Kingdom and was created in honor of the Centenary of the ANC("The African National Congress at 100 – the Road to Freedom," 2012). As can be seen in *figure one*, each of the lessons does some things well while there are many areas where one or both fall short. A detailed completed rubric can be seen in APPENDIX C.

Critique of Power

Figure 1

The greatest gap between the target and the reality in both lessons falls in the category of critiquing power. Given the absence of this in current K-12 education overall, this is not surprising, but it suggests that this may be the area where teachers most have to seek their own resources. The curriculum from UC Irvine does not address power issues at all while the National Education Union does introduce laws that demonstrated the systemic nature of oppression in South Africa at the time. However, by not naming the beneficiary of those laws or showing the efforts that went

		UC Irvine Grade	UK NEA Grade
Critique of Power	Does the curriculum illustrate how those in power benefited from the oppression of others?	0	1
	Does the curriculum carve out space for connections to current events and systems?	0	0
Center Experiences of Oppressed & Support Empathy Development	Does the curriculum include first-hand accounts of the lives of oppressed groups to develop empathy?	1	2
	Does the curriculum illustrate one or more activists working towards equality? Are the activists from both powerful and oppressed backgrounds?	2	1
Support the Development of a Justice Praxis	Does the curriculum include discussion activities so students can become comfortable speaking about the material and practice making evidence-based arguments?	1	0
	Does the curriculum create a space for critical reflection?	0	0
	Does the curriculum recognize students as knowledge creators of their own?	1	0
	Does the curriculum provide opportunities for students to practice critical analysis of documents or media from the time?	0	1

into their continuation from those in power, students will not see that the impoverished black communities were that way by intent from this lesson alone. This combines with the lack of discussion of current similar issues to fail in giving students the ability to contextualize and critique such systems against present systems of oppression.

Center Experiences of Oppressed & Support Empathy Development

By combining elements of each lesson plan, educators would be able to realize the goals of this component. Both curriculums offer first hand narratives of oppressed persons living in Apartheid South Africa with a focus on the experiences of students in Soweto. While the elements offered by UC Irvine are only short quotes, which are not likely to develop true empathy, the accounts offered by the National Education Union are more detailed including videos and a lengthy text account; the resources could be combined or just the latter utilized. Conversely, UC Irvine does a better job of introducing students to activist allies of the time. This comes in a lesson separate from that on the Soweto Uprising specifically, as part of the overall South Africa unit they provide but could be adapted by teachers to introduce students to five diverse activists of the movement, some of whom were directly involved with Soweto. Here the complementing strengths of the two units can aid teachers to engender empathy that makes students want to take action while also demonstrating models of that activism so the students can see how to do so.

Support the Development of a Justice Praxis

In giving students a path forward through action, neither curriculum is particularly successful but each offers elements a justice-oriented teacher could build on. The UC Irvine curriculum does not build in significant time for discussion or student knowledge creation, but it does provide excellent guiding questions that an educator could utilize to initiate student debate. The UCI

curriculum also offers an extension that educators would want to consider implementing which invites students to identify and research another activist of the time and share their learnings. The National Education Union's lessons do not make time for student knowledge creation or discussion, but they do provide a base for media critique with accounts of the Sharpeville Massacre from multiple sources. It is recommended that an educator would take these documents and use them as the basis for a class discussion and debate about what varying motives the creators of each account may have had. Unfortunately, neither curriculum offers space for personal reflection by students, but use of the student journal to accompany the lesson would meet this requirement so that students could further explore their own positions and make personal connections to other materials and their own experience.

Arab Spring Curriculum

These lesson plans are among many available for free online on this topic which has been hailed as a unique opportunity to combine student interest in social media with an example in their lifetime of major change being sought by organized youth not much older than themselves. The topic itself is a rich opportunity for this unit. To guide teachers in implementation, two plans will again be evaluated and critiqued alongside one another. The first comes from the New York City based non-profit organization Global Nomads ("Introduction to the Arab Spring 'What is the process of building a democratic society?,'" 2011), an

		Global Nomads	Carolina K12
Critique of Power	Does the curriculum illustrate how those in power benefited from the oppression of others?	2	0
	Does the curriculum carve out space for connections to current events and systems?	0	1
Center Experiences of Oppressed & Support Empathy Development	Does the curriculum include first-hand accounts of the lives of oppressed groups to develop empathy?	1	1
	Does the curriculum illustrate one or more activists working towards equality? Are the activists from both powerful and oppressed backgrounds?	1	0
Support the Development of a Justice Praxis	Does the curriculum include discussion activities so students can become comfortable speaking about the material and practice making evidence-based arguments?	2	2
	Does the curriculum create a space for critical reflection?	0	0
	Does the curriculum recognize students as knowledge creators of their own?	2	1
	Does the curriculum provide opportunities for students to practice critical analysis of documents or media from the time?	0	2

Figure 2

organization who is "committed to fostering dialogue and understanding among the world's youth ("Who We Are - Global Nomads Group," n.d.)." The second comes from the University of North Carolina's repository of K-12 lesson plans ("Tunisia and the Arab Spring," 2012) available for free and aligned to that state's standards. Perhaps because of the nature of the topic, but likely as a result of the nature of the approach of these organizations, both of the Arab Spring lesson plans being evaluated are more aligned to our targets than those that were explored for the Soweto Uprising, but still there are differences in their strengths and weaknesses where a compilation of the two could best serve the goals. *Figure 2* shows them compared to one another. A completed detailed rubric can be seen in APPENDIX D.

Critique of Power

In terms of naming the oppressor and showing how they benefited from marginalizing the lower classes, Global Nomads does a good job of offering documents that illustrate specific ways that resources were held and monopolized by those in power prior to the uprising. The UNC curriculum does not address this at all. The UNC curriculum does however make for a start at connecting the events across the Arab world to past inequities in the U.S. While this is a start and is better than the Global Nomads approach of treating the Arab Spring Uprising as something happening "over there" disconnected from U.S. student realities, the comparison only to past events does not fully meet our goals of connecting to current events and systems in students' own spheres of influence. Arguably, an implication that the USA has fully rose above its past ills would even be detrimental. By combining elements from both lessons and adding on a class discussion of connections to current ways power is passed between those already in power in the U.S. and local communities, an effective critique of power could be realized in the lesson.

Center Experiences of Oppressed & Support Empathy Development

Both units include the compelling story of Mohamed Bouazizi to humanize the oppressed and each adds a more academic perspective on experiences of those oppressed by the pre-revolution regimes, but even combining the sources wouldn't fully realize our standard of humanizing the other through stories. Additional personal accounts, which are widely available electronically, need to be offered to students. To be sure, the Global Nomads curriculum was originally designed to be used in conjunction with a conference with individuals on the ground in an impacted country, which surely would have effectively done the job, but this is not available on demand in subsequent uses of the unit. In terms of demonstrating individual activists, the Global Nomads curriculum provides materials that reference the youth activists generally, but neither curriculum highlights specific individuals. Here, teachers would need to add in additional content such as the activist profiles offered by many major news publications like the New York Times from that period.

Support the Development of a Justice Praxis

Like the lessons reviewed for the Soweto Uprising, the only element that neither curriculum makes efforts towards here is creating a space for critical reflection, which is realized by the individual student journals recommended as a part of the overall unit framework. Even without the availability of the conference call component, the Global Nomads curriculum calls for a significant amount of class discussion time which is organized in a way that builds student's comfort speaking on the topic and making informed arguments. Additionally, the Global Nomads curriculum calls for students to create their own discussion questions and to do scaffolded research on the countries involved to bring additional information to the class's collective learning. The UNC approach of having students create their own social media campaigns does not quite meet the goal of recognizing students as knowledge creators on its own but is an excellent

complement to the Global Nomads approach. The UNC curriculum is the only of the two that offers media literacy skills, providing a selection of political cartoons to compare and contrast and critical media sources to review. Combined, these lessons can readily meet the standards of our curriculum for a unit on the Arab Spring.

These examples should assist educators in applying the Developing Awareness of Power for Justice in Social Science rubric to create or modify curriculum for the remaining three units while the examples provided should allow them to create appropriate lessons for the last two. Certainly, if an educator felt particularly strongly about power and privilege issues around social class and wealth at another time period in World History they could also use this rubric to create another lesson. The historical context units though are only one part of the curriculum and less than half of the class days intended. All three parts are meant to work together in helping students break down their own beliefs or understandings of power and class privilege so that they can become allies for social justice in the face of their own financial privilege and high social class. By culminating the unit with the service learning project and possible activism, students will have the opportunity to turn their academic understandings into a more meaningful understanding, developing an empathy that can propel them from being a participatory citizen to a justice-oriented citizen.

CHAPTER 4: CONCLUSION

"There are times when personal experience keeps us from reaching the mountain top and so we let it go because the weight of it is too heavy. And sometimes the mountain top is difficult to reach with all our resources, factual and confessional, so we are just there, collectively grasping, feeling the limitations of knowledge, longing together, yearning for a way to reach that highest point. Even this yearning is a way to know." bell hooks, Teaching to Transgress.

As one reads through this project, the reader may have some "yes, but…" concerns idling in their heads that remain unresolved, things that make them wonder whether this is their mountaintop. One may be thinking "yes, schooling is missing this need but aren't the needs of oppressed communities greater?" Or a reader may think "yes, classism is a damaging force in America but it isn't resulting in fatal violence in the way racism is is it?" I respond to readers, yes, but "*Yes, and*." It is the "and" that I am concerned with. *Yes,* there are students desperately in need of a better quality and more empowering education across the nation, especially in our most under-funded districts which tend to also be districts predominantly populated by students of color, *and* as dedicated educators work to realize that goal those empowered students will grow up to be empowered citizens but their progress will be thwarted if traditional power holders are not prepared to turn over the reins. *Yes,* there are still enormous gaps even in these same wealthy schools in true anti-racism work *and* this anti-classism work should exist alongside that so that we are graduating justice-oriented citizens aware fully formed in positive class and racial identities.

As Pedro Noguera (2007) has acknowledged, the notions of who is the oppressed and who is the oppressor are not as black and white as they once were; a wealthy student of color is probably more likely to be killed by police violence than an indigent white woman, but who will have the longer, healthier life on average? Freire himself acknowledged that there is value in working with wealthy students to do this work (Howard, 2008). This project is not meant to imply that teaching wealthy students about power and financial privilege is the most important

work in education but to explore another area that is underexplored. This project is meant to ensure that as more critical work evolves, future power brokers of our society will be prepared to be allies in creating a more just society. This work should continue to inform & be informed by other work in our field.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER WORK

While class has been discussed separate from race here, they are undeniably intertwined (Johnson, 2005) with race acting as "a fundamental organizing principle of social stratification" (Omi & Winant, 1994, p. 107) given the social construction of race as a means to differentiate the working classes (Harris, 1992). In their discussion of the limited nature of the literature on social privilege in schooling, Hunt & Seiver (2018) discuss how class is often conflated with race and certainly "privilege" has come to represent both wealthy and white in media and every day discourse. This assumption does not always represent the truth, but there are significant overlaps in the experience of students coming to terms with either form of privilege. The intersectionality of these two identities must be studied to advance work in sites of extreme privilege but also to better inform work with poor white students and wealthy students of color. Just as Peggy McIntosh (1989) was inspired to take on white privilege after thinking about gender oppression thirty years ago, so now we must think about the work on white privilege and extend our studies into class privilege in education.

For now, we can build on what we know. Similar to students confronting their racial privilege, wealthy students can find themselves feeling guilt that can shut them down (Ballard et al., 2015), or leaning on individualism and demonstrating resistance as discussed above. For this reason, confronting privilege based on class, race or both must be treated similarly; confronted

and reframed as a position of power to influence change and with the development of a critical consciousness (Mistry et al., 2012; Seider, 2011). Students may be given alternative ways of knowing their place in society as opposed to it being based on wealth (Howard, 2010) or whiteness (Brion-Meisels, Gretchen, 2008; Tanaka, 2009) but more importantly they must learn empathy for the "other" (Ballard et al., 2015; Mistry et al., 2012).

For Teachers

Privileged markers of identity do not appear overnight nor can they be overwritten so quickly (Mistry et al., 2012). This is not work that can exist in a few lessons here and there and stand on its own (Noguera, 2007). It is important for teachers to establish classroom norms around discussion (Arao & Clemens, 2013) and to create a sense of community in the classroom (hooks, 2003) before leading students into this work. Even then, it is not easy for a student to take the first step in seeing that they may be complicit in an unequal system (Cabrera et al., 2016), and to then begin confronting the hidden curriculum of their upbringing, yet educators can be an initiating and even sustaining factor to guide students through those steps by recognizing how the student understands justice and her own place in society to ensure that growth is meaningful, genuine, and meets her where she is. Be kind to yourself in doing this work and take joy and pride in those gains you make. Like all teaching, there will be moments that challenge you, and students who seem unable to grasp these ideas (Matias, 2013; Trainor, 2002). As an educator, use these opportunities to reflect on your own praxis and positionality, but also come from a place of love (hooks, 2003) and seek to bring your students slowly into the light (Trainor, 2002).

For Teachers of Teachers

The asks of teachers in this project are not small; to carve out time in class for the lessons, to find the right sources and lesson plans to implement part two as their own; to facilitate

community partnerships for the culminating project. For history teachers who have not made space for student reflection in the past, engaging with students in this way that is less fact-based may feel awkward or uncomfortable to start. For others, being comfortable leaving students to in-class electronic document review or independent group discussions may not be fully established parts of their practice. Finally, doing this work requires a teacher to have done deep reflection of their own internalized beliefs about class, power and privilege. This may or may not connect for them with racial identity work that they should have already done. Certainly, racial issues are likely to arise in the course of the unit because of the deep entrenchment of race as an organizing factor of class.

These challenges highlight gaps not related to the abilities of the teachers but in the way we train teachers. Just as teachers are not prepared to address race in their classrooms (Lawrence & Tatum, 2004), they are not prepared to address class and often lack the political engagement to speak to how current policies drive income inequality (Rogers & Westheimer, 2017). Educators need self-reflection (Lensmire et al., 2013) of their own in addition to pedagogical tools and language (Cui, 2017; Lawrence & Tatum, 2004; Rosenberg, 2004; Schulz & Fane, 2015) to discuss power and privilege in a classroom. Educators who approach this work without training can perpetuate microaggressions in group discussions (Griffin et al., 2012) and mistakenly perpetuate dominant narratives through curriculum (Stanton, 2012). Educators are also not effectively prepared to develop community partnerships (Epstein & Sanders, 2006) which are central to this work offering students real-world applications and assessment. Let this be a call for administrators, professional development leaders and schools of education that if this curriculum feels like it is out of what your teachers could do, how are they finding space or skills for other

social justice work in their classrooms and how are you amending your programs to support them?

On school campuses, social justice work is most effective when it is not the work of a few lone teachers but is supported by a collective ethos of justice orientation (Scanlan, 2013; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004b), when educators doing the work know they have administrative support (Griffin et al., 2012; Tanner, 2017; Tauriac et al., 2013) and when teachers don't feel like it is a struggle against their administrations just to do this work (Au, 2008; Smith, 2013). Administrators must allow for sufficient prep time, be willing to take fire from parents or alumni if required and give their support to their teachers to do this work.

NEXT STEPS

Had there been appropriate time or access, this curriculum could have been tested before this publication. The fact that this curriculum has not been tested is certainly a good source for caution in implementation. Any curriculum has to be adjusted for a particular classroom context but there may be places that will turn out to be opportunities of enhancement across contexts in the current iteration. It is my hope that testing will be soon, and that those results can be shared. Such testing would be best done at multiple institutions to observe what elements require universal adjustment versus at site-specific adjustment; certainly, no two school communities or classrooms are exactly the same. An empirical study will add to the small but growing body of work on education at sites of financial privilege as I hope this paper has begun to do. Such study would also provide an opportunity for collection of data on how different intersections of identity impact this work.

This curriculum has been designed without specific differentiation by identity groups. There has been some academic research on the experiences of predominantly Black and Latino

scholarship students in private institutions and the acclaimed documentary "Prep School Negro" which explored the experiences of students who were privileged by neither social class nor race attending such institutions. There is insufficient work on the experiences of wealthy students of color or those poor white students who find themselves at suburban schools in wealthy communities where they are a class minority. Finally, there is enough work to anticipate gendered differences in responses to this curriculum at sites of privilege that further study will need to explore. A deeper understanding of each of these student groups and their experiences with exploring historical and current issues of class power and privilege is an important and needed follow up to this project that would serve practitioners in implementation.

Part two of the curriculum is dependent upon educators to do some lifting of their own in preparation. I hope to see a community of committed educators emerge that this labor might be shared amongst us, and our collective knowledge grow stronger. There are gaps in both theory and practice in this area, and I hope that both will be filled by collective work throughout the academy and practitioners. It is my intention to make this curriculum, supportive resources, and my own additions available electronically and I invite other educators to do the same. This electronic repository will include the lessons and rubrics presented here as well as additional resources over time for teachers approaching this work and updates as it is put into place and evolves.

CONCLUSION

If this curriculum is implemented in one classroom in one school where one student develops empathy for the experience of poverty that they have never known and nothing else comes of it, the labor will have been a success. It is the small wins that make our yearning on the mountaintop

feel manageable. As a society, we cannot come together for justice without each of us having a deep individual commitment for it, a commitment that stems from genuine empathy for the suffering of others blossomed into a desire to alleviate that affliction. This requires disavowing the Ameritocracy myth, genuinely hearing the experiences of others, and beginning to take steps with the community to rectify injustice. There is no clear path to instilling empathy in each of our students, even in each of our education colleagues, and this work is hard to do alone; it requires collective grasping for all of us to reach towards progress together. It is my deep hope that this curriculum provides a path for some, and an onramp for others, in the development of genuine empathy for the oppressed.

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APPENDIX A

For full lesson plans, please email MNGross@dons.usfca.edu or go to www.EducatingJusticeCitizens.com .

Thank You

APPENDIX B

The Developing Awareness of Power for Justice in Social Science rubric has been designed to assess lesson plans in the Social Sciences, specifically World History, for whether they effectively engage students in critiquing power structures, developing empathy through a centering of the experiences of the oppressed, and ultimately instill in students a praxis of justice-oriented citizenship. It was developed by the author for use in developing a California World History Unit but could be applied to any other Social Science course work.

		Successful	Starting To	Not Present
Critique of Power	Does the curriculum illustrate how those in power benefited from the oppression of others?	Clear evidence of the way that the powerful benefited from oppression is presented. Curriculum allows students to see the benefits reaped by those in power and the specific ways they manipulated laws and policies to maintain that imbalance.	Some evidence of active creation of imbalance is present, such as the review of a law or policy, or evidence of desire to maintain the status quo by those in power.	Curriculum is only focused on experience of the poor and the results of that oppression.
	Does the curriculum carve out space for connections to current events and systems?	Curriculum calls for specific connections to current events and policies. Assessment includes a validation that students can connect historical acts and systems to contemporary systems of power.	Discussion of connections is suggested or mentioned, but not emphasized or assessed. May call for connections to other historical events but not the present.	The lesson exists entirely in the historical time in which it is set with no reference to similarities to any other time periods or the present.
Center Experiences of Oppressed & Support Empathy Development	Does the curriculum include first-hand accounts of the lives of oppressed groups to	The experiences of the oppressed are centered through a variety of primary sources representing the experiences of the oppressed. The sources are in the first person and represent real lived experiences of lower classed persons during the time that do not uphold	One or two personal narratives are featured but they do not figure prominently into the curriculum and/or are not from the perspective of the oppressed themselves. Experiences are shared in a way that engenders paternalistic thinking or implies	The oppressed are presented as statistics or a vague “other” group without exploration of individual experiences. There is no way for students to engage with the lived experiences of the

	develop empathy?	stereotypes. The sources show individuals actively trying to better their lives and being unable to do so because of systemic oppression.	that individual effort could ameliorate the conditions of all impoverished individuals.	oppressed, making any understanding of their circumstances an intellectual experience only.
	Does the curriculum illustrate one or more activists working towards equality? Are the activists from both powerful and oppressed backgrounds?	In addition to stories of the oppressed, the curriculum features individuals from the oppressed communities taking action and organizing towards better conditions. Allies from upper class backgrounds are also featured to give students the opportunity to imagine themselves as doing the same. Stories of activists show that anyone can affect change but demonstrated the importance of working collectively with oppressed communities in that effort.	Curriculum shows wealthy citizens working in small ways to support those who do not enjoy their class privilege without partnering with those who best understand their needs. Curriculum may openly imply that the success of any social movements was only the result of politicians or philanthropists working on behalf of oppressed communities, or it may just leave that conclusion to be inferred.	No activists are discussed, change, if presented, is illustrated as if it happened naturally without any activism.
Support the Development of a Justice Praxis	Does the curriculum include discussion activities so students can become comfortable speaking about the material and	Significant amounts of class time are allocated for live class discussions, group discussions or discussion boards. Instructors are called to ensure equity of voice in the classroom and classroom norms are put in place to ensure respectful disagreement. Students are assessed on their ability to make evidence-based arguments	Some student discussion is present, but students can participate at their own discretion and speak largely based on preconceived opinions without demonstrating any evolution of thought. Students are not guided towards expanded vocabulary relevant to the issue.	Curriculum is instructor-focused and based on the banking model. Assessment is based solely on students regurgitating facts shared by the teacher without independent thought in class. Some independent thought may be invited in summative assessments like

	practice making evidence-based arguments?	and demonstrate an evolution of thought. The development of a relevant vocabulary is prioritized to support students in these efforts.		essays, but that is only shared with the teacher and students don't have the opportunity to discuss or develop their ideas collectively.
	Does the curriculum create a space for critical reflection?	Students are required to maintain a journal for personal reflections throughout the unit. Students are given prompts to encourage them to consider their own power in current society and how that impacts their positionality in exploring the content. Students are encouraged to make personal connections to injustices past and present and to consider if they see themselves in any of the individuals studied. Reflection is used as a way for students to consider what other areas of current society or history similar ideas may be relevant to. Instructor responds to reflections in a supportive way and guides students to supportive resources on their journey.	Students are required or encouraged to journal for the sake of journaling without any teacher feedback or critical prompts. Summative assessment may include a component of reflection on personal growth, but no suggestion of connecting historical power holders to the student is made.	Students do not reflect on the material. All assessments are content-based without exploration of any challenges to the student's identity.
	Does the curriculum recognize students as	There is an emphasis on students exploring primary source documents but also on generating	Students complete scaffolded research or participate in short discussions.	Teacher leads all learning and provides all resources, students are meant to absorb not create or

	knowledge creators of their own?	their own discussion questions and research questions. Ample time is allocated for students to add to the discussion with their own insights, considerations, and research.		provide context and information.
	Does the curriculum provide opportunities for students to practice critical analysis of documents or media from the time?	Students review documents from a variety of sources and identify differences and similarities. Students are able to practice recognizing how different narratives serve different goals and objectives and discuss how to apply these skills in other contexts, including current media consumption and research.	Students review multiple primary source documents and answer structured questions that may highlight some differences in perspective.	Students review a set of documents that all represent the same point of view selected by the teacher or prescribed by content standards.

DEVELOPING AWARENESS OF POWER FOR JUSTICE IN SOCIAL SCIENCE RUBRIC

As Applied for Lessons Concerning the Soweto Uprising

APPENDIX C

RUBRIC CRITERIA		UC Irvine History Project		United Kingdom National Education Union	
		Grade*	Notes	Grade*	Notes
Critique of Power	Does the curriculum illustrate how those in power benefited from the oppression of others?	**0**		**1**	The unit calls for analysis of laws as leading to oppression, but does not name the oppressor or demonstrate their benefit
	Does the curriculum carve out space for connections to current events and systems?	**0**		**0**	
Center Experiences of Oppressed & Support Empathy Development	Does the curriculum include first-hand accounts of the lives of oppressed groups to develop empathy?	**1**	There are a collections of quotes from students about what they want from action, but none of them are detailed enough about their experiences or needs to develop deep empathy. The story of Antoinette who lost her brother in the uprising figures prominently, but it is focused on his death, not the conditions of his life that led to the uprising.	**2**	The unit offers a variety of first party perspectives including video interviews and text stories to pursue. Additionally, discussion questions are focused on the lived experiences of the oppressed.
	Does the curriculum illustrate one or more activists working towards equality? Are the activists from both powerful and oppressed backgrounds?	**2**	A dedicated second lesson in the unit features five diverse activists and drives students to consider them deeply and compare and contrast their lives and motivations.	**1**	The curriculum provides information about the work of Steve Bilko, a major figure.

DEVELOPING AWARENESS OF POWER FOR JUSTICE IN SOCIAL SCIENCE RUBRIC

As Applied for Lessons Concerning the Soweto Uprising

Support the Development of a Justice Praxis	Does the curriculum include discussion activities so students can become comfortable speaking about the material and practice making evidence-based arguments?	**1**	The unit has excellent guiding questions engineered for independent thought, but actual discussion time is not listed in the lesson and little facilitation is provided for discussion.	**0**	The lesson is primarily driven for students to complete worksheets based on text analysis.
	Does the curriculum create a space for critical reflection?	**0**		**0**	
	Does the curriculum recognize students as knowledge creators of their own?	**1**	Students are asked to connect the dots on cause and effect in activities. Also, an available extension is for students to research additional activists and create biographies on them; scaffolding is provided for the activity.	**0**	Students are given very specific sources to draw from and not encouraged to go beyond those. Few questions in the work sheet even ask for independent thought.
	Does the curriculum provide opportunities for students to practice critical analysis of documents or media from the time?	**0**		**1**	Students are given a variety of accounts of the Sharpeville Massacre, but are not explicitly encouraged to discuss why the perspectives are so varied and what ulterior motives may have been present for the different representations

* For grading, a two represents meeting the standard, a one represents some evidence of the standard, a zero represents that the standard is in no way met

I. DEVELOPING AWARENESS OF POWER FOR JUSTICE IN SOCIAL SCIENCE RUBRIC

As Applied for Lessons Concerning the Arab Spring

APPENDIX D

RUBRIC CRITERIA		Global Nomads		Carolina K-12	
				Carolina K-12	
		Grade*	Notes	Grade*	Notes
Critique of Power	Does the curriculum illustrate how those in power benefited from the oppression of others?	**2**	The provided resources clearly demonstrate how those in power were taking comforts, jobs, money and goods away from the oppressed.	**0**	
	Does the curriculum carve out space for connections to current events and systems?	**0**	The unit is spoken about as "something over there" without connections to other inequalities in contemporary society even though it is a recent phenomenon.	**1**	The curriculum does call for students to connect the ideas of freedom and working for freedom to the U.S., but it does so with an implication that lacks of freedom in the US are past issues that have since been resolved.
Center Experiences of Oppressed & Support Empathy Development	Does the curriculum include first-hand accounts of the lives of oppressed groups to develop empathy?	**1**	A powerful account of a single vendor demonstrates the challenge of the oppressed, and there is a TED Talk with examples, but there are not a variety of viewpoints.	**1**	The Mohamed Bouazizi story is shared here as well as details from the Tunisia Cable, but there are no other first-hand accounts or different viewpoints.
	Does the curriculum illustrate one or more activists working towards equality? Are the activists	**1**	Activists are discussed and referenced, their impact celebrated, but individual activists are not explored.	**0**	The activists are barely referenced little lone explored.

	from both powerful and oppressed backgrounds?				
Support the Development of a Justice Praxis	Does the curriculum include discussion activities so students can become comfortable speaking about the material and practice making evidence-based arguments?	**2**	The unit allocates a significant percentage of the time not only to discussion in class but towards video conferencing with individuals directly impacted by the event for which students are creating their own questions.	**2**	Students are working in groups and pairs to analyze cartoons, articles and documents and then having discussions and putting together collaborative summaries.
	Does the curriculum create a space for critical reflection?	**0**		**0**	
	Does the curriculum recognize students as knowledge creators of their own?	**2**	Students are not only creating their own discussion questions and independently reviewing sources, they are doing their own Scaffolded background research on the countries involved.	**1**	Students are creating their own social media campaigns to apply what they learned, but not researching the topic itself on their own.
	Does the curriculum provide opportunities for students to practice critical analysis of documents or media from the time?	**0**		**2**	In addition to a large section of political cartoon analysis, the unit includes a NYT article written by a writer from within Tunisia who critiques Western understandings of Islamist politics