Election 2020:
Engaging Students in Civic Discourse

A guide for school teachers and administrators on how to manage political discussion and promote civil dialogue in the classroom

Kelly Siegel- Stechler
Spring 2020

JOHNS HOPKINS
STAVROS NIARCHOS FOUNDATION
SNF AGORA INSTITUTE

With the 2020 U.S. election cycle under way, educators are looking for ways to help their students engage meaningfully with, learn from, and maintain civility around political discourse. Across public, private, and parochial school sectors, school leaders point to one primary challenge, regardless of student population or educational mission: promoting civil dialogue.

In the wake of the 2016 election, many school leaders weren't sure how to address the needs of their students, some of whom feared for the safety of themselves and their families, and others who felt threatened and minoritized by the negative rhetoric coming from both sides of the aisle. Post-election research found that national political discourse affected the everyday lives of high school students, often with negative socio-emotional and academic consequences. Not only have polarization and incivility increased, but a growing number of students from all backgrounds encounter hostile environments in school [1]. In the years since, schools have struggled to adapt to the changing political climate and enact proactive policies that would help them address polarizing issues in the classroom. As the presidential election cycle heats up, schools are increasingly aware that they need to put such policies in place but are unsure how to do so.

This research suggests that to promote civil dialogue and to ensure positive student experiences, teachers need to be ready to navigate political discussions as they arise. To clarify, "civil dialogue" does not mean simply using good manners and being polite; rather, it means that teachers should promote interactions that focus on learning and a respectful exchange of ideas. This includes a focus on using supporting evidence in discussion while also understanding how to evaluate news sources for bias, thoughtful decisions about how to balance the role of a neutral moderator with the need to uphold school values and personal convictions, and supporting students in using appropriate language and rhetorical tools to promote community norms of discourse both in and outside of the classroom. In a 2017 survey of English and social studies teachers, 72 percent agreed that "school leadership should provide more guidance, support, and professional development opportunities on how to promote civil exchange and greater understanding across lines of difference" [2].

For many teachers, effectively implementing thoughtful and productive political discussion in their classrooms feels daunting. As a result, many shy away from even trying, preemptively shutting down important conversations or, worse, implying that they aren't valuable enough to be had. When students aren't able to engage in these conversations, they often end up drawing stereotypical conclusions about those who are different from them [3]. However, diving into these conversations is well worth it. Increasing student awareness of other perspectives can increase civic engagement by promoting acceptance of different viewpoints and experiences both immediately and throughout students' lives [4]. As such, making room to engage with current events, political issues, and controversial ideas in school is an important component of promoting positive civic and social development [5].

This guide offers educators a set of best practices and guidelines for managing discussion and promoting civil dialogue. It also offers guidance for teachers to think about their own biases, and for school leaders to think about the structural factors that may influence these conversations. Finally, it provides an overview of available resources that can help educators meet their goals for healthy and productive engagement with political conversations in 2020 and the years ahead.

BEST PRACTICES FOR ENGAGEMENT WITH THE 2020 ELECTION

Monitor and Manage Student Interaction

- Work on developing positive student interactions prior to discussion, and maintaining a culture of camaraderie and respect throughout the school year.

- Give students explicit instructions on how to talk to one another, and set clear expectations for the kinds of language they use, respectful listening strategies, and their use of evidence to support ideas.

- Lower the stakes and encourage collaboration and sharing ideas over competitive interactions.

A positive classroom environment is crucial to successful student discussion [6]. While the teacher plays an key role in how discussions go, it is important that they develop positive student relations and an ongoing culture of camaraderie and respect *before* those discussions begin [7]. This can be hard because, although students might know one another, ultimately they have come together based on administrative considerations or their parents' preferences, rather than by their own choice [8]. In addition, students carry their relationships with each other, the social hierarchies of the school, and even their broader identities from outside of school with them into classroom discussion [9]. When students think their ideas will be unpopular or unwanted in some way, they may choose to stay silent rather than risk the social consequences of speaking out [10]. This is especially troublesome because the way that students are grouped into classrooms often results in a lack of ideological diversity, meaning that students with dissenting opinons may feel especially out of place.

> " Students need explicit instruction in how to engage in useful cooperative dialogue, rather than merely being given an opportunity to talk and left to their own devices. "

As a result, students need explicit instruction in how to engage in useful cooperative dialogue, rather than merely being given an opportunity to talk and left to their own devices [11]. Opportunities to make collective decisions, whether real or simulated, can serve as drivers of these conversations in order to give them depth and weight. As Dryzek and colleagues point out, "Deliberation entails civility and argumentative complexity" [12]. Teachers should set clear expectations for speaking, listening, and using evidence and reasoning. So long as students give reasons for their ideas and listen respectfully, they can achieve high standards for deliberative interactions regardless of ability or experience [13]. Students will be motivated to engage in conversations when they feel that their ideas are supported, and when they are encouraged to work collaboratively without being competitively compared to their classmates [14]. Make sure discussion is about exchange of ideas, not a battle royale to find out who is the most "right."

Facilitate Discussion with Intention

- Engage in both discussion and meta-discussion—invite student input, opinions, and ideas, but also create space for students to think and talk about the power dynamics and experiences that lead to those ideas, and about which ideas they think are valid, nuanced, or powerful, and why.

- Don't be afraid to formalize discussion to require research and preparation, specify who gets to speak when and for how long, and assign roles, viewpoints, or topics in advance.

- **Allow and encourage students to change their minds and complicate their thinking, but don't force them to try to win everyone over. Recognize where and how reasonable disagreement can exist, and give students time to build on each other's ideas, rather than assuming every issue has just two or three possible viewpoints.**

Instead of simplifying conversation with "bridging talk" (looking past differences, finding commonalties, seeing everyone as the same, overt optimism, and avoiding real issues) or allowing it to dissolve into "conflict talk" (open hostility, talking past each other, making purposely controversial statements, and inciting ire), teachers should look to create a middle ground: democratic conversations that explicitly invite multiple perspectives while exploring the power dynamics, validity and truthfulness, and complexity of ideas put forth [15]. One strategy for promoting civil discourse is to explicitly lay ground rules that prioritize dialogue and deliberation over debate. This has positive outcomes for both student learning and classroom environment. Students who try to reach a consensus rather than persuade their peers are more likely to advance each other's claims, incorporate new ideas or amend their own, search for ways to integrate opposing views, and develop greater content knowledge [16]. Student reasoning improves when alternative viewpoints can be considered and engaged, and deliberation can help overcome polarization and reduce extremism [17].

> " Student reasoning improves when alternative viewpoints can be considered and engaged, and deliberation can help overcome polarization and reduce extremism. "

Debate, however, is not necessarily a negative component of classroom discussions, and in classrooms that lack ideological diversity it can be a useful tool for introducing differing voices to a locally uncontroversial topic. When well organized and moderated, it can have a significant impact on student civic knowledge, appreciation of diverse viewpoints, and acceptance of the democratic process, as well as developing both academic skills and citizenship identity [18]. Debate requires extensive research and preparation, asks students to be able to defend a position that may not be in line with their own, and focuses on developing the same skills necessary for a successful classroom discussion, including using evidence to express and defend claims, active listening and thoughtfully interpreting counterarguments, and collaborating with peers [19]. In addition, debate requires students to recognize both sides of a question, resists a tendency toward absolutist conclusions, requires thorough questioning of propositions, and develops the value of continually challenging ideas [20]. One of the primary skills developed during debate is formal argumentation, which may improve students' persuasive speech and decrease verbal aggression and personal attacks, while also helping students to become more empathetic, less ego-centric, and better at perspective-taking [21]. Therefore, incorporating formalized and pre-meditated debate into classroom settings can help foster a positive environment for more free-flowing discussion, and prepare students to have more civil discussions.

Reflect on Your Own Influences and Biases

- **Be clear with yourself about your own opinions or beliefs, and also what kinds of ideas or opinions you have a hard time coming to terms with.**

- **Work on developing an understanding of student dynamics in your classroom, and develop strategies for creating a welcoming environment that will allow for a diversity of viewpoints and voices.**

- **Take time to reflect on your experiences and invite feedback, and work toward iteratively refining your moderation and facilitation techniques over time.**

Most teachers receive little, if any, training on how to facilitate classroom discussion of controversial or difficult issues [22]. As a result, they often turn to their own experiences as students as a model, which can lead to highly variable results. Some teachers have a strong set of experiences to draw from, but others are flying blind, which may mean that even when conversations are taking place, students could be missing out on potential positive effects or even having negative experiences [23]. Instead, teachers should implement careful and thoughtful instructional design, which includes diverse participant voices, facilitation, and civility norms, in order to help prevent unseen biases and problematic social dynamics [24]. Most importantly, teachers should remain self-reflective about how they manage student interactions. Instruction is always influenced by teachers' own beliefs and experiences, so self-awareness and paying attention to how students are feeling will go a long way to ensure that everyone feels heard and understood [25].

> " Self-awareness and paying attention to how students are feeling will go a long way to ensure that everyone feels heard and understood. "

Many educators reflexively take a "neutral" stance, doing their best to ensure that all sides of an issue are heard during a debate. This is an admirable goal, but remaining neutral can be difficult, especially when issues are emotional or personally connected to the facilitator. Even when teachers think they are projecting neutrality, they often reveal biases [26]. Though it may seem counterintuitive, explicitly disclosing teacher viewpoints may better enable students to distinguish between facts and opinions; attempting to conceal personal views may make it difficult for students to recognize teacher bias [27]. It can also be helpful to make it explicit when presenting a minority or extremist opinion, or to talk with students about how exploring counterarguments can help deepen the reasoning and convictions behind an opinion, rather than presenting all sides as equally viable options. Teachers must recognize that their idea of what it means to be neutral is based on a set of normative cultural assumptions unique to their own lives. This is not inherently bad, but it does require that teachers reflect on these perspectives and how they might influence student experiences.

Don't Be Afraid to Set Moral Boundaries

> " It is not enough for teachers to treat all students equally and respectfully and pretend that issues of race, class, and gender do not follow them into the classroom. "

- Be clear in advance about hard limits for discussion, or what is and is not open for debate.
- Set and enforce boundaries that protect vulnerable students and align with your school's mission and values.
- Make it clear when discussing ideas that may be fringe or extremist, and fall back on evidence and reasoning, rather than emotion, to counteract harmful statements or ideas.

Teachers may need to let go of the idea that true neutrality is even possible, and especially that all viewpoints are morally equivalent [28]. Neutrality and objectivity have limits, and teachers and administrators should work together, in line with the school's mission and values, to define where those boundaries lie. To avoid creating false equivalencies between moral issues, educators should make explicit which issues are "open" or "closed" to debate [29]. Topics are not inherently controversial; rather, what we consider debatable changes as cultural and social norms evolve [30]. In the current political climate, however, some issues that were previously considered completely settled have re-entered the public debate in certain spheres, such as the validity of interracial marriage or the ability of women to hold public leadership

roles [31]. While these issues may be politically debated, they can also be considered morally or epistemically settled, and teachers should use judgement based on ethics and understanding of current and historical context to decide whether to treat them as open or closed issues [32]. By teaching these issues as closed, teachers may appear to breach neutrality, but they are actually promoting a positive classroom environment that is safe and welcoming to all students, making clear what boundaries exist, and upholding human and civil rights [33]. It is not enough for teachers to treat all students equally and respectfully and pretend that issues of race, class, and gender do not follow them into the classroom; this has a tendency to reinforce harmful societal hierarchies by tacitly approving the status quo, amplifying dominant voices, and sidelining non-dominant ones [34] [35]. Instead, seek to find a balance between giving up intellectual authority on open issues and remaining steadfast in moral authority on closed ones [36].

Get the Whole School Involved

- **Give teachers the freedom and space in the curriculum to incorporate authentic student discussion.**
- **Make sure students have a real say in how the school is run.**
- **Promote positive and respectful interactions and relationships between teachers and students, fostering a culture of caring and trust.**

Teachers often face a variety of barriers to implementing discussion, such as large class sizes that complicate behavioral management, lack of planning time or pedagogical knowledge of how to facilitate discussion, a curriculum that emphasizes broad superficial coverage instead of deep exploration of specific issues, or concerns that students may not have productive exchanges that bring them to insightful conclusions [37]. Teachers also face barriers at the administrative level, and many schools struggle to create environments in which teachers have space to host discussions of controversial issues. Successfully implementing meaningful classroom discussion requires a supportive school environment where principals and parents trust teachers' professional expertise, and where there is sufficient space in the curriculum to pursue deep thinking [38].

Schools should begin preparing for the 2020 election as soon as possible. Teachers need time for professional development and to practice new instructional strategies in a lower-stakes setting. And schools need considerable time and effort to develop positive student relationships and an open environment in which students feel safe engaging with ideas. Two of the most consistent predictors of an open school climate for discussion are the democratic nature of school institutions and the quality of interpersonal relationships. When students feel heard and empowered, and when both students and school leaders believe that students can influence decisions made about the school, students are likely to perceive classrooms as more open to authentic discussion of political and social issues [39] [40]. Similarly, when students feel that they have respectful relationships with teachers, and teachers also identify positive relationships among students, it creates a more open school environment for engaging with controversial public issues [41]. School leaders should look at how school-wide norms and policies may be contributing to an overall climate that promotes civil dialogue and open discussion within classrooms.

> " When students feel heard and empowered, and believe they can influence decisions made about the school, they are likely to perceive classrooms as more open to authentic discussion of political and social issues. "

RESOURCES FOR EDUCATORS

Discussion Facilitation Frameworks

There is no shortage of resources offering teachers ideas and methods for hosting discussion, debate, and deliberation in the classroom. These range considerably in complexity and scope, from simply asking students what they think using primary source documents as prompts, to formally structured debates for which students have spent weeks preparing. Teachers should be mindful of the unique context and social factors of their own classroom and school communities when thinking about how best to facilitate conversations. Don't be afraid to experiment—one failed attempt at engaging in dialogue doesn't mean it's impossible in your classroom. Be thoughtful about where the conversation broke down, and try a new approach that accounts for those challenges.

Great for: Teachers who are unsure where to start or how to bring conversations to the next level. Classrooms with lower levels of trust may benefit from designs that depersonalize debate by assigning students to roles and focusing on research and preparation, rather than requiring students to disclose their own perspectives or experiences in order to participate. In classrooms where students have deeper relationships with one another, meta-talk about students' own expectations for dialogue and creating a shared set of community norms as a group may be a useful precursor to discussion.

What to look for: Avoid any activities that are trying to get students to a pre-determined outcome. Students can usually tell when they're being shepherded, and will tend to shut down rather than engage meaningfully. Teachers should prioritize discussion styles that have the flexibility and adaptability to meet the needs of whatever comes up, while maintaining a rigorous commitment to reason-giving and evidence. Students should feel their contributions are welcomed, and frameworks should be able to accommodate a wide range of student abilities, approaches, and beliefs about the nature and purpose of discussion.

Sample resources and programs:

- **NCSS Civil Discourse Resources**
- **Anti-Defamation League**
- **ProCon.org**
- **National Issues Forums Discussion Guides**
- **Street Law's Deliberation materials**

Media Literacy

Media literacy is an important component in how students analyze and evaluate the various forms of communication they encounter both in their daily lives and in their schoolwork. As they explore current events and make sense of the upcoming election, students will understand and make decisions about key political and social issues based on information they take from the media. Thus, it is crucial for young people not only to be able to understand and interpret media, but also to apply that knowledge toward their own civic development as they work with primary sources in history and the social studies. The ability to think critically about "difficult histories" and make connections between past and current events are important tools that will provide framing and context for contentious or controversial conversations. These resources can also help teachers make informed decisions about the kinds of content and texts they bring into the classroom, and how those choices may shape student perceptions and experiences.

Great for: Classrooms where students struggle to put evidence before emotions, or have a hard time recognizing subtext. Media literacy can also be a useful starting point in situations where students are deeply divided, talking past each other, or even antagonistic. Simply establishing a shared set of facts and acknowledging bias on all sides can lead to better interactions down the line.

What to look for: Look for tools that support informed and contextual use of evidence, and recognize that students should be aware of and think critically about the source, potential bias, reliability, and validity of the evidence they use to make arguments and draw conclusions. Avoid resources that vilify one type of bias while accepting or even praising another.

Sample Resources and Programs:

- **National Association for Media Literacy Education**
- **Facing History and Ourselves: Current Events**
- **Bites Media**
- **Ad Fontes Media Bias Chart**
- **Democratic Knowledge Project: 10 Questions for Young Changemakers**

Service Learning and Action Civics

In order to help ground understanding of public issues in empirical reality and give students a set of experiences and knowledge to draw from, many schools turn outward to the wider community. Service learning and action civics can help inform discussion and make it more vivid, as well as adding weight to discussion by holding students accountable for the decisions they make, linking deliberation to action. In addition, these programs can have a unifying effect on student dialogue because, while they may have different ideas about their causes or how best to respond, students are highly likely to agree that issues such as homelessness, littering, or domestic violence have a negative impact on their community. These programs usually take either a service learning or action civics approach. Service learning gives students the opportunity to volunteer around an issue in their communities, while also including a curricular component that enables them to think critically about these experiences and to reflect on them in a collective setting. There is ample research to suggest that participating in a service experience in high school is a strong predictor of social, civic, and political engagement later in life [42]. In action civics, students participate in a collective action project that incorporates their own knowledge, perspective, and voice, and centralizes reflection on the experience. However, unlike service learning, which tends to focus on civil society or philanthropic responses, action civics aims to teach students how to navigate public systems and institutions to enact change. Schools should consider programs that include a strong academic component alongside student action, and that ensure students have a grasp of relevant background knowledge necessary to understand how and why people take action.

Great for: Teachers who worry their students may be stuck in a bubble, or have a narrow worldview. For students who may be disempowered or marginalized, action civics can be a great tool for helping them understand how citizens can impact their world, regardless of status, and what resources are available to them that are already part of their community. For students who may be sheltered from many of the challenges facing society or who lack diversity in their communities, service learning can be a thoughtful way for them to develop a deeper understanding of how societies work, and to humanize and build empathy for those who are different from them.

What to look for: Avoid shallow engagement. Programming should go beyond simply completing a number of hours of community service or writing a letter to a senator. Students should delve deeply into the complex issues surrounding their projects and take time to reflect on their experiences. At a minimum, service learning or action civics programs should ask questions like: What is the problem I want to address? What are the underlying causes of this problem? How or why do I believe the action I am taking will help? How does it fit into our broader social or democratic system? Did I have an impact? How can I know? How could I work toward a more long-term solution to this problem?

Sample Resources and Programs:

- **Youth Participatory Politics Research Network**
- **Project Citizen (Center for Civic Education)**
- **Generation Citizen**
- **Mikva Challenge**

Political Engagement in Schools

Schools may also want to consider how the broader student community outside of classrooms can get involved in the election. These kinds of programs can make it clear that school is a place where political engagement is valued and students' political identities are welcomed, while providing a clear structure and set of boundaries for how students are expected to conduct themselves. This can also be a valuable opportunity for extending citizenship education outside of the social studies classroom, and for tying curricular activities to issues affecting the broader school community. Traditionally, schools will set up a system of student government, but extracurricular civics can be broader than that. Some of the most common ways that schools support political engagement are through programs such as mock elections and debates, voter registration drives, and participation in extracurricular social studies activities such as speech and debate, mock trials, Model United Nations, geography bees, or history fairs. As schools think about how they can promote a positive, open, and safe environment for political discussion in the lead up to the 2020 election, schoolwide and extracurricular programming may be one approach to support political engagement and civil discourse outside of the classroom and across all school activities.

Great for: Everyone. All schools can and should have a student government and social studies extracurriculars, to the extent possible. Allow student interest to drive which activities are offered, and be willing to cede leadership to the students. If your school has a particularly hard time doing this, these programs are likely to be especially important.

What to look for: Programs that people are excited about. What do students want to learn about, and faculty want to give their time to? Make sure they have a strong educational component—programs that overemphasize fundraising or advocacy often benefit the organization that runs them more than the students who participate. Try to ensure that students have real say in governance or management and are able to practice taking ownership of the things they care about.

Sample Resources and Programs:

- **Kid's Voting USA**
- **Campus Vote Project**
- **Teaching for Democracy Alliance**

REFERENCES

Allen, Danielle S. *Talking to Strangers: Citizenship after Brown vs. Board of Education*. Chicago, IL: University Of Chicago Press, 2004.

Barton, K. C., and P. Avery. "Research on Social Studies Education: Diverse Students, Settings, and Methods." In *Handbook of Research on Teaching*, edited by D. Gitomer and C. Bell, 985–1038. Washington, D.C.: American Educational Research Association, 2016.

Beck, Terence A. "Identity, Discourse, and Safety in a High School Discussion of Same-Sex Marriage." *Theory & Research in Social Education* 41, no. 1 (January 1, 2013): 1–32. https://doi.org/10.1080/00933104.2013.757759.

———. "Managing an Unpopular Opinion in a Controversial Political Issue Discussion." *Theory & Research in Social Education* 47, no. 2 (April 3, 2019): 205–27. https://doi.org/10.1080/00933104.2018.1551165.

Billig, Michael. *Arguing and Thinking: A Rhetorical Approach to Social Psychology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Brookfield, S. D., and S. Preskill. *Discussion as a Way of Teaching: Tools and Techniques for Democratic Classrooms*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1999.

Camicia, S. P. *Critical Democratic Education and LGBTQ-Inclusive Curriculum: Opportunities and Constraints*. New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2016.

Campbell, David E. "Voice in the Classroom: How an Open Classroom Climate Fosters Political Engagement among Adolescents." *Political Behavior* 30, no. 4 (2008): 437–54.

———. *Why We Vote: How Schools and Communities Shape Our Civic Life*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2006. https://catalyst.library.jhu.edu/catalog/bib_2619511.

Chambers, Simone. "Human Life Is Group Life: Deliberative Democracy for Realists." *Critical Review* 30, no. 1–2 (April 3, 2018): 36–48. https://doi.org/10.1080/08913811.2018.1466852.

Colbert, Kent R. "The Effects of Debate Participation on Argumentativeness and Verbal Aggression." *Communication Education* 42, no. 3 (July 1993): 206.

Conrad, Jenni. "Navigating Identity as a Controversial Issue: One Teacher's Disclosure for Critical Empathic Reasoning." *Theory & Research in Social Education*, no. 0 (October 25, 2019): 1–33. https://doi.org/10.1080/00933104.2019.1679687.

Dillon, J. T. *Using Discussion in Classrooms*. Buckingham: Open University Press, 1994.

Dryzek, John S., Andre Bachtiger, Simone Chambers, Joshua Cohen, James N. Druckman, Andrea Felicetti, James S. Fishkin, et al. "The Crisis of Democracy and the Science of Deliberation: Citizens Can Avoid Polarization and Make Sound Decisions." *Science* 363, no. 6432 (2019): 1144–46. https://doi.org/10.1126/science.aaw2694.

Felton, Mark, Merce Garcia-Mila, Constanza Villarroel, and Sandra Gilabert. "Arguing Collaboratively: Argumentative Discourse Types and Their Potential for Knowledge Building." *British Journal of Educational Psychology* 85, no. 3 (September 1, 2015): 372–86.

Flynn, N. K. "Toward Democratic Discourse: Scaffolding Student-Led Discussions in the Social Studies." *Teachers College Record* 111 (2009): 2021–54.

Gerber, Marlène, André Bächtiger, Susumu Shikano, Simon Reber, and Samuel Rohr. "Deliberative Abilities and Influence in a Transnational Deliberative Poll (EuroPolis)." *British Journal of Political Science* 48, no. 4 (October 2018): 1093–1118. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123416000144.

Gibson, C, and Peter Levine. "The Civic Mission of Schools." New York, NY: Carnegie Corporation of New York and CIRCLE: The Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement, 2003. https://civicyouth.org/PopUps/CivicMissionofSchools.pdf.

Gillies, R. M., and A. Khan. "Promoting Reasoned Argumentation, Problem-Solving and Learning during Small Group Work." *Cambridge Journal of Education* 39, no. 1 (2009): 7–27.

Grönlund, Kimmo, Kaisa Herne, and Maija Setälä. "Does Enclave Deliberation Polarize Opinions?" *Political Behavior* 37, no. 4 (December 1, 2015): 995–1020. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11109-015-9304-x.

Hadjioannou, Xenia. "Bringing the Background to the Foreground: What Do Classroom Environments That Support Authentic Discussions Look Like?" *American Educational Research Journal* 44, no. 2 (June 1, 2007): 370–99. https://doi.org/10.3102/0002831207302173.

Hand, Michael. "Should We Teach Homosexuality as a Controversial Issue?" *Theory and Research in Education* 5, no. 1 (2007): 68–86. https://doi.org/10.1177/1477878507073614.

Hart, D, T. M. Donnelly, James Youniss, and R. Atkins. "High School Community Service as a Predictor of Adult Voting and Volunteering." *American Educational Research Journal* 44, no. 1 (2007): 197–219.

Hemmings, Annette. "High School Democratic Dialogues: Possibilities for Praxis." *American Educational Research Journal* 37, no. 1 (2000): 67–91.

Henning, J. E. *The Art of Discussion-Based Teaching: Opening up Conversation in the Classroom*. New York: Routledge, 2008.

Hess, Diana E. *Controversy in the Classroom: The Democratic Power of Discussion*. New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2009.

Hess, Diana E., and Patricia McAvoy. *The Political Classroom: Evidence and Ethics in Democratic Education*. New York: Routledge, 2014.

Hess, Diana E., and Julie Posselt. "How High School Students Experience and Learn from the Discussion of Controversial Public Issues." *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision* 17, no. 4 (June 1, 2002): 283–314.

Ho, L.-C., Patricia McAvoy, Diana E. Hess, and B. Gibbs. "Teaching and Learning about Controversial Issues and Topics in the Social Studies: A Review of the Research." In *The Wiley Handbook of Social Studies Research*, edited by M. M. Manfra and C. M. Bolick, 321–35. Boston, MA: Wiley Blackwell, 2017.

Infante, D. A., A. S. Rancer, and D. F. Womack. *Building Communication Theory*. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 1990.

Journell, Wayne. "Framing Controversial Identity Issues in Schools: The Case of HB2, Bathroom Equity, and Transgender Students." *Equity & Excellence in Education* 50, no. 4 (October 2, 2017): 339–54. https://doi.org/10.1080/10665684.2017.1393640.

———. "Ideological Homogeneity, School Leadership, and Political Intolerance in Secondary Education: A Study of Three High Schools during the 2008 Presidential Election." *Journal of School Leadership* 22 (2012): 269–599.

———. "Teacher Political Disclosure as Parrhēsia." *Teachers College Record* 118, no. 5 (2016): 1–36.

———. "The Disclosure Dilemma in Action: A Qualitative Look at the Effect of Teacher Disclosure on Classroom Instruction." *Journal of Social Studies Research; Cedar Hall* 35, no. 2 (Fall 2011): 217–44.

Knowles, Ryan T. "Teaching Who You Are: Connecting Teachers' Civic Education Ideology to Instructional Strategies." *Theory & Research in Social Education* 46, no. 1 (January 2, 2018): 68–109. https://doi.org/10.1080/00933104.2017.13567 76.

Kuang, Xiaoxue, Kerry J. Kennedy, and Magdalena Mo Ching Mok. "Creating Democratic Class Rooms in Asian Contexts: The Influences of Individual and School Level Factors on Open Classroom Climate." *Journal of Social Science Education* 17, no. 1 (January 1, 2018): 29–40.

Kumashiro, Kevin. "The 'Acceptability' of Race/Gender/Sexuality-Based Discrimination in Democratic Schools." *Transformations: The Journal of Inclusive Scholarship and Pedagogy* 14, no. 1 (2003): 7–34.

Kunzman, Robert. *Grappling with the Good: Talking about Religion and Morality in Public Schools*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006.

Landemore, Helene. *Democratic Reason: Politics, Collective Intelligence, and the Rule of the Many*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012.

Levinson, Meira. *No Citizen Left Behind*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012. https://catalyst.library.jhu.edu/catalog/ bib_6289765.

Maurissen, Lies, Ellen Claes, and Carolyn Barber. "Deliberation in Citizenship Education: How the School Context Contributes to the Development of an Open Classroom Climate." *Social Psychology of Education*, May 10, 2018, 1–22. https:// doi.org/10.1007/s11218-018-9449-7.

Mezuk, Briana, Irina Bondarenko, Suzanne Smith, and Eric Tucker. "Impact of Participating in a Policy Debate Program on Academic Achievement: Evidence from the Chicago Urban Debate League." *Educational Research and Reviews* 6, no. 9 (2011): 622–35.

Mirra, Nicole, Benjamin Honoroff, Suzanne Elgendy, and Gabriel Pietrzak. "Reading and Writing with a Public Purpose: Fostering Middle School Students' Academic and Critical Community Literacies through Debate." *Journal of Language and Literacy Education* 12, no. 1 (2016): 1–22.

Mutz, D. *Hearing the Other Side: Deliberative versus Participatory Democracy.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Niemi, Nancy S., and Richard G. Niemi. "Partisanship, Participation, and Political Trust as Taught (or Not) in High School History and Government Classes." *Theory & Research in Social Education* 35, no. 1 (Winter 2007): 32–61.

Noelle-Neumann, E. *The Spiral of Silence: Public Opinion–Our Social Skin*. Chicago, IL: University Of Chicago Press, 1993.

Onosko, J. J. "Barriers to the Promotion of Higher-Order Thinking in Social Studies." *Theory and Research in Social Education* 19, no. 4 (1991): 341–66.

Pace, Judith L. *The Charged Classroom: Predicaments and Possibilities for Democratic Teaching.* New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2015.

Parker, W. C. "Listening to Strangers: Classroom Discussion in Democratic Education." *Teachers College Record* 112 (2010): 2815–32.

Perry, James L., and Michael C. Katula. "Does Service Affect Citizenship?" *Administration & Society; Beverly Hills* 33, no. 3 (July 2001): 330–65.

Quintelier, Ellen, and Marc Hooghe. "The Relationship between Political Participation Intentions of Adolescents and a Participatory Democratic Climate at School in 35 Countries." *Oxford Review of Education* 39, no. 5 (October 1, 2013): 567–89. https://doi.org/10.1080/03054985.2013.830097.

Reich, Wendelin. "Deliberative Democracy in the Classroom: A Sociological View." *Educational Theory* 57, no. 2 (2007): 187–97. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-5446.2007.00251.x.

Reichert, Frank, Jiaxin Chen, and Judith Torney-Purta. "Profiles of Adolescents' Perceptions of Democratic Classroom Climate and Students' Influence: The Effect of School and Community Contexts." *Journal of Youth and Adolescence* 47 (2018). https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-018-0831-8.

Rogers, John, Megan Franke, Jung-Eun Ellie Yun, Michael Ishimoto, Claudia Diera, Rebeccca Geller, Anthony Berryman, and Tizoc Brenes. "Teaching and Learning in the Age of Trump: Increasing Stress and Hostility in America's High Schools." Los Angeles, CA: UCLA's Institute for Democracy, Education, and Access, 2017.

Schultz, Katherine, Patricia Buck, and Tricia Niesz. "Democratizing Conversations: Racialized Talk in a Post-Desegregated Middle School." *American Educational Research Journal* 37, no. 1 (March 1, 2000): 33–65. https://doi.org/10.3102/00028312037001033.

Sondel, Beth, Hannah Carson Baggett, and Alyssa Hadley Dunn. "'For Millions of People, This Is Real Trauma': A Pedagogy of Political Trauma in the Wake of the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election." *Teaching and Teacher Education* 70 (February 2018): 175–85. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2017.11.017.

Subedi, Binaya. "Fostering Critical Dialogue Across Cultural Differences: A Study of Immigrant Teachers' Interventions in Diverse Schools." *Theory & Research in Social Education* 36, no. 4 (Fall 2008): 413–40.

Warner, Ede, and Jon Bruschke. "'Gone on Debating:' Competitive Academic Debate as a Tool of Empowerment." *Contemporary Argumentation & Debate* 22 (September 2001): 1.

Washington, Elizabeth Yeager, and Emma K. Humphries. "A Social Studies Teacher's Sense Making of Controversial Issues Discussions of Race in a Predominantly White, Rural High School Classroom." *Theory & Research in Social Education* 39, no. 1 (Winter 2011): 92–114.

Youniss, James, Jeffrey A. McLellan, Yang Su, and Miranda Yates. "The Role of Community Service in Identity Development: Normative, Unconventional, and Deviant Orientations." *Journal of Adolescent Research* 14, no. 2 (1999): 248–61.

Youniss, James, Jeffrey A. McLellan, and Miranda Yates. "What We Know About Engendering Civic Identity." *American Behavioral Scientist* 40, no. 5 (March 1, 1997): 620–31. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764297040005008.

ENDNOTES

1. Rogers et al., "Teaching and Learning in the Age of Trump: Increasing Stress and Hostility in America's High Schools"; Sondel, Baggett, and Dunn, "'For Millions of People, This Is Real Trauma.'"

2. Rogers et al., "Teaching and Learning in the Age of Trump: Increasing Stress and Hostility in America's High Schools."

3. Subedi, "Fostering Critical Dialogue Across Cultural Differences."

4. Hess, *Controversy in the Classroom: The Democratic Power of Discussion*.

5. Hess and McAvoy, *The Political Classroom: Evidence and Ethics in Democratic Education*.

6. Barton and Avery, "Research on Social Studies Education: Diverse Students, Settings, and Methods"; Hemmings, "High School Democratic Dialogues"; Hess and Posselt, "How High School Students Experience and Learn from the Discussion of Controversial Public Issues"; Ho et al., "Teaching and Learning about Controversial Issues and Topics in the Social Studies: A Review of the Research."; Levinson, *No Citizen Left Behind*; Parker, "Listening to Strangers: Classroom Discussion in Democratic Education."

7. Hadjioannou, "Bringing the Background to the Foreground"; Henning, *The Art of Discussion-Based Teaching: Opening up Conversation in the Classroom*; Washington and Humphries, "A Social Studies Teacher's Sense Making of Controversial Issues Discussions of Race in a Predominantly White, Rural High School Classroom."

8. Beck, "Managing an Unpopular Opinion in a Controversial Political Issue Discussion"; Parker, "Listening to Strangers: Classroom Discussion in Democratic Education."

9. Beck, "Managing an Unpopular Opinion in a Controversial Political Issue Discussion"; Flynn, "Toward Democratic Discourse: Scaffolding Student-Led Discussions in the Social Studies"; Hess and Posselt, "How High School Students Experience and Learn from the Discussion of Controversial Public Issues"; Journell, "Ideological Homogeneity, School Leadership, and Political Intolerance in Secondary Education: A Study of Three High Schools during the 2008 Presidential Election"; Journell, "Framing Controversial Identity Issues in Schools."

10. Noelle-Neumann, *The Spiral of Silence: Public Opinion–Our Social Skin*.

11. Gillies and Khan, "Promoting Reasoned Argumentation, Problem-Solving and Learning during Small Group Work."

12. "The Crisis of Democracy and the Science of Deliberation: Citizens Can Avoid Polarization and Make Sound Decisions."

13. Gerber et al., "Deliberative Abilities and Influence in a Transnational Deliberative Poll (EuroPolis)."

14. Hadjioannou, "Bringing the Background to the Foreground"; Hemmings, "High School Democratic Dialogues."

15. Schultz, Buck, and Niesz, "Democratizing Conversations."

16. Felton et al., "Arguing Collaboratively."

17. Chambers, "Human Life Is Group Life"; Grönlund, Herne, and Setälä, "Does Enclave Deliberation Polarize Opinions?"; Landemore, *Democratic Reason: Politics, Collective Intelligence, and the Rule of the Many*.

18. Campbell, "Voice in the Classroom"; Hess, *Controversy in the Classroom: The Democratic Power of Discussion*; Hess and Posselt, "How High School Students Experience and Learn from the Discussion of Controversial Public Issues"; Mirra et al., "Reading and Writing with a Public Purpose: Fostering Middle School Students' Academic and Critical Community Literacies through Debate"; Mutz, *Hearing the Other Side: Deliberative versus Participatory Democracy*; Youniss, McLellan, and Yates, "What We Know About Engendering Civic Identity."

19. Mezuk et al., "Impact of Participating in a Policy Debate Program on Academic Achievement: Evidence from the Chicago Urban Debate League."

20. Billig, *Arguing and Thinking: A Rhetorical Approach to Social Psychology*.

21. Colbert, "The Effects of Debate Participation on Argumentativeness and Verbal Aggression"; Infante, Rancer, and Womack, *Building Communication Theory*; Warner and Bruschke, "'Gone on Debating."

22. Kunzman, *Grappling with the Good*.

23. Washington and Humphries, "A Social Studies Teacher's Sense Making of Controversial Issues Discussions of Race in a Predominantly White, Rural High School Classroom."

24. Dryzek et al., "The Crisis of Democracy and the Science of Deliberation: Citizens Can Avoid Polarization and Make Sound Decisions."

25. Subedi, "Fostering Critical Dialogue Across Cultural Differences."

26. Conrad, "Navigating Identity as a Controversial Issue"; Journell, "The Disclosure Dilemma in Action"; Knowles, "Teaching Who You Are"; Niemi and Niemi, "Partisanship, Participation, and Political Trust as Taught (or Not) in High School History and Government Classes"; Reich, "Deliberative Democracy in the Classroom."

27. Ho et al., "Teaching and Learning about Controversial Issues and Topics in the Social Studies: A Review of the Research."; Journell, "Teacher Political Disclosure as Parrhēsia"; Washington and Humphries, "A Social Studies Teacher's Sense Making of Controversial Issues Discussions of Race in a Predominantly White, Rural High School Classroom."

28. Sondel, Baggett, and Dunn, "'For Millions of People, This Is Real Trauma'"; Subedi, "Fostering Critical Dialogue Across Cultural Differences."

29. Washington and Humphries, "A Social Studies Teacher's Sense Making of Controversial Issues Discussions of Race in a Predominantly White, Rural High School Classroom."

30. Hess, *Controversy in the Classroom: The Democratic Power of Discussion*.

31. Rogers et al., "Teaching and Learning in the Age of Trump: Increasing Stress and Hostility in America's High Schools."

32. Conrad, "Navigating Identity as a Controversial Issue"; Hand, "Should We Teach Homosexuality as a Controversial Issue?"; Washington and Humphries, "A Social Studies Teacher's Sense Making of Controversial Issues Discussions of Race in a Predominantly White, Rural High School Classroom."

33. Allen, *Talking to Strangers: Citizenship after Brown vs. Board of Education; Camicia, Critical Democratic Education and LGBTQ-Inclusive Curriculum: Opportunities and Constraints*; Conrad, "Navigating Identity as a Controversial Issue"; Kumashiro, "The 'Acceptability' of Race/Gender/Sexuality-Based Discrimination in Democratic Schools"; Washington and Humphries, "A Social Studies Teacher's Sense Making of Controversial Issues Discussions of Race in a Predominantly White, Rural High School Classroom."

34. Beck, "Identity, Discourse, and Safety in a High School Discussion of Same-Sex Marriage"; Conrad, "Navigating Identity as a Controversial Issue"; Journell, "Framing Controversial Identity Issues in Schools"; Pace, *The Charged Classroom: Predicaments and Possibilities for Democratic Teaching*.

35. Brookfield and Preskill, *Discussion as a Way of Teaching: Tools and Techniques for Democratic Classrooms*.

36. Brookfield and Preskill.

37. Dillon, *Using Discussion in Classrooms*; Onosko, "Barriers to the Promotion of Higher-Order Thinking in Social Studies."

38. Hadjioannou, "Bringing the Background to the Foreground."

39. Maurissen, Claes, and Barber, "Deliberation in Citizenship Education"; Reichert, Chen, and Torney-Purta, "Profiles of Adolescents' Perceptions of Democratic Classroom Climate and Students' Influence."

40. Quintelier and Hooghe, "The Relationship between Political Participation Intentions of Adolescents and a Participatory Democratic Climate at School in 35 Countries."

41. Kuang, Kennedy, and Mok, "Creating Democratic Class Rooms in Asian Contexts"; Maurissen, Claes, and Barber, "Deliberation in Citizenship Education"; Quintelier and Hooghe, "The Relationship between Political Participation Intentions of Adolescents and a Participatory Democratic Climate at School in 35 Countries."

42. Campbell, Why We Vote; Gibson and Levine, "The Civic Mission of Schools"; Hart et al., "High School Community Service as a Predictor of Adult Voting and Volunteering"; Perry and Katula, "Does Service Affect Citizenship?"; Youniss et al., "The Role of Community Service in Identity Development: Normative, Unconventional, and Deviant Orientations."