10 Questions for Change Makers

Harvard Democratic Knowledge Project

https://yppactionframe.fas.harvard.edu

10 Questions for the Future

What does civic agency look like in a digital age? What key issues should young people take into consideration as citizens and civic actors? The Ten Questions serve as a guide to successful political action in going forward.

10 Questions for the Present

Examples of successful political participation teach us important lessons about civic agency. What can students learn from ongoing movements for change? The Ten Questions provide a useful framework for reflecting on the participatory politics today.

10 Questions for the Past

Our history has been shaped by moments when ordinary citizens come together to push for change. The Ten Questions help young people understand and discuss critical moments of democracy.

What Can the Ten Questions Tell Us About Civic Agency in a Digital Age?

Ordinary people can drive social change and participate in the political process well beyond voting — they can raise funds, mobilize others to get involved, protest, deliberate, and work on public issues. Digital technology has had a dramatic impact on these traditional forms of political engagement, and young people stand to benefit greatly from these changes in civic action and the social changes such innovation might inspire. But the digital environment comes with
risks: privacy breaches, anonymous trolls, polarization, “fake news,” and hostile speech are all too common in the digital public sphere. How can educators help cultivate young people as equitable, efficacious, and self-protective civic actors in our strange, new digital age?

We offer the Ten Questions framework as an innovation in civic learning to meet these recent innovations in political engagement. Our Ten Questions are based on a multiyear, cross-disciplinary study of young people’s political participation in our new media ecosystem, sponsored by the MacArthur Foundation. We designed this framework to engage young people with the ethical concerns of citizenship in light of our findings, focusing on equity, efficiency, and self-protection to ease the developmental burdens of participation.

Equitable participatory politics. Young people engage in important civic work online and off, no matter who they are. But citizenship also entails identifying, curating, and elevating the voices of those who lack the opportunity to participate. The Ten Questions framework looks to connect students with the norms of accuracy, authenticity, equity, and openness to diversity essential to democratic action. You can’t have quality participation without equality.

Effective participatory politics. Participation is efficacious when individual participants can point to something that has changed on account of their efforts—a representative’s vote, a new policy, media attention of an issue, or even the perspective of a friend. In this way, individual activities can help shape the attitudes of entire communities. The Ten Questions engage students with how their actions can be effective and what counts as effective in the first place.

Self-protective participatory politics. Security online goes beyond privacy settings. The publicity and permanence of digital communication requires civic actors to think about the digital afterlife of their choices. How can young people preserve their psychological well-being in face of the unpredictable consequences of digital participation, the dangers that come with public exposure, and collisions between their speech online and their life offline? By helping students analyze the risks and rewards of political participation, the Ten Questions offers them opportunities to learn how to be safe and sustainable political actors in their own lives.
Are You A Change Maker?

Do You Want to Design Equitable, Efficacious, and Self-protective Civic-Political Agency?

TEN QUESTIONS FOR PARTICIPATORY POLITICS

1. Why does it matter to me?
2. How much should I share?
3. How do I make it about more than myself?
4. Where do we start?
5. How can we make it easy and engaging for others to join in?
6. How do we get wisdom from crowds?
7. How do we handle the downside of crowds?
8. Are we pursuing voice or influence or both?
9. How do we get from voice to change?
10. How can we find allies?
Civic Agency in a Digital Age

Professor Danielle Allen speaks of three types of civic agent: engaged citizens, activists, and politicians. All three are essential to democratic practice, but frequently (though not always) vary considerably in the goals they pursue, types of action they take, and strategies of participation they deploy in seeking voice and influence. Professor Allen argues that the Ten Questions for Change Makers can serve as a tool for reflection before action, by which young people can contemplate possible consequences of their action. This process can help young people develop into more equitable, efficacious, and self-protective civic actors themselves, whatever the type. See more at “What Makes Democracy Work?: Citizens and Civic Participation.”

Our Audience: Civic Educators

This teaching guide is targeted toward educators involved in civic education both inside and outside of school settings, providing them examples of how they might utilize the Ten Questions for Change Makers framework in their educational environments.

The Ten Questions framework is primarily oriented around thinking about the present and the future. But it can also be used as a lens for reading the past. The Ten Questions encapsulate, we believe, timeless ideals of participation: self-reflection on authentic motivations, pivoting from individual to collective action, expanding the scope of collaboration, coordinating divergent self-interests, guarding ourselves from pushbacks, and getting from voice to influence.

This remainder of this guide consists of three modules for applying the framework: 10 Questions for the Future, 10 Questions for the Present, and 10 Questions for the Past. Each section currently includes one teaching unit, but more will be added in due course.

Contact
Chaebong Nam
yppactionframe@fas.harvard.edu
yppactionframe.fas.harvard.edu

Editors
Chaebong Nam & Justin Pottle
Activities

1. Distribute copies of “Crossing the Gap” (Teaching Tolerance) to students. Discuss how students relate to the story themselves.

2. Have students form small groups. Provide them access to the Internet and have students search for funding inequality in their state. For example, students in Brighton looked up an interactive map produced by the Massachusetts Budget and Policy Center that showed funding gaps by district across the state. In absence of Internet access, provide copies of the Education Trust’s report titled “Funding Gaps 2015”. Have students:
   • Compare their district to other districts.
   • Discuss why disparities might have occurred.
   • Identify related local government bills.

3. As a group, have students select one particular topic in education inequality and formulate potential solutions. Have students develop an action project about education inequality.

4. Distribute the Ten Questions and have students discuss the topic and the action process using them.

5. Have students clarify methods of investigation for their project, like interviews, additional statistical data, newspaper articles, and online research. Give students time to begin work on their project.

6. After coming back to class, students share what they have investigated so far. Focusing on Questions 8, 9, and 10 in the Ten Questions, discuss what actions students can take to translate voice into change. Options might include:
   • Write the letter to local politicians.
   • Use social media to contact local government
   • Identify education advocacy groups, city-wide education affairs, or conferences. Present the projects for awareness raising.

7. Bring your proposal to the real world and try them out. After action, have students reflect on the project as a whole class and have them write a reflection journal about their experience.

Related information

• Massachusetts Budget and Policy Center – Education funding in Massachusetts by district
  massbudget.org/tool_window.php?loc=education_by_district.html
• “Visualizing School Equity” in Teaching Tolerance, www.tolerance.org/lesson/visualizing-school-equity
EXAMPLE. A group of high school students in Brighton, MA presented an action project on inequality and segregation in education on Generation Citizen’s Civics Day, May 8, 2017. Their project was aligned with the Generation Citizen Framework for Action, but also closely followed the Ten Questions framework.

“OUR FIRST GOAL WAS TO BRING ATTENTION TO THE ISSUE OF EDUCATION INEQUALITY”

“OUR SECOND GOAL WAS TO ADVOCATE FOR MORE EQUITABLE FUNDING FROM THE STATE FOR HIGH NEED LOW INCOME SCHOOL LIKE OURS.”

“In our 12th grade History of Boston Class, we have spent a lot of time discussing issues that exist today in our city. We chose to focus on school segregation and education inequity, because our school, Brighton High School was labeled as a failing school (level 4) by the state at the beginning of the school year. We know that we are not failures, but we do know that the history of institutional racism and class inequity has created a system that is failing us. For many of us Brighton High’s low income, high need students—many who are recent immigrants to this country—education is our only path to a successful future. We as low-income students of color are being denied the educational opportunities that our wealthier students have.”

“Schools like ours need more funding for resources and opportunities. We have very few elective like art, no afterschool clubs like theater or choir, over crowded AP classes, a dirty and depressing learning environment and not enough therapists to help student who struggle with traumatic lives. Racial and economic equality may not happen in the near future but at least we can better fund the segregated schools we have in our state.”

1. Why does it matter to me?

2. How much should I share?

3. How do I make it more than myself?

4. Where do we start?

5. How can we make it easy and engaging for others to join in?

6. How do we get from wisdom from crowds?

7. How do we handle the downside of crowds?

8. Are we pursuing voice or influence or both?

9. How do we get from voice to influence?

10. How can we find allies?
“Since we became a level 4 school and found out that we face a million dollar budget cut for next year we have tried to get our message out. Hibbo was interviewed about the cuts in the Boston Banner!” [Seeking wisdom of crowds]

“Every student in our class wrote letters to their own state senator and representative. In these letters we told our stories of what it is like to be in a level 4 school and to encourage them to support Bill S220 and Bill S223 that could bring better state funding to schools like us. Every student in our class wrote letters to their own state senator and representative. In these letters we told our stories of what it is like to be in a level 4 school and to encourage them to support Bill S220 and Bill S223 that could bring better state funding to schools like us.”

“We met with Senator Pat Jehlen and Senator Sonia Chang-Diaz who are on the Education Committee to discuss two bills sponsored by Senator Chang-Diaz that would help segregated underfunded schools like Brighton. We got advice on how we could advocate for two bills.

Bill S220 would make sure Boston Public Schools get its fair share of state education funding. Boston is a wealthy city, but most students in BPS are low or middle income. The wealth in Boston is not shared equally and this bill would make sure that state sees that

Bill S223 would address the foundation budget which has not been changed in 24 years. This bill would provide better funding to low-income districts which serve a large number of ELL students and special education students.” [Get from Voice to Influence]

“Several members of our class presented our work alongside Harvard students on the desegregation of BPS and the issues today at Harvard University earlier this month. We also explained the work we were doing through Generation Citizen to advocate for the passing of bills S220 and S223 as one step to lessoning the impact of segregation and neglect that we feel at Brighton.” [Find Allies]
[PRESENT I] Civic Research
Case Study

Grade level: 9 to 12
Activity type: Project
Period: Multiple sessions
Related subjects: Government, U.S History

Overview

The efforts of others to make change can teach important lessons about effective participation today. In this case, educators guide young people in identifying and exploring a good case of civic participation. The Ten Questions provides a useful frame for analyzing complex social problems and movements as students conduct their own research.

Essential Questions

- Why does this case matter to me?
- Who participated and what were their main goals?
- How did they achieve the goals? What strategies and tactics were used?
- What counts as success? What can we learn from this case regarding our own civic action?

Learning Goals

- Identify and refine main research questions.
- Employ various methods of inquiry, including interviews, literature review, survey, and statistics.
- Use the Ten Questions framework to explore research questions for the chosen cases.
- Contemplate the lessons students can elicit from the case regarding their own civic action.

Activities

1. Begin with a warm-up conversation with students around social, cultural, and political issues they care about and are interested in exploring.

2. Have students form small groups and discuss the case they want to study. Ask them to engage with Question 1, or why the case matters to them.
   - The case can be any group, organization, or single person.
   - Have students explain what issues they want to explore and why the case matters to them.

3. Guide students in detailing a general plan about how to investigate their chosen cases using the Ten Questions and the methods they hope to use. Have students submit a research proposal (Assignment 1).

4. Provide feedback on Assignment 1 so that students may conduct research more effectively.

5. Allow students to work independently on their project. Have them submit a progress report on “what we have discovered so far” (Assignment 2).
   - Students briefly share their progress, interesting findings, unresolved issues, on-going agenda, or challenges.
   - Students calibrate the last step of the project, finalizing the main argument and searching effective presentation methods.

6. Students present their final work in class. Discuss together what they learned from the cases, what they saw as the cases’ successes (or failures) and why, and what could have been improved.

7. Have student write an individual reflection note (Assignment 3) and submit it along with a final group project report (Assignment 4).

Materials

- The materials are mostly determined by students who conduct case study.
- Mobile phones can be a great tool, as they have various media apps and functions.

* This lesson is originated from an undergraduate course (yppactionframe.fas.harvard.edu/case-study), but its general structure can be applied to research projects on a high school level.
Veganism: Is Veganism Political?

In “Veganism: A Platform for Participatory Politics,” Alice Jeon and Sarah Wu tried to study how veganism is gaining ground along with the rise of digital technology (according to their research, the term vegan was first coined in 1941 by Donald Watson). Among the discussed topics were how social media played a role in community building, information sharing, and identity formation among vegans and, mostly intriguingly, whether or not veganism is political. Alice and Sarah made two interesting distinctions to delve into the changing notion of political in participatory politics dynamics: one distinction between intention vs. perception and the other between means-based vs. ends-based civic groups. Understanding veganism and its (non)politicality requires an understanding of the margins of the fast-growing territory of participatory politics that is largely left undefined and unclaimed. Read more at yppactionframe.fas.harvard.edu/case-study.


In “Reclaim Harvard Laws: Students Voices Reshape an Institution,” Gabbi Giotti, Michaela Murrow, and Kailash Sundaram studied activism organized by Harvard Law School students for inclusion and diversity there, known as “Reclaim Harvard Law.” HLS was a hard-reach group, due to the high sensitivity of its issues of concern and the risks involved, but the three students managed to get an inside look at their activism. The three students focused specifically on how activists channeled their voice into actual change; what strategies and tactics, whether digital or traditional or by any media necessary, they used; and what struggles and pushbacks with which activists needed to cope. This case study rediscovered the significance of sacrifice, a concept essential to democratic citizenship and necessary to achieve equity. Reclaim HL has never meant to go on a national level, but due to the Harvard name and the national dialogue about Black Lives Matter, Reclaim HLS’s influence exceeded easily the parameters of local campuses. Read more at yppactionframe.fas.harvard.edu/case-study.
New Suffrage Movement in the Participatory Politics Era

Voting often seems to be pushed to the sidelines in the discussion about participatory politics. Yet it is one of the most important and oldest forms of political participation, and remains essential to modern democratic politics. In “A Transmedia Perspective of Voting: How ‘Get Out the Vote’ Organizations Use Online and Offline Strategies to Encourage Participation,” Avika Dua and Jonah Hahn challenged this neglect of voting and argued for placing it back at the core of participatory politics. In this case study, Avika and Jonah compared two Get Out the Vote (GOTV) organizations—Rock the Vote and Mia Familia Vota. The two organizations originated from different goals for voting and nurtured different organizational visions. Avika and Jonah scrutinized how Rock the Vote and Mia Familia Vota developed different transmedia strategies according to their diverging goals. Avika and Jonah contextualized the groups in the flow dynamics model of discourse, with Rock the Vote representing structural change and Mia Familia Vota representing expressive change. Read more at yppactionframe.fas.harvard.edu/case-study.

Teaching Civics is Political Action

Teaching students civics can provide them with tools for responsible citizenship in a changing political landscape. But civic education goes well beyond formal teachers. Lukas Petry and Carolina Portela-Blanco examined the Harvard Civics Program, which places motivated undergraduates in classrooms throughout the Boston area to teach civics and government classes and inspire students to grow into active members of our society. Carolina, a civics teacher in the program herself, and Lukas studied the passion and motivation of undergraduate participants and the challenges they faced teaching young students. Carolina and Lukas frame teaching civics as political action using the Ten Questions. They write, “[Undergraduate volunteers] are not merely talking about the problem of lack of civic instruction in K-12 schooling and how it affects participation in community, but they are doing something about it. The program takes teachers to the school—it acts upon perceived issues and intends to remedy it through education.” Read more at yppactionframe.fas.harvard.edu.
Activities

1. Before playing a video clip explain students the social and political background to the early 1960s, particularly on issues of segregation following the Brown vs. Board decision.
   - Have a conversation with students about what participatory politics means and how it is different from conventional politics.
   - Hand out a graphic organizer (attached at the end of this Guide) and have them discuss the Ten Questions in relation to their views of participatory politics.
   - Watch the segment from *Eyes on the Prize*, paying attention to how the civic action portrayed corresponds with the Ten Questions. The entire episode runs about 22 minutes but we recommend an 18 minute excerpt.

2. After viewing, briefly refresh story lines and key events. Have student form small groups, discuss around the Ten Questions, and fill the graphic organizer.

3. Coming back to a large group, have students share their thoughts on the questions, comparing how their thoughts are different from others. Encourage students to think further about why participation matters and how participatory politics can change over time.

4. Have students write a reflection note that describes their understanding of participatory politics and discusses how today’s participatory politics is similar or different from the lunch counter sit-ins of the 1960s.

Materials

- “Eyes on the Prize – Ain’t Scared of Your Jails” (www.youtube.com/watch?v=neDpuJv44ko)
- Content organizer (Attached)
- Facing History with the YPP Action Frame (available at yppactionframe.fas.harvard.edu)
EXAMPLE. The example listed below is distilled from a blog post, “Facing History with the YPP Action Frame—Focusing on Eyes on the Prize: Ain’t Scared of Your Jails,” written by Chaebong Nam, Adam Strom, and Danielle Allen. It details short answers to each of the ten reflection prompts. For this exercise, the subject is changed from I/me/we to they/them. This change prompts us to exercise historical imagination, putting ourselves in the activists’ shoes.

1. Why did it matter to them?

Leo Lillard and Diane Nash, two student activists, take on this question directly in the opening minutes of the film. Both talked about their own motivations for participation—they are different yet they are moving towards a shared goal. Lillard explains that he began to question the logic of segregation when he was at a department store as a young boy when he asked his mother about the reasons for colored and white water fountains. A young Leo asked his mom, “Why can’t I go there [the white fountain]?” Diane Nash moved to Nashville from Chicago for college with high aspirations of expanding her personal growth. Instead, the rigid rules of segregation limited her opportunities. Before long, she “felt stifled and shut in very unfairly… being allowed to do basic kinds of things like eating at restaurants in the ten cent stores” deeply disturbed her.

2. How much should they share?

The question about what to share principle was originally developed to highlight vulnerabilities in a digital context. The Nashville context may not provoke this question in a literal sense. Still, considering that this principle addresses a certain form of self-exposure or sacrifice (or risk) that the participants decide to undertake, we can tweak the question and ask—“How much of a sacrifice should I make?”

Student activists made huge sacrifices by exposing themselves to violence and accepting jail time over paying fines. These sacrifices challenged the accepted cultural norms of their communities in which African Americans were expected to accept the status quo as a means of survival. Their choices were the result of thoughtful calculation and commitment to the principals of non-violent direct action.

3. How do they make it about more than themselves?

The inclusion of both black and white activists reinforced that the campaign was about more than access to lunch counters; indeed it was about equity and democracy for all people regardless of their skin color. In the video, a reporter asks Congressman and Rev. Adam Clayton Powell, “I take it, then, that you are advocating Negroes in New York to stay out of these national chain stores?” He responds, “Oh no, that’s not true. I’m advocating that American citizens interested in democracy stay out of chain stores.” Rev. Powell’s remark was a public dismissal of the unjust racial privilege in American citizenship. This account encouraged people to pivot from I, and move towards we to make society more equitable and inclusive, regardless of skin color.

4. Where did they start?

In a case of wondering where to start, the students
began by turning to an experienced mentor, Rev. James Forman, who led training in nonviolent resistance. Those workshops were based on Gandhi’s principles of Satyagraha (non-violent civil disobedience). Forman’s workshops provided not just practical training, but an education and a chance for those interested in challenging Jim Crow to gather and meet one another. Ultimately, the student lunch-counter protest gained traction for the greater movement.

5. How could they make it easy and engaging?

Challenging Jim Crow was never going to be easy. Students and other activists literally put their lives and bodies at risk in the name of democracy. Despite the risks, student protesters stood in solidarity, having each other’s back (for example, look at the smiles on the students behind the bar in the video). Though such mutual support did not make participation easier or more enjoyable, at least it may have mitigated, quite considerably, anxieties and fears that otherwise might have consumed the student protesters’ zeal and courage. Activists also created a range of ways for people to get involved, ranging from participating in protests to supporting the Easter shopping boycott. Given the huge buying power of blacks in Nashville, this boycott was a fairly effective strategy.

6. How did they get wisdom from crowds?

The key to success for Nashville activism was the solidarity and collective sacrifice contributed by numerous ordinary citizens. Non-violent direct action is designed to activate crowds of “bystanders,” compelling them to choose sides. For example, the lunch-counter sit-in became successful due to crowds who willingly took up one row after another and were unafraid of getting arrested (Nash: “And no matter what they did and how many they arrested, there was still a lunch counter full of students there”). Also, in the excerpt we can see how the strategy encouraged others in cities throughout the country to develop their own local campaigns targeting chains that were the sites of demonstrations in Nashville. Also, the aforementioned Easter shopping boycott also came into fruition, thanks to the crowds. To make the boycott more impactful, the protesters quite proactively persuaded some individuals who were trying to breach it. Lillard noted, “Sending educating committees downtown to convince them [people didn’t participate in the boycott] that that was not the thing to do.” That tactic was instrumental in generating a cohesive, critical, and burden sharing public body for a shared vision.

7. How did they handle the downside of crowds?

The student protesters and their allies encountered physical attacks, verbal threats, and bombing. One tactic that student leaders used to cope with hostile mobs was to capture such downsides of crowds on film, which they used to expose the brutality behind segregation and white supremacy. For example, the strategies lured those resisting desegregation to the lunch counters where several whites physically attacked the protesters. While it is not explicitly shown in the film, the media was directly brought into the...
campaign by activists who reached out to members of the press to encourage them to cover the protests. Activists timed their sit-ins to make it easy for the press to fly film of the demonstrations to New York and have it developed in time to air on the evening news.

8. Are you pursuing voice or influence or both?

Raising voices was the key. Let us recall the Rev. Adam Clayton Powell’s response (see point 3), “Oh no, that’s not true [that I am representing Negroes in New York]. I’m advocating for American citizens interested in democracy.” By raising his voice in this way, Powell claimed an equal share of citizenship for all Americans, regardless of skin color.

In addition, the activists in Nashville created images of confrontations through direct actions that were shared broadly by established media along with reporting on the campaign that informed the clarity of the students’ goals. In turn, the press coverage brought the story of segregation into ordinary people’s homes where individuals begin to talk about the injustice of the Jim Crow system, many for the first time.


In the case of Nashville, the last two questions are directly related. By finding allies, in this case, an unusual one—the Mayor—the student activists identified a lever of power (point 9) that helped them to end segregation at the lunch counters. Nash challenged the major, saying, “First of all, Mayor West, do you feel that it’s wrong to discriminate against a person solely on the basis of his race or color?” That question induced the major’s candid answer: “I could not agree that it was morally right for someone to sell them merchandise and refuse them service.” Subsequently, this revelation was a turning point for desegregation in Nashville.
## Content Organizer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PAST</th>
<th>PRESENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Choices</td>
<td>Consequences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Why does it matter to me?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>How much should I share?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>How do I make it about more than myself?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Where do we start?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>How can we make it easy and engaging for others to join in?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>How do we get wisdom from crowds?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>How do we handle the downside of crowds?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Are we pursuing voice or influence or both?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>How do we get from voice to changes?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>How can we find allies?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>