



AMERICAN Educator

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND IDEAS



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Reclaiming the Promise of Public Education

RANDI WEINGARTEN, President, American Federation of Teachers

AS THE SCHOOL YEAR STARTS, I keep thinking about how teachers never really get a break. Despite the myth about “summers off,” I was with several thousand educators this July—not at the beach, but at TEACH, the AFT’s largest gathering of educators focused on their professional practice and growth. Teachers spent long days learning from fellow educators and other experts about concrete ways to improve teaching and learning. Many teachers told me how they were spending the rest of their summer: writing curriculum aligned to the new, challenging Common Core State Standards; taking classes, because teachers are lifelong learners; and working with students—in enrichment camps and programs to stem summer learning loss. So much for the dog days of summer.

And our conferees did much more. We also committed to reclaim the promise—the promise of public education. Not as it is today or as it was in the past, but as what public education can be to fulfill our collective obligation to help all children succeed.

Yet even amidst this dedication and inspiration there is a great frustration. The promise of a great public education for all children is under pressure not only from out-of-touch legislators, but from economic and societal factors outside school that make it much more difficult to achieve success within the classroom. Nearly 1 out of every 2 students in public schools lives in poverty, and educators have become the first responders to their stress, hunger, and hardships. But these factors don’t keep us from teaching, they keep us up at night.

Public education is also under assault from people whose brand of “reform” consists of austerity, polarization, privatization, and deprofessionalization—and who then argue that public education is failing.

Nowhere is that more apparent than in Philadelphia. Pennsylvania Gov. Tom Corbett has cut \$1 billion from education statewide, manufacturing a crisis in Philadelphia’s public schools, including school closures, mass layoffs, and schools stripped of the things kids need. And we know that Philadelphia today could be 10 more cities tomorrow. Maybe these “leaders” never learned the difference between cause and effect.



JOHN HARRINGTON

Weingarten at the opening of Oliver Partnership School in Lawrence, MA

It’s no wonder I hear from teachers over and over again that the people passing the laws, calling the shots, and defunding our schools are totally out of touch with what their students need and what it’s like in their classrooms.

But people are beginning to see that the emperors of reform have no clothes. Years of top-down edicts, mass school closures, and test fixation with sanctions instead of support haven’t moved the needle—not in the right direction, at least.

The AFT recently conducted a poll of a broad array of public school parents. Parents want approaches that are vastly different from prevailing policies they believe hurt schools and students. They overwhelmingly choose strong neighborhood public schools over expanding choice, charters, and vouchers. The majority are concerned about overtesting. Parents soundly reject the austerity-driven policies gutting schools, including teacher and staff layoffs; increased class sizes; school closings; and cutbacks in art, music, libraries, and physical education. And they strongly support wraparound services in

schools to mitigate the effects of poverty. This frustration and fatigue over failed “reforms,” and a growing consensus among parents and educators about more-promising ways to provide all children with a great education, make this a critical moment to reclaim the promise of public education.

Reclaiming the promise of public education is about fighting for neighborhood public schools that are safe, welcoming places for teaching and learning.

We must reclaim the promise of public education to fulfill our collective obligation to help all children succeed.

Reclaiming the promise is about ensuring that teachers are well-prepared and supported, and that they have time to collaborate and the tools they need, such as appropriate class size. Reclaiming the promise is about enabling them to teach an engaging curriculum that includes art, music, and the sciences. Reclaiming the promise is about ensuring that kids have access to wraparound services to meet their emotional, social, and health needs.

We must reclaim the promise of public education to fulfill our collective obligation to help all children succeed.

This vision may look different in different communities, but it has common elements. Reclaiming the promise of public education will bring back the joy of teaching and learning, which has been drained by years of harmful policies. It’s the way to make every public school a place where parents want to send their kids, teachers want to teach, and children are engaged. We are looking forward to parents and community partners joining with educators to achieve this promise.

Read more at go.aft.org/promise.



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How the Common Core State Standards Will Transform English Language Arts Instruction

BY TIMOTHY SHANAHAN

With the Common Core State Standards, instruction in English language arts will dramatically change. Unlike prior state standards, these new standards place a greater emphasis on reading challenging texts. To that end, teachers will need to support students in paying closer attention to such texts. Instead of focusing on pre-reading activities that often have little to do with the text and may inadvertently deprive students of the opportunity to enjoy reading, teachers—thanks to these new standards—will be able to move ideas in both fiction and nonfiction texts back where they belong: at the center of the reading curriculum.

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were trade unionists who argued that the struggle for equal rights and decent jobs belonged not only to African Americans but to all workers.

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Two Civil Rights Activists Remember the March on Washington

BY NORMAN HILL AND VELMA MURPHY HILL

A husband and wife reflect on this historic event.

OUR MISSION

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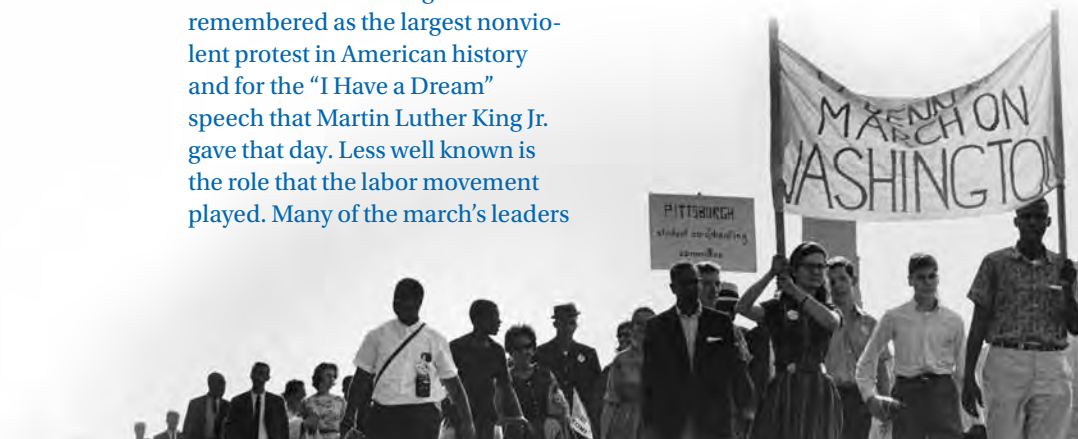
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RECLAIMING THE PROMISE

In her address to the 2013 TEACH Conference, AFT President Randi Weingarten took a bold stand in the “education wars” that have resulted in competing reforms that have failed to provide all children with the education they need and deserve. Weingarten noted that the aspiration of a great public education for every child has never been totally realized, which some have used as an excuse “to deep-six the entire franchise.” She called on educators to join with parents and community partners throughout the country to reclaim the promise of public education and, in so doing, to fulfill our collective responsibility to enable individual opportunity for all children. <http://bit.ly/18xHGRU>

“THE DREAM” AT 50

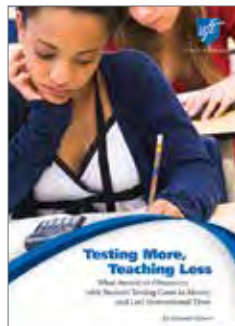
AFT members from New York to California descended on the nation’s capital in late August to participate in events tied to the 50th anniversary of the 1963 March on Washington. The gathering drew thousands to the National Mall where, a half-century earlier, Martin Luther King Jr. spoke passionately of the dream of equality and economic justice for all Americans. That dream was very much alive at the 2013 gathering, where many featured speakers and participants described the event as a continuation, rather than only a commemoration, of that first groundbreaking march. AFT President Randi Weingarten addressed the crowd, joined by Asean Johnson, a 9-year-old student activist from Chicago’s public schools. <http://bit.ly/1eb4jzr>

A TRUE PROFESSION

At the 2013 TEACH Conference, Linda Darling-Hammond, of Stanford University, and Ronald Thorpe, president of the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards, joined AFT President Randi Weingarten to discuss what it takes for teachers and teacher educators to advance and own their profession. From the federal level on down, “we’re still waiting for this part of the agenda,” warned Darling-Hammond. All speakers emphasized that at a time when churn seems built into the system, learning to teach and to collaborate should define the profession. <http://bit.ly/127R5yn>

THE COST OF OVERTESTING

A close examination of two medium-sized school districts’ standardized testing practices found that kids are losing out on a full, high-quality education because of pervasive test preparation and testing, according to an AFT report released in July. Test preparation and testing absorbed 19 full school days in one district and a month and a half in the other in heavily tested grades. The report found that cutting that amount in half would restore needed instructional time and provide additional funds for other instructional purposes. <http://bit.ly/1eMBDud>



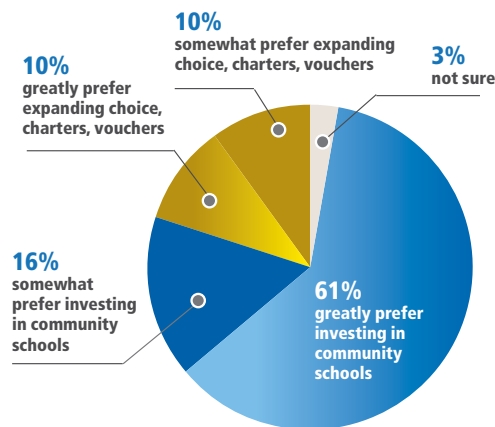
SHORT ON SURPRISES, LONG ON CONCERNS

After months of warnings that the first results of Common Core testing would be disappointing, no one should be surprised by results in New York, released in August, that showed a significant drop in scores, AFT President Randi Weingarten said. “These results are the consequence of years of intense fixation on test prep and rote memorization instead of developing the critical-thinking and problem-solving skills our kids need,” she said. “They are the consequence of simply telling teachers, ‘Here are new standards—just do it,’ without providing the adequate supports and preparation. They are the consequence of putting testing before teaching and learning, and rolling out tests before teachers and students even have the tools, curriculum, and material to bring the Common Core into the classroom.” <http://bit.ly/15e2LIlf>

THE SCHOOLS WE WANT

Parents overwhelmingly believe that public schools are the single most important institution for the future of their communities and our nation, and they choose investing in strong neighborhood public schools over expanding choice, charters, and vouchers, according to a nationwide AFT poll of 1,000 teachers released in July. Support for strong public schools over expanded charters and vouchers is widespread, with 77 percent of parents surveyed supporting this approach; such support cuts across political and class lines. <http://bit.ly/16oZilc> and <http://bit.ly/1evUuMQ>

Parents surveyed overwhelmingly support investing in community schools over expanding choice, charters, and vouchers.



SOURCE: HART RESEARCH ASSOCIATES, JULY 2013

New Additions

Starting with this issue of *American Educator*, several popular features from *American Teacher*, whose final issue was published in May, will appear in these pages. “Where We Stand,” a column of thoughtful commentary by AFT President Randi Weingarten, and “Tools for Teachers,” a resource providing professional development tips and guidance on instructional practices, will be featured, along with lesson plans from Share My Lesson and news summaries. Highlights of the AFT’s work with educators will further enhance *American Educator*’s articles on educational research and ideas.

—EDITORS

Letting the Text Take Center Stage

How the Common Core State Standards
Will Transform English Language Arts Instruction



BY TIMOTHY SHANAHAN

There is an iconic childhood moment that spans generations. My father, a boy in a clapboarded, one-room schoolhouse, along with the only other student in his grade, endured it; I timidly shared the experience with 50 Pattys, Connies, and Billys shoehorned tightly into an amber-lit classroom; the children I taught did it (seemingly a lifetime ago); and the young teens I watched last week in the midst of a middle school science lesson, their teacher patrolling the aisles, persevered at it as well.

The event to which I refer is the one in which a teacher leads a group of students in the communal act of reading a text. Such communal reading events are usually aimed at transforming children into readers or exposing them to science or social studies information. This event has been repeated so often in each of our

lives that it may seem more like a Norman Rockwell painting than an actual memory: the boy wiggling in his chair, the dutiful pig-tailed girl, the teacher's opaque questions, children's hands waving in the air, a monotone child's voice quavering as it makes its way uncertainly up the street of sentences.

One can also easily imagine a visit from the proverbial Martian anthropologist. Considering the ubiquity of communal reading, or what I call "the reading lesson," and its sameness across otherwise diverse classrooms, it would likely be classified as ritual. And as ritual, this little green observer would try to determine which of the actions maintained any discernible functional purpose and which had become purely symbolic, persisting mainly for the sake of tradition. Social scientists have long speculated about the reason for rituals; many now think they express and reinforce the shared values and belief systems of a society.¹ Our extraterrestrial visitor would surely want to know more about our reading lessons.

But we'll come back to that.

Common Core State Standards

In 1989, members of the National Governors Association (NGA) agreed to take the lead on educational reform. The agreement called for states to set educational goals or standards, with some federal assistance.² By the early 1990s, all 50 states had done so, but not necessarily standards rigorous enough to propel students

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toward college or career readiness—nor was there leverage to ensure that even these undernourished standards would be reached by sufficient numbers of students.³

In 2002, this changed in a big way. No Child Left Behind became the law of the land, and it put federal financial support for education at risk if students failed to meet a state's standards. The result wasn't higher achievement, however. Instead of working more diligently to meet these standards, most states simply reduced their already low criteria to keep the federal dollars flowing.⁴

In 2009, the NGA, now in concert with the Council of Chief State School Officers and with support from the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, endorsed the idea of common or shared educational standards across states. Instead of each state setting up its own idiosyncratic goals in math and reading, this plan would have all or most states striving, for once, to accomplish the same outcomes. By the time the dust settled, a new set of standards had been written and adopted by 46 states and the District of Columbia (this is the number that embraced the English language arts standards, but only 45 states accepted the math goals—Minnesota made a split decision).

The Common Core State Standards (CCSS), as they are known, are a major advance not only because of their shared nature, but also because they represent a more rigorous set of goals than most individual states had previously adopted. The standards' authors were plainspoken in their claim that these were new learning goals, not methodologies, for teaching:⁵

Fact: The best understanding of what works in the classroom comes from the teachers who are in them. That's why these standards will establish *what* students need to learn, but they will not dictate *how* teachers should teach. Instead, schools and teachers will decide how best to help students reach the standards.

And yet, these standards will likely lead to the greatest changes in reading instruction seen for generations. One of the biggest transformations will be to reading lessons, involving changes that will upset traditional approaches that have been in place for decades. These communal reading lessons have gone by many names (e.g., directed reading lessons, guided reading), but all variations include a group of students reading a text together under the supervision of a teacher, and it is that daily event that will change most.

Matching Students to Books versus Having Them Grapple with Challenging Texts

Past educational standards have been stated in terms of cognitive behaviors or actions that students must learn to exhibit. For example, here is a typical fifth-grade reading goal, this one from

Table 1 Comparison of Texts Written at Different Challenge Levels

"I can work," said Dick.

"I can help Mother."

Jane said, "I can work too."

I can help.

Look, Dick.

This is for Father.

Father will eat here."

SOURCE: WILLIAM S. GRAY AND LILLIAN GRAY, *FUN WITH DICK AND JANE*, FIRST PRIMER (CHICAGO: SCOTT, FORESMAN, 1946–1947), 34.

Mr. Leopold Bloom ate with relish the inner organs of beasts and fowls. He liked thick giblet soup, nutty gizzards, a stuffed roast heart, liver slices fried with crustcrumbs, fried hencod's roes. Most of all he liked grilled mutton kidneys which gave to his palate a fine tang of faintly scented urine.

Kidneys were in his mind as he moved about the kitchen softly, righting her breakfast things on the humpy tray. Gelid light and air were in the kitchen but out of doors gentle summer morning everywhere. Made him feel a bit peckish.

SOURCE: JAMES JOYCE, *ULYSSES* (NEW YORK: RANDOM HOUSE, 1961), 53.

Virginia, one of the four states that did not adopt the CCSS: "The student will read and demonstrate comprehension of fictional texts, narrative nonfiction, and poetry."⁶ Some of the ways the students have to demonstrate this ability is by describing character development, identifying cause-and-effect relationships, and summarizing supporting details from such texts. As such, standards tend to be verb-centric; they describe a whole lot of locating, inferring, connecting, and comparing.

This characteristic Virginia standard describes a cognitive action students are to do, but it does not tell how well students need to do it or what the level of challenge should be. Prior to the CCSS, standards usually ignored the fact that some texts are harder to read

The Common Core State Standards will likely lead to the greatest changes in reading instruction seen for generations.

than others.⁷ Drawing inferences or making comparisons in an easy text is, well, easy, while trying to do so in a more complicated one is quite another thing. Look at the simple comparison of *Fun with Dick and Jane* and James Joyce's *Ulysses* (see Table 1 above).^{*} Even with such brief segments, it should be apparent that making sense of the old primer is a much easier lift than making sense of the modernist classic. Dick simply doesn't do much beyond running and jumping, while Leopold Bloom's day is a rich mix of goings-on. Dick is narrow, too, in emotional terms, but Bloom displays an

*By the end of high school, the Common Core's recommended texts are very complex—complex enough to prepare students for college-level texts like *Ulysses*.

impressive gamut of hope, reluctance, lust, regret, envy, self-satisfaction, uncertainty, trepidation, and relief. Analyzing characterization in one book is a major intellectual challenge, while doing so in the other is a necessary, though comparatively modest, accomplishment along the road to literacy. This is a big difference, and yet past standards couldn't distinguish any difference. By ignoring the challenge level of texts, standards made it look like students were reaching goals even when performance levels were embarrassingly low; remember this the next time someone tells you that their previous state standards were every bit as demanding as the CCSS⁸—they are, if one only looks at the verbs and ignores the texts those verbs operate on.

Students will be more frustrated by challenging texts, and this means instructional supports will be needed to help and encourage them.

Think of it this way: if states had adopted weightlifting requirements, instead of reading requirements, past standards would have said “all students should do bench presses,” but would have omitted any mention of how much weight had to be on the bar or how many reps were expected. Let's face it, bench-pressing 5 pounds once, which almost all of us could do, is nothing like bench-pressing 100 pounds 10 times, which few of us could do. And that is what we have been doing: emptily requiring particular mental gymnastics during reading, without consideration of challenge levels.

The CCSS change that equation. At each grade level, there are 10 reading comprehension standards. The first nine note the same kinds of cognitive processes long emphasized in standards, but

the 10th one, in grades 2 through 12, sets a specific level of text challenge.

What is the problem with this for teachers? It flies in the face of everything they have been taught. Reading authorities have been dogmatic about the value of appropriate book placement, and the need to differentiate book placement by reading levels has been the major approach to differentiation;⁹ this is where ideas like the old “three reading groups” and the more recent “book rooms” have come from. The claim has been that there is a special text level at which students should be taught if they are to make optimum learning gains. This theory holds that if students are taught from texts that are easier or harder than their “instructional level,” then less learning or no learning results. Accordingly, teachers have been taught not to give their students hard texts to read. But now the CCSS are requiring just that.

That this is disquieting is an understatement. It seems to be a violation of principle and a rejection of the research evidence that teachers have been admonished to follow. This is why teachers are so surprised to find that there is not really a firm base of research supporting the idea of matching kids to texts.¹⁰ Despite the ubiquity of the practice, *research has found no consistent relationship of student-text match and learning.*¹¹ Despite the hard work of so many teachers to make certain that students are in the “just right” book, doing so does not appear to promote better learning.

It is not that student and text levels don't matter—they are certainly part of the learning equation—but so is the amount of support or scaffolding that teachers provide. Unfortunately, teacher preparation typically includes few tools for helping students to learn from challenging texts. No wonder teachers so often resort to reading the texts to students, using round-robin reading, or, in history or science, not using the textbook at all.

Under the CCSS, students will be more frustrated by challenging texts, and this means other instructional supports will be needed to help and encourage them along this path. Teachers must learn to anticipate text challenges and how to support students to allow them to negotiate texts successfully, but without doing the work for them. Look, for example, at the fifth-grade science passage in Table 2 (on the left); a text like this, previously, would have appeared in a sixth- or even seventh-grade textbook, but will be served up to 10-year-olds under the CCSS. A major challenge posed by this passage is that it is difficult to get all the ideas connected properly into an explanatory chain.¹² For example, the word “it” is used repeatedly throughout this paragraph, sometimes referring to the nebula, sometimes to the protoplanetary disk, and sometimes to the sun's gravity. Guiding students to make the right links and to weave these chains of meaning together can help them make sense of the text without just telling them what it says.

Similar supports can help students interpret sophisticated vocabulary or

Table 2 Guidance to Help Students Make Sense of a Challenging Text

Challenging fifth-grade passage:

Meanwhile, the nebula continued to orbit the new Sun until it formed a large flat ring around it. Scientists call this ring a “protoplanetary disk.” The disk, or ring, was hottest where it was closest to the Sun, and coolest at its outer edge. As the disk swirled around the Sun, the Sun's gravity went to work. It pulled and tugged at the bits of rock, dust, ice, and gas until they came together in clumps of material we now call the planets.

SOURCE: ELAINE SCOTT, “WHEN IS A PLANET NOT A PLANET?,” IN *WONDERS*, GRADE 5 (NEW YORK: MCGRAW HILL: 2014), 407.

Guidance to help students think about the ideas and their connections:

Meanwhile, the nebula continued to orbit the new Sun until it formed a large flat ring around it. Scientists call this ring a “protoplanetary disk.” The disk, or ring, was hottest where it was closest to the Sun, and coolest at its outer edge. As the disk swirled around the Sun, the Sun's gravity went to work. It pulled and tugged at the bits of rock, dust, ice, and gas until they came together in clumps of material we now call the planets.

literary devices, untangle the tortured syntax of complex sentences, or discern subtle organizational structures or bewildering authorial tones. Such instruction, however, looks less like traditional reading lessons and more like team problem-solving, with teachers offering guidance and support, and the children reading and rereading to figure out the meaning.

Preparing to Read versus Actually Reading

Reading lessons have not actually started with reading for a very long time. Instead, such lessons usually prepare students to think about the text they are working on *prior* to reading, and such preparation can take substantial classroom time. Reading preparation includes discussions of relevant background information, explanations of context in which the text was produced, previews or overviews of the text itself, “picture walks,” predictions, and purpose-setting.

Common Core proponents espouse a less thorough regime of reading preparation.¹³ The explanation of why the CCSS are taking on this sacred cow goes back centuries and has much to do with arguments over the nature of reading itself. The anti-reading-preparation stance can be traced all the way back to the Protestant Reformation. One of Martin Luther’s basic tenets was that ordinary laypeople could read the Bible themselves, without an intermediary priest to interpret for them. Four hundred years later, the same argument divided English departments: Could students read literature without the explanations and interpretations of their professors? The result was the “New Criticism,” and its advocates championed the idea of “close reading”: having students read and reread texts while paying close attention to the words and structure, with little reliance on other information.¹⁴ The New Critics believed mean-

ing resided not in the context or author’s intentions that produced it, but in the words the author used to give expression.¹⁵ Exit considerations of the author’s biographical details or the teacher’s interpretations of the text; enter an intensive focus on the texts themselves—not just on what a text had to say, but how it worked—how the author’s words or structures aligned with the meaning. Basically, texts were viewed as complete unto themselves, without need for additional information about the author or opinions from other people or texts. As such, they were coherent representations of meaning and craft that students could make sense of if taught what to pay attention to and given an opportunity to analyze the text—and the text alone—carefully.¹⁶

This sparser view of reading preparation conflicts with the daily reading ritual found in most US classrooms. Instead of guiding students to read texts closely, such lessons usually provide a veritable flood of extra information—previews, explanations, and reading purposes, along with analysis of relevant context or background

information and the like. If students are to read about tide pools, for example, teachers are counseled to start out by asking questions such as, “Have you ever visited a beach? What plants and animals did you see near the shore?” Or if students are to read *Charlotte’s Web*, they might first learn the biographical details of E. B. White’s life.

With so much of that preparation, the reading itself sometimes must be sacrificed; it is almost always attenuated. I recently observed a primary-grade reading lesson that included such a thorough and painstaking picture walk (previewing and discussing each illustration prior to reading) that eventually there was no reason for reading the eight-sentence story; there was no additional information to be learned.

“Close reading” sounds like a welcome idea that could push kids and teachers back into books. But there can be problems with such a scorched-earth approach to reading preparation, not the least of which is evidence from research suggesting that some such supports can actually improve comprehension. Such research seems particularly germane at a time when texts are supposed to get harder for kids.

If you ask most teachers the reason for all of the reading preparation, their most likely reply would be their students’ “lack of background” or “lack of prior knowledge.” What they mean is that their kids don’t know very much about the topics to be read about, and that matters, because learning, to an extent, depends on what is already known.* The great variation in academic background that students bring to school makes this issue particularly vexing for teachers. Cognitive psychology has defined reading comprehension in terms of a reader’s ability to integrate text information with prior knowledge to form a mental representation or memory.¹⁷ Thus, “close reading” of a text for which one lacks the necessary background information

required to understand it may not be a very productive process for some learners. As a fairly thorough review of research on the role of prior knowledge in reading explained:¹⁸

Across all levels of age and ability, readers use their existing knowledge as a filter to interpret and construct meaning of a given text. They use this knowledge to determine importance, to draw inference, to elaborate text, and to monitor comprehension.

Extensive research into readers’ knowledge consistently finds that readers interpret texts through their background knowledge and that they store text information in their memories as if storing it in a filing cabinet, combining the new information into existing



*For more on how reading comprehension depends on knowledge and vocabulary, see the Spring 2006 issue of *American Educator*, available at www.aft.org/newspubs/periodicals/ae/spring2006/index.cfm.

files. While these findings are not at issue, current approaches to facilitating the use of prior knowledge in reading have calcified into rigid routines that may no longer be consistent with either research or our learning goals for students.

If a text presupposes some reader knowledge, providing such information ahead of time can facilitate comprehension.¹⁹ For example, consider this old Henny Youngman joke: “Doctor, my leg hurts. What can I do?” The doctor says, “Limp!” The listener must recognize the reason someone tells a physician about a bum leg is to get advice on how to alleviate the problem. The humor comes from the violation of expectations that occurs when this apocryphal doctor takes the question literally rather than as a request for assistance. If the audience knows why the man would ask his doctor such a question, the joke can work; without it, a



As useful as knowledge is in the interpretive process, pre-reading preparations have grown into something contradictory to good sense.

“close reading” isn’t likely to get you there. Background knowledge is needed to bridge the gap, and providing such knowledge ahead of time can enhance understanding. That’s one point for pre-reading preparation.

Similarly, activating already existing prior knowledge—that is, getting students to think about what they already know about a topic—can be helpful, too. Thus, having students discuss a topic prior to reading can improve understanding²⁰ even when such a discussion does not offer any new information. Students can even be taught to conduct this kind of prior knowledge activation themselves.²¹ But, research also suggests that activating prior knowledge does not always pay off; sometimes it can even backfire, such as when the readers’ knowledge conflicts with information in the text.²² On balance, while the research offers a note of caution, this is another point in support of pre-reading preparation.

However, as useful as knowledge is in the interpretive process, pre-reading preparations have grown into something contradictory to good sense. Given how ubiquitous background reviewing has become, it is no wonder that teachers and publishers have slipped into a somewhat perfunctory and ritualistic use of these practices. Background preparation is provided not only when it is needed, such as when a text is particularly unfamiliar to students or when an author presupposes particular information that would aid comprehension, but almost always during these pre-reading preparations. Such background preparation may even be irrelevant to the comprehension challenges that students face. They are not likely to benefit much from visualizing E. B. White’s barn prior to reading *Charlotte’s Web*, since that won’t help them with the real challenge of making sense of the book, but they may benefit from background preparation on the big issues of friendship and loyalty, and on the notion of the life cycle and how we proceed as a species even after individual deaths.

Another point of concern should be the extent of the background preparation. In many studies in which activating prior knowledge was found to be beneficial, background knowledge was activated by nothing more than giving students the topic or a title for an article.²³ Given that readers use their prior knowledge, making it obvious to them what knowledge to use can be facilitating. But unlike in these studies, in many classrooms, reading lessons incorporate extensive reviews of background information—way more than is justified by actual research findings.

Of course, one person’s presupposed background information is another’s plot summary. One group of researchers²⁴ found that giving information ahead of time powerfully enhanced comprehension and recall. However, what they offered was an extensive preview that was repetitive of the text itself. Students were asked to discuss a theme-related topic prior to reading a story; they were also given a story synopsis and a description of the setting, each character was introduced and described, the author’s point of view was specified, and the plots were revealed up to the point of climax. It seems pretty obvious that students who received such previews answered more questions about the text than students who did not. Sometimes the questions could be answered from the preview itself, while in other cases students could use the previewed information to formulate logical inferences about the text, or, failing that, they could reduce their amount of reading effort by focusing attention on only the unknown information (“since I already know everything up to the resolution, I’ll read that and find out how it comes out”). Is this really a boon to reading comprehension, or is such preparation simply taking the place of reading? Think of it this way: Are teachers really going to follow kids through college and career—or even into their accountability exams—preparing them for each text they are to read?

Part of the point of the CCSS (and of “close reading”) is that text must play the central role in reading and cannot profitably be ignored. Students who are engaged in a discussion of the life cycle or of friendship prior to reading *Charlotte’s Web* likely have some advantage in grasping the ideas from that book more quickly or more certainly. But is that really the point of reading instruction: to make kids into quick but somewhat shallow recognizers and comprehenders? We need to remember that one can read a text more than once, and that the purpose of reading is to interpret the text based on the information on the page rather than from the pre-reading

activity initiated by the teacher. Unfortunately, previewing has devolved from a brief “look over” into telling students key information from the text before they get a chance to read it themselves. This deprives them of any opportunity to make sense of—or simply enjoy—the text without the teacher predigesting it for them.

The CCSS place the text—not the teacher—at the center of the students’ negotiation of text meaning. Accordingly, they want pre-reading rituals reduced. It is certainly okay for a teacher to provide a brief introduction to a text so that students have some idea of what they are being asked to read, what genre it is, and why they should read it: “Now we’ll read a play about a boy’s first day at school,” or “We’ve been reading about the Civil War, and this next chapter will tell us about the final stages of the war and how it was won.” Such previews are sufficient preparation, allowing students to activate any prior knowledge they may have. It is also acceptable to use such preparation to fill gaps in student knowledge: “We’re going to read about Antarctica, and the chapter will tell you a lot about it, but it doesn’t make it very clear where Antarctica is. Let’s find it on our map before we read about it.”

None of these examples would steal appreciable time from reading, and in none would the teacher provide much information in place of what the author is going to provide. Instead of preparing students so thoroughly that they confront no problems in understanding a text, briefer introductions simply get students started. Any interpretive problems that may ensue can be dealt with along the way.

How much background information is appropriate depends on the text. If students are to read a story set during the Civil War, but not much about the war is revealed in the text, there is nothing wrong with telling or reminding students when and where the war took place and what it was about. That, as research has shown, can help students interpret the text, and it is probably consistent with what the author expected of his or her reading audience. But telling this same information before reading a book that does teach readers about the Civil War is unreasonable because it gets between the text and the reader. This shift away from extensive and repetitive spoilers to a more pointed and strategic introduction should allow students to understand what is expected of them and to use their prior knowledge in making sense of the text.

Discussion of Text versus Integrating Knowledge and Ideas

Then what? Usually, students read, teachers ask questions about what they have read, and students respond to these questions, sometimes even answering them. Many teachers would tell you these questions ensure that kids read the book. However, research suggests such questions can do more than that. Teachers’ questions can influence student reading comprehension by highlighting which information is most important. If, during a history reading lesson, the teacher asks about dates, students will, over time, become more vigilant about dates. Teachers’ questions serve as a training guide that shows students what information to pay attention to while reading. Studies also reveal that some questions generate deeper and more extensive thinking than others, and engaging in deeper thinking also promotes higher comprehension.²⁵

Benjamin Bloom’s taxonomy is probably the most widely known scheme for formulating such questions.²⁶ It arrays behaviors from simple to more complex, depending on the degree of difficulty or

the amount of intellectual demand. *Knowledge* is the lowest level in this taxonomy, and it refers to memory for facts, terms, or basic concepts. It is followed by *comprehension*, which requires a restatement of information into one’s own words, or organizing or interpreting the information, such as determining a main idea. Then comes *application*, the use of information in a new context; followed by *analysis*, in which one examines and breaks information down into its parts, makes inferences about relationships, and finds evidence to support generalizations; which is followed by *synthesis*, in which information is combined in new ways. Finally, at the highest level of demand is *evaluation*, the making of judgments to assess validity or quality.

Other questioning schemes for reading tend to be consistent with Bloom’s taxonomy.²⁷ They place recall of what a text explicitly says at the most basic level, followed by the logical inferencing that readers need to fill gaps or make connections implied by the author, to high-level evaluations or judgments about the information.

The Common Core State Standards place the text—not the teacher—at the center of the students’ negotiation of text meaning.

The CCSS do not discuss levels of questions or levels of thinking this overtly, and yet they have their own considerations for question formulation. Thus, the Q&A follow-up to reading is not going away any time soon, while some very different questions are likely to be asked during reading lessons due to the CCSS.

The CCSS question-asking convention garnering the most attention so far has to do with the idea of “text-dependent questions.” This idea is drawn from testing and refers to whether students need to read the text to answer.²⁸ This is evaluated by giving students the test questions without the texts to determine if they can be answered correctly anyway. Given that the CCSS are plac-



ing the text at the center of reading in so many ways, it should not be surprising that they emphasize the idea of asking questions specifically about the text.

The problem with text dependency is that it is easy to ask questions that depend upon the text but are not very important within the universe created by that text. Table 3 (below) illustrates this with various text-dependent questions about well-known fairy tales. It would be impossible to answer any of these questions without knowing the texts—which accomplishes the text-dependency criterion—but only some of these questions would be worth asking. The point of the CCSS is to emphasize the text above all else in text discussions, not to turn such discussions into quiz-show trivia. Even a cursory examination of examples of so-called text-dependent questions on the Internet suggests that many educators are getting the first idea, but not the second.

Unlike with various question-asking taxonomies, memory questions in the CCSS are not necessarily low level, with evaluative ones automatically placed higher in the pecking order. The issue is initially one of relevance to the text, but once relevancy or dependency is satisfied, it is essential to recognize that not all relevant questions are equal. One can ask inconsequential questions about an experience: “Besides that, Mrs. Lincoln, how did you enjoy the play?”

How do you determine which questions are worth asking? The CCSS provide valuable guidance in the form of their organizational plan for reading. The reading standards are divided into three categories: key ideas and details, craft and structure, and the integration of knowledge and ideas.

This blueprint seems to harken back to an approach to “close reading” first espoused by two scholars in 1940.²⁹ They advocated the idea that great books be read multiple times, with each reading constituting a separate journey, and each of these journeys resolving different concerns. According to this approach, a first reading

would be about figuring out what a text says. If one were reading a story, then being able to describe the characters and their motivations and to retell the plot would be crucial, since those would usually represent the key ideas and important details of a story or novel. Similarly, if one were reading a science experiment, it would be important to understand the purpose of the experiment, the basic steps undertaken, and the results. The important reading issue here isn’t whether the author stated it explicitly, which would just require recognition or memory, or whether the idea was implied and required some kind of logical inference by the reader, but whether the information mattered in the context of the text.

What information will be important cannot be determined separately from the text; thus, if one follows question-asking schemes too carefully, trivial questions almost always result. For example, knowing why the dog is called “Old Yeller” in Fred Gibson’s book by the same name is not very important in the context of that book, since it is more a description of the dog than a true name. This is not to suggest names don’t ever matter. Knowing the names of the characters in *East of Eden* is essential, since some of those names are literary allusions connecting these characters

to those in Genesis. Asking about the names of the brothers Caleb and Aron would be placed very low in Bloom’s taxonomy and yet would be encouraged by the CCSS because of their centrality to the matter at hand, making deep sense of this text.

In many reading lessons, when students can retell the key ideas and details of a text and answer questions about it, teachers often declare victory and move on. But the CCSS advocate reading such texts yet again, this time to make sense of the workings of their craft and structure, or *how* the text said what it said. How did the author organize the information? What literary devices or data presentation devices were used, and what was their effect? Why did the author choose this word or that word? Were the meanings of key terms consistent or did they change with use across the text?

Such second readings may require a full rereading of the whole selection, but often no more than a series of targeted second looks at specific portions of the text—portions relevant to craft and structure—is sufficient. Thus, after the first round of reading *East of Eden*, the teacher may have established that the names of the brothers were Caleb and Aron, but now the teacher will start probing about the meaning of the name of the book: Is it a good name? Why or why not? What does it refer to? Has anyone heard of Eden in any other context? Are there any clues in the book that help you to make sense of that name? Eventually, such questions



Table 3 Text-Dependent Questions

Trivial

- What color was Riding Hood’s hood?
- What was the name of the girl who visited the Three Bears?
- Where did Hansel and Gretel’s parents tell them to wait?
- What did the godmother turn into a coach?

Important

- Why did the fairy promise that the princess would one day prick her finger and die?
- How did the stepsisters and stepmother treat Cinderella? Give examples from the text.
- Why was it important that Cinderella lost her shoe?

will guide students to look for parallels between Cain and Abel, and Caleb and Aron. (It should be noted that the heavy emphasis on analyzing the language of the texts has not been common in states' standards prior to the CCSS.)

Again, not all questions about craft and structure are going to be important (nor are craft and structure considered to be higher-level considerations than key ideas and details). Craft and structure questions should matter to the interpretation of the text at hand. In one text, a title or a name or some other fact may serve as no more than a bit of description, while in another, these seemingly "low-level facts" might be essential to understanding how the text works. With history texts or rhetorical texts, like speeches or political tracts, analysis of word choices or even the inclusion of particular facts can be enough to allow the reader to determine an author's biases or point of view. In a science text, carefully tracing the author's chain of reasoning can help assess the evidence supporting a theory or uncover discrepancies or errors in logic.

With the information gleaned from the first two readings, the reader is now ready to go even deeper into integrating knowledge and ideas: What does this text mean? What was the author's point? What does it have to say about our lives or our world? How valid is it? How good is it? How does it connect to other texts (or to other experiences, videos, or experiments)? By waiting until we have achieved a deep understanding of a text—of what it says and how it works—we are finally in a good position to critically evaluate the text and to compare its ideas and approach with those of other texts.

Finally, for each of these readings, in answering any of the types of questions emphasized in the CCSS, students are expected to do more than provide answers. They are required to glean information from texts as evidence that supports and justifies the conclusions they draw and the connections they make. It is not enough to get the right answer; students must become adept at collecting and using information that they gain when reading the texts.

Cultural practices that initially accomplish functional purposes, through repetition and the fullness of time, often lose their functionality and become traditions that convey other meanings to those within the culture. Various factors have guided the reading lesson across the decades. Teachers have often tried to follow research in this regard, assigning students relatively easy materials to ensure adequate levels of comprehension, providing extensive previews and background information toward the same end, and monitoring student reading with questions calculated to be at a high intellectual level.

However, teachers have been misled as to the strength or direction of the research related to issues such as the importance of matching text difficulty levels with student reading levels. Accurate research findings have been stretched beyond their original scope in support of classroom practices never actually evaluated by research. For example, the research finding that activating background knowledge can improve reading comprehension under some circumstances has been transformed into the idea that background activation is needed before every reading and that such efforts must be extensive and continuous. Sometimes a research-supported view (e.g., the idea that questions eliciting higher-order thinking tend to build comprehension better than those aimed at memory alone) simply gets twisted in the application. If teachers, textbook publishers, and test makers decide that they need to ask

a particular type of question for *every* text, then, at least some of the time, such questions will be tangential to *particular* texts.

As practices are inadvertently transformed from functional purposes to symbolic rituals, one starts to wonder about larger cultural implications. With the reading lesson, the daily rituals increasingly have elbowed the text aside. Instead of serving to focus students' attention on making sense of each text within its own interpretative universe, the reading lesson has too often conveyed to students that reading is a ceremonial event to which the text is of only marginal importance. Thus, we mistakenly worry more about how well the text matches the student reading level than whether it is worth reading at all; we inappropriately tell students what a text says before they have a chance to read it themselves (thereby minimizing the demands of actual reading); and we regrettably ask questions that, although of high intellectual level, probe more into the reader's background experiences than into the text itself.

Perhaps the purpose of this ritual has somehow been to celebrate the students themselves—it is, after all, their reading levels, their background knowledge, and their experiences that seem to be of greatest import in these daily observances. Paradoxically, by putting the focus on students in this way, they too may be marginalized. Instead of emphasizing the ideas in texts, and empowering students to understand those ideas—what they are, how they are expressed, and what they mean—we have ritually kept students in a state of ignorance and helplessness. In a milieu in which everything of importance is told, where ideas can be gained without the hard currency of analytical and critical thought, where one's reach is never allowed to exceed one's grasp, and where all opinions are equal and there are no consequential facts upon which to make decisions, the individual's value is diminished. The most important fact about the Common Core State Standards may be that they are getting educators to rethink this ritual—and to move ideas, and thinking about ideas, back to the center of the reading curriculum. □

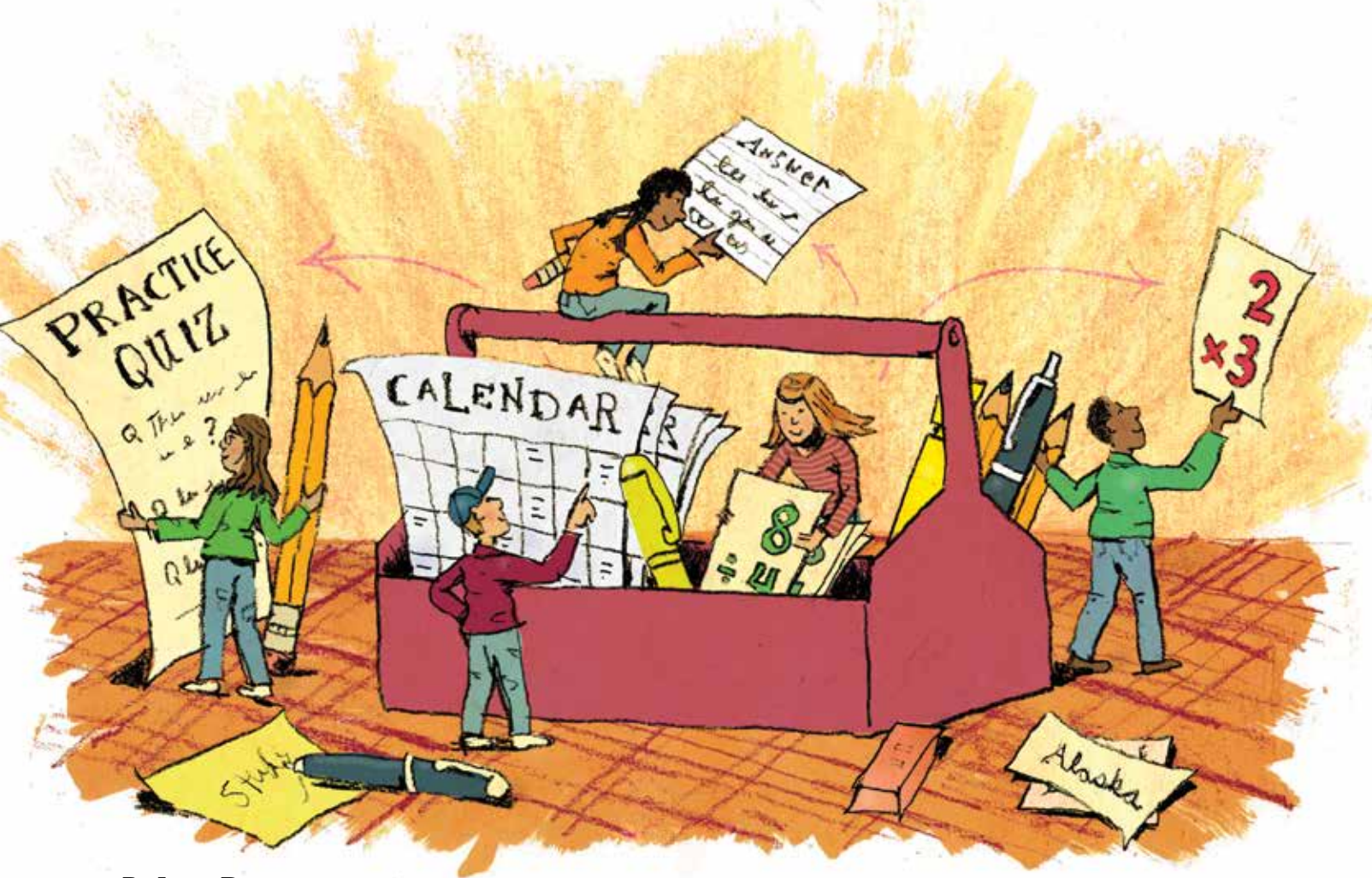
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Strengthening the Student Toolbox

Study Strategies to Boost Learning



BY JOHN DUNLOSKY

It's the night before her biology exam, and the high school student has just begun to study. She takes out her highlighter and reads her textbook, marking it up as she goes along. She rereads sentences that seem most important and stays up most of the night, just hoping to get a good enough grasp of the material to do well on the exam. These are study strategies that she may have learned from her friends or her teachers or that she simply took to on her own. She is not unusual in this regard; many students rely on strategies such as highlighting, rereading, and cramming the night before an exam.

Quite often, students believe these relatively ineffective strate-

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gies are actually the most effective,¹ and at least on the surface they do seem sound, perhaps because, even after pulling an all-nighter, students manage to squeak by on exams. Unfortunately, in a recent review of the research, my colleagues and I found that these strategies are not that effective,² especially if students want to retain their learning and understanding of content well after the exam is over—obviously, an important educational goal.

So, why aren't students learning about the best strategies? I can only speculate, but several reasons seem likely. Curricula are developed to highlight the content that teachers should teach, so the focus is on providing content and not on training students how to effectively acquire it. Put differently, the emphasis is on *what* students need to learn, whereas little emphasis—if any—is placed on training students *how* they should go about learning the content and what skills will promote efficient studying to support robust learning. Nevertheless, teaching students *how* to learn is as important as teaching them content, because acquir-

ing both the right learning strategies and background knowledge is important—if not essential—for promoting lifelong learning.

Another reason many students may not be learning about effective strategies concerns teacher preparation. Learning strategies are discussed in almost every textbook on educational psychology, so many teachers likely have been introduced to at least some of them. Even so, my colleagues and I found that, in large part, the current textbooks do not adequately cover the strategies; some omit discussion of the most effective ones, and most do not provide guidelines on how to use them in the classroom or on how to teach students to use them. In some cases, the strategies discussed have limited applicability or benefit.³ So I sympathize with teachers who want to devote some class time to teaching students how to learn, because teacher preparation typically does not emphasize the importance of teaching students to use effective learning strategies. Moreover, given the demands of day-to-day teaching, teachers do not have time to figure out which strategies are best.

The good news is that decades of research has focused on evaluating the effectiveness of many promising strategies for helping students learn. Admittedly, the evidence for many of these strategies is immense and not easily deciphered, especially given the technical nature of the literature. Thus, to help promote the teaching and use of effective learning strategies, my colleagues* and I reviewed the efficacy of 10 learning strategies:

1. Practice testing: self-testing or taking practice tests on to-be-learned material.
2. Distributed practice: implementing a schedule of practice that spreads out study activities over time.
3. Interleaved practice: implementing a schedule of practice that mixes different kinds of problems, or a schedule of study that mixes different kinds of material, within a single study session.
4. Elaborative interrogation: generating an explanation for why an explicitly stated fact or concept is true.
5. Self-explanation: explaining how new information is related to known information, or explaining steps taken during problem solving.
6. Rereading: restudying text material again after an initial reading.
7. Highlighting and underlining: marking potentially important portions of to-be-learned materials while reading.
8. Summarization: writing summaries (of various lengths) of to-be-learned texts.
9. Keyword mnemonic: using keywords and mental imagery to associate verbal materials.
10. Imagery for text: attempting to form mental images of text materials while reading or listening.

Before describing the strategies in detail, I will put into context a few aspects of our review. First, our intent was to survey strate-

gies that teachers could coach students to use without sacrificing too much class time and that any student could use. We excluded a variety of strategies and computer-driven tutors that show promise but require technologies that may be unavailable to many students. Although some of the strategies we reviewed can be implemented with computer software, they all can be used successfully by a motivated student who (at most) has access to a pen or pencil, some index cards, and perhaps a calendar.



Second, we chose to review some strategies (e.g., practice testing) because an initial survey suggested that they were relatively effective,⁴ whereas we chose other strategies (e.g., rereading, highlighting) because students reported using them often yet we wondered about their effectiveness.

Finally, the strategies differ somewhat with respect to the kinds of learning they promote. For instance, some strategies (e.g., keyword mnemonic, imagery for text) are focused on improving students' memory for core concepts or facts. Others (e.g., self-explanation) may best serve to promote students' comprehension of what they are reading. And still others (e.g., practice testing) appear to be useful for enhancing both memory and comprehension.

In the following sections, I discuss each of the learning strategies, beginning with those that show the most promise for improving student achievement.

The Most Effective Learning Strategies

We rated two strategies—practice testing and distributed practice—as the most effective of those we reviewed because they can help students regardless of age, they can enhance learning and comprehension of a large range of materials, and, most important, they can boost student achievement.

*My collaborators on this project were cognitive and educational researchers Katherine A. Rawson, Elizabeth J. Marsh, Mitchell J. Nathan, and Daniel T. Willingham. Willingham regularly contributes to *American Educator* in his "Ask the Cognitive Scientist" column.

Practice Testing

Test, exam, and quiz are four-letter words that provoke anxiety in many students, if not some teachers as well. Such anxiety may not be misplaced, given the high stakes of statewide exams. However, by viewing tests as the end-all assessments administered only after learning is complete, teachers and students are missing out on the benefits of one of the most effective strategies for *improving* student learning.

In 1909, a doctoral student at the University of Illinois demonstrated that practice tests improve student performance,⁵ and more than 100 years of research has revealed that taking practice tests (versus merely rereading the material to be learned) can substantially boost student learning. For instance, college students who reported using practice tests to study for upcoming exams earned higher grades,⁶ and when middle school teachers administered daily practice tests for class content, their students performed better on future tests that tapped the content they had practiced during the daily tests.⁷

All of the strategies we reviewed can be used successfully by a motivated student who (at most) has access to a pen or pencil, some index cards, and perhaps a calendar.

The use of practice tests can improve student learning in both direct and indirect ways.⁸ Consider two students who have just read a chapter in a textbook: Both students review the most important information in the chapter, but one student reads the information again, whereas the other student hides the answers and attempts to recall the information from memory. Compared with the first student, the second student, by testing himself, is boosting his long-term memory. Thus, unlike simply reading a text, when students correctly retrieve an answer from memory, the correct retrieval can have a direct effect on memory.

Practice tests can also have an indirect effect on student learning. When a student fails to retrieve a correct answer during a practice test, that failure signals that the answer needs to be restudied; in this way, practice tests can help students make better decisions about what needs further practice and what does not. In fact, most students who use practice tests report that they do so to figure out what they know and do not know.⁹

Based on the prevailing evidence, how might students use practice tests to best harness the power of retrieval practice? First, student learning can benefit from almost any kind of practice test, whether it involves completing a short essay where students need to retrieve content from memory or answering questions in a multiple-choice format. Research suggests, however, that students will benefit most from tests that require recall from memory, and not from tests that merely ask them to recognize the correct answer.¹⁰ They may need to work a bit harder to recall key materials (especially lengthy ones) from memory, but the payoff will be great in the long run. Another benefit of encouraging students to

recall key information from memory is that it does not require creating a bank of test questions to serve as practice tests.

Second, students should be encouraged to take notes in a manner that will foster practice tests. For instance, as they read a chapter in their textbook, they should be encouraged to make flashcards, with the key term on one side and the correct answer on the other. When taking notes in class, teachers should encourage students to leave room on each page (or on the back pages of notes) for practice tests. In both cases, as the material becomes more complex (and lengthy), teachers should encourage students to write down their answers when they are testing themselves. For instance, when they are studying concepts on flashcards, they should first write down the answer (or definition) of the concept they are studying, and then they should compare their written answer with the correct one. For notes, they can hide key ideas or concepts with their hand and then attempt to write them out in the remaining space; by using this strategy, they can compare their answer with the correct one and easily keep track of their progress.

Third, and perhaps most important, students should continue testing themselves, with feedback, until they correctly recall each concept at least once from memory. For flashcards, if they correctly recall an answer, they can pull the card from the stack; if they do not recall it correctly, they should place it at the back of the stack. For notes, they should try to recall all of the important ideas and concepts from memory, and then go back through their notes once again and attempt to correctly recall anything they did not get right during their first pass. If students persist until they recall each idea or concept correctly, they will enhance their chances of remembering the concepts during the actual exam. They should also be encouraged to “get it right” on more than one occasion, such as by returning to the deck of cards on another day and relearning the materials. Using practice tests may not come naturally to students, so teachers can play an important role in informing them about the power of practice tests and how they apply to the content being taught in class.

Not only can students benefit from using practice tests when studying alone, but teachers can give practice tests in the classroom. The idea is for teachers to choose the most important ideas and then take a couple minutes at the beginning or end of each class to test students. After all students answer a question, teachers can provide the correct answer and give feedback. The more closely the practice questions tap the same information that will be tested on the in-class examination, the better students will do. Thus, this in-class “testing time” should be devoted to the most critical information that will appear on the actual exam. Even using the same questions during practice and during the test is a reasonable strategy. It not only ensures that the students will be learning what teachers have decided is most important, but also affirms to students that they should take the in-class practice quizzes seriously.

Distributed Practice

A second highly effective strategy, distributed practice is a straightforward and easy-to-use technique. Consider the following examples:

A first-grader studies for a spelling test. Using a worksheet to guide her practice, she might take one of two approaches. She

could practice spelling the words by writing each one several times directly below the word printed on the sheet. After practicing one word repeatedly, she would move on to the next one and practice writing that word several times below it. This kind of practice is called massed practice, because the student practices each word multiple times together, before moving to the next one.

An alternative strategy for the student would be to practice writing each word only once, and after transcribing the final word, going back and writing each one again, and so forth, until the practice is complete. This kind of practice is called distributed practice, because practice with any one word is distributed across time (and the time between practicing any one word is filled with another activity—in this case, writing other words).

In this example, the student either masses or distributes her practices during a single session. Now, imagine an eighth-grader trying to learn some basic concepts pertaining to geology for an upcoming in-class exam. He might read over his notes diligently, in a single session the night before the exam, until he thinks he is ready for the test—a study tactic called cramming, which practically all students use. Or, as an alternative, he might study his notes and texts during a shorter session several evenings before the exam and then study them again the evening before. In this case, the student distributes his studying across two sessions.

Students will retain knowledge and skills for a longer period of time when they distribute their practice than when they mass it,¹¹ even if they use the same amount of time massing and distributing their practice.* Unfortunately, however, many students believe that massed practice is better than distributed practice.¹²

One reason for this misconception is that students become familiar and facile with the target material quickly during a massed practice session, but learning appears to proceed more slowly with distributed practice. For instance, the first-grader quickly writes the correct word after practicing it several times in succession, but when the same practice is distributed, she may still struggle after several attempts. Likewise, the eighth-grader may quickly become familiar with his notes after reading them twice during a single session, but when distributing his practice across two study sessions, he may realize how much he has forgotten and use extra time getting back up to speed.

In both cases, learning itself feels tougher when it is distributed instead of massed, but the competency and learning that students may feel (and teachers may see) during massed practice is often ephemeral. By contrast, distributed practice may take more effort, but it is essential for obtaining knowledge in a manner that will be maintained (or easily relearned) over longer, educationally relevant periods of time.

Most students, whether they realize it or not, use distributed practice to master many different activities, but not when they are studying. For instance, when preparing for a dance recital, most would-be dancers will practice the routine nightly until they have it down; they will not just do all the practice the night before the recital, because everyone knows that this kind of practice will

likely not be successful. Similarly, when playing video games, students see their abilities and skills improve dramatically over time in large part because they keep coming back to play the game in a distributed fashion. In these and many other cases, students realize that more practice or play during a current session will not help much, and they may even see their performance weaken near the end of a session, so, of course, they take a break and return to the activity later. However, for whatever reason, students don't typically use distributed practice as they work toward mastering course content.



The use of practice tests can improve student learning in both direct and indirect ways.

Not using distributed practice for study is unfortunate, because the empirical evidence for the benefits of distributed (over massed) practice is overwhelming, and the strategy itself is relatively easy to understand and use. Even so, I suspect that many students will need to learn how to use it, especially for distributing practice across multiple sessions. The difficulty is simply that most students begin to prepare and study only when they are reminded that the next exam is tomorrow. By that point, cramming is their only option. To distribute practice over time, students should set aside blocks of time throughout each week to study the content for each class. Each study block will be briefer than an all-night cram session, and it should involve studying (and using practice tests) for material that was recently introduced in class and for material they studied in previous sessions.

To use distributed practice successfully, teachers should focus on helping students map out how many study sessions they will

*To learn more about massed versus distributed practice, see Daniel T. Willingham's article, "Allocating Student Study Time," in the Summer 2002 issue of *American Educator*, available at www.aft.org/newspubs/periodicals/ae/summer2002/willingham.cfm.

need before an exam, when those sessions should take place (such as which evenings of the week), and what they should practice during each session. For any given class, two short study blocks per week may be enough to begin studying new material and to restudy previously covered material.



Students will retain knowledge for a longer period of time when they distribute their practice than when they mass it.

Ideally, students will use practice tests to study the previously covered material. If they do, they will quickly retrieve the previously learned material after just a handful of sessions, which will leave more time for studying new material. Of course, students may need help setting up their study schedules (especially when they are younger), and they may need some encouragement to use the strategy. But by using distributed practice (especially if it is combined with practice testing), many students will begin to master material they never thought they could learn.

Teachers can also use distributed practice in the classroom. The idea is to return to the most important material and concepts repeatedly across class days. For instance, if weekly quizzes are already being administered, a teacher could easily include content that repeats across quizzes so students will relearn some concepts in a distributed manner. Repeating key points across lectures not only highlights the importance of the content but also gives students distributed practice. Administer-

ing a cumulative exam that forces students to review the most important information is another way to encourage them to study content in a distributed fashion. Admittedly, using cumulative exams may seem punitive, but if the teacher highlights which content is most likely to be retested (because it is the most important content for students to retain), then preparing for a cumulative exam does not need to be daunting. In fact, if students continue to use a distributed practice schedule throughout a class, they may find preparing for a final cumulative exam to be less difficult than it would be otherwise because they will already be well versed in the material.

Strategies with Much Promise

We rated three additional strategies as promising but stopped short of calling them the most effective because we wanted to see additional research about how broadly they improve student learning.

Interleaved Practice

Interleaved practice involves not only distributing practice across a study session but also mixing up the order of materials across different topics. As I discussed above, distributed practice trumps massed practice, but the former typically refers to distributing the practice of the *same* problem across time. Thus, for spelling, a student would benefit from writing each word on a worksheet once, and then cycling through the words until each has been spelled correctly several times. Interleaved practice is similar to distributed practice in that it involves spacing one's practice across time, but it specifically refers to practicing *different* types of problems across time.

Consider how a standard math textbook (or most any science textbook) encourages massed practice: In a text for pre-algebra, students may learn about adding and subtracting real numbers, and then spend a block of practice adding real numbers, followed by a block of practice subtracting. The next chapter would introduce multiplying and dividing real numbers, and then practice would focus first on multiplying real numbers, and then on dividing them, and so forth. Thus, students are massing their practice of similar problems. They practice several instances of one type of math problem (e.g., addition) before practicing the next type (e.g., subtraction). In this example, interleaving would involve solving one problem from each type (adding, subtracting, multiplying, and dividing) before solving a new problem from each type.

One aspect of massed practice that students may find appealing is that their performance will quickly improve as they work with a particular problem. Unfortunately, such fluent performance can be misleading; students believe that they have learned a problem well when in fact their learning is fleeting.

Interleaved practice has not been explored nearly as much as practice tests or distributed practice, but initial research outcomes have shown that interleaved practice can dramatically improve student achievement, especially in the domain of problem solving.

A study in which college students learned to compute the volume of four different geometric solids illustrates this advantage.¹³ In two practice sessions (separated by a week), a student either had massed practice or interleaved practice. For massed practice, students had a brief tutorial on solving for the volume

of one kind of solid (e.g., a wedge), and then immediately practiced solving for the volume of four different versions of the particular solid (e.g., finding the volume of four different wedges). They then received a tutorial on finding the volume of another kind of solid (e.g., a spherical cone), and immediately practiced solving four versions of that solid (e.g., finding the volume of four different spherical cones). They repeated this massed practice for two more kinds of solids.

For interleaved practice, students first were given a tutorial on how to solve for the volume of each of the four solids, and then they practiced solving for each of the four versions of solids in turn. They never practiced the same kind of solid twice in a row; they practiced solving for the volume of a wedge, followed by a spherical cone, followed by a spheroid, and so forth, until they had practiced four problems of each type. Regardless of whether practice was massed or interleaved, all students practiced solving four problems of each type.

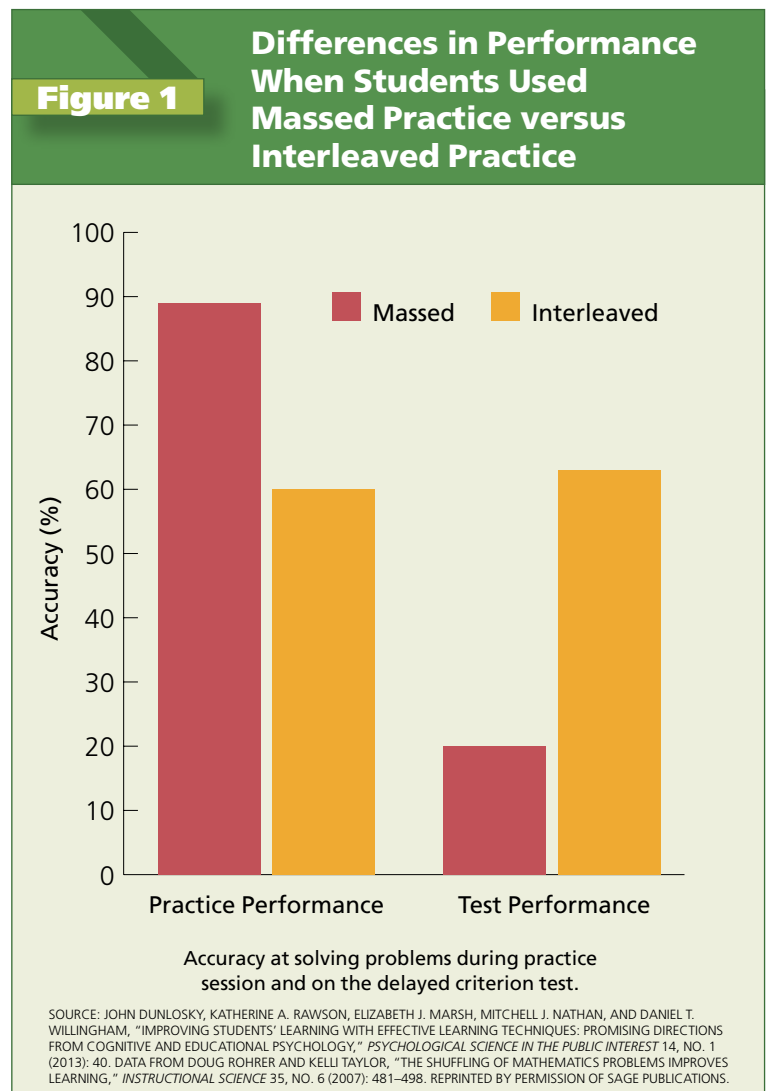
How did the students fare? The results presented in Figure 1 (on the right) show that during the practice sessions, performance finding the correct volumes was considerably higher for massed practice than for interleaved practice, which is why some students (and teachers) may prefer massed practice. The reason not to stick with massed practice is revealed when we examine performance on the exam, which occurred one week after the final practice session. As shown in the bars on the far right of Figure 1, students who massed practice performed horribly. By contrast, those who interleaved did three times better on the exam, and their performance did not decline compared with the original practice session! If students who interleaved had practiced just a couple more times, no doubt they would have performed even better, but the message is clear: massed practice leads to quick learning and quick forgetting, whereas interleaved practice slows learning but leads to much greater retention.

Research shows that teachers can also use this promising strategy with their students. Across 25 sessions,¹⁴ college students with poor math skills were taught algebra rules, such as how to multiply variables with exponents, how to divide variables with exponents, and how to raise variables with exponents to a power. In different sessions, either a single rule was introduced or a rule that had already been introduced was reviewed. Most important, during review sessions, students either (a) practiced the rule from the previous session (which was analogous to massed practice), or (b) practiced the rule from the previous session intermixed with the practice of rules from even earlier sessions (which was analogous to interleaved practice).

During the first practice sessions, the two groups achieved at about the same level. By contrast, on the final test, performance was substantially better for students who had interleaved practice than for those who had massed practice. This interleaving advantage was evident both for application of the rules to new algebra problems (i.e., different versions of those that the students had practiced) and on problems that required the novel combination of rules. Given that the review sessions were basically practice tests, one recommendation is sound: when creating practice tests for students (whether to be completed in class or at home), it is best to mix up problems of different kinds. Even though students initially may struggle a bit more, they will benefit in the long run.

Why does interleaving work so well? In contrast to massed practice, interleaving problems requires distributing practice, which by itself benefits student achievement. Moreover, massed practice robs students of the opportunity to practice identifying problems, whereas interleaved practice forces students to practice doing so. When students use massed practice, after they correctly solve a problem or two of a certain type, they can almost robotically apply the same steps to the next problem. That is, they do not have to figure out what kind of problem they are solving; they just have to apply the same rules to the next prob-

For interleaved practice, when a new problem is presented, students need to first figure out which kind of problem it is and what steps they need to take to solve it.



lem. For interleaving, when a new problem is presented, students need to first figure out which kind of problem it is and what steps they need to take to solve it. This is often a difficult aspect of solving problems.

Interleaving has been shown to improve performance (as compared with massed practice) in multiple domains, including fourth-graders learning to solve math problems, engineering

Elaborative Interrogation and Self-Explanation

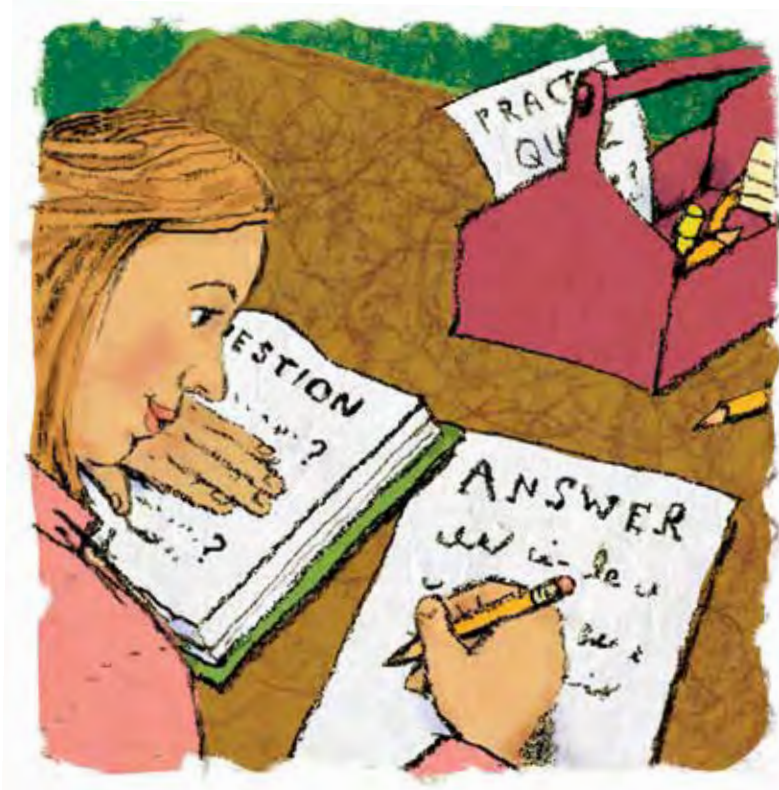
Elaborative interrogation and self-explanation are two additional learning strategies that show a lot of promise. Imagine a student reading an introductory passage on photosynthesis: “It is a process in which a plant converts carbon dioxide and water into sugar, which is its food. The process gives off oxygen.” If the student were using elaborative interrogation while reading, she would try to explain why this fact is true. In this case, she might think that it must be true because everything that lives needs some kind of food, and sugar is something that she eats as food. She may not come up with exactly the right explanation, but trying to elaborate on why a fact may be true, even when the explanations are not entirely on the mark, can still benefit understanding and retention.

Students who solve new problems that involve transferring what was learned during practice perform better when they use self-explanation techniques.

If the student were using self-explanation, then she would try to explain how this new information is related to information that she already knows. In this case, perhaps she might consider how the conversion is like how her own body changes food into energy and other (not-so-pleasant-as-oxygen) fumes. Students can also self-explain when they solve problems of any sort and decide how to proceed; they merely explain to themselves why they made a particular decision.

While practicing problems, the success rate of solving them is no different for students who self-explain their decisions compared with those who do not. However, in solving new problems that involve transferring what one has learned during practice, those who initially used self-explanation perform better than those who did not use this technique. In fact, in one experiment where students learned to solve logical-reasoning problems, final test performance was three times better (about 90 percent versus less than 30 percent) for students who self-explained during practice than for those who did not.¹⁷

One reason these two strategies can promote learning and comprehension and boost problem-solving performance is that they encourage students to actively process the content they are focusing on and integrate it with their prior knowledge. Even young students should have little trouble using elaborative interrogation, because it simply involves encouraging them to ask the question “why?” when they are studying. The difference between this type of “why” and the “why” asked in early childhood (when this is a common question to parents) is that students must take the time to develop answers. This strategy may be especially useful as students are reading lengthy texts in which a set of concepts



students learning to diagnose system failures, college students learning artists’ styles, and even medical students learning to interpret electrocardiograms to diagnose various diseases. Nevertheless, the benefits do not extend to all disciplines; for instance, in one study,¹⁵ college students learned French vocabulary from different categories (body parts, dinnerware, foods, etc.), and students did just as well when their practice was massed within a category as when it was interleaved across categories. In another study, interleaving did not help high school students learn various rules for comma usage.¹⁶

Certainly, much more research is needed to better understand when interleaving will be most effective. Nevertheless, interleaved practice has shown more than enough promise for boosting student achievement to encourage its use, especially given that it does not hurt learning. To that end, I suggest that teachers revise worksheets that involve practice problems, by rearranging the order of problems to encourage interleaved practice. Also, for any in-class reviews, teachers should do their best to interleave questions and problems from newly taught materials with those from prior classes. Doing so not only will allow students to practice solving individual problems, but it also will help them practice the difficult tasks of identifying problems and choosing the correct steps needed to solve them.

builds across a chapter, although admittedly the bulk of the research on elaborative interrogation has been conducted with isolated facts. At a minimum, the research has shown that encouraging students to ask “why” questions about facts or simple concepts that arise in class and in lengthy discussions benefits their learning and understanding.

In most of the research on self-explanation, students are given little instruction on how to use the strategy; instead, they are just told to use a particular question prompt that is most relevant to what they are studying. For instance, if they are solving a problem, they might be instructed to ask themselves, “Why did I just decide to do X?” (where X is any move relevant to solving the problem at hand). And if they were reading a text, they might be instructed to ask, “What does this sentence mean to me? What new information does the sentence provide, and how does it relate to what I already know?” To take full advantage of this strategy, students need to try to self-explain and not merely paraphrase (or summarize) what they are doing or reading, because the latter strategies (as I discuss below) do not consistently boost performance.

Rereading has inconsistent effects on student learning, and benefits may not be long-lasting.

Some potential limitations of using these strategies are rather intuitive. For instance, students with no relevant knowledge about a new content area may find it difficult—if not impossible—to use elaborative interrogation, because these students may not be able to generate any explanation about why a particular (new) fact is true.* Thus, although research shows that students as young as those in the upper elementary grades can successfully use elaborative interrogation, the technique may not be so useful for younger students with low levels of background knowledge. As students learn more about a particular topic, elaborative interrogation should be easier to use and will support more learning.

As for self-explanation, it should not be too difficult, or require much time, to teach most students how to take advantage of this strategy. Nevertheless, younger students or those who need more support may benefit from some coaching. For instance, as noted above, paraphrases and self-explanations are not the same and lead to different learning outcomes, so teachers should help younger students distinguish between an explanation of an idea and its paraphrase. Even so, a gentle reminder to use elaborative interrogation or self-explanation may be all most students need to keep them using these strategies as they learn new course content and prepare for examinations.

Because they show promise, I recommend that teachers tell their students about these strategies and explain the conditions

under which each may be most useful. For instance, they might instruct students to use elaborative interrogation when studying general facts about a topic, or to use self-explanation when reading or solving practice problems in math and science.

Teachers should keep in mind that these two strategies did not receive the highest rating in our team’s assessment of learning strategies.¹⁸ Our lower marks for these strategies, however, stemmed from the fact that we wanted to see even more evidence that established their promise in several key areas relevant to



education. Only a couple of experiments have demonstrated that elaborative interrogation can improve students’ comprehension, and only a few investigations have established their efficacy within a classroom. So, in writing our review, we were conservative scientists who wanted every piece in place before declaring that a strategy is one that students should absolutely use. Nevertheless, other cognitive scientists who have studied the same evidence enthusiastically promote the use of these strategies,¹⁹ and as a teacher myself, the overall promise of these strategies is impressive enough that I encourage my students to use them.

Less Useful Strategies (That Students Use a Lot)

Besides the promising strategies discussed above, we also reviewed several others that have not fared so well when considered with an eye toward effectiveness. These include rereading, highlighting, summarizing, and using imagery during study.

Rereading and Highlighting

These two strategies are particularly popular with students. A survey conducted at an elite university revealed that 84 percent of the students studied by rereading their notes or textbooks.²⁰ Despite its popularity, rereading has inconsistent effects on student learning: whereas students typically benefit from rereading

*For more on why reading comprehension depends largely on knowledge, see “Building Knowledge” and “How Knowledge Helps” in the Spring 2006 issue of *American Educator*, available at www.aft.org/newspubs/periodicals/ae/spring2006/index.cfm.

when they must later recall texts from memory, rereading does not always enhance students' understanding of what they read, and any benefits of rereading (over just a single reading) may not be long-lasting. So, rereading may be relatively easy for students to do, but they should be encouraged to use other strategies (such as practice testing, distributed practice, or self-explanation) when they revisit their text and notes.

Students need to know that highlighting is only the beginning of the journey.

The use of highlighters seems universal—I even have a favorite one that I use when reading articles. As compared with simply reading a text, however, highlighting has been shown to have failed to help students of all sorts, including Air Force trainees, children, and undergraduate students. Even worse, one study reported that students who highlighted while reading performed worse on tests of comprehension wherein they needed to make inferences that required connecting different ideas across the text.²¹ In this case, by focusing on individual concepts while highlighting, students may have spent less time thinking about connections across concepts. Still, I would not take away highlighters from students; they are a security blanket for reading and studying. However, students need to know that highlighting is only the beginning of the journey, and that after they read and highlight, they should then restudy the material using more-effective strategies.

Summarization

Summarization involves paraphrasing the most important ideas within a text. It has shown some success at helping undergraduate students learn, although younger students who have difficulties writing high-quality summaries may need extensive help to benefit from this strategy.

In one study,²² teachers received 90 minutes of training on how to teach their students to summarize. The teachers were trained to provide direct instruction, which included explicitly describing the summarization strategy to students, modeling the strategy for students, having students practice summarizing and providing feedback, and encouraging students to monitor and check their work. Students completed five sessions (about 50 minutes each) of coaching, which began with them learning to summarize short paragraphs and slowly progressed to them using the strategy to take effective notes and ultimately to summarize a text chapter. Students who received coaching recalled more important points from a chapter as compared with students who were not coached. And other studies have also shown that training students to summarize can benefit student performance.

Nevertheless, the need for extensive training will make the use of this strategy less feasible in many contexts, and although summarizing can be an important skill in its own right, relying on it as a strategy to improve learning and comprehension may not be as effective as using other less-demanding strategies.

Keyword Mnemonic and Imagery for Text

Finally, the last two techniques involve mental imagery (i.e., developing internal images that elaborate on what one is studying). Students who are studying foreign-language vocabulary, for example, may use images to link words within a pair (e.g., for

the pair “la dent-tooth,” students may mentally picture a dentist (for “la dent”) extracting an extra-large tooth). This strategy is called keyword mnemonic, because it involves developing a keyword to represent the foreign term (in this case, “dentist” for “la dent”) that is then linked to the translation using mental imagery.

Imagery can also be used with more complex text materials as well. For instance, students can develop mental images of the content as they read, such as trying to imagine the sequence of processes in photosynthesis or the moving parts of an engine. This strategy is called imagery for text.

Mental imagery does increase retention of the material being studied, especially when students are tested soon after studying. However, research has shown that the benefits of imagery can be short-lived,²³ and the strategy itself is not widely appli-

Table 1

Effectiveness of Techniques Reviewed

Technique	Extent and Conditions of Effectiveness
Practice testing	Very effective under a wide array of situations
Distributed practice	Very effective under a wide array of situations
Interleaved practice	Promising for math and concept learning, but needs more research
Elaborative interrogation	Promising, but needs more research
Self-explanation	Promising, but needs more research
Rereading	Distributed rereading can be helpful, but time could be better spent using another strategy
Highlighting and underlining	Not particularly helpful, but can be used as a first step toward further study
Summarization	Helpful only with training on how to summarize
Keyword mnemonic	Somewhat helpful for learning languages, but benefits are short-lived
Imagery for text	Benefits limited to imagery-friendly text, and needs more research

cable. Concerning the latter, younger students may have difficulties generating images for complex materials, and for that matter, much content in school is not imagery friendly, such as when the ideas are abstract or the content is complex enough that it cannot be easily imagined. Certainly, for students who enjoy using imagery and for materials that afford its use, it likely will not hurt (and may even improve) learning. But as compared with some of the better strategies, the benefits of imagery are relatively limited.

Even the best strategies will only be effective if students are motivated to use them correctly.

Using learning strategies can increase student understanding and achievement. For some ideas on how the best strategies can be used, see the box “Tips for Using Effective Learning Strategies” (on the right). Of course, all strategies are not created equal. As shown in Table 1 (on page 20), while some strategies are broadly applicable and effective, such as practice testing and distributed practice, others do not provide much—if any—bang for the buck. Importantly, even the best strategies will only be effective if students are motivated to use them correctly, and even then, the strategies will not solve many of the problems that hamper student progress and success. With these caveats in mind, the age-old adage about teaching people to fish (versus just giving them a fish) applies here: teaching students content may help them succeed in any given class, but teaching them how to guide their learning of content using effective strategies will allow them to successfully learn throughout their lifetime. □

Endnotes

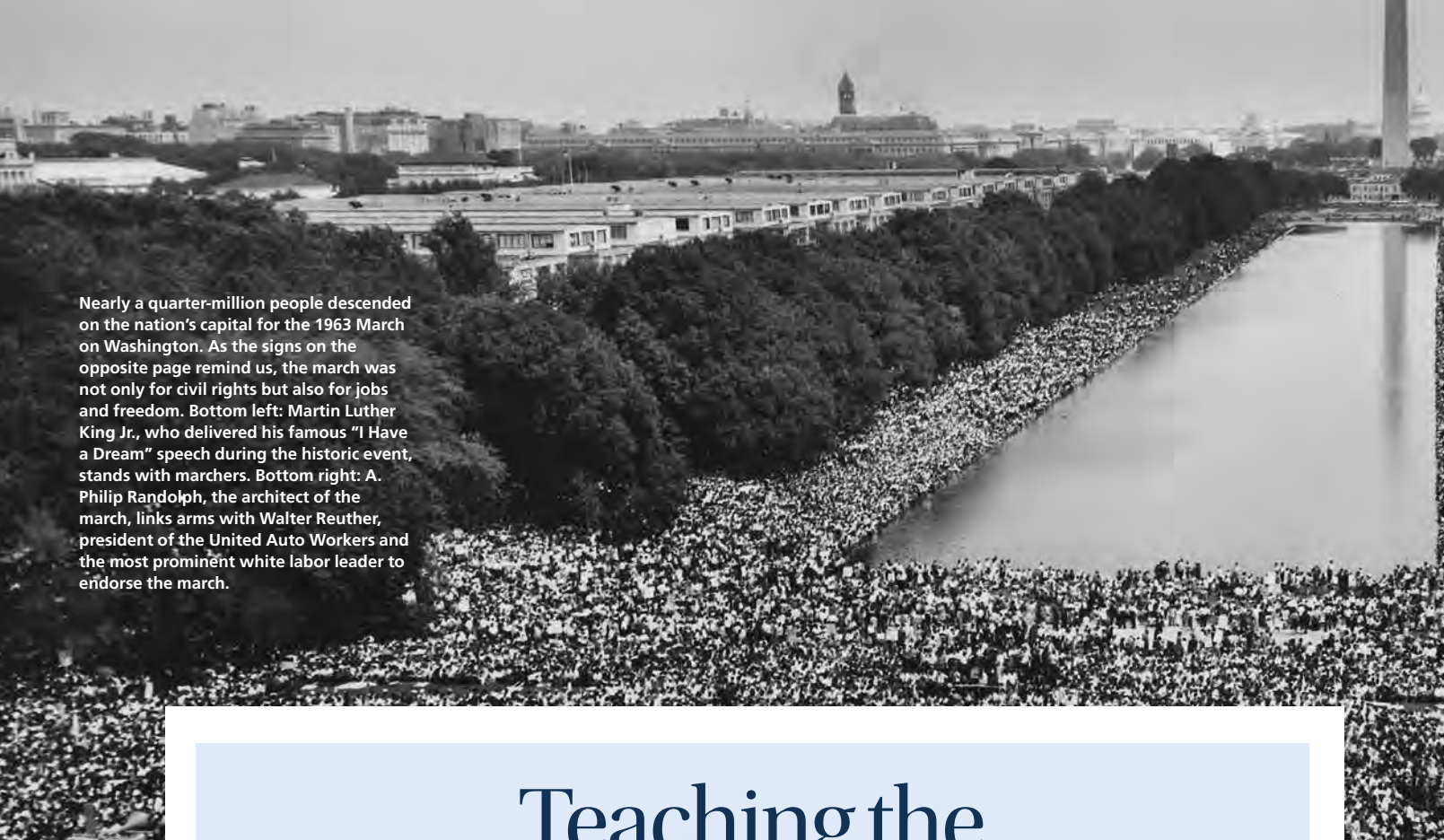
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Tips for Using Effective Learning Strategies

Based on our review of the literature, here are a handful of suggestions for teachers to help students take advantage of more-effective strategies:

- Give a low-stakes quiz at the beginning of each class and focus on the most important material. Consider calling it a “review” to make it less intimidating.
- Give a cumulative examination, which should encourage students to restudy the most important material in a distributed fashion.
- Encourage students to develop a “study planner,” so they can distribute their study throughout a class and rely less on cramming.
- Encourage students to use practice retrieval when studying instead of passively rereading their books and notes.
- Encourage students to elaborate on what they are reading, such as by asking “why” questions.
- Mix it up in math class: when assigning practice problems, be sure to mix problems from earlier units with new ones, so that students can practice identifying problems and their solutions.
- Tell students that highlighting is fine but only the beginning of the learning journey.

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A black and white aerial photograph showing a massive crowd of people gathered along the Potomac River in Washington, D.C. The crowd stretches far into the distance, with the city skyline visible in the background under a clear sky.

Nearly a quarter-million people descended on the nation's capital for the 1963 March on Washington. As the signs on the opposite page remind us, the march was not only for civil rights but also for jobs and freedom. Bottom left: Martin Luther King Jr., who delivered his famous "I Have a Dream" speech during the historic event, stands with marchers. Bottom right: A. Philip Randolph, the architect of the march, links arms with Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers and the most prominent white labor leader to endorse the march.

Teaching the March on Washington

On August 28, 1963, the March on Washington captivated the nation's attention. Nearly a quarter-million people—African Americans and whites, Christians and Jews, along with those of other races and creeds—gathered in the nation's capital. They came from across the country to demand equal rights and civil rights, social justice and economic justice, and an end to exploitation and discrimination. After all, the "March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom" was the march's official name, though with the passage of time, "for Jobs and Freedom" has tended to fade.

The march was the brainchild of longtime labor leader A. Philip Randolph, and was organized by Bayard Rustin, a charismatic civil rights activist. Together, they orchestrated the largest nonviolent, mass protest in American history. It was a day full of songs and speeches, the most famous of which Martin Luther King Jr. delivered in the shadow of the Lincoln Memorial.

Last month marked the 50th anniversary of the march. Though the commemorations have subsided, the story of the march can be taught at any point in the school year. It's a story in which the labor movement played a significant role, but too often labor's part remains untold. Union members from various trades and the teaching profession not only joined the march that day, but also helped plan and mobilize support for it. Walter Reuther, the president of the United Auto Workers, was the most prominent white trade unionist to endorse the march. The labor leader spent his career speaking at many a union hall to convince the rank and file that the struggle of African Americans for decent jobs and working conditions mirrored the struggle of workers everywhere, regardless of race.

Over the next 19 pages, *American Educator* features articles that highlight labor's profound influence on civil rights leaders and the march's organizers. This package includes a comprehensive look at the history of the march; profiles of Randolph, Rustin, and Reuther; and personal reflections on that remarkable day from civil rights activists Norman Hill and Velma Murphy Hill. On page 41, we also provide a list of links to just a few of the excellent lesson plans developed by the Albert Shanker Institute and posted on the AFT's Share My Lesson website, as a starting point for teaching this historic event.

—EDITORS



The Move to Unity

Labor's Role in the March on Washington

BY WILLIAM P. JONES

Nearly every American and millions of people around the world are familiar with Martin Luther King Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" speech, yet most know little about the March on Washington at which it was delivered. The tremendous eloquence and elegant simplicity of the speech meant that many, then and now, came to associate the broader goals of the demonstration with King's compelling vision of interracial harmony—a dream of a nation that would finally live up to its founders' proclamations about the "self-evident" equality of all people, in which children would be judged "by the content of their character" rather than the color of their skin, and in which citizens would "be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day."

William P. Jones is a professor of history at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. He is the author of The Tribe of Black Ulysses: African American Lumber Workers in the Jim Crow South (University of Illinois Press, 2005). This article is excerpted from The March on Washington: Jobs, Freedom, and the Forgotten History of Civil Rights, by William P. Jones. Copyright © 2013 by William P. Jones. With permission of the publisher, W. W. Norton & Company.

Few know that King's was the last of 10 speeches, capping more than six hours of performances by well-known musicians, appearances by politicians and movie stars, and statements of solidarity from groups across the nation and around the world—as well as an actual march. Even fewer know that it was officially called the "March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom," and that it aimed not just to end racial segregation and discrimination in the Jim Crow South but also to ensure that Americans of all races had access to quality education, affordable housing, and jobs that paid a living wage. We forget that King's task was to uplift the spirits of marchers after a long day in the sun and, for most, a night traveling by bus or train from as far away as New York, Chicago, Atlanta, and even Los Angeles. One reporter observed that while King "ignited the crowd" with his optimistic vision of the future, the other speakers "concentrated on the struggle ahead and spoke in tough, even harsh, language." Yet those other speeches have been virtually lost to history.¹

On August 28, 1963, nearly a quarter-million people descended on the nation's capital to demand "jobs and freedom." By "freedom" they meant that every American should be guaranteed access to stores, restaurants, hotels, and other "public accommodations," to "decent housing" and "adequate and integrated education," and to the right to vote. They also wanted strict enforcement of those civil

rights, including the withholding of federal funds from discriminatory programs and housing developments, the reduction of congressional representation in states where citizens were denied the right to vote, and authorization of the attorney general to bring injunctive suits when “any constitutional right is violated.” Some of those demands were addressed by a civil rights bill that President John F. Kennedy had introduced to Congress on June 11, 1963, two months before the demonstration. Marchers wanted to pass that bill, but they believed it was far too limited. In addition to equal access to public accommodations and the right to vote, they demanded a “massive federal program to train and place all unemployed workers—Negro and white—on meaningful and dignified jobs at decent wages.” They wanted to raise the minimum wage to a level that would “give all Americans a decent standard of living,” and to extend that standard to agricultural workers, domestic ser-

of the March on Washington. Randolph agreed with King on the need for integration and racial equality in the South, but he linked those objectives to a broader national and interracial struggle for economic and social justice. “We are the advance guard of a massive moral revolution for jobs and freedom,” he told the crowd that stretched out for more than a mile before him. He declared that the civil rights movement affected “every city, every town, every village where black men are segregated, oppressed, and exploited,” but insisted it was “not confined to the Negroes; nor is it confined to civil rights.” It was critical to end segregation in southern stores and restaurants, the union leader insisted, “but those accommodations will mean little to those who cannot afford to use them.” What good was an FEPC, he asked, if the rapidly expanding automation of industry was allowed to “destroy the jobs of millions of workers, black and

The March on Washington aimed not just to end racial segregation and discrimination but also to ensure that Americans of all races had access to quality education, affordable housing, and jobs that paid a living wage.

vants, and public employees, who were excluded from the federal law that created the minimum wage. For many marchers, the most important objective was the creation of a Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC) to prevent private firms, government agencies, and labor unions from discriminating against workers on the basis of race, color, religion, or national origin.²

King delivered the finale at the Lincoln Memorial, but the tone for the day was set in an opening address by A. Philip Randolph, the 74-year-old trade unionist who was the official leader

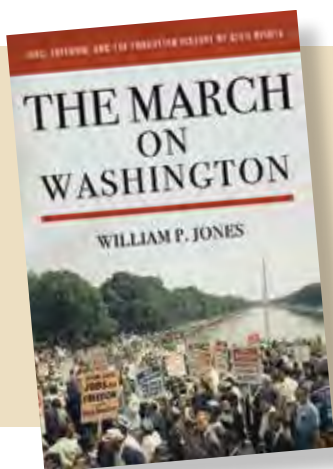
white?” Whereas King appealed to the nation’s founding principles of equality and freedom, Randolph insisted that “real freedom will require many changes in the nation’s political and social philosophies and institutions.” Ending housing discrimination, for example, would require Americans to reject the assumption that a homeowner’s “property rights include the right to humiliate me because of the color of my skin.” In the civil rights revolution, he declared, “The sanctity of private property takes second place to the sanctity of a human personality.”³

The signs above show the strong support among local labor unions for the march.

Randolph used language and imagery that reflected a lifetime of activism in organized labor and the Socialist Party, but his points were echoed by the younger and, for the most part, more moderate speakers who followed. Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the nation’s oldest and largest civil rights organization, charged that Kennedy’s civil rights proposal amounted to “so moderate an approach that if it is weakened or eliminated, the remainder will be little more than sugar water.” Emphasizing the need for an FEPC law, the 62-year-old former journalist stated, “We want employment, and with it we want the pride and responsibility and self-respect that goes with equal access to jobs.” Walter Reuther, the 55-year-old president of the United Auto Workers (UAW) union, concurred that “the job question is crucial; because we will not solve education or housing



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This article, “The Move to Unity,” is excerpted from *The March on Washington: Jobs, Freedom, and the Forgotten History of Civil Rights*, by William P. Jones. This book broadens our understanding of the march beyond Martin Luther King Jr.’s powerful “I Have a Dream” speech by exploring the march’s overall significance in American history and the civil rights movement.



Above left: A man carries his daughter on his shoulders during the march. Middle: Marchers cheer after King speaks. Right: A paperboy holds up a newspaper announcing the event.

or public accommodations as long as millions of American Negroes are treated as second-class economic citizens and denied jobs.” According to the *New York Times*, “Harshest of all the speakers was John Lewis,” the 23-year-old chairman of the Student

Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), who currently represents Georgia in the US Congress. Lewis endorsed Kennedy’s civil rights bill “with great reservations,” pointing out that the proposed legislation did nothing to protect African Americans from police brutality and racist violence, to uphold their right to vote in the South, or to “ensure the equality of a maid who earns \$5 a week in the home of a family whose income is \$100,000 a year.” Urging marchers to seek alternatives to a political system corrupted by power and money, Lewis declared, “Let us not forget that we are involved in a serious social revolution.”⁴

Tracing the roots of the March on Washington to A. Philip Randolph’s demand for fair employment during the Second World War demonstrates that the civil rights movement was always closely linked to the social democratic politics of the New Deal. Randolph initiated a march on Washington in 1941, before the United States entered the war, but federal investments in weapons, equipment, transportation, and military bases had already begun to lift the nation’s economy out of the Great Depression. President Franklin D. Roosevelt sought to strengthen the economic recovery by directing federal spending toward the South and other particularly depressed regions, and by strengthening federal labor laws to protect workers’ rights to form unions and bargain collectively for better wages and benefits. While those policies were ostensibly race-neutral, Randolph pointed out that they allowed private employers, unions, and local officials to bar African Americans from jobs that were funded by federal tax dollars and protected by federal laws. He demanded an FEPC law, not just to end discrimination by unions and employers but also to extend to African Americans the promise of economic and social citizenship that Roosevelt had linked to participation in the defense effort.

It was that egalitarian vision of social citizenship, as much as the constitutional principles of political equality, that inspired the modern civil rights movement. Like many other labor leaders of his generation, Randolph believed that the most effective path to

“first-class citizenship” was to ensure that black men had access to wages and benefits necessary to ensure economic and social security for their families. The march never became the mass movement that he envisioned in 1941, but its objectives were sustained by a generation of young militants who would play key leadership roles in the civil rights movement. Emphasizing the need for sustained grass-roots organizing rather than a nationwide mobilization, activists linked the March on Washington initiative to women’s organizations, unions, and churches in com-

Rather than narrowing objectives in the interest of gaining broader support, organizers united the various strands of black protest around the bold and expansive demand for “jobs and freedom.”

munities across the country. Inspired by the movement against British imperialism in India, they adopted the nonviolent techniques of civil disobedience that had been developed by independence leader Mohandas Gandhi. They also expanded the agenda of the movement from winning jobs to building unions and, more controversially, to demanding family-supporting jobs for black women as well as for black men. Finally, they pushed for an immediate end to segregation in the armed forces, universities, and other public institutions, which they viewed as inherently discriminatory and incompatible with the democratic rhetoric that Roosevelt used to inspire the defense effort.

Rather than narrowing their objectives in the interest of gaining broader support, organizers of the March on Washington united the various strands of black protest around the bold and expansive demand for “jobs and freedom.” The initial proposal for the 1963 march came from the Negro American Labor Coun-

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Key Figures behind the March

Randolph, the Consensus-Builder

BY CHARLES EUCHNER

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

LIFE: 1889–1979

BORN: Crescent City, FL

WORK: Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, President

ROLE IN MARCH: Architect

The only person allowed a good night's sleep on the eve of the March on Washington was Asa Philip Randolph.

Randolph stood above all the factions and feuds of the movement. An unapologetic Socialist, he still escaped attacks from mainstream politicians. Randolph's courtly ways, and his complete faith in friends and colleagues, set him apart.

From a young age, Randolph looked and sounded like a distinguished man. Tall and bronze-skinned, he was balding and graying, with just a small tuft of hair on his forehead, by his 30s. He wore the finest clothing he could buy—dark three-piece suits, usually wool, with dark homburg hats. His baritone spilled out in resonant British trills, which he had cultivated as a performer.

But Randolph's statesmanlike aura went beyond looks and sounds. To Randolph, anyone in the loose coalition of labor and civil rights activists—with one exception, the Communists—was basically

Randolph believed in the power of the masses, which included not only educated and professional people but also factory workers, longshoremens, sharecroppers, porters, and the unemployed.

good. Even in the midst of disagreements, Randolph remained serene. As a young man, Bayard Rustin joined the youth arm of the Communist Party for three years. Randolph told him he was making a mistake, that the Communists did not really care about blacks but wanted to exploit civil rights for their own purposes. When Rustin left the Communists, Randolph embraced him. Later, Rustin attacked Randolph for canceling protests in 1948, and the two did not speak for three years. But when Rustin approached him again, Randolph said, "Bayard, where have you been? I haven't seen you around lately."

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Randolph did not hold grudges. He cared about alliances and action.

Randolph learned about race when he was 9, growing up in Jacksonville, Florida. A gang of white hoodlums threatened to kidnap and lynch a black man in jail, and his father, the Reverend James Randolph, joined a black posse to surround the jail and fend off the mob. His mother sat by the window all night with a shotgun on her lap, prepared to use any means necessary to protect her home and children. That night, no lynching took place. But even though he was painfully conscious of race, Rev. Randolph did not see blackness as either superior or inferior. God and Christ, he told his son, have no color.

At the age of 21, Phil Randolph moved to New York City, where he found a calling onstage. He won starring roles in *Othello*, *Hamlet*, and *The Merchant of Venice*. Acting taught Randolph how to attract and hold the attention of a crowd. Randolph adopted his powerful voice in those roles, but left the theater when his father objected. He turned to politics, developing his own stump speeches about labor, race, Communism, war—every topic in the news those days. He became a soapbox newsreel.

Randolph gained a larger following as the founding editor of the *Messenger*, a journal of news and commentary on race, labor affairs, and politics. It was the only independent publication for blacks and rivaled the *Crisis*, the publication of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

Randolph's early efforts to organize—first waiters on a steamship, then porters at an electric utility—failed miserably. Then, for 12 years, starting in 1925, Randolph battled the Pullman Company for the right to organize its workers. At the time, Pullman employed more blacks than any other company. When Randolph started his drive, porters made \$67.50 for 300 or 400 hours of work a month, with no paid vacation or benefits. Porters also had to pay for their own uniforms and got wages deducted when anything was stolen on their watch.

The Pullman Company responded with righteous anger. One Pullman executive called Randolph a "wild-eyed uppity Negro hustler who never made up a Pullman berth in his life." Over the years, Pullman fired 800 porters in retaliation for working with Randolph. The company also started its own company union. Pullman goons beat organizers, mob-style, and threatened worse if they didn't stop organizing. When intimidation failed, the Pullman Company attempted to bribe Randolph, sending him a blank check in return for halting his organizing drives. Randolph made a photostat and sent the check back.

The union finally won recognition in 1937. Within years, wages more than doubled and working conditions improved. Porters finally won pay for their five hours of work preparing berths for customers, which previously came before they punched in. Randolph was the greatest star in black America—called "St. Philip of the Pullman Porters" and the "Black Messiah."

With the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters firmly established, Randolph decided to hold a massive march on Washington in 1941.

Randolph envisioned a column of 10,000 black men—or more, as many as 100,000—marching down Pennsylvania Avenue, carrying banners ("WINNING THE WAR FOR THE NEGRO IS WINNING THE WAR FOR DEMOCRACY"), shouting slogans ("We die for our



Several march leaders talk to one another in the shadow of the Lincoln Memorial. Seated in the middle is A. Philip Randolph, veteran labor leader and the march's official organizer.

country! Let us work in our country!"), and singing labor songs ("Which Side Are You On?"). President Franklin D. Roosevelt would look through the White House windows to see the greatest gathering of blacks ever—all protesting *his* administration. Plans called for long lines of marchers walking to the muffled drums of a funeral procession.

Washington had been the scene of four other marches, but blacks had never massed together for a major protest. Before Randolph, the civil rights movement remained torn between Booker T. Washington's conservative approach (creating a vibrant culture of education, business, and faith while accepting white dominance) and W. E. B. Du Bois's "talented tenth" (forging a black leadership class from the best and brightest of all blacks). Randolph believed in the power of the masses, which included not only educated and professional people but also factory workers, longshoremen, sharecroppers, porters, and the unemployed.

"Nobody expects 10,000 Negroes to get together and march anywhere for anything at any time," Randolph said. "In common parlance, they are supposed to be just scared and unorganizable. Is this true? I contend it is not."

To claim the citizenship that was their birthright, Randolph understood, blacks needed to get in the streets. To be free, Randolph said, blacks must overcome "the slave psychology and inferiority complex in Negroes which comes and is nourished with Negroes relying on white people for direction and support."

Randolph believed—more than anyone else in civil rights or labor—that a mass demonstration would change the psychology of both blacks and whites. Blacks would gain pride, a sense of brotherhood that comes from marching with countless others. Whites—and the political system they controlled—would feel apprehensive about disorder and bad public relations. Some might even be impressed enough to support civil rights.

A march down Pennsylvania Avenue would be Roosevelt's greatest humiliation as president—greater, even, than the Supreme Court's rejection of a dozen New Deal programs and Congress's rejection of his bid to pack the Supreme Court. This humiliation would be global. These black marchers would not just battle Roosevelt's administration; they would embarrass America before the whole world.

To organize marchers, Randolph deployed his Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Local union leaders and porters spread the word as railroad cars clacked from place to place. In the weeks before the march was to take place, Rustin hitchhiked up and down the East Coast to rally union locals, churches, and universities to march.

Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt implored Randolph to call off the demonstration. A wartime march would be too disruptive. What signal would 100,000 angry Negroes send to the world when the United States was fighting abroad for democracy?

Roosevelt called Randolph and his supporters, like the NAACP's Walter White, to the White House.

"What do you want me to do?" the president asked. "Mr. President," Randolph said, "we want you to do something that will enable Negro workers to get work in these plants."

"Why, I surely want them to work, too," Roosevelt said. "I'll call up the heads of the various defense plants and have them see to it that Negroes are given the same opportunity to work in defense plants as any other citizen in the country."

"We want you to do more than that. We want something concrete, something tangible, definite, positive, and affirmative."

"What do you mean?" Roosevelt asked.

"Mr. President, we want you to issue an executive order making it mandatory that Negroes be permitted to work in these plants."

The president wondered aloud whether Randolph could get 100,000 Negroes to march on Washington. Walter White said he could. New York City Mayor Fiorello La Guardia, called to the White House to help the president confront Randolph, told Roosevelt to find a solution that would satisfy the organizer.

So on June 25, 1941, just days before the planned march on Washington, Franklin Roosevelt signed Executive Order 8802, formally mandating equal opportunity in defense industries. And Randolph called off the march.

Randolph made a habit of planning and canceling marches—four in the 1940s—and his supporters attacked him for losing nerve. But to Randolph, the primary purpose of any political action was to achieve specific goals. To march after achieving those goals would risk his credibility in future bargaining. So the larger goal of demonstrations—changing the psychology of blacks and of the nation as a whole—had to wait for another day. By 1963, the civil rights movement convulsed the country. Never before had so many people taken to the streets or gotten arrested for any cause.

Now Randolph was ready for one last hurrah.

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cil, a largely forgotten organization that Randolph and other black trade unionists created to highlight the economic crisis caused by black workers' exclusion from skilled jobs and unions. Anna Arnold Hedgeman pushed the union activists to expand their agenda to include access to public accommodations and voting rights in the South, a move that allowed them to gain support from King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); John Lewis's SNCC; and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), a network of nonviolent activists that Bayard Rustin helped to create during the Second World War. Hedgeman also persuaded them to seek support from the National Council of Negro Women, a network of organizations claiming nearly 800,000 members, although Randolph and other male activists rejected her request to include black women in the official leadership of the march. The most reluctant supporters of the demonstration were Roy Wilkins of the NAACP and labor leader Walter Reuther, who joined the mobilization only after they were convinced that it would occur without them.⁵

We must not only focus on leaders and experienced activists in the civil rights movement, but also challenge the assumption that their beliefs and concerns differed significantly from those of their followers. While Randolph, King, and other national figures were the official spokesmen for the March on Washington, the primary task of organizing the protest fell to staff and elected officials of local civil rights organizations, unions, churches, and other groups who lived in the same working-class communities that formed the primary base of support for the movement. Perhaps the most important evidence of agreement between leaders and marchers was sim-

ply the fact that so many people traveled hundreds or even thousands of miles—most missing a day or more of work and all but a few paying their own way—to be in Washington that day. Some were students or full-time activists, but the vast majority consisted of autoworkers and meatpackers, teachers and letter carriers, domestic servants and sharecroppers who—aside from their membership in unions and civil rights organizations—had little history of political protest. Journalist Russell Baker described them as “a gentle army of quiet, middle-class Americans who came in the spirit of the church outing,” suggesting that they were in Washington for pleasure or out of a sense of religious or patriotic duty. Malcolm X, a black nationalist who accused Randolph, King, and other leaders of tempering the radicalism of the protest, argued that the marchers had been “fooled.” Given the size and enthusiasm of the crowd, however, it seems more likely that they believed deeply in the message that Randolph, King, and others proclaimed from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial that day.⁶

At the “Salute and Support the Heroes of the South” rally in Madison Square Garden on May 31, 1956, Eleanor Roosevelt and several other speakers emphasized that “everything isn’t sweetness and light in the North insofar as the Negro is concerned,” and that discrimination existed in New York as well as in Montgomery, Alabama. Earl Brown, the city coun-

At right: A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP; and civil rights leader Anna Arnold Hedgeman plan the march route and discuss strategy. Bottom left: Marchers arrive at Union Station in Washington, DC. Bottom right: Participants line up to board buses home after the march.



TOP: © BETTMANN/CORBIS; BOTTOM LEFT: FLIP SCHULKE; BOTTOM RIGHT: DECLAN HAIN

cilman who had urged a mass exodus from Mississippi following Emmett Till's lynching, disagreed. "By no means should we overlook or cover up racial ills existing North of the Mason-Dixon line. But conditions are far different below it than above," wrote the black journalist and politician. Pointing out that racism was more firmly planted in southern "law, public opinion and practices," Brown insisted: "We cannot solve our problems in the North until we at least make some appreciable headway toward solving them in the South." For that reason, he applauded A. Philip Randolph for initiating the "truly mammoth" event. In addition to letting "the enemy know we are coming," the councilman wrote, it was significant that the rally was sponsored by a black trade unionist who had succeeded in convincing white union leaders that "their welfare is tied up in civil rights as well as the Negro's."⁷

Brown overestimated the support that Randolph received from white union leaders, but it was true that Randolph and other black trade unionists played key roles in drawing attention to and raising funds for the grass-roots movements that erupted in the South following the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision. The massive rallies after Emmett Till's murder in August 1955 had been initiated by Willoughby Abner, a leader of the United Auto Workers in Chicago. That September, activists from the Chicago district of the United Packinghouse Workers had accompanied Till's mother to Harlem, where she spoke at a rally sponsored by the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Cleveland Robinson and other black leaders of the Retail Workers District 65 had organized the Garment Center Labor Rally on October 11, 1955, in New York, and the Madison Square Garden rally had been organized primarily by Maida Springer of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.⁸

While black trade unionists agreed with Councilman Brown that segregation and discrimination were more deeply rooted in the laws and customs of the South, they were equally committed to eliminating them in the North, and specifically within the AFL-CIO. In July 1959, Randolph called a meeting of black trade unionists who had traveled to New York City for the 50th annual convention of the NAACP. The meeting was closed to the press and overshadowed by the controversy surrounding Robert F. Williams's call to "meet violence with violence." Nevertheless, more than 60 black trade unionists attended. Pointing out that more than a million black workers belonged to unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO—constituting the largest membership of African Americans outside the black church—Randolph urged the assembled to organize themselves for leadership in the "struggle for economic equality and the pressing needs for civil rights." The group resolved to introduce a resolution at the national convention of the AFL-CIO later that year, calling for the expulsion of any union that did not drop racial bars on membership and integrate segregated locals before June 1960.* They also decided to form a more formal network to coordinate their activities in various cities.

A public labor session at the AFL-CIO convention featured speeches by Randolph and white labor leader Walter Reuther, the president of the UAW and a vice president of the AFL-CIO. Randolph began on a positive note, pointing to the unprecedented number of black workers and the rise of nonwhite trade unionists

to positions of leadership in the union movement. He also praised Reuther, AFL-CIO President George Meany, and the executive committee of the AFL-CIO for their personal commitments to civil rights. But he closed by blasting the federation for its "quite inadequate and much too slow" progress toward realizing those ideals, and he demanded that it "require labor organizations at all levels to comply with its constitutional provision outlawing race and religious discrimination."⁹

Despite its influence in black working-class communities, Randolph's organization, the Negro American Labor Council (NALC), made little headway with the AFL-CIO. At a meeting in Washington following the inauguration of President John F. Kennedy in January of 1961, trade unionists called on the AFL-CIO to set firm timelines for affiliates to drop racially exclusive language from their bylaws, expand opportunities for black workers in union leadership and

Randolph believed that the most effective path to "first-class citizenship" was to ensure that black men had access to wages and benefits necessary to ensure economic and social security for their families.

apprenticeship programs, and integrate "qualified Negro office and staff workers into all departments of the general headquarters of the AFL-CIO." Meany did not respond to these requests, but noticed that the NALC letterhead listed Theodore Brown, who was the assistant director of the AFL-CIO's Civil Rights Department, as secretary of the NALC. On April 30, 1961, Meany fired Brown on the grounds that he had charged the federation for unauthorized travel to civil rights meetings. Brown responded that the meetings were consistent with his duties, and accused Meany of punishing him for fulfilling those duties.¹⁰

Black trade unionists responded to Brown's dismissal by calling for a march on the AFL-CIO's national headquarters in Washington. After much debate, however, they resolved to delay plans for a march until Randolph could discuss the issue with Meany and other AFL-CIO leaders at a meeting of the AFL-CIO executive council in June.¹¹

Tensions only grew when Randolph showed up at the executive council meeting with a detailed memorandum calling for stronger civil rights policies in the AFL-CIO, describing the growing problem of unemployment in black communities, and lamenting the "widening gulf between Negro and labor communities." He also presented reports on discrimination by unions at the port of New York City, and the practice of segregating housing and social events at state AFL-CIO conventions in the South. Reporting that the Virginia AFL-CIO had agreed to desegregate its convention that year after NALC activists threatened a boycott, Randolph announced a nationwide campaign to ensure that "all AFL-CIO

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*In 1957, the American Federation of Teachers expelled locals that refused to desegregate.

Key Figures behind the March

Rustin, the Coordinator Extraordinaire

BY CHARLES EUCHNER

BAYARD RUSTIN

LIFE: 1912–1987

BORN: West Chester, PA

WORK: Civil rights activist

ROLE IN MARCH: Chief Organizer

After years of controversy, Bayard Rustin lived for the day when he would coordinate a mass demonstration on the scale of the March on Washington. Since his college days three decades before, Rustin had worked behind the scenes to organize people for civil rights, labor, and peace.

Years before, W. E. B. Du Bois talked about the “twoness” of blacks in America: “One ever feels his twoness—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.”

But if black America struggled with twoness, Rustin struggled with threeness, or fourness, or even moreness.

Bayard Rustin’s manyness was palpable. Rustin could be formal and elegant, but he could also be rough, with his wrinkled linen suits and worn ties. He was tall and wiry—six feet one inch, 190 pounds—but moved like an athlete. Brown-skinned with a Clark Gable mustache—and a shock of an Afro that reached upward into a jagged flat-top—Rustin was a kinetic force, always searching and moving. He lived on the road, but his apartment was rich and comfortable, filled with art from all over the world—centuries-old statues and paintings of Christ, Civil War-era lithographs and engravings, a Jacobean carved bed from the 1600s, Turkish rugs, and even columns from the old Penn Station. He could speak formally, with an affected British accent, or he could talk like a street agitator.

Rustin came from West Chester, Pennsylvania, a Quaker town 25 miles from Philadelphia. The son of a single mother, he did not know until he was 11 who was who in his own family. At that point, he learned that the couple he considered his parents, Janifer and Julia, were really *his mother’s* parents; that the woman he considered his sister Florence was really his mother; and that his other “sisters” and “brothers” were really aunts and uncles.

Growing up in a Quaker community, Rustin embraced nonviolence, finding pacifism a compelling, consistent worldview: aggression begets aggression, love begets love, peace begets peace. Pacifism was close to absolute for Rustin. Morally, he did not believe that aggression and violence could build or repair anything. Violence spun out of control, breaking bodies and property and breeding resentment. But nonviolence could overcome even the most relentless violence.

“My activism did not spring from my being black. Rather, it is rooted fundamentally in my Quaker upbringing,” Rustin said. “Those values were based on the concept of a single human



WORLD TELEGRAM & SUN PHOTO BY O. FERNANDEZ

Bayard Rustin, left, stands with fellow civil rights activist Cleveland Robinson, in front of the March on Washington’s headquarters in Harlem.

family and the belief that all members of that family are equal. The racial injustice that was present in this country during my youth was a challenge to my belief in the oneness of the human family. It demanded my involvement in the struggle to achieve interracial democracy, but it is very likely that I would have been involved had I been a white person with the same philosophy.” Rustin’s grandmother gave him Quaker values, but he attended the African Methodist Episcopal Church of his grandfather. That placed Rustin deep in the tradition of gospel music and emotional preaching.

The ever-dramatic Rustin adopted a British accent in high school, both to overcome stuttering and to assert his own independence. By taking on a different persona, he cloaked his nervousness. The accent gave him courage—and authority. He used the accent to confront racist bullies. When other blacks were refused service on Route 40, the corridor in Delaware and Maryland notorious for its Jim Crow ways, Rustin stood over his tormenters and demanded service. Rustin also used this persona at protests. At one demonstration in Brooklyn, Rachelle Horowitz, who worked closely with Rustin in her role as transportation coordinator for the March on Washington (and later served as the AFT’s political director), was taken away in handcuffs. Rustin turned toward the police. “*Officer,*” he said in his most dramatic British accent, “take those *handcuffs* off her *immediately!*” It worked. The cuffs came off.

A natural performer—on the tennis court, football field, stage, concert hall—Rustin once sang with Josh White and Leadbelly. He performed on White’s album *Chain Gang Songs*. He traveled tens of thousands of miles a year, speaking and organizing. He organized and agitated wherever he was—the local theater, school, football field, churches, union halls, even jails.

Rustin first got involved in labor organizing in 1933. Expelled from both Wilberforce College and Cheyney State College, he moved to Harlem to live with his sister/aunt Bessie. Sitting at a park on 150th Street one day, he heard goons talking about a strike at Horn & Hardart, a chain of coin-operated self-service restaurants immortalized in Edward Hopper’s painting *Automat*. They boasted about disrupting a labor picket line by throwing bricks at the restaurant and blaming the picketers. Rustin decided to join the picket line. Sure enough, someone threw a brick at the restaurant, and the police came and beat the demonstrators with clubs and carried them away to jail.

After spending a month volunteering for the planned 1941 march on Washington that never took place, Rustin worked full time for the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), a global organization dedicated to pacifism and disarmament.

In 1942, Rustin joined James Farmer, George Houser, and Bernice Fisher in creating the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). Like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), CORE was an integrated group dedicated to promoting civil rights. Unlike the NAACP, CORE was committed to nonviolent direct action. The organization would *confront* racism, physically—involving ordinary people in their own liberation. “Our power is in our ability to make things unworkable,” he said. “The only weapon we have is our bodies, and we need to tuck them in places so wheels don’t turn.”

CORE’s boldest early experiment, the Journey of Reconciliation of 1947, tested recent court decisions that struck down segregation of all forms of interstate travel. Eight black men and eight white men—including Rustin—traveled together on buses through Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, and Tennessee. The Freedom Riders were jailed several times. Rustin was sentenced to 22 days on a chain gang for violating North Carolina’s Jim Crow laws.

As part of his creed of nonviolence, Rustin openly accepted physical attacks by others, believing his pacifism could change their hearts and minds. Serving time for refusing service in World War II, Rustin became a jailhouse activist, forcing racial integration of cells. But one white prisoner resented mixing with blacks. He attacked Rustin with a club, splintering the weapon, until he exhausted himself and could attack no more. Rustin took the blows with equanimity, protecting himself by crouching in a fetal position. A fellow prisoner later recalled: “Completely defeated and unnerved by the display of nonviolence, [Rustin’s attacker] began shaking all over, and sat down.”

Over the next decade, Rustin became one of the most prominent pacifists in America. He was the “American Gandhi” in training, admired equally for his intellect and courage.

Then he crashed. In January of 1953, after a speaking engagement in California, Pasadena police arrested Rustin on a morals charge. Rustin never hid his homosexuality—his flamboyant escapades were well known in the movement—but he was now publicly humiliated. A. J. Muste, his mentor at FOR, fired him. For six months, he wrestled with his conscience, concluding that excessive pride had led to his humiliation.

The War Resisters League, seeing an opportunity to work with the most gifted pacifist around, hired him. It was like a ball club getting a star slugger for a cut rate because of the star’s past controversies. The War Resisters League gave him permission to go to Montgomery and advise Martin Luther King Jr., the young leader of the bus boycott. He also staged three marches on Washington—the 1957 Prayer Pilgrimage and the 1958 and 1959 Youth March for Integrated Schools.

By the time of the 1963 March on Washington, Rustin was both the most gifted and the most damaged organizer in the civil rights movement. Given a chance, he could use the hard-earned wisdom of his many controversies to make the march a success.

Rustin’s greatest lesson in planning came from his youthful involvement with the Young Communist League, a quarter century before.

“The minute you get a blueprint, you tend to get ends and means separated,” Rustin later said. “Because if you got a blueprint, then any means is good enough to get to it. But I reverse the process: nonviolent creative action now, take care of the rest as you go along.”

(Continued from page 29)

State Federation Conventions are completely desegregated.” In August, Meany expressed support for a bill sponsored by Congressman Adam Clayton Powell to restrict federal funding from vocational schools that were not open to all workers. Although a spokesman from the US Labor Department complained it would be too costly to enforce, Meany endorsed the bill “as a start toward the larger goal of legislation on fair practices” in employment. When the executive committee met again on October 12, however, Meany blamed Randolph, rather than discriminatory unions, for “the gap that has developed between organized labor and the Negro community.” At his suggestion, the white members of the executive committee voted to censure Randolph for making “incredible assertions, false and gratuitous statements, and unfair and untrue allegations” against organized labor. They also prepared a motion to expel the black union leader from the executive council at the AFL-CIO convention in December.

At a rally in 1961, King told supporters, “Segregation is on its deathbed. But history has proven that the status quo is always on hand with an oxygen tank to keep the old boy alive.”

On October 13, 1961, the day after the AFL-CIO censured Randolph, the US Commission on Civil Rights issued a 246-page report on employment that “in effect upheld most of Mr. Randolph’s charges.” While it praised the Packinghouse, Auto, and Garment unions for taking “forceful steps” against discriminatory locals, the commission found that “most international unions have failed to exhibit any profound concern over civil rights problems.” Investigators were particularly critical of craft unions in the building trades, where black workers were routinely denied access to apprenticeship programs and employment in skilled jobs. “Within the labor movement itself civil rights goals are celebrated at the higher levels,” the commission observed, “but fundamental internal barriers tend to preserve discrimination at the workingman’s level.” Concluding that current “federal law has little impact on the discriminatory practices of labor organizations,” the commission recommended that Congress and the president take stronger measures to prohibit discrimination by any agency, contractor, or union involved in a federally financed project; require state employment offices to ensure equal access to jobs and training programs; and deny collective bargaining protections to unions that denied membership to “any person because of race, color, religion, or national origin.” In an editorial printed on October 15, the *New York Times* pointed out that the AFL-CIO’s statements about civil rights were contradicted by the fact that “Negroes were barred, by a Washington electricians’ local, from work on the construction of the AFL-CIO national headquarters” in 1959.¹²



Ironically, the report from the US Commission on Civil Rights seems to have given Meany reason to seek common ground with Randolph. On November 10, 1961, 300 angry black trade unionists gathered in Chicago for the NALC's second annual convention. The treasurer of the NALC was Richard Parrish, a school teacher from New York City and a leader of the American Federation of Teachers. "This was a show of power to demonstrate to Negro union members that they represent nothing when it comes to setting policies in the labor movement even though they pay dues," Parrish said of Randolph's censure, asking why liberal labor leaders such as Reuther or David Dubinsky of the Garment Workers had not stopped it. Rejecting NALC Vice President L. Joseph Overton's plan for a mass march, delegates resolved to work through their local unions and labor councils to elect delegates who would oppose Randolph's expulsion at the AFL-CIO convention a month later. By the time they got to the convention, however, they discovered that Meany had invited King to address the three-day meeting at Bal Harbour, the Miami resort where AFL leaders had gathered every winter since 1951.¹³

King did not know what to expect as he flew to Miami from Los Angeles, where he had spoken at a major rally sponsored by a black businessmen's club and a Baptist church. "Segregation is on its deathbed," he had told nearly 2,000 supporters in the Santa Monica civic auditorium on December 8. "But history has proven that the status quo is always on hand with an oxygen tank to keep the old boy alive." King got a "tumultuous standing ovation" by ending the speech with a line that he planned to use in Miami. Quoting a traditional spiritual, he looked forward to the day when he could truthfully sing: "Free at last, free at last, thank God Almighty, we are free at last."

King had grown close to Randolph, Cleveland Robinson, and other black trade unionists since 1956, and had spoken to interracial meetings of District 65 and the Packinghouse and Auto unions. But the AFL-CIO convention in Miami was his first encounter with the 3,000 white men, a few women, and "a handful of Negro delegates" who headed the House of Labor. Meany received a standing ovation when he opened the meeting on December 9. President Kennedy gave a blistering talk about the

threat of Communism and enlisted unions in the fight for freedom. Delegates rejected the proposal to expel Randolph and adopted what Randolph called "the best resolution on civil rights the AFL-CIO has yet adopted." They also applauded when Meany pinned a union button on King's lapel and introduced him for the closing address on December 11. Then they were silent.¹⁴

"Less than a century ago the laborer had no rights, little or no respect, and led a life which was socially submerged and barren," King began, reaching out to his audience by asserting that the "inspiring answer to this intolerable and dehumanizing existence was economic organization through trade unions." Pointing out that many had opposed unions at the time, the young minister noted: "Now everyone knows that the labor movement did not diminish the strength of the nation but enlarged it." He continued by recounting how workers had been "emancipated" by the Wagner Act and other New Deal laws only to discover that they "tended merely to declare rights but did not deliver them." Now that African Americans found themselves in a similar situation, he declared, it was "not an historical coincidence" that they looked to labor for support. "Negroes are almost entirely a working people," King declared, and thus had the same interest as other workers in decent wages and working conditions; quality housing; health, education, and welfare policies; and pensions. That also led black organizations to support labor's legislative agenda and to "fight laws which curb labor." King won applause by pointing out that the same politicians who attacked unions were usually the ones who also rejected civil rights, and by calling on employers to ensure that automation does not "grind jobs into dust as it grinds out unbelievable volumes of production."¹⁵

King moved cautiously toward a more direct criticism, urging Meany and the others to take seriously Randolph's criticism of segregation and discrimination within the AFL-CIO. Asking the AFL-CIO to "accept the logic of its special position with respect to Negroes and the struggle for equality," King urged the organization's leaders

Above: Marchers carry signs demanding integrated schools, voting rights, and an end to the South's repressive Jim Crow laws.

to follow through with their 1956 pledge to donate \$2 million to the civil rights movement. He also noted that when “a Negro leader who has a reputation of purity and honesty which has benefited the whole labor movement criticizes it, his motives should not be reviled nor his earnestness rebuked.” Then he closed with an uplifting refrain that he would use frequently in the next few years, asking labor leaders to join him in the struggle to “bring into full realization the dream of American democracy—a dream yet unfulfilled.” Emphasizing economic concerns that could unite the two movements, King described a “dream of equality of opportunity, of privilege and property widely distributed; a dream of a land where men will not take necessities from the many to give luxuries to the few ... the dream of a country where every man will respect the dignity and worth of human personality—that is the dream.”¹⁶

The motive behind Meany’s invitation to King became evident a month later, on January 24, 1962, when the AFL-CIO president testified before Congressman Adam Clayton Powell’s Committee on Education and Labor. “In our view, Mr. Chairman, the time is overdue to establish a policy—by the enactment of an enforceable statute—dealing with discrimination in employment for the United States as a whole,” Meany began. As he continued, it was clear that this was not a sudden conversion to Randolph’s side, but a realization that federal legislation would free him from the burden of confronting the Jim Crow unions himself. He conceded that “discrimination does exist in the trade union movement,” but declared that the AFL-CIO was “a generation or more ahead of the employers” in the fight against discrimination. Besides, Meany added, when “the rank-and-file membership of a local union obstinately exercises its right to be wrong, there is very little we in the leadership can do about it, unaided.”¹⁷

As he had repeatedly throughout his life, Randolph responded to the mounting frustration within the Negro American Labor Council by calling for a march on Washington. In January 1963, he asked his old friend Bayard Rustin, who was working for the left-wing War Resisters League, to prepare a proposal that could win support from civil rights and labor leaders for a “mass descent” on the nation’s capital. Excited by the opportunity to revive mass-based protest, Rustin spent the next month planning Randolph’s demonstration. He worked closely with Norman Hill, an NALC member who was employed by the Congress of Racial Equality, and Tom Kahn, a young white Socialist who was on vacation from Howard University. At the end of January, they delivered a three-page memorandum outlining an ambitious campaign to draw attention to “the economic subordination of the Negro,” create “more jobs for all Americans,” and advance a “broad and fundamental program for economic justice.” Their plan centered on a massive lobbying campaign, in which 100,000 people would shut down Congress for one day while presenting legislators and the president with their legislative demands, followed the next day by a “mass protest rally.”* Randolph liked the idea, and the NALC vice presidents approved it on March 23. By then, the plan had expanded to include a mass march from the Capitol to the Lincoln Memorial.¹⁹

*March organizers decided not to go through with the lobbying campaign. In early August, Bayard Rustin announced that the demonstration would include no civil disobedience and that lobbying would be restricted to formal meetings between leaders of the sponsoring organizations, President John F. Kennedy, and Congress, while other marchers were encouraged to leave Washington immediately following the march.¹⁸

By the time King came to the stage at the March on Washington on August 28, he may have felt that the other speakers had focused too much on specifics, whether social or political. It was nearly 4 p.m., and some marchers had already been forced to head back to Union Station so they would not miss their train home. Gospel singer Mahalia Jackson warmed up the crowd by singing the defiant spiritual “I’ve Been ’Buked and I’ve Been Scorned,” which King had requested, and, when Randolph introduced the young minister, he got only as far as “the leader of the moral revolution” before the crowd erupted into applause for the man who was already recognized as the movement’s most powerful speaker. King began with a scripted speech that emphasized the links between economic justice and racial equality, albeit more poetically than others, that had dominated the afternoon. “In a sense we’ve come to our nation’s capital to cash a check,” he stated, pointing out that 100 years after Lincoln had freed the slaves, their descendants were “still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination” and restricted to “a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity.”²⁰

Halfway into the prepared text, King pushed his notes aside and delivered an improvised version of the “I Have a Dream” refrain.

King continued along the same themes as the other speakers—denouncing those who called for patience, emphasizing the national scope of the problem, and urging marchers to return home “knowing that somehow this situation can and will be changed.” Halfway into the prepared text, however, he pushed his notes aside and delivered an improvised version of the “I Have a Dream” refrain that he had pioneered at the AFL-CIO convention in 1961 and elaborated in several settings before delivering it at the Detroit “Walk to Freedom” a month earlier. Mahalia Jackson was heard shouting from behind him, “Tell them about the dream, Martin,” although it is not clear whether he heard her. Whatever his inspiration for the shift, it provided King with an ideal ending for the most important speech of his career. “So even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow,” he stated sternly, “I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream. I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: ‘We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal.’” The audience roared.²¹

King’s “I Have a Dream” speech is justifiably remembered as the most powerful and effective address given at the March on Washington; but, taken out of context and often viewed as the only speech, it was the least representative or attentive to the specific goals and demands of the mobilization. Writing in the *New York Times*, journalist E. W. Kenworthy noted that while the other speakers “concentrated on the struggle ahead and spoke in tough,

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Key Figures behind the March

Reuther, the Labor Ally

BY CHARLES EUCHNER

WALTER REUTHER

LIFE: 1907–1970

BORN: Wheeling, WV

WORK: United Auto Workers, President

ROLE IN MARCH: Speaker, Supporter

Walter Reuther bathed in applause after delivering his speech at the March on Washington and worked his way back to his seat. He reached out, instinctively, for hands and hugs. And then he sat down.

Reverend Eugene Carson Blake, a Protestant leader who also spoke that day, leaned toward him.

“How do you *do* that?” he asked.

“Easy,” Reuther said. “When you speak at union halls—for conferences and conventions and board meetings—you’re always competing with people talking at tables, waiters coming and going, doors opening and closing, plates crashing, and union members heckling, and you still have to keep people listening. It’s a formula,” Reuther told Blake. “You get the audience with jokes. Joke, laugh, make a point; joke, laugh, make a point; joke, laugh—and then give the message of the day.”

“Whatever you do,” Reuther told Blake, “don’t write out a text. Reading kills a speech. When you script a speech, you talk to your text. But you need to talk to the audience.”

But even the best speech will only carry people so far.

“You’re having the same problem as me,” Reuther told Blake.

“Yeah, how’s that?”

“Well, the leadership says all the right things, but the locals haven’t heard yet.”

Walter Reuther, the president of the United Auto Workers (UAW), thrived in chaos—negotiating contracts with the Big Three automakers, addressing rebellious affiliates, confronting the white racism in union locals, engaging in Democratic Party intrigue, collaborating behind the scenes with the president, battling other labor leaders like George Meany for primacy. Sometimes explosive, Reuther found ways to assert himself in a noisy environment.

Since A. Philip Randolph first announced plans to hold a massive march on Washington, Reuther had played a major role. Labor had two resources the march would need—money and bodies. Reuther also had an extensive political network and a close working relationship with President John F. Kennedy.

The White House asked him to infiltrate the march and steer it away from radical rhetoric and direct action. And so he did. During the planning meetings in New York, Reuther wondered aloud about where to put 200,000 people in Washington. Pennsylvania Avenue and Capitol Hill—where the march was originally planned to take place—could never hold such a throng. Might it be better to move the march to the National Mall, between the Washington Monument and Lincoln Memorial? That was sly.

For years, Reuther had made civil rights a central part of his politics. Labor unions were almost as lily-white as southern schools and Sunday church services. Workers in factories, mines, and furnaces and at construction sites often considered civil rights a



Walter Reuther holds the arm of Martin Luther King Jr. as King prepares to address the crowd during the march.

zero-sum game. *If blacks get the jobs, we don’t.* But Reuther worked hard to convince laborers everywhere, including the South, to accept blacks. Workers are workers, he said, and need to stick together. “Make up your mind whether you want your paycheck or your prejudice,” he said.

By appearing at the march, Reuther defied the don of the labor movement, AFL-CIO President George Meany. In a four-hour meeting, Reuther and Randolph begged the union’s executive committee to endorse and contribute to the march. “The labor movement is about the struggle of the people who are denied their measure of justice,” Reuther later said, “and if the labor movement is not in the front rank ... [it] begins to forfeit the loyalty of the people whom I profess to lead and represent.”

Meany argued that the march would produce riots and bloodshed. Reuther pointed out that more than 100,000 people had rallied in Detroit the previous week without any disorder.

“But George Meany made this a personal thing,” Reuther told his UAW board. “You were either voting for him or against him. It had nothing to do with the idea, and after four hours of this, it was quite obvious that George Meany did not want the council to authorize participation.”

Meany allowed a special committee to draft a statement of sympathy for the march, then ripped it up and substituted his own statement lauding the AFL-CIO’s leadership in civil rights. After the meeting, Reuther told reporters that that official statement “is so weak they will have to give it a blood infusion to keep it alive long enough to mimeograph it.”

Reuther frequently complained that the labor movement had gotten sluggish and bureaucratic, lacking the daring of a quarter century before, when sit-down strikes forced automakers to capitulate to union demands. In his own union, he battled southern whites who opposed civil rights and working with blacks. When he sent \$50,000 to bail out civil rights protesters, white locals burned with anger. For years, the labor movement assumed that progress for all workers would eventually lift up the black worker. Reuther rejected that idea and spoke out for civil rights before most other prominent white leaders. After the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, Reuther warned Democrats against “straddling” on the issue. Straddle is exactly what the Democrats did. Civil rights laws were essential to prodding everyone—business firms, unions, local government—to do the right thing.

Meany and Reuther had long been rivals. The two battled for the attention of the president and congressional leaders. As head of the UAW, Reuther was part of the AFL-CIO executive board. Meany regularly thwarted Reuther's efforts to speak for labor and assume policy positions (like the post Reuther craved as a labor delegate to the United Nations). Reuther's many contacts with the Kennedy administration only increased Meany's ire. Reuther regularly met with the president, for hours at a time. In those White House meetings, Reuther sometimes lamented the way Meany treated him; Kennedy sympathized but said Reuther had to accept Meany's status as the top labor leader.

As Reuther became a national spokesman for civil rights, he also struggled to address the UAW's own problem of black exclusion. Reuther had promised blacks a leadership position in the UAW back in 1936; 23 years later, when no blacks sat on the UAW board, a rebellion took place. A leader of the black uprising attacked the UAW leadership for talking a good game on civil rights while resisting, "with every means at their disposal, any efforts to change the lily-white character of their own international executive boards."

On this day of the march, Walter Reuther could bask in the sun as the most significant white figure in the March on Washington. He had mobilized organized labor and served as a conduit between the Kennedys and the movement.

For years, the labor movement assumed that progress for all workers would eventually lift up the black worker. Reuther rejected that idea and spoke out for civil rights before most other prominent white leaders.

When he spoke, he stated the matter simply: "We must determine now—once and for all—whether we believe in the United States Constitution."

Reuther called civil rights the key to America's credibility in the Cold War.

"We can make our own freedom secure only as we make freedom universal so that all may share its blessings. We cannot successfully preach democracy in the world unless we first practice democracy at home. ... There is no halfway house to human freedom. What is needed in the present crisis is not halfway and halfhearted measures, but action, bold and adequate to square American democracy's performance with its promise.

"If we fail, the vacuum created by our failure will be filled with the Apostles of Hatred, who will search for answers in the dark of night, and reason will yield to riot, and the spirit of brotherhood will yield to bitterness and bloodshed, and the fabric of our free society will be torn asunder."

As Reuther spoke, he pumped his left arm, pointing with his forefinger. One of Reuther's assistants at the UAW, Irving Bluestone, stood nearby on the platform. Bluestone overheard two black women talking.

"Who is that white man?" the first asked.

"Don't you know him? That's Walter Reuther. He's the white Martin Luther King."

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even harsh, language, ... paradoxically it was King—who had suffered perhaps most of all—who ignited the crowd" with a utopian vision of the future. Looking to a day when "the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood" and expressing a messianic confidence that "the rough places will be made plain, and the crooked places will be made straight, and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed," the preacher delivered a much-needed respite to marchers who had endured a long day of intense political engagement. Ending with a picture of "that day when all of God's children—black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics—will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual, 'Free at last, free at last, thank God Almighty, we are free at last,'" King emanated an infectious optimism that brought even the most hardened and cynical SNCC activists to their feet, "laughing, shouting, slapping palms, hugging," and wiping tears from their eyes.²²

After several minutes of roaring applause, Rustin returned to the podium and refocused the crowd on the specific tasks ahead. "The moment in that afternoon which most strained belief," according to journalist Murray Kempton, was the sight of the "radical pacifist" reciting the official demands of the march while "every television camera at the disposal of the networks was upon him." Randolph followed Rustin to the stage and led the crowd in a mass pledge to "join and support all actions undertaken in good faith in accord with the time-honored democratic tradition of nonviolent protest, of peaceful assembly and petition, and of redress through the courts and the legislative process." Close to 5 p.m., the march ended with a benediction led by Benjamin Mays, King's mentor from Morehouse College.²³

By sundown the National Mall was deserted, save for the team of 400 city employees charged with picking up garbage, dismantling stages, and hauling away the portable toilets. Rustin had offered to recruit volunteers to do this, but city officials seemed eager to get the crowds out of town. Organizers of the march were happy to oblige. "We've got to get back home and finish the job of the revolution," CORE chairman Floyd McKissick declared as he left the Lincoln Memorial.²⁴

As the representative of one of the civil rights groups responsible for the event, McKissick in fact had one final duty to perform before leaving Washington; with Randolph, Rustin, King, and other march leaders, he climbed into a shuttle for the short ride up Constitution Avenue to the White House. President Kennedy congratulated them for keeping order and sending a clear message to Congress but, in his excitement, seemed to have forgotten that his guests had been working since early that morning. "Mr. President, I wonder if I could have just a glass of milk," Randolph asked politely, and Kennedy sent for sandwiches and refreshments before they settled into a 60-minute conference with Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson, the secretary of labor, and the head of the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice. Afterward, Kennedy joined the march leaders for a press conference on the White House lawn, where he vowed to continue his work toward "translating civil rights from principles into practices," and promised to expand that struggle to ensure "increased employment and to eliminate discrimination in employment practices, two of the prime goals of the march." Echoing Randolph's insistence that such policies would benefit Ameri-

cans of all races, Kennedy declared that the March on Washington had advanced the cause of 20 million African Americans, “but even more significant is the contribution to all mankind.” Randolph concurred, expressing confidence that Congress would not only pass Kennedy’s pending civil rights bill but a Fair Employment Practices Act as well. Celebrating “one of the biggest, most creative and constructive demonstrations ever held in the history of our nation,” he called it an achievement of which “every American could be proud.”²⁵

As history would have it, debate on all sides continued over the contents of the pending civil rights bill, and it would be Johnson, not Kennedy (assassinated three months after the march), who as president would lead its eventual passage through a divided Congress.

Few civil rights leaders predicted that Johnson would become a more passionate supporter of their cause than Kennedy had ever been. The day after Kennedy’s assassination, Roy Wilkins of the NAACP received a call from the White House asking him to meet with President Johnson to discuss a strategy for passing the civil rights bill. Similar calls were made to Whitney Young of the National Urban League, King, Randolph, and James Farmer of CORE. On November 27, 1963, Johnson made civil rights a focus of his first major address as president. Against the advice of aides, who warned him not to waste time and political capital on a bill that had little hope of becoming law, he told a joint session of Congress that “no memorial oration or eulogy could more eloquently honor President Kennedy’s memory than the earliest possible passage of the civil rights bill for which he fought so long.” Most importantly for civil rights leaders, Johnson made it clear that he intended to sign the version that the House Judiciary Committee had drafted in October, including a fair employment clause and stronger enforcement measures, rather than the much weaker bill that Kennedy had originally proposed in June. Johnson’s actions were calculated to win votes from northern liberals and African Americans who saw him simply as a southern Democrat, but he also acted out of a sincere hatred for injustice and exploitation. In stark contrast to Kennedy, who came from one of the richest families in New England, the new president had grown up in relative poverty on a small farm in central Texas. In addition to making Johnson a staunch supporter of Franklin D. Roosevelt’s New Deal in the 1930s, that background also gave him an acute appreciation of the linkages between economic and racial inequality in the 1960s.²⁶

Wilkins met with Johnson on November 29 and left the White House more optimistic about passing the civil rights bill than he had been in months. Calling leaders of the Big Six organizations (NAACP, NALC, SCLC, CORE, SNCC, and the National Urban League), as well as Dorothy Height of the National Council of Negro Women, Wilkins asked them to meet in New York the following Tuesday to coordinate their lobbying efforts. While each of those groups had suspended demonstrations temporarily in the wake of Kennedy’s assassination, he asked them to consider declaring a moratorium on protests while the bill worked its way through Congress. To the dismay of Rustin, who stood to lose his only official position within the civil rights movement, the others also agreed to close the March on Washington’s headquarters in Harlem and shift to a more traditional lobbying effort under the direction of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights.²⁷



Not all civil rights leaders were so impressed with Johnson. The only Big Six organization not invited to send a representative to the White House was the SNCC, despite the fact that its leadership was already in Washington for the organization’s fourth national convention. But the four civil rights leaders who met with Johnson the week after the SNCC convention were optimistic, although they agreed with the young militants that further pressure was needed to realize the broader goals of the March on Washington.

By the end of 1963, the prospects for linking struggles for racial equality with struggles for economic justice looked better than they had since the march. Before meeting with King on December 3, Johnson convinced leaders of the House to file a discharge petition that would force conservatives to bring the civil rights bill to a vote before Christmas. He then sent his chief political aide to gather signatures for the petition on Capitol Hill, the first time a sitting president had intervened so closely in the workings of Congress since Franklin D. Roosevelt secured passage of the Fair Labor Standards Act in 1938. The following day, Johnson met with AFL-CIO President Meany, who had never been a reliable ally to the president or the civil rights movement, and asked him to endorse the petition strategy. Meany demonstrated his support by attending a strategy session organized by the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, stating that labor backed the bill “as a matter of simple justice” and “as a memorial to President Kennedy.” Randolph called Meany’s support for the bill “complete, comprehensive, positive and without reservations,” and the *New York Times* reported that veteran observers “sense a possible dramatic breakthrough” on the civil rights bill. “It is too turbulent to predict anything certainly now,” one congressman stated, “but I’ve never seen one before where we’ve had the president going, and the civil rights groups, and labor, and the church people.”²⁸

The House did not vote on the bill before Christmas, but a major victory came two weeks later, when, in his first State of the Union

President Lyndon B. Johnson signs the Civil Rights Act on July 2, 1964, as Martin Luther King Jr. and others look on. The march contributed to the law’s passage.

address, Johnson vowed not only to pass a strong civil rights law but also to couple it with an “unconditional War on Poverty in America.” The idea of an “attack on poverty” had been floated during the Kennedy administration, but Johnson’s program was far more ambitious. Concerned primarily with civil rights and tax assistance for “the middle-income man in the suburbs,” Kennedy had insisted that antipoverty programs remain modest and focused narrowly on remedial health and education for poor children and young adults. In contrast, Johnson called for a billion-dollar investment in “better schools, and better health, and better homes, and better training, and better job opportunities to help more Americans, especially young Americans, escape from squalor and misery and unemployment rolls.” The large scale of the program, however, and the inclusion of policies that had been demanded by the March on Washington—such as a public works program and extending minimum wage laws to all workers—indicated that the War on Poverty was also influenced by the civil rights movement.²⁹

The clearest evidence of civil rights leaders’ influence on Johnson was his insistence that the War on Poverty would complement rather than compete with policies banning discrimination. “Let me make one principle of this administration abundantly clear,” Johnson stated in his State of the Union address. “All of these increased opportunities—in employment, in education, in housing, and in every field—must be open to Americans of every color. ... For this is not merely an economic issue, or a social, political, or international issue. It is a moral issue, and it must be met by the passage this session of the bill now pending in the House.” Johnson affirmed that synergy between civil rights and economic policies when he invited civil rights leaders to the White House a week after his speech to hear specifics about the War on Poverty and to suggest additional measures “to eliminate economic hardship among Americans.” According to James Farmer, Johnson “made it very clear that he feels the fight on poverty and illiteracy is a vital part of the fight on discrimination.” Whitney Young agreed that job creation and improved public services were critical to black communities, where nearly a quarter of all workers were unemployed; and although Johnson assured them that the House would vote on the civil rights bill before the end of January, Roy Wilkins stated that discussion of antidiscrimination policies “was only incidental to the main thrust on poverty and the fact that the anti-poverty bill will affect Negroes.”³⁰

Johnson’s machinations helped guide the civil rights bill through the House, but, as expected, it required more pressure to win a hearing in the Senate. This time around, the president was adamantly opposed to any compromise, as were key allies in the Republican Party, so the prospects of a prolonged standoff were more likely and eventually led to a filibuster. Strategic differences sharpened as the stalemate dragged on. Black trade unionists responded to the filibuster with a mass mobilization, and this time their proposal was even more ambitious than the March on Washington. On May 2, 1964, the NALC’s L. Joseph Overton asked the national board of the NAACP to support a “Nation-Wide One-Day Work Stoppage and Prayer Vigil.”

The NALC approved the proposed strike. But even as Randolph called for it to break the filibuster, he warned that the civil rights bill would not address all the concerns identified at the march. Meeting the most pressing demands of the march, the bill would ban discrimination in stores, restaurants, hotels, and other public

accommodations; prohibit state and local governments from discriminating in access to public services or the right to vote; and empower the federal government to speed the desegregation of schools. Most importantly for Randolph, the law would create an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to prevent businesses, unions, and government from discriminating against potential employees on the basis of race, color, religion, national origin, or sex, thus making permanent and expanding the power of the FEPC that President Roosevelt had created to stop the planned march on Washington in 1941. While Randolph emphasized the importance of passing the bill, he also noted that it was insufficient to overcome the “economic, social, cultural and political deprivation” caused by three centuries of slavery and “semi-feudal serfdom under segregation.”

It is not clear what impact the threat of a general strike had on the filibuster, but it seems to have encouraged senators to resolve the impasse over the civil rights bill. On May 6, 1964, one of the nation’s most widely respected observers of organized labor

In his first State of the Union address, Johnson vowed not only to pass a strong civil rights law but also to couple it with an “unconditional War on Poverty in America.”

devoted his nationally syndicated column to the work stoppage. Reporting that NALC members held leadership positions in AFL-CIO unions in 31 cities across the United States, Victor Riesel argued that black trade unionists were likely to gain support from local chapters of the NAACP, the National Urban League, SCLC, and SNCC. Some labor leaders predicted the effort would fail, but Riesel noted that they were “the same forces which shied from the capital demonstration until it became apparent in cities across the nation that the big unions would support it and that scores of thousands would pour into Washington.” It was significant, “especially in this election year,” that black trade unionists were most influential in “the vast northern and far western industrial areas,” the columnist predicted, noting that if the strike won support from the same unions that had endorsed the March on Washington, it “could roll and keep workers from huge factories, transportation facilities and service industries across the land—and set a precedent for a series of stay-aways.” Senate staffers may have missed the articles in the *Amsterdam News* on May 30 and the *Chicago Defender* on June 8, both of which reported that 300 black trade unionists had endorsed Randolph’s strike proposal at the NALC convention, but it is almost certain that Riesel’s column made its way through the Senate office building at some point before June 10, when northern Republicans broke with the southern Democrats and voted to end the longest filibuster in US history. After a series of fights over amendments and a second vote in the House, Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act on July 2, 1964.³¹ □

(Endnotes on page 43)

Living History

Two Civil Rights Activists Remember the March on Washington



JOHN HARRINGTON

BY NORMAN HILL AND VELMA MURPHY HILL

There is little reason to believe that late August was any kinder a thousand years ago in the swampy wilderness that hugged a bulging curve of the Potomac River than it was in the early years of the seventh decade of the 20th century. By 1963, the swamps were long gone. So were the area's original inhabitants, members of Native American tribes, who likely greeted whites as they first made their way into the region in the early 17th century.

In 1963, Washington, DC—at least the parts the tourists saw—was at once majestically American as the nation's capital and yet very much European in its presentation, in its penchant for the monumental. It was dressed in tons of limestone, granite, and marble, in fluted Grecian columns, in pedestals and porticoes, and accented with manicured Baroque landscapes, vistas common to London and Paris. The actual design of the District of Columbia, which in 1790 was deemed by its namesake to be the

*Norman Hill was the staff coordinator of the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom and is president emeritus of the A. Philip Randolph Institute. Velma Murphy Hill is a former vice president of the American Federation of Teachers and the former civil and human rights and international affairs director of the Service Employees International Union. This excerpt from their upcoming memoir, *Climbing Up the Rough Side of the Mountain*, has been adapted for purposes of this article.*

“federal city,” was principally the work of a French-born American, Pierre Charles L'Enfant.

The original vision called for broad, long avenues radiating from the Capitol building. One of those “grand” avenues never materialized and instead evolved, largely as a consequence of neglect, into a long, grassy front yard. It became the National Mall, the people's parade grounds for pageantry and protests, for presidential inaugurations, rallies, and celebrations.

NORMAN HILL: On the cool, early morning of August 28, 1963, I, at age 30, walked those grounds with my 51-year-old mentor, Bayard Rustin. There we were, two men appearing—at least on the outside—calm and in control, casually strolling along the edge of the reflecting pool in the far western end of the Mall. We were not far from the stony glare of Abraham Lincoln seated stiffly in his memorial. Except for a gaggle of news reporters and photographers, we were practically alone. I was not certain what Rustin was feeling, although I learned later that he was terrified. I was more than a little concerned.

This was the day for what we hoped would be the great Washington march. While I, the staff coordinator of the march, and most of its other planners and organizers, publicly avoided any predictions of numbers, we all not-so-secretly hoped that the march would bring tens upon tens of thousands of people streaming into this part of the Mall. We wanted it to be big.

My wife, Velma, then 24, was a field secretary for the Congress of Racial Equality. We knew that reputations were at stake, perhaps even the future of the civil rights movement and its alliance with labor.

In planning for the march, one of the last major elements we saw lock into place was organized labor. A. Philip Randolph, the architect of the march, so badly wanted the trade union movement in the initial coalition. Labor came in late, but then it came in very strong.

In 1963, Velma and I understood that in a very real sense there were always, at least historically, two labor movements. This was symbolized by the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, which merged in 1955 to become a federation of unions, the AFL-CIO. Today, it represents more than 12 million members, including teachers, doctors, nurses, engineers, miners, plumbers, painters, firefighters, public workers, and more.

Before the merger, the CIO represented the progressive wing of the labor movement, the more industrial part of the labor movement—autoworkers and steel workers, for instance. On the other hand, the AFL's members were more craftspeople and seemed more conservative; sometimes you really had to work hard to bring them along to support progressive issues and causes.

In 1963, George Meany, who had fought to create the AFL-CIO, was still its first and only president. Walter Reuther, the president of the CIO at the time of the merger, was made one of many vice presidents in the combined federation. He was also the president of the United Auto Workers (UAW) from 1946 to his death in 1970, and he drew additional clout from his position as the president of the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department.

After the merger in 1955, Reuther, on more than one occasion, had disagreed with Meany on matters that came before the AFL-CIO's governing executive council. I used to tell Velma how I would hear Reuther continually say, even after the merger, "Well, if Meany doesn't like it, or doesn't go along, or doesn't support this, I'm going to do it anyway." That was Walter Reuther.

Randolph appealed to Meany, a tough New Yorker who was born into the labor movement, to join the coalition backing the march. But Meany was cool to the idea and said no. He thought the march would draw too many people to Washington. He doubted that we could control the crowds, keeping everything peaceful and under control. He said that the last thing he wanted to be associated with was a march that would embarrass the federation he had worked so hard to create.

In attempting to line up major labor support, Randolph made one tactical mistake: he reached out to Reuther about the march before he spoke about it with Meany. Reuther didn't wait for Meany to move. He said right away that he was on board, adding that "I'm going to support the march no matter what Meany says or does."

In reaction, Meany said, "Well, I'm going to show Reuther who actually runs the AFL-CIO." Before we fully realized it, the Washington march had become a political football; a personal, political, and ideological tug of war.

Thereafter, Meany's earlier reservations about the march quickly hardened to the point where the AFL-CIO would not endorse the march. But several individual unions, mainly indus-



WALTER P. REUTHER LIBRARY

trial unions, 17 or so, including the UAW, did openly support and later participate in the march. Reuther was very, very involved.

Women, holding signs and wearing hats in support of civil rights, stand in front of the White House during the march.

VELMA MURPHY HILL: Some march organizers around Randolph were very upset with Meany. But Norman and I never heard Randolph say a bad word about Meany—about anybody, as a matter of fact. After the march and its stunning success, Meany would come around in ways that seemed unimaginable in the months leading up to the march.

Norman and I knew it was special, but it really didn't dawn on us until it happened just how special that day really was. It was a Wednesday that felt like a Sunday. We understood what the march meant in terms of Randolph's hopes for it—the melding of jobs, labor, a national minimum wage of no less than \$2 an hour, with all this stuff going on in the South, people standing up and getting hurt, the civil rights legislation taking shape, thousands of voices chanting, "Pass the BILL. Pass the BILL. Pass the BILL."

There was this air of real excitement. People were saying hello to people they didn't know. People were shaking hands, and people were looking for people they knew. It was just wonderful. We were trying to figure out how many different unions were there. So many people wore buttons and paper hats that bore the names of their unions, like the UAW or the American Federation of Teachers, in big, bold letters.

NORMAN: There is no doubt that the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom was a resounding success, despite the fact no march, no matter how massive, could secure either one of these goals. We saw the march as an important start, a declaration of action. Randolph and Rustin certainly felt that the event had exceeded even their considerably high expectations. But in the wake of the march, there was a feeling that the real work was about to begin.

Within an hour of the last speech of the day, leaders from the march were ushered into the Cabinet Room. There, they met President John F. Kennedy, flanked by Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson. Kennedy, like millions across America, had watched the march live on television. He was duly impressed with Martin Luther King Jr. and his speech, even famously greeting him with “I have a dream” and a kind of “good-job” nod.

And while Velma and I learned that the meeting was cordial, we know Randolph urged Kennedy to press more vigorously to get the civil rights bill through Congress. But Kennedy, facing reelection pressures, soon began supporting a more limited civil rights bill, thinking perhaps that it could find support among powerful elements in Congress that opposed it. By October, a compromise bill was hammered out with House leaders. This bill watered down the public accommodation clause, exempting retail stores and personal services. Voting rights protections would only apply to federal elections. And the labor provisions, like a Fair Employment Practices Committee, were removed and the proposed Equal Employment Opportunity Commission weakened.

So much of what the march achieved is still shaping the best of this nation’s possibilities. It has proven to be what Randolph described it to be, a “massive moral revolution for jobs and freedom.”

That bill passed the Judiciary Committee on November 20. Two days later Kennedy was dead.

But strengthened by the march, some of the bill’s supporters continued to lobby for a stronger bill. The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, a coalition of organizations to protect civil and human rights in the United States, had become the main lobbying body pushing for an effective bill. It felt that it was extremely important, for instance, to have civil rights legislation that included a ban on employment discrimination because that was such an essential, important area of life. The Kennedys, both the president and the attorney general, argued against including that ban because they said they would never be able to get the legislation through Congress and overcome a southern filibuster.

The Leadership Conference—founded in 1950 by Randolph; Roy Wilkins, the executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); and Arnold Aronson, a leader of the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council—would not accept this setback. Its leadership, which included the Washington director of the NAACP, Clarence Mitchell Jr.—sometimes known as the 101st senator—went to George Meany. While Meany had refused to endorse the march, the Leadership Conference asked him to help get an amendment to the weakened civil rights legislation that would outlaw employment discrimination.

Meany agreed to do that. He also went before Congress and testified that he and the AFL-CIO supported a civil rights bill that included the ban. He went further, saying that the amendment should not only include employers and employment agencies, but unions as well. He said that there was a need for an “extra stick” to clean up the House of Labor.

As a result, Title VII—the section that bans employment discrimination—was added to the civil rights legislation. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission would enforce the ban.

I think the success of the march had something to do with Meany’s evolution. It likely influenced him to belatedly offer his endorsement to one of the march’s central demands.

On July 2, 1964, President Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act. It was a landmark piece of legislation. The act banned major forms of discrimination against blacks and women. It set out to end unequal application of voter registration requirements. And it prohibited racial segregation in schools, the workplace, and facilities that served the general public. Over the years, the federal government’s capacity to enforce the act grew increasingly stronger.

VELMA: But Norman and I think the Washington march could have done so much more for the cause of women.

It bothers me to this day that not a single woman spoke at the podium during the march. Its leadership had a separate program, a tribute to black women in the civil rights movement, earlier that day. Yes, their names were called: Daisy Bates, Diane Nash Bevel, Mrs. Medgar Evers, Mrs. Herbert Lee, Rosa Parks, Gloria Richardson—and they each got some applause. But this was done before the march really got started. I mean, come on.

At that time, the question of women, women’s liberation, was not a big question among most of us. But listen, it would not have in any way taken anything from the march to expand the Big 10 to the Big 11 to include a woman. Dorothy Height, the president of the National Council of Negro Women from 1957 to 1997 and a lifelong civil rights activist, could have spoken. She represented a major organization just like the men who spoke that day. A number of other women pushed to have women among major speakers that day. But in the end, all of those calls were rejected or simply not acted upon.

NORMAN: I believe Velma is right. I think that was the one major failing of the march. It could have been done.

VELMA: But we do not believe that this failure at all tarnishes the overall brilliance of the march’s legacy. So much of what was achieved that day is still shaping the best of this nation’s possibilities. It has proven, all these decades later, to be precisely what Randolph described it to be, a “massive moral revolution for jobs and freedom.” President Johnson’s War on Poverty, while unfortunately short-lived under the monstrous weight of the Vietnam War, had deep roots in the vision and spirit of the march.

At the close of that day, Norman and I looked at each other, and we knew that the Washington march had crystallized all we had been taught by Randolph and Rustin—the power of coalition politics; the importance of direct, nonviolent action; and the relevance of combining the struggles for economic justice and racial equality. □



To commemorate the 50th anniversary of the March on Washington, the Albert Shanker Institute worked with classroom teachers, scholars, and surviving march organizers to develop terrific lesson plans on this historic event. A few of these lesson plans are highlighted here, but all are available at www.shankerinstitute.org and on ShareMyLesson at www.sharemylesson.com/MOW.

STRATEGIZING FOR FREEDOM

“Whose strategy for advancing the African American freedom struggle—that of Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. Du Bois, Marcus Garvey, or A. Philip Randolph—was most effective?” This lesson helps students in grades 9–12 understand four leaders who constructed different strategies for winning civil, political, and economic rights for African Americans. The lesson, which looks at how those strategies endure today, is appropriate for US history or African American history classes. It requires one or two 40-minute periods, and it assumes student knowledge of conditions in the Jim Crow South and in northern cities following African American migration.

LEADERS FOR TODAY

“Are the leaders and the organizers of the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, an important milestone in winning full rights for African Americans, role models for us today?” This lesson for students in grades 9–12 focuses on A. Philip Randolph, Bayard Rustin, Norman Hill, and Rachele Horowitz—four of the principal organizers of the march. It challenges students to describe their roles in the event, identify their leadership qualities, and illustrate the contributions of each through a writing exercise and simulated press conference. This lesson spans two 45- to 50-minute periods and is appropriate as a unit on the civil rights movement in an American history class.

MARCH LOGISTICS THEN AND NOW

“What would be required to organize a March on Washington today, 50 years after the 1963 March on Washington?” Designed for grades 6–8, this lesson asks students to identify the logistical elements that went into the march, and how the organizers emphasized and maintained the event’s nonviolent tone. Students also compare and contrast means of communication available in 1963 with those available today, and analyze the extent to which fears of violence surrounding the original event were based on racism. The official organizing manual for the march, available from the Albert Shanker Institute, is included as a resource.

DREAM UNDER DEVELOPMENT

“How did Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.’s ‘I Have a Dream’ speech differ from the one he had prepared? Why did he change his prepared speech?” Designed for the secondary level (particularly grades 11 and 12), the lesson asks students to explain how King’s prepared remarks differed from the address he delivered—and to formulate reasoned opinions on why changes were introduced. Students

identify rhetorical devices underpinning the speech, including rhetorical questions, figurative language, allusion, and strategic repetition. Appropriate for US history as well as English language arts classes, the lesson is designed for two 45-minute periods (or one longer period) and culminates in two assessments: a civil rights-themed paper based on multiple sources, and a speech that students write on a topic of their choice.

MAKING THE CASE FOR EQUALITY

“Which text makes a more persuasive case for overcoming racism—Martin Luther King Jr.’s ‘I Have a Dream’ speech or the closing argument of Atticus Finch in *To Kill a Mockingbird*?” This lesson is designed for grades 9–12 and asks students to identify rhetorical devices in one version of King’s speech and in the trial argument of the protagonist in Harper Lee’s novel. In both works, students analyze the power of rhetoric to persuade, explore the connection between literature and history, and explain how both works reflect their times. The lesson is designed for one or two 50-minute periods.

WHO WAS BAYARD RUSTIN?

“Why has Bayard Rustin, the main organizer of the 1963 March on Washington and an important leader in the civil rights movement, been hidden from American history?” The lesson asks students in grades 6–8 to describe Rustin’s accomplishments, explain his philosophy of nonviolent action, and provide a reasoned opinion on whether students would have followed Rustin’s nonviolent example. The lesson also asks students to describe Rustin’s “outsider” status (African American, pacifist, socialist, and gay) and explain how it might shape an individual’s awareness of injustice. The lesson is designed for up to two 40-minute periods. It uses the film *Brother Outsider: The Life of Bayard Rustin* as a resource.

THAT STUFF ABOUT JOBS

“Why did the organizers of the 1963 March on Washington demand jobs as well as freedom for African Americans?” This lesson for the secondary level (particularly grade 8) challenges students to use Bureau of Labor Statistics data to develop scatter plots and draw conclusions about African American employment from the end of World War II until the march. The data will inform students’ analysis of why the march’s organizers identified freedom and jobs as central demands. Students will understand that African Americans historically have experienced greater rates of unemployment and economic hardship than society at large. The lesson is designed for four 45-minute periods.

Formative assessment is about purposeful teaching

From the nation’s capital to the classroom, the term “formative assessment” is being waved around importantly, but all it means is a series of techniques teachers use to tell if students are “getting it.” Do they understand the concepts and skills you’re teaching?

Formative assessment can’t be separated from instruction. It is, in fact, instruction. A critical aspect entails identifying in advance what you want students to “get” and what questions you will ask to bring their learning along. And, if you don’t see progress, this method will give you an idea whether you should reframe your lesson.

In other words, your instruction must be purposeful.

Take a look at the video at <http://bit.ly/13ZBm5L> from America Achieves. It shows a high school class learning about symbolism through Shirley Jackson’s short story “The Lottery.”

As you watch, you’ll notice a variety of techniques used to help students understand symbolism. It is clear that this teacher is purposeful; she did not choose her comments randomly. She knows what students need to learn, and through her questioning, she creates a pathway to help



them get there. Having this deep understanding of both content and pedagogy enables her to anticipate how her students will respond to the lesson.

Here are some techniques to integrate formative assessment into your classroom:

Quick Write: Have students write for two to three minutes about what they heard, read, or otherwise learned during the lesson you just taught.

3-2-1: Students jot down three ideas or concepts, two examples or uses of the idea, and one unresolved question.

Muddiest Point: Students disclose the “muddiest,” or least clear, point in the lesson.

Quick Check: Give students index cards, whiteboards, or large sheets of paper. When you ask a question, have *all* students write down their answers. At your signal, have them hold up their answers so you can see who and how many correctly answered the question.

Idea Wave: Each student lists three to five ideas about the assigned topic. A volunteer begins the “idea wave” by sharing an idea. The student to the right of the volunteer then shares an idea; then the next student shares one. You direct the wave until several ideas have been shared.

Tickets: Ask students a specific question about the lesson. They respond on a “ticket” and give it to you, either on their way out of the classroom or on their way in the next day. You then can quickly evaluate how well they got it and plan what additional supports they might need to fully understand the lesson.

—FROM THE AFT’S EDUCATIONAL ISSUES DEPARTMENT

ILLUSTRATION BY JAMES YANG

RESOURCES

THE WHOLE CHILD

When students return to school after the summer break, it can be a challenge to get them back to a classroom routine. To help, WonderGrove Kids has developed 12 “Back to School” instructional animations, which are available to AFT members for free. Developed for preK-2, the instructional animations come with Common Core extension lesson plans to support educators in the first two months of school. WonderGrove Kids features 100 instructional animations and 2,000 extension lessons for 30-plus weeks of school. Animated characters deliver six critical areas of early learning: citizenship, life skills, health, safety, nutrition, and fitness. Along with the videos, which are available in English and Spanish, the site at www.wondergrovekids.com/AFT hosts a blog and forum and is supported by assistive captions and sign language.

TEACH 2013: THE DIRECTOR’S CUT

It’s no secret that the AFT’s TEACH Conference is one of the premier gatherings for instructional practice and policy ideas. Less well known, however, is that many of the papers and presentations are available online. Visit www.aft.org/teach2013/sessions.cfm for resources from conference mini-plenaries and workshops: everything from supporting middle school students on the autism spectrum to the instructional demands of the Common Core State Standards. It’s all free to download, and it’s a great way to catch

up if you missed the summer conference or want to delve deeper into TEACH offerings.

“STEAL THESE TOOLS”

Resources that promote common understanding of the new standards are offered at www.achievethecore.org, a website created by Student Achievement Partners, a nonprofit group founded by three of the contributing authors of the Common Core State Standards. Last summer, the group’s presentation at the AFT’s summer professional development academy won rave reviews for many of its materials, including its Instructional Practice Guides for daily and yearly practice and its Publishers’ Criteria for selecting materials aligned with the standards.

BUT WHAT DOES IT LOOK LIKE?

It’s a valid question when it comes to the Common Core State Standards and how they will reshape classroom practice—a question that the AFT and Teaching Channel aim to shed light on for mathematics teachers. The union and the network have partnered to create a series of videos that illustrate how instruction based on two Common Core standards in math (reasoning abstractly and quantitatively; and constructing viable arguments and critiquing the reasoning of others) progresses through grade levels. The six videos are available at <http://bit.ly/17Q6nqk>.

Center Stage

(Continued from page 11)

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The Move to Unity

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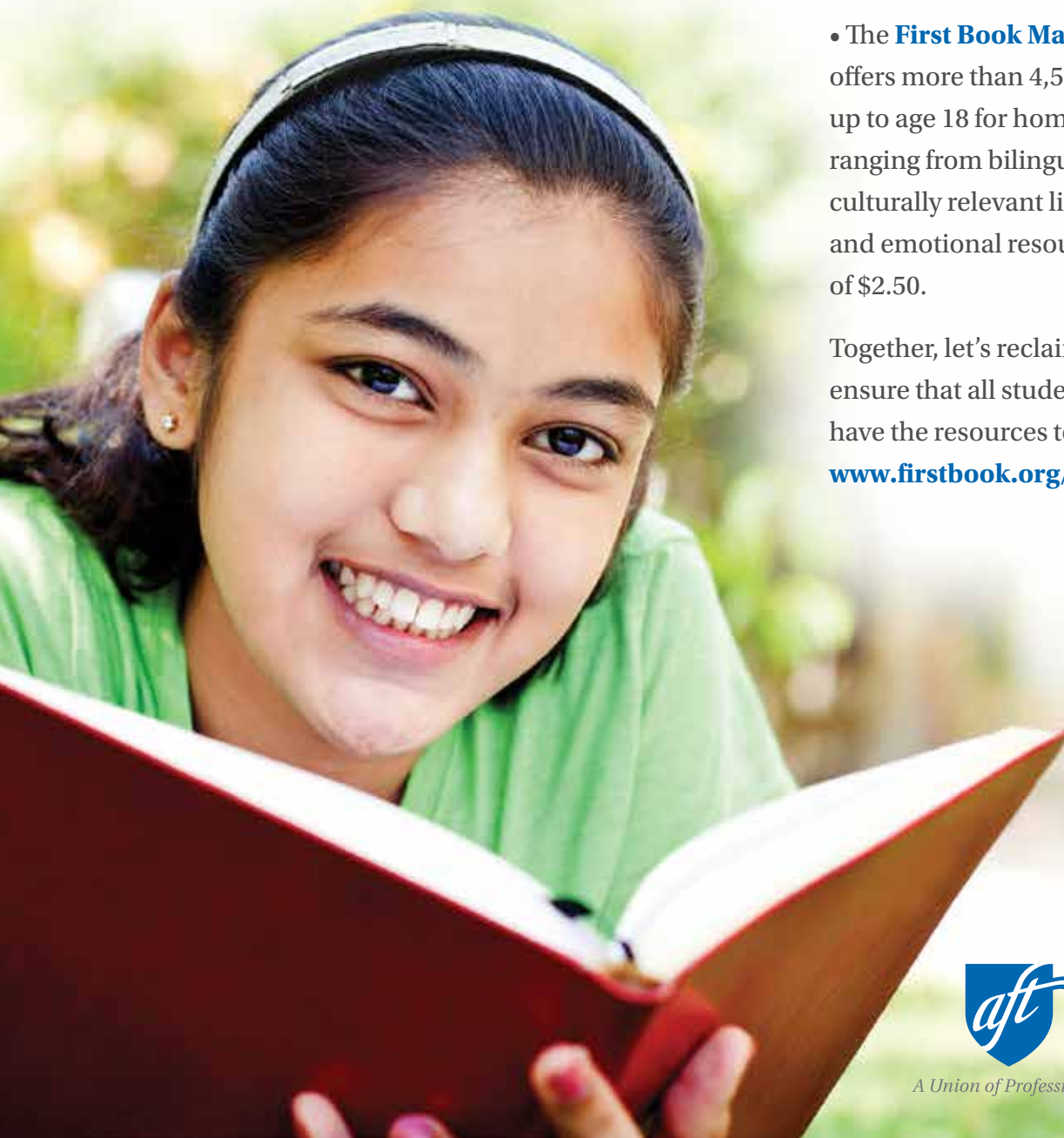
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