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And Justice for All: Teaching the Reparations Debate

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One of the most significant and controversial issues facing the United States as it prepares for the 2020 election cycle centers around reparations—whether the United States should compensate African Americans for slavery, Jim Crow segregation, racial inequalities, and persistent racial discrimination—and the numerous moral, political, social, and cultural arguments for and against reparations. The disputes surrounding reparations are not new in American politics; in fact, they have been present since the end of the Civil War in 1865, and have fluctuated in the public consciousness based on grassroots movements, media attention, legal opinions, and academia's interests in the most effective manner to achieve racial justice. The debate regarding reparations is enormously complex and fraught competing ideologies, contradictory visions for achieving racial justice, and is an emotionally charged issue. Nevertheless, secondary students should be taught multiple perspectives regarding reparations—including the historical events that precipitated the current focus on racial and social justice—and have access to competing arguments, facts, statistics, and opinions to construct their own views. This article will examine the reparations debate and propose several instructional methods and activities to teach this debate in a pedagogically sound manner that advances civic participation without indoctrination.

Key words: reparations, slavery, segregation, racial justice, property, equality

Introduction

The United States of America—considered the world's first modern nation because its national identity was rooted, not in blood nor soil, but in the political ideals of the Enlightenment--is currently examining its history of racial discrimination. These ideals affirmed that all human beings are entitled to liberty, property, and equality under the law, dignity, due process, and individual rights (Davis, 2020; Flynn et al., 2017; Huntington, 2004; Schlesinger, 1991). These ideals, considered radical heresies throughout most of human history, constitute the foundations of modern democracies are articulated in national constitutions and international law via the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Unfortunately, the gross betrayal of these ideals by several European countries and the United States resulted in one of the greatest human tragedies in world history: the institution of race-based slavery in European colonies and the United States (colonies of England until 1776) from the late 15th century until the 19th century (Franke, 2019; Weinstein, 1979). Between 1517 and 1867, 12.5 million enslaved Africans

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migrated to the Americas, this figure does not include the millions of Africans sold into slavery by the Arabs (Araujo, 2019).

The horrors of the Transatlantic Slave Trade, slavery, Jim Crow segregation, and continuing discrimination against African Americans have prompted many scholars, educators, civil rights advocates, politicians, and citizens to assert that the descendants of slaves are entitled to reparations (Araujo, 2017; Feagin & Ducey, 2018; Winbush, 2003). These reparations aim to repair, to the extent that it is possible, the incalculable harm spawned by slavery, segregation, and discrimination that continues to contribute to inequality and oppression of African Americans (Franke, 2019). Advocates of reparations insisted that property (promised but never realized after the Civil War ended in 1865), cash payments, government programs to alleviate poverty), education and health care are rights long denied to African Americans. Simultaneously, the vociferous opponents of reparations argue they promote victimization, exacerbate racial tensions, deny the incredible socioeconomic improvement in the Africa American community since 1964, create a moral hazard by forcing citizens to pay for their ancestors' sins, and present serious logistical and practical issues (McWhorter, 2003; Steele, 2015; Steele, 2003; Williams, 2003; Williams, 2019). Furthermore, according to reparations critics, advocates of reparations misinterpret historical facts and downplay the role that Africans and their governments played in the slave trade and the focus on group identity stereotypes all blacks as victims and all whites as oppressors (Sowell, 1994; Steele, 2015; Williams, 2019).

Regardless of one's views on slavery, racism, and reparations, research indicates that social studies do a poor job of teaching the hard truths about American slavery (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2018). For example, while 92% of high school seniors could identify slavery as the principal cause of the Civil War, 68% did not know that the 13th Amendment abolished slavery (p. 9) and only 46% knew the Middle Passage was the transportation of African slaves across the Atlantic Ocean to the colonies (p. 23). Indeed, most students do not understand the brutality of the Middle Passage and the horrors of slavery (Crawford et al., 2003; Frank, 2019; Southern Poverty Law Center, 2018). This, of course, exacerbates the reparations debate; prior to forming an informed perspective on reparations, students must have a solid knowledge base regarding slavery. This must include a graphic and scrupulous discussion of the cruelty—rape, violence, lynching, malnutrition, torture, separation of families, and other forms

of the inhumane treatment of Africans and Africa American slaves—of American slavery (Davis, 2020).

However, this much-needed improvement in teaching about slavery is difficult because any discussion of slavery, racism, white supremacy, and reparations can be very controversial and emotional, especially in multiracial classrooms (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2018). Many school administrators, board members, educators, and parents are cognizant of the risks involved in teaching about all racial issues and many teachers feel uncomfortable teaching about slavery and assert that they get little support from textbooks or state standards. It is challenging to teach the "hard truths" about slavery and racism and, simultaneously, ensure that student protection from violence, threats, and charges and countercharges of racism. Nevertheless, teaching honest history—presenting facts, regardless of how graphic, emotionally charged, controversial, or offensive they may be—is a prerequisite to any intellectually and historically honest debate on reparations (Goldberg, 2020).

In the United States, the idea of reparations is not new; arguments to compensate freed slaves and their descendants began in the 1860s, continued throughout the civil rights era, and is currently gaining momentum in the country in academia and the media (Franke, 2019; Robinson, 2000; Winbush, 2003).The contemporary emphasis on reparations is not confined to The United States is not the only country dealing with reparations issues; indeed, there is a global movement to hold countries, governments, and corporations responsible for their pro-slavery policies (Franke, 2019). For example, many scholars assert that Africa's severe underdevelopment is a direct result of slavery and colonial policies that robbed Africa of its human and natural resources, as well as policies that prevented African nations from developing self-government and economic prosperity (Attoh, 2009; Franke, 2019).

For many people, reparations, which is a Pan-African issue, are a prerequisite for racial reconciliation for slavery, segregation, and discrimination (Asante, 2003). The term *Maffa* (disaster in Kiswahili) refers to the five hundred years that Africans have suffered under slavery and colonialism (Asante, 2003), and this human catastrophe requires full restitution as a precondition for reconciliation (Coates, 2014; Feagin & Ducey, 2018; Trask, 2003). Thus, the idea of reparations is a global phenomenon because Africans encountered slavery in European colonies and Arab traders enslaved millions of Africans in several Muslim countries (Araujo, 2017; Attoh, 2009; Franke, 2019; Hellie, 2019; Sowell,1994).

However, this article will concentrate on the reparations debate in the United States—a timely issue that all secondary social studies students should understand to make an informed decision regarding reparations and their relationships to race relations, civic education, and social justice. This debate is fraught with numerous controversies, complexities, legal issues, logistical challenges and has powerful moral, economic, religious, and political themes that can provoke a wide range of emotional responses. This fact explains why the reparations debate is so crucial in American politics and education as the country prepares for the 2020 election cycle. Thus, the primary purpose of this study is to examine the major pros and cons of the reparations debate so citizens can construct an informed viewpoint as they prepare to cast their votes in 2020.

Method

The primary research method employed in this article is an historical and social science examination of slavery in the American colonies and the early history of the United States as a sovereign country after declaring independence for England in 1776 (National Council for the Social Studies, 2013). This includes an analysis of American slavery—its extent, purposes, nature, and impact on African Americans—and an inquiry into the political, economic, cultural, moral, and social factors related to the reparations debate in the United States. While slavery has been a ubiquitous institution throughout human history and across the globe, American slavery had some unique characteristics differentiating it from other slave institutions. For example, advocates of reparations assert the fact that slavery existed in a nation founded on the principles of liberty, equality, and due process of law demonstrates the utter hypocrisy between American ideals and actual laws and behaviors. Conversely, opponents of reparations assert contemporary Americans are not culpable for laws and events that occurred over 165 years ago. Furthermore, both sides of the reparations debate offer reasoned economic, political, cultural, and moral arguments that require a neutral approach by teachers that allow for students to engage with all pertinent facts, opinion, values, and beliefs and then render a judgment on reparations (of course, intelligent students will offer nuanced and eclectic opinions that betray and "either/or" dichotomy) without propaganda or predisposition.

These arguments help explain why the reparations debate is relevant, passionate, and controversial in 2020; thus, a methodically sound approach to teaching about the reparations debate is presenting multiple views based on historical evidence while recognizing that people will have diverse views based on ideology, personal experiences, contrasting interpretations of

history and notions of responsibility, and myriad other factors (Avery et al. 2013; Hess, 2002; Kello, 2016). Moreover, this method—teacher neutrality on controversial issues that encourages multiple viewpoints, dissent, and a respect for empirical data—is educationally sound because it allows teachers to present multiple views on a controversial issue which immunizes them against dangerous charges of indoctrination or political bias (Hess, 2002). Educators have other choices regarding controversial issues in social studies education. For example, some educators will not teach about controversial issues citing student immaturity, parental and community reactions, concerns over offending students, emotional reactions from students, and worries about job security (Hess, 2002; Kello, 2016). Some educators may teach about controversial issues but take a strong stance on a specific viewpoint creating possible charges of indoctrination, intolerance for opposing student views, and political bias (Hess, 2002; Kello, 2016).

Choosing to present all views and encouraging dissent, debate, and rational discourse is an appropriate method when dealing with controversial issues. Teacher neutrality, like all options for teaching these issues, has positive and negative characteristics (Hess, 2002; Kello, 2016). For example, some fear that teacher neutrality will lead students to think that all positions are morally equal and would have the same political, social, or economic consequences for society. However, it can be argued that teacher neutrality on controversial issues is the most appropriate method to ensure a full and ideologically balanced examination of all relevant facts, opinions, values, beliefs, and implications of contrasting viewpoints. Moreover, this method conveys respect for all students, encourages civic participation, and allows student to make informed choices (Avery et al., 2013).The reparations debate is extremely controversial and could create problems for teachers, students, and schools if charges of political bias or indoctrination are lodged against educators.

This method of teacher neutrality would be appropriate with other contemporary issues, such as abortion, gun control, capital punishment, euthanasia, the legalization of drugs, and welfare, that requires prudence, respect for dissent, tolerance, and a serene, academic, and rational approach that minimizes potential for legal actions and conflicts among all interested parties. The United States is a highly polarized country; bitter divisions among all ideological camps, exacerbated by growing income inequality and a racial divide (West, 2020) requires social studies educators to approach controversial issues in an academic manner that supports all student opinions (of course, the teacher should emphasize empirically supported historical facts)

in a quest to further civic education. Kayne et al., (2016) stated that, "Participatory politics are interactive, peer-based acts through which individuals and groups seek to exert both voice and influence on issues of public concern (p.3). The reparations debate is an issue of public concern that deserves an ideologically balanced examination of all relevant facts, opinions, values, and beliefs in democratic classrooms.

Theories of Slavery: A Universal Institution Throughout History

There are several theories about why slavery has been a persistent and ubiquitous institution throughout world history. Indeed, in 2019 descent-based slavery—individuals born into slavery because their ancestors were enslaved—is common in Mali, Chad, Sudan, Niger, and Mauritania (Anti-Slavery International, 2019). These individuals are slaves in the traditional sense; they can be bought and sold, sexually exploited, and are compelled to work and have no human rights. Thus, slavery still exists in the world and there are organizations fighting to end it in Africa and other regions. Slavery is an institution rooted in antiquity and still present in the modern world.

It is important to note that slavery was practiced by the Mesopotamians, Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, Chinese, Indians, Africans, Russians, Europeans, Muslim empires, pre-Columbian Americas, and other cultures and regions (Hellie, 2019; Schug, 2013). Frequently, prisoners of war and conquered peoples were enslaved and forced to labor in agriculture, mining, trade, public works, manufacturing, and domestic service, and war production (Schug, 2013). A major reason for the persistence of slavery can be traced to the benefits it bestowed on the ruling elites; much of their wealth was accumulated via slave labor. Throughout most of human history, slavery was not a race-based institution; in addition to enslavement via conquest, it could be based on social class, tribal identities, religion, insolvent debtors, criminals, or political factors. For example, ancient China practiced a system of slavery whereby poor males, referred to as *ximin*, were sold to wealthy families and performed as domestics in their masters' homes; female slaves also performed as domestic servants and concubines. Slavery was not abolished in China in the early 20th century (Schug, 2013).

Slavery was practiced in all Islamic societies and it is estimated that 18 million Africans were conscripted into the Islamic Trans-Saharan and Indian Ocean slave trades between 650 and 1905 (Hellie, 2019). The Ottoman Empire recruited conquered Christian male prisoners-of-war to become part of the elite Janissary corps, an elite military force (Hellie, 2019; Mandal, 2018).

These Christians were given an opportunity to convert to Islam and serve the Ottoman Empire in a military capacity, a fate often preferable to death (Mandal, 2018). These "slave-soldiers" often enjoyed a much higher social status and benefits not available to other slaves. Thus, slavery is a complex historical and global institution that took many forms and structures and resulted in divergent treatment of slaves based on their specific roles in a society (Hellie, 2019; Mandall, 2018).

Nazi Germany used millions of Jewish and Roma slaves between 1939 and 1945 in manufacturing and other forms of labor to compensate for limited German resources (Schug, 2013). Prisoners deemed unfit for labor were frequently sent to the gas chambers; thus, the Nazis were simultaneously committing genocide and slavery, perhaps the greatest crimes against humanity. The Soviet Union, under Josef Stalin, enslaved millions of political prisoners in the gulags and forced them to work in mines and factories under brutal conditions (Balmforth, 2013). In fact, much of the Soviet Union's power and infrastructure were built on slave labor that was frequently accompanied by rape, torture, and starvation. This fact—that the Soviet Union was, to a significant extent, built on slavery—is often ignored in social studies courses in K-12 schools and in university history courses (Goldberg, 2014). There is little talk of reparations for Stalin's victims and their descendants; of course, this is to be expected in Russia—an authoritarian society where freedom of expression can result in death or imprisonment. But this does not explain why slavery in the Soviet Union is ignored in the United States.

Slavery in the United States was unique in the sense that the country was founded on the democratic ideals of liberty, individualism, limited government, popular sovereignty, and due process of law (Huntington, 2004). From 1619 until 1865, slaves toiled in agriculture producing tobacco, sugar, and cotton that reaped enormous profits for the slave traders and owners (Schug, 2013). In the United States, powerful notions of racial inferiority were used to justify slavery and segregation. These ideas, given support by social scientists, some medical doctors, and others, became ingrained throughout the country and it took a civil war that costs at least 600,000 American lives to end this "peculiar" institution (Williams, 2019). It is one of America's great hypocrisies that the greatest proponents of democratic ideals and freedom from Great Britain were slaveholders in the colonies (Pack, 1996).

In fact, slavery has never been a peculiar institution—proven by its ubiquity and stubborn persistence into the 20th century. What is unique, from a historical perspective, is the

idea that slavery is a moral abomination that should be abolished (D'Souza, 2002; Huntington, 2004; Schlesinger, 1998). Indeed, the idea that slavery should be abolished on moral grounds began in Western countries, such as Great Britain, where the Enlightenment ideals of liberty, equality, individual rights, and limited government were employed to assault institutional slavery (D'Souza, 1995). Thus, slavery has existed in monarchies, empires, totalitarian regimes, and democracies. Adam Smith argued that slavery's persistence (Smith was pessimistic that slavery would ever be completely eradicated) was rooted in human nature (Pack, 1996; Weingast, 2015).

Adam Smith argued that slavery morally wrong and economically inefficient for society. The wealthy and powerful slave owners do accrue profits but do so by increasing human misery for the slaves and poor people (Pack, 1996; Weingast, 2015). Smith asserted that slavery was a universal institution because "slavery takes place in all societies at their beginning, and proceeds from that tyrannic disposition which may almost be said to be natural to mankind" (Pack, 1996, p. 255). Smith believed that man is naturally prone to seek domination and power over others and to benefit economically and psychologically from controlling and tyrannizing others they deem inferior. These notions of superiority may stem from tribal origins, notions of race and class, religion, or different levels of societal advancement.

Human trafficking—a global $150 billion industry that uses all forms of modern transportation and communication technologies to recruit and enslave victims—is a form of modern-day slavery where almost 40 million people are forced into labor (farms, mines, manufacturing) and sexual exploitation (prostitution, pornography, massage parlors, and forced marriages (Anti-Slavery International, 2018). Slavery, in traditional forms and human trafficking, still exists and human beings suffer emotional, physical, and mental problems common to all forms of oppression. When Charles Darwin stated, "If the misery of our poor be caused not by the laws of nature, but by our institutions, great is our sin" (Gould, 1996, p.19) he understood that slavery was a moral atrocity rooted, not in nature, but in human-created institutions.

The Rationale for Slavery in the American Colonies

It is imperative that students understand that slavery was a universal institution in the ancient and medieval world—it was ubiquitous in Egypt, Greece, Rome, China, the Muslim world and other geographic regions—and was not related to our modern understanding of race

(Marger, 2015; Schug, 2013). Slavery was often the consequence for losing a war, religious and cultural differences, or existing empires annexing land and enslaving people. Many nations and empires created wealth and established political and economic systems based on slavery; the American colonies depended on slave labor, especially in agriculture, for profits. In the 14th century, militarily superior European nations were able to conquer much of the Americas, Africa, and Asia. The Transatlantic Slave Trade, which was a direct result of European notions of racial, cultural and religious superiority, was the first time in world history that race-based slavery become the norm (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2018). Additionally, slavery was enormously profitable for traders, corporations, governments, and owners. In fact, many advocates of reparations assert that present-day governments and corporations owe a significant debt to African Americans (Araujo, 2017; Coates, 2014).

The Europeans believed that nature divided human beings into superior and inferior races and that one's race was the primary factor in determining intelligence, specific skills, and character traits (Marger, 2015). Moreover, the doctrine of racism asserts these profound racial differences are incontrovertible and justified slavery, segregation, discrimination, and genocide (Marger, 2015). This powerful idea, albeit scientifically erroneous and the primary cause of destructive race relations for the past five hundred years, became ingrained in European colonies across the world and was used as a justification for the Transatlantic Slave Trade and race-based slavery (Marger, 2015). It is incumbent upon policy makers, textbooks authors, curriculum developers, and teachers to improve teaching the centrality of racism and slavery in American history. Unfortunately, many textbooks tend to focus on the abolitionist movement but downplay the horrible realities of slavery (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2018). Given the current climate on racial issues, as well as the emotions and controversies associated with slavery, this is understandable, albeit educationally fallacious. Students deserve to know the truth about slavery and its racist foundations.

For example, American history textbooks downplay, distort, or omit the idea of white supremacy as the ideological foundation for racism and slavery and employ euphemisms, such as calling sexual assault as "unwanted sexual advances" or "frequent sexual liaisons" (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2018, p. 37) that are problematic and disingenuous. Many textbooks inadequately discuss the profit motive for slavery and omit an examination of the enormous profits "earned" by governments and corporations from slave labor. Labor that was essential in

building the modern world economy and contributing to the wealth of individuals and corporations—wealth that can be passed down to succeeding generations (Araujo, 2017; Southern Poverty Law Center, 2018). It is educationally prudent to present the harsh and brutal realities of slavery to secondary students. This must include a comprehensive examination of the economic, political, cultural, and racial aspects of slavery. Omitting or distorting offensive facts or details that can provide a deep understanding of slavery is tantamount to educational malfeasance and perpetuates Americans knowledge gap that hinders race relations in contemporary America.

The Middle Passage: Unimaginable Horror

The Middle Passage—the transatlantic forced migration of African slaves to the Americas—is one of the most lethal and cruel events in world history (Araujo, 2017; Crawford et al., 2003; Davis, 2020; Mintz, 2016). Historians estimate that European slave traders transported between 10 and 15 million Africans to the Americas and Islamic traders transported 10 million to North Africa, the Middle East and India, and many, perhaps most, slaves were captives in Africa (Mintz, 2016). Two million Africans died on the journey to the Americas, and perhaps fifty percent of Africans died on the journey from the interior to the coasts (Crawford et al., 2003; Mintz 2016). Africans captured in the interior were kept in holding pens and slave dungeons, suffered from malnutrition, and were ultimately exposed to European diseases—smallpox, measles, and tuberculosis—that were often lethal.

The conditions on board the ships were horrific. People chained together and unable to stand (the spaces were often five feet high) in extremely small spaces where temperatures could reach over 100° F. Human beings were forced to live with human waste, vomit, dead bodies, and horrible odors, and were often murdered by the ship's crew (Araujo, 2017; Crawford et al., 2003; Mintz 2016). Moreover, the captives suffered from malaria, malnutrition, scurvy, infections, typhoid fever, worms, and the biggest killer during the Middle Passage: Amebic dysentery (bloody diarrhea) that had a mortality rate between 20 and 80 percent (Davis, 2020; Crawford et al., 2003, p.254). They also suffered from beatings, accidents, assaults, and experienced psychological terror that spawned many suicides. Estimates suggest between the 15th and 19th centuries, as many as 60 million people died or endured slavery owing to the European and Islamic slave trade (Mintz, 2016, p. 446). This is considered a Maafa—African Holocaust—and is a central component of the modern reparations debate.

American Slavery and Its Impact of Africans and African Americans

Surviving the Middle Passage—mortality rates ranged from 20-80 percent—was difficult and slaves faced extremely harsh conditions once they arrived in the North American colonies (Araujo, 2017; Crawford et al., 2003, p. 255; Mintz, 2016). First, exposure to new diseases, such as smallpox, tuberculosis, and measles and a colder climate led to a significant increase in morbidity and mortality for Africans. Second, Africans were forced to endure the humiliation of the auctioning block—stripped naked and inspected like animals—and families were separated and sold to numerous plantations across the colonies never to be reunited again (Araujo, 2017; Crawford et al., 2003). This was an intentional policy designed to foster submission and destroy African cultures; and religions were prohibitions against speaking African languages and practicing African religions in successful policies to erase old identities (Araujo, 2017).

Slaves were overworked, beaten, raped, and subjected to all forms of physical and psychological abuse. Suicide, diseases, depression, torture (floggings, amputations, castrations, and mutilations were common methods to maintain slavery) and malnutrition produced a mortality rate during the three-year "breaking-in" period between 30 and 50 percent (Crawford et al., 2003, p. 255). Furthermore, the official end of the African slave trade in 1808 forced slaveholders to ensure the fertility of black women via rape and other coercive means. The deliberate attempt to dehumanize Africans and justify slavery and segregation had a devastating impact on the mental and physical health of Africans and contemporary African Americans (Araujo, 2017; Flynn et al., 2017). Today, African Americans are much more likely, on a per capita basis, to suffer from cancer, heart disease, diabetes, stokes, HIV/AIDS, racial profiling, high infant mortality rates, post-traumatic stress syndrome (PSTD), exposure to toxins, lead poisoning(the number one cause of preventable cognitive impairment, obesity (Crawford et al., 2003, p. 272; Flynn et al., 2017).

Moreover, African Americans continue to face economic and social barriers that hinder their advancement—residential and socioeconomic segregation in high-poverty communities characterized by numerous pathological behaviors that harm children—in society (Araujo, 2017; Davis, 2020; Flynn et al. 2017; Marger, 2015). These pathological behaviors, rather than reflecting some moral, cultural, or intellectual flaws of African Americans, are the result of centuries of slavery, brutal violence, segregation designed to deny all opportunities to African Americans, and discrimination in all major institutions. For African Americans, segregation was

not a choice; government, banks, realtors, and others conspired to ensure African Americans would be racially and economically isolated from white society (Flynn et al., 2017; Massey & Denton, 1993).

White supremacists misused science—anthropology, psychology, and psychiatry— in promoting racism and the mental and biological inferiority of Africans—to destroy the mental health of Africans (Crawford et al., 2003, p. 258; Marger, 2015). The fact that numerous scholars and social scientists advocated for "scientific" racism gave powerful support to racists, governments, and private sector enterprises to legally segregate and discriminate against African Americans (of course, other racial/ethnic groups suffered similar segregation and discrimination, albeit with less intensity). After 245 years of chattel slavery and 100 years of mandatory segregation and discrimination, it is reasonable to assert that contemporary African Americans lag behind white Americans economically (income, wealth accumulation, and home ownership), educationally, and socially as a direct legacy of racial discrimination (Flynn et al., 2017; Marger, 2015). This brief overview of slavery in the United States, while far from comprehensive, is a prerequisite for teaching about reparations. Prior to teaching about reparations, students must acquire more in-depth knowledge about slavery and segregation; research shows students are lacking in this knowledge preventing a base for informed discussions on reparations (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2018).

A 2019 Pew Research Center survey showed that 63% of adults argue that slavery affects the socioeconomic position of African Americans today; the figure for whites is 58% and 84% for African Americans (Horowitz, 2019, p. 1). Furthermore, 78% of African Americans, as opposed to 37% of whites, say that the United States has not gone far enough in giving African Americans equal rights. This wide racial gap in attitudes reflects the racial tensions that characterize race relations in 2019. Democrats (80%) are much more likely than Republicans (42%) to say that slavery adversely affect contemporary African Americans (Brown, 2019; Horowitz, 2019). A racial and ideological split on reparations has important consequences for politics and policy. Therefore, the reparations debate and its antecedents'—slavery, Jim Crow segregation, and discrimination—are crucial contemporary political events and relevant for all citizens. Moreover, the reparations debate is an excellent topic for secondary social studies students and encompasses powerful moral, economic, political, cultural, and social factors that are relevant to developing civic knowledge and thinking in students.

Reparations: Pros and Cons

The most compelling and intellectually challenging aspect surrounding the reparations debate is the powerful arguments that supporters and opponents cite to defend their positions. These arguments include moral, religious, political, economic, and social ideas and facts that illuminate the complexity of slavery, Jim Crow segregation, continued discrimination, and the tension between individual and national responsibility for Americas' sins. A full description and examination of the pros and cons concerning reparations is a prerequisite for student knowledge and understanding. Indeed, students, especially as young citizens developing their political and socioeconomic views, need sound pedagogy that avoids indoctrination. The following section will discuss the pros and cons of reparations with the acknowledgement that educators may use various methods and instructional activities to ensure students consider all relevant viewpoints.

Arguments Supporting Reparations

First, slavery, racial segregation, discrimination, and violence are moral abominations that contradict the founding ideals of American democracy (Araujo, 2017; Coates, 2014; Davis, 2020; Huntington, 2004; Schlesinger, 1998). The United States is the world's first modern nation; a moral and constitutional republic founded, not on the ancient ideas of blood (to whom born) or soil (where one is born), but on the ideals of equality, liberty, justice, and the rule of law (Huntington, 2004; Schlesinger, 1998). Moreover, the Christian concepts of individual liberty, equality, and personal responsibility had a significant impact on the development of modern democracy; thus, 18th and 19th century abolitionists and 20th century civil rights leaders, including Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., were primarily motivated to seek racial justice by their deep-seated beliefs in Christian theology. Slavery, segregation, and discrimination make a mockery out of those ideals and exposes the hypocrisy inherent in the founding of the United States (Asante, 2003; Coates, 2014; Davis, 2020; Marger, 2015).

On May 25, 2020, George Floyd, an unarmed African American citizen in Minneapolis, Minnesota was killed by Derek Chauvin, a white police officer who killed Floyd by placing his knee on Floyd's neck for 8 minutes and 46 seconds (Belvedere, 2020). Chauvin was assisted by three other white officers and did not heed Floyd's desperate calls stating, "I can't breathe" numerous times. The video (taken by a seventeen-year-old woman on her cell phone) of this murder—the coroner's office ruled it homicide—went viral and triggered peaceful protests and riots (vandalism, arson, looting, violence) across the United States, as well as other countries.

The United States has not witnessed such protests and riots since 1968, following the assassinations of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Robert Kennedy. Once again, many Americans from diverse backgrounds are calling for an end to the racial discrimination, violence, and murders that have plagued African Americans, especially males, throughout history. Moreover, the Floyd murder has spawned a renewed demand for reparations—on Monday, June 1, 2020, Black Entertainment Television (BET) founder Robert Johnson called for $14 trillion to be paid to African American descendants of slavery—to compensate for centuries of slavery, segregation, discrimination, and violence against African Americans (Belvedere, 2020).

Thus, the legacy of slavery and discrimination—both preceded the 19th century rise of biological racism that asserted the innate intellectual and moral inferiority of African Americans and other non-whites—are responsible for contemporary African Americans lagging behind whites in educational attainment, income, quality housing, health, wealth accumulation, political power, and several other indicators of well-being. Slavery and segregation—the intentional separation of African Americans in housing, education, employment, and access to public accommodations and vital social services (medical care)—are the primary causes of incalculable human misery that demands reparations. Although no amount of money, affirmative action, and special programs can fully compensate for centuries of slavery, segregation, murder, rape, torture, confiscating wealth, and other injustices, reparations can contribute to racial reconciliation (Coates, 2014).

Many advocates of reparations assert the necessity of racial justice if the United States is to fulfill its moral and constitutional ideals of liberty, due process of law, and equality to all citizens. For many Americans, the Floyd murder is symbolic of America's hypocrisy that spawns protests and violence; increasingly, there are demands that white Americans take concrete actions to stop racism and compensate African Americans for centuries of indescribable human suffering. While contemporary white Americans never participated in slavery (and many may not have engaged in racists behaviors) they have benefitted from a society that accorded whites opportunities (economic, educational, quality housing, healthcare, and other areas) denied to racial and ethnic minorities (Araujo, 2017). Thus, they have a moral and civic obligation to help end racism; this can be accomplished without fomenting racial envy and white guilt. This is simply an acknowledgement by white society that the serious inequalities and oppression experienced by African Americans stem, not from the moral, biological, or cultural inferiority of

blacks, but from centuries of racial oppression that most white Americans cannot comprehend because they never experienced it (Arajuo, 2017; Coates, 2014; Davis, 2020; Feagin & Ducey, 2018).

Second, some scholars assert that slavery in America (1619-1865) was "far and away the most heinous human rights crime visited upon any group of people in the world over the last five hundred years" (Feagin & Ducey, 2018; Robinson, 2000, p. 216; Schug, 2013). This gross violation of Africans and African Americans basic humanity must be acknowledged and repaired as a prerequisite for racial reconciliation and progress as a multiracial democracy. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)—a legal document written, in large part, by the United States—asserts that victims of human rights violation are entitled to compensation, such as property, monetary remunerations, and retributive justice (punishment for perpetrators), and special programs offering opportunities (Advocates for Human Rights, 2019; Trask, 2003; Van Dyke, 2003). Many rights and civil liberties contained in the UDHR are analogous to rights found in the U.S. Constitution; thus, international and American jurisprudence support reparations.

Third, even though slavery's abolition in 1865 and the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1968 abolished *de jure* segregation, the legacy of oppression continues to hinder African Americans economically, socially, and politically (Brown, 2019; Coates, 2014; Feagin & Ducey, 2018; Flynn et al., 2017; Winbush, 2003). For example, in the late 19th century and early 20th century, white people, often in collusion with local, state, and the federal government, employed fraud, threats, violence, and lynching to steal land from African Americans, especially successful farmers (Winbush, 2003). This practice, called "whitecapping," entailed bands of white men raiding African American homes and farms at night to intimidate or kill the owners. Moreover, whites burned hundreds of African American homes, churches, and businesses depriving African Americans property and opportunities to produce income and wealth (Coates, 2014; Flynn et al., 2017; Winbush, 2003). Today, that legacy continues in significant racial gaps in home ownership—the most common form of wealth for most Americans—as less than fifty percent of black families own homes compared to seventy-five percent of white families (Coates, 2014; Marger, 2015). Therefore, reparations entail a return of stolen property to contemporary African Americans, as well as policies to address numerous other injustices. America's history is explicit

in the present gap between whites and African Americans in wealth, property, health, housing, employment, and education.

Fourth, taxes on slaves and the crops they produced, mainly cotton and tobacco produced much of the wealth accumulated by white American slave owners, the federal government, and state governments (Araujo, 2017; Feagin & Ducey, 2018; Outterson, 2003). In fact, the Atlantic Slave Trade, instigated in the late 15th century by Portugal, created great wealth for European nations, especially Portugal, Spain, the Netherlands, and Great Britain (Araujo, 2017; Outterson, 2003). In the colonial era, several states, such as South Carolina, Florida, Georgia, and Mississippi, slave taxes raised 30 to 40 percent of the state revenues (Outterson, 2003, p. 139). Furthermore, many Southern states imposed special poll taxes on free African Americans ($5 as compared to $0.39 for slaves) to encourage migration and reduce the number of free African Americans. Failure to pay the taxes resulted in the confiscation and sale of property at auction and some African Americans suffered involuntary servitude to pay the unremitted taxes (Outterson, 2003). Additionally, the high poll taxes on African Americans, as well as literacy tests and residency requirements, restricted voting and obstructed the acquisition of political power. Slavery, segregation, slave taxes, and other forms of discrimination conspired to oppress African Americans in all aspects of American life (Araujo, 2017). In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, all attempts by former slaves to seek financial reparations, pensions, land, and political rights (in practice, the equal protection and due process clauses of the 14th Amendment and the voting rights clause of the 15th Amendment were negated via racist acts of the federal and state governments) were futile (Araujo, 2017). Thus, reparations are the only method to repair this historical injustice.

Fifth, there are several historical precedents supporting reparations. For example, in 1990, President George H.W. Bush signed the Civil Rights Redress Act stipulating that $1.2 billion ($20,000 for each victim) in remuneration for Japanese Americans conscripted into internment camps during World War II (Araujo, 2017; Gallavan & Roberts, 2005; Marger, 2015). President Franklin Roosevelt, conflating race with nationality and patriotism, ordered 120,000 Japanese Americans, most born in U.S. territories, relocated to camps to prevent them from aiding Japan in the war (Marger, 2015). Although the U.S. issued a formal apology and a monetary stipend to compensate the victims, it hardly repairs the incalculable emotional harm caused by racial animus.

Germany has paid over $70 billion in social welfare and pension payments to Jews who suffered under the Nazi regime (Monahan & Neely, 2017; Reiter, 2019). The Nazi regime, as well as corporations, such as Volkswagen, Krupp (arms manufacturing), Deutsche Bank, and I.G. Farben (chemical company) benefited from the use of slave labor; many of these corporations have admitted their role during the Nazi regime and have agreed to pay some form of reparations (Facing History and Ourselves, 2018). Simultaneously, in the 17th and 18th centuries, many corporations in the United exploited slave labor to acquire wealth, such as Aetna Insurance, J.P. Morgan, and Lehman Brothers, and owe reparations (Araujo, 2017). Therefore, present injustices and pervasive inequalities are the direct result of past behaviors and states have a moral responsibility to repair the great harm to victims by instituting a reparations program. In the United States, this program should not be simply a cash payout to African Americans, but a comprehensive program that addresses education, employment, criminal justice inequities, residential segregation, the wealth gap, persistent discrimination, and the serious health (physical, emotional, and psychological) problems facing African Americans (Araujo, 2017; Crawford et al., 2003; Winbush, 2003).

Sixth, the 19th century emergence of the United States as an economic power attributes that success to America's unique brand of capitalism and the primacy of rugged individualism, private property, entrepreneurship, market forces, and limited governmental regulations. However, this narrative omits the crucial role that slavery played in creating wealth and the great irony and hypocrisy that human bondage was a major foundation of the free market system that allowed whites to acquire wealth and power upon the backs of enslaved Africans (Beckert & Rockman, 2016; Flynn et al., 2017). Reparations cannot undue the incalculable harm of two hundred and forty-five years of chattel slavery, one hundred years of Jim Crow segregation, and continuing discrimination in housing, employment, access to health care, and education (Brown, 2019). However, reparations are a prerequisite for racial reconciliation in a diverse democracy where racism has been a political cancer.

It is well beyond time that the United States atone for its sins and fulfill the promise made by General Sherman in 1965. Sherman issued Special Field Order No. 15 reserving land confiscated from plantation owners in Southern states for African Americans freed by the Emancipation Proclamation. This act set aside "40 acres and mule" for each freed slave. This act of social and economic justice ended when President Andrew Johnson rescinded the order and

returned the land to the rebellious white owners (Araujo, 2017; Farmer-Paellmann, 2003). Today, the vast majority of African Americans are committed to the ideals—freedom, equality, due process, and individualism—that undergird the American founding. They simply wish that America abolished all forms of discrimination and oppression and return the wealth, property, freedom, opportunities, and dignity stolen from them beginning in 1619. Paying this long overdue debt is the best way the United States can ensure that our political ideals become a reality for all Americans.

Arguments Opposing Reparations

First, opponents of reparations argue that no living African Americans are slaves today (Williams, 2019). Slavery's abolition by the 13th Amendment in 1865—at a cost of almost 600,000 lives during the Civil War that almost destroyed the United States—was the first step to repair the great injustice wrought by slavery and it is unreasonable to make contemporary taxpayers fund reparations. This is especially true since almost 90 million people migrated to America since 1865 and they played no part in slavery or segregation (Marger, 2015). Opponents of reparations assert that contemporary whites and African Americans (3,000 owned slaves, and many past Africans were complicit in the Atlantic Slave Trade) are not liable for the sins of their ancestors. Moreover, reparations are only justified when living individuals experience a violation of their human rights; Japanese Americans interred during World War II and Holocaust victims are examples of a morally justified reparations program (Williams, 2003). Moreover, 67% of Americans oppose cash reparations (Younis, 2019), which might exacerbate race relations in an already politically tense environment. Furthermore, contemporary Africans and Arabs would have to pay for the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Middle Eastern slave trading systems because their ancestors played a central role in obtaining slaves and gained profits via slave trading (Williams, 2003; Williams, 2019).

Second, advocates of reparations are in denial regarding the amazing socioeconomic progress by African Americans that has occurred in the past fifty-five years (D'Souza, 2002; Steele, 2015; Williams, 2003). For example, according to the U.S. Census Bureau (2012d), the poverty rate for African Americans dropped from 55.0% in 1959 to 21.2% in 2017; this is a remarkable decline, albeit the black rate is higher than the white rate in both years (the white rate in 1959 was 18.1% and in 2017 it was 10.7%). Moreover, the African American middle class has risen substantially in the past 55 years, spawned in large part by a significant increase in African

American educational attainment, especially from secondary school (Marger, 2015; Thernstrom & Thernstrom, 2003). Currently, over fifty percent of African Americans live in suburbs (Berube, 2016) exposing the myth that most African Americans live in high-poverty urban areas. Increasing college graduation rates, especially if African Americans and other students major in high-paying STEM (Science, Technology, Math, and Engineering) disciplines will result in higher median incomes. A significant reduction in white racism and discrimination has allowed African Americans to exercise their natural, human, and constitutional rights to economic, educational, political, and social advancement.

Third, paying reparations to African Americans would be logistical nightmare and would stimulate a plethora of claims from other groups—women, Native-Americans, Asian Americans, Latino Americans, and the Irish—that would be divisive and bring the nation to economic ruin (Arends, 2019; Hillard, 2019). For example, while economists produce divergent figures for the full costs of reparations, all estimates would be awfully expensive. Craemer (2015) estimated that slave labor was valued between $5.9 trillion and $14.2 trillion in 2009 dollars. Another estimate (achieved by applying the U.S. minimum wage to the total numbers of forced labor hours from 1619-1865) asserts the country owes $97 trillion to the descendants of slaves (Hillard, 2019), this figure is almost five times the nation's annual GDP. Paying reparations to African Americans for slavery would unleash a stream of demands from various groups that would, if paid, destroy the American economy. Some estimates claim if we paid reparations to African American and Native Americans—the two groups most aggrieved throughout history—the costs could be around $51 trillion (Arends, 2019).

Of course, this would open a "Pandora's Box" with many groups—Mexican Americans/Mexico demanding reparations for land lost in war, women claiming that past discrimination adversely affects women's wages and occupations today, and the Irish and Italians wanting compensation for labor discrimination—demanding compensation that would shatter the social fabric and empty the treasury. In general, one of the major problems with the concept of reparations in world history is replete with examples of one group (tribal, racial, religious, economic, or cultural) committing a vast array of moral abominations (genocide, slavery, torture, segregation, and discrimination) against other groups. Thus, the pro-reparations movement could ignite a global political storm of aggrieved groups seeking compensation for past injustices committed over numerous centuries. This would likely exacerbate ethnic conflicts

in many multinational or multiethnic countries. The United States, one of the world's most racially, ethnically, religiously, and culturally diverse countries, would not be immune from primordial conflicts.

Fourth, the idea of reparations invites numerous complex questions, many of which are not amenable to empirical analysis (Williams, 2003; Williams, 2019). For example, what percentage of "black blood" would entitle a citizen to reparations? Should Africans who migrated to the U.S. in 2000 be eligible for compensation? Would African countries have to pay for their part in the slave trade? Three thousand blacks owned slaves in the country (Williams, 2003). Should their descendants pay, or are they entitled to compensation simply based on race? Many whites took part in the abolitionist movement—often at great personal and legal risk—and helped slaves in the Underground Railroad obtain freedom (Williams, 2019). Should skin color alone be the basis for reparations, ignoring historical facts about the complexity of slavery? How much money should go to each African American? How do we calculate a fair rate of payment? How much should corporations who benefited from slavery pay? Should reparations entail grants, special educational programs (such as free college for African Americans), employment quotas, and other government-sanctioned programs? These are difficult questions that do not have clear and morally just answers.

Fifth, some opponents of reparations contend that the United States government has taken powerful and costly steps to compensate African Americans, beginning with the Civil War (1861-1865) that claimed 360,000 Union Deaths from battle, diseases, suicide, accidents, and other causes (History Net, 2019). These individuals died fighting to end slavery (of course, preserving the United States as a viable nation-state was an important goal) and many whites were active in the 19th century abolitionist movement and the 20th century Civil Rights movement (Van Dyke, 2003; Williams, 2019). The 1964 Civil Rights Act banned racial discrimination in public accommodations, public schools, businesses, labor unions, and governmental institutions. The 1965 Voting Rights Act protected the right of African Americans (as well as all groups) to vote and established penalties for individuals who attempted to use threats, violence, and other means to disenfranchise voters.

Moreover, the United States established substantial programs for African Americans in terms of subsidized housing, several forms of welfare (free/reduced lunches in schools, food stamps, and financial aid to families below the poverty line). Furthermore, attempts to integrate

public schools to provide equal educational opportunities (these attempts, such as busing, often failed in light of pervasive residential segregation and resistance movements), and affirmative action programs to provide employment opportunities to long oppressed minorities have been ubiquitous since the 1970s (Marger, 2015). However, Steele (2015) asserts that these well-intentioned programs have hurt African Americans by creating a harmful dependency and preventing equality.

Sixth, reparations, especially in the form of cash payments, will not solve the serious problems that plague African American urban communities (Steele, 2015; Steele, 2003). Seventy percent of African American children are born out-of-wedlock (Centers for Disease Control, 2018). Numerous research studies show that children growing up without a male role model are more likely to engage in criminal behaviors, substance abuse, experience poverty, and less likely to graduate from high school and college (Putnam, 2015; Raeburn, 2014). Furthermore, these children are more likely to suffer from malnutrition (crucial for brain development and academic success), lack access to quality medical care and cultural resources (travel, museums), and exposure to environmental toxins and increased risk of violence and substance abuse (Raeburn, 2014). The focus of social policy should be diminishing the pathological behaviors that hurt African Americans while recognizing that slavery, segregation, and discrimination are primary causes of these pathological behaviors. Of course, this requires reducing racial discrimination in all crucial areas—housing, education, employment, and access to quality medical care, nutrition, and social services—and fulfilling the constitutional mandates of equality under the law, liberty, and due process.

Money cannot solve deeply entrenched cultural problems and it does not impart virtues—honesty, hard work, personal responsibility, self-discipline, prudence, sobriety, and others—that are required for academic and economic success in a modern, and highly competitive, global economy. Reparations legitimizes the notion of black victimization—the idea that African Americans cannot achieve on their own without the help of a benevolent white population, often motivated by guilt based on past behaviors—and is a permanent trait of African American culture (Steele, 2003).

The Reparations Debate: Teaching Multiple Perspectives

Teaching the arguments (the pros, cons, and eclectic ideas) relevant to the reparations debate is essential in any honest attempt to educate—without indoctrination—students and

encourage civic participation. One of the most effective methods for teaching complex and controversial issues employs a student-based inquiry project. The College, Career, and Civic Life Framework for Social Studies State Standards (henceforth, referred to as the C3 Framework) was created to improve civic education and preparing all students for democratic participation in a globally competitive economy (The C3 Framework, 2013). The rationale for the creation of the C3 Framework is predicated on the notion that students will need content knowledge, disciplinary skills (how social scientists structure their disciplines), special skills (creativity, problem-solving, critical thinking, and communication), and the ability to work in cooperative environments characterized by high level computer technologies and a rapidly globalizing economy. The C3 Framework focuses on the core social science disciplines of history, civics, economics and geography; these are the four federally defined social studies disciplines chosen to streamline the development process (The C3 Framework, 2013, 18). Teachers can review the C3 Framework by visiting the website (http://www.socialstudies.org/system/files/c3/C3-Framework-for-Social-Studies.pdf) prior to developing their lesson plan. A comprehensive review is beyond the scope of this article, but teachers will benefit from visiting the website as they develop their lesson plans.

The first "Dimension (Developing Questions and Planning Inquiries)" is concerned with the development of compelling questions —"questions that focus on enduring issues and concerns" (The C3 Framework, 2013, 23) — and lend themselves to rigorous debate, in-depth research, and empirical analysis. This question should be complex, often controversial, stimulate thought, appeal to the cognitive, affective, and reflective domains, and are of interest to students. The question should focus on an enduring issue with significant political and social implications. The question must be amenable to empirical analysis, rigorous debate, and multiple research methods (historical, quantitative, and qualitative). "Should the United States Pay Reparations to African Americans for Slavery and Segregation?" is a compelling question. This question will provoke student interests and allow them to engage in an intellectual, moral, and political debate that requires research, applying social science skills, using evidence to evaluate competing claims and ideas, collaboration, and communicating their findings to stimulate action. Getting students actively engaged beyond the classroom is a primary goal of the C3 Framework; this is easier to accomplish when students develop a passion for social justice issues that influence their lives.

The second step is "Dimension Two (Applying Disciplinary Tools and Concepts) that includes four subsections—civics, economics, geography, and history—which include descriptions of the structure and tools of the disciplines as well as the habits of mind common in those disciplines" (The C3 Framework, 2013, 12). Students (working in groups) should develop between three and five supporting questions for each of the following subjects: history, geography, economics, and government. The supporting questions help students answer the compelling question using discipline-specific knowledge and research methods. Primary and secondary sources, digital media, and expert opinion from advocates and opponents of reparations, interviews with citizens, and access to museum resources are excellent research methods for students. Here, the teacher bears the responsibility of ensuring that students are acquiring factual knowledge, searching for dissenting data, distinguishing between facts and political ideology, and stressing that Americans are diverse in their opinions, values, and beliefs. Moreover, instruction on how historians and social scientists conduct research, gather and evaluate historical evidence and quantitative data, draw generalizations, and articulate conclusions and/or policy prescriptions are a crucial component of the process.

Teaching the tools of the trade—specific concepts, statistical analysis, various research methodologies, ethical issues in research, and the limitations of the disciplines—help students learn how knowledge is constructed and used in policy and law. Scholarship and intellectual rigor guide the research and students must recognize how personal biases and strong political views can influence objectivity. It is vital that students support their views with empirical data, as well as compelling moral arguments to advocate their positions. These are examples but students can develop their own questions.

Supporting Questions for History:

1. How did slavery affect Africans from the 17th until 19th centuries?
2. Can you explain the conditions for slaves during the Middle Passage?
3. Was slavery in other ancient civilizations (Egypt, Rome, Greece, and the Muslim Empires) based on race?
4. How did Jim Crow segregation influence African Americans?

Supporting Questions for Geography:

1. What African regions transported slaves to the Americas?
2. Why did the southern states receive most slaves?

3. Can you explain why the North was opposed to slavery?

4. What other countries had slave systems in the 17the and 18th centuries?

Supporting Questions for Government:

1. How did slavery and Jim Crow legislation betray the core political ideals of the United States?

2. Why was compromise over slavery (the 3/5 Compromise) required to ratify the Constitution in the late 18th century?

3. How did state and local governments enforce Jim Crow segregation and other black codes?

4. What impact did the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act have on African Americans politically and socially?

Supporting Questions for Economics:

1. Is it possible to calculate the monetary amount owed to slaves from 1619 until abolition in 1865?

2. Considering that many corporations benefited from slavery, do these entities owe contemporary African Americans?

3. How did slavery, segregation, and discrimination contribute to an African American underclass characterized by numerous economic, educational, family, social and health problems?

4. What steps can society to compensate African Americans for slavery and segregation?

Dimension Three (Evaluating Sources and Using Evidence) demonstrates the importance of gathering and analyzing data in order to draw viable conclusions. Teachers must emphasize that students must support their claims with empirical data—statistics, facts, examples, historical evidence—that justifies their policy recommendations. It is vital that students are able to evaluate the credibility of sources and make distinctions between values, facts, opinions, and political ideologies; teaching students to recognize biases, faulty logic, myths, and being able to distinguish between correlation and cause/effect are vital skills in the social studies and are mandatory for methodologically sound inquiry learning (The C3 Framework, 2013). Dimension Three is research methods that are vital to answering the compelling and supporting questions and allowing students to create a comprehensive project.

This process requires that teachers supervise students' research and help them find reputable resources and deal with the complexities and contradictions associated with research—experts disagree on many issues, some questions may not have answers, methodologies may be flawed, and researcher bias—that may be frustrating. Moreover, keeping students on track, checking their progress, monitoring group dynamics, and ensuring they finish their project requires diligence.

Dimension 4 (Communicating Conclusions and Taking Informed Action) is the final stage in the C3 Framework and students present their conclusions and describe their policy recommendations for solving problems and improving society via civic engagement. Students, working individually and collaboratively, will present their findings via essays, reports, multimedia presentations (PowerPoints, videos, blogs, and other forms of social media), debates, posters, mock trails, moot courts, and other activities. The audience for these presentations may include outside officials who were involved in the C3 projects, as well as parents. Moreover, these presentations give students opportunities to comment on their work (as well as other students' projects), accept constructive feedback, make modifications, and gain valuable experiences that will help prepare them for college, career, and civic life.

Of course, there are numerous other methods teachers may employ to teach the reparations debate. Essays, mock trials, simulations, small group discussions, interactive lectures (numerous opportunities for student questions and comments), creating artwork, music, literature, political cartoons, and other methods may be more appropriate than a time-consuming and complex C3 Framework Project. Furthermore, time constraints, student ability levels, state/district testing requirements, and other factors may affect teaching decisions.

The Efficacy of Using Multiple Methods and Activities

The reparations debate is a superb issue for secondary schools students because it is contemporary, makes direct connections with American history, and incorporates the four core disciplines of history, civics (political science), economics, and geography (National Council for the Social Studies, 2013). One of the most important decisions educators make entails choosing the specific instructional activities, methods, resources, and assessments. While the reparations debate can be taught using traditional methods, such as lecture and assigned readings, the research literature suggests that student-centered methods are better suited to engage students with controversial issues (Avery et al., 2013; National Council for the Social Studies, 2013).

Therefore, the C3 Framework and other inquiry projects are effective methods for teaching controversial issues because students are actively engaged in creating and answering questions, acquiring empirical research, comparing perspectives, evaluating various arguments and ideological claims, drawing conclusion and making recommendations. The teacher serves a vital role as facilitator ensuring students remain on task, correcting errors in accuracy or methodology, guiding them to excellent resources, and ensuring that they apply the scientific method in their research. Of course, unlike the hard sciences, political ideology, religious beliefs, personal experiences, family background, and a host of other factors will influence all human beings and their ultimate beliefs and values on civic issues. Students need to understand that this is normal human behavior and dissenting views are inevitable, especially on controversial issues. This helps students develop tolerance, respect, and sharpens their appreciation for persuasion, compromise, and democratic processes. Moreover, groups inquiry projects help students develop social skills valued in the modern economy, such as cooperation, deliberation, listening to diverse opinions, effective communication, problem-solving via creativity, and the crucial role that all individuals play in achieving overall company goals (National Council for the Social Studies, 2013).

The C3 Framework, or other inquiry methods, can incorporate several other strategies into a final product. Conversely, educators can choose to have a mock trial or debate about reparations without using the C3 Framework. This entails a significant amount of teacher and student preparation and requires a large time commitment, although less than a complete C3 Framework Project. Mock trials and debates are effective because students are playing active roles as debaters, witnesses, judges, jurors, social science experts, and so forth (Chapin, 2015; Zevin, 2015).

The use of music, literature, and art (in the case of reparations and slavery, there are excellent resources, ranging from Gospel music to *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* political cartoons, newspaper accounts, political speeches, and numerous other primary sources) are excellent methods because they appeal to the affective domain (emotions, values, morality, beliefs) as well as the cognitive and reflective domains (Zevin, 2015). Students can examine these resources and use them to support or oppose different perspectives; the affective domain helps students develop an understanding of metaphors, analogies, caricature, symbols, sarcasm, and other literary devices. The arts are essential to social studies and their proper implementation can improve

thinking, problem-solving skills, creativity, and spawn greater empathy and a respect for the human condition.

These methods are effective in producing effective citizens committed to democracy, social justice, and the essential dignity and equality of all people. Moreover, these methods allow students to be active participants by engaging in voting, lobbying, holding leaders accountable, protesting, and fighting injustices via behavior. "Democracy is not a spectator sport" (Davis, 2019, p. 180) and students must use their knowledge to improve our society in its perpetual quest to seek equality, justice, and a reduction in human suffering and an increase in human flourishing.

The spectacular advances in computer technologies allow students to create blogs, videos, recordings, graphics, PowerPoint presentations, take virtual field trips, play video games, and communicate with people from all over the world (Chapin, 2015; Zevin, 2015). Students can use the Internet to conduct research and formulate their presentations with a wide array of materials (maps, charts, graphic, statistics, videos, music, and so forth). It is important students understand that technology is a useful tool, but that engaging with ideas, moral issues, historical events, and political issues should be their central focus. This is a contentious issue in education; technology is not a panacea and reading, writing, and discussions are still vital to civic knowledge and understanding. Furthermore, the technology explosion has resulted in a tsunami of false information, distortions, propaganda, myths, on myths being sent across the globe with one click of the mouse (Davis, 2019). Social media can often resemble a hi- tech form of tribalism where students are much more interested in a friend's post than in constitutional law or economic history. Rising incivility in political discourse, academia, and the media is a consequence of communications technologies that allow individuals to retreat into their tribes and avoid any consequences for their views expressed in anonymity (Davis, 2019). Social media cannot be allowed to contaminate honest and scholarly attempts to examine the reparations debate and other controversial issues. Therefore, teachers must exercise extreme caution with all instructional methods and activities; choosing methods, activities, and resources that promote knowledge, respect, civility, and further the democratic ideals of liberty, equality, individual rights and responsibilities, and civic participation are a prime responsibility of educators.

Discussion, Conclusion, and Implications

The reparations debate—what, if anything, should the United States (including private sector entities that benefited from slavery)—pay to descendants of African and African American enslaved from 1619 until 1865 is a relevant and controversial topic in contemporary America. Advocates for reparations assert that even though slavery was abolished by the 13th Amendment in 1865, its legacy of de jure and de facto segregation and rampant racial discrimination is the primary cause of contemporary African Americans lagging far behind whites in wealth accumulation, income, equal educational and employments opportunities, political power, and access to quality housing and social services. Moreover, African Americans are disproportionately overrepresented in the criminal justice system and experience a wide variety of physical and emotional health issues stemming from centuries of racial hatred and ubiquitous discrimination.

For advocates of discrimination, it is a moral, political, and economic issue and there cannot be a peaceful reconciliation until the harm is repaired. Reparations can take the form of cash payments, housing vouchers, affirmative action in education, employment, and other areas. The current status of African American communities is a direct and intentional result of slavery and segregation and the United States—the world's first nation built on the democratic ideals, not of blood (to whom born) nor soil (where one is born) but on the moral precepts of freedom , equality of opportunities, due process of law, and individual rights. American slavery and segregation are the ultimate betrayal of these ideals and equitable compensation is the only viable method to achieve racial and social justice.

Opponents of reparations do not deny the great harm inflicted by slavery and segregation. Rather, they contend that the United States has made amends for these moral failings via major civil rights laws, Constitutional Amendments, and Supreme Court decisions banning racial segregation and discrimination. Furthermore, they allege that the Civil War (1861-1865) was the first step in abolishing slavery and African Americans have made remarkable socioeconomic progress in the past 65 years and paying contemporary African Americans would create a moral hazard—slavery ended in 1865 and no living African American experienced it and no living whites owned slaves—by punishing individuals who did not personally commit any immoral behaviors. Reparations would bankrupt the nation, exacerbate race relations, and generate a plethora of groups—women, Native American tribes, Asian Americans, Latinos, Catholics, and

others—claiming they faced multiple forms of discrimination that hindered their economic and educational opportunities and stifled their equality the dominant white Protestants.

Educators have several choices regarding teaching about controversial issues (Avery et al., 2013; Goldberg, 2020; Hess, 2002). For example, some educators will take a specific position and defend it to students but allow dissent, encourage debate, and maintain an open classroom. Other educators, fearing classroom disruptions, parental/community outrage, or emotionally charged students may not allow controversial issues to be discussed in the classroom. This position, however safe for teachers, is pedagogically fallacious because it deprives students' opportunities to discuss and debate the most important issues in society. Omitting controversial issues, including difficult historical events (students may be shocked or ashamed to learn that their country engaged in moral abominations), eviscerates social studies and is professionally unethical and harmful to students and society (Avery et al., 2013; Goldberg, 2020; Hess, 2002.) Consequently, they would be woefully unprepared for civic participation. Some teachers, believing that there is only one correct point of view may attempt to indoctrinate students and not allow and criticism or debate on their position. This method can have serious legal and professional consequences for the teachers; courts have ruled that K-12 educators possess less academic freedom and First Amendment rights than university professors.

Thus, it may be the case that teacher neutrality is the most prudent choice in a politically divided society where diversity of thought, values, and political ideologies is powerful and pervasive. Social studies teachers should consider all options, including the pros and cons and potential consequences for each choice, and make an informed decision on how they will approach controversial issues. It is crucial that students learn to debate issues without resorting to anger, disrespectful comments or body language, incivility, or asserting that people who disagree with them must be immoral.

The reparations debate is controversial because people of good will on both sides possess strong arguments grounded in competing notions of morality and political ideology. A central component of American democracy requires civic engagement among factions that have competing values, beliefs, historical experiences, and interests. Thus, various groups—racial, ethnic, economic, professional, religious, geographic, and so forth—compete to attain their goals and vision via lobbying government and persuading the American people of the moral superiority of their position. For example, advocates of gay rights—the right to equal treatment

under the law in employment, education, military service, sexual activities, and marriage—fought for their beliefs by civic engagement and education (National Council for the Social Studies, 2019). This battle raged for over fifty years before the Supreme Court ruled that homosexual marriage and other rights are guaranteed under the U.S. Constitution, specifically the 14th Amendment's "equal protection" and "due process" clauses. When viewed from a long historical perspective, some controversial issues become anachronisms as one view becomes the social norm and law. Today, slavery, a raging controversy in the late 18th and 19th centuries, is a moral abomination rejected by almost all people in the United States (as well as all other modern nations; pockets of de facto slavery still exist in some regions and human trafficking is a separate contemporary issue).

By teaching controversial issues and other formerly controversial issues (i.e., women's rights), students should be presented with historical facts, relevant statistics, competing ideologies and philosophies, and other pertinent information that sharpens their thinking skills and allows for intelligent and informed participation in American democracy. Therefore, educators can achieve these goals by being ideologically balanced and allowing all perspectives (including one's anathema to teachers and some students) into the classroom. The knowledge and skills they learn by studying the reparations debate are transferable to all other controversial issues and will contribute to producing independent thinkers capable of effective civic participation—a major goal of social studies education in an increasingly pluralistic (this diversity includes political opinions and values as well as racial, ethnic, religious, and economic diversity) and complex democracy. It is vital to reiterate that controversial issues in social studies education are highly complex issues because ideology—the totality of moral precepts, values, beliefs, personal experiences (this would include relevant factors such as race, socioeconomic status, and sex/gender) and religious principles—is a powerful determinant of political, social, and economic views. A pluralistic democracy, such as the United States, demands that all perspectives be thoroughly examined and subject to dissent as part of the process of persuasion, compromise, and decision-making. The reparations debate offers powerful arguments on both sides of the issue and this article has examined those arguments in a scholarly manner designed to inform citizens as they construct their views. Ultimately, citizens express those views via voting; a sign of a healthy democracy where popular sovereignty determines policies.

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