Using a “Teaching Tolerance” Learning Plan in the Political Science Classroom

Michelle Kim Gardner

*Department of Political Science, University of California, Irvine, Irvine, CA, USA;

Email: mkgard@uci.edu; Twitter: @mchllgrdnnr; ORCiD: 0000-0003-2136-6362

Michelle Kim Gardner is a PhD student and graduate teaching assistant at the University of California, Irvine. She is a contemporary political theorist with a focus on race and ethnicity, social movements, political aesthetics and political culture in the digital era.

Word Count: 3,253
Using a “Teaching Tolerance” Learning Plan in the Political Science Classroom

Using the concept of racial capitalism, as well as several articles focusing on racism and the global environmental crisis both spurred by capitalism, I attempt to have students link materials from an introductory political science class on race and ethnicity politics via a “Teaching Tolerance” Learning Plan. “Teaching Tolerance” is a project of the Southern Poverty Law Center dedicated to critical race consciousness in K-12 classroom, but I make use of the learning plan in the university classroom as a means of increasing racial consciousness amongst university students and teaching them how to connect sociopolitical racial histories to the concept of racial capitalism.

Keywords: race and ethnicity; higher education

Introduction

In the spring quarter of 2019, I was assigned to a graduate teaching assistantship in the Political Science Department at the University of California, Irvine for a class titled “Introduction to Race and Ethnicity Politics” taught by Professor Claire Jean Kim. Having done extensive work on white nationalism and racism in my own research, I had spent much time on the Southern Poverty Law Center (hereo referred to as SPLC) website and eventually came across and learned about their Teaching Tolerance project. I was heavily interested in the project, but since their focus is on the K-12 classroom, I took to task applying their learning plan framework to the university classroom. In essence, I am looking at effectiveness of this at a university level, particularly in the political science classroom and my research question is: Is the way I modified this curriculum still effective at the university level?

The students in this course were undergraduates who had spent the past 9 weeks learning about the politics of race in the United States, having focused on the Black, Latinx and Asian-
American experiences. The course began with brief histories of slavery, colonialism, and exclusion and moved to the racial justice movements of the 1950s to 1970s. The latter half of the course focused on various issues relating to contemporary racial politics and how those connected to the histories discussed in the first half of the course. Each week, students had been assigned about three scholarly articles or book chapters, but in the final week they were assigned six articles from major journalist outlets. Being the graduate teaching assistant, I am responsible for one-third of the students and ensuring that they learn the material from the assigned readings, separate from that of the lecture material.\(^1\) Usually I have the students do a summarizing and sharing type of activity, but since the last bit of readings differed so much from the original types of readings, I decided to take on a “Teaching Tolerance” learning framework in lieu of our original class set-up. The final class was a culmination of all of the material we’ve learned, applying it to the concept of “racial capitalism.” The goal of my discussion section and this research is to examine whether the students can successfully connect their pre-assigned article to racial capitalism, in the way that the article was purposed, and to illuminate idea of racial capitalism, connect racial capitalism to existing course material, and to determine whether students are capable of writing an argument focused on racial capitalism and course materials.

**Literature Review**

Although this framework is made out of its own research done by the SPLC, it is still important to place the framework within a scholarly paradigm, so as to effectively translate it to the university classroom. Institutions of higher learning play a crucial role in the preparation of professionals for the future and one of such roles involves the development of future members of

\(^1\) While the lecture material did have overlaps with the assigned readings, it would often not directly coincide with one another.
faculty for continuity of teaching and learning. Educators will use a variety of different approaches to promote learning amongst students and the need to develop future members of faculty competent in teaching and committed to continuous learning requires the use of specific approaches to knowledge transfer. The approaches included in this literature review include the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning (hereo referred to as SoTL) and critical pedagogy, as these two approaches embody principles of the Teaching Tolerance framework.

In examining social justice’s place in the university classroom, a movement within higher education that is certainly worth looking to is the SoTL which attests that teaching and research are one in the same, and if social justice is at the center of one’s research agenda, then it should just as effectively translate itself into the classroom.\(^2\) In a nutshell, SoTL is an amalgamation of education research with practice.\(^3\) It occurs through implementation, dissemination, and application of research to practice and intervention. The preparation of doctoral and post-doctoral students is crucial to their future career development, and the inclusion of SoTL in graduate programs has the potential to develop future faculty members to be competent in developing and advancing their own teaching programs.\(^4\) Institutions that focus on research prioritize educational approaches that improve the experiences of the pre-professionals. Introducing future faculty members to SoTL prepares them to integrate the framework in their careers and assists them to understand the role of professionals who work in research-intensive institutions.

\(^4\) Ibid., 11
Principles of practice of SoTL include inquiry into student learning, grounded context, sound methodology, student collaboration, and “going public.” Practitioners should ensure that learning is not limited to the acquisition of disciplinary knowledge or skill development, rather, they should cultivate the development of attitudes that connect to learning. It is important for SoTL practitioners to consider all the principles when introducing the pre-professionals to the trend. In such, the goal of learning exceeds accumulation of knowledge as educators and students should embrace continuous learning and sharing of experiences. It includes the forwarding of cultural transformation and for social justice. SoTL includes concepts of intersectionality, accountability, diversity, and responsibility. It is an international movement that addresses the integration of scholarship, teaching, and learning in a variety of disciplines. SoTL practitioners should ensure that their students get exposure to the parameters of SoTL for successful integration in teaching and learning.

Critical pedagogy is a movement that educators use to motivate students to challenge the dominant forces in society. It is an umbrella term that encompasses various theoretical perspectives that motivate students to think critically. Educators lead students to question oppressive ideologies and practices in their learning environment and society. Critical pedagogy incentivizes individual and collective drive towards the realization of social justice. A student should perceive the problems in their environment, share their knowledge, and attempt to change the situation. Critical pedagogy emanates from the premise that there is oppression, inequity, and

---

7 Ibid.
injustice. It reveals demonstrates that targeting the sources of power imbalances in society has potential to improve the wellbeing of the oppressed. Investigations of power reveal the sources of the imbalances and facilitate the implementation of interventions that promote social justice and equity. For example, the successes experienced by the activism against social oppression of African Americans in the 1960s demonstrates the potential of critical pedagogy in transforming social imbalances. 

Critical pedagogy establishes the basis for transformative education as it enables learners to participate actively in the learning process. Teaching should not be perceived as just a process of instilling knowledge in learners but as a sacred calling. Transformative learning aims at igniting a passion for learning to change the world for the betterment of humanity. Therefore, critical pedagogy is an opportunity for learners to gather motivation to counter social oppression experienced by their groups for an inclusive society. 

The Teaching Tolerance framework of the SPLC is one of the methods through which educators can use promote diversity, inclusion and culturally responsive and sustaining pedagogy. Materials on Teaching Tolerance can be used as both foundational resources and complementary materials for educators invested in promoting social justice. Educators can select a category such as race and ethnicity and plan effectively for their class using category-specific resources. Both critical pedagogy and SoTL reflect the tenets of Teaching Tolerance. In the case of critical pedagogy, educators encourage students to challenge normalized forms of oppression to promote social justice. The goal is to identify the sources of power imbalances, share acquired knowledge, and implement strategies that reduce social oppression of specific groups.

---

10 Ibid., 6
11 Ibid., 6
12 "Critical pedagogy in uncertain times: Hope and possibilities."
In a case where an educator intends to teach race consciousness, critical pedagogy provides the framework for interrogating one’s treatment depending on their race, share information, and identify opportunities for improvement of the wellbeing of the oppressed group.

SoTL, critical pedagogy, and Teaching Tolerance are useful tools in the development of knowledgeable future members of faculty. Educators should ensure the participation of learners in the learning process for the development of knowledge and skills that ensures continuous learning and promotion of social justice. This project is an attempt to demonstrate principles of SoTL and critical pedagogy and show the effectiveness of the Teaching Tolerance framework in doing such.

**Method**

As I’ve stated, the students read six articles prior to our class meeting, they are listed in the table below. Each student was assigned a single reading in order to become an “expert” on that one reading. Being that this is the university classroom, it is essential that students are reading the articles that the professor wants them to read, and to incorporate these into the Teaching Tolerance learning plan framework. Each reading assigned has an intended purpose that I expect to see reflected in the writing exercise. How effective the framework is can hopefully be determined by how the students engage with the intended purpose in the writing exercise, in tandem with the rubric provided by the Teaching Tolerance framework.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title of Article</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Intended Purpose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“It’s Time to Try Fossil-Fuel Executives for Crimes Against Humanity”</td>
<td>Kate Aronoff</td>
<td>Jacobin Magazine</td>
<td>Connecting the fossil-fuel industry to racial exploitation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Climate what? Media kept on chasing Trump, not climate change, in 2018”</td>
<td>Lisa Hymas</td>
<td>Grist Magazine</td>
<td>Examining how the Trump administration engages in climate change propaganda, and how this specifically hurts people of color.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Making Good on the Broken Promise of Reparations”</td>
<td>Katherine Franke</td>
<td>The New York Review</td>
<td>How socio-historical factors hold back people of color from excelling financially.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“White Nationalism’s Deep American Roots”</td>
<td>Adam Serwer</td>
<td>The Atlantic</td>
<td>How white racial resentment is on the rise and how it is affecting people of color.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“The criminalization of environmental protest in Trump’s America”</td>
<td>Natasha Geiling</td>
<td>Think Progress</td>
<td>Examining how the Trump administration engages in climate change propaganda, and how this specifically hurts people of color.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[Figure 1. List of Readings]
Upon coming to class, students will have already read the article reading the concept of racial capitalism in the Harvard Review titled “Race and the Law: Racial Capitalism” by Nancy Leong (2019).

Before beginning, I handed out a pre-survey, with survey items intended to assess the students’ preliminary understanding of their readings and to predict how engaging with their classmates will aid their comprehension. There will be a Likert scale from “strongly agree” to “strongly disagree.” The surveys will be anonymous, and the survey items will be as follows:

“I have an understanding of racial capitalism

I can successfully talk about the concept of racial capitalism
I can connect my pre-assigned article to the concept of racial capitalism

I will gain an understanding from hearing about the other articles from other groups, it will be valuable to my understanding of racial capitalism

The class as a whole is very focused on racial capitalism”

Lastly, students will be asked to provide a short definition of racial capitalism. I will use this as a pre-reference and assess with the writing assignment how their understanding developed.

My teaching strategy, as adopted from the Teaching Tolerance learning plan framework is to have students answer “Text-Dependent Questions” in groups. According to the website:

“Readers must refer back to the central text to answer text-dependent questions and provide evidence from the reading to support their answers. Students provide accurate, relevant and complete evidence. To do this well, students will often need to re-read the text several times. This approach privileges the text over prior knowledge, personal experience and pre-reading activities.”

The questions are as follows:

- How is your article inextricably linked to the histories we've discussed over the course of this class? Please use evidence from your reading to support your answers.

- "Racial capitalism in which white individuals and predominantly white institutions use nonwhite people to acquire social and economic value." (Leong 2019). Using this definition, how do we see your assigned article as an example of this? Please use evidence from your reading to support your answers.
Students answered these questions in their groups and wrote down their responses on a sheet of paper. Having discussed, students moved to an individual exercise, titled, “Write to the Source: Where I Stand” An overview is as follows:

“This prompt asks students to argue a position using evidence from a text.

Follow these steps to customize this argument/analysis task.

1. Review the steps in the handout "Plan for Write to the Source."
2. Review the sample task and then fill in the task template fields below the sample task.
3. Review the handout "Argument Writing Rubric." Adapt as necessary.”

For the sake of time, I had the students write on the same questions as the “essential questions.”

The plan for “Write to the Source: Where I Stand” is in the next few figures.
Planning for Write to the Source

Write to the Source is unique in its dual emphasis on developing the writing process and writing for social justice. A strategic writing process allows students to produce more refined and creative thoughts and to better understand the collaborative nature of writing.

Tasks in the 3-5 learning plan focus on the importance of brainstorming and planning before students draft their written work. Students are also asked to revise their work for content and edit for mechanics before presenting a final product. Teachers using the 6-12 grade tasks should incorporate such elements into the prompts at their discretion. Strategies included in Word Work, Close and Critical Reading and Community Inquiry can function as prewriting opportunities.

The flexible design of the templates in Write to the Source will allow you to customize tasks for a variety of purposes. You can design different prompts for different students, groups or classes. Once your students have practiced writing from these prompts, they can choose their own.

Follow these steps to create Write to the Source tasks for your students:

1. **CRAFT OR SELECT AN ESSENTIAL QUESTION.** Every learning plan is driven by an essential question; during Write to the Source, students respond critically and creatively through writing. You can write your own question or select from a bank of suggested essential questions located in the learning plan builder. To craft or select an essential question, navigate to Build a Learning Plan and begin building a new plan.

2. **CHOOSE A CENTRAL TEXT.** Search hundreds of texts that reflect the Common Core’s approach to text complexity; range and quality. Select texts that provide windows and mirrors for your students and address your individual teaching goals.

3. **CHOOSE A WRITING TYPE AND STRUCTURE.** Decide what type of writing students will produce—argumentative, explanatory/or narrative. Then, review the different prompts within that writing type; each employs a different structure to achieve its purpose. Choose the writing structure most appropriate for your task. This decision can only be made with the central text(s) in mind; not all prompts and texts match. Be sure that students can reasonably achieve the task requirements with the text you selected.

[Figure 5. Part 1 of the lesson plan for “Write to the Source”]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Writing type</th>
<th>CCR Anchor Standard</th>
<th>Structure (3-5)</th>
<th>Structure (6-12)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Argument</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Analysis</td>
<td>Analysis (Where I Stand)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(What is the Argument?)</td>
<td>Comparison (I'll Be the Judge)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Comparison</td>
<td>Evaluation (Are You Convinced?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Agree or Disagree? &amp; What do We Share?)</td>
<td>Problem and solution (Problem Solver)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explanatory</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Definition (So What?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Lift the Line &amp; Questions that Come Up)</td>
<td>Description (Break It Down)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Comparison</td>
<td>Comparison (A Two-Sided Coin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Cause and Effect)</td>
<td>Cause and effect (What's the Impact)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Analysis</td>
<td>(Fact or Opinion)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrative</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Applying</td>
<td>Imaginary (Imaginary Narrative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Point of View)</td>
<td>Historical (Put the Story in History)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Personal</td>
<td>Personal (The Pages of My Life)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Small Moment)</td>
<td>Understanding (Beautiful Language)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Applying</td>
<td>Applying (In Conversations)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. CHOOSE A WRITING PRODUCT. Each Write to the Source task includes suggested writing products that you can choose. The writing product is critical to student success and engagement, as it helps determine their audience, purpose, tone and point of view. Once your students have practiced writing from these prompts, they can choose their products from a menu of options or create their own.

5. DETERMINE ADDITIONAL TASK DEMANDS. Each Write to the Source task requires students to make a reading-writing connection. The argument and explanatory tasks require students to cite textual evidence. The narrative tasks require them to parallel or connect to the style and theme of the central text.

Write to the Source tasks include additional task demands that invite students to incorporate personal experiences, social concerns, world views or cultural/familial “funds of knowledge” into their writing.

The additional task demands are labeled “At,” “Above” and “Beyond” to indicate increasingly complex levels of rigor. This allows for differentiation based on considerations such as:

- **Grade level:** The Integrated Learning Plan spans grade bands. Use the At, Above and Beyond levels to build tasks appropriate for the grade you teach.
- **Readiness:** Individual students may read and write above/below their chronological grade level. Use the At, Above and Beyond levels to build tasks that challenge each student in the zone of proximal development.
- **English language proficiency:** Use the At, Above and Beyond levels to build tasks that support English language learners as they become increasingly proficient.
- **Scaffolding:** Students achieve learning goals best either when supports are provided and then gradually re-

[Figure 6. Part 2 of the lesson plan for “Write to the Source”]
I then handed out the post-survey, with questions the same as the pre-survey except asking them to reflect on the lesson rather than predict. There was a Likert scale from “strongly agree” to “strongly disagree.” The surveys are anonymous, and the survey items are as follows:

“I felt this discussion improved my understanding of racial capitalism.

Working together in groups enabled me to more successfully talk about the concept of racial capitalism.

Working together in groups enabled me to more successfully connect my pre-assigned article to the concept of racial capitalism.

I also gained an understanding from hearing about the other articles from other groups, it was valuable to my understanding of racial capitalism.

Writing on racial capitalism better helped me to understand its links to the histories we discussed in class.”

Lastly, students were asked for additional feedback.
After class assessed the students’ understanding and the intended goals of this project by using the Teaching Tolerance rubric for the “Write to the Source” in tandem with how well the writing assignment reflects the intended purpose of the student’s assigned article.

[Figure 8. Argument Writing Rubric for “Write to the Source”]

Results

The first assignment of the two was from the pre-survey where I simply asked students to provide a definition of racial capitalism given what they had read prior to coming to class. Strong definitions included a description of the institutional power of racial capitalism and an
understanding that it happens on a global scale. Weak definitions were typically basic in that they simply equated racial capitalism to racial prejudice.

As shown in Figure 9, students generally did much better on the actual assignment than they did the pre-survey definition, seeing more grades that were “Exceeding (4)” or “Accomplishing (3).”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grades</th>
<th>Exceeding (4)</th>
<th>Accomplishing (3)</th>
<th>Progressing (2)</th>
<th>Attempting (1)</th>
<th>No Answer (0)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assignment Grade</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
<td>46.7%</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
<td>11.6%</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-Survey: Definition of racial capitalism</td>
<td>16.1%</td>
<td>39.2%</td>
<td>18.0%</td>
<td>26.7%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[Figure 9. Grade distribution for the two assignments]

Prior to beginning the lesson, I handed out a pre-survey. Most students agreed that they had already come to class with an understanding of racial capitalism, however, support wavered when it came to being able to successfully talk about racial capitalism or connect their assigned article to the concept. However, most agreed that they would gain an understanding from the discussion with other classmates. Finally, students more or less agreed that the class as a whole had been very focused on racial capitalism. I asked this last question specifically to see if students could see the concept of racial capitalism present in the histories that had been discussed in lectures and past readings up to this point.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre-Survey</th>
<th>Strongly Agree (5)</th>
<th>Agree (4)</th>
<th>Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)</th>
<th>Disagree (2)</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree (1)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre-Survey: I have an understanding of racial capitalism</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
<td>81.7%</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-Survey: I can successfully talk about the concept of racial capitalism</td>
<td>11.7%</td>
<td>48.3%</td>
<td>28.3%</td>
<td>11.7%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-Survey: I can connect my pre-assigned article to the concept of racial capitalism</td>
<td>11.7%</td>
<td>45.0%</td>
<td>30.0%</td>
<td>13.3%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-Survey: I will gain an understanding from hearing about the other articles from other groups, it will be valuable to my understanding of racial capitalism</td>
<td>48.3%</td>
<td>48.3%</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-Survey: The class as a whole is very focused on racial capitalism</td>
<td>28.3%</td>
<td>46.7%</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Right before ending class, I handed out a post-survey. Most students agreed that the discussion and writing assignment had furthered their understanding of racial capitalism, and that the writing assignment helped them better understand how the histories discussed in the class as a whole had its links to racial capitalism.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Post-Survey</th>
<th>Strongly Agree (5)</th>
<th>Agree (4)</th>
<th>Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)</th>
<th>Disagree (2)</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree (1)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Post-Survey: I felt this discussion improved my understanding of racial capitalism</td>
<td>45.0%</td>
<td>45.0%</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-Survey: Working together in groups enabled me to more successfully talk about the concept of racial capitalism</td>
<td>30.0%</td>
<td>56.7%</td>
<td>11.7%</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-Survey: Working together in groups enabled me to more successfully connect my pre-assigned article to the concept of racial capitalism</td>
<td>28.3%</td>
<td>56.7%</td>
<td>13.3%</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-Survey: I also gained an understanding from hearing about the other articles from other groups, it was valuable to my understanding of racial capitalism</td>
<td>30.0%</td>
<td>56.7%</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-Survey: Writing on racial capitalism better helped me to understand its links to the histories we discussed in class</td>
<td>40.0%</td>
<td>45.0%</td>
<td>11.7%</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Limitations

First of all, I would like to begin by stating that this is a mere case study for how the Teaching Tolerance framework could be applied to the political science classroom, and not intended to be an all-encompassing theory of any sort. That being said, there were definitely limitations to this study. The major one being time constraints, as we were limited to a 50-minute discussion section, several students felt that they did not have enough time to write, as indicated in some of the “Additional Feedback” that students provided. Moreover, as this time was limited, I did not have adequate time to teach the concept of “racial capitalism” as thoroughly as I would have...
liked. It is a concept with many intricacies; however, students were limited in their definition to what was given to them from the one-page Leong (2019) article.

Conclusion

To conclude, the “Teaching Tolerance” framework has been a proven and effective method of teaching racial consciousness amongst the K-12 age group, however, several studies in higher education and have that the framework has effectiveness there as well. While the existing studies have found their place in courses such as social science methods or education, I propose a way that the framework can be applied to the political science class, more specifically teaching on race and ethnicity politics. Using the framework’s “Write to the Source: Where I stand” assignment, I was able to find significant comprehension and thus argument building skills amongst students when grading their assignments using the rubric assigned by Teaching Tolerance.