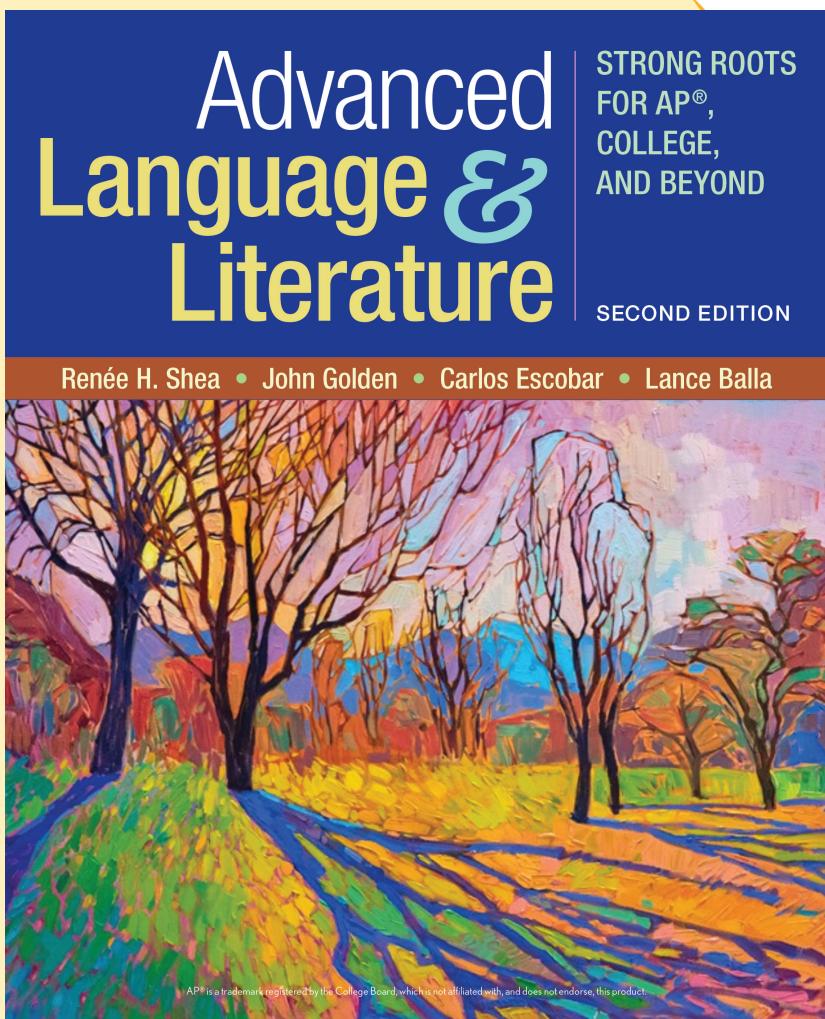


# **STRONG ROOTS**

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FOR

## **AP<sup>®</sup>, COLLEGE, & BEYOND**



Inside: Sample Chapter

### **CHAPTER 5**

### **Changing the World**



**bedford, freeman & worth**  
high school publishers

# Dear 10th Grade English Teachers,

Sophomores are often thought of as the middle children of a high school—all the eagerness of freshmen, combined with the skill and sophistication of upperclassmen. More than anything, 10th graders are filled with possibilities. And for us as the authors of *Advanced Language & Literature*, that means helping them gain the skills, background knowledge, and earned confidence to be able to walk into either AP® English class in the future knowing that they belong there, and that they can be successful.

Since it is the goal of most teachers, schools, and districts to have enrollment in our AP® classes reflect the racial, gender, economic, and ethnic diversity of our schools, it's essential that we give **all** students the preparation they need before they enroll in an AP® class. My co-authors and I are deeply committed to the idea that equity of access requires equity of preparation. For us, Pre-AP® is not a course, but a mindset: **all students are Pre-AP® students** simply because they are in an English class that hopefully leads into an AP® class. We believe that with the right support, guidance, and curriculum, all sophomores can develop the reading, writing, speaking, and critical thinking skills required in AP® English, college, and beyond.

Now, all this is easy to say in a letter like this, but we know that the reality of today's classrooms makes this much tougher in practice. Within the same classroom, you may have students who are reading Jane Austen on a daily basis alongside students who are learning English as a second language. You may have students who rarely write more than a text message seated next to someone who has written fourteen novels of fan fiction. So, our main goal with this Second Edition of *Advanced Language & Literature* was to provide you with a wide range of engaging texts on various topics at identified complexity levels written by authors of diverse backgrounds. We paired these texts with approachable skills instruction, text-based questions, and activities that are meaningful, appropriate, and easily differentiated for the spectrum of students you teach every day.

For me, one of the greatest joys of teaching sophomores is seeing just how much growth they make in a single year, and getting to check in with them in the following years about how they're doing in their AP® English classes. There is nothing better than when they say, "No problem. I got it." This is our hope for you and for all of your students with this second edition of *Advanced Language & Literature*.

Very truly yours,



John Golden

# About the Authors



**Renée H. Shea** was professor of English and Modern Languages and Director of Freshman Composition at Bowie State University in Maryland. A College Board® faculty consultant for more than thirty years in AP® Language, Literature, and Pre-AP® English, she has been a reader and question leader for both AP® English exams. Renée served as a member of the Development Committee for AP® Language and Composition and the English Academic Advisory Committee for the College Board®, as well as the SAT® Critical Reading Test Development Committee. She is co-author of *The Language of Composition, Literature & Composition, Foundations of Language and Literature*, and *Conversations in American Literature*, as well as two volumes in the NCTE High School Literature series (on Amy Tan and Zora Neale Hurston).



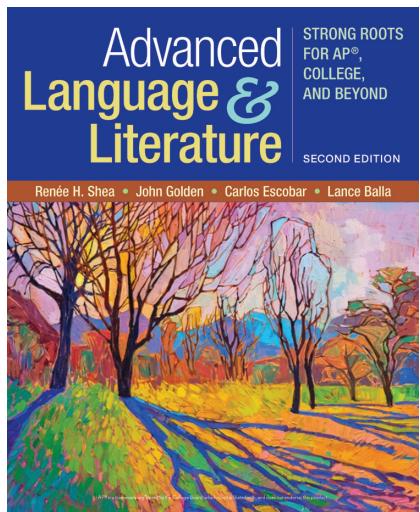
**John Golden** teaches at Cleveland High School in Portland, Oregon. He was an advisor to the College Board® 6–12 English Language Arts Development Committee. An English teacher for over twenty years, John has developed curriculum and led workshops for the College Board's Pacesetter and SpringBoard® English programs. John is a co-author of *Foundations of Language and Literature* (BFW Publishers, 2018) and the producer of *Teaching Ideas: A Video Resource for AP® English* (Bedford/St. Martin's, 2008) and *The NCTE Centennial Film: Reading the Past, Writing the Future* (2010). He is also the author of *Reading in the Dark: Using Film as a Tool in the English Classroom* (NCTE, 2001) and *Reading in the Reel World: Teaching Documentaries and Other Nonfiction Texts* (NCTE, 2006).



**Carlos Escobar** teaches 10th grade English and AP® English Literature and Composition at Felix Varela Senior High School in Miami, Florida, where he is also the AP Program Director. In addition, Carlos has been a College Board Advisor for AP® English Literature and a member of the AP® English Literature Test Development Committee. He has mentored new AP® English teachers and presented at various local and national AP® workshops and conferences. As part of the College Board's Instructional Design Team, Carlos contributed to the development, review, and publication of the 2019 AP® English Literature and Composition Course and Exam Description. To prepare students for the 2020 AP® Exam, he designed and delivered daily, live YouTube lessons streamed globally by the College Board. Carlos has co-authored three Teacher's Editions for Bedford, Freeman & Worth including *Literature & Composition 2e*, *Advanced Language & Literature 1e*, and *Foundations of Language & Literature 1e*. He is also a co-author on the third edition of *Literature & Composition*.



**Lance Balla** is former curriculum developer and current principal at Everett High School in Washington. He was an AP® teacher for almost twenty years, and a College Board® Faculty Consultant for over ten years, as well as being a reader and table leader for the AP® Literature Exam. Lance is a member of the College Board® English Academic Advisory Committee, has been a co-author on the College Board's Springboard® program and was a member of the SAT® Critical Reading Test Development Committee. His awards and recognitions include the White House Distinguished Teacher Award, the Teacher Recognition Award from the U.S. Department of Education, the Washington State Award for Professional Excellence, and the Woodring College of Education Award for Outstanding Teaching.



## REQUEST A COPY

Visit [bfpub.com/all2e](http://bfpub.com/all2e) to request your copy of *Advanced Language & Literature*, Second Edition or email your sales representative at [highschool@bfpub.com](mailto:highschool@bfpub.com).

# Advanced Language & Literature

## Strong Roots For AP® College and Beyond

### Second Edition ©2021

Hardcover: 978-1-319-24428-6

Renée H. Shea • John Golden • Lance Balla • Carlos Escobar

*Advanced Language & Literature* is a textbook and supplements program designed to prepare all students for success in both AP® English courses, college, and career.

Whether a lower-level learner or a high-achieving one, students will find that the instruction in this book meets them where they are and challenges them to grow as readers, writers and thinkers. From differentiated texts, to step-by-step instruction, and brief accessible activities, *Advanced Language & Literature* is designed to take your students to the next level.

*"Advanced Language and Literature provides an invaluable foundation for students heading into AP® English courses. This textbook succeeds in not only helping students scaffold and recognize the importance of the role of language and literature in their lives, but enables them to develop and practice skills that they will use throughout their lives."*

Saba Bennet, University HS, AZ

*"The book offers a collection of timely and engaging texts and prompts that challenge students to view texts as fluid, dynamic pieces [...]. It's one of the few texts I've encountered that encourage a range of responses to texts, without guiding students to a single, editor-proscribed outcome."*

John Peruggia, The Benjamin School, CA

# Here's How It Works

**Advanced Language & Literature** is divided into two main sections:

<p><b>Opening Chapters</b></p> <p>Chapter 1 – Making Meaning Chapter 2 – Understanding Literature Chapter 3 – Understanding Argument and Rhetoric Chapter 4 – Understanding Inquiry and Evidence-Based Argument</p>	<p><b>Scaffolded Skills Instruction</b></p> <p>These skill-building instructional chapters lay the groundwork for the skills students will develop and master throughout the course. These chapters use very brief accessible texts to <b>introduce, model, and practice fundamental academic skills</b>. Those skills include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>· how to approach an unfamiliar text</li><li>· how to conduct an academic conversation</li><li>· how to read a text for a variety of purposes</li><li>· how to work with literature of a variety of genres</li><li>· how to analyze and use rhetoric and argument strategies</li><li>· how to conduct an inquiry and investigate an issue</li><li>· how to work with sources and use evidence persuasively</li></ul>
<p><b>Thematic Chapters</b></p> <p>Chapter 5 – Changing the World (nonfiction) Chapter 6 – Self Discovery (literature) Chapter 7 – The Individual in School (nonfiction) Chapter 8 – Cultures, Conflicts, and Connections (literature) Chapter 9 – Our Robotic Future (nonfiction) Chapter 10 – Utopia/Dystopia (literature) Chapter 11 – Do the Right Thing (nonfiction) Chapter 12 – Power (literature)</p>	<p><b>Balancing Nonfiction and Literature</b></p> <p>The thematic chapters alternate focus between <b>nonfiction and literature</b>, to keep your course balanced while helping students deepen mastery and practice the skills introduced in the opening chapters.</p> <p><b>Spiraling Skills Throughout the Book</b></p> <p>To deepen mastery of the skills introduced in the opening chapter, each thematic chapter has an integrated <b>Skill Focus</b> with three components:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li><b>1. Skill Workshops</b> to deepen understanding of essential elements</li><li><b>2. Skill Focus questions</b> to analyze the effects of those elements</li><li><b>3. Writing Workshop</b> to help students put the element into practice in their own writing.</li></ol> <p><b>World-Class Selections Your Students Will Actually Read</b></p> <p>The readings in this book were selected to be <b>fresh, engaging, relevant, and vital</b>. From Trevor Noah to N.K. Jemisin, from Mindy Kaling to Richard Blanco, from Steven Hawking to Kurt Vonnegut, the texts in these chapters were selected with student readers in mind.</p>

“It really helps students build up to a better understanding of higher order thinking and it allows for some healthy conversations about global issues.”

—Stephanie Salazar, London HS, TX

"For years, teachers have been gathering various texts that connect in theme, create conversation, target certain skills, and promote writing, and this textbook has done essentially that. It also offers appropriate texts for various levels, especially the honors students who tend to be left out when other textbooks are adopted. Not this time!"

—Cynthia Sierra, Rivera HS, TX

# How a thematic chapter works

Each chapter centers on a vital and relevant **theme** and a series of **essential questions**, to engage students in the important conversations going on in the world around them.

Each chapter's **Skill Workshop** and **Skill Focus** questions that introduce and practice the skill students will focus on developing in the chapter.

**Leveled Text Sections** allow teachers to easily differentiate readings for students of all levels.

The **Central Text** is an exemplar text that demonstrates exceptional use of language and style. It also is a strong example of the Skill Focus of the chapter, and is used as a model in the **Writing Workshop**.

**Exploring Other Genres** adds a layer of enrichment to the chapter by looking at the theme across genres.

Each chapter's **Writing Workshop** takes students step-by-step through the process of writing an academic essay or persuasive argument.

With **Continuing the Conversation**, students engage with the chapter theme and Essential Questions by making text-to-self, text-to-text, and text-to-world connections.

## CHAPTER 5 Changing the World

- What are the conditions required to make change happen?
- How does one gain the appropriate amount and type of power to create change?
- How does effective, persuasive communication help to bring about change?
- When — if ever — is violence an appropriate means for creating change?

### *Skill Workshop – Understanding Personal Experience in Argument*

Malala Yousafzai, UN Speech

### SECTION 1

Bill Bystricky, When 16-Year-Olds Vote, We All Benefit  
Amber Tamblyn, I'm not Ready for the Redemption of Men  
David Hogg, The Road to Change

### SECTION 2

Denise Cummins, How to Get People to Change Their Minds  
Michelle Alexander, What if we're all coming back?  
Dolores Huerta, UCLA Speech (Edited)  
**Central Text:** DeRay Mckesson, Bully and the Pulpit

### SECTION 3

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Martin Luther King Jr., I Have Been to the Mountaintop  
Virginia Woolf, Thoughts on Peace in an Air Raid

### *Exploring Other Genres*

Luisa Valenzuela, The Censors

### *Writing Workshop – Writing an Argument Using Personal Experience*

### *Continuing the Conversation*

# Powerful Tools for Differentiating Instruction

## TEXT-BASED QUESTIONS

### Carefully Designed to Help You Differentiate by Task

When you have a classroom of students of multiple levels, it is important to recognize that all students might not need exactly the same assignment. The questions in *Advanced Language & Literature* offer you a range of options as an instructor, from assessing basic understanding, to nitty-gritty analysis of style, making it easy for you to differentiate by task.

Question Type	How They Work
<b>Understanding and Interpreting</b>	These questions guide students to an understanding of the content and move them toward an interpretation.
<b>Analyzing Language, Style, and Structure</b>	These questions ask students to look at craft — how the writer's choices create meaning at the level of word, sentence, and beyond. Also includes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Vocabulary-in-Context</b> question, perfect for supporting language acquisition and looking closely at diction.</li> <li>• <b>Skill Focus</b> question aligns to the chapter workshops, and spirals skill-building throughout the book.</li> </ul>
<b>Topics for Composing</b>	These prompts include extended essay and project ideas, ranging from reflecting on personal connections to building researched arguments and more — all delivered in a variety of modes from written to verbal, visual to project-based.

## LEVELED TEXTS

### Make It Easy to Differentiate by Text

Each thematic chapter has three text sections of increasing complexity that allow you to tailor your curricular choices to your students' needs — while keeping all students contributing to the same conversation and developing the same skills.

<b>Text Section 1</b>	Foundational	These entry-level texts are brief, high-interest, and relatively straightforward in terms of content and context.
<b>Text Section 2</b>	Grade-Level	These texts represent a level of complexity such that a 10th grade student should reasonably be able to read and analyze them with a bit of teacher support.
<b>Text Section 3</b>	Reach	The most challenging texts in each chapter, these texts have rich language, sophisticated ideas, or unfamiliar contexts. These texts approach the level of challenge seen in actual AP® English classes.

## EXTENDING BEYOND THE TEXT

### Authentic Engagement and Ready-Made Enrichment

These boxed features accompanying readings throughout the book are enrichment ideas placed right at point-of-use. They challenge students to encounter other perspectives, put texts in conversation, grapple with counter-arguments, and draw connections to real-world issues.



## extending beyond the text

The following is from a press release put out by the University of Melbourne describing the research of animal behavior scientist Jean-Loup Rault, titled "Robot Pets to Rise in an Overpopulated, Tech-Crazed World."

Robotic dogs are likely to replace the real thing in households worldwide in as little as a decade, as our infatuation with technology grows and more people migrate to high-density city living. [...] "Robots can, without a doubt, trigger human emotions," Dr. Rault added. "If artificial pets can produce the same benefits we get from live pets, does that mean that our emotional bond with animals is really just an image that we project on to our pets?"



**Write an argument for or against robo-pets. What are the benefits and disadvantages of their widespread use?**

## REVISION AND EDITING WORKSHOPS

### A Targeted Approach to Learning Grammar and Improving Writing

Not all students commit the same kinds of errors with grammar and conventions, or need to revise their writing in the same way. So at the end of the book, we include eight revision workshops, and fourteen editing workshops with scaffolded activities that guide students from understanding to application in their own writing. We believe this is far more effective than skill-and-drill, and helps teachers differentiate by process for their student population.

Revision Workshops	Editing Workshops
Effective Topic Sentences and Unified Paragraphs	Active and Passive Voice
Effective Thesis and Essay Structure	Adjectives and Adverbs
Balanced Evidence and Commentary	Capitalization
Appropriate Evidence and Support	Comma Splices and Run-On Sentences
Effective Transitions	Commonly Confused Words
Effective Syntax	Fragments
Effective Diction	Misplaced and Dangling Modifiers
Effective Introductions and Conclusions	Parallelism
	Pronoun-Antecedent Agreement
	Pronoun Reference
	Shifts in Pronoun Person and Number
	Shifts in Verb Form and Tense
	Subject-Verb Agreement
	Verb Form and Tense

## VISUAL TEXTS

### Images with a Purpose, Never Simply for Decoration

Today's students live in a visual world, and it's never been more important to equipment them with the analysis and critical thinking skills to navigate it. That's why every image in *Advanced Language & Literature* is included for a specific pedagogical purpose, and comes with a contextualizing caption and analytical question. Visuals deserve to be read and analyzed, just like any other text.

## ELL SUPPORT

### Essential Tools to Build Understanding

Teachers know that English Language Learners are capable of high-level academic work, they just need the right supports. That's why — in addition to the supports already built into the book like **Key Context** notes, **Vocabulary in Context** questions, and Foundational Texts — we are offering **Essential Guide handout** for every reading that offers a suite of ELL supports, such as a summary of the text to support comprehension, additional context to help build background knowledge, specific help with word- and sentence-level challenges in the text, and more.

## Speech to the United Nations Youth Assembly

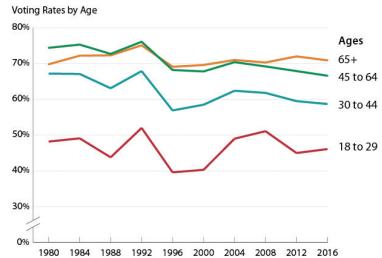
### Malala Yousafzai

Nobel Peace Prize winner Malala Yousafzai (b. 1997) is a young Pakistani woman who has become a symbol for social justice, human rights, and resistance to Taliban rule. At the age of eleven, Malala Yousafzai began writing a blog about the hardships of her life under Taliban rule, specifically addressing the Taliban's ban on education for girls. Though she protected her identity with a pseudonym, her writing soon became widely read and led to appearances on television, where Yousafzai spoke out for education rights for girls around the world.

On October 9, 2012, the Taliban made an attempt to assassinate Yousafzai while she was riding a bus home from school. She was shot in the head but survived the attack.

**KEY CONTEXT** On July 12, 2013, young people were given control of the United Nations for the first time in the sixty-eight-year history of the organization. More than one hundred organizations came together along with hundreds of young education advocates from around the world, including Malala Yousafzai, who made her first public speech since recovering from the Taliban's assassination attempt. Below is the speech she gave on that day.

## Voting Rates by Age



United States  
Census  
Bureau

U.S. Department of Commerce  
Economics and Statistics Administration  
U.S. Census Bureau  
CENSUS.GOV

Source: Current Population Survey,  
1980–2016 Voting and Registration Supplements  
<https://www.census.gov/topics/public-sector/voting.html>

U.S. Census Bureau

This is a chart from the United States Census Bureau.

What conclusions can you draw from this chart about voting rates by age, especially trends in recent years? How would this chart help or hinder Bystriky's argument? Conduct brief research to identify the latest data on youth voting.



James D. Morgan/Getty Images

## skill workshop

## CONTINUING THE CONVERSATION

### A Sandbox of Projects and Prompts

At the end of each thematic chapter, we've added a bit of serious fun. **Continuing the Conversation** includes engaging writing/speaking prompts that provide opportunities for students to respond to the ideas in the chapter. Whether you want to get students to stretch, reflect, start a movement, get creative, or do some serious research, these prompts have what you need to add an interesting twist to your course.

## 6 Self Discovery

# Continuing the Conversation



Throughout this chapter, you have been reading texts and thinking about how we create change in the world. At the beginning of the chapter and after each of the readings, you had opportunities to consider ideas related to the following essential questions:

- What are the conditions required to make change happen?
- How does effective, persuasive communication help to bring about change?
- How does one gain the appropriate amount and type of power to create change?
- When — if ever — is violence an appropriate means for creating change?

The sections that follow will give you an opportunity to respond to some of those questions as you write about the issue of creating change in the world.

### Writing an Evidence-Based Argument

Using one of the prompts below (or one of your own), write an evidence-based argument that includes sources from this chapter.

## SPEAKING & LISTENING FOCUS

### Listening Actively

Part of the process of learning about others who may be different from you includes having a conversation with them. One of the most important elements of having a successful conversation is the ability to listen actively. Here are some processes you can follow to try to engage fully as you listen to someone:

- 1. Prepare to listen.** Put away anything that could be distracting (phone, watch, food, and so on); make eye contact with the speaker.
- 2. Be quietly attentive.** Do not interrupt, and keep an open mind. Maybe take notes in a manner that will not disturb the speaker. As you listen, nod, smile, or laugh when appropriate. You can vocalize with sounds like “hmm,” “okay,” and so on, but do not interrupt until the speaker is finished talking.
- 3. Ask follow-up questions.** Once the speaker has finished, you want to be able to demonstrate you have listened closely and give the speaker an opportunity to

## SPEAKING AND LISTENING Instruction and Practice for Effective Communication

Whether you’re interested in building a classroom community, preparing students to engage in civil discourse, or looking to differentiate by product, *Advanced Language & Literature* has what you need. Instruction and practice can be found in **Speaking and Listening Focus** boxes in every opening chapter, and a prompt for speaking and listening can be found in the **Topics for Composing** after each piece. In addition, every activity in the opening chapters ends with a **Talk It Through** section, to give students a chance to engage with each verbally, exchange ideas, and deepen understanding.

"I absolutely LOVE the images, graphs, etc. in this textbook. Unlike the majority of textbooks, I feel that every graphic serves a purpose beyond just looking nice. Each graphic is worthy of a conversation because it is rich in detail or information [...] Just when the text is making the students feel one way about an issue, a graphic can completely turn the tide of the discussion. Clever and relevant!"

—Jennifer Letus, Royal HS, CA

## Student and Teacher Resources:

### Unmatched student and instructor support

The wrap-around **Teacher's Edition** for *Advanced Language & Literature* is an invaluable resource for both experienced and new AP® Language instructors. Written by seasoned AP® instructors and College Board consultants, the Teacher's Edition includes thoughtful instruction for planning, pacing, differentiating, and enlivening your Pre-AP® Language course in alignment with the College Board requirements. The **Teacher's Resource Materials** accompany the Teacher's Edition and contain materials to effectively plan the course, including a detailed suggested pacing guide, handouts, lecture presentation slides, and lesson plans.



### LaunchPad

*Advanced Language & Literature* is available in our **fully interactive LaunchPad digital platform**. With LaunchPad, students can read, highlight, and take notes on any device, on-line or off-line. You have the ability to assign every question from the book as well as supplemental quizzes and activities, and students' results automatically sync to your gradebook. LaunchPad also houses the Teacher's Resource Materials, test bank, adaptive quizzing, and more.



### LearningCurve

**LearningCurve**, LaunchPad's adaptive quizzing engine, formatively assesses and improves students' language and analysis skills. Through their responses, the program determines any areas of weakness and offers additional questions and links to e-book content to strengthen understanding and build mastery.



**ExamView® Assessment Suite** includes thousands of assessment items targeting understanding and analysis skills perfect for quizzes. The ExamView® Test Generator lets you quickly create paper, Internet, and LAN-based tests. Tests can be created in minutes, and the platform is fully customizable, allowing you to enter your own questions, edit existing questions, set time limits, and incorporate multimedia. To discourage plagiarism and cheating, the test bank can scramble answers and change the order of questions. Detailed results reports feed into a gradebook.

# Advanced Language & Literature 2e

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Considering Sources in Conversation

**Activity: Reflecting on What You've Learned****Researching Additional Sources****Activity: Locating and Examining Your Own Source****Integrate and Present****Activity: Connecting Claim and Evidence****Using Commentary****Activity: Supporting Your Ideas****Using Visuals as Evidence****Integrating Counterarguments****Activity: Integrating a Counterargument****Citing Sources and Using Quotations**

**Integrating Sentence Quotations****Integrating Word or Phrase Quotations****Putting Sources into Conversation with One Another****Activity: Integrating Sources into Your Own Writing****Reflecting on the Inquiry Process****Activity: Reflecting on the Inquiry Process****Culminating Activity**

1. Jonathan Safran Foer, from *Why We Must Cut Out Meat and Dairy before Dinner in Order to Save the Planet*
2. Lynne Curry, from *The “Eat Less Meat” Movement Is Growing. Does It Distort Science?*
3. Tom Toles, *The Meat Cooked Faster Than I Expected* (cartoon)
4. Frank M. Mitloehner, from *Yes, Eating Meat Affects the Environment, But Cows Are Not Killing the Climate*
5. Karl Tate, *The Role of Animal Farts in Global Warming* (infographic)

**5 | CHANGING THE WORLD****Skill Workshop – Understanding Personal Experience in Argument**Malala Yousafzai, *UN Speech***SECTION 1**Bill Bystricky, *When 16-Year-Olds Vote, We All Benefit*Amber Tamblyn, *I’m Not Ready for the Redemption of Men*David Hogg, *The Road to Change***SECTION 2**Denise Cummins, *How to Get People to Change Their Minds*Michelle Alexander, *What if We’re All Coming Back?*Dolores Huerta, *UCLA Speech, February 1978***CENTRAL TEXT** DeRay Mckesson, *Bully and the Pulpit***SECTION 3**Nelson Mandela, *An Ideal for Which I Am Prepared to Die*Martin Luther King Jr., *I Have Been to the Mountaintop*Virginia Woolf, *Thoughts on Peace in an Air Raid***Exploring Other Genres**Luisa Valenzuela, *The Censors* (fiction)**Writing Workshop – Writing an Argument Using Personal Experience****Continuing the Conversation****6 | SELF-DISCOVERY****Skill Workshop – Understanding Character and Theme in Prose**Judith Cofer, *Abuela Invents the Zero***SECTION 1**Faith Erin Hicks, from *Friends with Boys*Chen Chen, *When I Grow Up I Want to Be a List of Further Possibilities*Kristen Iskandrian, *Good with Boys***SECTION 2**Billy Collins, *On Turning Ten*Amy Silverberg, *Suburbia!*William Shakespeare, *Seven Ages of Man***CENTRAL TEXT** Amy Tan, *Rules of the Game***SECTION 3**Oliver De La Paz, *In Defense of Small Towns*Lesley Nneka Arimah, *Glory*James Joyce, *Eveline***Exploring Other Genres**Trevor Noah, from *Born a Crime* (nonfiction)**Writing Workshop – Writing an Analysis of Character and Theme****Continuing the Conversation****7 | THE INDIVIDUAL IN SCHOOL****Skill Workshop – Understanding Rhetorical Analysis**Adam Grant, *What Straight A Students Get Wrong***SECTION 1**Peter Gray, *Children Educate Themselves: Lessons from Sudbury Valley*Dyan Watson, *A Message from a Black Mom to Her Son*Mindy Kaling, *Don’t Peak in High School*

**SECTION 2**

Maya Angelou, from *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings*

Alexandra Robbins, from *The Geeks Shall Inherit the Earth*

Zitkala-Sa, from *School Days of an Indian Girl*

**CENTRAL TEXT** John Taylor Gatto, *Against School*

**SECTION 3**

Rebecca Solnit, *Abolish High School*

Yuval Noah Harari, *21 Lessons*

Albert Einstein, *On Education*

**Exploring Other Genres**

Lisa Parker, *Snapping Beans* (poetry)

**Writing Workshop – Writing a Rhetorical Analysis****Continuing the Conversation****8 | CULTURES AND CONNECTIONS****Skill Workshop – Understanding Speaker and Meaning in Poetry**

Claude McKay, *The Tropics in New York*

**SECTION 1**

Sandra Cisneros, *No Speak English*

Amit Majmudar, *Dothead*

Margarita Engle, *Unnatural*

**SECTION 2**

Tahira Naqvi, *Paths Upon Water*

Franny Choi, *Choi Jeong Min*

Richard Blanco, *My Father in English*

**CENTRAL TEXT** Eavan Boland, *An Irish Childhood in England: 1951*

**SECTION 3**

Ha Jin, *Children as Enemies*

Natasha Trethewey, *Enlightenment*

Li-Young Lee, *For a New Citizen of These United States*

**Exploring Other Genres**

Viet Thanh Nguyen, *America, Say My Name* (nonfiction)

**Writing Workshop – Writing an Analysis of Speaker and Meaning****Continuing the Conversation****9 | OUR ROBOTIC FUTURE****Skill Workshop – Understanding Evidence in Argument**

Lela London, *This Is What the Future of Robots Might Do to Humanity*

**SECTION 1**

Evan Selinger and Woodrow Hartzog, *The Dangers of Trusting Robots*

Arthur House, *The Real Cyborgs*

Alex Williams, *Will Robots Take Our Children's Jobs?*

**SECTION 2**

Federico Guerrini, *By Giving Robots ‘Personhood’ Status, Humanity Risks to Be Demoted to the Rank of a Machine*

Kevin Kelly, *Better Than Human*

Rosa Brooks, *In Defense of Killer Robots*

**CENTRAL TEXT** Sherry Turkle, *Why These Friendly Robots Can't Be Good Friends to Our Kids*

**SECTION 3**

Francis Fukuyama, *Transhumanism*

Stephen Hawking, *Will AI Outsmart Us?*

Kate Darling, *Extending Legal Protections to Social Robots*

**Exploring Other Genres**

Ken Liu, *The Perfect Match* (fiction)

**Writing Workshop – Writing an Evidence-Based Argument****Continuing the Conversation****10 | UTOPIA/DYSTOPIA****Skill Workshop – Understanding Style and Meaning in Prose**

Cory Doctorow, *Printcrime*

**SECTION 1**

Ray Bradbury and Tim Hamilton, *Fahrenheit 451* (graphic novel)

N.K. Jemisin, *Valedictorian*

Naomi Shihab Nye, *World of the Future*

**SECTION 2**

Shirley Jackson, *The Lottery*

Nnedi Okorafor, *Spider the Artist*

Joy Harjo, *Once the World Was Perfect*

**CENTRAL TEXT** Kurt Vonnegut, *Harrison Bergeron*

**SECTION 3**

Ursula Le Guin, *The Ones Who Walk Away from Omelas*

Nana Kwame Adjei-Brenyah, *The Era*  
Charlotte Perkins Gilman, from *Herland*

**Exploring Other Genres**

Rutger Berman, from *Utopia for Realists*

**Writing Workshop – Writing an Analysis of Style and Meaning**

**Continuing the Conversation**

**11 | DO THE RIGHT THING**

**Skill Workshop – Understanding Style and Tone in Argument**

Jose Antonio Vargas, *What America Looks Like from a Jail in South Texas*

**SECTION 1**

Toni Morrison, *The Work You Do, the Person You Are*

Laura Hercher, *Designer Babies Aren't Futuristic. They're Already Here.*

Marie Colvin, *Truth at All Costs*

**SECTION 2**

Monica Hesse, *The Case of the Photoshopped CEOs*

Michael J. Sandel, *Are We All in This Together?*

Chuck Klosterman, *Why We Look the Other Way*

**CENTRAL TEXT** Jamaica Kincaid, from *A Small Place*

**SECTION 3**

George Orwell, *Shooting an Elephant*

Sam Harris, *Lying*

David Callahan, *The Cheating Culture*

**Exploring Other Genres**

William Stafford, *Traveling through the Dark* (poetry)

**Writing Workshop – Writing an Argument Using Style and Tone**

**Continuing the Conversation**

**12 | POWER**

**Skill Workshop – Understanding Figurative Language and Meaning in Poetry**

William Shakespeare, *Sonnet 94* and *Sonnet 80*

**SECTION 1**

Percy Bysshe Shelley, *Ozymandias*

W. Haden Blackman and Richard Pace, *Ghost* (graphic novel)

Hernando Tellez, *Lather and Nothing Else*

**SECTION 2**

**CENTRAL TEXT** William Shakespeare, *Macbeth*

**SECTION 3**

Zora Neale Hurston, *Sweat*

Emma Donoghue, *The Tale of the Kiss*

Warsan Shire, *Backwards*

**Exploring Other Genres**

Elena Ferrante, *Power of Our Own* (nonfiction)

**Writing Workshop – Writing an Analysis of Figurative Language and Meaning**

**Continuing the Conversation**

"I love the organization of the book from focus on specific skills [...] into units curated by topic with essential questions. This text helps pull worthwhile, timely readings together that are useful for all types of analytical purposes."

—Amy Rousseau, Bishop Gorman Catholic School, NV



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# 5

# Changing the World

## Essential Questions:

- What are the conditions required to make change happen?
- How does one gain the appropriate amount and type of power to create change?
- How does effective, persuasive communication help to bring about change?
- When — if ever — is violence an appropriate means for creating change?

With so much injustice in the world, as well as racism, sexism, and other forms of discrimination, at some point in your life, you've probably said to someone, "If I could change the world, I'd \_\_\_\_\_. " Maybe you'd focus on a big topic like climate change, or maybe you'd look at a local issue like a school policy that prevents younger students from taking certain classes. The point is that our world is far from perfect, and there are a number of issues that need addressing. In this chapter, while you will read speeches, editorials, and other pieces that address topics like gun control, sexual harassment, labor rights, and others, the focus is not on the issues themselves, but on HOW the changes the speakers and writers propose can come about. Because most people, especially those who are in power, are resistant to change, those who hope to change the world need to give careful thought to what will persuade others and move them to participate. What roles do dialogue and communication play? Is it ever appropriate to turn to violence to bring about justice? How can people avoid becoming cynical and disillusioned?

**activity****Changing the World**

With a partner or in a small group, brainstorm a list of times when significant change occurred, such as the Civil Rights Movement in the United States in the 1950s and 60s. Conduct brief research as needed to add to your list. Then, choose one of these events or movements to discuss with your partner or group. Consider who promoted the change, who was trying to prevent it, and what finally caused the change to come about. Again, conduct additional research to add to your background knowledge as needed.

**Texts in Conversation**

Throughout this chapter, you will read about a number of people who have tried — or are still trying — to bring about meaningful change across a wide range of topics. As you read, keep track of some of their different approaches to creating change, make connections among them, and respond to them with your own reactions. At the end of the chapter, you'll have an opportunity to write your own pieces about change, using the texts you read as evidence and inspiration. You can use a graphic organizer like the following, if it would help you:

Author/title	How does the author advocate for change?	Quotation(s) that illustrate the author's ideas about change	Your reaction and/or connections to other texts

**Understanding Personal Experience in Argument**

As we discussed in Chapter 3, many different types of evidence can help you prove a point or make your case. You certainly can and should use facts, statistics, data, and quotations from experts. Overlooked sometimes, however, is the role that your own personal experience with an issue can play in developing and supporting your argument. If, for instance, you are writing about why school should start later in the day, your own experience getting up for your first period class would likely provide relevant and highly effective support. This workshop will focus on examining how personal experience can be used to develop and support an argument, and also on recognizing its limitations. In addition to analyzing the use of personal experience in the argument put forward in a speech by Malala Yousafzai, you will write your own brief argument that includes an effective use of personal experience as evidence to support a claim.

# Speech to the United Nations Youth Assembly

**Malala Yousafzai**

Nobel Peace Prize winner Malala Yousafzai (b. 1997) is a Pakistani woman who, at the age of eleven, began writing a blog about the hardships of her life under Taliban rule, specifically addressing the Taliban's ban on education for girls. Though she protected her identity with a pseudonym, her writing soon became widely read and led to appearances on television, where Yousafzai spoke out for education rights for girls around the world. On October 9, 2012, the Taliban made an attempt to assassinate Yousafzai while she was riding a bus home from school. She was shot in the head but survived the attack and has since become a symbol for social justice, human rights, and resistance to Taliban rule.



FRANCK ROBICHON/POOL/EPA-EFE/Shutterstock

**KEY CONTEXT** On July 12, 2013, young people were given control of the United Nations for the first time in the sixty-eight-year history of the organization. More than one hundred organizations came together along with hundreds of young education advocates from around the world, including Malala Yousafzai, who made her first public speech since recovering from the Taliban's assassination attempt. Below is the speech she gave on that day.

**FOCUS FOR READING** As you give this speech a first reading, annotate the text by making connections and asking question (see Ch. 1). Then, go back and annotate it again looking specifically for moments in which her argument relies on descriptions of her own personal experiences, also called anecdotes, and comment on how those descriptions support her argument.

Dear brothers and sisters, do remember one thing. Malala Day is not my day. Today is the day of every woman, every boy and every girl who have raised their voice for their rights. There are hundreds of human rights activists and social workers who are not only speaking for human rights, but who are struggling to achieve their goals of education, peace and equality. Thousands of people have been killed by the terrorists and millions have been injured. I am just one of them.

So here I stand . . . one girl among many.

I speak—not for myself, but for all girls and boys.

I raise up my voice—not so that I can shout, but so that those without a voice can be heard.

Those who have fought for their rights:

Their right to live in peace.

Their right to be treated with dignity.

Their right to equality of opportunity.

Their right to be educated.

Dear Friends, on the 9th of October 2012,<sup>10</sup> the Taliban shot me on the left side of my forehead. They shot my friends too. They thought that the bullets would silence us. But they failed. And then, out of that silence came thousands of voices. The terrorists thought that they would change our aims and stop our ambitions but nothing changed in my life except this: Weakness, fear and hopelessness died. Strength, power and courage [were] born. I am the same Malala. My ambitions are the same. My hopes are the same. My dreams are the same.

Dear sisters and brothers, I am not against anyone. Neither am I here to speak in terms of personal revenge against the Taliban or any other terrorist group. I am here to speak up for

the right of education of every child. I want education for the sons and the daughters of all the extremists especially the Taliban.

I do not even hate the Talib who shot me. Even if there is a gun in my hand and he stands in front of me[,] I would not shoot him. This is the compassion that I have learnt from Muhammad — the prophet of mercy, Jesus Christ and Lord Buddha. This is the legacy of change that I have inherited from Martin Luther King, Nelson Mandela and Muhammad Ali Jinnah. This is the philosophy of non-violence that I have learnt from Gandhi Jee, Bacha Khan and Mother Teresa. And this is the forgiveness that I have learnt from my mother and father. This is what my soul is telling me[:] be peaceful and love everyone.

Dear sisters and brothers, we realize the importance of light when we see darkness. We realize the importance of our voice when we are silenced. In the same way, when we were in Swat, the north of Pakistan, we realized the importance of pens and books when we saw the guns.

The wise saying, “The pen is mightier than sword” was true. The extremists are afraid of books and pens. The power of education frightens them. They are afraid of women. The power of the voice of women frightens them. And that is why they killed 14 innocent medical students in the recent attack in Quetta. And that is why they killed many female teachers and polio workers in Khyber Pukhtoon Khwa and FATA. That is why they are blasting schools every day. Because they were and they are afraid of change, afraid of the equality that we will bring into our society.

I remember that there was a boy in our school who was asked by a journalist, “Why are the Taliban against education?” He answered very simply. By pointing to his book[,] he said, “A Talib doesn’t know what is written inside this book.” They think that God is a tiny, little conservative being who would send girls to [...] hell just because of going to school. The terrorists are misusing the name of Islam and

Pashtun society for their own personal benefits. Pakistan is [a] peace-loving democratic country. Pashtuns want education for their daughters and sons. And Islam is a religion of peace, humanity and brotherhood. Islam says that it is not only each child’s right to get education, rather it is their duty and responsibility.

Honorable Secretary General, peace is necessary for education. In many parts of the world especially Pakistan and Afghanistan, terrorism, wars and conflicts stop children [from going] to their schools. We are really tired of these wars. Women and children are suffering in many parts of the world in many ways. In India, innocent and poor children are victims of child labor. Many schools have been destroyed in Nigeria. People in Afghanistan have been affected by the hurdles of extremism for decades. Young girls have to do domestic child labor and are forced to get married at early age. Poverty, ignorance, injustice, racism and the deprivation of basic rights are the main problems faced by both men and women.

Dear fellows, today I am focusing on women’s rights and girls’ education because they are suffering the most. There was a time when women social activists asked men to stand up for their rights. But, this time, we will do it by ourselves. I am not telling men to step away from speaking for women’s rights [:] rather I am focusing on women to be independent [and] to fight for themselves.

Dear sisters and brothers, now it’s time to speak up.

So today, we call upon the world leaders to change their strategic policies in favor of peace and prosperity.

We call upon the world leaders that all the peace deals must protect women and children’s rights. A deal that goes against the dignity of women and their rights is unacceptable.

We call upon all governments to ensure free compulsory education for every child all over the world.

We call upon all governments to fight against terrorism and violence, to protect children from brutality and harm.

We call upon the developed nations to support the expansion of educational opportunities for girls in the developing world.

We call upon all communities to be tolerant—to reject prejudice based on cast[e], creed, sect, religion or gender. To ensure freedom and equality for women so that they can flourish. We cannot all succeed when half of us are held back.

We call upon our sisters around the world to 25 be brave—to embrace the strength within themselves and realize their full potential.

Dear brothers and sisters, we want schools and education for every child's bright future. We will continue our journey to our destination of peace and education for everyone. No one can stop us. We will speak for our rights and we will bring change through our voice. We must

believe in the power and the strength of our words. Our words can change the world.

Because we are all together, united for the cause of education. And if we want to achieve our goal, then let us empower ourselves with the weapon of knowledge and let us shield ourselves with unity and togetherness.

Dear brothers and sisters, we must not forget that millions of people are suffering from poverty, injustice and ignorance. We must not forget that millions of children are out of schools. We must not forget that our sisters and brothers are waiting for a bright peaceful future.

So let us wage a global struggle against illiteracy, poverty and terrorism and let us pick up our books and pens. They are our most powerful weapons.

One child, one teacher, one pen and one 30 book can change the world.

Education is the only solution. Education First. ■

## Making a Claim

One of the most important components of any argument is its claim, the central point the writer or speaker is trying to prove to the audience. While Yousafzai addresses many topics, her claim is likely found in this statement from the very end of her speech: “Education is the only solution. Education First.” She clearly believes that education is the most important element to creating lasting change; her claim is arguable because some might suggest that addressing poverty is the only solution, or eliminating gender discrimination. She has a lot of relevant personal experience, so it is easy and appropriate for her to use herself and her story as evidence. In the discussion that follows, we will examine more closely how she does this. Throughout this workshop, you will consider topics and claims that you have personal experience with as well, so that you can see how this type of evidence can work in an argument.

### Writing a Claim

- Consider the following prompts to help you begin identifying a topic for your own argument. Respond to as many prompts as needed to help you to identify a topic:
  - Describe a time when you suffered an injustice of some kind. The experience might be tied to your race, gender, ethnicity, or other part of your identity. If no experience comes to mind from your own life, consider writing about the experience of someone close to you.



- What is something that should be changed at your school? Should courses be added or removed? Should the school day begin later in the morning? Does your school need new athletic fields?
  - What is something that you wish your family or friends would do differently? Go on more trips? Give more allowance? Let you stay out later? Try a new activity?
  - Describe a change you would like to see in your community? Improvements to a local park? More recycling centers? Additional bike lanes?
2. Once you have identified a possible topic, write a draft of a claim about the topic. In other words, what change are you proposing and hoping to convince your audience to support or act on?

## Using Personal Experience as Evidence

As you noticed when you read and annotated Yousafzai's speech, much of it is about telling her story, but her speech is not just a narrative. Her goal is not simply to tell the story of her attack, but rather to prove her claim that education is the only solution to "poverty, injustice and ignorance." She uses her own personal experiences to support that claim. Reread this section, for instance:

Dear Friends, on the 9th of October 2012, the Taliban shot me on the left side of my forehead. They shot my friends too. They thought that the bullets would silence us. But they failed. And then, out of that silence came thousands of voices. The terrorists thought that they would change our aims and stop our ambitions but nothing changed in my life except this: Weakness, fear and hopelessness died. Strength, power and courage [were] born. I am the same Malala. My ambitions are the same. My hopes are the same. My dreams are the same.

Notice how Yousafzai uses her experience to stir our emotions — by recounting the shooting and then by inviting us to share her defiance in her own ambitions and strength. Using personal experience is an extremely effective way to appeal to pathos (p. 000), but notice also how in between the personal elements, she refers to other people and their voices; in fact, she even switches the pronoun usage from "me" to "our," showing how her personal experiences are related to other people's experiences.

This is the ultimate aim of using personal experience within argument: You want to show how your own experiences are not unique to you. They can stand in for other people's perspectives as well. Personal experience also adds to Yousafzai's ethos as an expert with first-hand information on this topic; she is a voice that needs to be listened to specifically because of her experiences.

While you likely have not endured as dramatic a personal experience as Yousafzai, you still have many experiences you can draw on, such as the following:

1. Descriptions of a specific event or incident that happened directly to you.
2. Descriptions of an event that you witnessed or heard about happening to someone else that you know and trust.

3. Ideas that you have gained from your general experiences based on your race, gender, age, ethnicity, participation in school, work, particular groups, and so on.
4. Feelings that you have about a topic, rooted in a specific incident or experience.



### activity

#### Writing Using Personal Experience as Evidence

1. Return to the topic that you chose in response to the activity on pages 7–8. Write down experiences you've had in connection with this topic — as many as possible. At this point do not worry about relevance or effectiveness, just try to get a lot of ideas down on paper. The list above of what might qualify as personal experiences can help you generate ideas.
2. Now focus on the claim you developed in response to the activity on pages 7–8. Choose one or two of your best examples and explain to a partner why you think they might be effective in helping you to prove your claim. Provide and receive feedback on how effective and relevant these experiences might be for your topic.

#### Balancing Personal Experience with Other Evidence

Of course, relying too much on personal experience is risky. If, for example, you argue for a later start to your school day and support your argument with a detailed, emotional account of how hard it is for you to get out of bed and how much coffee you have to drink just to get yourself to class even five minutes late, any members of your audience who are “morning people” won’t relate at all to what you are saying. They might not find that evidence convincing because their experience is completely different.

Your voice and your experiences matter a great deal, but when your personal experience is connected to and supported with additional types of evidence, your argument becomes even stronger and more difficult for critics to dismiss. So, in your argument about the later school start time, maybe you sandwich your experiences between university research that explains how sleep patterns differ for adolescents and adults and data from your school showing attendance is the worst for first period. Additional evidence does not suggest that your own experience is not valid. Your personal experience will humanize your argument, giving your audience a chance to connect emotionally, but the other types of evidence will act as a balance to your experiences, helping to convince your audience that your argument is valid because it is grounded in more than just your opinion.

For example, reread the following excerpt from Yousafzai’s speech and notice how the paragraph begins and ends with her personal experiences, but in between are references to other people and ideas:

I do not even hate the Talib who shot me. Even if there is a gun in my hand and he stands in front of me[,] I would not shoot him. This is the compassion that I have learnt from Muhammad — the prophet of mercy, Jesus Christ and Lord Buddha. This is the legacy of

change that I have inherited from Martin Luther King, Nelson Mandela and Muhammad Ali Jinnah. This is the philosophy of non-violence that I have learnt from Gandhi Jee, Bacha Khan and Mother Teresa. And this is the forgiveness that I have learnt from my mother and father. This is what my soul is telling me[:] be peaceful and love everyone.

Yousafzai offers a wider range of support for her position that goes beyond her own personal experiences; because her evidence includes references to Christian, Muslim, and Buddhist religions, and political leaders from across the world, it broadens her appeal outside of her native Pakistan.



### activity

### Using Balanced Evidence

1. Return to the topic you have been thinking about for your own argument. Conduct brief research to locate an additional piece of evidence or two that might support your claim. Possible types of evidence include data or statistics, research, and information from an expert on the subject (see Chapter 3).
2. Meet with the same partner you worked with to complete the activity on page 9. Provide and receive feedback on how effective and relevant this additional evidence might be for your topic.

## culminating activity

Write a brief argument that includes a claim, a relevant personal experience for support, and one other type of evidence. This is not a full essay; it is a response that demonstrates that you can use personal experience and additional relevant evidence effectively in an argument.

**Bill Bystricky ■ When 16-Year-Olds Vote, We All Benefit, 11**

**David Hogg ■ The Road to Change, 15**

**Amber Tamblyn ■ I'm not Ready for the Redemption of Men, 20**

## When 16-Year-Olds Vote, We All Benefit

**Bill Bystricky**

**Bill Bystricky** is a writer living in Maryland. He has written about youth rights for *Yes!*, *Wiretap*, and *The Pro-Youth Pages*, among other publications. He is the founder of Growing Democracy, a group that assists youth seeking to lower the voting age.

The March for Our Lives in Washington, D.C., on March 24, when high school students rallied against gun violence, demonstrated that teenage citizens have voices that deserve to be heard and needs that deserve to be addressed by our leaders. In order for teenagers to have a fighting chance at winning, however, they need votes.

Several nations, including Austria, Argentina, and Brazil, already have 16-year-olds voting, and the United States is slowly moving in that direction, with one city at a time implementing a voting age of 16.

While progress is slow, the benefits are clear. Teenagers, not yet distracted by the stresses of college or full-time work, have the time and have supportive adults around to help them navigate the complexities of voter registration. By starting their voting lives at a time when it's easy, youth begin a habit of voting instead of a habit of staying home.

It should be no surprise, then, that the voter-suppression crowd hates the #Vote16 movement.

I helped organize campaigns that lowered the voting age to 16 in three Maryland cities, and in every case, the same arguments were used against us.

*Kids will just vote the same way their parents do*, claim parents who overestimate their influence. But ScotCen Social Research's 2013 study<sup>1</sup> of 16-year-old voters in Scotland found they were no more influenced by their parents than older voters were.

*Teenagers would just vote for celebrities*, claim others. But exit polls show it was voters over 40 who elected a reality TV star as president<sup>2</sup> and an action movie star as governor of California<sup>3</sup>. In both elections, the youngest voters voted for more qualified candidates.

*Kids' brains aren't fully developed yet*, claim people who get their science news from Facebook. But actual scientists know better.



Courtesy of Bill Bystricky

<sup>1</sup> Eichorn, Jan. "Will 16 and 17 Year Olds Make a Difference in the Referendum?" ScotCen Social Research, November 2013. [http://www.scotcen.org.uk/media/205540/131129\\_will-16-and-17-years-olds-make-a-difference.pdf](http://www.scotcen.org.uk/media/205540/131129_will-16-and-17-years-olds-make-a-difference.pdf)

<sup>2</sup> Roper Center. "How Groups Voted in 2016." <https://ropercenter.cornell.edu/how-groups-voted-2016>

<sup>3</sup> Edison Media Research and Mitofsky International. "California Recall Election Exit Poll." *The Washington Post*, October 7, 2003. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/politics/replacementballotexitpoll.html>

This image has been omitted intentionally in this sample chapter.

As Laurence Steinberg, a professor of psychology at Temple University, wrote, “the skills necessary to make informed decisions are firmly in place by 16. By that age, adolescents can gather and process information, weigh pros and cons, reason logically with facts, and take time before making a decision. Teenagers may sometimes make bad choices, but statistically speaking, they do not make them any more often than adults do.”

Of all the arguments made against #Vote16, the most infuriating may be this: *They don't want to vote. Kids are apathetic.*

For me, this one is personal. I taught social studies. And in every classroom, I encountered the same barrier. “What difference does it make if we understand how government works? We can’t even vote!” students would tell me.

Many students saw no point in developing an informed opinion when no decision-maker was asking for theirs. They saw no point in learning from history when they were barred from even a small say in America’s path forward.

Excluded from America’s democracy, too many teenagers respond with sour grapes, telling themselves bitterly that *democracy* is just a word. They develop the habits that look from a distance like apathy, habits that can linger for

years. And then adults use that disconnection as the reason to keep youth excluded.

It’s amazing, though, how easily this cycle can be broken. When teenagers hear about the mere possibility of being included in elections — even just local elections — the bitterness melts, and hopeful youth emerge from the shadows in droves.

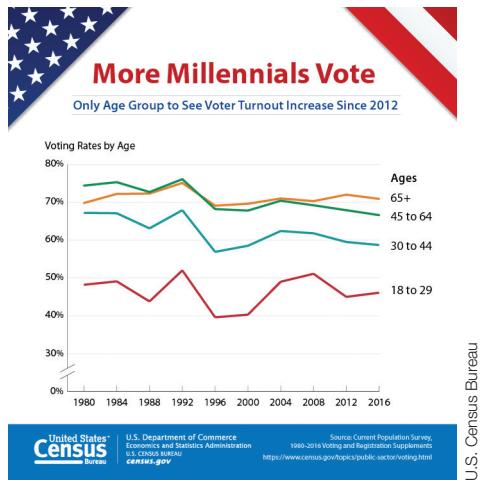
In 2013, a city council member in Takoma Park, Maryland, proposed his city lowering its voting age to 16. No other U.S. city had done this, and other council members dismissed the idea. Then local high school students heard about the proposal. On the night the matter was up for discussion, numerous students sacrificed late hours on a school night to ask their city council for a small voice in local elections. Councilmember Tim Male noted that 5 percent of the city’s entire population aged 16–17 showed up to the meeting. “If we had 5 percent turnout of this entire community at a city council meeting, we’d have 600–800 people. There are 200 chairs in this room. That would never happen.”

Impressed by these youth, the city council passed the proposal, and youth brought their enthusiasm into the voting booth. In the first local election after the change, the turnout rate

10

15

## Voting Rates by Age



This is a chart from the United States Census Bureau.

**What conclusions can you draw from this chart about voting rates by age, especially trends in recent years? How would this chart help or hinder Bystricky's argument? Conduct brief research to identify the latest data on youth voting.**

for voters younger than 18 was four times that of older voters<sup>4</sup>.

But that's Takoma Park, an affluent suburb of Washington where many parents are among America's policy leaders. Their kids grow up informed and engaged. Surely, critics said, that couldn't happen in a more typical city.

The next campaign arose in working-class Hyattsville. This time, teenagers turned out in such numbers that the council chambers had standing room only<sup>5</sup>. The architects had never

<sup>4</sup> Wogan, J.B. "Takoma Park Sees High Turnout Among Teens After Election Reform." *Governing*, November 7, 2013. <https://www.governing.com/news/headlines/gov-maryland-city-sees-high-turnout-among-teens-after-election-reform.html>

<sup>5</sup> Schneider, Elena. "Students in Maryland Test Civic Participation and Win Right to Vote." *The New York Times*, January 9, 2015. <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/01/10/us/politics/students-in-maryland-test-civic-participation-and-win-right-to-vote.html>

planned for a Hyattsville city council meeting to draw such attendance, but on this freezing cold night, teenagers had walked, carpooled, or taken public transit to plead for the right to take part in the same local elections most adults blow off.

Among them was Juwan Blocker, who got a ride from an English teacher. And after he saw that his voice really mattered when his city lowered its voting age to include him, Blocker's engagement grew, and he continued taking part as he became an adult.

"I got involved in running for the school board twice and got elected as a student member," he says. "And now I'm here at the age of 20 running for a full term on the board of education. So it definitely impacted me and others."

That shouldn't be too surprising. A study published in the *Journal of Youth Studies*<sup>6</sup> found that "political interest of 16- and 17-year-olds was higher after lowering the voting age."

Two years after Takoma Park lowered its voting age, Male emailed me and told me how young people's involvement has become every day.

"[It's now] normal for older people to stand in line with younger people to vote," he said. "Normal for 16- to 17-year-olds to be at campaign events and asking questions of candidates. Normal to see 16- to 17-year-olds at council meetings. And best of all, as an elected representative, it has become normal for me to get requests from 16- to 17-year-olds — for information or representation or services that the city provides."

Blocker found his increased engagement even rubbed off on his parents. Before, he says, his parents were only occasional voters, but now they vote in every election. That too is

<sup>6</sup> Zeglovits, Eva & Martina Zandonella. "Political interest of adolescents before and after lowering the voting age: the case of Austria." *Journal of Youth Studies*, 16:8, 1084-1104, May 24, 2013. DOI: 10.1080/13676261.2013.793785

unsurprising. Research from Denmark<sup>7</sup> has shown that parents who live with voting children are more likely to vote than parents without

<sup>7</sup> Dahlgard, Jens Olav. "The surprising consequence of lowering the voting age." *The Washington Post*, March 1, 2018. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2018/02/28/the-surprising-consequence-of-lowering-the-voting-age/?noredirect=on>

voting-age children in their household. A lower voting age rejuvenates democracy across generations. ■

## Understanding and Interpreting

1. Starting with the March for Our Lives protests, Bystricky says that for the teenagers to be able to win, meaning to succeed in bringing about change, they need votes. What is the connection between winning and voting that he makes?
2. Paragraphs 2 and 3 include some reasons to support lowering the voting age to 16. Which of those reasons seem to be the strongest at this point in the argument?
3. Explain what Bystricky means when he writes in paragraph 12, "They develop the habits that look from a distance like apathy, habits that can linger for years. And then adults use that disconnection as the reason to keep youth excluded."
4. Bystricky offers two specific examples of local governments in Maryland considering lowering their voting age: Takoma Park and Hyattsville. What is similar and different about these examples, and why did Bystricky likely choose to include both examples?
5. Who do you think is the intended audience for this argument? How do you know, based on what Bystricky includes?

## Analyzing Language, Style, and Structure

1. **Vocabulary in Context.** In paragraph 17, Bystricky refers to the "architects." What does this word mean in the context of his argument? How is his use of the word "architects" similar to or different from other uses you have encountered?
2. **Skill Focus.** Reread paragraphs 9 through 12. How does Bystricky use his own personal experiences as a social studies teacher to refute a counterclaim and support his position? How was his argument strengthened or weakened with the inclusion of his own experiences?
3. Paragraphs 6, 7, and 8 all follow the same structure: Bystricky raises a counterargument and tries to refute it. How successful do you think he is at addressing those who disagree with his proposal?
4. Look back carefully at some of Bystricky's word choices, including "voter-suppression crowd," (par. 4) "more qualified candidates," (par. 7) "actual scientists" (par. 8). What do his language choices reveal about his potential biases?
5. Re-examine Bystricky's piece looking at the appeals (ethos, logos, pathos) he uses. Which appeals are most strongly at work in his argument, and why might these have been effective or not in persuading his audience?
6. Why might Bystricky have chosen to end his piece with the observation by Juwan Blocker and the research from Denmark?

## Topics for Composing

- Analysis.** We know that Bystricky's central claim is that 16-year-olds should be allowed to vote. Examine Bystricky's argument by evaluating how effectively he uses evidence, appeals, reasoning, and language choices to persuade his audience to believe his claim.
- Argument.** Is Bystricky right? Should 16-year-olds be allowed to vote? Use evidence from his piece, or conduct additional research for evidence to support your position.
- Connection.** Bystricky says this about his own students: "They saw no point in learning from history when they were barred from even a small say in America's path forward." How engaged are you and your friends in politics? Are there local or national issues that you wish that you could vote on? Would being able to vote have affected your attitude toward the issues?
- Speaking and Listening.** Interview students, teachers, and staff and ask why 16-year-olds should or should not be allowed to vote. Try to gather responses from as many people as possible at your school, and take careful notes on the reasons they offer. Once you have enough responses, look for patterns in your findings. For example, have adults tended to respond in one way and students in another? Present your findings to your class using a graph, word cloud, or other visual representation.
- Research.** Are there currently any proposals in your state, city, or town to lower the voting age? If so, what objections do opponents raise? If there are no such proposals in your area, identify representatives in your local or city government who might be interested in hearing about this proposal and write a letter or email to that person sharing your perspective on the issue.
- Creative Writing.** Bystricky shares accounts of students approaching their city councils to propose the right to vote. Write an imaginary dialogue between a young person and a councilperson who opposes the idea of allowing anyone under the age of 18 to vote. Try to communicate elements of each person's character and motivations through your choice of dialogue.

## The Road to Change

David Hogg

David Hogg (b. 2000) was a student at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Florida, the site of a school shooting on February 14, 2018, which left 17 people dead and many others wounded. In the aftermath, Hogg and several of his classmates became outspoken advocates for stricter gun-control legislation, helping to form the organization March for our Lives to raise awareness of gun violence. This piece was originally published in a collection in 2018 called *We Say #Never Again*, written by Parkland student journalists.



Emma McIntyre/Getty Images

It is hard to believe that all of this has happened in the same calendar year. From our lives as normal high school students, to activists born of tragedy, to caricatures of the gun lobby and many of their supporters, 2018 has changed

our lives forever and set us on a path to effect sane gun laws for America once and for all.

The shooting at our school also sent me and my friends on a journey into the heart of our country, and on this journey we have discovered

that Americans are more divided than ever before. These divisions are exploited and encouraged by those at the top, the people we once called “leaders,” who are supposed to make our democracy function, smooth over our differences, and lead us toward solutions to our problems. Instead, our “leaders” too often have us at each other’s throats and encourage us to think the very worst of each other, which only hardens positions and hearts, reinforces biases, and closes minds and ears. This is no way for adults to behave, and no way to solve problems, much less run a country.

This is the world that we are trying to change. These polarized politics existed before February 14, 2018, and it is obviously not just about gun violence and not just about the Second Amendment. There are deep cultural chasms in the country—regional, religious, economic, political—and all of us find it too easy to go to our corners with our tribes when a serious and divisive issue comes up. The mistrust in this country is just intolerable. This politics of dehumanization dehumanizes us all and makes it easier to be perpetual, intractable enemies, forever unable to even talk to each other. But the dirty little secret is that this just plays into the hands of the powerful lobbies, because that way the status quo prevails, kids remain at risk in their schools and communities, and nothing ever changes for the better. It is only by looking each other in the eye and speaking from the heart that we will have a chance to understand each other, respectfully explain ourselves to each other, *rehumanize* each other, and defeat the deeply troubling vision that we have discovered of an America forever reduced to warring camps. I believe in my heart that very few people want to live like that.

As I begin to write this—from Bismarck, North Dakota—the March For Our Lives group is preparing for a rally in our Road to Change tour. This evening, we are projected to have a good group at the rally—here to talk about sensible solutions to our undeniable problem of gun violence, register to vote, maybe volunteer, but that

crowd is also expected to be dwarfed by protesters. And one task that we could not have counted on having to do when we first got started in this effort is having to clear up so much slander that has been spread about us—in my case, especially, the nonsense that I was not at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School that day, that I was not even a student there, that I am a professional “crisis actor,” that I am ABC news anchor David Muir, that I am a shape-shifting lizard, etc., etc., etc.

These are the times in which we live. 5

When my friends and I survived the murder of seventeen of our schoolmates, we felt compelled to enter into an arena that was alien to us—politics—with the goal of being engaged citizens and appealing for commonsense laws to change the circumstances that made our friends’ murders possible. I am not sure what we thought the response of the world would be, but to see a fictional villainous version of yourself emerge from internet trolls and ideologues and Alex Jones, well, that certainly is something I never imagined. And because there have been so many outrageous and untrue things written and said about us, the protesters we meet often expect the absolute worst at first. They are angry and worked up, calling us “gun grabbers” and things like that. It takes a long time to undo that misconception, to show a human face, to persuade people who have been conditioned to hate us and our views that we aren’t the bogeymen that they have been told we are.

All of this takes patience and kindness, qualities that sometimes honestly are in short supply. But it is the only thing to do, because, to quote that wise saying, you’ve got to be the change you wish to see in the world. And screaming and yelling and calling people stupid is not only rude, but it will also accomplish precisely nothing. When you are going to new towns and asking to be heard, the most important thing you can do is listen to the people who live there. Hear their stories, learn their perspectives, find connections, because they are there. Before we are Democrats or Republicans, red



www.WENN.com/AP Getty Images

This is a photograph taken during the March for Our Lives Rally in Washington, DC, in 2018. In the center of the picture is Emma Gonzalez, who along with David Hogg and other Parkland students became politically active after the tragedy at their school.

**What message does this photo seem to communicate, and how might Hogg respond to the photo based on what you have read?**

or blue, we are all human. We all have experienced loss and pain and joy. We all have families and friends and hometowns. As John Kennedy once said when talking about resolving the differences of a different time, “We all inhabit this small planet. We all breathe the same air. We all cherish our children’s future. And we are all mortal.”

Please do not misunderstand me — our goals to make America safer do involve political solutions, and politics asks you to make choices. One candidate over another, one value judgment over another, one solution over another. Democracy is by nature about choices, and choices can be divisive. We will fight for our goals, we will not relent, and we will not give up. But we in March For Our Lives have learned through this baptism by fire in 2018 that the world is not improved by vilifying each other. In addition to being childish and wrong, vilification is also inefficient, in that it is a terrible way to

achieve your desired result, and so we’ll leave the vilification to other people as we set about in good faith to convert our pain and loss into action that changes our world for the better.

We will continue to talk to any audience in any town anywhere to convey the simple, strong message that commonsense legislation does not mean taking your guns away — it means saving lives. And we will continue to work during the coming election and all the elections to follow to support moral candidates who will value lives over lobbyist dollars and common sense over ideology. And we will continue to describe things as they are, and to tell the truth — about who is and who is not a captive of the gun lobby, which seeks to keep us afraid and keep us divided. We will continue to use the technologies available to us to address the whole world, even as we cherish meeting and talking to new individuals in town after town, whether we agree or disagree.

This image has been omitted intentionally in this sample chapter.

The anger we felt after February 14 may have <sup>10</sup> been our initial adrenaline in this marathon, but love and compassion will be what keep us going. We won't reach everybody — some people will have no interest in hearing our perspective, and that's okay. But we will reach a lot more people than have been reached in the past, when all sides have been stuck in their well-dug trenches, hurling rocks and mortars at each other.

And in this spirit, sure enough, around Independence Day, our Road to Change tour found itself in Dallas, Texas, a proud place of independent-minded people who like to openly carry their weapons in public places, but who also live in a state where a majority — 51 percent — favor more commonsense gun laws. And even more Texans than that favor universal background checks. *In Texas.* As we were doing everywhere, we were in Dallas to talk and to listen. As several of us stepped outside the venue where our rally was taking place to meet the protesters who had

assembled there, an armed man asked me why I wanted to take his gun away. I told him that I didn't, and that members of my family owned guns. A larger group gathered around, both people with guns and people without, and ninety minutes later, after a sometimes contentious, sometimes very emotional conversation, that man thanked us for helping him understand why we are doing what we are doing. It was as if he had never experienced an honest exchange of ideas before. It was as if he had never been accorded that level of respect for his thoughts. We thanked the man in return.

In the days after that encounter, a few stories appeared in the press. One headline read: "Parkland students and gun owners got into a heated debate that ended in tears and hugs." Of all the headlines in this terribly sad and wondrous year, that headline just might be my favorite.

Onward. ■

## Understanding and Interpreting

- How does Hogg build his ethos in the first two paragraphs of his piece? Why might he have felt that he needed to do this?
- In paragraph 3, Hogg describes the divisions between “tribes” in the United States. What does he say causes these divisions, and what is his proposal for solving this?
- What does Hogg mean when he says that he has to “show a human face” (par. 6), and why does he think this is so important for creating change?
- Why might Hogg have used the quote by John Kennedy in paragraph 7?
- Reread paragraph 8 and explain what Hogg identifies as the challenges that he and his group face in a democracy like that of the United States.
- In paragraphs 11 and 12, Hogg describes the encounter with the group of people in Dallas. What message is the reader expected to draw from that example?

## Analyzing Language, Style, and Structure

- Vocabulary in Context.** In paragraph 3, Hogg writes, “There are deep culture chasms in the country.” What does the word “chasm” mean in this context? What is a “chasm” in the natural world, and how does that meaning relate to Hogg’s use of the word?
- Skill Focus.** Reread paragraphs 4 through 6 and think about how Hogg inserts himself and his experiences into the argument. In what ways do these moments strengthen or weaken his argument?
- Why does Hogg use quotation marks around the word “leaders” in paragraph 2?
- What does Hogg accomplish by writing “etc., etc., etc.” at the end of paragraph 4?
- Look back at some of the word choices Hogg uses to describe his group’s gun control proposals, such as “sensible solutions,” “our undeniable problem,” and “commonsense laws.” How do these phrases reflect his position, and how might someone who disagrees with his position react to these word choices?
- Throughout his piece, Hogg has used “we” to refer to himself and his fellow students, but in paragraph 7, he uses “we” a little differently. Describe this shift and its likely effect on readers.
- At the end of paragraph 10, Hogg compares the fight he and his group are in to warfare. What does he hope to accomplish with this analogy? Is it effective or not?
- Why did Hogg repeat and put in italics “In Texas” in paragraph 11?
- What is the effect of the single word paragraph that ends his essay?

## Topics for Composing

- Analysis.** Explain why listening and generating dialogue are crucial when trying to create lasting change, according to Hogg.
- Argument.** Consider Hogg’s statement that “Americans are more divided than ever before. These divisions are exploited and encouraged by those at the top.” Do you agree or disagree? Support your position with examples from your own experiences or from what you have read or seen in the news.
- Argument.** The Second Amendment to the U.S. Constitution says, “A well-regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.” Using the Second Amendment as at least one piece of

evidence to support your position, write an argument for or against tighter gun control legislation.

4. **Connection.** In paragraph 5, Hogg says, “These are the times in which we live.” How are your experiences with “the times” similar to or different from what Hogg describes?
5. **Speaking and Listening.** Hold a conversation with a partner or a small group about a contentious issue that you all feel strongly about. As you discuss, be sure to listen actively to each other. Afterward, discuss what it was like to talk through an issue that you are all passionate about, especially if you disagreed with one another. What have you learned from Hogg that might help you and those who disagree with you move beyond disagreement, toward understanding and change?
6. **Research.** Hogg states that some people, including politicians, are “captive to the gun lobby.” Conduct research to find out what the “gun lobby” is. What are their goals and what methods do they use to achieve them? Based on your research, is Hogg’s animosity toward the gun lobby reasonable or extreme?

## I'm Not Ready for the Redemption of Men

Amber Tamblyn

Amber Tamblyn (b. 1983) is an American actress, director, poet and activist who appeared in the soap opera *General Hospital* as a child, appeared in the film series *The Sisterhood of the Traveling Pants*, starred in the TV show *Joan of Arcadia*, and had recurring roles on shows such as *House*, *Two and a Half Men*, and *Inside Amy Schumer*. She was one of the founding members of the Time's Up Organization, working against sexual harassment in the workplace, and she wrote an explosive editorial called “I'm Done with Not Being Believed,” in which she recounted the numerous incidents of sexual harassment she faced as a Hollywood actress. This piece, a follow-up to that editorial, was published in the *New York Times* on November 27, 2017.



David Livingston/Getty Images

**KEY CONTEXT** Several incidents of sexual harassment and sexual abuse triggered the #MeToo movement, within which Tamblyn plays a significant role. While the phrase “Me Too” connected to sexual assault is traced back to activist Tarana Burke, the term and the hashtag grew to prominence with the allegations of abuse against movie producer Harvey Weinstein by many famous actresses, including Alyssa Milano, in 2017. This piece also refers to other men, including the comedian Louis C.K. who admitted to several incidents of sexual misconduct in 2017 and had a film pulled from distribution and his tour cancelled in the aftermath, though he soon after began appearing onstage again.

Recently, I was sitting on my couch between two influential, Emmy-winning writers, one a man and one a woman. We were talking about consequences. The comedian Louis C.K.'s entire

life seemed to have been canceled overnight. His movie wasn't being released, and his representatives dropped him after five women accused him of sexual harassment, behavior he

Amber Tamblyn, “I'm not Ready for the Redemption of Men,” *The New York Times*, November 30, 2017. Copyright © 2017 by The New York Times Company. All rights reserved. Used under license.

then admitted. In just the past week, more famous and admired men have lost their jobs for such behaviors. Enter Charlie Rose and Matt Lauer right behind him and then Garrison Keillor.

The man on the couch next to me was disconcerted, making an argument that while Louis C.K.'s actions certainly merited serious consequences, what he did and what Harvey Weinstein did are two very different things. We shouldn't lump them all together, he insisted. The woman was firm with her response: "Yes, we can and we will. Choosing consequences doesn't belong to you anymore."

The man balked with frustration. "What do you want," he asked her. "What's the ultimate thing you would want to happen to him, for what he did? That he never works in this business again?" The woman said, simply: "Yes. That's the price you pay." The man was quiet for a moment, thinking, until he found the question he'd been looking for the entire conversation. "Tell me something: Do you believe in redemption?"

It's a valid question. But it's also a question that makes me deeply suspicious of its timing. Why do we need to talk about the redemption of men when we are right in the middle of the salvation of women? Not even the middle, but the very beginning? Why are we obligated to care about salvaging male careers when we have just begun to tell the stories that have plagued us for lifetimes? It seems some men like a revolution only when it's their kind of war.

Throughout history, women haven't been in a position to come forward with their stories and be taken seriously as a rule. That's the reason we sometimes wait 20 years to report something—harassment, assault—if we say anything at all. We haven't been silent because we forgot or made our stories up. We've been silent because we've been silenced. But women now feel comfortable telling such stories. And maybe even more important, we are seeing consequences for those actions. This is more than a watershed moment—it's a flash-flood point.

5



## extending beyond the text

Read this excerpt written in response to news reports that New York Attorney General Eric Schneiderman had sexually abused at least four women. Note the language and word choices that Howe uses to describe this incident, as well as the #MeToo movement in general.

### **from After #MeToo, What's Next?**

**Neil Howe**

#MeToo has claimed its latest victim: New York Attorney General Eric Schneiderman, one of the movement's most prominent advocates, has resigned amid accusations of sexual abuse. This comes on the heels of Bill Cosby's conviction on three counts of sexual assault. The nationwide reckoning on sexual harassment began late last year in the wake of accusations against Hollywood mogul Harvey Weinstein. Since then, a torrent of new allegations has surfaced, toppling the careers of dozens of powerful men as millions of victims have come forward. Those behind this #MeToo movement have launched a global conversation, one that Time magazine's editor-in-chief called "one of the highest velocity shifts in our culture since the 1960s."

**Based on your examination of what Howe says and the words he uses to say it, how would you describe his attitude toward #MeToo?**

Not everyone in my industry is in support of how quickly things are moving. There's a lot of collateral-damage dread, a cloud of unease that has covered the industry lately with talk of potentially harmful side effects of such decisive actions. What if an innocent man is falsely accused? What if the repercussion doesn't fit the crime? What ever happened to innocent until proved guilty?

That's why the male writer wanted to talk about redemption. The idea appeals to the men I've been talking with, I believe, because they want a sense of normalcy restored. They want measured discussion of consequences, not swift punishment. They want us to leave poor Al Franken and his harmless grabbing alone. I've heard several male friends talk about text chains they are on with other men only; they describe it

as a safe space to talk about how they feel in this moment. They feel afraid, disoriented and discounted. And I understand their need for such comfort and security. I am a woman. I know nothing other than needing such comfort and security, for my entire life.

We're in the midst of a reckoning. It's what toxic masculinity's own medicine tastes like. And people should allow the consequences to unfold, regardless of how it affects those they consider to be friends. The only way to enforce seismic, cultural change in the way men relate to women is to draw a line deep in the sand and say: This is what we will no longer tolerate. You're either with our bodies or against our bodies. The punishment for harassment is you disappear. The punishment for rape is you disappear. [...] The punishment for coercion is you disappear.



**What is artist Angelica Frausto suggesting about #MeToo in this short graphic story? How does she communicate this point visually? How do you think Tamblyn would respond to this visual?**

Angelica Frausto in series "I'm Tired of Performing Trauma,"  
The Nib, InkWell Management

This new rule upsets many people, men and women. But what they don't seem to understand is, no one is saying a disappearance from the public eye has to be forever. (Well, Harvey Weinstein is forever.) I'm not talking about banishment. I'm talking about ceding the floor. The power of celebrity and cultural approval must disappear for the time being so that all women see and believe that consequences do exist.

In that discussion about redemption on my couch, the woman said to the man: "Look, do I believe Louis C.K. is going to come back in a year or so with a lot of reflection about what he did? Yes, I do. When he goes back out on that standup tour someday, I'll roll my eyes and say, 'All right, get on with it, then.' 10

But for now, his old power is over. He's going to have to find a new power if he ever wants to come back."

A new power. Can there be one for men, free of humiliation, shame and violent assault against women? Women who are their wives, daughters, mothers and friends sitting next to them on couches? And what would it take to achieve it? That's the question for men and their text chains right now, not the question of how soon they can ask about redemption. Redemption must be preceded by atonement. It is earned, not offered. If you want amends, you have to make them. You have to acknowledge the line in the sand. Once you do this, the next step is simple: Pick a side. Choose us. ■

## Understanding and Interpreting

1. Tamblyn starts her piece describing a conversation between a man and a woman, both Hollywood writers, discussing the comedian Louis C.K. Summarize their two points of view. Where do they agree and disagree with each other? What is the effect of talking about a man and woman (rather than two men or two women) expressing these viewpoints?
2. What does Tamblyn mean when she asks, "Why do we need to talk about the redemption of men when we are right in the middle of the salvation of women"? (par. 4).
3. Tamblyn claims that perpetrators should face swift consequences for their actions. In paragraph 6, she addresses a key counterargument to her claim. How does she characterize and address this counterargument from others in the entertainment industry?
4. What is Tamblyn's response to those who claim that some men are feeling "afraid, disoriented, and discounted" (par. 7)?
5. Tamblyn is trying to "enforce seismic, cultural change" (par. 8). What does she say must happen to create and maintain this change?
6. Explain what Tamblyn means by "ceding the floor" (par. 9).
7. The woman on the couch says that Louis C.K. will need a new power if he wants to come back into the public space. What, according to Tamblyn in the last paragraph, will this new power require?
8. Overall, do you think that Tamblyn is optimistic or pessimistic about the chances that Hollywood will change? What leads you to this conclusion?

## Analyzing Language, Style, and Structure

1. **Vocabulary in Context.** In paragraph 4, Tamblyn asks why we should care about salvaging male careers. What does the word "salvaging" mean in this context? What are other things that can be salvaged? What connotation does the word carry in this context?
2. **Skill Focus.** Even though Tamblyn does not include any stories about her own relevant experiences in this piece, she does have a presence as a woman working in Hollywood during

the time of #MeToo. How does this presence come across in this piece and how does it help her communicate her point?

3. Tamblyn oftentimes casts this conflict in terms of warfare. Explain her use of the analogy here: “It seems like men like a revolution only when it’s their kind of war” (par. 4)?
4. Look back through her piece, and note when Tamblyn uses the pronouns “we” (especially in par. 5), “our” (par. 8), or “us” (par. 11). What effect does she create with these pronouns? Does the use make her argument stronger or more limited? Why?
5. Paragraph 5 starts off with “Throughout history,” and includes a summary and explanation of what has preceded the #MeToo movement. What purpose does this paragraph play in her argument, and why might she have placed it where she did?
6. Reread paragraph 8. What does Tamblyn achieve through the repetition and the parallelism (review these terms from Chapter 3 on p. 000) at the end of the paragraph?
7. In paragraph 9, Tamblyn uses the “yes, but” method of addressing those who might think differently. Describe how Tamblyn uses this approach and explain how effective it might be for making her argument.

## Topics for Composing

1. **Analysis.** The word “redemption” appears in the title and is repeated throughout. Explain how Tamblyn defines redemption and discusses whether perpetrators can ever attain it. How does the idea of “redemption” relate to lasting change, according to Tamblyn?
2. **Argument.** What is the most appropriate punishment for personalities, politicians, athletes, and other famous people who are in positions of power and have been credibly accused of sexually inappropriate behavior that is not necessarily illegal?
3. **Connection.** Tamblyn refers to “toxic masculinity” in her piece. Writer Harris O’Malley defines this phrase as, “a narrow and repressive description of manhood, designating manhood as defined by violence, sex, status and aggression. It’s the cultural ideal of manliness, where strength is everything while emotions are a weakness.” Explain whether you agree or disagree with this definition, based on your own understanding of the term and personal experiences of gender norms.
4. **Connection.** Several of the men accused during #MeToo have written responses online defending their actions and trying to clear their names, including John Hockenberry, Jian Ghomeshi, and others. Choose one, read it carefully, and write an explanation about how Tamblyn would respond. Would it meet her definition of “atonement”?
5. **Speaking and Listening.** Talk with someone of a different gender or with someone who does not identify as either gender about your reaction to the issues raised in this piece. Listen carefully to the other person’s response and then discuss the ways that people’s gender identities may or may not affect attitudes toward #MeToo.
6. **Research.** Find out what has happened to some of the “famous and admired men who have lost their jobs” in the wake of #MeToo. How long did they stay out of the public eye? Did their careers suffer?
7. **Exposition.** Define “cancel” or “call-out” culture, using this article and other sources. Who are some people who have been “cancelled,” and how has this kind of protest affected them and society?
8. **Multimodal.** Create a poster appropriate for your school in which you present information and resources that support people who have experienced sexual abuse or misconduct. Be sure to consider a combination of text and images that would not only be engaging for the viewer, but also appropriate for hanging in a public space.

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## How to Get People to Change Their Minds

**Denise Cummins**

Denise D. Cummins, PhD, is a research psychologist, a Fellow of the Association for Psychological Science, and the author of over 40 scholarly works, including *Good Thinking: Seven Powerful Ideas That Influence the Way We Think*. She has held faculty and research positions at Yale University, the University of California, the University of Illinois, and has been an invited scientist at the Max Planck Institute for Human Development in Berlin. This piece appeared in *Psychology Today* on February 25, 2016.



Denise D. Cummins

**A**s the saying goes, “All the world is mad except for me and thee, and I’m not too sure of thee.”

This is the reaction many of us have when people express opinions that differ markedly from our own. And then, of course, we try to change their minds.

If we were all entirely rational, then our beliefs would be grounded in logic and evidence, and changing our beliefs would simply be a matter of presenting a logical argument backed up by objective evidence. In fact, this is how we educate students to “think critically.” It is also how our politicians and lawmakers debate issues.

Yet this is rarely effective.

Consider [the] study by Lord, Ross and Leppner (1979)[,] which used a very realistic procedure to examine whether logic and evidence lead people to change their minds:

People supporting and opposing capital punishment were asked to read two studies, one that confirmed and one that disconfirmed their existing beliefs about the death penalty. The studies were fictional, but were described as actual published research. They were then asked of each study, “Has this study changed the way you feel toward capital punishment?”, and “Has this study changed your beliefs about the deterrent efficacy of the death penalty?” Then they were given summaries of several prominent criticisms of the study, and the authors’ rebuttals to the criticisms.

The results? The two groups became more certain of their original position, and, as a result, the groups became more polarized in their beliefs!

Why? Because people are likely to examine relevant evidence in a biased manner, accepting evidence that is consistent with their views



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As you know, persuasive writing is a common assignment in an English class.

To what extent might Cummins agree with the student in this image?

"Research suggests that using facts and logic to try to change someone's mind just makes them believe their original position even more. So I'm thinking we just forget this unit and enjoy some extra recess."

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without further scrutiny while subjecting evidence that contradicts their views to intense scrutiny.

Researchers at Cornell University recently took a different approach<sup>1</sup> to the question of how to get people to change their minds: They analyzed social media.

ChangeMyView is an active [...] community of over 200,000 members on Reddit that allows users to present their opinions and to invite others to contest them. If the ensuing discussion causes them to change their minds, they acknowledge that they've changed their minds and explain what in particular it was that they found persuasive. Some of the opinions posted included "People don't define who they are, their genetics and environment do," "Zoos are immoral," and "I think that the vast majority of Bernie supporters are selfish and ill-informed." That last one received over a thousand comments in one day.

The researchers analyzed a number of factors,<sup>10</sup> including the number of people who responded,

the order in which their responses occurred in the discussion, and how the responses were worded.

Some of the results jibed with common sense.

- Persuasive arguments tended to use calm words rather than emotional words (such as *terrorist*) or "dominant" words that imply control (such as *completion*).
- They tended to be longer, including greater numbers of sentences and paragraphs. In other words, one-liners and rants rarely persuade people.
- It was also heartening to find that posts containing citation links to external sites were more persuasive. So evidence does seem to play a role in changing minds.
- Original posters who use the word "I" rather than "we" when describing their opinion tend to be more open to persuasion, as are those who avoid using dominant, emotional, or "superlative" words (such as "worst" and "dumbest").

Other results were more surprising:

- Words that are emotionally neutral or slightly "downbeat" are more persuasive than upbeat, happy words.

<sup>1</sup> Tan, Chenhao, et al. "Winning Arguments: Interaction Dynamics and Persuasion Strategies in Good-faith Online Discussions." Cornell University, February 2, 2016. <https://arxiv.org/pdf/1602.01103v1.pdf>

- Using words that are different from the ones used by the original poster is more effective than using the same words. The researchers interpreted this to mean that different words signal a different point of view.
- “Hedging” language (such as “it could be the case”) is usually labeled “weak” because it signals uncertainty. Yet arguments containing such language were, surprisingly, more persuasive than those without. The researchers suggest that is because “they may make an argument easier to accept by softening its tone.” In other words, people are not open to persuasion when they feel they are being bulldozed, conquered, proved wrong, or dominated by their opponent.
- Arguments presented early in the thread are more likely to persuade than those presented later, and that was true regardless of the expertise of the responder. In fact, the first two challengers were three times more likely to succeed at persuading than the tenth challenger. In back-and-forth dialogues between the original poster and a responder, the results were crystal clear: If you haven’t persuaded the person by the fourth round, you never will.
- Initial analyses indicated that the greater the number of challengers, the higher the likelihood of success in changing the original poster’s mind. But subsequent analyses indicated single-challenger threads consistently outperformed multiple-challenger threads in terms of conversion rate. According to the authors, *“This observation suggests that the sheer number of challengers is not necessarily associated with higher chances of conversion.”*

Perhaps the most interesting outcome (and least surprising from an educator’s viewpoint) is that using specific examples is a powerful persuasion technique. One picture is worth a thousand words, and one example is worth an hour of lecture.



© Gérard DuBois/Alamy Stock Photo

This artwork by illustrator Gérard DuBois appeared in an article called “Why Facts Don’t Change Our Minds” in *The New Yorker*.

**What point is the artist making about our ability to digest new information? Consider the images in the piece as well as the figure’s posture and expression. Why would Cummins likely agree or disagree with what the image seems to convey?**

I was disappointed to find, however, that the researchers did not investigate one type of specific example that is perhaps the most persuasive of all, and that is analogy and metaphor. As I said in a previous post:

When Federal Reserve Chief Ben Bernanke appeared on the TV news show 60 Minutes to persuade us to bail out the banking system, he didn’t bother with charts, figures, or lengthy argument. Instead, he used something far more powerful: Analogy and metaphor.

Imagine, he explained, that you have an irresponsible neighbor who smokes in bed, and sets fire to his house. Should you call the fire department, or should you simply walk

away and let him face the consequences of his actions? What if your house — indeed all the houses in the entire neighborhood — are also made of wood? We all agree, he argued, that under those circumstances, we should focus on putting out the fire first. Then we can turn to the issues of assigning blame or punishment, re-writing the fire code, and putting fail-safes in place.

This was a powerful analogy. It communicated the clear and present danger to the economy and the urgency of implementing

his proposed solution...Lawyers use analogies frequently to draw parallels between an undecided case and a case that has already been decided (a precedent)...Some legal scholars, such as Lloyd Weinreb, go so far as to argue that without analogy, a court's decision is incomplete. It is that important in explaining and justifying legal judgments.

<sup>15</sup> [A]rguments based on analogies and metaphors are so powerful that you need to know how to evaluate them so that you are not misled. ■

## Understanding and Interpreting

- According to Cummins in paragraph 2, what does it mean to “think critically”? What does Cummins suggest about this skill?
- Summarize what Cummins concludes about the findings of the study by Lord, Ross and Leppner.
- Explain why, according to the study by researchers at Cornell University, certain language choices are more effective than others at persuading people to change their minds.
- Why might the number of challengers to an argument affect its ability to persuade readers?
- In paragraph 14, Cummins describes what she feels is a component of effective arguments: the use of analogy and metaphor. Explain how this component works in an argument and why, according to Cummins, it can be so effective.

## Analyzing Language, Style, and Structure

- Vocabulary in Context.** In paragraph 6, Cummins uses the word “polarized,” which is a scientific term applied to a non-scientific context. What does the word mean here, and how is that meaning similar to or different from its scientific use? What other scientific terms can you think of that are also used in non-scientific contexts?
- Skill Focus.** According to Cummins, what did the researchers conclude about the effect of personal experience in argument?
- Cummins begins her piece with a common saying. Why might she have done so? What does it accomplish?
- Evaluate Cummins’s piece for its use of rhetorical appeals (ethos, logos, pathos). Where is her argument strongest in its use of appeals, and where could her argument have been strengthened by additional appeals?

## Topics for Composing

- Analysis.** In paragraphs 3 and 4, Cummins says changing beliefs by “presenting a logical argument backed up by objective evidence [...] is rarely effective.” Evaluate Cummins’s

- argument. To what extent does her argument use objective evidence, personal experience, and other tools of persuasion. Point to specific examples from her text in your response.
- 2. Argument.** See Cummins's bullet lists summarizing the research results on pages 26–27. In these lists, Cummins notes which rhetorical moves or strategies make arguments more and less persuasive, according to the research. Select one of these points to focus on and write an argument that either supports or refutes the researchers' conclusions. You can refer to your own experiences and/or conduct additional research to support your point of view.
  - 3. Connection.** Has a conversation or something you've watched or read ever succeeded in changing your mind on an issue you care deeply about? If so, why was the message and its delivery so effective? If not, why did the message fail to persuade you? In your discussion, be sure to consider elements Cummins describes.
  - 4. Speaking and Listening.** Try out Cummins's suggestions by holding a debate about an issue in which one person, or group, uses only objective evidence, while another uses a variety of types of evidence. Afterward, evaluate each side's approach. Was one approach more effective than the other? Explain your response.
  - 5. Research.** Go to Reddit or a similar site where ideas on various topics are discussed. Find an idea that interests you and examine the arguments, using the results that Cummins identifies on pages 26–27. What did you notice about the language (calm, downbeat, upbeat, emotionally neutral, hedging, etc.), the types of evidence, and the number of challengers? To what extend do your observations back up or refute Cummins's own discussion?
  - 6. Multimodal.** Create two posters about an issue that you feel strongly about. Use the same visuals and clear claim in both. But, in one of the posters, use the types of language and evidence that Cummins identifies as least effective, and in the other, use what she identifies as most effective, including the use of analogy and metaphor. Show your posters to as many people as possible and determine whether your conclusions match those of Cummins.
  - 7. Creative Writing.** Write a short scene from a play in which one character tries to persuade another character of an idea. Describe the set, costumes, props, lighting and other aspects of the stage, and be sure that the dialogue you use reflects the characters and uses some of the approaches that Cummins recommends.

## What if We're All Coming Back?

Michelle Alexander

A civil rights lawyer and advocate, and a *New York Times* columnist, Michelle Alexander (b. 1967) is the author of *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*. As director of the Racial Justice Project at the ACLU of Northern California, she led a national campaign against racial profiling by law enforcement. She was a law clerk for Justice Harry Blackmun at the U.S. Supreme Court. A visiting professor at the Union Theological Seminary in the City of New York, she explores the moral and spiritual aspects of mass incarceration. This piece was published in the *New York Times* on October 29, 2018.



Ber Gavit/The New York Times/Hopdax Pictures

Michelle Alexander, "What if we're all coming back?" *The New York Times*, October 29 2018, Copyright © 2018 by The New York Times Company. All rights reserved. Used under license.

I can't say that I believe in reincarnation, but I understand why some people do. In fact, I had a bizarre experience as a teenager that made me wonder if I had known someone in a past life.

I was walking to school one day, lost in thought. I turned the corner onto a wide, tree-lined street and noticed a man on the other side heading my direction. For an instant, we held each other's gaze and a startling wave of excitement and recognition washed over me. We spontaneously ran toward each other, as if to embrace a long-lost friend, relative or lover. But just as we were close enough to see the other's face, we were both jolted by the awareness that we didn't actually know each other.

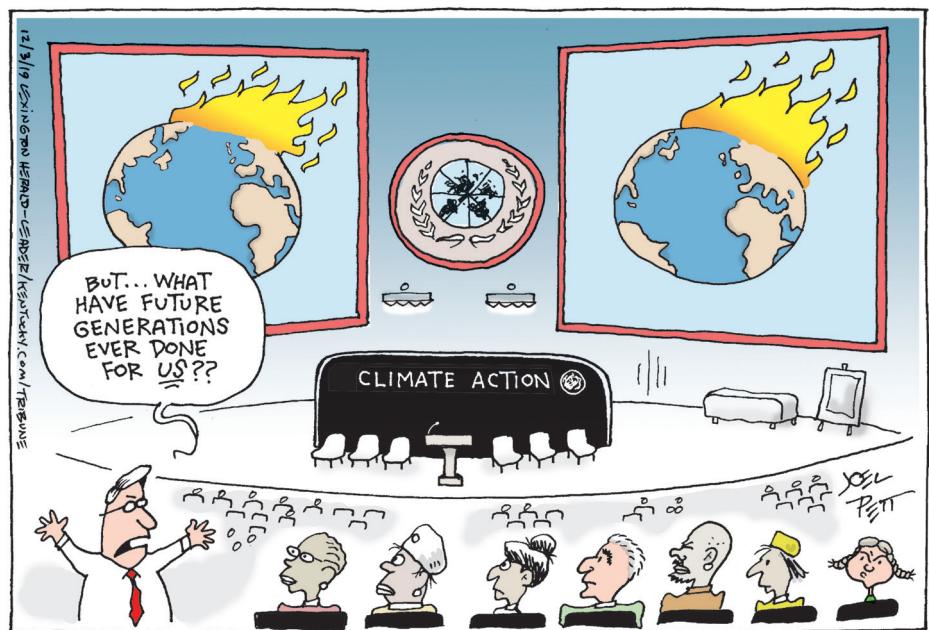
We stood in the middle of the street, bewildered. I mumbled, "I'm so sorry—I thought I knew you." Equally embarrassed, he replied: "Oh, my God, this is so strange. What's happening right now?" We backed away

awkwardly—me, a teenage black girl; he, a middle-aged white man. I never saw him again.

The incident shook me deeply. This was not a case of mistaken identity. Something profound and mysterious happened and we both knew it. Still, I'm not among the 33 percent of Americans (including 29 percent of Christians) who believe in reincarnation. Lately, though, I've been thinking that if more of us did believe we were coming back, it could change everything.

At first, I thought about reincarnation in the narrowest possible terms, wondering what future life I'd earn if karma proved real. It's a worrisome thing to contemplate. It's easier to speculate about what kind of future lives other people deserve. Maybe Bull Connor—that white supremacist Alabama politician who ordered that black schoolchildren protesting segregation be attacked with police dogs and fire hoses—has already been born again as a black child in a

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**What point is this cartoon making, and how does it compare to what Alexander is suggesting?**

neighborhood lacking jobs and decent schools but filled with police officers who shoot first and ask questions later. Maybe he's now subjected to the very forms of bigotry, terror and structural racism that he once gleefully inflicted on others.

This kind of thought experiment is obviously dangerous, since it can tempt us to imagine that people have somehow earned miserable fates and deserve to suffer. But considering future lives can also be productive, challenging us to imagine that what we do or say in this life matters and might eventually catch up with us. Would we fail to respond with care and compassion to the immigrant at the border today if we thought we might find ourselves homeless, fleeing war and poverty, in the next life? Imagining ourselves in those shoes makes it harder to say: "Well, they're not here legally. Let's build a wall to keep those people out." After all, one day "those people" might be you.

Once I entered college, I found myself less interested in karma and more interested in politics. It occurred to me that if we're born again at random, we can't soothe ourselves with fantasies that we'll come back as one of the precious few on the planet who live comfortably. We must face the fact that our destiny is inextricably linked to the fate of others. What kind of political, social and economic system would I want — and what would I fight for — if I knew I was coming back somewhere in the world but didn't know where and didn't know who I'd be?

In law school, I discovered that I wasn't the first to ponder this type of question. In his landmark 1971 book, "A Theory of Justice," the political philosopher John Rawls urged his audience to imagine a wild scene: A group of people gathered to design their own future society behind "a veil of ignorance." No one knows his or her place in society, class position or social status, "nor does he know his fortune in

the distribution of natural assets and abilities, his intelligence and strength and the like." As Rawls put it, "If a man knew that he was wealthy, he might find it rational to advance the principle that various taxes for welfare measures be counted unjust; if he knew he was poor, he would most likely propose the contrary principle." If denied basic information about one's circumstances, Rawls predicted that important social goods, such as rights and liberties, power and opportunities, income and wealth, and conditions for self-respect would be "distributed equally unless an unequal distribution of any or all of these values is to everyone's advantage."

Back then, I was struck by how closely Rawls's views mirrored my own. I now believe, however, that the veil of ignorance is quite distorted in an important respect. Rawls's veil encourages us to imagine a scenario in which we're equally likely to be rich or poor or born with natural talents or limitations. But the truth is, if we're reborn in 50 years, there's only a small chance that any of us would be rich or benefit from white privilege.

Almost half the world — more than three billion people — live on less than \$2.50 per day.<sup>10</sup> At least 80 percent of humanity lives on less than \$10 per day. Less than 7 percent of the world's population has a college degree. The vast majority of the earth's population is nonwhite, and roughly half are women. Unless radical change sweeps the globe, the chances are high that any of us would come back as a nonwhite woman living on less than \$2.50 per day. And given what we now know about climate change, the chances are very good that we would find ourselves suffering as a result of natural disasters — hurricanes, tsunamis, droughts and floods — and enduring water and food shortages and refugee crises.

This month, the world's leading climate scientists released a report warning of



## extending beyond the text

The British philosopher John Stuart Mill (1806–1873) was a proponent of a moral principle called “utilitarianism,” which proposed that people must always act so as to produce the greatest happiness. Read the following excerpt from his book *Utilitarianism* (1861).

### **from Utilitarianism**

#### **John Stuart Mill**

This firm foundation is that of the social feelings of mankind; the desire to be in unity with our fellow creatures, which is already a powerful principle in human nature, and happily one of those which tend to become stronger, even without express inculcation, from the influences of advancing civilisation. The social state is at once so natural, so necessary, and so habitual to man, that, except in some unusual circumstances or by an effort of voluntary abstraction, he never conceives himself otherwise than as a member of a body; and this association is riveted more and more, as mankind are further removed from the state of savage independence. [...]

They are also familiar with the fact of co-operating with others, and proposing to themselves a collective, not an individual interest as the aim (at least for the time being) of their actions. So long as they are co-operating, their ends are identified with those of others; there is at least a temporary feeling that the interests of others are their own interests. Not only does all strengthening of social ties, and all healthy growth of society, give to each individual a stronger personal interest in practically consulting the welfare of others; it also leads him to identify his *feelings* more and more with their good, or at least with an even greater degree of practical consideration for it. He comes, as though instinctively, to be conscious of himself as a being who *of course* pays regard to others. The good of others becomes to him a thing naturally and necessarily to be attended to, like any of the physical conditions of our existence.

### **How is Mill's approach similar to or different from Alexander's?**

catastrophic consequences as soon as 2040<sup>1</sup> if global warming increases at its current rate. Democratic politicians expressed alarm, yet many continue to accept campaign contributions from the fossil fuel industry that is responsible for such a large percentage of the world's greenhouse gas emissions<sup>2</sup>.

It's nearly impossible to imagine that our elected officials would be so indifferent if they

knew climate scientists were foretelling a future that they would have to live without any of the privileges they now enjoy.

Rawls was right: True morality becomes possible only when we step outside the box of our perceived self-interest and care for others as much as we care for ourselves. But rather than imagining a scenario in which we're entirely ignorant of what the future holds, perhaps we ought to imagine that we, personally, will be born again into the world that we are creating today through our collective and individual choices.

Who among us would fail to question capitalism or to demand a political system free from corporate cash if we knew that we'd likely live our next life as a person of color, earning

<sup>1</sup> Davenport, Coral. “Major Climate Report Describes a Strong Risk of Crisis as Early as 2040.” *The New York Times*, October 7, 2018. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/07/climate/ipcc-climate-report-2040.html?module=inline>

<sup>2</sup> Griffin, Paul. “CDP Carbon Majors Report 2017.” CDP, July 2017. <https://b8f65cb373b1b7b15feb-c70d8ead6ced550b4d987d7c03fcdd1d.ssl.cf3.rackcdn.com/cms/reports/documents/000/002/327/original/Carbon-Majors-Report-2017.pdf?1499691240>

less than \$2.50 a day, in some part of the world ravaged by climate change while private corporations earn billions building prisons, detention centers and border walls for profit?

Not I. And I'm willing to bet, neither would you. We don't have to believe in reincarnation to fight for a world that we'd actually want to be born into. ■

## Understanding and Interpreting

1. Reread paragraph 5 and explain how karma works, according to Alexander. Why does Alexander conclude that thinking about reincarnation in these narrow terms could also be dangerous (par. 6)?
2. In describing her expanded thinking in college, what does Alexander suggest about the differences between karma and being born again at random?
3. Summarize the essential lessons that Alexander learned from reading the work of political philosopher John Rawls. How does Alexander build on or repurpose Rawls's ideas? (pars. 8–10)
4. Explain how Alexander uses this idea from Rawls to support her own theories about combating climate change: "True morality becomes possible only when we step outside the box of our perceived self-interest and care for others as much as we care for ourselves." (par. 13)
5. Overall, based on what you have read, is Alexander hopeful or pessimistic about the future?

## Analyzing Language, Style, and Structure

1. **Vocabulary in Context.** The word "alarm" is a common one that you encounter regularly, but look at its use in the following sentence in paragraph 11: "Democratic politicians expressed alarm, yet many continue..." What is its meaning in this context? What is something that you might express alarm about?
2. **Skill Focus.** Alexander starts her piece with a short narrative about an interaction with a stranger on the street. What was she likely trying to accomplish by including that personal experience, and to what extent do you think it was an effective way to introduce her topic?
3. For the most part, Alexander adopts a neutral tone to describe the development of her moral philosophy, but look closely at paragraphs 10 through 12. How do her language choices create an emotional reaction in her readers? Explain why she may have made these language choices.
4. Paragraph 14 is one long rhetorical question. How is it intended to connect with her readers and lead them to the concluding paragraph?
5. Alexander has structured her piece in an unusual way in that her main point — using the idea of reincarnation to advocate for global environmental and economic action — doesn't come until more than halfway through her piece. Why might she have chosen to structure her piece this way? If she had placed her main point near the beginning, how might the effect have been different?

## Topics for Composing

1. **Analysis.** Overall, why does Alexander believe that thinking about reincarnation is an effective tool for creating change in the world?
2. **Argument.** To what extent do you believe that thinking about reincarnation is an effective tool for combating issues like climate change? What are other factors that her proposal does not

account for? Use your own ideas and experiences, as well as additional research to support your position.

3. **Connection.** How might it affect your thinking if you would likely live your “next life as a person [...] earning less than \$2.50 a day”? What changes might you make in your world today?
4. **Speaking and Listening.** Locate a speech online of someone who is discussing the issue of global climate change. Listen to the speech carefully and write an explanation of why you think the speech was an effective one or not. Focus on both the content and the delivery of the speech.
5. **Research.** What world religions include belief in reincarnation or karma? Choose one to learn about and compare its approach to reincarnation or karma to Alexander’s ideas on the subject.
6. **Exposition.** Alexander identifies climate change and economic and racial inequalities as main issues that can be discussed effectively in terms of reincarnation. What are other issues that she does not identify that could also be explored with this line of thinking? Explain how this thought experiment could help provide perspective on these issues.

## from Speech at UCLA

### Dolores Huerta

Dolores Huerta (b. 1930) is a labor organizer and civil rights activist who, along with Cesar Chavez in the 1960s, formed the United Farm Workers union, the first in the world to successfully gain bargaining and other rights for agricultural workers. One of her many accomplishments was the highly successful Delano Grape Strike, which was a widespread boycott of the fruit to push for better working conditions for those who picked it. Huerta is also credited with popularizing the phrase used by many protesters “Si, se puede,” which roughly translates as “Yes, it can be done.” She has won numerous awards for her activism, including the Presidential Medal of Freedom, during the ceremony for which President Obama quoted her as saying, ‘Don’t wait to be invited. Step in there.’ This was a speech that she delivered to students at UCLA on February 22, 1978.



Cathy Murphy/Getty Images

**KEY CONTEXT** Huerta references a hunger strike that Cesar Chavez, her friend and co-founder of the United Farm Workers union, went on for 24 days in 1968 to support the grape boycott. Presidential candidate Robert Kennedy visited him to show his support.

I saw the Martin Luther King movie the other day, how many of you saw that? The film that they have on the Martin Luther King struggle, did any of you see that? They had it on NBC the other day. In seeing that they were showing all of the things that had changed in the South like integration, people having the right to vote, and the tremendous changes that were made in a twelve-year period. And I remember we were organizing the union at

the same time that these civil rights, the big organization was going on in the South, and we were almost organizing simultaneously when King was organizing. And I thought to myself, of all of the things that have changed for the farm workers in the last twelve years[...]

Farm workers had no unemployment insurance. It wasn’t until Governor Jerry Brown got in and there was an Assemblyman here from



## extending beyond the text

Professor Brayden King of Kellogg's Management & Organizations department has researched what conditions are necessary for a successful protest. Read this excerpt from a blog post he wrote.

### **from How Protests Matter**

#### **Brayden King**

A [...] study of mine (coauthored with Sarah Soule) shows that protests generate information that people use to evaluate their targets. We show that protests against corporations lead to a .4 to 1% decline in the stock price of that company during a two-day window around the protest. The result demonstrates that when activists protest, investors listen. The protests are generating some type of information, which likely varies across protests, that makes investors worry about the value of the asset. In some cases, the protest may cause investors to be concerned about the soundness of a particular corporate policy or practice but in other cases they may interpret the protest as a signal that consumers will be unhappy with the company. The point is that the protest generates information and shifts public attention to a problem that prior to the protest was ignored. If it wasn't being ignored prior to the protest, then the price would never have fluctuated because the information would already be reflected in the stock price. [...]

#### **Explain how Huerta might react to Professor King's conclusions.**

Los Angeles, Jack Benton, who really helped push that bill. [Governor] Reagan vetoed the bill four times. We first got it out of the Assembly back in 1961. I remember one of the farm workers said at that hearing, "They are going to get a person to the moon before we get unemployment insurance for farm workers," and they did. A man landed on the moon before farm workers got unemployment insurance. Isn't that incredible? But we finally got unemployment insurance that we finally have now. And Cesar said, "We won't get unemployment insurance until we organize the union."

There was a time when farm workers couldn't get any kind of welfare. Again, if they were out of work, they couldn't get it. Back in 1963, we did a big campaign and we got farm workers covered under welfare so if farm workers were out of work they could at least get welfare. Of course they had no kind of job security. When

Robert Kennedy ran for the presidency back in 1968, farm workers who had a Robert Kennedy bumper sticker on their cars were immediately fired from their jobs. And they couldn't take any kind of activity, like registering to vote, or do any political action because they were fired. So, when you see where we are at now, we have come a long way in the changes that have been made.[...]

When we think of how the changes were made, the way that you make change, social change is so simple, but people don't believe it. You know I've been in the movement now since I was twenty-five years old, maybe some of you are younger than I was then, and I look back and I see all of the things we've done, and even to myself it's hard for me to believe how we made the changes that we made and how we made them. The changes that were made were made by people that were like the poorest of all, people that didn't know how to read or write, people

who had no resources, and when we think of the changes that we were able to make for farm workers, it's really kind of a mindblower. Because the kind of action that has been taken, the kind of political action has always been very simple things. About this time ten years ago, Cesar Chavez started his first fast. He did this because we had been on strike at that time for about five years[—]no[,] for three years[—]and we still didn't have any contract and the contributions stopped coming in, everybody was living on Campbell's Tomato Soup and Pork and Beans because that's what we got in donations. Tons of Campbell's Soup and tons of Pork and Beans, and a lot of the farm workers were getting kind of desperate. So Cesar started his first fast for nonviolence in 1968. He did a twenty-five day fast and he didn't eat for twenty-five days, and this was to commit farm workers in all of our movement to the philosophy of nonviolence. And of course a lot of people thought he was crazy. Some people said that Cesar was trying to play God and some people who were very anti-religious were furious over the fact that Cesar would do something so crazy. They thought that doing the daily work of the union was more important than fasting. This was some of our staff people. And a lot of people left the union because they didn't agree with Cesar fasting, they tried to pressure Cesar to stop fasting.

Myself, I was in New York working on the boycott and I kept getting calls from Delano where people were saying "Cesar's crazy, he's trying to have this fast but you should call him up and tell him to start eating." I said, "Well look, this is his decision." I didn't do what they asked me to do, and we let Cesar continue his fast, and, of course, it was a very glorious thing that he did. The day that Cesar ended his fast, Robert Kennedy was there with him, and there was something like nine thousand farm workers. But that was a very simple thing that Cesar did, he just fasted. We sort of picked up on that idea of Cesar's fast, and then we thought, why couldn't the whole country do a little

fast? Let's ask everybody not to eat grapes. That's a kind of a simple thing, right? It doesn't take a lot, just don't eat grapes. And so we asked the whole country and the whole world not to eat grapes, and they didn't. And as a result of that, people not eating grapes, we had our first big national grape boycott and we got our first contract. That was a really simple thing, but it had a tremendous impact. Because we were going to the heart of the growers, and that is their pocketbook. And we have to remember that when you are dealing with corporations and you are dealing with businesses you can't, like when you go to school you are taught to be rational, to be objective, to believe what you read and to weigh things, and do all of these things. You have to be very careful when you are in school and learn all of these things because it can be an entrapment. Luckily, farm workers many times—because they don't have school they go by their guts—they know what's right and they know what's wrong and they aren't afraid to take action.

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That's a very important thing when you are in school, that you never lose that, don't ever forget to go by what you think is right and wrong down deep inside of your gut because all the time that you are in school you are going to be taught how to conform. And I am saying this from experience because I was in college, and I was a schoolteacher, and I quit teaching schools to come back and help Cesar build a union. So I know where I come from, and I had to unlearn about being rational, objective, and being logical, right? Because when you are dealing with a big social fight and trying to make changes, the people that you are dealing with are not going to be rational and they are not going to do things on the basis of justice—they respond to only one thing and that is economic power. So somehow, you have to hit them in that pocketbook where they have their heart and their nerves and then they feel the pain. Otherwise, they can give you a thousand arguments on why something can't be done. [...]



These are images of various protests from around the world.

**What similarities and differences do you notice among these images? Based on what you have read, how might Huerta respond to these images?**

A lot of the work that was done was done by picketing. What is picketing? That is just marching, [it's] just walking up and down in front of a store asking people not to buy grapes or not to buy lettuce, or not to — whatever it is we happen to be boycotting. Now that doesn't seem like that could be powerful, but it is! It's just amazing how powerful it is. Just walking up and down in front of a store. I always relate picketing to praying in a way; when people pray together they say that it has a lot of effect, except you are not praying just by yourself, you are

praying with your feet and your hands and your whole body. Because it is like a petition you are out in front of the store and you are asking, trying to reach that man's conscience, or the people's conscience, trying to give them a message and you do this by displaying your whole body and that is the thing that counts the most. It's your own body, your own person; this is what counts more than anything else.

Probably some of you think to yourselves that I'm not a Martin Luther King, I'm not a Cesar Chavez, I'm just plain old me, and what can plain

old me do? Well, this is where you really have to think about it and about what plain old you can do. Plain old you can do a lot of things, you can make real great changes for this country, just plain old you—if you make a commitment. Just like farm workers have done, all of the changes that have been brought and farm workers have done is because farm workers have made a commitment and they lent their whole bodies to go out there and do something. It was, again, like during the Civil Rights struggle when people went in and sat in and got beaten up and what have you—it was their bodies that made that difference. So don't ever think that plain old you can't make the difference; it's like dropping a little stone in a pool; it's just one little stone, a little pebble, but it makes all kinds of waves that reach way out. That's what your action does, what you do goes way way out. Sometimes this may be hard if we haven't been in political action before or social action, and you think, "How can I do this?" or think, "I don't know how," because

you've never had the opportunity to learn or been lucky enough to be on a picket line or a sit-in or some type of demonstration to make change. And we have to do these things, it doesn't happen by osmosis, you know, or long distance, you've got to be present and it's got to happen to you.[...]

Build up those muscles because you are going to need them, you are going to need them. This country needs a lot of changes and we have to make them. We can't say, "I am going to wait for somebody else to do them," say, "I am going to do it. In whatever way I can, I am going to do it." In Spanish, in our union, we have a saying called—whenever we start these impossible tasks like they told Cesar—"You can't organize a union, Cesar," and "You can't start a national boycott." The unions told us we couldn't do a national boycott; now they are doing it. We always say, "*Sí se puede.*" Who knows what that means, "*Sí se puede?*" It can be done, right? *Sí se puede* means it can be done. ■

## Understanding and Interpreting

1. Reread paragraphs 2 and 3, in which Huerta traces some of the history of the farm workers union. What is the key information that she communicates here, and what purpose does it serve in her larger argument?
2. Huerta claims at several point in her speech that creating change really comes down to doing simple things. She offers three examples of simple things: fasting, boycotting, and picketing. Explain how, to Huerta, these are simple things and how they lead to change.
3. In paragraphs 3 and 4, Huerta talks about hitting the corporations "in the pocketbook." What does this mean, and how can it lead to change?
4. Huerta says that she had to unlearn "about being rational, objective, and being logical" (par. 4). Why, according to her, did she need to do this, and why is this a significant statement to make considering her audience?
5. In paragraph 7, Huerta tells her audience to "Build up those muscles." What are the muscles she's describing, and what does she want her audience to do with them?

## Analyzing Language, Style, and Structure

1. **Vocabulary in Context.** In paragraph 6, Huerta says, "it doesn't happen by osmosis." "Osmosis" is a scientific term, but Huerta is applying it in a non-scientific context here. What does it mean in this context? How is this meaning influenced by its scientific meaning?

2. **Skill Focus.** Huerta recounts her personal experiences throughout her speech. Choose one place where you think her inclusion of her own experiences was particularly effective, and explain why you think it helped her to prove a point she is trying to make.
3. Huerta chooses to open her speech by discussing Martin Luther King, Jr. Considering her audience and her purpose, why was this likely an effective choice?
4. In paragraph 5, Huerta makes an analogy between picketing and praying. Explain this comparison, and determine whether it is effective in this context.
5. Near the end of her speech, Huerta begins to directly address her audience: “Probably some of you think to yourselves...” and “plain old you.” Why does Huerta choose to directly address her audience at this point and to use these particular phrases?
6. In paragraph 6, Huerta uses a simile to describe the actions that people take as being “like dropping a little stone in a pool.” Explain the meaning and effect of this simile in this context. How does it relate to Huerta’s purpose?
7. What you have read here is only an excerpt of her speech at UCLA. While this portion ends with the phrase “*Sí se puede*,” her full speech continued afterward. At the conclusion of her speech, the audience shouted “*Sí se puede!*” What is the impact of this phrase and why is it so essential to her purpose?
8. This text is a speech delivered in front of a group of college students, and while Huerta clearly had points she wanted to make, it also feels a little extemporaneous — not planned — in its delivery. Identify language choices, sentence structures, or other choices that reflect this extemporaneous feeling, and explain how this approach helped or hindered her presentation of her argument.

## Topics for Composing

1. **Analysis.** Overall, what message is Huerta hoping to communicate to the college students about change? What evidence does she use to illustrate and support her points?
2. **Argument.** Is it true that “in school you are going to be taught how to conform,” as Huerta suggests? Provide evidence from your own experiences in school — and additional research, if needed — to support your position.
3. **Connection.** What issue is so important to you that you would “lend your whole body” to it, as Huerta urges? How have you already (or how might you) become involved? How would your actions compare to those suggested by Huerta in her speech?
4. **Speaking and Listening.** Deliver a speech to your class or a small group about an issue that matters to you and that could be addressed, at least in part, with a boycott designed to hit someone “in the pocketbook.” Be specific about the nature of the boycott you propose and how it would lead to some significant change.
5. **Research.** Huerta discusses a number of ways to protest and create change, and she spends significant time on the role that a boycott can play. What makes a successful boycott? Research successful and unsuccessful boycotts in the past and identify the key factors that the successful boycotts have in common. What changes occurred as a result of the boycotts?

# central text

## Bully and the Pulpit

DeRay Mckesson

**DeRay Mckesson (b. 1985)** is an American social activist who became a strong supporter of the Black Lives Matter movement through protests against police brutality in Ferguson, Missouri and Baltimore, Maryland. He is the host of the podcast *Pod Save the People*, and the author of *On the Other Side of Freedom: The Case for Hope* (2018), from which this excerpt is taken.



Paras Griffin/Getty Images

**KEY CONTEXT** In this piece, Mckesson refers to a literal bully who traumatized him as a child, as well the metaphorical bully of white supremacy. Mckesson describes white supremacy's bullying influence throughout American history, during slavery and the legal oppression of the Jim Crow Era (late 1800s through mid 1900s), as well as its modern manifestations. Keep both the literal and the metaphorical representations in mind as you read Mckesson's discussions of bullying.

*The less you think about your oppression, the more your tolerance for it grows.* —Assata Shakur

When I was nine years old, my babysitter put water on a grease fire and our house burned to the ground. My father, sister, and I moved to Grandma's house then, to a different part of town — leaving our small but separate bedrooms to now share a bed in her living room — about fifteen minutes away. And my sister and I started going to a new school. The thing that I remember most vividly from that year is the walk home from school. I remember the sweaty palms, the dry mouth, the bravado, the focus, the running. I remember Uncle Barry sometimes meeting us at the top of the hill.

And I remember the fear.

There was a bully on our block on the walk home, always present even when I couldn't see him. And every day, the ten minutes between the school parking lot and my grandmother's yard were full of anxiety. I've thought a lot about that

year since then, especially after teaching sixth grade and seeing the way children are taught about power — about who has it and who doesn't; how to wield it and how to share it; and how one gains or loses it. And most important, what it is.

I've thought a lot more about the role of the bully too — about how he moves, adapts, and survives over time; about his source of legitimacy; about the impact of his power. Of late, I've thought about the bully in the context of our present world versus the world that we aim to create for the future, and considering him has transformed the way I think about both.

THE CURRENCY OF the bully is fear. It is what he trades in and what he feeds on — fear and confusion. He is violent in the obvious ways that we see and feel, in the physical assaults, but also in the quieter ways, the belittling and the taunts, the mental assaults. His goals are straightforward: to harm you and then convince you that no damage was done or that you deserved it. He aims to strip you of your power,



Bailey Graham

This is a painting called *The Odd Girl* by Bailey Graham, who made the following statement about herself: "Though I was bullied and alone, it didn't hit me very often, but when it did, it hurt. I found solitude in my creativity, and slowly I became what I created."

**What do you see in this image that reflects what Graham says of her being bullied, and what connections might Mckesson make to this image?**

to normalize the interaction so that you are simultaneously traumatized and left questioning if what you experienced actually happened, if what you felt was real.

Every day after school I anticipated him, even though he did not always show up in the ways I expected. But I was prepared, mentally and physically. I realize now that his power lay partly in his omnipresence—ever present in my mind even when he wasn't there in the flesh. And long after the bruises from the bully had healed, I was left living in a world where I expected violence, where the anticipation of trauma served as a survival mechanism. It was a world that looked subtly different from the one that I used to inhabit, a world without agency.

The bully aims to become the center of your everything. For me, the block was no longer the block where my grandmother lived, but the block with the bully. His trauma trapped me in the present where time, space, and my sense of self all folded in on themselves.

There were many days when I just wanted to get home. I didn't want to fight, I didn't want to run, I didn't want to find another way. I wanted to see my grandmother, my grandfather, my father. I wanted things to be normal. I now realize that the bully wants his tyranny to become the norm. And when he succeeds, he creates a burden that incessantly grinds on your spirit. It threatens your joy; it steals your innocence. The threat and the fear and the burden transform you. In the most literal sense, it changes the way that everyone in its orbit interacts with one another.

In the face of the bully, there are seemingly only two options: to challenge him or to accept him. I never understood the notion of "fight or flight" in this context, because "flight" would only be a temporary reprieve and not an actual stance. I couldn't avoid the street forever, and I shouldn't have had to. "Fight" feels like an equally false option — overcoming the bully should not rest on adopting his tactics. When we



## extending beyond the text

Read the following poem by Danez Smith, and explain what Smith suggests about the way that some people view African American males.

### alternate names for black boys

**Danez Smith**

1. smoke above the burning bush
2. archnemesis of summer night
3. first son of soil
4. coal awaiting spark & wind
5. guilty until proven dead
6. oil heavy starlight
7. monster until proven ghost
8. gone
9. phoenix who forgets to un-ash
10. going, going, gone
11. gods of shovels & black veils
12. what once passed for kindling
13. fireworks at dawn
14. brilliant, shadow hued coral
15. (I thought to leave this blank but who am I to name us nothing?)
16. prayer who learned to bite & sprint
17. a mother's joy & clutched breath

**Which of these names might Mckesson agree with, based on what you have read in this piece? How is the tone of this poem similar to or different from Mckesson's tone?**

accept these options, we run, we fight, we push back, because it seems like these are the only things we can do. In a world of incessant battles and their accompanying exhaustion, survival can become the overriding theme in how we think about living, and fear something that we unconsciously accept.

And sometimes, even as we challenge the bully, we come to accept him as just a part of our world.

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Bullies don't just happen, they are enabled. There were bystanders who lived on my grandmother's block who chose to do nothing every single day. I think those people simply thought of bullying as another feature of childhood, a condition of growing up — just "kids being kids" or "boys being boys." They didn't suppose that simple child's play could have any lasting negative consequences, and thus did not consider themselves responsible for

ending it. So they chose a third option that, in some ways, was the most dangerous: they chose to ignore him, to pretend that he and his tyranny were not what they were. And then there was the bully's family. They loved and cared for him but never corrected his behavior. Indeed, they never held a mirror up to show him what he was becoming.

When the world around you seems to accept bullying as normal, it's hard to imagine a world without it. And if the burden is inevitable, why fight against it?

I am no longer on the walk home, but I still know the bully.

We would recognize him today as much as Bull Connor<sup>1</sup> and Jim Crow<sup>2</sup>, the poll tax, police violence, the Black Codes, and redlining were

<sup>1</sup> Bull Connor was a white politician in Birmingham, Alabama during the Civil Rights movement who urged the police under his authority to use extreme measures to respond to protesters, including using fire hoses and attack dogs. —Eds.

<sup>2</sup> The term Jim Crow refers to the time period of the late 1800s to mid 1900s in America, particularly in the South, when local and state laws enforced racial segregation, keeping African Americans from having the same access as whites to voting, education, and the justice system. —Eds.

recognized in their own time. The bully is the ideology of white supremacy. It is the notion that the lives of white people are inherently worth more than those of anyone else.

In many ways, we live in one of the bully's golden ages, a time when the mere mention of white supremacy is an anachronism. Absent the hoods and burning crosses, we presume the bully dead. But he's still operating in the shadows; he's just working through insidious means. The fact that many people refuse to acknowledge him means that we cannot dismantle what he has wrought. And in our blindness we've created a host of studies to explain away his legacy. In the meantime, he is at work. When we see 21 percent of kids of color in poverty, that is white supremacy at work. When we see a president refusing to allow immigrants from majority people-of-color countries into this country, that is white supremacy at work. Defunding public education, gerrymandering, and scaling back the Voting Rights Act are all manifestations of this ideology.

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This painting is titled *The Wolf and the Lamb*.

**Why is that an appropriate title based on the scene depicted? How is this scene similar to what Mckesson describes about his experiences?**

The Wolf and the Lamb, c.1819-20 (oil on panel)/  
Mulready, William (1786-1863)/ROYAL COLLECTION/  
Royal Collection Trust © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II,  
2020/Bridgeman Images



## extending beyond the text

The following is an interview from the Lambda Literary site with Mckesson. Read his responses to the question about the idea of reparations, which is the idea that people whose ancestors were enslaved would receive some kind of compensation.

### **from DeRay Mckesson on Changing the Institution of Policing**

**Nahshon Dion Anderson**

**[P]lease share your thoughts on reparations. Who should benefit? Will there ever be a time to “move on”?**

I think that reparations are a true expression of acknowledgement and repair. We need to acknowledge how we got here and what happened, and then we need to repair it. That seems so basic to me. I'm shocked that that word is really charged to people, but the notion — the work behind the word — is just seen as common sense. There was harm done, so we should talk about it, and we should fix the harm. What does it mean when there are generations of people who worked for no pay? That has long-lasting consequence. We should probably do something about that, right? It just seems like common sense to me.

**Explain how his answer to this question connects with his central idea in “The Bully and the Pulpit.”**

While we are able to share the pain that we experience, to organize, and to act in ways and with speed not heretofore possible, many of the tools that we now have at our disposal have simultaneously been turned against us. The platform that facilitated community building in Ferguson and beyond is now the preferred venue for our president to lie and mislead the public. We now know that our election was manipulated through the abuse of social media information on Facebook and the like. So though the tactics of the bully are tried and true, there is an unprecedented sophistication to the bullies of our time.

I know the world better since that year that I lived at my grandmother's house. I know that there's no avoiding the bully — not when you move off that street, or exit that grade, or graduate from that school. In truth, the bully only becomes more vicious, more insidious, more institutionalized as time passes.

Paradoxically, many white people have been the collateral damage of policies enacted to uphold white supremacy. And thus we are all of

us at risk. It's the trick of the bully that some of us may not realize the risk. Indeed, there are those who don't realize that the bully is coming for them too; they have not yet learned the fear. But white supremacy is about the fleecing of power to gain more power. So while the bully may not be after you today, he will surely target your car or hop over your fence in due time — because the bully is aiming to amass power, regardless of its victims.

In the face of this ever-present threat, silence is tempting. Indeed, responding can be tiring and it may even seem futile in the midst of the onslaught. You just want the pain to end. Or to acknowledge the risk and walk confidently down the street despite it. While understandable, silence too easily becomes acceptance. But neither offers us a path to address the bully. The bully will take your lunch money, then tell you to go buy lunch; steal your car, then give you a driver's license. The bully likes to perform innocence when confronted, suggesting that we can all just move on, but we know this is one of his tricks.

To acknowledge the existence of the bully and his accompanying risks is not the same as accepting him as a permanent feature of our world. I know that if we accept trauma and fear, it wins.

Bullies don't just go away. Their legacies don't just disappear. The bully must be confronted intentionally, his impact named and addressed. Even so, it seems there's no clear consensus on how to deal with the bully on our blocks. Do we confront him? Match violence with violence? Do we ignore him, or try to kill him with kindness? I don't think there's a silver bullet to handling the bully, no one-size-fits-all strategy. But the right strategy has to be rooted in a context bigger than the immediate one, has to be rooted in more than aiming to end the presence of the bully himself. We must focus on the type of world we want to live in and devise a

20 plan for getting *there*, as opposed to devising a strategy centered on opposition.

Still, there may yet be a general blueprint for beating the bully. He is effective on the street because he knows the street. He knows which neighbors turn a blind eye. He knows what sections of the street have the lowest traffic and are farthest from the objecting gaze of concerned neighbors. The bully picks his spots. So we need to identify and name the things that enable him, in order to address them head-on and remove them from the playing field. Then we need to expose the bully and all the ways he is able to perpetrate his actions, stripping him of the agency that he seeks to strip from us.

We need to remind the peers of the bully that they benefit from bullying even if they are not themselves the transgressors. Indeed, they benefit from it, but they are tarnished by it.



Charles Moore/Getty Images

This is Bull Connor, the Commissioner of Public Safety in Birmingham, Alabama during the Civil Rights Movement.

**Mckesson says that we can recognize in Bull Connor the bully of white supremacy. How does this photo depict Bull Connor as a bully and as a symbol of the oppressive force of white supremacy?**

To chip away at the humanity of select groups is to chip away at humanity itself.

As long as the trauma, the pain he causes, is present, the work of exposing the bully will be present. We identify what props him up and we remove it: If he is propped up by the death of a people, then empowering and rescuing become part of that exposure. If he is propped up by artificial division or the propagation of false information, then partnering together and focusing on truth are part of that exposure. If he is propped up by his effort to pull us apart, to widen the gap between winners and losers, then standing in solidarity with the disenfranchised and oppressed becomes part of that exposure. If he is propped up by a shift in the focus of the work, then reminding ourselves of our main objectives becomes part of that exposure.

When we think about engaging and defeating the bully, we must remember that it isn't just about getting home, it's about thriving, and that our goal is not to switch places with the bully, but to end bullying.

This is by no means an easy task. The presence of the bully is difficult to overcome and the residue is difficult to shake. I stress the importance of imagining our ideal world because we naturally gravitate toward methods for achieving our desired outcomes. Indeed, we focus on tactics — how do we beat the bully? — but we

don't always remember to prepare for the day when the bully is no more. We will need a vision for that time too. If we don't have a vision for our desired future, how can we plan to achieve it? If you cannot imagine it, you cannot fight for it. When we confront the bully, we are confronting our fear and reclaiming our imagination. There are those who cannot imagine a block without a bully. We must all imagine the block without a bully, otherwise we cannot get there.

When I am most in fear of succumbing to the bully, of allowing him to redefine my space, my world, I am reminded that the street existed before the bully did. We were free before we were enslaved. We are born to love before we know pain.

When I was nine, I didn't know how to challenge the bully. I thought I was alone. The task of conquering my fear, of exposing him, loomed so large in my mind's eye that I was overcome by it. If I hadn't gone to Ferguson and stood toe to toe with other protesters on the streets calling for justice, naming our bully, and saying enough is enough, I'm not sure I'd have the courage to confront him today.

In each generation there is a moment when young and old, inspired or disillusioned, come together around a shared hope, imagine the world as it can be, and have the opportunity to bring that world into existence. Our moment is now. ■

## Understanding and Interpreting

1. Reread paragraphs 1 through 3. Which details of Mckesson's experiences with the bully stand out most to you? Why do you think they stand out, and how do they affect your understanding of Mckesson's personal story as evidence?
2. While the majority of the first half of the essay focuses on Mckesson's experiences with his literal bully, in paragraph 4, he writes, "Of late, I've thought about the bully in the context of our present world versus the world that we aim to create for the future, and considering him has transformed the way I think about both." Describe the shift Mckesson makes here and explain why it is important to his argument.
3. Explain what Mckesson means when he says that a bully "wants his tyranny to become the norm" (par. 8).

4. In paragraphs 9 through 11, Mckesson explains the different ways that we can respond to bullies. What are the pros and cons of these methods as Mckesson describes them?
5. In paragraph 14, Mckesson offers evidence that white supremacy is not an anachronism, a thing of the past. How does this evidence support his theory that white supremacy is still alive today?
6. Mckesson raises a counterargument to confronting the bully in paragraph 18. What is this counterargument and how does he attempt to refute it? Is he successful?
7. Remember that oftentimes when Mckesson is talking about a bully, he's also talking about white supremacy. With that in mind, explain what Mckesson might be suggesting about white supremacy and white privilege in paragraphs 21 and 22.
8. Why, according to Mckesson in paragraph 23, is it essential that the bully (and white supremacy) be exposed?
9. Despite all of the challenges that Mckesson describes in this piece, he is mostly optimistic about the future. Reread paragraph 25-26 and explain what he includes to communicate his optimism.

## Analyzing Language, Style, and Structure

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1. **Vocabulary in Context.** In paragraph 5, Mckesson says that “the currency of the bully is fear.” What does the word “currency” mean in this context?
2. **Vocabulary in Context.** In paragraph 6, Mckesson describes “a world without agency.” What does the word “agency” mean in this context? How is Mckesson’s use of the word similar to or different from other uses you have encountered? What are things that you do or do not have agency over?
3. **Skill Focus.** Mckesson includes multiple examples from his own personal experience with a bully throughout his essay. To what extent are these examples useful or not in his argument about fighting against white supremacy?
4. Mckesson does not explicitly raise the issues of race and white supremacy until paragraph 13. Why might Mckesson have waited so long to bring up his main purpose for writing?
5. Reread this portion of a sentence from paragraph 16: “the bully only becomes more vicious, more insidious, more institutionalized as time passes.” The first two words seem like a typical way to describe a bully, but what does Mckesson mean by “institutionalized,” and what might he be trying to accomplish with this word choice?
6. Reread paragraphs 17 and 18 in which Mckesson uses analogies to describe the bully (“target your car or hop over your fence,” “steal your lunch money,” and others). Knowing that he is also talking about the bully as white supremacy, explain the meaning and effect of these analogies.
7. At the end of paragraph 20, Mckesson employs a number of rhetorical questions. What is the likely intention behind this choice, and how effective was this choice?
8. Mckesson’s title is a pun on a phrase that you may or may not know. President Theodore Roosevelt, referred to his office as a “bully pulpit,” a platform from which to push his agenda. Explain the meaning and effect of Mckesson’s title based on this background information and what you read in this piece.
9. Structurally, Mckesson returns to his bullying story at the end of his piece. What is different for Mckesson and different for the reader by the end?

## Topics for Composing

1. **Analysis.** Explain Mckesson's extended metaphor comparing white supremacy to a bully. What are the most significant similarities, and why did he choose this metaphor for his argument?
2. **Argument.** To what extent is Mckesson correct in characterizing the social media information that appears on Facebook and other sites as "abuse"? In what ways do your experience and additional research support or contradict this characterization?
3. **Connection.** Mckesson writes, "I stress the importance of imagining our ideal world because we naturally gravitate toward methods for achieving our desired outcomes." What do you imagine your ideal world to be? What are the bullying forces in your own life, and how might you confront them in a manner that's similar to the way that Mckesson is working to confront the bully of white supremacy?
4. **Speaking and Listening.** According to the National Center for Education Statistics and Bureau of Justice, about 20 percent of students ages 12 to 18 have experienced bullying. Ask friends, family members, teachers, and others about their experiences with bullying, as victims, perpetrators, or bystanders. Listen carefully to their stories, taking notes if appropriate, and share your findings with your class or a small group. In what ways were their experiences and conclusions about bullying similar to or different from those described by Mckesson?
5. **Research.** Mckesson refers to the historical period of Jim Crow as an example of white supremacy. Research more about this time period and explain what has changed in America — and what has not — since that time.
6. **Research.** The Black Lives Matter movement, of which Mckesson is a part, gained national recognition in response to the killings of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri, and Eric Garner in New York City, by police officers in 2014. Research the movement: its activities, aims, accomplishments, opposition, and influence since then.
7. **Creative Writing.** Write a short story from the point of view of a bully. Include details of setting, characterization, and conflict that illustrate some of the ideas of power and fear that Mckesson presents in his piece.

**Nelson Mandela** ■ from *An Ideal for Which I Am Prepared to Die*, 49

**Martin Luther King Jr.** ■ I Have Been to the Mountaintop, 55

**Virginia Woolf** ■ Thoughts on Peace in an Air Raid, 66

## *from An Ideal for Which I Am Prepared to Die*

### Nelson Mandela

Nobel Peace Prize recipient Nelson Mandela (1918–2013) was a South African political activist who eventually became the president of South Africa from 1994 to 1999. His actions as a political activist fighting for equality resulted in his spending twenty-seven years in prison.

**KEY CONTEXT** Long before he became the president of South Africa and a Nobel Prize winner, Nelson Mandela fought against a system known as apartheid, the racial segregation of people within South Africa. As a result, Mandela faced constant persecution from the ruling political party in South Africa at the time, the National Party. Mandela was arrested four times, in 1952, 1956, 1962, and then again in 1963, when he was tried along with ten other defendants in what is called the Rivonia Trial. Due to a justice system that was beholden to the ruling National Party, Mandela was convicted and sentenced to life in prison. Following intense international pressure, he was released in 1993.

The text that follows is an excerpt from Mandela's courtroom speech at the opening of the defense case in the Rivonia Trial. Although he was eventually convicted of the charges, the speech became a rallying point for opposition leaders and is considered to be one of the most compelling and important speeches made by Mandela in his illustrious career.

I am the first accused. I hold a bachelor's degree in arts and practised as an attorney in Johannesburg for a number of years in partnership with Oliver Tambo. I am a convicted prisoner serving five years for leaving the country without a permit and for inciting people to go on strike at the end of May 1961. [...]

I must deal immediately and at some length with the question of violence. Some of the things so far told to the court are true and some are untrue. I do not, however, deny that I planned sabotage. I did not plan it in a spirit of recklessness,



Chris Jackson/Getty Images

nor because I have any love of violence. I planned it as a result of a calm and sober assessment of the political situation that had arisen after many years of tyranny, exploitation, and oppression of my people by the whites.

I admit immediately that I was one of the persons who helped to form Umkhonto we Sizwe<sup>1</sup>, and that I played a prominent role in its affairs until I was arrested in August 1962. [...]

<sup>1</sup> The military wing of the African National Congress, translated as "Spear of the Nation." —Eds.

 THE COLUMBUS DISPATCH  
CAROLE CARTOONS.COM



Nate Beeler/Cagle Cartoons

## NELSON MANDELA 1918–2013

Consider this political cartoon created in response to Mandela's passing in 2013.

**In what ways does this cartoon capture the essence of Mandela's rebellion against apartheid? Based on your understanding of this excerpt from his speech, why is this image an appropriate representation of him or not?**

I, and the others who started the organisation, did so for two reasons. Firstly, we believed that as a result of Government policy, violence by the African people had become inevitable, and that unless responsible leadership was given to canalise and control the feelings of our people, there would be outbreaks of terrorism which would produce an intensity of bitterness and hostility between the various races of this country which is not produced even by war. Secondly, we felt that without violence there would be no way open to the African people to succeed in their struggle against the principle of white supremacy. All lawful modes of expressing opposition to this principle had been closed by legislation, and we were placed in a position in which we had either to accept a permanent state of inferiority, or to defy the government. We chose to defy the law. We first broke the law in a way which avoided any recourse to violence; when this form was legislated against, and then the government

resorted to a show of force to crush opposition to its policies, only then did we decide to answer violence with violence.

But the violence which we chose to adopt was not terrorism. We who formed Umkhonto were all members of the African National Congress, and had behind us the ANC tradition of non-violence and negotiation as a means of solving political disputes. We believe that South Africa belongs to all the people who live in it, and not to one group, be it black or white. We did not want an interracial war, and tried to avoid it to the last minute. [...]

In the words of my leader, Chief Lutuli, who became President of the ANC in 1952, and who was later awarded the Nobel Peace Prize:

Who will deny that thirty years of my life have been spent knocking in vain, patiently, moderately, and modestly at a closed and barred door? What have been the fruits of moderation? The past thirty years have seen

the greatest number of laws restricting our rights and progress, until today we have reached a stage where we have almost no rights at all.

[...] What were we, the leaders of our people, to do? Were we to give in to the show of force and the implied threat against future action, or were we to fight it and, if so, how?

We had no doubt that we had to continue the fight. Anything else would have been abject surrender. Our problem was not whether to fight, but was how to continue the fight. We of the ANC had always stood for a non-racial democracy, and we shrank from any action which might drive the races further apart than they already were. But the hard facts were that fifty years of non-violence had brought the African people nothing but more and more repressive legislation, and fewer and fewer rights. It may not be easy for this court to understand, but it is a fact that for a long time the people had been talking of violence — of the day when they would fight the white man and win back their country — and we, the leaders of the ANC, had nevertheless always prevailed upon them to avoid violence and to pursue peaceful methods. When some of us discussed this in May and June of 1961, it could not be denied that our policy to achieve a non-racial state by non-violence had achieved nothing, and that our followers were beginning to lose confidence in this policy and were developing disturbing ideas of terrorism. [...]

At the beginning of June 1961, after a long and anxious assessment of the South African situation, I, and some colleagues, came to the conclusion that as violence in this country was inevitable, it would be unrealistic and wrong for African leaders to continue preaching peace and non-violence at a time when the government met our peaceful demands with force.

This conclusion was not easily arrived at. It was only when all else had failed, when all

channels of peaceful protest had been barred to us, that the decision was made to embark on violent forms of political struggle, and to form Umkhonto we Sizwe. We did so not because we desired such a course, but solely because the government had left us with no other choice. In the Manifesto of Umkhonto published on 16 December 1961, which is exhibit AD, we said:

The time comes in the life of any nation when there remain only two choices — submit or fight. That time has now come to South Africa. We shall not submit and we have no choice but to hit back by all means in our power in defence of our people, our future, and our freedom.[...]

Four forms of violence were possible. There is sabotage, there is guerrilla warfare, there is terrorism, and there is open revolution. We chose to adopt the first method and to exhaust it before taking any other decision.

In the light of our political background the choice was a logical one. Sabotage did not involve loss of life, and it offered the best hope for future race relations. Bitterness would be kept to a minimum and, if the policy bore fruit, democratic government could become a reality. This is what we felt at the time, and this is what we said in our manifesto (exhibit AD):

We of Umkhonto we Sizwe have always sought to achieve liberation without bloodshed and civil clash. We hope, even at this late hour, that our first actions will awaken everyone to a realisation of the disastrous situation to which the nationalist policy is leading. We hope that we will bring the government and its supporters to their senses before it is too late, so that both the government and its policies can be changed before matters reach the desperate state of civil war.

The initial plan was based on a careful analysis of the political and economic situation



Welcome in Our Peace World, 1993 (wood, paint, wire, synthetic fibre) Segogela, Johannes Mashego (b.1936) / South African; Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York, USA. Gift of Jerome L. and Ellen Stern/Bridgeman Images

This is a photograph of an art display made of wood, paint, wire, and synthetic fiber created by Johannes Mashego Segogela called *Welcome in Our Peace World*. According to the Brooklyn Museum, the artwork “addresses the South African transition from the armed liberation struggle against whites-only apartheid rule into the new democratic era, [and] suggests the need for South Africans to cast their weapons into the furnace.”

**What aspects of this image remind you of the struggle that Mandela describes in his speech?**

of our country. We believed that South Africa depended to a large extent on foreign capital and foreign trade. We felt that planned destruction of power plants, and interference with rail and telephone communications, would tend to scare away capital from the country, make it more difficult for goods from the industrial areas to reach the seaports on schedule, and would in the long run be a heavy drain on the economic life of the country, thus compelling the voters of the country to reconsider their position.

Attacks on the economic life-lines of the country were to be linked with sabotage on government buildings and other symbols of apartheid. These attacks would serve as a source of inspiration to our people. In addition, they would provide an outlet for those people who were urging the adoption of violent methods and

would enable us to give concrete proof to our followers that we had adopted a stronger line and were fighting back against government violence.

In addition, if mass action were successfully organised, and mass reprisals taken, we felt that sympathy for our cause would be roused in other countries, and that greater pressure would be brought to bear on the South African government.

This then was the plan. Umkhonto was to perform sabotage, and strict instructions were given to its members right from the start, that on no account were they to injure or kill people in planning or carrying out operations. [...]

Umkhonto had its first operation on 16 December 1961, when Government buildings in Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth and Durban were attacked. The selection of targets is proof of the policy to which I have referred. Had we intended to attack life we would have selected targets



This is a photograph of the captain of the Springboks, the South African team that won the Rugby World Cup, and Mandela, just after being elected president and wearing a Springboks jersey and hat. During the apartheid era, the Springboks were seen as a symbol of white supremacy.

**What does this photograph represent for the future of South Africa and what in his speech demonstrates that Mandela would be capable of this kind of gesture?**

where people congregated and not empty buildings and power stations. [ . . . ]

Above all, we want equal political rights, because without them our disabilities will be permanent. I know this sounds revolutionary to the whites in this country, because the majority of voters will be Africans. This makes the white man fear democracy.

But this fear cannot be allowed to stand in the way of the only solution which will guarantee racial harmony and freedom for all. It is not true that the enfranchisement of all will result in racial domination. Political division, based on colour, is entirely artificial and, when it disappears, so will the domination of one colour group by another. [ . . . ]

This then is what the ANC is fighting. Their struggle is a truly national one. It is a struggle of the African people, inspired by their own suffering and their own experience. It is a struggle for the right to live.

During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die. ■

## Understanding and Interpreting

1. Look back at the Key Context section before this piece, and think about the charges that Mandela stands trial for. What does the nature of those charges tell you about the political context of this speech?
2. What distinction does Mandela make between “violence” and “terrorism” (par. 7), and how does this distinction serve his argument?
3. Explain the concept of a “non-racial democracy” (par. 10). Why is it of central concern to Mandela and the ANC?
4. According to Mandela, why is sabotage the better form of political violence? Do you think he makes his case convincingly for this choice of violence?
5. Why, according to Mandela, does the white man fear democracy in South Africa?

## Analyzing Language, Style, and Structure

- Vocabulary in Context.** In paragraph 16, Mandela says that the attacks will “provide an outlet” for some people. What does the word “outlet” mean in this context? How is Mandela’s use of the word similar to or different from other uses you have encountered?
- Vocabulary in Context.** Mandela, in paragraph 10, says that “channels of peaceful protest” were closed to him. What does the word “channels” mean in this context?
- Skill Focus.** Mandela gave this speech in the courtroom as part of his defense. With that context in mind, why was it essential that he include personal experiences in his argument about the necessity to commit political violence?
- How does opening with an acknowledgement about his use of violence to create change help Mandela establish his overall purpose?
- What reasons does Mandela provide for the formation of the resistance group Umkhonto? How effectively do these reasons justify the organization’s actions for creating change?
- What purpose does quoting Chief Lutuli serve in Mandela’s argument (par. 6)? In your response, consider both the quotation itself as well as the speaker.
- In what ways does Mandela use the prospect of civil war in South Africa to explain the choice to adopt a more violent approach?
- Explain how Mandela’s statement that “[p]olitical division, based on colour, is entirely artificial and, when it disappears, so will the domination of one colour group by another” (par. 37) is linked to his argument about change as a whole.

## Topics for Composing

- Analysis.** How does Mandela justify abandoning nonviolent protest, and how does he make the case for sabotage as his preferred alternative? How does this reasoning support his overall argument in this speech?
- Argument.** Mandela put his life on the line, and ultimately sacrificed his freedom in pursuit of his cause. Consider a current political, social, or economic issue of great importance. to you. Write an argument in which you explain the issue, why you believe it’s important, why you believe others should agree with your position, and what you would be willing to do in order to support your position. This can be an issue related to your school, your local community, the entire nation, or even the global community.
- Connection.** Locate online and read Martin Luther King’s “Letter from a Birmingham Jail” and consider the similarities between that speech and Mandela’s. Specifically, consider the ways in which both King and Mandela use the circumstances of their imprisonment to advance their causes.
- Speaking and Listening.** Prepare for and hold a discussion with classmates in which you address one or more of the following questions: Was Nelson Mandela justified in the use of violence to overthrow apartheid? What does it mean that he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in spite of his call for violent opposition? Can violence ever be justified?
- Research.** When Mandela was released from prison, many South Africans thought he would be angry and would seek revenge because the government had mistreated him, but instead he helped to create the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), which tried to heal the damage done by the years of apartheid. Research the TRC’s work and write an examination of its lasting impact in South Africa and around the world.

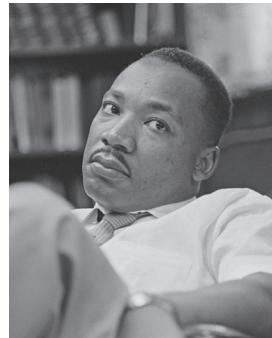
6. **Research.** Mandela was called a rebel and ultimately imprisoned for his political views as he strove for justice. In spite of his long imprisonment, he inspired lasting change in his country and around the world. Research other leaders who have also been imprisoned for their activism and were nonetheless able to motivate powerful and lasting change, selecting one whom you find particularly compelling. Then share the ways in which the leader you selected influenced or changed the world.

7. **Multimodal.** Mandela gave numerous speeches during his career as a political activist. Research other speeches he made, and then select one that you find inspiring. Create a visual presentation using words from the speech you select and images (from various sources) that capture the tone of the speech.

## I Have Been to the Mountaintop

Martin Luther King Jr.

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. (1929–1968) was a Baptist minister and civil rights leader whose contributions improved race relations in America in the twentieth century. Through his political activism, King played a vital role in ending the legal segregation that was widespread in the South at the time. King's leadership was instrumental in the creation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, two significant legislative acts of the twentieth century that expanded equality for African American citizens. King also helped to organize the 1963 March on Washington, where he delivered his legendary "I Have a Dream" speech. For his work in civil rights, King was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964.



Martin Luther King Jr. / Corbis/Getty Images

**KEY CONTEXT** In March of 1968, Martin Luther King traveled to Memphis, Tennessee, to lend his support and inspiration to the black sanitation and public works employees who were on strike for better wages and fair treatment. Violence between police and protestors had broken out at the rally on March 28. This speech, "I Have Been to the Mountaintop," was delivered to an audience of supporters on April 3, 1968, and responds to that violence of a few days before. Tragically, this speech was King's last, as he was assassinated the following day by James Earl Ray, who confessed and died in prison in 1998.

Thank you very kindly, my friends. As I listened to Ralph Abernathy and his eloquent and generous introduction and then thought about myself, I wondered who he was talking about. It's always good to have your closest friend and associate to say something good about you. And Ralph Abernathy is the best friend that I have in the world. I'm delighted to see each of you here tonight in spite of a

storm warning. You reveal that you are determined to go on anyhow.

Something is happening in Memphis; something is happening in our world. And you know, if I were standing at the beginning of time, with the possibility of taking a kind of general and panoramic view of the whole of human history up to now, and the Almighty said to me, "Martin Luther King, which age would you like

to live in?" I would take my mental flight by Egypt and I would watch God's children in their magnificent trek from the dark dungeons of Egypt through, or rather across the Red Sea, through the wilderness on toward the promised land. And in spite of its magnificence, I wouldn't stop there.

I would move on by Greece and take my mind to Mount Olympus. And I would see Plato, Aristotle, Socrates, Euripides and Aristophanes assembled around the Parthenon. And I would watch them around the Parthenon as they discussed the great and eternal issues of reality. But I wouldn't stop there.

I would go on, even to the great heyday of the Roman Empire. And I would see developments around there, through various emperors and leaders. But I wouldn't stop there.

I would even come up to the day of the Renaissance, and get a quick picture of all that the Renaissance did for the cultural and aesthetic life of man. But I wouldn't stop there.

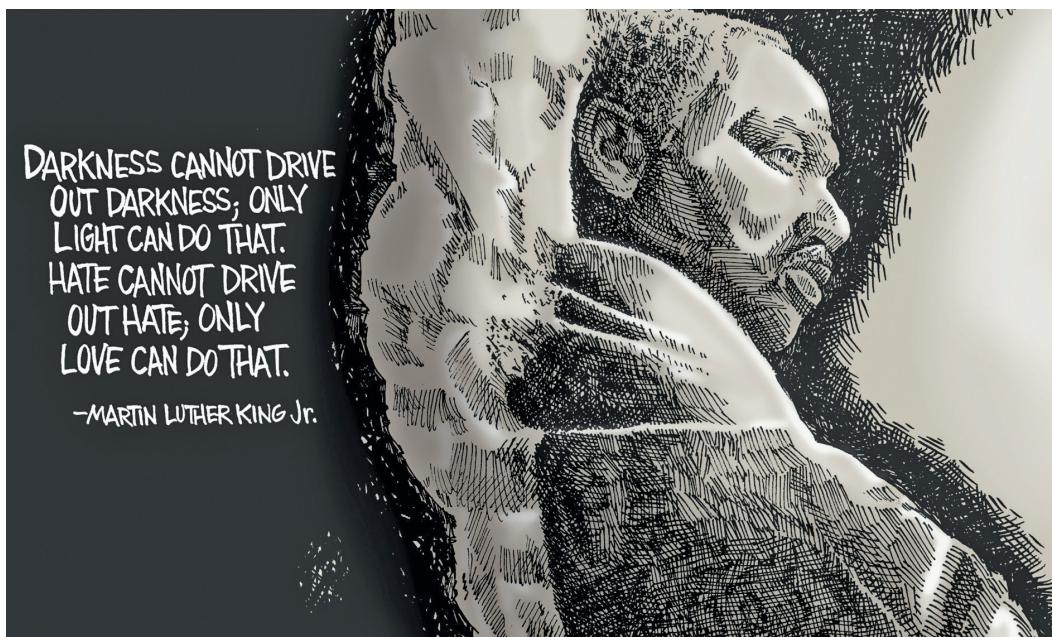
I would even go by the way that the man for whom I am named had his habitat. And I would watch Martin Luther as he tacked his ninety-five theses on the door at the church of Wittenberg. But I wouldn't stop there.

I would come on up even to 1863, and watch a vacillating President by the name of Abraham Lincoln finally come to the conclusion that he had to sign the Emancipation Proclamation. But I wouldn't stop there.

I would even come up to the early thirties, and see a man grappling with the problems of the bankruptcy of his nation. And come with an eloquent cry that we have nothing to fear but "fear itself." But I wouldn't stop there.

DARKNESS CANNOT DRIVE  
OUT DARKNESS; ONLY  
LIGHT CAN DO THAT.  
HATE CANNOT DRIVE  
OUT HATE; ONLY  
LOVE CAN DO THAT.

-MARTIN LUTHER KING Jr.



Joe Heller/Cagle Cartoons, Inc.

This political cartoon by Joe Heller of the Green Bay Press-Gazette depicts the Stone of Hope statue at the Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial in Washington, D.C., along with one of King's quotations.

**Choose a quotation from this speech that would be a suitable replacement for the one in this cartoon. Explain why you chose the quotation you did, and how it works with the image in the cartoon to capture King's legacy.**

Strangely enough, I would turn to the Almighty, and say, "If you allow me to live just a few years in the second half of the twentieth century, I will be happy."

Now that's a strange statement to make, because the world is all messed up. The nation is sick. Trouble is in the land; confusion all around. That's a strange statement. But I know, somehow, that only when it is dark enough can you see the stars. And I see God working in this period of the twentieth century in a way that men, in some strange way, are responding.

Something is happening in our world. The masses of people are rising up. And wherever they are assembled today, whether they are in Johannesburg, South Africa; Nairobi, Kenya; Accra, Ghana; New York City; Atlanta, Georgia; Jackson, Mississippi; or Memphis, Tennessee—the cry is always the same: "We want to be free."

And another reason that I'm happy to live in this period is that we have been forced to a point where we are going to have to grapple with the problems that men have been trying to grapple with through history, but the demands didn't force them to do it. Survival demands that we grapple with them. Men, for years now, have been talking about war and peace. But now, no longer can they just talk about it. It is no longer a choice between violence and nonviolence in this world; it's nonviolence or nonexistence. That is where we are today.

And also in the human rights revolution, if something isn't done, and done in a hurry, to bring the colored peoples of the world out of their long years of poverty, their long years of hurt and neglect, the whole world is doomed. Now, I'm just happy that God has allowed me to live in this period to see what is unfolding. And I'm happy that He's allowed me to be in Memphis.

I can remember—I can remember when Negroes were just going around as Ralph has said, so often, scratching where they didn't itch, and laughing when they were not tickled. But that day is all over. We mean business now, and

we are determined to gain our rightful place in God's world.

15 And that's all this whole thing is about. We aren't engaged in any negative protest and in any negative arguments with anybody. We are saying that we are determined to be men. We are determined to be people. We are saying—We are saying that we are God's children. And that we are God's children, we don't have to live like we are forced to live.

Now, what does all of this mean in this great period of history? It means that we've got to stay together. We've got to stay together and maintain unity. You know, whenever Pharaoh wanted to prolong the period of slavery in Egypt, he had a favorite, favorite formula for doing it. What was that? He kept the slaves fighting among themselves. But whenever the slaves get together, something happens in Pharaoh's court, and he cannot hold the slaves in slavery. When the slaves get together, that's the beginning of getting out of slavery. Now let us maintain unity.

Secondly, let us keep the issues where they are. The issue is injustice. The issue is the refusal of Memphis to be fair and honest in its dealings with its public servants, who happen to be sanitation workers. Now, we've got to keep attention on that. That's always the problem with a little violence. You know what happened the other day, and the press dealt only with the window-breaking. I read the articles. They very seldom got around to mentioning the fact that one thousand, three hundred sanitation workers are on strike, and that Memphis is not being fair to them, and that Mayor Loeb is in dire need of a doctor. They didn't get around to that.

Now we're going to march again, and we've got to march again, in order to put the issue where it is supposed to be—and force everybody to see that there are thirteen hundred of God's children here suffering, sometimes going hungry, going through dark and dreary nights wondering how this thing is going to come out. That's the issue. And we've got to say

to the nation: We know how it's coming out. For when people get caught up with that which is right and they are willing to sacrifice for it, there is no stopping point short of victory.

We aren't going to let any mace stop us. We are masters in our nonviolent movement in disarming police forces; they don't know what to do. I've seen them so often. I remember in Birmingham, Alabama, when we were in that majestic struggle there, we would move out of the

16th Street Baptist Church day after day; by the hundreds we would move out. And Bull Connor would tell them to send the dogs forth, and they did come; but we just went before the dogs singing, "Ain't gonna let nobody turn me around."

Bull Connor next would say, "Turn the fire hoses on." And as I said to you the other night, Bull Connor didn't know history. He knew a kind of physics that somehow didn't relate to the transphysics that we knew about. And that was

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## extending beyond the text

In "I Have Been to the Mountaintop," King says, "Men, for years now, have been talking about war and peace. But now, no longer can they just talk about it. It is no longer a choice between violence and nonviolence in this world; it's nonviolence or nonexistence. That is where we are today." A contemporary of King's, Malcolm X, sometimes took a different view of the need for violence in an unjust society. Read the following excerpt from *The Autobiography of Malcolm X: As Told to Alex Haley*.



STF/AFP/getty images

### **from The Autobiography of Malcolm X: As Told to Alex Haley**

#### **Malcolm X and Alex Haley**

They called me "the angriest Negro in America." I wouldn't deny that charge. I speak exactly as I feel. "I believe in anger. The Bible says there is a *time* for anger." They called me "a teacher, a proposer of violence." I would say point blank, "That is a lie. I'm not for meaningless violence, I'm for justice. I feel that if white people were attacked by Negroes — if the forces of law prove unable, or inadequate, or reluctant to protect those whites from those Negroes — then those white people should protect and defend themselves from those Negroes, using arms if necessary. And I feel that when the law fails to protect Negroes from whites' attack, then those Negroes should use arms, if necessary to defend themselves."

"Malcolm X Advocates Armed Negroes!"

What was wrong with that? I'll tell you what was wrong. I was a black man talking about physical defense against the white man. The white man can lynch and burn and bomb and beat Negroes — that's all right: "Have patience" ..... "The customs are established" ..... "Things are getting better."

Well, I believe it's a crime for anyone who is being brutalized to continue to accept that brutality without doing something to defend himself.

**On what points might Malcolm X and King agree and disagree?**

the fact that there was a certain kind of fire that no water could put out. And we went before the fire hoses; we had known water. If we were Baptist or some other denominations, we had been immersed. If we were Methodist, and some others, we had been sprinkled, but we knew water. That couldn't stop us.

And we just went on before the dogs and we would look at them; and we'd go on before the water hoses and we would look at it, and we'd just go on singing "Over my head I see freedom in the air." And then we would be thrown in the paddy wagons, and sometimes we were stacked in there like sardines in a can. And they would throw us in, and old Bull would say, "Take 'em off," and they did; and we would just go in the paddy wagon singing, "We Shall Overcome." And every now and then we'd get in jail, and we'd see the jailers looking through the windows being moved by our prayers, and being moved by our words and our songs. And there was a power there which Bull Connor couldn't adjust to; and so we ended up transforming Bull into a steer, and we won our struggle in Birmingham. Now we've got to go on in Memphis just like that. I call upon you to be with us when we go out Monday.

Now about injunctions: We have an injunction and we're going into court tomorrow morning to fight this illegal, unconstitutional injunction. All we say to America is, "Be true to what you said on paper." If I lived in China or even Russia, or any totalitarian country, maybe I could understand some of these illegal injunctions. Maybe I could understand the denial of certain basic First Amendment privileges, because they hadn't committed themselves to that over there. But somewhere I read of the freedom of assembly. Somewhere I read of the freedom of speech. Somewhere I read of the freedom of press. Somewhere I read that the greatness of America is the right to protest for right. And so just as I say, we aren't going to let dogs or water hoses turn us around, we aren't going to let any injunction turn us around. We are going on.

We need all of you. And you know what's beautiful to me is to see all of these ministers of the Gospel. It's a marvelous picture. Who is it that is supposed to articulate the longings and aspirations of the people more than the preacher? Somehow the preacher must have a kind of fire shut up in his bones. And whenever injustice is around he tell it. Somehow the preacher must be an Amos, and saith, "When God speaks who can but prophesy?" Again with Amos, "Let justice roll down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream." Somehow the preacher must say with Jesus, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me, and he's anointed me to deal with the problems of the poor."

And I want to commend the preachers, under the leadership of these noble men: James Lawson, one who has been in this struggle for many years; he's been to jail for struggling; he's been kicked out of Vanderbilt University for this struggle, but he's still going on, fighting for the rights of his people. Reverend Ralph Jackson, Billy Kiles; I could just go right on down the list, but time will not permit. But I want to thank all of them. And I want you to thank them, because so often, preachers aren't concerned about anything but themselves. And I'm always happy to see a relevant ministry.

It's all right to talk about "long white robes over yonder," in all of its symbolism. But ultimately people want some suits and dresses and shoes to wear down here! It's all right to talk about "streets flowing with milk and honey," but God has commanded us to be concerned about the slums down here, and his children who can't eat three square meals a day. It's all right to talk about the new Jerusalem, but one day, God's preacher must talk about the new New York, the new Atlanta, the new Philadelphia, the new Los Angeles, the new Memphis, Tennessee. This is what we have to do.

Now the other thing we'll have to do is this: Always anchor our external direct action with the power of economic withdrawal. Now, we are

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poor people. Individually, we are poor when you compare us with white society in America. We are poor. Never stop and forget that collectively—hat means all of us together—collectively we are richer than all the nations in the world, with the exception of nine. Did you ever think about that? After you leave the United States, Soviet Russia, Great Britain, West Germany, France, and I could name the others, the American Negro collectively is richer than most nations of the world. We have an annual income of more than thirty billion dollars a year, which is more than all of the exports of the United States, and more than the national budget of Canada. Did you know that? That's power right there, if we know how to pool it.

We don't have to argue with anybody. We don't have to curse and go around acting bad with our words. We don't need any bricks and bottles. We don't need any Molotov cocktails. We just need to go around to these stores, and to these massive industries in our country, and say,

"God sent us by here, to say to you that you're not treating his children right. And we've come by here to ask you to make the first item on your agenda fair treatment, where God's children are concerned. Now, if you are not prepared to do that, we do have an agenda that we must follow. And our agenda calls for withdrawing economic support from you."

And so, as a result of this, we are asking you tonight, to go out and tell your neighbors not to buy Coca-Cola in Memphis. Go by and tell them not to buy Sealtest milk. Tell them not to buy—what is the other bread?—Wonder Bread. And what is the other bread company, Jesse? Tell them not to buy Hart's bread. As Jesse Jackson has said, up to now, only the garbage men have been feeling pain; now we must kind of re-distribute the pain. We are choosing these companies because they haven't been fair in their hiring policies; and we are choosing them because they can begin the process of saying they are going to support the needs and the

## HAPPY BIRTHDAY, DR KING...



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Martin Luther King's ideas concerning civil rights and equality were not for only his generation.

**Explain how this political cartoon attempts to express King's full influence as his ideas continue to shape modern American culture based on what you have read in this speech.**



## extending beyond the text

Because of King's famous "I Have a Dream" speech, we tend to think of him as always optimistic and noble, but the reality is that he often had doubts about the future of the Civil Rights Movement. He shared some of these thoughts publicly. Read this portion from a speech called "The Other America" that he delivered in 1967 at Stanford University.

### **from The Other America**

**Martin Luther King Jr.**

Now the other thing that we've gotta come to see now that many of us didn't see too well during the last ten years — that is that racism is still alive in American society, and much more wide-spread than we realized. And we must see racism for what it is. It is a myth of the superior and the inferior race. It is the false and tragic notion that one particular group, one particular race is responsible for all of the progress, all of the insights in the total flow of history. And the theory that another group or another race is totally depraved, innately impure, and innately inferior.

**Contrast his tone in this excerpt with the tone of "I've Been to the Mountaintop," as well as his "I Have a Dream" speech, which can be found online.**

rights of these men who are on strike. And then they can move on downtown and tell Mayor Loeb to do what is right.

But not only that, we've got to strengthen black institutions. I call upon you to take your money out of the banks downtown and deposit your money in Tri-State Bank. We want a "bank-in" movement in Memphis. Go by the savings and loan association. I'm not asking you something that we don't do ourselves at SCLC. Judge Hooks and others will tell you that we have an account here in the savings and loan association from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. We are telling you to follow what we are doing. Put your money there. You have six or seven black insurance companies here in the city of Memphis. Take out your insurance there. We want to have an "insurance-in."

Now these are some practical things that we <sup>30</sup> can do. We begin the process of building a greater economic base. And at the same time,

we are putting pressure where it really hurts. I ask you to follow through here.

Now, let me say as I move to my conclusion that we've got to give ourselves to this struggle until the end. Nothing would be more tragic than to stop at this point in Memphis. We've got to see it through. And when we have our march, you need to be there. If it means leaving work, if it means leaving school — be there. Be concerned about your brother. You may not be on strike. But either we go up together, or we go down together.

Let us develop a kind of dangerous unselfishness. One day a man came to Jesus, and he wanted to raise some questions about some vital matters of life. At points he wanted to trick Jesus, and show him that he knew a little more than Jesus knew and throw him off base[. . . .]

Now that question could have easily ended up in a philosophical and theological debate. But Jesus immediately pulled that question from mid-air, and placed it on a dangerous curve between Jerusalem and Jericho. And he talked

about a certain man, who fell among thieves. You remember that a Levite and a priest passed by on the other side. They didn't stop to help him. And finally a man of another race came by. He got down from his beast, decided not to be compassionate by proxy. But he got down with him, administered first aid, and helped the man in need. Jesus ended up saying, this was the good man, this was the great man, because he had the capacity to project the "I" into the "thou," and to be concerned about his brother.

Now you know, we use our imagination a great deal to try to determine why the priest and the Levite didn't stop. At times we say they were busy going to a church meeting, an ecclesiastical gathering, and they had to get on down to Jerusalem so they wouldn't be late for their meeting. At other times we would speculate that there was a religious law that "One who was engaged in religious ceremonials was not to touch a human body twenty-four hours before the ceremony." And every now and then we begin to wonder whether maybe they were not going down to Jerusalem — or down to Jericho, rather to organize a "Jericho Road Improvement Association." That's a possibility. Maybe they felt that it was better to deal with the problem from the causal root, rather than to get bogged down with an individual effect.

But I'm going to tell you what my imagination tells me. It's possible that those men were afraid. You see, the Jericho road is a dangerous road. I remember when Mrs. King and I were first in Jerusalem. We rented a car and drove from Jerusalem down to Jericho. And as soon as we got on that road, I said to my wife, "I can see why Jesus used this as the setting for his parable." It's a winding, meandering road. It's really conducive for ambushing. You start out in Jerusalem, which is about 1200 miles — or rather 1200 feet above sea level. And by the time you get down to Jericho, fifteen or twenty minutes later, you're about 2200 feet below sea level. That's a dangerous road. In the days of Jesus it

came to be known as the "Bloody Pass." And you know, it's possible that the priest and the Levite looked over that man on the ground and wondered if the robbers were still around. Or it's possible that they felt that the man on the ground was merely faking. And he was acting like he had been robbed and hurt, in order to seize them over there, lure them there for quick and easy seizure. And so the first question that the priest asked — the first question that the Levite asked was, "If I stop to help this man, what will happen to me?" But then the Good Samaritan came by. And he reversed the question: "If I do not stop to help this man, what will happen to him?"

That's the question before you tonight. Not, "If I stop to help the sanitation workers, what will happen to my job?" Not, "If I stop to help the sanitation workers what will happen to all of the hours that I usually spend in my office every day and every week as a pastor?" The question is not, "If I stop to help this man in need, what will happen to me?" The question is, "If I do not stop to help the sanitation workers, what will happen to them?" That's the question.

Let us rise up tonight with a greater readiness. Let us stand with a greater determination. And let us move on in these powerful days, these days of challenge to make America what it ought to be. We have an opportunity to make America a better nation. And I want to thank God, once more, for allowing me to be here with you.

You know, several years ago, I was in New York City autographing the first book that I had written. And while sitting there autographing books, a demented black woman came up. The only question I heard from her was, "Are you Martin Luther King?" And I was looking down writing, and I said, "Yes." And the next minute I felt something beating on my chest. Before I knew it I had been stabbed by this demented woman. I was rushed to Harlem Hospital. It was a dark Saturday afternoon. And that blade had gone through, and the X-rays



Betina/Getty Images

This is a photograph of a conflict between the police and the striking sanitation workers in Memphis that King was in town to support.

**Look closely at this image and, based on what you read this speech, explain what King might have found so distressing about the situation.**

revealed that the tip of the blade was on the edge of my aorta, the main artery. And once that's punctured, you're drowned in your own blood—that's the end of you.

It came out in the *New York Times* the next morning, that if I had merely sneezed, I would have died. Well, about four days later, they allowed me, after the operation, after my chest had been opened, and the blade had been taken out, to move around in the wheel chair in the hospital. They allowed me to read some of the mail that came in, and from all over the states and the world, kind letters came in. I read a few, but one of them I will never forget. I had received one from the President and the Vice-President. I've forgotten what those telegrams said. I'd received a visit and a letter from the Governor of New York, but I've forgotten what that letter said. But there was another letter that came from a little girl, a young girl who was a student at the White Plains

High School. And I looked at that letter, and I'll never forget it. It said simply,

*Dear Dr. King,*

*I am a ninth-grade student at the White Plains High School.*

And she said,

*While it should not matter, I would like to mention that I'm a white girl. I read in the paper of your misfortune, and of your suffering. And I read that if you had sneezed, you would have died. And I'm simply writing you to say that I'm so happy that you didn't sneeze.*

And I want to say tonight—I want to say tonight that I too am happy that I didn't sneeze. Because if I had sneezed, I wouldn't have been around here in 1960, when students all over the South started sitting-in at lunch counters. And I knew that as they were sitting-in, they were really

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standing up for the best in the American dream, and taking the whole nation back to those great wells of democracy which were dug deep by the Founding Fathers in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

If I had sneezed, I wouldn't have been around here in 1961, when we decided to take a ride for freedom and ended segregation in interstate travel.

If I had sneezed, I wouldn't have been around here in 1962, when Negroes in Albany, Georgia, decided to straighten their backs up. And whenever men and women straighten their backs up, they are going somewhere, because a man can't ride your back unless it is bent.

If I had sneezed — If I had sneezed I wouldn't have been here in 1963, when the black people of Birmingham, Alabama, aroused the conscience of this nation, and brought into being the Civil Rights Bill.

If I had sneezed, I wouldn't have had a chance later that year, in August, to try to tell America about a dream that I had had.

If I had sneezed, I wouldn't have been down in Selma, Alabama, to see the great Movement there. 45

If I had sneezed, I wouldn't have been in Memphis to see a community rally around those brothers and sisters who are suffering.

I'm so happy that I didn't sneeze.

And they were telling me — . Now, it doesn't matter, now. It really doesn't matter what

happens now. I left Atlanta this morning, and as we got started on the plane, there were six of us. The pilot said over the public address system, "We are sorry for the delay, but we have Dr. Martin Luther King on the plane. And to be sure that all of the bags were checked, and to be sure that nothing would be wrong with on the plane, we had to check out everything carefully. And we've had the plane protected and guarded all night."

And then I got into Memphis. And some began to say the threats, or talk about the threats that were out. What would happen to me from some of our sick white brothers?

Well, I don't know what will happen now. 50 We've got some difficult days ahead. But it really doesn't matter with me now, because I've been to the mountaintop.

And I don't mind.

Like anybody, I would like to live a long life. Longevity has its place. But I'm not concerned about that now. I just want to do God's will. And He's allowed me to go up to the mountain. And I've looked over. And I've seen the Promised Land. I may not get there with you. But I want you to know tonight, that we, as a people, will get to the promised land!

And so I'm happy, tonight.

I'm not worried about anything.

I'm not fearing any man! 55

Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord!! ■

## Understanding and Interpreting

- King claims that if he were given the choice to live in any time period, he would choose the second half of the twentieth century even though the world is "all messed up" (par. 10). Explain King's reasoning.
- Explain what King means by "It is no longer a choice between violence and nonviolence in this world; it's nonviolence or nonexistence. That is where we are today." (par. 12). What are some examples of nonviolent solutions that King offers in his speech, and how do those solutions support his overall argument for the best methods for creating change?
- In Birmingham, Alabama, civil rights protestors were abused by the authorities. Specifically, Bull Connor, the Commissioner of Public Safety for the city, ordered that protestors be

- sprayed with high-powered fire hoses. Explain why King suggests that the protesters would be able to overcome Connor's abuse.
4. King tells the audience that “either we go up together, or we go down together” (par. 31). How is this message of change through unity reinforced in other parts of King’s speech and why is it so important to the overall themes in the speech?
  5. In paragraph 26, King turns his attention to the economic power of the community. What is the advantage of focusing on the kinds of goods people purchase? How will this lead to the changes that King is promoting?
  6. When King references the Promised Land (par. 52), he is talking about the land where, according to the Old Testament, the Jewish people would finally be able to live in peace and freedom after years of captivity in Egypt. What is the promised land that King is assuring the members of his audience they all will one day find?
  7. This speech would be King’s last, as he was shot to death by an assassin on April 4, 1968, just one day after this speech. Characterize King’s attitude toward the threats he faced and explain why he thought it was important to share those feelings with the crowd.

## Analyzing Language, Style, and Structure

1. **Vocabulary in Context.** What is the meaning of the word “determined” in paragraph 1, and then again in paragraphs 14 and 15? How is this usage similar to or different from other, more common usages of the word?
2. **Skill Focus.** King uses personal experience at various times throughout his speech. Why, for instance, does he refer to a trip that he and his wife took to Jericho? How does King’s recounting of this trip reinforce one of his main ideas about change?
3. **Skill Focus.** The speech includes a letter King received from a young white girl after he had been stabbed and almost killed at a book signing in New York City. What is the effect of the inclusion of the story of his stabbing and of the girl’s reaction to it? How does this personal experience help to illustrate a point King is trying to make?
4. When King uses an allusion to Abraham Lincoln (par. 7), he describes the former president as “vacillating” and indicates that Lincoln “had to sign the Emancipation Proclamation.” What do these specific language choices indicate about how King views Lincoln’s role in freeing the slaves?
5. In paragraph 8, King refers to the early 1930s and a man struggling with the “bankruptcy of his nation.” King is literally describing the Great Depression and the economic hardships of the time, but what effect does the word “bankruptcy” have when applied to a whole country or a people as King applies it here?
6. King argues that the Egyptian pharaohs maintained their power by keeping the “slaves fighting among themselves” (par. 16). How does this analogy connect to the situation in the United States in the 1960s, and to the situation in Memphis specifically?
7. Explain why King brings up China (par. 22), Russia (par. 22), and other totalitarian countries during a speech that focuses on events in Memphis, Tennessee.
8. An ordained Baptist minister himself, King references other religious leaders, as well as the Bible, frequently. How does King characterize the roles of faith and religion in the struggle for change?
9. Explain what King means when he talks about a “dangerous unselfishness,” and how does his example about Jesus in paragraphs 32 and 33 reinforce King’s meaning?

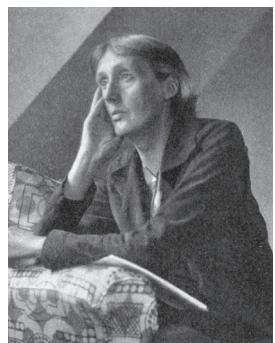
## Topics for Composing

- 1. Analysis.** Overall, what is the tone that King takes toward the likelihood of successful change in the future? What specific language choices, allusions, or examples help him convey this tone?
- 2. Argument.** King preached nonviolent protest as the best way to achieve the goals of the civil rights movement. Current events illustrate that complete equality for all has not yet been achieved. Write an argument in which you support or challenge the position that Martin Luther King's approach to social and political change has been effective. Use specific examples from current events in support of your argument.
- 3. Connection.** While this particular speech may be unfamiliar to many people, King's "I Have a Dream" speech is widely known and includes one of his most famous lines: "I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character." In what ways do the ideas offered in "I Have Been to the Mountaintop" reflect this basic principle from his "I Have a Dream Speech"?
- 4. Speaking and Listening.** One of the hallmarks of the speeches of Martin Luther King is their inspirational quality. His speeches are memorable not only for their eloquence but for spurring people to action. Watch clips of King deliver this or another speech. In addition to his words and phrases, what is it about his voice, gestures, and delivery that makes it effective and memorable? Try delivering one or more of the lines from the speech for yourself. How is it different to speak the line out loud rather than read it?
- 5. Research.** Not all civil rights leaders agreed with Dr. King's nonviolent approach to gaining equality. Research other strategies used during the civil rights era and discuss whether they were effective or counterproductive in bringing about change.
- 6. Creative Writing.** Like most of King's speeches, this one includes beautiful, searing, and emotional word choices. Go back through the speech and highlight 15–20 words or phrases you find striking. Write those words out and organize them into a "found poem," in which you rearrange King's words into your own structures for your own purpose. You can add a few words of your own, if needed, but the majority of your "found poem" will come from King's speech. What did you learn about King's language as you were creating your poem?

## Thoughts on Peace in an Air Raid

Virginia Woolf

Born Adeline Virginia Stephen, Virginia Woolf (1882–1941) is considered one of the most important twentieth century authors. Born into an affluent household in London, Woolf and her sisters were schooled at home. Encouraged by her father, she began writing professionally in 1900. "A Room of One's Own" (published in September 1929) is an important early feminist text, arguing for both a literal and figurative space for women writers.



Culture Club/Hulton Archive/Getty Images

**KEY CONTEXT** This essay was published in 1940, during what is often referred to as the Battle of Britain, a year-long air battle between English and German forces in World War II over London and other major cities in England.

The Germans were over this house last night and the night before that. Here they are again. It is a queer experience, lying in the dark and listening to the zoom of a hornet, which may at any moment sting you to death. It is a sound that interrupts cool and consecutive thinking about peace. Yet it is a sound — far more than prayers and anthems — that should compel one to think about peace. Unless we can think peace into existence we — not this one body in this one bed but millions of bodies yet to be born — will lie in the same darkness and hear the same death rattle overhead. Let us think what we can do to create the only efficient air-raid shelter while the guns on the hill go pop pop pop and the searchlights finger the clouds and now and then, sometimes close at hand, sometimes far away, a bomb drops.

Up there in the sky young Englishmen and young German men are fighting each other. The defenders are men, the attackers men. Arms are not given to Englishwomen either to fight the enemy or to defend herself. She must lie weaponless tonight. Yet if she believes that the fight going on up in the sky is a fight by the English to protect freedom, by the Germans to destroy freedom, she must fight, so far as she can, on the side of the English. How far can she fight for freedom without firearms? By making arms, or clothes or food. But there is another way of fighting for freedom without arms: we can fight with the mind. We can make ideas that will help the young Englishman who is fighting up in the sky to defeat the enemy.

But to make ideas effective, we must be able to fire them off. We must put them into action. And the hornet in the sky rouses another hornet in the mind. There was one zooming in *The Times* this morning — a woman's voice saying, "Women have not a word to say in politics." There is no woman in the Cabinet; nor in any responsible post. All the idea-makers who are in a position to make ideas effective are men. That is a thought that damps thinking, and

encourages irresponsibility. Why not bury the head in the pillow, plug the ears, and cease this futile activity of idea-making? Because there are other tables besides officer tables and conference tables. Are we not leaving the young Englishman without a weapon that might be of value to him if we give up private thinking, tea-table thinking, because it seems useless? Are we not stressing our disability because our ability exposes us perhaps to abuse, perhaps to contempt? "I will not cease from mental fight," Blake wrote. Mental fight means thinking against the current, not with it.

That current flows fast and furious. It issues in a spate of words from the loudspeakers and the politicians. Every day they tell us that we are a free people, fighting to defend freedom. That is the



"Women of Britain Come Into the Factories", Propaganda poster c. 1940 (© The English School, © 20th century) / English. The Stanley Collection/Bridgeman Images

This is a British propaganda poster from World War II targeted to women.

**Based on what you've read, to what extent would Woolf agree or disagree with its message?**

current that has whirled the young airman up into the sky and keeps him circling there among the clouds. Down here, with a roof to cover us and a gas-mask handy, it is our business to puncture gas-bags and discover seeds of truth. It is not true that we are free. We are both prisoners tonight—he boxed up in his machine with a gun handy; we lying in the dark with a gas-mask handy. If we were free we should be out in the open, dancing, at the play, or sitting at the window talking together. What is it that prevents us? "Hitler!" the loudspeakers cry with one voice. Who is Hitler? What is he? Aggressiveness, tyranny, the insane love of power made manifest, they reply. Destroy that, and you will be free.

The drone of the planes is now like the sawing of a branch overhead. Round and round it goes, sawing and sawing at a branch directly above the house. Another sound begins sawing its way in the brain. "Women of ability"—it was Lady Astor<sup>1</sup> speaking in *The Times* this morning—"are held down because of a subconscious Hitlerism in the hearts of men." Certainly we are held down. We are equally prisoners tonight—the Englishmen in their planes, the Englishwomen in their beds. But if he stops to think he may be killed; and we too. So let us think for him. Let us try to drag up into consciousness the subconscious Hitlerism that holds us down. It is the desire for aggression; the desire to dominate and enslave. Even in the darkness we can see that made visible. We can see shop windows blazing; and women gazing; painted women; dressed-up women; women with crimson lips and crimson fingernails. They are slaves who are trying to enslave. If we could free ourselves from slavery we should free men from tyranny. Hitlers are bred by slaves.

A bomb drops. All the windows rattle. The anti-aircraft guns are getting active. Up there on the hill under a net tagged with strips of green and

brown stuff to imitate the hues of autumn leaves guns are concealed. Now they all fire at once. On the nine o'clock radio we shall be told "Forty-four enemy planes were shot down during the night, ten of them by anti-aircraft fire." And one of the terms of peace, the loudspeakers say, is to be disarmament. There are to be no more guns, no army, no navy, no air force in the future. No more young men will be trained to fight with arms. That rouses another mind-hornet in the chambers of the brain—another quotation. "To fight against a real enemy, to earn undying honour and glory by shooting total strangers, and to come home with my breast covered with medals and decorations, that was the summit of my hope. . . . It was for this that my whole life so far had been dedicated, my education, training, everything. . . ."

5

Those were the words of a young Englishman who fought in the last war. In the face of them, do the current thinkers honestly believe that by writing "Disarmament" on a sheet of paper at a conference table they will have done all that is needful? Othello's occupation will be gone; but he will remain Othello<sup>2</sup>. The young airman up in the sky is driven not only by the voices of loudspeakers; he is driven by voices in himself—ancient instincts, instincts fostered and cherished by education and tradition. Is he to be blamed for those instincts? Could we switch off the maternal instinct at the command of a table full of politicians? Suppose that imperative among the peace terms was: "Child-bearing is to be restricted to a very small class of specially selected women," would we submit? Should we not say, "The maternal instinct is a woman's glory. It was for this that my whole life has been dedicated, my education, training, everything. . . ." But if it were necessary, for the sake of humanity, for the peace of the world, that child-bearing should be restricted, the maternal instinct subdued; women would attempt it. Men would help them. They

<sup>1</sup> Nancy Witcher Astor (1879–1964), Viscountess Astor, first woman to serve in the British House of Commons. —Eds.

<sup>2</sup> Venetian general, title character in *Othello* by William Shakespeare. —Eds.



## extending beyond the text

The following poem, “Dulce et Decorum Est” was written by Wilfred Owen, who fought — and died — in World War I. Explain how Woolf might respond to what the speaker of the poem calls “The Old Lie.”

### Dulce et Decorum Est

Wilfred Owen

Bent double, like old beggars under sacks,  
Knock-kneed, coughing like hags, we cursed through sludge,  
Till on the haunting flares we turned our backs,  
And towards our distant rest began to trudge.  
Men marched asleep. Many had lost their boots,  
But limped on, blood-shod. All went lame; all blind;  
Drunk with fatigue; deaf even to the hoots  
Of gas-shells dropping softly behind.

Gas! GAS! Quick, boys! — An ecstasy of fumbling  
Fitting the clumsy helmets just in time,  
But someone still was yelling out and stumbling  
And flound’ring like a man in fire or lime. —  
Dim through the misty panes and thick green light,  
As under a green sea, I saw him drowning.

In all my dreams before my helpless sight,  
He plunges at me, guttering, choking, drowning.

If in some smothering dreams, you too could pace  
Behind the wagon that we flung him in,  
And watch the white eyes writhing in his face,  
His hanging face, like a devil’s sick of sin;  
If you could hear, at every jolt, the blood  
Come gargling from the froth-corrupted lungs,  
Obscene as cancer, bitter as the cud  
Of vile, incurable sores on innocent tongues, —  
My friend, you would not tell with such high zest  
To children ardent for some desperate glory,  
The old Lie: *Dulce et decorum est*  
*Propatria mori.*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Latin for “It is sweet and fitting to die for one’s country.” —Eds.



This image called “Terror From the Skies. Wartime pilots and the Battle of Britain” was the cover artwork from *Look and Learn*, a children’s magazine.

**How is this portrayal of the airmen similar to or different from how Woolf portrays them?**

Wartime pilots and the Battle of Britain Artist: Wood, Gerry  
(b.1938) English. Terror From the Skies. Wartime pilots and the Battle of Britain. Original cover artwork from Look and Learn no. 662 (13 July 1974). ©Look and Learn/Bridgeman Images

would honour them for their refusal to bear children. They would give them other openings for their creative power. That too must make part of our fight for freedom. We must help the young Englishmen to root out from themselves the love of medals and decorations. We must create more honourable activities for those who try to conquer in themselves their fighting instinct, their subconscious Hitlerism. We must compensate the man for the loss of his gun.

The sound of sawing overhead has increased. All the searchlights are erect. They point at a spot exactly above this roof. At any moment a bomb may fall on this very room. One, two, three, four, five, six . . . the seconds pass. The bomb did not fall. But during those seconds of suspense all thinking stopped. All feeling, save one dull dread, ceased. A nail fixed the whole being to one hard board. The emotion of fear and of hate is therefore sterile, unfertile. Directly that fear passes, the mind reaches out and instinctively revives itself

by trying to create. Since the room is dark it can create only from memory. It reaches out to the memory of other Augs — in Bayreuth, listening to Wagner; in Rome, walking over the Campagna; in London. Friends' voices come back. Scraps of poetry return. Each of those thoughts, even in memory, was far more positive, reviving, healing, and creative than the dull dread made of fear and hate. Therefore if we are to compensate the young man for the loss of his glory and of his gun, we must give him access to the creative feelings. We must make happiness. We must free him from the machine. We must bring him out of his prison into the open air. But what is the use of freeing the young Englishman if the young German and the young Italian remain slaves?

The searchlights, wavering across the flat, have picked up the plane now. From this window one can see a little silver insect turning and twisting in the light. The guns go pop pop pop. Then they cease. Probably the raider was brought

down behind the hill. One of the pilots landed safe in a field near here the other day. He said to his captors, speaking fairly good English, "How glad I am that the fight is over!" Then an Englishman gave him a cigarette, and an Englishwoman made him a cup of tea. That would seem to show that if you can free the man from the machine, the seed does not fall upon altogether stony ground. The seed may be fertile.

At last all the guns have stopped firing. All the searchlights have been extinguished. The natural darkness of a summer's night returns. The innocent sounds of the country are heard again. An apple thuds to the ground. An owl hoots,

winging its way from tree to tree. And some half-forgotten words of an old English writer come to mind: "The huntsmen are up in America. . . ." <sup>3</sup> Let us send these fragmentary notes to the huntsmen who are up in America, to the men and women whose sleep has not yet been broken by machine-gun fire, and in the belief that they will rethink them generously and charitably, perhaps shape them into something serviceable. And now, in the shadowed half of the world, to sleep. ■

<sup>3</sup> "The huntsmen are up in America, and they are already past their first sleep in Persia." — Sir Thomas Browne (1605–1682), from "The Garden of Cyrus." — Eds.

## Understanding and Interpreting

1. According to Woolf, why might the sound of the planes in the raid compel "one to think of peace" more than prayers and anthems?
2. By the second paragraph, it becomes clear that this is as much a piece about gender as it is about war. What is Woolf suggesting about the differences between men and women, and their roles in war?
3. Explain what Woolf believes "damps thinking and encourages irresponsibility" (par. 3)?
4. Explain what Woolf means when she quotes William Blake: "Mental fight means fighting against the current, not with it" (par. 3).
5. What does Woolf mean by the term "subconscious Hitlerism"? Does she believe that it will be defeated when Hitler and Germany are defeated? How do you know? What does she mean when she says, "Hitlers are bred by slaves" (par. 5)?
6. Woolf writes that "We must compensate the man for the loss of his gun" (par. 7). What does she mean and how does this statement relate to the rest of the text?
7. Explain the significance of this sentence: "But what is the use of freeing the young Englishman if the young German and the young Italian remain slaves?" Keep in mind that England was at war with Germany and Italy at this time.
8. Woolf envisions what might happen to the enemy pilot who was shot down (par. 9). What is Woolf suggesting about war and peace through this imaginary scene?
9. Reread the final line of the essay. What is Woolf's hope for those in America to do?

## Analyzing Language, Style, and Structure

1. **Vocabulary in Context.** The title of the essay is "Thoughts on Peace in an Air Raid," and she uses the word "think" regularly throughout the piece. Locate two or three different uses of the word and explain its meaning within the different contexts.
2. **Skill Focus.** Woolf avoids specific references to herself throughout this essay. She does not, for example, use the words "I" or "me." She does, however, make herself known at times.

- Identify places where the reader gets a sense of Woolf's personal experiences and explain how they help to support the points she is making about war and peace.
3. Several times Woolf uses a hornet as an analogy to war (paras. 1 and 3). Explain the analogy and why she might have used it.
  4. Woolf personifies the "current" in paragraph 4. What does the current represent and what is accomplished through her use of personification?
  5. Reread the beginning of paragraph 8, in which Woolf uses figurative language to describe the drone of the planes. What does she compare the sound to, and what is the effect of this particular simile?
  6. In paragraph 3 Woolf writes, "But to make ideas effective, we must be able to fire them off." Explain the analogy to weapons, and explain how this relates to her larger ideas about the role and power of women.
  7. Woolf regularly draws comparisons between "up there" (airmen) and "down here" (women). What are the differences, and how are men and women "both prisoners" in war (par. 4)?
  8. What is the effect of including the words from the young Englishman who fought in the previous world war who described his desire to earn "undying honour and glory" (par. 6)?
  9. How does Woolf use the section on reducing childbearing to help make her argument about subconscious Hitlerism (par. 7)? Is she, in fact, suggesting that childbearing is restricted to a class of "specially selected women"?
  10. Reread paragraph 8 in which Woolf describes the moment when a bomb may fall directly on her room. Note the contrast between the moment when all thoughts stop and when the thoughts begin again. What language choices does she use to illustrate that contrast?
  11. Review the structure of her essay, tracing the start of the raid, the middle, and the ending. What is the effect of framing her essay within the context of a single night's air raid?

## Topics for Composing

1. **Analysis.** Overall, what is the main point that Woolf makes about how to create peace in the world? What role do women play in the process she imagines?
2. **Argument.** Woolf says "All the idea makers who are in a position to make ideas effective are men" in 1940. Take a position and write an argument on whether this statement is true or not true today. You can refer to your own experience or conduct research to support your response.
3. **Connection.** Identify a characterization of gender in the essay that you either strongly agree or disagree with, and explain how your personal experiences relate to your conclusion.
4. **Speaking and Listening.** Working with a partner, choose a paragraph from this essay that struck you because of the language, ideas, or other elements. Read it aloud to each other twice, taking turns so each person gets to read once and listen once. What particular words stood out to you when you read it aloud? How was your understanding of the essay different after reading it aloud, rather than reading it silently to yourself?
5. **Research.** In 1940 when Woolf was writing this essay, women were not allowed to serve in combat positions. Conduct research to find out what roles women played in World War II, and compare and contrast your findings with the roles that women can play today. How much has changed, and how much has remained the same?
6. **Multimodal.** Use some combination of drawing, painting, construction, or found images to recreate the air raid and the civilians below as depicted in this essay. Be sure that your piece captures not only the elements of war, but also the ideas of gender and possibilities for peace that Woolf presents.

## The Censors

Luisa Valenzuela

Translation by Frank Thomas Smith

Luisa Valenzuela (b. 1938) is an Argentine novelist and short story writer, who began her career as a journalist in Buenos Aires and published her first story when she was seventeen. She is one of Argentina's most significant writers, best known for her experimental style, her work being classified as "magical realism." She is best known for her work written in response to the military dictatorship that ruled Argentina from 1976 to 1983, and remains one of the most widely translated female South American writers. This story was originally published in a collection of her short stories in 1976.



JAVIER LIRAN/Notimex/Newscom

Poor Juan! He was caught off guard that day and he couldn't realize that what he thought was a stroke of luck was really an accursed trick of fate. Those things happen when you're not careful, and as sure as you're hearing me one gets careless very, very often. Juancito let happiness — an otherwise disturbing sentiment — overwhelm him when, from a confidential source, he received Mariana's new address, now in Paris, and he knew that she hadn't forgotten him. Without thinking twice, he sat down at his desk and wrote a letter. *The letter.* The same one that now prevents him from concentrating on his work during the day and doesn't let him sleep when night comes (what did he put in that letter, what had stuck to that sheet of paper that he sent to Mariana?)

Juan knew there wouldn't be any problem with the text, that the text is irreproachable, innocuous. But the rest? He knows that they probe the letters, sniff them, feel them, read between the lines and their insignificant punctuation, even the accidental stains. He knows that the letters pass from hand to hand

through the vast censorship bureaus and that few finally pass the tests and are able to continue their journey. Usually it's a question of months, years if complications arise, a long time in which the freedom and perhaps even the life of the sender and receiver are in suspense. And that's what has our Juan so deeply depressed: the idea that something could happen to Mariana, in Paris, through his fault. Mariana, of all people, who must feel so safe, so at ease there where she always dreamed of living. But he knows that the Secret Commandos of Censorship operate the world over and are granted a large discount on airline fares; therefore there's nothing to prevent them from going even to the darkest Paris quartier, kidnap Mariana and go home convinced of the nobility of their earthly mission.

So you have to outsmart them, you have to do what everyone does: try to sabotage the mechanism, throw sand in the gears, that is, go to the source of the problem in order to obstruct it.

That was the plan when Juan, like so many others, applied to be a censor. Not because of

conviction like a few others or because he needed work like still others, no. He applied simply in order to try to intercept his own letter, not at all an original idea, but a

comforting one. He was hired immediately, because more censors are needed every day and there's no time to be squeamish about references.



## extending beyond the text

Juan lives in a world where the government controls every aspect of communication. Read the following news release about a group of high school journalists who fought back against the censorship in their school.

### ***from “Courage in Student Journalism Award” Goes To Burlington, Vermont High School Editors Who Successfully Fought Censorship***

#### **Student Press Law Center**

Students from Burlington, Vermont who broke a story about alleged inappropriate behavior by a faculty member and triumphed over both censorship and prior review are being honored with the “Courage in Student Journalism Award.”

“We fought back on a policy that restricted the rights of student journalism, keeping in mind that the outcome of our battle would set a precedent for the future journalists of Burlington,” Julia Shannon-Grillo and Jenna Peterson, Co-Editors-in-Chief of *The BHS Register*, said in a brief statement this week.

“As a result, we were able to help write a new policy that allows us to be a reliable news source for the community and protects the freedom of the student press.”

*The BHS Register* at Burlington High School broke the news of an investigation by the Vermont Agency of Education into six counts of alleged unprofessional conduct by the school’s director of guidance.

To confirm details, the young journalists filed a public records request with the state agency. The day after the story was published online in September 2018, the school’s then-interim principal ordered it to be taken down.

The *BHS Register* staff contacted the Student Press Law Center for legal guidance on how to respond to the administrator’s action in light of a new state law that protects the basic First Amendment rights of student journalists. [...]

The students decided to keep links to their story up on social media that redirected readers to a page that said: “This article has been censored by Burlington High School administration.”

Outrage over the censorship spread. Many teachers, parents and community residents publicly supported the right for the story to be published and multiple local and national news organizations covered the incident.

Along with assistance from the Student Press Law Center, *The BHS Register* also received steadfast support from the Vermont Press Association and the New England First Amendment Coalition. The latter two groups released a statement condemning the censorship.

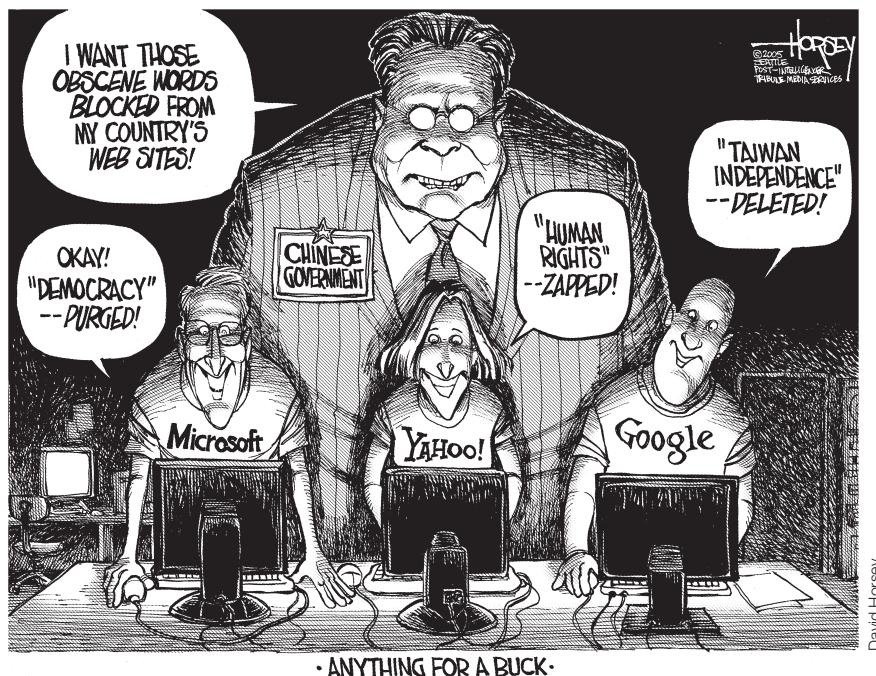
**Explain what these students did to “change the world,” and consider what similar protections your own school’s journalists might or might not have.**

The Directorate of Censorship was aware of the secret motive behind the desire of more than one to work in the bureau, but they were in no condition to be too strict and anyway — What for? They knew how difficult it would be for those poor innocents to find the letter they were looking for, and even if they did, what importance does a letter or two that slips [through] the barrier cracks [have] compared to the others that the new censor would shoot down. That's how our Juan was able to join the Censorship Bureau of the Ministry of Communications.

The building, seen from outside, had a festive air because of the smoked glass that reflected the sky, an air that was in total contrast to the austere atmosphere of its interior. And little by little Juan became accustomed to the climate of concentration which his new work

5 required, and the knowledge that he was doing everything possible for his letter — that is for Mariana — assuaged his anxieties. He wasn't even worried when, the first month, he was assigned to Section K where the envelopes are opened with painstaking care to see if they contain some explosive.

It's true that on the third day a letter blew a fellow-worker's hand off and disfigured his face, but the bureau chief claimed it had been mere negligence on the victim's part and Juan and the other employees could continue working as before, although with much less assurance. At quitting time another fellow worker tried to organize a strike to demand more pay for hazardous work, but Juan didn't participate and after thinking it over a while he denounced him to the authorities in order to be promoted.



This editorial cartoon makes a statement about the relationship between an authoritarian government and large technology companies.

**How would you describe that relationship, based on the image? How is this censorship similar to or different from the censorship described in the story?**

Once doesn't form a habit, Juan thought as he left the chief's office, and when they transferred him to Section J where they unfold the letters with infinite care to see if they contain poisonous powder, he felt that he had ascended a step and could therefore return to his healthy habit of not getting involved in external affairs.

From J, thanks to his merits, he rose rapidly until reaching E, where the work became more interesting, for there begins the reading and analysis of the letters. In that Section he could even cherish hopes of coming across his own missive written to Mariana which, judging by the time elapsed, should have reached this level after a very long procession through the other departments.

Little by little there were days when his work so absorbed him that the noble mission that brought him to the Bureau became momentarily blurred. Days of crossing out long paragraphs with red ink, of tossing many letters into the Condemned Basket. Days of horror at the subtle and scheming ways people found to transmit subversive messages. Days of intuition so sharp that behind a simple "the weather is unsettled" or "prices are sky high," he detected the vacillating hand of someone whose secret intention was to overthrow the Government.

So much zeal brought him rapid promotion. We don't know if it made him very happy. In Section B the amount of letters which reached

him daily was minimal — very few cleared the previous hurdles--but as compensation he had to read them often, put them under the magnifying glass, look for microdots with the electronic microscope and so tune his sense of smell that upon returning home at night he was exhausted. He barely managed to heat up some soup, eat some fruit and fall asleep with the satisfaction of having complied with his duty. Only his Sainted Mother worried about him, and tried without success to guide him back onto the right path. She'd say, although it wasn't necessarily true: Lola called, says she's with the girls in the café, that they miss you, are expecting you. But Juan didn't want to have anything to do with nonessentials: any distractions could cause him to lose the astuteness of his senses and he needed them alert, sharp, attentive, tuned, in order to be the perfect censor and detect deceit. His was a true patriotic labor. Self-denying and sublime.

His Basket of Condemned Letters soon became the best nourished but also the most subtle in the whole Censorship Bureau. He was at the point of feeling proud of himself, he was at the point of knowing that he had finally found his true path, when his own letter to Mariana reached his hands. Naturally he condemned it without remorse. And just as naturally he couldn't prevent them from executing him at dawn, one more victim of his devotion to work. ■

## Understanding and Interpreting

1. What plan does Juan devise at the beginning of the story? What motivates him to conceive of this plan?
2. An essential way to understand a theme of this story is to trace the development of Juan's character. Describe what he is like and how he has changed at these key points:
  - Before he takes the censor job (pars.1-3)
  - In his first months of the job
  - When he arrives in Section B (last two paragraphs)
3. On his third day of work, Juan reported the man who was organizing a strike to his superiors. What does this action reveal about Juan, and how is it a crucial turning point in the story?

4. While we can make assumptions about what the government is trying to censor, the only examples we see in this story are in paragraph 10, when Juan reads the phrases “the weather is unsettled” and “prices are sky high.” Based on these examples, what do you think the government is trying to accomplish through its censorship?
5. Re-read the last two sentences in paragraph 11. Explain the meaning of the phrase “self-denying” in the context of Juan’s story. What is Valenzuela suggesting when she says that this describes a “patriotic labor.”

## Analyzing Language, Style, and Structure

1. **Vocabulary in Context.** Describing government workers, Valenzuela says they are “convinced of the nobility of their earthly mission.” What does the word “nobility” mean in this context? How is this usage different from other uses you know of?
2. Throughout the piece, Valenzuela uses the word “they” to refer to the government. What is the effect of this word choice?
3. Verbal irony is when words are used to express something contrary to truth or when someone says the opposite of what they really feel or mean, sometimes called “sarcasm.” Explain how the following are examples of verbal irony and what effect they have on the reader:
  - “go home convinced of the nobility of their earthly mission” (par. 2)
  - “The building, seen from outside, had a festive air because of the smoked glass that reflected the sky” (par. 6)
  - “he had finally found his true path” (last paragraph)
4. In paragraph 11, Valenzuela writes, “So much zeal brought him rapid promotion. We don’t know if it made him very happy.” This is the first use of the pronoun *we* to refer to the narrator of this story. What does this pronoun choice suggest? Why might she have used *we* as opposed to *I*?
5. In the last paragraph, Valenzuela uses and repeats the word “naturally” to describe Juan’s and the government’s actions. How does this word choice help to communicate a point that Valenzuela is making about government and individuals?

## Topics for Composing

1. **Analyze.** Juan set out to change the world that his government has made: “try to sabotage the mechanism, throw sand in the gears, that is, go to the source of the problem in order to obstruct it.” Explain why Juan fails in his attempt to change the world. Consider what it is about the system or about his own personality that prevents him from succeeding.
2. **Argument.** While this story is fictional, it is based on real actions that governments have taken to censor the information their citizens can share with one another. Is government monitoring and censorship of its citizens ever appropriate? Take a position on this question and write an argument explaining and defending your position. Be sure to consider the balance between security and privacy.
3. **Connection.** You may have read other texts in this chapter written by people who, like the fictional Juan, set out to change the world. Imagine that one of those authors has the opportunity to explain to Juan where he went wrong. Adopting the persona of that author, what feedback would you give Juan about his plan and decisions along the way? What advice would you offer to save him from himself and the system in which he finds himself trapped? You could address Juan in a letter, an email, a speech, or any mode that you think would best communicate your feedback to him.

4. **Speaking and Listening.** Hold a class or small group discussion about how free you are from censorship in your daily life. Are there environments in which you feel you can't say or write what's on your mind for fear of repercussions? How does your own experience of censorship affect you and those around you?
5. **Research.** Conduct research on the U.S. Patriot Act, which was originally passed in response to the 9/11 terrorist attacks in 2001, to determine what the U.S. government can and cannot do to read and possibly censor private communication between citizens. Are there any connections between the Patriot Act and what occurs in this short story?
6. **Research.** Research the history of a country's government censorship, particularly in an authoritarian regime, such as the Soviet Union, East Germany, or Argentina in the 1970s. How extensive were these government operations, and how successful were they in keeping information from citizens?
7. **Creative Writing.** Try out being a censor like Juan by creating what is called "erasure poetry," a form of found poetry writers generate by crossing out or obscuring part of an existing text, creating a wholly new work from what remains. Working with a newspaper article, a letter, or any other text that interests you, mark out what Juan might find objectional in his job. What is different about this new text that you've created with your erasures?

## Using Personal Experience in an Argument

You may have read some of the speeches earlier in this chapter and seen the impact an effective argument can have on the world. Martin Luther King Jr. made the case for nonviolent economic boycotts to improve conditions for workers in Memphis; Malala Yousafzai presented her argument for universal education in the face of religious extremism before an international audience; and Nelson Mandela presented a case for a time when a movement might be required to turn to violence to achieve its aims. Real arguments matter in the real world. The ability to communicate your ideas about a topic — especially one that affects you personally — is an essential skill both in the classroom and in your life outside of it.

While a balanced argument — appealing to ethos, logos, and pathos — is usually the most effective, pathos can be the most powerful appeal in your arsenal when used wisely, and talking about your personal experience is a good way to unlock it. Fundamentally, humans are attracted to stories. We remember them, and we respond emotionally to them.

In this workshop, you will use the following prompt to think about how to apply your own experiences to an argument:

*Select a topic that is important and meaningful to you about which you can take a position that is debatable. Write an argumentative essay in which you use evidence that includes, but is not limited to, your own personal experiences.*

Throughout this workshop, we'll be referring to the moves that DeRay Mckesson makes in "The Bully and the Pulpit" (p. 40) as a model for your own essay, highlighting how he connects his childhood experience of being bullied to the larger issues of social justice he took up as an adult.

## Step 1: Gathering Ideas

This step gives you a chance to slow down a bit and think about the topic you might want to write about and the personal connections you might have to it — *before* you write.

### Finding a Topic

One of the first challenges we face with argumentative writing assignments is finding something to write about. DeRay Mckesson wasn't assigned to write a persuasive essay; he had important ideas about race and power that he wanted to communicate to others. These ideas are deeply rooted in his personal experiences as an African American male in the United States. As you explore topics, be sure to choose one that you are genuinely interested in and with which you have some kind of personal experience. This will make your writing authentic and meaningful not only in the classroom but also in the real world.

It is also important to think about *questions* you have, rather than *topics* you might write about. Although you might be tempted to jump right to the point you want to make, it is better to take some time and ask as many questions as you can about the topic first. For instance, if you are interested in sports and you regularly play and watch sports, you might ask questions such as these:

- Why are professional sports players paid so much?
- What are the ethical considerations of watching football, considering the risk of brain injury for the players?
- What are acceptable uses of performance-enhancing drugs in sports?
- What are the differences between the support that female athletes receive and the support received by male athletes?

Try to pose questions that will take you beyond "yes" or "no" answers, and remember that no issue is black and white. Your job will be to investigate the nuances of the issue. Focusing on questions such as these will allow you to begin narrowing down your broad topic (sports, for example) into more specific ones (such as safety, or salaries), while at the same time keeping your options open to argumentative possibilities within your topic. Because you will also be including personal experience in your argument, you'll want to make sure that the topic is somehow relevant to you personally.

**activity****Finding a Topic**

1. Look over the list of topics below and write two or three questions that you have about the topics. Avoid questions that can be answered with “yes” or “no,” such as “should cell phones be banned in schools?” Try writing questions that reasonable people might have different opinions about. Eventually, you will select one question that you will use throughout the rest of this workshop. Again, be sure that you have some personal experiences with the questions — or their answers.
  - Education
  - Sports
  - The environment
  - Entertainment
  - Local or national politics
  - Technology
  - Topics of your own
2. In small groups, take a few minutes to share and discuss each other’s questions.

## Gathering Information

Once you’ve decided on a particular question that you have a genuine interest in, you can begin gathering information and developing an informed opinion on the subject. While you will certainly want to consult a wide variety of sources, including research studies, statistics, and articles by experts, the goal here is to start with what you know. Draw on your experiences, as well as those of others around you, to begin informing your view on the subject. Look at this excerpt from DeRay Mckesson’s “Bully and the Pulpit” and notice how he incorporates into his argument an anecdote about his being bullied:

When I am most in fear of succumbing to the bully, of allowing him to redefine my space, my world, I am reminded that the street existed before the bully did. We were free before we were enslaved. We are born to love before we know pain.

When I was nine, I didn’t know how to challenge the bully. I thought I was alone. The task of conquering my fear, of exposing him, loomed so large in my mind’s eye that I was overcome by it. If I hadn’t gone to Ferguson and stood toe to toe with other protesters on the streets calling for justice, naming our bully, and saying enough is enough, I’m not sure I’d have the courage to confront him today.

When you have a genuine interest in the argument you plan to write, there is likely some kind of personal experience that you (or people you know) have had with your topic.

If, for instance, your question is “Why do some school districts receive more funding than others?” you can think about the facilities and class sizes at your own school, and you can ask your family members or friends about the schools they have attended.

### Gathering Information



Choose one of the questions that you wrote for the activity on page 80 and write three to five examples from your own experiences, or those of people you know that could give you information about your question. While these personal experiences might eventually be used as evidence, at this point, you are still at the information-gathering stage. Feel free to ask friends, classmates, and relatives, or to conduct surveys to learn more about experiences others have had with the question you’ve selected. If you cannot identify personal examples that might illustrate elements of your question, consider choosing a different topic that is more directly related to your experience and interests.

### Investigating the Issue

Personal experience is a good place to start an argument. It gets you invested in the issue. Nevertheless, personal experience is not enough to give you the complete picture. You need to encounter multiple perspectives on the issue, look into the details of the situation, and investigate every angle possible. You need to go from having an opinion to having an *informed* opinion.

Begin by seeking answers to your questions. Who might have expertise on the issue you’ve chosen to write about? Scientists? Psychologists? Politicians?

It’s likely that your investigation will uncover just as many new questions as it does answers. Learn to embrace that complexity. Understanding that every issue is complicated and that issues almost never have a clear answer will prevent you from writing an argument that is closed-minded, unreasonable, and not persuasive to anyone who doesn’t already agree with you.

### Investigating the Issue



Returning to the question you developed in response to the activity on page 80, begin conducting research to identify the following:

1. Who are three to five experts in the fields to which your question relates? These will be people who are referenced in many articles or in the bibliographies of multiple Wikipedia pages.
2. About what aspects of your topic might reasonable people disagree?
3. What are two or three interesting or surprising facts or research study results related to your question?

If you cannot find a wide range of information or differing views about your question that align in some significant way with your own personal experience on the issue, consider choosing a different topic. It is far better to switch topics at this point than to continue forward with one that might not work well.

## Step 2: Planning the Essay

This step of the workshop is designed to move you closer to the actual writing of the essay. The following discussion will help you make sure that you have a clear point to address, enough evidence to support it, and an organizational structure that will help you prove your point.

### Making a Claim

So far in this workshop, you have not been asked to write about your own position on the question you have been exploring. This is intentional. Too often, writers go into a topic already knowing their position, which can blind them to the complexity of the issue. But now, after conducting research and thinking about your own personal experiences with the topic, you can consider how you would present your position. You cannot have a successful argument if you do not have a **claim**, which is what you are hoping to prove, or convince your audience to believe. All strong arguments have a claim that the reader can identify and debate.

In his piece “The Bully and the Pulpit,” Mckesson uses the metaphor of the bully on his block to illustrate how to confront the destructive power of white supremacy:

The presence of the bully is difficult to overcome and the residue is difficult to shake. I stress the importance of imagining our ideal world because we naturally gravitate toward methods for achieving our desired outcomes. Indeed, we focus on tactics — how do we beat the bully? — but we don’t always remember to prepare for the day when the bully is no more. We will need a vision for that time too. If we don’t have a vision for our desired future, how can we plan to achieve it? If you cannot imagine it, you cannot fight for it. When we confront the bully, we are confronting our fear and reclaiming our imagination. There are those who cannot imagine a block without a bully. We must all imagine the block without a bully, otherwise we cannot get there.

You can see in the underlined sentence that Mckesson claims we need to be able to imagine a different future, one without the bully — white supremacy — if we are going to move past our fears.

It’s important to remember that an argument’s claim must be debatable. Without a debate, there is nothing to prove. So, when making a claim, be sure that it is something with which some people might reasonably disagree. You should also avoid simply

stating a preference (“chocolate is better than vanilla”). There is no way to prove a claim like that using hard evidence. In addition, you should avoid a claim that just states a fact that is easily proved or disproved (“smoking causes cancer”). If it’s a fact proven by numerous studies, it’s not debatable. Mckesson’s claim might seem undeniable because it has the force of history and justice behind it, but a reasonable person might argue that there are different, more direct ways to address the impacts of white supremacy.

Your claim should answer the question you have been exploring and state your main reasons for believing what you do, or include a call for an action that ought to be taken (or both). Be sure that your claim takes a stance on an issue that is important to you. Avoid including the phrases “I think,” “I believe,” or “in my opinion.” The purpose of an argument is to say what you think or believe, so these phrases are redundant.

### Making a Claim



Consider the question you have been using throughout this workshop, and write a claim or thesis that stakes out your own position on the question. Share your claim with a partner, and be sure that it meets all of the expectations of a strong claim.

## Developing Personal Experience as Evidence

In Step 1, when you were gathering information about your question, it was for the purpose of identifying personal connections to the topic and learning as much as possible about it before coming to an informed position in the form of your claim. Now it is time to begin making your case — by turning the information you gained into evidence that you can use to support your claim. A good argument includes a wide range and variety of evidence; this workshop focuses specifically on how you can use personal experience as evidence in your argument. Throughout “The Bully and the Pulpit,” DeRay Mckesson talks about his experiences with the bully on his block when he was a child. For example, look back at the beginning of his essay:

When I was nine years old, my babysitter put water on a grease fire and our house burned to the ground. My father, sister, and I moved to Grandma’s house then, to a different part of town—leaving our small but separate bedrooms to now share a bed in her living room—about fifteen minutes away. And my sister and I started going to a new school. The thing that I remember most vividly from that year is the walk home from school. I remember the sweaty palms, the dry mouth, the bravado, the focus, the running. I remember Uncle Barry sometimes meeting us at the top of the hill.

And I remember the fear.

There was a bully on our block on the walk home, always present even when I couldn't see him. And every day, the ten minutes between the school parking lot and my grandmother's yard were full of anxiety.

Notice all of the details of the house, the physical and emotional descriptions of his fear. At places like this, his essay probably feels more like a narrative than an argumentative piece because of all of the details he includes. But it is the inclusion of these personal experiences that gives this piece its power. When he switches soon after to make the comparison between this bully and white supremacy, the reader is ready to follow him because we have made an emotional connection with him.

Sadly, many of his readers have probably directly suffered bullying or know someone who has, so his appeal to pathos here is extraordinarily effective. But the inclusion of his personal experience does more than just appeal emotionally, it also helps to establish his ethos, his position of authority on this topic because he has directly experienced the bullying that he uses to help the reader recognize the similarities to the power of white supremacy.

Personal experience, as you may remember from the Skill Workshop (pp. 4-10), can take a number of different forms:

1. Descriptions of a specific event or incident that happened directly to you.
2. Descriptions of an event that you witnessed or heard about happening to someone else that you know and trust.
3. Ideas that you have gained from your general experiences based on your race, gender, age, ethnicity, participation in particular groups, and so on.
4. Feelings that you have about a topic, rooted in a specific incident or experience.



### activity

### Developing Personal Experience as Evidence

After considering how McKesson successfully incorporates his story into his argument, try to do the same by settling on a specific experience or two that might be relevant to the claim that you wrote earlier in this workshop.

1. Choose one or two of those experiences and share them with a partner, who will listen closely as you describe your experiences and will help you to clarify and deepen your own understanding by asking questions like the following:
  - What specific details do you remember of the setting or other people?
  - What emotions were you feeling at the time?
  - What did you learn from this experience?
  - How does this experience relate to the claim you are trying to prove?
2. After discussing your experiences with a partner, write out one or two of those experiences with as much detail and description as you can. Be sure that the story you are writing is relevant to the claim you are hoping to prove.

## Locating Additional Support

As you have seen throughout this workshop and in Mckesson's essay, personal experience can be a powerful and compelling source of evidence. However, an argument generally requires additional support to be persuasive. Sometimes readers will too easily dismiss an argument that relies solely on personal experience, saying something to the effect of, "Sure that might be true for you, but what about for other people?" Mckesson recognizes that some of his readers might not find his personal stories fully persuasive, so he adds evidence to make his personal experiences more persuasive:

In many ways, we live in one of the bully's golden ages, a time when the mere mention of white supremacy is an anachronism. Absent the hoods and burning crosses, we presume the bully dead. But he's still operating in the shadows; he's just working through insidious means. The fact that many people refuse to acknowledge him means that we cannot dismantle what he has wrought. And in our blindness we've created a host of studies to explain away his legacy. In the meantime, he is at work. When we see 21 percent of kids of color in poverty, that is white supremacy at work. When we see a president refusing to allow immigrants from majority people-of-color countries into this country, that is white supremacy at work. Defunding public education, gerrymandering, and scaling back the Voting Rights Act are all manifestations of this ideology.

Notice that he provides several concrete examples that demonstrate white supremacy's lasting power, including education funding, poverty, and voting rights. The inclusion of these examples helps Mckesson make his point about the need to imagine a world without white supremacy. While the centerpiece of the argument that you are writing is the personal experience you have had with this issue, you will, like Mckesson, need to bolster your claim with additional types of evidence. In addition to personal experience, the main types of evidence (p. 000) that appear in an argument are facts, scholarly research, expert opinion, data, and statistics.

### Locating Additional Support

Locate additional relevant and convincing evidence (conduct further research, if necessary). Be sure to find various types of evidence (facts, scholarly research, expert opinion, and data and statistics) that can appeal to both logos and pathos (p. 000). Then, identify the two or three most relevant and credible pieces of evidence to support your claim.



## Organizing the Essay

At some point in your education, you may have heard that an essay is supposed to have five paragraphs: an introduction, three body paragraphs, and a conclusion. This argumentative essay you are writing might, in fact, have five paragraphs, but it also

might have four or fourteen, or any other number in between or beyond, depending on the complexity of your argument, and the amount of personal experience you are including. This is not to say that there are no guidelines at all for how you make your argument. The body of your essay is the place where you prove the thesis that you wrote earlier. How you go about organizing the body of your essay is up to you, but here are a few possibilities, probably in the order of increasing complexity, challenge, and sophistication:

- **Organize by reason:** With this approach, you would go through each of your main reasons for supporting your position, usually starting with your strongest reason and addressing the main counterargument last. Each reason would be a separate paragraph.
- **Organize by counterargument:** With this approach, your entire essay is organized by the arguments *against* your thesis. In each separate paragraph, you raise an objection to your claim and refute it.
- **Organize by problem and solution:** With this approach, you would describe the problem that your topic raises by documenting your own personal experiences with the issue and maybe supplementing it with additional sources; then you would offer a solution to the problem, which is your main claim. You might have one or more paragraphs about the problem and then an equal number about the proposed solution.



### activity

### Organizing Your Essay

Sketch out an outline that the body of your essay could take. Where will you likely include your personal experiences? Where will you probably address the counterarguments, the ideas of those who might think differently about your claim. Discuss with a partner about why you chose this particular approach and what the benefits and challenges of this structure might be.

## Step 3. Drafting the Essay

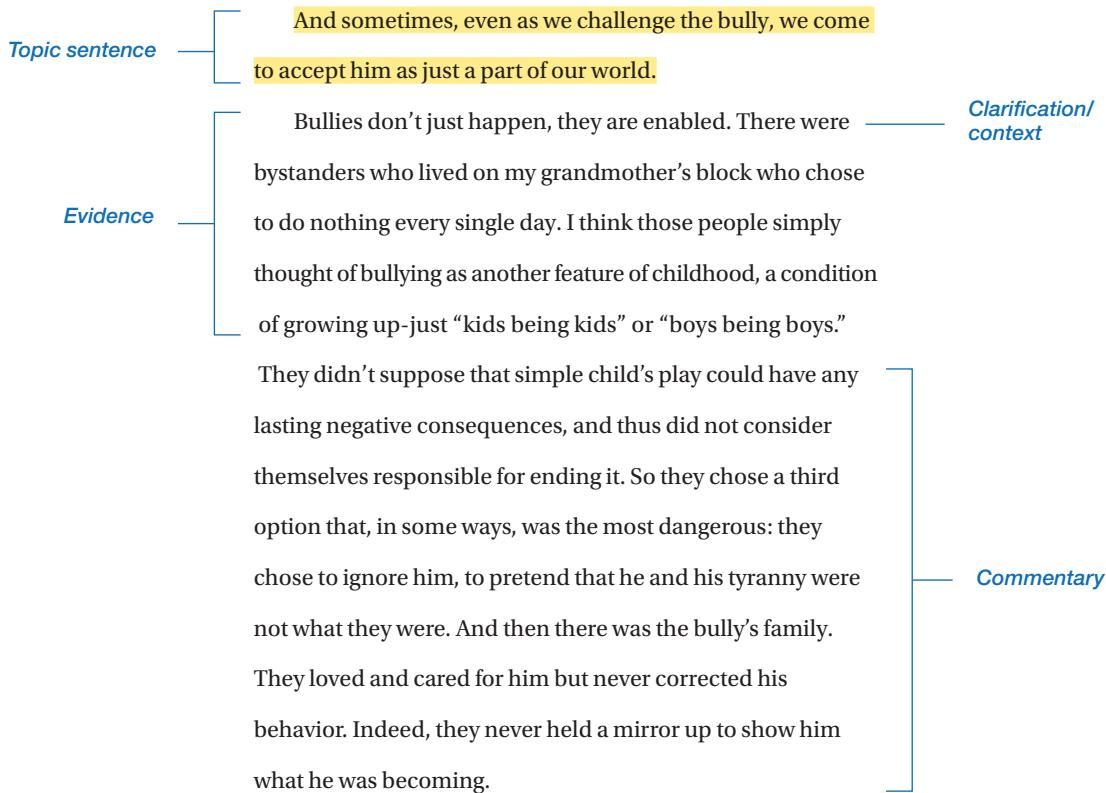
At this point in the workshop, you all have all of the pieces in place to begin drafting your essay. This step will walk you through some of the factors to consider when you are writing your body paragraphs, as well as ideas to help you with starting and ending your essay.

### Writing Body Paragraphs

In Chapter 4 we introduced a common structure for paragraphs, which we described with three key terms: Point, Evidence, Commentary (p. 000). Essentially, each of your body paragraphs will have a topic sentence that identifies a component of your claim (sometimes at the very beginning of the paragraph, sometimes embedded within it),

evidence that supports the topic sentence, and your own commentary about how that evidence supports that part of your claim. You will include as much or as little evidence as you need to make your point, though it is always important to follow every piece of evidence with your commentary. In this way, you will be sure to “connect the dots” for your reader and keep the emphasis on your own voice and ideas.

Again, this structure is not intended as a formula but is suggested as a guide for you to use when it suits you and your argument. You can see how elements of this structure are in place in a section from Mckesson’s essay:



Mckesson often goes back and forth between commentary and evidence. Again, the structure suggested above is not a rigid formula. The point here is that evidence should never stand on its own. It should be accompanied by commentary from you, the writer. In an argumentative essay, telling your audience what the evidence proves, and why it is relevant to your overall argument, makes it more likely that your audience will understand and appreciate what you have to say.

### Addressing Counterarguments

An essential part of making your argument is to address counterarguments (p. 000), those ideas that challenge your claim. These ideas are not necessarily against your

entire position, but they might represent a different course of action, or might go beyond what you are willing to propose.

Some writers address the counterargument at the beginning of their piece, immediately conceding and refuting their opponents' points. Other writers may wait until later in their argument, after they have made their strongest points. Mckesson addresses a key counterargument toward the end of his essay when he points out that not everyone believes in the same approach to confronting the bully of white supremacy. Notice how he raises several other possibilities, and then works to explain why his approach might be the best:

In the face of the bully, there are seemingly only two options: to challenge him or to accept him. I never understood the notion of “fight or flight” in this context, because “flight” would only be a temporary reprieve and not an actual stance. I couldn’t avoid the street forever, and I shouldn’t have had to. “Fight” feels like an equally false option—overcoming the bully should not rest on adopting his tactics. When we accept these options, we run, we fight, we push back, because it seems like these are the only things we can do. In a world of incessant battles and their accompanying exhaustion, survival can become the overriding theme in how we think about living, and fear something that we unconsciously accept.

The basic approach of addressing counterarguments is to acknowledge and concede any valid points your opponents might make, and then refute the main thrust of their arguments. Unaddressed counterarguments linger in the minds of thoughtful readers who say, “Yeah, but what about \_\_\_\_\_?” Your job as a successful writer of arguments includes anticipating all reasonable objections to your claim and presenting evidence that your point of view is the most reasonable.

It may be tempting to use a phrase such as “Some people say \_\_\_\_\_” but this only prompts readers to question, “Who?” Try, instead, to fully understand and describe the opposition’s position, and respectfully identify any noteworthy experts who hold that view.



### activity

### Writing Body Paragraphs

Draft three body paragraphs. One focusing primarily on personal experience as evidence, one integrating support from an outside source, and one introducing and refuting a key counterargument. Use the Point-Evidence-Commentary structure as a guide. Share your body paragraphs with a partner or in a small group, to help you make sure that your points are clear, that your evidence is balanced with commentary, and that you fully and ethically present and refute the counterargument. Then, return to your claim (p. 83) and the organizational structure you identified (pp. 85–86) and draft any remaining body paragraphs for your essay. The number of paragraphs you need will depend on your purpose and the complexity of your topic.

## Writing the Introduction

One of the most difficult parts of writing anything is figuring out how to start. Think of your opening as having three parts:

1. The hook
2. Context
3. Your claim or thesis

### The Hook

Regardless of who the members of your audience are, they have demands on their time and a lot of options for what to read. You have to make them want to read *your* piece. So, begin your argument by “hooking” your readers with some kind of attention grabber. This might be a shocking fact, a startling statistic, or (since this has been the focus of this workshop) maybe a profound personal story, related to, but different from the personal experience you offer as evidence in the body of your essay. If you think back to the rhetorical appeals discussed in Chapter 3, you can see that a successful hook often relies on an appeal to pathos — emotion. Pathos is the spice of an argument. It makes it interesting, gives it flavor, but it should be used sparingly. The hook is a great place to use it. As you saw above, Mckesson’s hook is his devastating story about being bullied as a child, which powerfully draws his readers into the rest of his argument.

### The Context

Another thing to think about when starting your argument is how much background you need to provide for your audience. If your audience does not understand the context of your argument, you have little chance of persuading them of your claim. The amount of context you need to include will vary based on the complexity of the issue or the specificity of the evidence you will likely use. For Mckesson, while he starts his essay with the story of his being bullied, his argument isn’t really about childhood bullies, so he has to provide his readers with a bit of context so they can see that what he’s really talking about it as a metaphor of a larger societal issue:

I've thought a lot more about the role of the bully too — about how he moves, adapts, and survives over time; about his source of legitimacy; about the impact of his power. Of late, I've thought about the bully in the context of our present world versus the world that we aim to create for the future, and considering him has transformed the way I think about both.

### Writing Your Introduction

Write a draft of your introductory paragraph by putting together the following components:

- Your hook (ethos, logos, or pathos)
- Appropriate and necessary context — the background information your audience will need to understand what follows
- Your claim, which you developed earlier, and which you may have revised after conducting additional research



## Writing the Conclusion

Just as pathos can provide an effective hook for introducing your essay, it is, more often than not, a powerful approach to concluding it. Writers often want to get their readers to feel something before they ask them to take some kind of action. Look at the conclusion of Mckesson's essay, which is filled with appeals to emotion:

When I was nine, I didn't know how to challenge the bully. I thought I was alone. The task of conquering my fear, of exposing him, loomed so large in my mind's eye that I was overcome by it. If I hadn't gone to Ferguson and stood toe to toe with other protesters on the streets calling for justice, naming our bully, and saying enough is enough, I'm not sure I'd have the courage to confront him today.

In each generation there is a moment when young and old, inspired or disillusioned, come together around a shared hope, imagine the world as it can be, and have the opportunity to bring that world into existence. Our moment is now.

Notice, too, that Mckesson's conclusion includes a call to action — “Our moment is now.” In addition to pathos, a good conclusion to an argument usually addresses a “So what?” statement that tells readers what you want them to think about, or do, and why it matters. What reforms should take place? What studies should be conducted? What viewpoint should be reevaluated? What programs should be funded? This is a final opportunity for you to connect directly with your readers. Mckesson’s choice is to focus on bringing everyone “together around a shared hope.”



### activity

#### Writing a Conclusion

Write a conclusion to your argumentative essay that includes a final appeal to emotion and a call to action. This might even be another place to return to a personal experience that you had described earlier in your essay.

## Step 4. Finalizing the Essay

Now that you have a complete draft of your argumentative essay, you can move on to the final phase in the writing process: revising and editing. These two acts are sometimes thought of as being the same, but they're not. Revision is when you look back at large-scale structural elements of your essay, such as how well you are supporting your claim, what kinds of evidence are you using, how effective your word choices are, and to what extent you have led your reader easily through your essay. Editing, on the other hand, focuses on fine tuning the language, grammar, punctuation,

spelling, and other conventions. Editing is usually the very last thing you do before you finalize your piece, looking carefully for any errors that you tend to make. The following are suggestions for you to consider as you finalize your essay.

## Revising

Oftentimes, revision can be more effective when you discuss these questions with a partner.

- Look back at your **claim**. Since you wrote this early on in the workshop, does it still relate to the argument you wrote? See **Revision Workshop: Effective Thesis and Essay Structure** (p. 000) if you need more assistance.
- Look back at the **personal experience** you used as evidence. Is it detailed and evocative like Mckesson’s story of being bullied? Is it relevant to your claim? Are there places in which more personal experiences would make sense? Review the **Skill Workshop** at the beginning of this chapter (p. 000) if you need additional ideas.
- Look back at your **other evidence**. Does this evidence balance out and effectively bolster the personal experience? See **Revision Workshop: Appropriate Evidence and Support** (p. 000) if you think that you need help with this aspect of your argument.
- Have you made attempts to address the main **counterarguments** for your position? Have you refuted them successfully? Are you fair and ethical in how you refute their arguments? Review **Chapter 3** (p. 000) if you have trouble identifying and refuting counterarguments.
- Look back at your **body paragraphs**. Have you balanced the evidence with your own **commentary** about how that evidence supports your claim? See **Revision Workshop: Balanced Evidence and Commentary** (p. 000) if you need more help with this part of your essay.
- Evaluate your **organizational structure**. Is it clear enough for the reader to follow? Are there other approaches to the organization that might be more effective? See **Revision Workshop: Effective Transitions** (p. 000) or **Revision Workshop: Effective Topic Sentences and Unified Paragraphs** (p. 000) if you think that your reader may have trouble following your essay.
- Does your **introduction** hook the reader and provide context to understand the claim? Does your **conclusion** include an appeal to pathos and a call to action? If not, consider looking at **Revision Workshop: Effective Introductions and Conclusions** (p. 000).
- Are your language choices appropriate for your purpose and audience and as effective as they could be? See **Revision Workshop: Improved Syntax** (p. 000) or **Revision Workshop: Improved Diction** (p. 000) to further develop your style and voice.

## Editing

Remember, editing is the very last thing you'll do before finalizing your essay. You and your teacher know better than anyone the types of spelling, grammar, and convention errors you are focusing on in your writing development, so refer to one or more of the Grammar Workshops (starting on p. 000) in the back of the book if you encounter an issue and aren't sure how to address it.



# Continuing the Conversation

Throughout this chapter, you have been reading texts and thinking about how people create change in the world. At the beginning of the chapter and after each of the readings, you had opportunities to consider ideas related to the following essential questions:

## ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

- What are the conditions required to make change happen?
- How does one gain the appropriate amount and type of power to create change?
- How does effective, persuasive communication help to bring about change?
- When — if ever — is violence an appropriate means for creating change?

The sections that follow will give you an opportunity to revisit and respond to some of those questions as you think further about creating change by connecting these ideas to yourself, to texts you've read, and to the world outside of the classroom.

## Connection to Self

Think back on the texts you have read, responses you have written, discussions you have participated in, and ideas you have considered during your work with this chapter. Use these questions to help explore how the issues in this chapter connect to your life and experience.

1. What is a change that you would like to see at your school or town? How might you make that change happen?
2. What power do you have, personally, to bring about meaningful change in your school or your town?
3. Explain how your personal, academic, social, and other skills might help you bring about a desired change.
4. How do you tend to act when you talk with someone whose position on a topic is different from your own? How do you try to convince that person of your position?
5. Which of the authors in this chapter would you like to have dinner with? Why? What questions would you ask about that author's choices and advocacy for change? Or, which author would you definitely not want to have dinner with? Why? If you were stuck next to that author at dinner, what questions would you ask?
6. Which of the texts in this chapter had the most significant effect on the way you think about change? Why?

## Connection to Texts

Use these questions to make connections among the texts in this chapter, and consider what insights the texts provide into the issue of Changing the World. As you respond, be sure to make specific references to **two or more texts** you read in this chapter.

1. In her piece “What if We’re All Coming Back,” Michelle Alexander (p. 29) proposes that one way to help people to consider the effects of climate change is to encourage them to imagine that they will be reincarnated after death. Use her same thought experiment with the topic of another chapter text and explain how the idea of reincarnation might or might not help create the proposed change. To what extent do you think Alexander’s method is an effective approach to creating change?
2. Some of the authors in this chapter focus on how power (or the lack of power) affects how change can be created. How do they view power similarly or differently? How do their views compare to your own sense of how power and change are related?
3. Write a dialogue between two of the authors in this chapter. What topics related to creating change would they discuss, and how would they respond to each other?

## Connection to the World

Think back on the texts you have read, responses you have written, discussions you have participated in, and ideas you have considered during your work with this chapter. Use these questions to help explore how the issues raised in this chapter play out in the world at large.

1. Identify political, cultural, or social leaders who are currently trying to create meaningful change. How effective are their approaches to creating change? What suggestions would you offer them?
2. What prevents meaningful change in the world from happening easily? Why are some people, institutions, and organizations reluctant to change?
3. What is the most important change that we need in the world? What are the best approaches to try to achieve that change?

## Evidence-Based Argument

Write an argument in response to one of the prompts below in which you support your claim with examples from **at least three of the texts** in this chapter.

**Prompt 1:** Write about a time that you created some kind of change. It could be something at school, in your home, in your community, or elsewhere, and it does

not need to be a major or significant change. What were the steps that you took to create this change, and which of the authors from this chapter would likely support and or oppose your approach to creating that change?

**Prompt 2:** Is violence ever an appropriate approach to bringing about change? Why or why not? Refer to at least three texts you read.

**Prompt 3:** To what extent are humans capable of long-lasting and meaningful change? Refer to at least three texts you read.

# Acknowledgments

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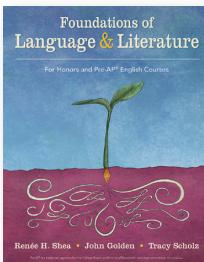
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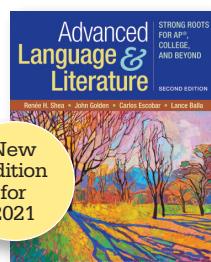


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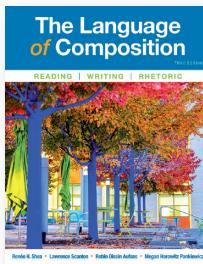


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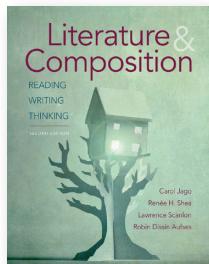
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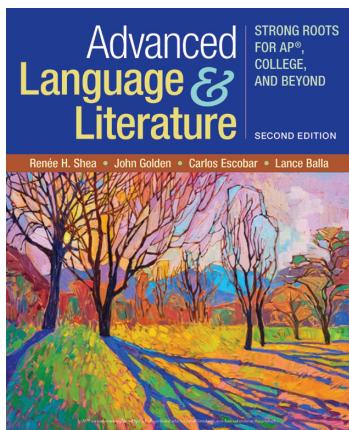
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