

NEH Application Cover Sheet (MN-258857)

Digital Projects for the Public: Production Grants

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INSTITUTION

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APPLICATION INFORMATION

Title: *Ratifying the Constitution: A Digital Game Opportunity*

Grant period: From 2018-01-01 to 2019-08-31

Project field(s): U.S. History; American Government; Law and Jurisprudence

Description of project: iCivics, in collaboration with Filament Games and select scholars in the humanities, proposes to develop its 20th online educational video-game: "Ratification: The Great Debate." The game will offer middle and high school students a new immersive experience on a pivotal topic: the ratification of the United States Constitution. Our goal is to impart students with core knowledge surrounding this eventful period, to develop their argumentative writing, and to give our thousands of teacher-users a unique resource to engage their students in our nation's history.

BUDGET

Outright Request	400,000.00	Cost Sharing	0.00
Matching Request	0.00	Total Budget	400,000.00
Total NEH	400,000.00		

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Abstract

iCivics, in collaboration with Filament Games and select scholars in the humanities, proposes to develop its 20th online educational video-game: *Ratification: The Great Debate*. The game will offer middle and high school students a new immersive experience on a pivotal topic: the ratification of the United States Constitution. Our goal is to impart students with core knowledge surrounding this eventful period, to develop their argumentative writing, and to give our thousands of teacher-users a unique resource to engage their students in our nation's history.

Ratification: The Great Debate

A) Nature of the request

The Constitution is the core of the American system of government and has acted as a model for nations across the globe. iCivics proposes to bring its origins to life for young people. Our goal is to impart students with the core knowledge around ratification period by providing civics and history teachers with a unique resource: an educational video game. iCivics wants to create an immersive and imaginative new gaming experience for students on a most foundational topic: the ratification of the United States Constitution. It will focus on the conflicting perspectives, ideas, and debates that led to the principles of American democracy that we uphold today. *Ratification* will be developed on the Unity game engine and will be accessible – for free – via browser, iOS, and Android platforms. iCivics is qualified – and eager – to take on this project. Our reach in civics classrooms is significant, and our brand trusted. iCivics respectfully requests \$400,000 to develop, produce, and disseminate this game.

In our new game *Ratification: The Great Debate*, players will step into the shoes of a newspaper editor in 1787-88 with the task of covering this tumultuous time: the debates around the creation, compromises, and ratification of a new U.S. Constitution. The player will need to pick, and advocate for, the Federalist or Anti-Federalist view in order to win the support of nine of the thirteen colonies – and win the game. Students will interact with the ideas, perspectives, and arguments that defined this seminal period: balancing the needs of individuals, the states and the nation all at the same time. These ideas include the Federalists' requests for a union that would tie the states together, that would separate powers within a system of checks and balances, and that would ensure a democracy whereby representatives were chosen by the people; the Anti-Federalists' fears that a strong national government would threaten people's freedoms and take away power from the states; and finally, the role of a Bill of Rights to guarantee state and individual rights. Students will explore the many different viewpoints, which spanned geographic regions, populations, and socio-economic class – that permeated this historic period. Students will directly engage with the building blocks of the proposed Constitution.

B) Humanities content

The Constitution, a mere three pages and the oldest written constitution in the world, is the fundamental law of the United States. It is the codification of the values, principles, liberties, and structure, of America's government. Created in secret by its Framers, it was debated publicly by its supporters and detractors. Its legitimacy comes from "We the People" who ratified it into existence. Its publication in 1787 inaugurated one of the most vigorous political campaigns in American history. Yet, despite being created by men from a cross-section of 18th century leadership, its adoption was not a certain conclusion.

The familiar story of Mrs. Powel of Philadelphia who asked of Benjamin Franklin, "Well, Doctor, what have we got, a republic or a monarchy?" and his prescient response, "A republic, if you can keep it" set the stage for the debate to come. Ratifying the Constitution would be a matter for the people of the colonies. Political divisions between states made the prospect of securing nine colonies to ratify the Constitution daunting, as did the ideological differences within the states.

The newly minted Americans knew the weaknesses of the British system. One Virginian made the observation that "the plan of a Government proposed to us by the Convention affords for conversation to every rank of beings from the Governor to the door keeper." Americans knew limited government, republicanism, and separation of powers defended against tyranny and protected individual liberties. Their arguments centered on guaranteeing the new government would not be overly powerful; that there would continue to be sovereignty for the states. Arguments that the rights of habeas corpus, trial by jury in a criminal case, and the restriction on religious tests, bills of attainder, and ex post facto laws were included in the document still left them questioning guarantees of individual rights.

Cleverly calling themselves Federalists, and leaving the dubious name Anti-Federalists to the opposition, Madison, Hamilton, and Jay promulgated the reasons for ratifying the document they helped create. Newspapers printed and re-printed their letters. But their arguments did not remain in state convention

halls, but moved to the public square. What form of government would best serve the new nation? Was a powerful central government a threat to liberty? Did state governments best understand the needs of their citizens or were fitted to protect their freedoms? Should the Judiciary be independent of the Legislature? Questions abounded and debates ensued. The inquiry was vital and responses from both the Federalists and Anti-Federalist even more so. Only through this process of debate would Americans come to understand, and agree on, the document under which they and their posterity would live.

At their core, the disputes centered on the nature of Union and republican government, the strength of the federal government relative to that of the states, and perhaps most contentious, the guarantee of personal liberty. For the mature historian, the number and complexity of issues and arguments that comprised these core disputes might be seamlessly synthesized into a complicated but nonetheless clear framework that differentiates the Federalist perspective from the Anti-Federalist one. For students, however, a more simple, straightforward, and even structural framework is required.

As such, the game will be organized across six foundational issues of the ratification debate.

An Extended Republic. At the heart of the ratification debate was the question of what constituted a good republic or, more to the point, the size at which a republic might fail to properly represent all those within it. This question stemmed from the writings of Baron de Montesquieu who argued that republican government could only flourish in a small territory – one in which populations shared similar values and interests, representatives could know the minds of their constituents, and, ipso facto, the people could be properly represented by individuals whom they directly elected. If a society were too large, the logic followed, disputes and disorder would erupt into despotism. Put more succinctly by Montesquieu himself, “In an extensive republic the public good is sacrificed to a thousand private views. In a small one, the interest of the public is more obvious, better understood, and more within the reach of every citizen.”

Federalists urged a rethinking of the nature of republican government in a way that accounted for Montesquieu’s seemingly full-proof argument. As James Wilson posited, the states themselves would constitute “federated republics” thus ensuring the proper representation of its residents.

On both sides of the debate was agreement over the need for a stronger central government. But what differentiated the two sides was the Anti-Federalist belief that the proposed Constitution would create a large consolidation system at the expense of state power and that the system would ultimately lead the nation into despotism. The central government, they argued should only possess those limited and delegated powers necessary for preserving the Union, and expansion of power should not be allowed to rest on implication. Moreover, the central government should operate through the states rather than upon them.

Essential Federalist and Anti-Federalist texts for students to explore:

- Federalist
 - Madison as Publius: *The Federalist No. 10*, *New York Daily Advertiser*, 22 November 1787 on the nature of a republic
 - James Wilson’s speech to the Pennsylvania Ratifying Convention, 24 November 1787 on the suitability of republican government for the American states
- Anti-Federalist
 - Brutus: *The Anti-Federalist No. 1*, *New York Journal*, 18 October 1787 on the tyrannical fate of large empires
 - Patrick Henry’s speech to the Virginia Ratifying Convention, 5 June 1788 on the threat of consolidate power

The House of Representatives. The Constitution created a bicameral legislature, or Congress, in which representation in the lower chamber, the House of Representatives would be based on population, while the states would be equally represented in the upper chamber, the Senate. The Anti-Federalists, as a whole, were uncomfortable with this arrangement, but the nature of their discontent depended on the size of their state. It was small state Anti-Federalists who opposed the arrangement in the House, believing all states, as sovereign and independent units, should be equally represented in both chambers of the

legislature. The size of the House became another point of contention for the Anti-Federalists. They argued that it was too small to adequately represent all segments of society. Indeed, even some state legislatures had lower chambers with more members than would serve in the House. Worse still, this small body would only face reelection every two years, rather than serving one-year terms as they had in the Confederation Congress.

The Federalists countered that the proposed system would be even more democratic than the Confederation Congress, especially considering that all but two states relied upon their state legislatures to elect representatives rather than the people themselves. Moreover, the size of the Congress would grow as the nation grew and two-year terms would allow for a degree of stability and continuity in managing the nation's affairs.

Essential Federalist and Anti-Federalist texts for students to explore:

- Federalist
 - Cassius VI, *Massachusetts Gazette*, 14 Dec 1787 on length of terms of office
 - The Landholder IV, *Connecticut Courant*, 26 November 1787 on apportionment
- Anti-Federalist
 - Federal Farmer speech to the New York Ratifying Convention, 21 June 1788 on the House being too small
 - William Grayson speech to the Virginia Ratifying Convention, 12 June 1788 on the House being too large

The Senate. Just as the small-state Anti-Federalists railed against representation in the House as being unequal, large-state Anti-Federalists expressed much dissatisfaction with the arrangement in the Senate as being inequitable. If, for example, a small state with just one percent of the population of a large state had the same representation, then the people of the former were far more represented, per capita, than the people of the latter. Anti-Federalists, from both small and large states, also expressed their disdain for the aristocratic nature of the Senate given members' six-year terms. Another problem: the Constitution blended the functions of the Executive with the Senate, thus, the Anti-Federalists maintained, failing to achieve a full separation of powers.

The Federalists, for their part, conceded the inequitable representation point, explicitly justifying the feature as an expedient measure designed to win small-state support. As for the length of terms, they presented a similar justification to the one they made for representation in the House: six-year terms, with the added benefit of one-third of Senators elected every two years, promised better stability for Congress.

Essential Federalist and Anti-Federalist texts for students to explore:

- Federalist
 - Robert R. Livingston Speech to the New York Ratifying Convention, 24 June 1788 on the chimerical idea that the Senate will perpetuate itself
 - Fabius II, *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 15 April 1788 on the appropriately small size of the Senate
- Anti-Federalist
 - Cato V, *New York Journal*, 22 November 1787 on Senate terms being too long
 - Luther Martin: Genuine Information IV, *Baltimore Maryland Gazette*, 8 January 1788 on Senate terms being too short

The Executive. Simply put, the Anti-Federalists were fearful that the president would become a king. They also didn't like the president's role in what they considered legislative affairs such as appointments and treaty making. This concern was exasperated by the fact that the House would be excluded from both processes. And then there was the matter of the veto – the ability of a president to rebuff the decisions of the legislative branch. In short, the Anti-Federalists viewed the arrangement and the intermingling of the president and the Senate as a violation of separation of powers and inherently undemocratic.

The Federalists disagreed on all points and praised what Hamilton would characterize as “energy in the executive” in Federalist No. 70. They pointed to the abject failure of the Articles of Confederation as

resting squarely on a nearly powerless president, as well as limited powers that could be checked by the other branches. They also argued they would be held accountable to the people, through reelection, and Congress, through the power of impeachment. Still, the Federalists' most convincing argument was the shared assumption by all that the most noble of men, George Washington, would become president.

Essential Federalist and Anti-Federalist texts for students to explore:

- Federalist
 - Hamilton as Publius: *The Federalist* 68, *New York Packet*, 14 March 1788 on the manner by which the president is elected
 - Hamilton as Publius: *The Federalist* 72, *New York Independent Journal*, 19 March 1788 on terms of executive office
- Anti-Federalist
 - Luther Martin: Genuine Information IX, *Baltimore Maryland Gazette*, 29 January 1788 on the manner by which the president is elected
 - George Mason Speech to the Virginia Ratifying Convention, 17 June 1788 on terms of executive office

The Judiciary. The Anti-Federalists viewed the judiciary as a great source of danger to individual liberty and the states. First, there was the issue of the Constitution failing to guarantee trial by jury in civil cases. Second, although juries were guaranteed in criminal cases, *local* juries were not. This would place a burden of traveling hundreds if not thousands of miles to federal courts. Third, the Anti-Federalists believed the jurisdiction of the federal courts to be too broad, thus undermining the power of state legislatures whose laws could be overturned.

The Federalists, namely Hamilton in Federalist No. 78, characterized the judiciary as “beyond comparison the weakest of the three departments of power” wielding “no influence over either the sword or the purse.” They downplayed both the necessity and endangerment of trial by jury – for the latter arguing that the Constitution’s silence on juries in civil cases did not preclude their existence – and argued that broad jurisdiction was appropriate for settling foreign and interstate cases, as well as enforcing consistent application of the Constitution and federal law.

Essential Federalist and Anti-Federalist texts for students to explore:

- Federalist
 - Hamilton as Publius: *The Federalist* 78, *McLEAN's Edition New York*, 28 May 1788 on the judiciary being the least powerful branch
 - Hamilton as Publius: *The Federalist* 79, *McLEAN's Edition New York*, 28 May 1788 on judicial impeachment
- Anti-Federalist
 - Brutus, *Anti-Federalist No. 11*, 31 January 1788 on an abundance of power in the judiciary
 - Brutus, *Anti-Federalist No. 15*, *New York Journal*, 20 March 1788 on overwhelming judicial independence

A Bill of Rights. To be sure, both the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists believed in the importance of protecting individual liberties. As students of Hobbes, Locke, and Montesquieu, both sides saw the Constitution as a social contract in which the people gave up some of their rights in the name of security and the common good. But they differed in the degree of interpretation to which the Constitution, as proposed, would actually protect individual liberties, especially without an explicit listing of rights.

The Anti-Federalists were resolute in their belief that it necessarily could not. The Federalists disagreed on multiple fronts: First, some rights (habeas corpus, no bills of attainder) were expressly mentioned in the original document. Second, as Madison eloquently proclaimed in *Federalist No. 45*, “The powers delegated by the proposed Constitution to the federal government are few and defined. Those which are to remain in the State governments are numerous and indefinite.” Thus, a bill of rights was not only unnecessary, but it was dangerous since the list could potentially be construed as exhaustive. Rights that otherwise should belong to the people might be denied if not expressly guaranteed on the list. Lastly, a bill of rights was nothing more than paper protections, or “parchment barriers” as Madison referred to

them in *Federalist No. 48*. History had shown, he continued, “that the efficacy of the provision has been greatly overrated” when the “encroaching spirit of power” was afoot.

Essential Federalist and Anti-Federalist texts for students to explore:

- Federalist
 - Hamilton as Publius: *The Federalist 84, McLEAN’s Edition New York*, 28 May 1788 on the danger of a bill of rights
 - Aristides: Remarks on the Proposed Plan, 31 January 1788 on the guarantee of rights by enumerated powers
- Anti-Federalist
 - Federal Farmer, *Letters to the Republican*, 8 November 1787 on the obvious nature of which rights should be listed
 - Patrick Henry speech to the Virginia Ratifying Convention, 12 June 1788 on the fact that many state constitutions included a bill of rights within the document rather than as an add-on (to refute the argument that some states did not have such bills)

Understanding these six issues, and the nature of the debate encompassing each one, is critical to a full understanding of the ratification debate as a whole as well as the basic character and components of the federal government. Not only do these issues provide a blueprint for the American republic, they also form the basis of the ways in which subsequent discussions of governance have been framed.

As students explore these issues and select the appropriate position and strongest arguments in support of their perspective, they will also be exposed to an interwoven set of themes, precisely crafted to enhance their understanding of the spirit of the debate. These themes are:

Theme No. 1. *We the People with “infirmities and Depravities”: Human Nature and Republican Government*

As S. Adam Seagrave (2017) writes in an article for The Witherspoon Institute’s *Public Discourse* magazine, the Federalists “viewed the Constitution as a ‘reflection on human nature,’ and as the embodiment both of a realistic assessment of ‘the infirmities and depravities of the human character.’” It therefore followed that the most basic conflict in the debate over ratification was over human nature.

The Federalists held the more pessimistic view of human nature, believing that elites were better suited to lead a republican government. Madison explains in *Federalist No. 55*: “As there is a degree of depravity in mankind which requires a certain degree of circumspection and distrust, so there are other qualities in human nature which justify a certain portion of esteem and confidence. Republican government presupposes the existence of these qualities in a higher degree than any other form.”

The Anti-federalists held a profoundly different view, believing ordinary individuals, with their modest aspirations, to be the more likely bearers of virtue. To them, the greatest threat to liberty could be found “in the intoxicating power that elites would wield through the political instruments of the new government” (Miroff, Seidelman, Swanstrom, & DeLuca, 2009). As Melancton Smith declared as he argued for a larger and more socially diverse legislature during a debate with Hamilton, “Those in middling circumstances have less temptation; they are inclined by habit and the company with whom they associate to set bounds to their passions and appetites.”

Still, it was Madison who so capably used arguments related to human nature to counteract the Anti-Federalists’ distrust of a strong central government, writing in *Federalist No. 37*: “The history of almost all the great councils and consultations held among mankind for reconciling their discordant opinions, assuaging their mutual jealousies, and adjusting their respective interests, is a history of factions, contentions, and disappointments, and may be classed among the most dark and degraded pictures which display the infirmities and depravities of the human character.”

Theme No. 2. *A Most Monstrous Debate: Wielding the Metaphor of Chimera*

As Edward Cahill (2012) argues in *Liberty of the Imagination: Aesthetic Theory, Literary Form, and Politics in the Early United States*, conceptual tensions within aesthetic theory rendered it an evocative language for describing the challenges of American political liberty and confronting the many contradictions of nation formation (p. 8). One clear example of this evocative language is manifest in the multiple uses of the metaphor of “monster” – what Cahill refers to as “Constitutional Chimeras” -- by both Federalists and Anti-Federalists. For the former, it was often an imaginary beast and part of their strategy to characterize Anti-Federalist opposition as illusory (p. 149). For the latter, it was a real and imminent threat evinced in the form of an all-too-powerful executive or an over-reaching federal government.

Perhaps the strongest and most hyperbolic Federalist instance of monster comes in *Federalist No. 29* where Hamilton writes,

“In reading many of the publications against the Constitution, a man is apt to imagine that he is perusing some ill-written tale of romance, which...exhibits to the mind nothing but frightful and distorting shapes—‘Gorgons, Hydras, and Chimeras dire; discolored and disfiguring whatever it represents, and transforming everything it touches into a monster.’”

Hamilton later refers to the Anti-Federalist desire for perfection in the Constitution a “chimerical pursuit” in *Federalist No. 85*.

More memorable in their frequency and vivid imagery are the Anti-Federalist invocations of monster. As “CINCINNATUS” bemoans the organization and powers of the Senate in *Anti-Federalist No. 64*,

Is a body so vested with means to soften and seduce – so armed with power to screen or to condemn – so fortified against suspicion and inquiry – so largely trusted with legislative powers – so independent of and removed from the people – so tempted to abuse and extend these powers – is this a body which freemen ought ever to create, or which freemen can ever endure? Or is it not a monster in the political creation, which we ought to regard with horror?

Anti-Federalist pamphlets and broadsides referred to the Constitution as a “triple-headed monster” and a Maryland resident opined in a local newspaper that the lack of a bill of rights produced “an ungovernable monster, without constitutional checks, deplorable and to be deplored, dangerous and destructive.” Unsurprisingly, one of the most notorious Anti-Federalists, Patrick Henry, utilized the metaphor, declaring at the Virginia Ratifying Convention that the Constitution’s division of federal and state power was “a political monster of absurdity.” And although the country successfully rid itself of a foreign oppressor, it “...now tamely submit to the home bread Monster of a form equally detestable if viewed when stripped of its disguise,” as Thomas Wilson lamented in a letter to Archibald Stuart.

Theme No. 3. *It’s All Greco-Roman to Publius: The Invocation of Classical Political Theory*

The Federalists and Anti-Federalists did not merely pay homage to the classics in their selection of pen names. On the contrary, they regularly and passionately called upon classical themes and ancient historical examples in their critiques and defenses of the proposed Constitution.

In *Federalist No. 6*, as one flagrant example, Hamilton presents Sparta, Athens, Rome, and Carthage as he seeks to illustrate the dangers of dissension between the states. Concomitantly, Brutus refers to the Grecian and Roman republics to demonstrate the threat of tyranny that rises from large nation states:

History furnishes no example of a free republic, any thing like the extent of the United States. The Grecian republics were of small extent; so also was that of the Romans. Both of these, it is true, in process of time, extended their conquests over large territories of country; and the consequence was, that their governments were changed from that of free governments to those of the most tyrannical that ever existed in the world.

In this way, both sides invoked classical examples to advance their respective positions.

But the Federalists pull no punches. They go on to demonstrate the insufficiency of the present confederation (The Federalist Nos. 18-20), the necessity of an energetic government (The *Federalist* Nos. 23-36), and the degree to which the proposed Constitution conformed to republican ideals (The *Federalist* Nos. 37-84), all by invoking ancient historical examples that spelled republican demise in the wake of a weak central government. Perhaps most interestingly, *Federalist Papers* Nos. 37-84 stretch far beyond Enlightenment thinkers with references to classical antiquity that reached a new level, to include readings about Solon, Draco, and Romulus. Moreover, these essays challenged Plato's notion of a nation of philosophers, which the more elitist Federalists would never expect of the whole of their countrymen. In the absence of such a citizenry, they believed, democracy must be guided not by Enlightenment principles but by a carefully constructed republic.

It is difficult to assess which side employed the classics more persuasively. To be sure, the Federalist references were more frequent, coherent, and forceful. But was it not true that the stories of all of these ancient republics were narratives of decline? As "Sydney" states in *Anti-Federalist* No. 45,

... in what instances the powers of the state government will be either totally or partially absorbed, and enable us to determine whether the remaining powers will, from those kind of pillars, be capable of supporting the mutilated fabric of a government which even the advocates for the new constitution admit excels "the boasted models of Greece or Rome, and those of all other nations, in having precisely marked out the power of the government and the rights of the people."

Given this, one might expect the Anti-Federalists to have a more persuasive argument. This is an expectation that history would soon betray.

Summation

With that, we conclude our presentation of themes. The six issues presented earlier represent the content students might be expected to learn; they represent the substance of the game, reflecting the debate over ratification, and therefore the official curriculum of the project. They do so in a clear way that mirrors the structure of the Constitution and therefore allows for reinforcement of both previously learned content (the Constitutional Convention) as well as future content (deep dives into each branch of government).

Our themes, on the other hand, represent the color, character, and aesthetic of the game. They are what elevate it from a textbook presentation of ideas to a humorous, compelling, and engaging narrative about our nation's founding. These themes will be reflected not only in the artistic detail and style of the game, but also in the dialogue between the newspaper editor (player) and the game's characters. In this way, they will transform the debate over ratification of the Constitution from "mandatory state standard" to "the next most exciting topic for young learners to explore."

Explain how your project would differ from existing projects that explore similar subject matter.

In addition to presenting a simple and straightforward set of issues comprising the debate over ratification of the Constitution, our project presents a structural one as well. In moving through the issues as we present them, students also move through key structures of the Constitution, as well as the structure of the government it created. This differs from existing projects that present the issues in order of importance (i.e. the strength of the federal government relative to the states; the need for a bill of rights).

However simplistic, this arrangement allows for the reinforcement of previously learned material, as well as yet-to-be-introduced content. Put another way, students begin to see the structure of our government unfolding as they learn about the Constitutional Convention, especially the Virginia Plan. Moving into the debate over ratification, this learning is reinforced when they play *Ratification* and move through a set of contentious issues that closely follow the structure of the Constitution and therefore the structure of our government. Later, when teachers present more in-depth content about the respective roles of each branch, they will once again reinforcing the structure and function of each.

Describe the project's most important resources, including audio and visual materials, documents, and other archival artifacts.

Among other seminal sources, most of the resources needed to complete this project can be found on the *Themes of the Ratification Period* page of Center for the Study of the American Constitution at the University of Wisconsin-Madison (<http://csac.history.wisc.edu/themes.htm>). This comprehensive listing of Federalist and Anti-Federalist texts covers all of the issues and themes presented above.

To be certain, there is no skirting the fact that this is a text-heavy library, just as there is no skirting the text-heavy nature of the topic. That is the reality we embraced when selecting this topic, and the text-heavy and inaccessible nature of it is precisely why we pursued this challenge.

With that, when appropriate and possible, we will create our own audio and visual materials, intentionally crafted to make the complex academic texts accessible to adolescent learners.

C) Project format:

iCivics proposes an educational video-game that will propel students into a foundational historical event: the ratification of the U.S. Constitution. While we provide a detailed discussion in our game narrative and concept in the appended Design Document, it is essential here to discuss and explain some of the critical reasons we have chosen the content, the educational game format, the need for this content to be addressed in classrooms, and why we feel confident in this approach as an organization.

Ratification as a classroom topic is challenging to teach using a traditional method of primary source textual analysis, and it is very hard to engage students if one begins with a dry method before capturing their imagination. It is therefore ripe for an innovative instructional design. The mechanism of ratification in our Constitution is taught in secondary education in history, civics, and government classes. By accessing the humanistic themes behind ratification – the real people, the immersive historical content, and the philosophical arguments underlying the tumultuous beginning of the United States - we hope to capture students' attention and build their civic knowledge. To make the game appealing to classroom initiatives, the gameplay will last no more than 40 minutes, designed to fit within a full classroom period.

Consistent with previous iCivics game design, *Ratification: The Great Debate* will be a game of exploration and persuasion. In the role of the newspaper editor-protagonist, students will talk to Americans with widely varied perspectives and socio-economic statuses in each state to find out what is important to each group. They will discuss each issue via a dialogue of questions and answers. These insights will be used to help the player select the best arguments and positions to put forward in their newspaper. As the protagonist of the story, students will be at the center of the action. By applying their civic knowledge and skills, they will have agency to change the outcome.

Players will choose to represent Federalist or Anti-Federalist perspectives, drawing from ten key points in this debate. Each point will resonate at different levels of appeal in each state. As they assemble their newspaper, students will decide which key point will receive "top billing," and two other points for support. The game will challenge students to make sense of competing ideas in order to form an effective and cohesive set of arguments for, or against, ratification within a state. Students will need to use "push" and "pull" tactics of persuasion to make the most compelling arguments – and win the game.

iCivics' Curriculum Team will work with scholars to distill the Federalist and Anti-Federalist perspectives into key points, as well as delve into the realities of each state to understand which issues were most important, respective of the population group, to determine support for the new Constitution. Importantly, iCivics will also call upon scholars' expertise to ensure we capture the full spectrum of perspectives during this era. This will include the segments of the population that were excluded from official decision making and traditional political agency such as Native Americans, women, poor whites, and Africans (both free and enslaved).

By thinking about the perspectives and using the humanities lens on this time period, *Ratification: The Great Debate* will capture young people's imagination for civic life and government and, in this spirit, transform the civics classroom into a dynamic and meaningful learning experience. This pedagogical framing is central to iCivics' theory of change: our games grab students' interest and excitement for civic life and teach core knowledge about our systems of government; then educators use our teaching resources to extend learning beyond the games. Students remain engaged throughout the learning process. They are more likely to become thoughtful and active citizens.

To that end, while a stand-alone game is a valuable learning tool by itself, it must be supported by other instructional materials to ensure best learning. iCivics will deepen the learning experience of the game with an Extension Pack: a comprehensive teaching resource that uses the game as an anchor to set learning goals, activate students' background knowledge, and provide context before playing the game. The Extension Pack will include a starter activity, mini-lesson, post-play activity, and assessment. It will be an effective and reliable classroom resource for time-strapped teachers to make gameplay more meaningful.

iCivics games are, in essence, simulations that explain the mechanics and systems that make up the seemingly distant and obscure structures of government, from the federal budget to the interaction of branches of government. iCivics has made 19 games over 8 years, and we have recently begun a process of full upgrades of our most popular games, with design, technology, curricular, and gameplay improvements. Our experience in creating these games – from our research of the learning standards and design phases to the actual development and refinement of the game assets – is a process undergoing continual refinement and improvement. Our materials are iteratively informed by field testing. Games are play-tested at multiple points in the design process by students and teachers, and we have a network of classroom teachers who review new curricular materials and provide formative evaluation that we repeatedly integrate into the materials. All of our games and curricular materials integrate learning science, educational best practices, and state standards including Common Core.

D) Audience and distribution

Once the game is developed, it will be available for free on our website and as a stand-alone app for download. By developing this game on the Unity platform, we will be able to release the game on the three most popular classroom technology formats: iPads, Chromebooks, and desktops. The game will not require further financial support beyond the funding period.

The *Ratification* game will be designed to deepen students' learning experience and engage them in the period's history. iCivics will connect with our substantial network of teachers so they may benefit from this resource. We serve a national network of 155,000 educators across all 50 states. This includes 50% of all middle school social studies teachers and 24% of high school government and history teachers. Over 5 million students learned with iCivics in 2016 alone. We have scaled a large and enthusiastic teacher community, in short time and at low cost. And we are still growing at a 20% growth rate. iCivics is today the largest provider of digital civic education in the country.

iCivics will model *Ratification: The Great Debate* on our previous successful models of engaging educational video-games. For instance, in the lead-up to the 2016 election, iCivics released an upgraded version of *Win the White House*, one of our most cherished games. Here, students get to be the candidate as they strive to win votes, create momentum and fundraise on the campaign trail. Thousands of teachers turned to iCivics to teach their students about the election process. Our site generated significant interest: Students played the game over 5.2 million times in the 9-month timeframe of our dissemination campaign. This high gameplay rate rivals some of the most popular commercial games available. As a result, iCivics was able to draw widespread coverage and recognition, including awards in Innovation from Fast Company and press coverage from the New York Times and Education Week.

The *Ratification* game and supporting Extension Pack will be of great relevance to our teachers' classrooms. iCivics will actively disseminate these resources among our vast networks of educators and partners. We will use the back-to-school season in Summer 2019 to build anticipation for the finished

game and support teachers who want to integrate it in the next year's curriculum. This time is ideal for product dissemination as teachers have more bandwidth for creative thinking and meet innovative peers at professional development events.

We know that teachers are heavily connected online. Almost half of new teachers join iCivics based on recommendations from other teachers. For this reason, iCivics will conduct a robust online distribution of the game and its resources. We have successfully used online platforms in the past to disseminate our products, attracting over 2.8 million impressions on Twitter in 2016. Importantly, we will actively reach out to our registered teacher lists, which boasts 155,000 names, through digital and social media communications.

In addition to these efforts, iCivics will activate its *Educator Network*: 90 highly qualified education professionals who volunteer their know-how and passion for iCivics. They will like and share our social media messages, and will otherwise document their experience with the game among their professional networks. As an additional dissemination tool, iCivics will deploy Google ads to achieve at least 30,000 impressions and a 3.6% click-through rate (CTR).

Finally, iCivics relies on the support of partners with like-minded goals and audiences. They include BrainPOP, the Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools, and the Civics Renewal Network. These partners are vital as we expand and reinforce our community of civics teachers. We will provide them language and social media posters for them to use in their communications.

E) Project evaluation and testing:

iCivics has an established method of iterative testing. We create paper prototypes of games to evaluate how students are understanding the materials, and we playtest early versions of the games in multiple phases with specific evaluations of appeal, comprehension, and effectiveness of the learning. Each of these evaluations is analyzed throughout the process. For example, in our previous game *Counties Work*, playtests occurred throughout the design and development cycles of game creation, with findings yielding immediate improvements and refinements to the mechanics and playability. By engaging in this type of formative evaluation, which is to say having students testing us at every phase of creation, we can quickly course-correct if we are missing the mark on any of the key metrics.

User experience: iCivics and Filament Games work together to hold a series of playtests across the game development period to evaluate user experience and content. Depending on the development stage, these playtests will be conducted by the Filament staff, iCivics staff, content-area experts, along with volunteer teachers and their students. Each group provides different, yet critical, perspectives that help frame the strengths and opportunities within each of the game's development stages:

- ❖ Filament and iCivics staff will test the game's user interface, mechanics and technology needs.
- ❖ Content-area experts will review the Humanities content and how well it is conveyed to users.
- ❖ Volunteer civics teachers will review the Humanities content along with the overall experience of the game; they will collect feedback from their students and report on the game's ease of play in real classrooms.

Testing/Troubleshoot/Debug: Filament Games and iCivics develop games following an Agile methodology. We create a thorough development plan with multiple phases, that also incorporates QA (Quality Assurance) testing throughout the sprint building process. Bugs and trouble-spots are reported, tracked, and addressed as the game develops, as opposed to waiting until the very end to test vigorously. In addition to the expert coverage of the Filament QA team at each stage of development, iCivics will contribute to testing through focus group play and ongoing feedback loops with the developers.

Player data/evaluation Collection and Appraisal: The team will seek player evaluations and feedback throughout the prototyping, development, and testing process. This data may come in the form of structured playtests observed by the development team, classroom play-through sessions, and student/teacher surveys in the field.

iCivics will also seek out feedback from our target teacher audience once the product has been launched. They will have the opportunity to answer open-ended questions around the game and the usability of its tied curricular resources; their effectiveness in teaching and exploring the content; and their ability to engage students in this unique historical experience. In all cases, the feedback will be reviewed by the iCivics Curriculum Team and vetted.

F) Rights, permissions, and licensing

iCivics owns all rights to this project. Filament works with us on a Work-for-Hire basis.

G) Humanities advisers

iCivics has recruited 10 academic advisors for the entirety of this project, with expertise intersecting history, political philosophy, law, indigenous studies, equity, and educational game design.

- William B. Allen is a professor of Political Philosophy at Michigan State University. His areas of expertise include the American founding and U.S. Constitution; the American founders (particularly George Washington); the influence of various political philosophers (especially Montesquieu) on the American founding; liberal arts education, its history, importance and problems; and the intersection of race and politics. It is in all these ways, with a special emphasis on issues of race, that he will contribute to this project.
- Luciana C. de Oliveira is Professor and Chair in the Department of Teaching and Learning in the School of Education and Human Development at the University of Miami, Florida. Her research focuses on issues related to teaching English language learners (ELLs) at the K-12 level, including the role of language in learning the content areas and teacher education, advocacy and social justice. She is also President-Elect (2017-2018) of TESOL International Association. Given her tremendous expertise surrounding ELLs, she will work with iCivics to help make the game, and the important text therein, accessible to all learners.
- Dina Gillo-Whitaker is the Policy Director and Senior Research Associate at the Center for World Indigenous Studies and is a frequent contributor and columnist at Indian Media Network. She also co-authored, *All The Real Indians Died Off*, with Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz. Her research interests focus on Indigenous nationalism, self-determination, environmental justice, and education, and she is one of few scholars who has written about the role played by Native Americans, particularly the Iroquois Confederacy, in shaping of the U.S. Constitution. For this reason, her expertise is critically important to presenting a critical and underrepresented perspective to this project.
- Lorri Glover is the John Francis Bannon Endowed Chair at Saint Louis University, and past president of the Southern Association for Women Historians. Her latest book is the *Fate of the Revolution: Virginians Debate the Constitution* (2016), which represents another important contribution to the founding era scholarship representing the perspectives of the South. It is in this realm primarily that she will advise this project.
- Joseph Kahne is the Ted and Jo Dutton Professor of Education Policy and Politics at the University of California, Riverside. He is also Chair of the MacArthur Foundation Research Network on Youth and Participatory Politics. Among his diverse scholarly pursuits, Dr. Kahne studies ways that curriculum and school policies can improve the quality and equality of youth civic engagement. It is primarily in his understanding of issues of equality, that we expect him to advise the project, as well as in his expertise on the ways participation with digital media is shaping youth civic and political engagement.
- John Kaminsky is the Director of the Center for the Study of the American Constitution at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, which he founded in 1981. He has edited *The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution* for which 29 volumes have been published to date. He has written dozens of articles and published another twenty-six books on the Constitution, the

Bill of Rights, the federal judiciary, the Founding Fathers, and slavery, including *A Necessary Evil?: Slavery and the Debate of the Constitution*. It is in this last regard that Dr. Kaminski will be most beneficial to this project, advising the team on matters of race and slavery during the ratification debates.

- Stuart Leibiger is professor and chair of the History Department at La Salle University. He has written extensively on the Founding Fathers for newspapers, historical magazines and journals, and has been a historical consultant for television documentaries and museums. He also has a lot of experience working with in-service teachers to promote their understanding of the Founding era. Alongside other scholars, he will collaborate with iCivics to identify and summarize the many Federalist and Anti-Federalist points of view in each state ratification contest.
- Linda Monk is a constitutional scholar and journalist who has twice received the American Bar Association's Silver Gavel Award, its highest honor for public education about the law. Her books include *The Words We Live By: Your Annotated Guide to the Constitution*, *Ordinary Americans: U.S. History Through the Eyes of Everyday People*, and *The Bill of Rights: A User's Guide*, which are go-to resources in the classroom libraries of social studies teachers across the country. Her ability to make the complex language of foundational text accessible to all learners is precisely why she is a perfect fit for this educational project.
- David Simkins is an assistant professor of game design and development at the Rochester Institute of Technology. His research lies at the intersection of learning, role playing games, and ethics. He has published research on development of cognitive empathy and critical ethical reasoning in role-playing games. He will collaborate with iCivics to ensure the game regularly and intentionally engages students in the historical content, while also nurturing their cognitive and socio-empathetic skills.
- Benjamin Stokes is an assistant professor in the School of Communication at American University in Washington, D.C. where he studies civic games at the AU Game Lab. Previously, he co-founded Games for Change, the movement hub for advancing social change with games. His current research considers how games can strengthen neighborhoods, build community, and deepen our sense of place. Alongside Dr. Simkins, he will collaborate with iCivics to ensure the game engages students in the historical content that is placed within contemporary regional groupings and communities.

H) Production team:

- Kelly Whitney, Ed.D., Chief Product Officer, iCivics. Dr. Whitney will lead the product development efforts, bridging the content, production, technology and web teams. She will also oversee the administrative components of the grant.
- Emma Humphries, Ph.D., Chief Education Officer, iCivics. Dr. Humphries will be the creative lead for the project, and will oversee creation of the course material and the successful dissemination of the full gaming resource within our national networks and partnerships.
- Carrie Ray-Hill, Director of Content, iCivics. Carrie Ray-Hill will provide significant oversight as the curriculum lead for the pedagogical and content selection of the game. She will act as the liaison between the academic advisers and Filament Games, as well as help conduct testing of the new offering throughout the development phase.
- Nash Kamal, Principal Engineer, iCivics. As iCivics' web lead, Nash Kamal will bring 15 years of technical product development expertise to this project. He will be responsible for full integration of the new game onto the iCivics website, and the iOS and Android platforms. Finally, he will collaborate with the Content and Production Teams to troubleshoot any issues with user-access.
- Dan Norton, Chief Creative Officer, Filament Games. He will specialize in crafting the educational game design documents and storyboards framed around the game's identified learning objectives.
- Alex Stone, Chief Technology Officer, Filament Games. Alex will oversee the technical aspects of game development and work closely with iCivics' web team to ensure a smooth launch of game.

I) State of the Project

The *Ratification* game represents a new stage in iCivics' game development. We feel that the National Endowment for the Humanities would be the ideal partner and collaborator for this endeavor. While we have built many successful games, this will be the first truly historical game that we have created, and the first iCivics game to represent a multiplicity of perspectives and themes. The complexity of the game and the historical content is a new exciting endeavor.

Our curriculum team has laid the groundwork for curriculum development, including historical research, learning objectives, and state standards (in civics, history, and government). We have discussed the ideas and design with some experts from our iCivics Advisory Board, and we are at the point that we are ready to convene a broader panel of experts to deeply inform our content choices. We have pulled together some great minds and are eager to begin collaborating with our scholars.

From a product development perspective, *Ratification: The Great Debate* is ready to move into production with our most reliable partner: Filament Games. iCivics has worked with Filament Games on 18 of our 19 existing games. Our collaboration has been one of the most innovative partnerships in education: since 2009, our games have been played over 56 million times! Multiple research projects have proven the games' effectiveness: iCivics strengthens students' civic knowledge and skills, strengthens their argumentative writing, and makes them more motivated to learn (see Appendix B in the Design Document).

Filament and iCivics have already conducted game development meetings for this game: iterating the game concept, historical relevancy, content goals, gameplay, and game mechanics. The game concept has developed through several stages, initially starting as a debate, moving into a vision of a mapping challenge, and eventually ending up with the present design of newspaper editor. Filament's design team has created some initial artwork for the game based on the iCivics brand and design.

Finally, as Alexander Hamilton (*Federalist Paper 65*) wrote, "If mankind were to resolve to agree in no institution of government, until every part of it had been adjusted to the most exact standard of perfection, society would soon become a general scene of anarchy, and the world a desert." Similarly, if we were to wait until we had every aspect of pre-production ready to initiate production, we would have no educational games. We are well begun, and eager to work. The design of *Ratification* brings together many pieces that iCivics has been honing for some time, including engaging game play, civic skills, historical perspectives, critical thinking, and primary sources. We would be honored to undertake this next phase of iCivics' evolution with the National Endowment for the Humanities.

J) Work plan

Design & Production: Our plan is to complete our prototyping of this game on a rapid development cycle, and produce the game through multiple iterations of sprints and playtesting. The goal will be to reach full release within 20 months of initiating the grant. We will paper prototype and complete concept development in the first six months of production, working with our experts in working groups. In the subsequent fourteen months we will cycle the games through alpha, beta, and gold stages, doing playtesting and iterative improvements at each stage. iCivics would begin work in January 2018 and close out the grant in August 2019.

Blueprint for Scholarly Involvement: Our method of working with scholars has enabled us to integrate thoughtful scholarship and development on previous projects. Upon initiating the project, each chosen scholar will participate in a targeted interview about their expertise on the project's content areas. After these conversations, iCivics will establish three working groups to allow scholars to interact and challenge one another's assumptions and ideas. The planned working groups for this project are: (1) Humanities-Focused Game Design, (2) Unique Perspectives, (3) Historical Content. It is possible some scholars will be invited to join more than one working group, or to be a "guest expert" at meetings of other groups. Scholars will be consulted regularly and will contribute to the project individually and through their working groups.

Please find our detailed work plan appended at the end of this document (Appendix A).

K) Organization profile

iCivics exists to engage students in meaningful civic learning. Founded in 2009 by Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, iCivics provides quality civic education to young people through innovative online video-games and classroom resources. Our curriculum engages students. They get to experience civic roles and have agency to address real-world issues – and they have fun in the process. iCivics (1) excites young people for government and civic life; (2) strengthens civic knowledge and critical thinking skills; (3) is a practical and reliable resource for civics teachers. iCivics will partner with Filament Games, its long-trusted educational game company based in Madison, Wisconsin to develop the project. They are a full-service design studio with a wide range of capabilities in game, web, and interactive development.

L) Fundraising plan

iCivics continues to grow exponentially. We are a model of success in delivering high-quality civic education through games. iCivics requests \$400,000 from the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) to cover all direct costs related to the development and production of this digital project, and its wide dissemination among teachers and students.

While all direct costs to create the proposed game *Ratification: The Great Debate* would be covered by NEH, this unique project is part of iCivics' larger strategic goals: to expand our reach in civics classrooms and to deepen our impact on students' civic learning and engagement. Given our scale and the investment required, our long-term sustainability is our first priority. iCivics is expanding its curriculum into high school all while continually evolving our brand and visibility as a leader in civic education. For this reason, iCivics has managed to secure important investments this year, listed below, to advance these larger goals:

- Bernstein Family Foundation: \$30,000
- Charles Evan Hughes Memorial Foundation: \$50,000
- ESA Foundation: \$50,000
- Lincoln and Therese Filene Foundation: \$5,000
- Norman Raab Foundation: \$25,000
- Ford Foundation: \$200,000
- William and Flora Hewlett Foundation: \$250,000
- Kenan Charitable Trust: \$250,000
- Library of Congress: \$375,415.44
- National Association of Counties (NACO): \$450,000

In addition, iCivics receives approximately \$40,000/month in-kind support from Google in the form of Google Ads. These help us promote new product releases year-round among our target teacher and parent audiences and retain large visibility.

Appendix A: Detailed Work Plan

Timeline	Key Activity	Description	Personnel
January 2018	Full project team kick-off	We will communicate project goals, establish working groups, timelines, expectations, and deadlines with the scholars Advisory Board and our Production Team.	Kelly & Emma
January – February 2018	Interviews & Working Groups	Interview scholars individually about critical questions. Establish working groups	Emma
February 2018	Monthly Activity	Weekly iCivics Meeting Weekly Filament Meeting Bi-weekly Scholarly Working Groups	Kelly Carrie Emma
Jan 2018 - March 2018	Curriculum Development	iCivics curriculum team will explore the key aspects of learning standards and focus on clear learning objectives	Carrie
March 2018	Monthly Activity	Weekly iCivics Meeting Weekly Filament Meeting Bi-weekly Scholarly Working Groups	Kelly Carrie Emma
Feb 2018 – April 2018	Initiation	- Establish the product vision, the target audience, external requirements, minimum viable product. - Initial pitches and brainstorming. Then we will move onto the initial design phase.	Carrie with Filament
April 2018	Monthly Activity	Weekly iCivics Meeting Weekly Filament Meeting Bi-weekly Scholarly Working Groups	Kelly Carrie Emma
May 2018	Monthly Activity	Weekly iCivics Meeting Weekly Filament Meeting Bi-weekly Scholarly Working Groups	Kelly Carrie Emma
May 2018- June 2018	Advanced Prototyping	Establish paper prototypes and key design features	Carrie with Filament
June 2018	Monthly Activity	Weekly iCivics Meeting Weekly Filament Meeting Bi-weekly Scholarly Working Groups	Kelly Carrie Emma
July 2018	Begin Design Phase	We bring all of the developers, stakeholders, and other personnel up to speed. Collaborate on key materials like a game design document, storyboards, and concept art that help share the vision of the product and allow us to gather early feedback from end users.	Carrie with Filament
July- December 2018	Monthly Activity	Weekly iCivics Meeting Weekly Filament Meeting Bi-weekly Scholarly Working Groups	Kelly Carrie Emma

August 2018 – December 2018	Alpha Phase - a usable, efficacious, and engaging experience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - New player in the target audience with minimal external guidance can play the game - Art and UI are sufficient for players to be motivated to play through the core loop - Game performance is minimally viable on the primary target platform - Player in the target audience indicates a desire to continue playing on their own - Key sound effects are implemented - The core gameplay loop obviously demonstrates learning integration into play mechanics 	Carrie with Filament
January – June 2019	Monthly Activity	Weekly iCivics Meeting Weekly Filament Meeting Monthly Scholarly Working Groups	Kelly Carrie Emma
January 2019 – February 2019	Beta Phase - a beautiful, feature, and content complete experience.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - All art assets match the style guide - A majority of new players can play without external guidance - Game runs at the target framerate in a majority of tested scenarios - Game remains playable in all tested scenarios - Features and content are complete - UI is complete 	Carrie with Filament
January-May 2019	Outreach Planning	Campaign and outreach planning; marketing plan and resources	Emma
March 2019 – April 2019	Gold Phase - a polished experience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - All new players can play without external guidance - Game is in excellent shape - All sound effects and voice overs are levelled - There is a sufficient variety of sound effects and music - The game runs at the target frame rate in all tested scenarios 	Carrie with Filament
May 2019	Quality Assurance	Internal Filament QA	Filament
June 2019	Launch	Game and curriculum launch on icivics.org	Kelly & Carrie
July 2019	Administration	Final Team Meeting that includes scholars and Filament	All
July 2019	Outreach and Engagement	Promotional plan executed; iCivics begins generating product demand	Emma
August 2019	Promotional Campaign	Launching of full-scale dissemination campaign during back-to-school; collect user-stories	Emma

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Emma Kiziah Humphries, Ph.D. | Chief Engagement Officer

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EDUCATION

Ph.D., Curriculum and Instruction, *University of Florida*, 2012

M.Ed., Social Studies Education, *University of Florida*, 2005

B.A., Political Science, *University of Florida*, 2004

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Chief Engagement Officer, *iCivics*, February 2016 through present

- Support a nationwide network of volunteers to inspire and train state, district, and local educators
- Increase awareness among teachers about the existence of new iCivics resources
- Develop, shepherd, and administer teacher professional development programs
- Build relationships with key state partners and support with their needs to help grow iCivics' presence in their states
- Sustain a continuous conversation with the iCivics community across multiple channels to build engagement and enthusiasm

Civic Engagement Coordinator, *Bob Graham Center for Public Service*, August 2011 to January 2016

- Worked with Center and Campus leadership to promote civic engagement at the University of Florida by developing, implementing, and coordinating innovative programs for students
- Coordinated, grew, and restructured the popular Graham Civic Scholars research program to include additional opportunities for service learning and in-depth research
- Launched the Healthy Civic Campus and Community (Healthy 3C) Initiative, providing \$5K annually to the most promising student proposals to improve civic culture and engagement
- Created and delivered an award-winning, online citizenship course entitled "Rethinking Citizenship: Identity, Collaboration, and Action"
- Worked with campus and business partners to propose and develop content for an interactive platform called Civics Nation, which aims to support middle school students, as well as their teachers and parents, in preparing for and passing the Civics end-of-course examination in Florida
- Advised a number of civic-oriented student groups including the Andrew Goodman Vote Everywhere Ambassadors, Gators of Tomorrow, Public Leadership Society, and the National Society for Leadership and Success

Instructional Consultant, *Florida Joint Center for Citizenship*, January 2009 to August 2011

- Worked with inservice teachers across the state in civics pedagogy and professional development
- Created pedagogy videos for online professional development program
- Co-authored a yearlong curriculum for a seventh grade 'Applied Civics' course
- In collaboration with the Florida Virtual School, co-authored a five-hour online professional development course on the Next Generation Sunshine State Standards

National Educator Outreach Member, *The Bill of Rights Institute*, October 2008 to August 2011

- Conducted state and local in-service training programs using Bill of Rights Institute materials
- Represented the Bill of Rights Institute at state and local conferences

Intern Supervisor, *University of Florida*, January 2009 to May 2011

- Supervised student teachers in the Social Studies ProTeach M.Ed. program during their nine-week internship

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Instructor, *University of Florida*, January 2013 to December 2015

- Developed, maintained, and taught an online civics course, *Rethinking Citizenship: Identity, Action, and Collaboration*, to UF residential students, UF Online students, and high-achieving high school students in the state

- Co-developed and co-taught a hybrid Honors course, *Summer in the City*, to incoming UF Honors to encourage and empower local activism and engagement.

Adjunct Lecturer, *University of Florida*, December 2011 to August 2013

- Taught one Social Foundations course for the Elementary ProTeach B.A. and M.Ed. program: *The Role of Schools in a Democracy*

Graduate Assistant, *University of Florida*, May 2008 to December 2011

- Taught three courses for the Social Studies ProTeach M.Ed. program: *Practicum in Social Studies Education*, *Classroom Practices*, and *Methods in Civics and Government*
- Taught one Social Foundations course for the Elementary ProTeach B.A. and M.Ed. program: *The Role of Schools in a Democracy*

Classroom Teacher, *School District of Clay County*, August 2005 to June 2008

- Taught Civics, American History, and Advanced Placement U.S. Government and Politics
- Chaired the 2007-2008 SACS-CASI School Accreditation Committee
- Served as advisor to Student Government and the district's YMCA Youth in Government team

Classroom Teacher, *School Board of Alachua County*, January 2005 to March 2005

- Taught Advanced Placement U.S. Government and Politics and Honors American History

SERVICE

2014-present, Advisory Board Member, St. Johns County Academy of Future Teachers, Chair: Aug. 2015 through present

2013-present, Peer Reviewer, *Journal of Research on Technology in Education*

2011-2013, Peer Reviewer, *Theory and Research in Social Education*

2011-2012, Peer Reviewer, *Qualitative Inquiry*

2009-2011, Judge, Alachua County History Day, *Fort Clarke Middle School*

AWARDS AND HONORS

University of Florida Excellence in Online Teaching Award, Category: Innovation, Awarded May 2013

University of Florida Alumni Fellowship for Doctoral Study, Awarded May 2008

The Bill of Rights Institute's George Washington Prize for Teaching America's Founding, Awarded October 2007

James Madison Memorial Foundation Fellowship, Awarded April 2004

Phi Kappa Phi International Honor Society, Inducted November 2003

Golden Key International Honor Society, Inducted October 2003

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

American Educational Research Association

College and University Faculty Assembly

National Council for the Social Studies

National Council for History Education

Florida Council for the Social Studies

KELLY LEAHY WHITNEY, ED.D.

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CONTENT & PRODUCT DEVELOPMENT EXPERIENCE

iCivics. Washington, D.C. <i>Chief Product Officer</i>	2015-present
PBS. Arlington, VA <i>Director, Curriculum, Content, PBS LearningMedia</i>	2013-2015
Animation Collective. New York, NY <i>Supervising Producer</i>	2004-2005
Discovery Kids, Discovery Communications. New York, NY <i>Associate Producer</i> (2003-2004). <i>Consultant</i> (2002-2003).	2002-2004
Nickelodeon, Viacom. New York, NY <i>Manager, Nick Jr. Current Series and Development</i> (2000-2001). <i>Project Manager, Production Management</i> (1999-2000). <i>Coordinator, Production Management</i> (1998-1999).	1998-2001

ACADEMIC EXPERIENCE (FACULTY & RESEARCH)

Harvard University, Cambridge, MA <i>Teaching Fellow, Graduate School of Education</i> <i>Research Assistant, Understandings of Consequence Project, Project Zero, PI: Tina Grotzer</i>	2005-2013
Lasell College, Newton, MA <i>Adjunct Lecturer, Communications Department</i>	2011-2013
MIT, Cambridge, MA <i>Project New Media Literacies, Comparative Media Studies Department. PI: Henry Jenkins</i> <i>Project Manager</i> (2008-2009). <i>Research Coordinator</i> (2007-2008). <i>Consultant</i> (2007).	2007-2009

EDUCATION

Harvard University Graduate School of Education, Cambridge, MA
Doctor of Education, Cultures and Communities awarded 2013
Thesis: *Traditional and Technological Enrichment: Preschool Parents and Emerging Digital Products*
Awards: Fred Rogers Memorial Scholarship, ATAS, 2012; Emma Gildersleeve Lane Scholarship, Harvard University, 2011, 2012; Roy E. Larsen Fellowship, Harvard University, 2006.

Harvard University Graduate School of Education, Cambridge, MA
Master of Education, Special Studies awarded 2006
Studies focused on child development & cognition, technology and innovation

Northwestern University School of Communication, Evanston, IL
Bachelor of Science, Theater Arts awarded 1997
Residencies: Playwrights Horizons (NY) & Steppenwolf Theater (Chicago)

KELLY LEAHY WHITNEY, ED.D.

GOVERNING BOARDS, ADVISORY BOARDS, SPECIAL COMMITTEES

National Association for Media Literacy Education, Governing Board Member August 2014-present

American Association of Pediatrics: Children's Digital Media Alliance, Advisor: 2015-present

White House, Office of Domestic Policy. *Education Leaders on Civic Engagement*. May 2016

White House, Office of Science and Technology Policy. *Games for Innovating Learning and Assessment*. December 2015

PAPERS & PRESENTATIONS

SXSWedu. (2016). *Modern Social Studies: New Standards, New Tools*. Panelist, Austin, TX.

Harvard University. (2016). *Educational Product Design: Ideation, Innovation, and iCivics*. Invited lecture, Cambridge, MA.

George Mason University. (2015). *Educational Industry Perspectives*. Guest panelist, Fairfax, VA.

National Association for Media Literacy Education Conference. (2015). *Celebrating Media Literacy Education in Early Childhood*. Panel Chair. Philadelphia, PA.

Florida Technology Education Conference. (2015). *Cultivate Innovative Thinking with Digital Media*. Presentation, Orlando, FL.

PBS Digital Innovators Summit. (2014). *Innovation and Stations*. Presentation, Arlington, VA.

PBS Digital Innovators Summit. (2014). *Pedagogy + Technology + Content = Success*. Presentation, Arlington, VA.

Harvard Graduate School of Education. (2012). *Parents' Perspectives of Emerging Technology & Enrichment: Preliminary Findings*. Invited lecture, Cambridge, MA.

Ed Tech Up. (2012). *Early Education & Technology: How Technology is Shaping the Way Youngsters Learn*. Guest Panelist, Boston, MA.

E-Learning. (2009). Book Review of Jim Gee's *Good Video Games + Good Learning*. Volume 6 (1).

London School of Economics (2008). *Participatory Culture and Transmedia Navigation: What Mobile Technology can Teach us about New Media Literacies*. Presentation, London, UK: Media@LSE.

Harvard Graduate School of Education (2008). *Pitching Project Ideas to Industry Executives*. Cambridge, MA: Invited Lecture, Media and Education course.

International Conference of the Learning Sciences. (2006) *FlowBlocks as a Conceptual Bridge between Understanding the Structure and Behavior of a Complex Causal System*. Presentation, Bloomington, IN.

Nash Kamal

e-mail: (b) (6)

Phone: (b) (6)

Summary

I am an experienced software engineer with strong quantitative, analytical, and software development skills with an in-depth understanding of algorithms, design patterns and development methodologies.

Summary of Qualifications

- Extensive experience in full stack web application development using a wide range of frameworks and technologies such as Python / Django, PHP / CakePHP, and Java / J2EE
- Experience with a number of Content Management Systems such as Drupal, Wordpress, and DjangoCMS
- Designed and developed modern web frontends using Javascript, JQuery, Angularjs, node.js, MEAN stack, Extjs, D3, HTML5, CSS3 etc.
- Experience with large scale data processing for analytics with Hadoop, Cassandra and Spark. Comfortable with Relational Databases (MySQL / Postgres) as well as NoSQL databases such as MongoDB / Redis
- Strong grasp of a wide range of software development domains including Object Oriented / Functional Programming, Concurrency, Usability, Scalability, Reliability, and Maintainability
- Development Methodology / Environment: Scrum/XP based agile development in Linux/Unix (OSX) with Git and Jenkins

Work Experience

Independent Consultant

Feb 2014 – Current

Projects and Responsibilities:

Work with early stage software startups to define, design, and implement the fundamental technology infrastructure to help them launch the beta version quickly.

Using highly customized CMS (Drupal) and best of the breed back-end technology stack to rapidly design and implement functional requirements and iterate in an agile development environment.

Software Architect
Aug 2012 – Feb 2014
GNS Healthcare
Cambridge, MA

Projects and Responsibilities:

Developed healthcare analytics and visualization applications to help researchers and healthcare professionals gain insight from large-scale patient data

Designed and implemented the infrastructure for a machine learning platform and web based interactive tools for analysis and visualization of models built by the platform

Software Development Lead
Aug 2007 – Aug 2012
SAP BusinessObject
Cambridge, MA

Projects and Responsibilities:

Developed a highly interactive advanced analytics and visualization application prototypes that utilize real-time analytics features of SAP in-memory database HANA.

Developed a scalable data service layer in Python and Java to interface with a proprietary analytics engine

Designed and implemented a number of highly interactive UI features utilizing cutting edge HTML5 and Javascript technologies

Senior Software Engineer
Dec 2004 - Aug 2007
Amazon.com
Seattle, WA

Projects and Responsibilities:

Designed and implemented a suite of analytics tools and dashboards for gathering Business Intelligence from click streams and online transaction data

Developed highly scalable and available distributed services utilizing custom messaging frameworks

Relevant Experience

Director of Content, iCivics

Washington, DC and Madison, WI

November 2010-Present

- Oversees the conceptualization and development of iCivics' educational resources, with a particular concern for teacher usability
- Directs curriculum strategy and development for iCivics.org; develops lessons, classroom activities, and digital learning tools to support high quality civic instruction
- Manages the game development process from design through production; determines learning goals, shape design, and write content
- Supervises curriculum team members, contractors, interns, and volunteers

Head Teacher/Humanities Coordinator, City Collegiate Public Charter School

Washington, DC

August 2007 – June 2010

- Developed and taught social studies and English courses centered around primary documents, literature, art, technology and cooperative learning
- Engaged students in the community with a journalism club, guest speakers, field trips, volunteerism, visits with ambassadors of Cote d'Ivoire, Cameroon and others
- Assisted with staff management, represented CCPCS in community, partnership, and school board settings; Mentored teacher-practicum students from American University and George Washington University

Education

Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville, Illinois

B.A. Cum Laude, Historical Studies, August 1998-May 2002

Completed the Illinois Secondary Teaching Certification program. Completed 30 hours of coursework toward M.A. in Historical Studies.

Selected Publications and Media

- Humphries, Emma, and Carrie Ray-Hill. "Beyond the Election: Teaching Civics in 2017." *School Library Connection*. 31 January, 2017. Web.
- Norton, Dan, and Brandon Pittser. "Filament Games Podcast 16: Win the White House." Audio blog post. Filament Games, 16 March, 2016. Web.
- Dubé, Louise, and Carrie Ray-Hill. "Would a Kid Make a Better President?" *Getting Smart* (2016): www.gettingsmart.com. 6 June 2016. Web.
- Dubé, Louise, and Carrie Ray-Hill. "What's Jamming at the White House? The 4 P's of Developing Games for the Classroom." *EdSurge* (2014): www.edsurge.com. 12 Sept. 2014. Web.
- Ray-Hill, Carrie, Beth Quinn, and Matt Haselton. *Mobile Congress*. Proc. of Games for Change Festival, NYU, New York City. 2013.
- Ray-Hill, Carrie, and Delila Ben Ammeur. "Telling Youngsters About Sept. 11 Can Be Difficult." *Tell Me More with Michel Martin*. NPR, Washington, DC, 11 Sept. 2008. Radio.



Dan Norton

CHIEF CREATIVE OFFICER

✉ norton@filamentgames.com

☎ (608) 251-0477

SKILLS

- » Game Design
- » Creative Direction
- » UI Design
- » Problem Solving
- » Critical Thinking

ABOUT

Dan Norton is a founding partner of Filament Games and leads game design. Dan has designed games on a broad range of topics, ranging from marine turtle ecology to legal argumentation. His work has garnered multiple awards for its innovation and effectiveness, including the 2010 Joan Ganz Cooney Center's Developer Prize in the STEM Video Game Challenge.

AWARDS

Joan Ganz Cooney STEM Challenge

» 2011

Codie Award for Best Education Game

» 2010

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Filament Games, Madison WI

- » CCO, 2010 - Present
- » Lead Designer, 2006 - 2010

Academic ADL Colab, Madison WI

- » Interactive Instructional Designer, 2002 - 2005



Alex Stone

CHIEF TECHNOLOGY OFFICER

✉ stone@filamentgames.com

☎ (608) 251-0477

SKILLS

- » Agile Production
- » Javascript
- » Databases
- » PHP
- » JIRA

ABOUT

As Filament's founding partner and CTO, Alex has developed core technologies for rapid Flash game development, assembled a top quality web platforms team, and led Filament's mobile app R&D initiatives. He has a decade of experience in web application development and over 8 years of experience designing and developing learning platforms, including learning content repositories and learning management systems. He holds a BS in Computer Science with a specialization in networking from the University of Wisconsin. Alex directs Filament's IT, Web, QA, and engineering departments. On this project, he will act as Account Manager and will provide executive oversight on the project.

EDUCATION

University of Wisconsin - Madison

- » B.S. Computer Science

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Filament Games, Madison WI

- » CTO, 2010 - Present
- » Founding Partner, 2007 - Present
- » Lead Programmer, 2007 - 2010

Academic ADL Colab, Madison WI

- » Technician, 2003 - 2007



May 24, 2017

Louise Dube
iCivics Executive Director
1035 Cambridge Street, Suite 21B
Cambridge, MA 02141

Letter of Support
"Ratifying the Constitution: A Digital Game Opportunity"
Digital Projects for the Public RFP

Dear Louise,

This letter is to confirm Filament Games' interest in assisting you in the development of an educational video game for your NEH grant application entitled "Ratifying the Constitution: A Digital Game Opportunity".

Filament is a full-service game design and production studio that focuses exclusively on learning games. Our prime directive is to create inspiring educational experiences that spark imagination and foster deep learning through exploration and discovery. Our success lies in a development process that tightly integrates commercial game techniques with best practices from curriculum design and the learning sciences. Furthermore, we have extensive experience working with subject matter experts in their respective areas of expertise.

Over the past 12 years, we have built over 115 educational games addressing a wide array of topics. Through these products, and with our partners, we have won a myriad of awards, including SIIA (Software & Information Industry Association) awards for **"Best Education Game or Simulation"**, **"Most Likely to Succeed"** and **"Most Innovative Game"**, as well as earning **"Best Gameplay"** finalist at the Games for Change festival. Furthermore, we have successfully completed several SBIR grants through to commercialization with the Department of Education and the National Science Foundation both as a prime and as a sub-awardee so we bring considerable experience with federal grant programs.

We at Filament are excited about the potential to work on this educational video game with you given our expertise specifically in creating over 20 civics-focused educational video games and our 9-year history of working together. We believe that Filament can provide you the necessary expertise in educational game development, leading to very productive and successful business collaboration.

Sincerely,

Alex Stone
Chief Technology Officer
Filament Games

Joseph Kahne, Ph.D

Ted and Jo Dutton Presidential Chair in Education Policy and Politics
University of California, Riverside | Graduate School of Education | 900 University Ave.
Riverside, CA 92521

(E) jkahne@ucr.edu | www.civicsurvey.org | <http://ypp.dmlcentral.net> | <http://eddaoakland.org>

EDUCATION

1993 Ph.D., School of Education, Stanford University.
1991 M.A., Political Science, Stanford University.
1986 B.A., Economics, Wesleyan University.

RESEARCH INTERESTS

Democratic and Civic Education, Educational Reform and Policy, Digital Media, Urban, Youth Development.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Ted and Jo Dutton Endowed Presidential Chair for Education Policy and Politics. School of Education. UC Riverside. (2016-Present).

Professor of Educational Leadership, Mills College (2002- 2016).

Visiting Scholar, Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (2014-15).

Dean, School of Education, Mills College (2006-2009)

Founding Director of the Doctoral Program in Educational Leadership, Mills College (1999-2006).

Founding Director, Institute for Civic Leadership, Mills College (2000 – 2005).

Associate Professor of Education, Mills College (1999-2002).

Asst. and Assoc. Professor of Education, University of Illinois at Chicago (1993 - 1999).

Teacher of Social Studies, New York City Public Schools (1986 - 1988).

Current Advisory Responsibilities

Spencer Foundation: The New Civics Initiative. Senior Advisor. (2011-Present).

National Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools. Member of Steering Committee. 2008-Present.

iCivics Advisory Board. Member. 2015-Present.

Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning (CIRCLE), Member of Advisory Board. 2001- Present.

Chicago Public Schools Civic Engagement Council of Advisors. Member. 2016-Present.

Generation Citizen, Member of Research Advisory Board. (2011-Present).

Walter and Leonore Annenberg Presidential Learning Center. Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation. Advisory Board (2013- 2015).

AWARDS

Civic Action Award (2014). California Council of the Social Studies.

Knight Fellow for Civic Engagement in Higher Education (2011). Bob Graham Center for Public Service.

The Outstanding Publication Award on Program Evaluation (2007). Division H of AERA. (for paper written with Sue Sporte, Marisa de la Torre, and John Easton).

Outstanding Paper of the Year Award. (2003). From the Research in Social Studies special interest group of the American Educational Research Association. (For paper written with Joel Westheimer).

Outstanding Paper of 2002 award from the American Political Science Association (APSA), Division on Teaching and Learning. (For paper written with Joel Westheimer).

PUBLICATIONS

Books:

Kahne, J. (1996). Reframing Educational Policy: Democracy, Community, and the Individual. New York: Teachers College Press.

Selected Journal Articles and Book Chapters:

Kahne, J. & B.T. Bowyer (2016). *Civic Education in a Partisan Age: Confronting the Challenges of Motivated Reasoning and Misinformation*. American Educational Research Journal.

Kahne, J., Hodgins, E., Eidman-Aadahl, E. (2016). Redesigning Civic Education for the Digital Age: In Pursuit of Equitable and Impactful Democratic Education. Theory and Research in Social Education. 44:1, 1-35.

Kahne, J., Middaugh, E., and Evans, C. (2009). *The Civic Potential of Video Games*. The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation Reports on Digital Media and Learning. Cambridge. MIT Press.

Selected Recent Presentations

Kahne, J. (2016, February). The Practice of Politics Has Changed: Educating for Democracy in the Digital Age. Invited Address at Harvard University, Graduate School of Education.

Kahne, J. (2014). Educating for Democracy in the Digital Age. National Council of the Social Studies. Boston, November.



900 University Avenue
1207 Sproul Hall
Riverside, CA 92521
Tel 951.827.5802
Fax 951.827.3942
education.ucr.edu

June 2, 2017

To Whom it May Concern:

I write to express my strong support for iCivics' proposed project, "*Ratification: The Great Debate*."

Over the past decade, iCivics has distributed some of the most widespread civics education curriculum – especially for middle and high school students. The curriculum is traditional, in the sense that it promotes broad and long agreed upon educational priorities. And it is innovative, in that it has leveraged the power of youth interest in video games as a means of efficiently providing engaging instruction to literally millions of youth.

This game that is proposed strikes me as a needed addition and one that educators will want to use. It will provide an engaging way to help students develop deep understanding of an historically important topic – one that is foundational for our constitutional democracy. It will also teach valuable skills. I therefore thoroughly applaud this effort and I look forward to working with them.

If any additional information might be helpful, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "Joseph Kahne".

Joseph Kahne
Ted and Jo Dutton Professor of Policy and Politics
UC Riverside Graduate School of Education
Riverside, CA 92521

JOHN P. KAMINSKI
Department of History, University of Wisconsin-Madison
432 East Campus Mall, Madison, WI 53706
Tel. 608-263-1865 FAX 608-263-5302
E-mail: jpkamins@wisc.edu

Education

January 1972	Ph.D., University of Wisconsin-Madison
1966-1967	B.S. and M.S., Illinois State University at Normal

Experience

1981-present	Founder and Director, The Center for the Study of the American Constitution, University of Wisconsin-Madison
1980-present	Director and Co-editor, <i>The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution</i> , University of Wisconsin-Madison
1970-1980	Associate Editor, <i>The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution</i> , University of Wisconsin-Madison

Books

Editor, *Alexander Hamilton : From Obscurity to Greatness* (Madison, 2016).

Editor, *Adams and Jefferson: Contrasting Aspirations and Anxieties from the Founding* (Madison, Wis., 2013).

Co-editor, *William Pierce on the Constitutional Convention and the Constitution: Notes of Debates, Sketches of Delegates, and Writings on the Constitution* (Dallas, Texas, 2012).

Co-editor, *An Assembly of Demigods: Word Portraits of the Delegates to the Constitutional Convention by Their Contemporaries* (Madison, Wis., 2012).

Co-editor, *The Constitution before the Judgment Seat: The Prehistory and Ratification of the American Constitution, 1787-1791* (Charlottesville, 2012).

The Great Virginia Triumvirate: George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison (Charlottesville, Va., 2010).

Editor, *The Quotable Abigail Adams* (Cambridge, Mass., 2009).

Editor, *The Founders on the Founders: Word Portraits from the American Revolutionary Era* (Charlottesville, Va., 2008).

Abigail Adams: An American Heroine (Madison, Wis., 2007).

Lafayette: The Boy General (Madison, Wis., 2007).

James Madison: Champion of Liberty and Justice (Madison, Wis., 2006).

Editor, *The Quotable Jefferson* (Princeton, 2006).

Thomas Jefferson: Philosopher and Politician (Madison, Wis., 2005).

George Washington: "The Man of the Age" (Madison, Wis., 2004).

Editor, *Citizen Paine: Thomas Paine's Thoughts on Man, Government, Society, and Religion* (Lanham, Md., 2002).

Editor, *Jefferson in Love: The Love Letters between Thomas Jefferson and Maria Cosway* (Madison, Wis., 1999).

Editor, *A Necessary Evil? Slavery and the Debates over the Constitution* (Madison, Wis., 1995).

Editor, *Citizen Jefferson: The Wit and Wisdom of an American Sage* (Madison, Wis., 1994).

Governor George Clinton: Yeoman Politician of the New Republic (Madison, Wis., 1993). Recipient of Fraunces Tavern Museum Book Award Honorable Mention.

Co-editor, *The Bill of Rights and the States: The Colonial and Revolution Origins of American Liberties* (Madison, Wis., 1992). Recipient of Fraunces Tavern Museum Book Award.

Co-editor, *Creating the Constitution: A History in Documents* (Madison, Wis., 1991; second edition, Acton, Mass., 1999).

Paper Politics: The Northern State Loan Offices During the Confederation, 1783–1790 (New York, 1989).

Co-editor, *A Great and Good Man: George Washington in the Eyes of His Contemporaries* (Madison, Wis., 1989).

Co-editor, *Federalists and Antifederalists: The Debate Over the Ratification of the Constitution* (Madison, Wis., 1989; 2nd ed., 1998).

Co-editor, *The Constitution and the States: The Role of the Original Thirteen in the Framing and Adoption of the Federal Constitution* (Madison, Wis., 1988). Recipient of Fraunces Tavern Museum Book Award.

Co-editor, *The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution* (21 vols. to date, Madison, Wis., 1981–).

Associate editor, *The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution* (3 vols., Madison, Wis., 1976–1978).

Articles

“Preserving the Alliance: The Artful Diplomacy of Benjamin Franklin,” *Documentary Editing* 32 (2011).

“A Felicity of Expression: Metaphors, Similes, and the Poetry of Thomas Jefferson,” *Wisconsin People & Ideas* 54 (Summer 2008).

“Duty and Justice at ‘Every Man’s Door’: The Grand Jury Charges of Chief Justice John Jay, 1790–1794,” *Journal of Supreme Court History* 31:3 (2006).

“The Empire State: The Antifederalist and Federalist Perspectives,” *New York Legal History* 1 (2005).

“A Rein on Government: New York’s Constitution of 1777 and Bill of Rights of 1787,” *New York Legal History* 1 (2005).

“Religion and the Founding Fathers,” *Annotation* 30:1 (March 2002).

“Honor and Interest: John Jay’s Diplomacy During the Confederation,” *New York History* LXXXIII (Summer 2002).

“Shall we have a king? John Jay and the Politics of Union,” *New York History*, LXXXI (January 2000).

“Restoring the Grand Security: The Debate Over a Federal Bill of Rights, 1787–1792,” *Santa Clara University Law Review*, 33 (1993).

Co-author of ten-part series on the Bill of Rights in the *Milwaukee Sentinel*, October–December 1991.

“The Making of the Bill of Rights: 1787–1792,” in Stephen L. Schechter and Richard B. Bernstein, eds., *Contexts of the Bill of Rights* (Albany, N.Y., 1990).

“The Ratification of the Constitution in Rhode Island,” in Michael Allen Gillespie and Michael Lienesch, eds., *Ratifying the Constitution* (Lawrence, Kan., 1989).

“The Importance of Documents” (ADE Presidential Address), *Documentary Editing*, 9 (December 1987).

University of the Air

Twenty-seven one-hour interviews on Revolutionary era subjects on WHA-Radio

Encyclopedia Entries

Forty-four entries for seventeen encyclopedias

THE DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION
AND THE BILL OF RIGHTS, 1787–1791

Editors

John P. Kaminski
Gaspare J. Saladino
Charles H. Schoenleber
Timothy D. Moore

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Madison, WI 53706
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June 5, 2017

Dr. Emma Humphries
Chief Education Officer, iCivics
1035 Cambridge St., Suite 21B
Cambridge, MA 02141

Dear Dr. Humphries,

Thank you for your recent email message inviting me to participate with iCivics in developing a game called “Ratification: The Great Debate.” From your description, it looks be a challenge to develop and, if done correctly, will be enjoyable and intellectually stimulating to play. Consequently, I look forward to joining with you in developing this new game.

With very best wishes,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "John P. Kaminski". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "John" being particularly prominent.

John P. Kaminski

Stuart Leibiger
leibiger@lasalle.edu
(215) 951-1093

Department of History
La Salle University
Philadelphia, PA 19141

EDUCATION:

- Ph.D. 1995 University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
Dissertation: "Founding Friendship: The George Washington-James Madison Collaboration and the Creation of the American Republic" | (directed by Professor Don Higginbotham)
- M.A. 1989 University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
Thesis: "James Madison and Amendments to the Constitution, 1787-1789" | (directed by Professor Don Higginbotham)
- B.A. 1987 University of Virginia
History, with distinction

AREA OF SPECIALIZATION: Revolutionary and Early National America

Secondary Fields: Political, Constitutional, and Presidential History | U. S. Civil War and Reconstruction

EMPLOYMENT:

- 2007-Present Chair, Department of History, La Salle University
- 2014-Present Tenured Professor, Department of History, LaSalle University
- 2003-2014 Tenured Associate Professor, Department of History, La Salle University
- 2002-Present Associate Professor, Department of History, La Salle University
- 1997-2002 Assistant Professor, Department of History, La Salle University

Selected PUBLICATIONS:

Books:

Volume Editor, *A Companion to James Madison and James Monroe*, Wiley-Blackwell, 2012. This volume is also published as part of the Blackwell Online Reference Collection.

Founding Friendship: George Washington, James Madison, and the Creation of the American Republic, University Press of Virginia, 1999 (softcover ed., 2001, second softcover ed., 2006).

Articles:

“Federation or Confederation: James Madison’s Political Journey,” in Jean Pierre Machelon, ed., *The European Enlightenment, France, and the Formation of the United States Constitution*, Mare and Martin Publishers, France (forthcoming).

“Washington and Lafayette: Father and Son of the Revolution,” in Robert M. S. McDonald, ed., *Sons of the Father: George Washington’s Proteges*, University Press of Virginia (2013), 210-231.

“James Madison’s Political and Constitutional Thought Reconsidered,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 59 (January 2002), 319-25.
(A six-book review essay in the most prestigious early American historical journal, solicited by the editor.)

“Founding Friendship: George Washington, James Madison, and the Creation of the American Republic,” *Annual Editions: American History*, vol. 1, 17th ed., 2002, 76-83 and 18th ed., 2005, 59-66.
(*Annual Editions: American History*, published by Dushkin/McGraw Hill, is a reader for college courses with a yearly run of 7,000 volumes.)

Audio Visual Scripts:

Online Video Scripts for “All other Persons: Slavery and the Constitution,” Presidents and the Constitution website, 2009 (www.Articleii.org).
(A Bill of Rights Institute Website funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities.)

Educational Materials

“Slavery, the Constitution, and the Presidency,” “The American Presidency,” and “Impeachment and the Constitution” in *Presidents and the Constitution*, vols. 1 and 2, The Bill of Rights Institute, 2009-2010, 1:68-70, 2:vi-ix, 106-9. (An Introductory Essay to a volume of lesson plans for high school history teachers, and two chapter Introductory Essays.)

HISTORY CONTENT PRESENTER AT PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT WORKSHOPS FOR TEACHERS:

Since 2003, I have taught historical content at Teacher Development Workshops sponsored by nonprofit organizations, including the Bill of Rights Institute, the National Council for History Education, George Washington’s Mount Vernon, the Center for the Study of the American Constitution, and the David Library of the American Revolution.



SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
History Department

25 May 2017

Dr. Emma Humphries, Chief Education Officer
iCivics
1035 Cambridge Street
Suite 21B
Cambridge, MA 02141

Dear Emma,

I am writing to express my willingness to participate as a history content consultant in iCivics' "Ratification: The Great Debate" project if it is funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities. I would work with iCivics to identify and summarize the many Federalist and Antifederalist points of view in each state ratification contest. These viewpoints would then be used by student gamers as they try to build the best case for the ratification of the Constitution in each state.

As the former Scholar-in-Residence at the highly successful "Shaping the Constitution: A View from Mount Vernon, 1784-1789" NEH Landmarks Workshop from 2004-2009, I have considerable experience working on NEH-funded history education programs. I look forward to bringing my expertise on the Founding Era to iCivics' Ratification game.

I am hopeful that iCivics' application will be successful and I look forward to helping American History and Government students develop a deeper understanding of the immense role that the Ratification debate played in the history and constitutional development of our nation.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads 'Stuart Leibiger'.

Dr. Stuart Leibiger
Professor and Department Chair
215-951-1093
leibiger@lasalle.edu

1900 West Olney Avenue
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
19141-1199 USA

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LINDA R. MONK, J.D.

(b) (6)

linda@lindamonk.com
www.lindamonk.com

MAJOR ACCOMPLISHMENTS

- Constitutional scholar and historian specializing in civic education, with more than 30 years experience developing documentaries, educational materials, and public programs
- Author of award-winning books on the U.S. Constitution, Bill of Rights, and American History that have sold more than 270,000 copies in trade and educational markets
- Op-ed columnist for more than 25 years, with articles published in newspapers nationwide, including the New York Times, Washington Post, Los Angeles Times, Miami Herald, Chicago Tribune, Philadelphia Inquirer, Baltimore Sun, and Huffington Post
- Extensive public speaking and media experience, with more than 100 presentations given at national, regional, and local events—including C-SPAN, MSNBC, Book TV, and NPR
- Series Advisor and website author, PBS documentary *ConstitutionUSA* with Peter Sagal (2013)
- Recommended Reading List Citation, U.S. Air Force Chief of Staff (2012)
- Visiting Scholar, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (2010-2011)
- Executive Committee, U. S. Capitol Historical Society (2007-2011)
- Board of Trustees, Jamestown-Yorktown Foundation (2006-2010)
- Lead Curator, McCormick Tribune Freedom Museum, Chicago (2005-2006)
- Visiting Scholar, National Constitution Center, Philadelphia (Summer 2003)
- Twice winner of the American Bar Association's Silver Gavel Award (1992, 1998), its highest honor for public education about the law
- Winner of American Perspectives Writing Competition on the Bill of Rights (\$15,000 first prize)

EDUCATION

HARVARD LAW SCHOOL, Cambridge, MA. J.D., June 1983. Emphasis in Constitutional Law. *Civil Rights/Civil Liberties Law Review*.

UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI, Oxford, MS. B.A. *summa cum laude*, May 1980. Majors in English and Political Science.

EXPERIENCE

CONSTITUTIONAL SCHOLAR

(Jan 2001 to present)

Washington, DC and New Bern, NC

- Independent scholar working on variety of projects, including those summarized above
- Consultant for multiple museums, including National Constitution Center in Philadelphia, McCormick Freedom Museum in Chicago, and Newseum in Washington, DC
- Appointed by Gov. Tim Kaine to Board of Trustees for Jamestown-Yorktown Foundation museums to celebrate the 400th anniversary of the founding of Virginia
- Veteran teacher trainer for George Washington's Mount Vernon, National Constitution Center, Newseum, National Archives, National History Day, U.S. Capitol Historical Society, University of Delaware, and Philadelphia public schools

CLOSE UP FOUNDATION

(1988-2001)

Alexandria, VA

- Developed civic education materials for students and adults--including books, curriculum units, and service learning programs; solicited funding and wrote grant reports
- Conceptualized and reviewed content of 12 award-winning video documentaries and their teacher's guides on constitutional and historical issues
- Conducted extensive teacher training, delivering more than 50 presentations at national, regional, and state education conferences

NORTHERN VIRGINIA COMMUNITY COLLEGE

(1997)

Fort Belvoir, VA

- Adjunct professor teaching American Government to enlisted personnel

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS

- *The Words We Live By: Your Annotated Guide to the Constitution*. NY: Hachette, 2015, 2003.
- *The Bill of Rights: A User's Guide*, 4th ed. Alexandria, VA: Close Up Publishing, 2004, 1991. Foreword by Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg.
- *Ordinary Americans: U.S. History Through the Eyes of Everyday People*. Alexandria, VA: Close Up Publishing, 2nd ed., 2001. Foreword by Ken Burns, creator of PBS Civil War Series.
- More than 50 articles in professional journals and newspapers, including *History Now*, *Social Education*, *Update on Law-Related Education*, and major newspapers nationwide.

SELECTED PRESENTATIONS

- "Why James Madison Changed His Mind." Smithsonian NMAH, 2016.
- "How North Carolina Saved the Constitution." Tryon Palace, New Bern, NC, 2015.
- "George Washington and the Constitution." Clinton Presidential Library, Little Rock, 2013.
- "The Words We Live By." Keynote, Fulbright Scholars, Philadelphia, 2012 and 2013.
- "A Rising and Not a Setting Sun: George Washington at the Constitutional Convention." Mount Vernon Estate Teacher Institute; 2003-2013.
- Seminar, Executive Action Team, U.S. Air Force Chief of Staff, Pentagon, 2012.
- "Sunshine Patriots and the Rule of Law." Keynote, New York Bar Association Committee for Youth, Law, and Citizenship Conference, 2011.
- "The Words We Live By." Keynote, Illinois State Law-Related Education Conference, 2007.
- "The Constitution as Conversation." Keynote, Texas State LRE Conference, 2007.
- "Constitutional Literacy Begins at Home." American University Law School, 2005.
- "The Bill of Rights: Putting Limits on Democracy." U.S. State Dept. Program for Young Muslim Leaders, National Constitution Center, 2003.
- "The Words We Live By: The Constitution as Conversation." National Archives Author Lecture Series, 2003; Library of Congress, 2003.
- "Free Speech and Public Safety: From the Reign of Terror to Columbine." Newspaper Innovators in Education Awards, National Press Club, 2000.
- "The Fourteenth Amendment and the Protection of Minority Rights." U.S. Information Agency, East Asia Leaders Project, 1999.
- "Founding Principles of the U.S. Constitution." U.S. Information Agency, Guyana Constitutional Reform Commission, 1998.
- "The Rule of Law: An Independent Judiciary." USIA, Young African Leader Project, 1998.

Linda R. Monk, I.D.

(b) (6)

linda@lindamonk.com

June 4, 2017

Dr. Emma Humphries, Chief Education Officer
iCivics
1035 Cambridge Street, Suite 21B
Cambridge, MA 02141

Dear Dr. Humphries:

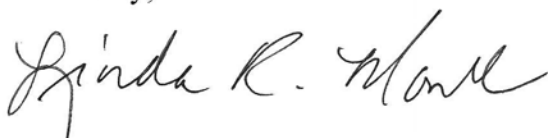
I am delighted to support the iCivics project, "Ratification: The Great Debate," for funding by the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH). If the project is funded, I will participate as a constitutional law scholar, identifying the key arguments for and against the U.S. Constitution in state ratifying conventions--as well as the impact some of these arguments had on later judicial interpretations of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. Students will use these arguments as gamers to develop the best strategies regarding adoption of the proposed U.S. Constitution. In this way, they will learn that the mere writing of the Constitution was not sufficient to make it the "supreme law of the land." Rather, ratification was the "constituent act of the sovereignty" by We the People that did "ordain and establish" the Constitution as the highest bulwark of the rule of law.

In addition, there has been recent historical scholarship indicating that a bill of rights per se was not an important factor in state ratifications of the Constitution (Pauline Meier, Ken Bowling, Ray Raphael, etc.), despite decades of consensus to the contrary. This project offers an opportunity for students to evaluate such evidence themselves and determine how today's much-cherished Bill of Rights was seen in the context of ratification. Given the prevalence of "originalism" in current judicial interpretation, such findings may influence the Supreme Court's explication of these rights in modern contexts.

As a Visiting Scholar at the National Constitution Center (NCC), I developed public programs and trainings for students, teachers, and international visitors. My book, *The Words We Live By: Your Annotated Guide to the Constitution*, was adapted into an online feature for NCC called "The Interactive Constitution," which received more than one million unique visits per year. I have participated in Teaching American History grants administered by the University of Delaware, National History Day, and others.

In sum, I believe this project allows students to access original historical sources and apply them in novel ways that have contemporary applications. To me this is the core civic mission of the humanities, of which I as a constitutional law scholar am proud to be a part.

Sincerely,



Dina Gilio-Whitaker

(b) (6)
(b) (6)

(949) 612-5276

dinagwhitaker@gmail.com | dina@cwis.org www.dinagwhitaker.wordpress.com

Education

University of New Mexico

2011 Master of Arts: American Studies, with Distinction

2009 Bachelor of Arts: Major: Native American Studies, Minor: Political Science

Current Positions

2012 to Present Center for World Indigenous Studies, Policy Director and Senior
Research Associate

2011 to Present *Indian Country Today Media Network*, Contributing Writer

Publications (abbreviated)

Forthcoming

2018/19 *Defending Our Lands: Environmental Justice from Colonization to Standing
Rock*, Beacon Press.

Forthcoming

2017 “The Politics of Indigenous Authenticity in American Surf Culture,” in *Critical Surf
Studies Reader*, edited by Dexter Zavalza Hough-Snee and Alexander Sotelo Eastman, Duke
University Press.

Forthcoming

2017 Mni Wiconi: Teaching the #NoDapl Movement, Native American Sovereignty, and
Indigenous Knowledge in Elementary Classrooms, in *(Re)Imagining Social Studies Education:
Making Controversial Issues Relevant and Possible in the Elementary Classroom*, editors Sarah
Shear et al.

2016 “*All the Real Indians Died Off*” and 20 Other Myths About Native Americans
(co-authored with Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz). Beacon Press, 2016.

2016 “Fourth World Theory and Methods of Inquiry,” in *Handbook on Indigenous
Research Methodologies in Developing Nations*, (co-authored with Rudolph Ryser and Heidi
Bruce), edited by Patrick Ngulube, IGI Global.

Conference Participation and Community-Engaged Scholarship (Abbreviated)

2017 *42nd Annual Northwest Indian Youth Conference*, hosted by Colville
Confederated Tribes, Sun Mountain Lodge, Winthrop, Washington. Invited keynote
speaker, “Native American Youth Activism.”

- 2016 *Indigenous Economic Development*, Session Chair, Native American and Indigenous Studies Association meeting, Honolulu, Hawaii
- 2016 *UnErasing Ourselves and Finding Our Voice*, Youth Empowerment Conference Keynote Speaker, San Diego State University
- 2016 *Will the Real Father of Modern Surfing Please Stand Up: Duke Kahanamoku, George Freeth, and the Politics of Indigenous Authenticity in American Surf Culture*, Surfing Social Hui, University of Waikato, New Zealand
- 2015 *UnErasing the Native in Surfing and Sustainability*, Institute for Women Surfers, Invited speaker, Ventura, Ca.
- 2015 *Earth Lodge at Clarence Lobo Elementary, San Clemente: Teaching Native American Ecology and Knowledge for K-12 Students*, California Native American Day, San Manuel Indian Reservation, Invited speaker
- 2015 *Resisting Boundaries* Session Chair, Native American and Indigenous Studies Association Annual Meeting, Washington D.C.
- 2015 *Fourth World Theory and Methods of Inquiry*, Native American and Indigenous Studies Association Annual Meeting, Washington D.C.
- 2014 *Native American Studies and the History of Capitalism*, Invited speaker for panel at Native American and Indigenous Studies Association (NAISA) Annual Meeting, University of Texas Austin
- 2013 *Post NAS Realities*: Invited speaker at University of New Mexico's Native American Studies annual Viola Cordova Symposium
- 2013 *A Report Back from the North American Indigenous Peoples Caucus Preparatory Meeting for the World Conference on Indigenous Peoples*, University of New Mexico
- 2011 *Comparative Indigenous National Nationalisms: Can Native Hawaiians Become Indians?* First Annual Critical Ethnic Studies Conference, University of California Riverside
- 2010 *The Alcatraz Island Occupation and Indigenous Nationalism*, California American Studies Association, Cal State University Long Beach



June 5, 2017

Dina Gilio-Whitaker Letter of Support

I am pleased to offer this letter of support for ICivics' grant proposal to the National Endowment for the Humanities game development project, "Ratification: The Great Debate."

I have been invited to lend expertise in the role of Indigenous peoples in this very specific episode of American history, as an Indigenous studies scholar. It is well established that the Haudenosaunee, aka Iroquois Confederacy, were looked to as a model of democracy by the Founding Fathers and drafters of the U.S. Constitution, especially Benjamin Franklin and George Washington. In 1988, the two-hundredth anniversary of the signing of the Constitution, Congress issued Concurrent Resolution 331, acknowledging this contribution.

Specifically, the Haudenosaunee's Great Law of Peace served as a model for the nascent republic, demonstrating ways independent political bodies can be bound together in a mutually beneficial confederation that simultaneously respected the autonomy of the individual polities, and the concept of individual rights.

The role of Indigenous peoples in the ratification process is an understudied subject, and including it into the game is an opportunity to advance this research. It is also a way to educate students about the ways Indigenous peoples have democratically governed themselves for millennia, helping to break down harmful stereotypes about Native American inferiority and savagery. It also provides a foundation for students to explore the subject of tribal sovereignty and the government-to-government relationship between tribal nations and the U.S. in today's political and civic landscape.

It is my sincerest hope that the NEH will fund this project. I hereby pledge my commitment to help build the game should it be funded.

Respectfully,

Dina Gilio-Whitaker

LUCIANA C. DE OLIVEIRA

CONTACT INFORMATION

University of Miami
Department of Teaching and Learning
Merrick Building 222-A
School of Education and Human Development
5202 University Drive
Coral Gables, FL 33124

Cell Phone: (b) (6)
Work Phone: (305) 284-6495
Fax: (305) 284-6998
E-mail: ludeoliveira@miami.edu

EDUCATION AND CREDENTIALS

Ph.D., Education, University of California, Davis - June 2006

Emphasis: Language, Literacy, and Culture Additional Specialization: Second Language Acquisition

Dissertation: *Knowing and Writing History: A Study of Students' Expository Writing and Teachers' Expectations*

Chair: Mary J. Schleppegrell

Master of Arts in English, TESOL Option (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages)

California State University, East Bay - June 1999 *Summa Cum Laude*

Bachelor of Arts in Languages: English and Portuguese, Minor in German

Universidade Estadual Paulista (São Paulo State University - UNESP), Araraquara, SP (Brazil)

January 1997 *Magna Cum Laude*

HIGHLIGHTS

- Awards include the Mid-Career Award (Second Language Research) and the Early Career Award (Bilingual Education Research) by the American Educational Research Association (AERA) (2017 and 2012); the David E. Eskey Award for Curriculum Innovation by California TESOL (2011); Faculty Engagement Scholarship Award (2013) and Outstanding Latino Faculty (2011) by Purdue University.
- Areas of specialization: English language learners, content area literacies, second language writing, systemic-functional linguistics, qualitative research, teacher education.
- Teaching: 24 years of teaching experience in K-12, higher education, and foreign language contexts with culturally and linguistically diverse groups.
- Leadership and Engagement: Work with public schools, volunteer and elected positions at different professional organizations, including the TESOL International Association, NYS TESOL, INTESOL, and CATESOL.
 - ✓ President-Elect (2017-2018), President (2018-2019), Past President (2019-2020), TESOL International Association.
 - ✓ Member of ELL advisory council for iCivics, the educational non-profit founded by retired Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O'Connor.
- Additional training in administration: American Council on Education's Leadership Academy for Department Chairs (2016).

Selected PUBLICATIONS

Books

de Oliveira, L. C. (Ed). (under contract). *The Handbook of TESOL in K-12*. Wiley.

de Oliveira, L. C. (under contract). *A language-based approach to content instruction (LACI) for*

English language learners: Academic language in the content areas. University of Michigan Press.

de Oliveira, L. C., & Obenchain, K. (Eds) (under contract). *Teaching history and social studies to English language learners: Preparing pre-service and in-service teachers.* Palgrave Macmillan.

de Oliveira, L. C., & Iddings, J. (2014). (Eds). *Genre pedagogy across the curriculum: Theory and application in U.S. classrooms and contexts.* London: Equinox Publishing.

de Oliveira, L. C. (2011). *Knowing and writing school history: The language of students' expository writing and teachers' expectations.* Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing.

Journal Articles (Refereed)

de Oliveira, L. C. (2016). A language-based approach to content instruction (LACI) for English language learners: Examples from two elementary teachers. *International Multilingual Research Journal*, 10(3), 217-231.

Turkan, S., de Oliveira, L. C., Lee, O., & Phelps, G. (2014). Proposing a knowledge base for teaching academic content to English Language Learners: Disciplinary linguistic knowledge. *Teachers College Record*, 116(3), <http://www.tcrecord.org/library> ID Number: 17361.

de Oliveira, L. C., & Olesova, L. (2013). Learning about the literacy development of English language learners through technology. *Journal of Education*, 193(2), 15-23.

de Oliveira, L. C. (2012). What history teachers need to know about academic language to teach English language learners. *The Social Studies Review*, 51(1), 76-79.

de Oliveira, L. C. (2010a). Nouns in history: Packaging information, expanding explanations, and structuring reasoning. *The History Teacher*, 43(2), 191-203.

de Oliveira, L. C. (2010b). Focusing on language and content by examining cause and effect in historical texts. *The Indiana Reading Journal*, 42(1), 14-19.

Zhang, Y., & de Oliveira, L. C. (2010). Helping English language learners learn history: A functional grammatical perspective. *INTESOL Journal*, 7(1), 59-68.

de Oliveira, L. C. (2008). "History doesn't count": Challenges of teaching history in California schools. *The History Teacher*, 41(3), 363-378.

PROGRAM AND CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

University of California, Davis

The History Project

Reviewer

Florida Reading Journal (2015-present); *Language Assessment Quarterly* (2013-2015); *Language Testing* (2012-2015); *Teaching for Excellence and Equity in Mathematics* (2009-2015); *Journal of Literacy Research* (2013-present), *Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood* (2014-present); *Journal of Science Teacher Education* (2008-present); *Journal of Second Language Writing* (2010-present); *TESOL Journal* (2010-present); *TESOL Quarterly* (2010-present)



June 3, 2017

Dr. Emma Humphries, Ph.D.
Chief Education Officer, iCivics
1035 Cambridge Street, Suite 21B
Cambridge, MA 02141

Dear Dr. Humphries,

I received your invitation to serve as a consultant for the NEH proposal entitled "*Ratification: The Great Debate: A digital, game - based learning experience*". I would be pleased to join your project team and I am prepared to perform the work described in the proposal.

As a Professor at the University of Miami, I bring over 20 years of experience in the field of Teaching English to Speakers of Other Language. I have over 150 refereed publications, including 18 books focusing on the Common Core State Standards, content area literacy, and English learners. I also am President-Elect (2017-2018) and served as an elected Board of Directors member (2013-2016) of TESOL International Association. My scholarly work is closely aligned with this project's focus on an immersive and imaginative new gaming experience for students on a most foundational topic: the ratification of the United States Constitution. You have my assurance that I will bring this expertise to bear on your work.

I understand that I will be asked to assist in distilling the Federalist and Anti-Federalist perspectives into key points, as well as delve into the realities in each state to understand which issues were most critical to determining support for the new Constitution. You will also call upon my expertise to ensure you are capturing a full spectrum of perspectives, accounting for many segments of society, even if those segments were excluded from the deliberations or even consideration. This is agreeable to me.

I believe that the proposed project can make significant contribution to the field of civics education. I look forward with great anticipation to working together on this endeavor.

Thank you for inviting me to partner on this work and best wishes for a successful submission.

Sincerely,

Luciana C. de Oliveira, Ph.D.
President-Elect (2017-2018), TESOL International Association
Professor & Department Chair, Department of Teaching and Learning - Merrick Building 222-A
School of Education and Human Development, University of Miami
5202 University Drive, Coral Gables, FL 33124
Phone: (305) 284-6495 E-mail: lucdeoliveira@miami.edu

Lorri Glover
Saint Louis University

Department of History
3800 Lindell Boulevard
Saint Louis, MO 63108

(b) (6) (home phone)
www.lorriglover.com (website)
lglover1@slu.edu

Education:

Ph.D.: University of Kentucky, December 1996
M.A.: Clemson University, 1992
B.S.: University of North Alabama, 1990

Academic Appointments:

Professor, Saint Louis University, 2009-present, John Francis Bannon S.J. Endowed Chair
Professor, University of Tennessee, 2008-2009; Associate Professor: 2002-2008; Assistant Professor: 1997-2002
Assistant Professor: Otterbein College, 1996-1997

Publications:

Rewriting Southern History, co-editing with Craig Thompson Friend (under contract, Louisiana State University Press, anticipated publication 2019)

The Fate of the Revolution: Virginians Debate the Constitution (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2016)

Founders as Fathers: The Private Lives and Politics of the American Revolutionaries (Yale University Press, 2014)

Death and the American South, co-editor with Craig Thompson Friend (Cambridge University Press, 2014)

Discovering the American Past: A Look at the Evidence, Volume 1, to 1877, co-author with William Bruce Wheeler (Cengage, 2011, 6th edition; 2016, 7th edition)

Discovering the American Past: A Look at the Evidence, Volume 2, since 1865, co-author with William Bruce Wheeler (Cengage, 2011, 6th edition; 2016, 7th edition)

The Shipwreck that Saved Jamestown: The Sea Venture Castaways and the Fate of America, co-author with Daniel Blake Smith (New York: Henry Holt Publishers, 2008)

Southern Sons: Becoming Men in the New Nation (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007)

Southern Manhood: Perspectives on Masculinity in the Old South, co-editor with Craig Thompson Friend (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004)

All Our Relations: Blood Ties and Emotional Bonds Among the Early South Carolina Gentry (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000)

“When ‘History becomes fable instead of fact’: The Deaths and Resurrections of Virginia’s Leading Revolutionaries” in Friend & Glover, *Death in the American South* (Cambridge, 2014)

“The Colonial South,” in Daniel Letwin, ed., *The American South: A Reader and Guide* (Edinburgh University Press, 2011)

“Faith and the Founding of Virginia,” *Historically Speaking*, June 2010

“Making Southern Men: Education and Masculinity among the Early Republic Gentry,” in Friend & Glover, *Southern Manhood* (University of Georgia Press, 2004)

“An Education in Southern Masculinity: The Ball Family of South Carolina in the New Republic,” *Journal of Southern History*, February 2003

“Between Two Cultures: The Worlds of Rosalie Stier Calvert,” *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 1996

Conference & Seminar Participation:

Papers read at conferences including Southern Historical Association, Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Early Modern Studies Institute, Society for Historians of the Early American Republic, Carleton Conference on the History of the Family, British Group for Early American History, Southern Association for Women Historians, British Nineteenth Century American Historians Conference, Organization of American Historians

Seminar participation including at Huntington Library, Newberry Library, Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Filson Historical Society, University of Pennsylvania Salon, Missouri Regional Seminar

Comment offered at conferences and seminars including American Historical Association, Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Organization of American Historians, Society for Historians of the Early American Republic, Southern Historical Association, Newberry Library, Southern Association for Women Historians, Ohio Valley History, Berkshire Conference, Society of Civil War Historians, St. George Tucker Society, Missouri Conference on History

Invited Talks:

George Washington’s Mount Vernon, Kansas City Public Library, Ash Lawn (Home of President James Monroe), Falmouth (MA) Historical Society, Virginia Historical Society, Filson Historical Society, Missouri History Museum, McConnell Center at the University of Louisville, Historic Jamestowne, Jamestown Settlement, Society of Early Americanists, Clemson University, Huntington Library, Institute for Southern Studies, Texas A&M International University, University of Michigan-Flint, Canisius College, Texas Humanities, Ohio Valley History Conference, North Carolina State University, Lindenwood University, Tennessee Technological University, University of North Alabama, Hampden-Sydney College, National War College

Teacher Education Training:

George Washington’s Mount Vernon, 2015-present

Texas Humanities, 2010-2011, 2016

East Tennessee Teaching American History, 2003-2009



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Department of History

College of Arts and Sciences

30 May 2017

I am writing to enthusiastically offer my support to the iCivics application for a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities to subsidize their project “Ratification: The Great Debate.” The 1787-1788 debates over the ratification of the Constitution were vibrant, wide-ranging, and deeply historically important, with implications that directly and profoundly shape our civic life today. The development of this wonderful gaming project to immerse students and teachers in the eighteenth-century creation of our nation’s Constitution is a supremely worthy investment of NEH funds. I am delighted to be a part of the iCivics team and will provide whatever advice and expertise I could to advance the project.

Lorri Glover
John Francis Bannon Endowed Chair
Department of History
Saint Louis University

lglover1@slu.edu

(b) (6)

David Simkins, PhD
School of Interactive Games and Media
B. Thomas Golisano College of Computing and Information Sciences

Contact Information

Email: dwsigm@rit.edu
Phone: (b) (6)
Office location: GOL 2521

Education

University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2011

PhD Curriculum and Instruction (major), Learning Sciences (minor), Constance Steinkuehler (advisor), *Negotiation, Simulation, and Shared Fantasy: Learning Through Live Action Role Play* (dissertation).

University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2008

MS Curriculum and Instruction (major), Constance Steinkuehler (advisor), *Critical Ethical Reasoning and Role Play* (master's thesis).

Earlham College, 1993

BA History and Philosophy

Employment

August 2012 to present. Assistant Professor in the School of Interactive Games and Media, Rochester Institute of Technology.

August 2011 to May 2012. Visiting Assistant Professor in the School of Interactive Games and Media, Rochester Institute of Technology.

Non-Academic (selected)

Project Manager for training development team for OR-KIDS (OR state DHS), 2010

Led a team of 15 curriculum designers and programmers developing web-based training and classroom training for an enterprise case management system for the state of Oregon's department of human services. Developed and maintained a training database to emulate the function of the case management system in a training environment.

Project Manager and Project Assistant for games+learning+society (GLS), 2004-2008

Responsible for the oversight of renovation projects, the development and maintenance of a computer lab, research spaces, and offices. Participated as an organizer for the GLS conference, including as co-chair and facilities manager.

Training Developer

FACTS2 (Philadelphia), 2007-2008

WiSACWIS (WI State DHS), 2003-2004

SACWIS (IL state DCFS), 2001-2002

Creation, maintenance, and delivery of web based and classroom instruction for enterprise case management systems for city and state divisions of child welfare.

Scholarship – Selected

Publications (*peer reviewed)

- * Simkins, D. & Truitt, J. (in review). *Re:History: Pursuing World Learning to 1500*. A game-based learning curriculum for World History from the dawn of humanity to 1500.
- * Chen, M., Simkins, D., Peterson, J., & Leary, R. (in press). MUDs and MMORPGs. (Chapter 7). In S. Deterding & J. Zagal (Eds.) *Role-playing Game Studies: Transmedia Foundations*. New York: Routledge.
- * Decker, A. & Simkins, D. (2016). Uncovering difficulties in learning for the intermediate programmer.

Proceedings of the 2016 Frontiers in Education Conference.

- * Decker, A. & Simkins, D. (2016). Leveraging role play to explore software and game development process. *Proceedings of the 2016 Frontiers in Education Conference.*
- Simkins, D. (2015). *The arts of larp: Design, literacy, learning and community in live-action role play.* Jefferson, NC: McFarland. (286 pages)
- * Goodman, G. & Simkins, D. (2014). Updating Aristotle, Freytag, and Campbell with Lakoff and Frames: Designing interactive narratives in games. In M. Castro & E. Tovar (Eds.) *Proceedings of the 2014 IEEE Frontiers in Education Conference*, 1043-1049.
- * Simkins, D. (2014). Designing beyond the game: Leveraging games to teach designers about interaction, immersion, and ethical perspective. In A. Ochsner, J. Dietmeier, C. C. Williams, and C. Steinkuehler (Eds.) *Proceedings of the GLS 10 Games+Learning+Society Conference*, 208-213. Pittsburgh, PA: ETC Press.

Service

RIT Service

IGM Undergraduate Program Committee, chair, 2016-present
Digital Humanities for the Social Sciences, Steering Committee, 2016-present
Digital Humanities for the Social Sciences, Curriculum Committee, 2016-present
RIT-Paderborn University study abroad, 2015-present
IGM Curriculum Committee, 2015, 2016-present
Future of IGM Meetings, moderator, 2015
RIT Orientation Assistant Selection Committee, reviewer, 2015
IGM Graduate Admissions Committee, member, 2012-2015.
GCCIS Committee for Teaching Effectiveness, member, 2014.
Megagame LARP for IGM, game master, *Watch the Skies*, 2014.
IGM Semester Conversion, lead for courses on game design and development, 2012-2014.
NY State Senate Committee for START-UP NY, 2013.
GCCIS Subcommittee on Faculty Success, 2013.

Professional Service

Learning and Educational Games IGDA SIG, steering committee, 2012-present.
Seekers Unlimited, advisory board member, 2014-present.
New World Magiscola, advisory board member, 2015-present
GLS Doctoral Consortium, co-chair, 2015
Games Learning and Society Conference, Discussant, 2013-15.
International RPG Summit, Chair, 2015.
RPG Summit at DiGRA, Chair, 2014.

Affiliations

RIT Digital Humanities in Social Sciences (DHSS), 2014-present
Digital Games Researchers Association (DiGRA), 2014-present.
Seekers Unlimited Advisory Board, 2014-present.
International RPG Summit, 2014-present.
RIT MAGIC Studios, 2013-present.
Learning and Educational Games SIG of IGDA, steering committee member, 2012-present.
Infinite Imaginations Incorporated (III), founding member, 1998-present.
Institute of Electrical & Electronics Engineers (IEEE), 2012-2015.
PopCosmo Research Group, Constance Steinkuehler, UW Madison, Founding Member, 2005-2009.
American Educational Research Association, 2005-2011, 2015.
Games, Learning and Society, Founding Member, 2005-2013.
Games and Professional Practice, Founding Member, 2004-2005.

May 28, 2017

I am pleased to offer this letter of commitment as a Co-Principal Investigator for iCivics proposal to the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) Digital Projects for *Ratification: The Great Debate*.

I am pleased to offer my support as an advisor and consultant on the project as a learning game developer and researcher. I believe this to be an important project due, both timely and timeless. The current political discussions hinging on the inner workings and processes set up by the Constitution, and the variety of interpretations and intents eviced in the Federalist Papers by those who were supporting ratification of the constitution, are always important to our understanding of our role as citizens on the United States. Also, current trends in the conversation around US government process, and popular media, such as the musical Hamilton, have created new interest in the historical moment and context of the Constitution's creation. Rarely is need and popular interest aligned so well, and it makes this process important in both the short and long term.

As a co-PI on NSF projects *Martha Madisons Marvelous Machines* (phase I and II) and *TARGETS*, I was responsible for designing and implementing qualitative and quantitative data collection and analysis for STEM games. Through work on the Technology for Social Good project *Frontier*, I was able work toward applying complex learning outcomes to a web-based multiplayer financial literacy game. As a senior consultant on the NSF-funded Thinking Cap project I am the lead designer in the creation of a learning game to teach beginning statistics concepts to higher education students. As a researcher, designer and practitioner of role play, I am regularly and internationally engaged in the development process of games, particularly role playing games.

Should the iCivics proposal receive NEH funding, I remain committed to the team as an advisor for the duration of the program.

Sincerely,



David Simkins
Assistant Professor
Interactive Games and Literature/MAGIC
Rochester Institute of Technology

Benjamin G. Stokes

American University School of Communication

4400 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20016 <http://benjaminstokes.net> bstokes@american.edu

Education

University of Southern California Annenberg School for Communication and Journalism, 2009-2014, Doctor of Philosophy in Communication

Dissertation: *Civic games with 'local fit': Embedding with real-world neighborhoods and place-based networks*

Committee: Henry Jenkins, François Bar, Sandra Ball-Rokeach, Tracy Fullerton

University of Southern California Annenberg School for Communication and Journalism, 2009-2012, Masters in Communication Sciences

Qualifying Committee: Henry Jenkins, François Bar, Sandra Ball-Rokeach, William Tierney, Tracy Fullerton

Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania, 1996-2000

B.A. in Physics, Minor in French Literature

Study Abroad, Université Gaston-Berger, Senegal

Selected Publications

Refereed Journal Articles and Peer-Reviewed Proceedings

Baumann, K., Stokes, B., Bar, F., & Caldwell, B. (2016). Designing in “Constellations”: Sustaining participatory design for neighborhoods. In *Proceedings of the 14th Participatory Design Conference: Short Papers, Interactive Exhibitions, Workshops* (Vol. 2, pp. 5–8). Aarhus, Denmark: ACM Press.

<https://doi.org/10.1145/2948076.2948083>

Stokes, B., & Williams, D. (2015). Gamers Who Protest: Small-Group Play and Social Resources for Civic Action. *Games and Culture*, 22(1).

Stokes, B. (2005). Videogames have changed: time to consider “Serious Games”? *Development Education Journal*, 11(3), 12.

Published Reports and Invited Essays

Stokes, B., Walden, N., O’Shea, G., Nasso, F., Mariutto, G., & Burak, A. (2016). Impact with Games: A Fragmented Field. In *Impact with Games*. New York, NY: ETC Press with Games for Change. Retrieved from <http://gameimpact.net/reports/>

Stokes, B., & Watson, J. (2012). *Games for Direct Action: Local Scale and Social Impact*. White House National Conversation on Games: Arizona State University Center for Games and Impact.

Ruiz, S., Stokes, B., & Watson, J. (2011). *Mobile, Games and Civics: State of the Field*. Commissioned by Intel Labs’ Interactions and Experiences Research (IXR) Group.

Teaching & Facilitation

Instructor in Game Design (MA program) and Communication Studies – 2015-Present

American University School of Communication

Ongoing teaching, from “Understanding Media” for undergraduate freshmen to “Game Research Methods” for graduate students.

Instructor for Masters of Data Science – 2014-2015

UC Berkeley School of Information, MA Program in Data Science

Taught the fundamentals of research design and research applications (mixed methods) to data scientists

Selected Design and Media Practice

Sankofa RED installation in “SKIN,” a group exhibit at the Los Angeles Municipal Art Gallery. (February 7 – April 17, 2016). Our installation featured a rebuilt payphone, alongside a storytelling system for mobile phones. Attendees were invited to contribute audio stories about the moment they first realized their skin had a color. Created as a project of the Leimert Phone Company (see below).

Sankofa Says. (October, 2014). Urban game to discover local history and build a sense of place. Official selection of the *IndieCade Festival* of independent games. Teams competed to draw a crowd at local monuments, retelling city myths for social media. Involved a rebuilt payphone and the city historian.

Guggenheim Exhibit on New Media and Urbanism. (October, 2013). Video commissioned to address “Collaborative Urban Mapping” as one of their *100 Urban Trends*, based on Los Angeles action research with RideSouthLA. Created with Karl Baumann. Available online at: <https://vimeo.com/70599469>

Work Experience

Games Education Program Evaluator, Abu Dhabi – Summer, 2011

Parsons The New School for Design, Abu Dhabi, U.A.E.

Traveled to the United Arab Emirates to design and implement an evaluation of the learning outcomes for high school students, with a focus on gender dynamics and the local teacher development model. Students were learning to make videogames using the GameMaker platform as part of the Activate! program developed by Colleen Macklin and John Sharp.

Program Officer for Digital Media and Learning – 2007-2009

MacArthur Foundation, Chicago, Illinois

Managed approximately one third of all new grants in the \$50 million portfolio, including the first \$2 million “open call” competition with HASTAC which received more than 1000 applications; helped develop one of the most cutting-edge funding strategies in education grantmaking

Co-Founder and Co-Executive Director – 2004-2007

Games for Change (G4C), New York, New York

Co-founded the leading international organization advancing the use of digital games for positive social change; national conferences drew 300 academics and practitioners; organization discussed in the New York Times, Washington Post, NPR, Reuters, BBC, CBC, Newsweek, The Daily Telegraph, etc.; grew an online community to more than 500 nonprofits, designers and academics from via an active email listserv; organized an invite-only briefing for funders; raised more than \$300,000 in funding from the Ford Foundation, MacArthur Foundation, and Robert Wood Johnson Foundation; partnered with Parsons The New School for Design to launch a new game design prototyping program called PETLAB; partnered with MTV to review digital games with civic themes on their social justice web community

E-Learning Architect for Student Activist Community, Global Citizen Corps – 2005-2006

NetAid/Mercy Corps, New York, New York

Engineered an innovative online learning and action community used by high school activists to reach 150,000 of their peers; campaigns included World AIDS and Hunger Days; features included an extensive activist toolkit, regional group planning blogs, social networking via profiles and instant messenger, e-training lessons and conference calls; managed a team of more than 10 graduate researchers, software developers and instructional designers

Civic Gaming Program Manager – 2004-2005

NetAid/Mercy Corps, New York, New York

Reached more than 100,000 youth educational games designed in collaboration with Cisco Systems to teach about extreme poverty; managed the concept development for new educational games addressing global interdependence; helped secure \$150,000 in funding



June 5, 2017

Dear Review Committee,

I am thrilled to recommend the proposed educational game, “Ratification: The Great Debate.” Already, iCivics is a powerful force in distributing and creating the best civic games in the United States. When I joined the advisory board for iCivics, it was exactly in hopes of proposals like this one.

The learning approach of “Ratification” is excellent, precisely because it goes beyond raw content to emphasize framing and the relationship between newspapers and the ratification process. The twist with a physical paper in the game is important for grounding, media literacy, transfer, and social engagement. The approach is very promising.

The incredible visibility of iCivics redoubles their value. I know their distinction for scaling, given my role in the field. In 2006, I co-founded Games for Change – a nonprofit that quickly became the global festival for civic games and informal learning. The field has grown exponentially, but very few developers have the distribution success of iCivics. To be blunt, few have the distribution *channel* that iCivics can use to reach a mass audience. For games like “Ratification” to succeed, they must reach the masses of students. Distribution is at the heart of any market shift, and iCivics stands head-and-shoulders above the competition.

Personally, I would be honored to advise iCivics on this project. Their game “Ratification” is poised for success. Their reputation for quality is very high in the field, and their scale is astounding.

Sincerely,

Dr. Benjamin Stokes
Assistant Professor and Game Lab Faculty
American University, Washington, D.C.

William Barclay Allen

allenwi@msu.edu www.msu.edu/~allenwi

Education: B. A., Pepperdine College (1967); M. A. (1968), Ph.D. (1972), Claremont Graduate School.

Languages: French (fluent); Greek (competent); Latin (weak); German (reading, weak); Spanish (reading); Italian (reading, weak).

Current Position/Fields: Professor of Political Science, Department of Political Science, Michigan State Univ. Fields: political philosophy, American government, jurisprudence.

Visiting Senior Scholar in the Matthew J. Ryan Center for the Study of Free Institutions and the Public Good at Villanova University.

Adjunct Professor, Yorktownuniversity.com (on-line)

Academic Advisor and Faculty Member, Institute for Responsible Citizenship, Washington, D. C. (Georgetown University), 2002-Present.

Professional Experience:

2006-07: Ann & Herbert W. Vaughan Visiting Fellow in the James Madison Program at Princeton.

Adjunct Professor, Anderson University-SC (on-line)

: Chair, Working Group for the Improvement of Undergraduate Education, Michigan State University.

Director, Program in Public Policy and Administration, Michigan State University (2002-2005).

Director, State Council of Higher Education for Virginia (1998-99, on leave from MSU).

Dean and Professor, James Madison College, Michigan State University (1993 – 1998).

Harvey Mudd College, Professor of Government, 1983-94, initial appointment as Assistant Professor in 1972, with tenure in 1976, and promotion to Associate Professor in 1976. Fields: political philosophy, American government, jurisprudence.

Chairman, United States Commission on Civil Rights, August 8, 1988 to October 23, 1989.

Member, National Council on the Humanities, 1984-1987 (resigned to take seat on Commission on Civil Rights).

Fellowships/Awards:

Booker T. Washington Legacy Award, Heartland Institute, Chicago, IL. Fulbright Senior Specialists Roster, 2002-2007. LID (*honoris causa*), Averett College, 1998. 1997 Templeton Honor Roll (individually and institutionally). L.I.D. (*honoris causa*), 1988, Pepperdine University. Commission on the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution, Bicentennial Educational Grant Program, 1988-89. Earhart Foundation Research Grant, 1986-87. Prix Montesquieu, 1986, Academie de Montesquieu.

Member, Académie de Montesquieu, 1984. Kellogg National Fellow, Kellogg Foundation, 1984-87. Fulbright Advanced Teaching Fellow (France), 1970-71.

Publications:

Selected Books

George Washington: America's First Progressive (Peter Lang, Inc.), 2008.

The Personal and the Political: Three Fables by Montesquieu (UPA), 2008.

Re-Thinking Uncle Tom: The Political Philosophy of H. B. Stowe (Lexington Books), 2008.

Habits of Mind: Fostering Excellence and Access in Higher Education, with Carol M. Allen, Transaction Publishers, Inc. (2003)

George Washington: A Collection, editor and Introduction (Indianapolis: Liberty Press, 1988) 3d printing, 2003.

The Essential Antifederalist: Second Edition, with Gordon Lloyd (Rowman & Littlefield, 2002).

The Federalist Papers: A Commentary: The "Baton Rouge Lectures." A full-length commentary, plus an analytical legal index. New York: Peter Lang, Inc., 2000.

Let the Advice Be Good: A Defense of Madison's Democratic Nationalism, Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1994.

Some Articles

"That all Tragedy is Local: Book 18 of *Spirit of the Laws*," *Interpretation: A Journal of Political Philosophy*, 31:2:2004.

"Making Citizens," *Claremont Review of Books*, III:3:2003.

"Equality and Right in the Contemporary World," *The Good Society: A PEGS Journal*, vol. 9 no. 1, 1999, pp. 84-89.

"L'Ethique de Montesquieu: Principe de la fondation de la démocratie américaine," *PRIX MONTESQUIEU*, Académie Montesquieu, *Actes*, 2, 95-128 (1986).

"In Search of Freedom: Slavery and the Principles of the American Founding," *American Journal of Jurisprudence*, 28 (1983).

"Theory and Practice in the Founding of the Republic," *Interpretation*, iv: 2 (1974).

MICHIGAN STATE
UNIVERSITY

2 June 2017

Emma Humphries
Chief Education Officer
iCivics
1035 Cambridge Street Suite 21B
Cambridge, MA 02141

RE: Ratification: The Great Debate. A digital, game-based learning experience

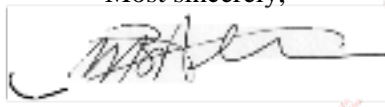
Dear Ms Humphries:

Thanks for your note of this date introducing "The Great Debate." I am excited by the possibility of this project. For it is a natural advance both in technology and focus on the work I did with a team thirty years ago with support from the National Endowment from the Humanities "Dateline 1787". We experienced considerable success in creating a radio drama of the Constitutional Convention and engaged listeners throughout the country. More importantly, that project was one of several that it may fairly be said launched tidal waves of revitalized concern with the founding of the United States.

Now is a good time to consolidate the gains of the last thirty years with new, creative programming that can sustain the widespread public audience for such learning. I am particularly enthusiastic for the approach "The Great Debate" is taking, inasmuch as it projects interactive engagement at a level far beyond anything that has been done in this venue heretofore and with the resources of iCivics which is capable of touching not just thousands but millions of Americans.

It would an honor to participate in so worthy an undertaking. Please know, therefore, that I wholeheartedly endorse the enterprise.

Most sincerely,



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Date: 2017.06.02 12:01:24 -0400

W. B. Allen
Dean Emeritus James Madison College
Emeritus Professor of Political Philosophy

(b) (6)

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DEPARTMENT OF
**POLITICAL
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<https://www.icivics.org/games/win-white-house>

Please find the URL above to one of iCivics' most popular games: *Win the White House*. In this game, students are challenged to manage their own presidential campaign, from the primary debates to the final tally of electoral votes. Millions of students have already been able to experience what it takes to run for high office, and understand our complex electoral process – in a non-partisan and engaging way.

In March 2016, the game was upgraded and re-released on the Unity game engine. *Win the White House* – along with all other iCivics games – follows the 4Ps of educational game development:

- ❖ **Purpose:** What learning objectives and standards do teachers need help with?
- ❖ **Process:** How well do learning objectives translate into game play?
- ❖ **Practicality:** How does the game fit into real classroom instruction?
- ❖ **Playability:** Is it fun, and will students keep playing?

When iCivics launches a new game project, we establish the games' purpose with learning objectives, brainstorm what features and player actions make sense, then develop a narrative and purpose to pull it all together. Then, we determine what data those actions can provide the teacher and student. Fundamentally, if the game does not help teachers do their jobs, they will not give up valuable class time to play the game.

iCivics' and Filament Games' design philosophy generally evaluates learning objectives in terms of their potential for making engaging gameplay. In essence, educational games are good at creating scaffolded and immersive experiences around specific types of interesting problems. These can be categorized into three groups:

1. *Identity* – “*Who am I in this game?*” Games bestow a perspective and set of skills on the player, and ask them to understand and master it. If the learning objectives speak to a specific identity, then an identity strategy will have great traction for making the learning experience fun and impactful. For instance, in *Win the White House*, the player is first a candidate within either the Democratic or Republican party, and then the main candidate for that party.
2. *Verbs* – “*What do I do in this game?*” Gameplay is driven through action. Players are granted specific means and constraints that govern how they interact with the game. These actions are then scaffolded and rewarded. For instance, in *Win the White House*, the player must manipulate for each turn actions tied to fundraising, outreach, and momentum. Through these distinct actions, in the strategic states chosen, the player understands the larger construction of rules around the electoral system.
3. *Systems* – “*How does this game work?*” Games are governed by rules. Some learning objectives speak to understanding how a complex system works. Once

we identify a way to build the rules of the game to illustrate those systems, then mastery of the game's rules will grant players deep access to understanding the objectives as a system, in motion, with interesting and sometimes unexpected outcomes.

iCivics will follow this same design philosophy and strategy in developing *Ratification: The Great Debate*. Explanations for the game's design, mechanics, and pedagogical strategy can be found in both the Narrative and Design documents.



Budget Form

OMB No 3136-0134
Expires 6/30/2018

Applicant Institution: iCivics

Project Director: Kelly Whitney

Project Grant Period: 01/01/2018 through 06/31/2018

[click for Budget Instructions](#)

	Computational Details/Notes	(notes)	Year 1 01/01/2018 - 12/31/2018	(notes)	Year 2 01/01/2019 - 12/31/2019	(notes)	Year 3 01/01/20__ - 12/31/20__	Project Total
1. Salaries & Wages								
Project Director (Kelly Whitney)	\$ year 1, \$ year 2	15%	\$	7%	\$	%		\$
Co-Project Director (Emma Humphries)	\$ year 1, \$ year 2	12%	\$	6%	\$	%		\$
Director of Content (Carrie Ray-Hill)	\$ year 1, \$ year 2	20%	\$	10%	\$	%		\$
Technical Director (Nash Kamal)	\$ year 1, \$ year 2	12%	\$	6%	\$	%		\$
2. Fringe Benefits								
Project Director (Kelly Whitney)		11%	\$		\$			\$
Co-Project Director (Emma Humphries)		11%	\$		\$			\$
Director of Content (Carrie Ray-Hill)		11%	\$		\$			\$
Technical Director (Nash Kamal)		11%	\$		\$			\$
3. Consultant Fees								
Filament Games	Game Development Costs		\$187,600		\$92,400			\$280,000
Advisory Board (10)	10 Advisors at \$850 each		\$8,500					\$8,500
4. Travel								
								\$0
								\$0
5. Supplies & Materials								
								\$0
6. Services								
								\$0
7. Other Costs								
								\$0
8. Total Direct Costs	Per Year		\$270,234		\$129,766		\$0	\$400,000
9. Total Indirect Costs	Per Year							\$0
10. Total Project Costs	(Direct and Indirect costs for entire project)							\$400,000
11. Project Funding	a. Requested from NEH							Outright: \$400,000 Federal Matching Funds: \$0

		TOTAL REQUESTED FROM NEH:	\$400,000
	b. Cost Sharing		
		Applicant's Contributions:	\$0
		Third-Party Contributions:	\$0
		Project Income:	\$0
		Other Federal Agencies:	\$0
		TOTAL COST SHARING:	\$0
12. Total Project Funding			\$400,000

Total Project Costs must be equal to Total Project Funding ---->	(\$400,000	=	\$400,000	?)
Third-Party Contributions must be					
greater than or equal to Requested Federal Matching Funds ---->	(\$0	≥	\$0	?)

Ratification: The Great Debate

Supplemental Design Document



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I. Core Narrative

Summarize the project's core narrative and/or thematic elements, and explain how they will be communicated to a broad general audience.

i. The Present Proposal: Ratification

The Need

The debate over ratification of the Constitution is omnipresent in state learning standards: always in United States History classes, oftentimes in American Government classes; always in high school, oftentimes in middle school. Despite its large presence—not to mention its critical importance in understanding the nation's early history, the structure of the Constitution, and most of the rights afforded therein—it remains one of the most difficult topics to teach in the American public school curriculum.

Debates over representation, enumerated powers, a bill of rights, and the power of the federal government are just as relevant today as they were in 1786. Unfortunately, the somewhat archaic presentation of the foundational texts makes this curricular requirement a true challenge for secondary American students. The challenge arises due to complex academic language coupled with unfamiliar (“wordy”, “flowery”) prose across a set of critical—but seemingly irrelevant—points of contention, which students are expected to simply read and comprehend. Hartoonian (1997) argued that if students are viewed as consumers, they will be treated as passive learners who simply absorb the information provided by their teachers. For example, when teachers ask students to read *Federalist* and *Anti-Federalist Papers* and then complete a Venn diagram (a common curricular strategy for this learning objective), they are essentially passive learners, leaving with no understanding of history or the people behind it. However, if students are seen as producers, then they can take responsibility for their learning and actively craft knowledge and skills. The humanistic approach to historical content is one that will bring the period's challenges to life for students.

The Solution

iCivics' program model is profoundly innovative in the way that it humanizes the complex and abstract government structures. Our materials tackle systems thinking, the roles and challenges of government and democracy, dense primary source historical texts, and complexity. The curriculum is game-based, and supported by a comprehensive, standards-aligned set of lesson plans that teachers can use for an entire semester's worth of civic education. Fundamentally, our games make civics come alive by simulating abstract and hard-to-grasp concepts through contextual experimentation and exploration. By demonstrating the way individual links become a chain of events we call history, and by demonstrating the way individual decisions add up to policies and laws, students learn about agency. In our games, students act the role of president, or a Supreme Court Justice, or the manager of a law firm, among others. In this way, the teachers are able to capture their students' attention for government before it is taught in more traditional

ways. The games introduce core civic knowledge and concepts—like how a bill becomes law—and provide opportunities to practice cognitive skills like systems-thinking and resource management. Then, through the curriculum, teachers expand and build on the games’ simulation experience. As an additional note: while iCivics’ lesson plans can be used as single modules, they are designed within a logical scope and sequence.

iCivics resources are supported by good evidence and produce real benefits to students. Independent research conducted by the Schools of Education at Arizona State University and Baylor University, and the Center for Information and Research on Learning and Civic Engagement (CIRCLE) at Tufts University have validated our positive outcomes on civic knowledge, skills, and attitudes (see Appendix B for more information).

We capture young people’s imagination for civic life and government—then teach it. Our goal is to transform an abstract and distant topic into something relevant and digestible for young people. *Ratification: The Great Debate* will be designed in this spirit, transforming the civics classroom into a dynamic and meaningful learning space.

ii. The Narrative

iCivics proposes to create *Ratification: The Great Debate*, an educational video game that will propel students into a foundational historical event: the debate over the ratification of the U.S. Constitution. Our digital role-playing game will enable students to quickly transform the learning experience from passive consumers of heavy texts to a central and active role as newspaper editor during one of the most tumultuous times in our nation’s history. Rather than simply reading carefully chosen passages from the most influential *Federalist* and *Anti-Federalist Papers*, students will engage diverse viewpoints as they interact with actual characters, both fictional and non-, as they work toward a clear goal: winning support of nine of the thirteen colonies for their position on ratification. Perhaps most importantly, students will achieve their goal by actually creating something: a newspaper.

We will directly engage students in the topic by granting them agency. Their role will be that of a newspaper editor who must understand his or her readership and the paper’s editorial slant, as well as listen to multiple perspectives to establish an effective narrative for, or against, ratification by a state. iCivics’ digital project would stand apart from any curricular resources currently available on the subject.

iCivics will create an immersive gaming experience within a historic era. The *Ratification* game will allow the player to be surrounded by the ideas, arguments, and perspectives of the time. Instead of passively receiving the content, students will directly engage with the building blocks of the proposed Constitution and the concerns of its various stakeholders. Students will navigate the connective thread between these historical pieces and grasp their unique consequences.

The game will challenge students to make sense of competing ideas in order to form an effective and cohesive set of arguments that bolster their paper’s position on ratification. Students will need to use “push” and “pull” tactics of persuasion to make the most compelling arguments and win the game. Players will need to demonstrate the value and benefits in their case, while highlighting the risks in not choosing that route.

As the protagonist of the story, students will be at the center of the action. By applying their civic knowledge and skills, they will have agency to change the outcome. It is iCivics’ belief that by playing the game, students will become more thoughtful, curious, and engaged in the subject.



Narrative of Student Experience

With the ink not yet dry on the Constitution, the young nation turns its focus towards the 13 state ratification conventions that will be held over the next year to determine the fate of the new plan for American government. Newspapers lead in the spread of arguments for and against ratification, helping fuel the national debate that engages citizens from all walks of life and in every public space.

Your role is that of a newspaper editor in 1787-88, tasked with representing either the Federalist or Anti-Federalist perspective as you cover this intense episode. Your goal is to win the support of nine out of 13 states for your position on ratifying the new Constitution.

You will talk to Americans up and down the social ladder, in each state—from indentured servants and Southern plantation slaves to merchants and the elite families of New England. You will need to find out what is important to each group, issue-by-issue, via a dialogue of questions and answers. These insights will be used to help you select the best positions and supporting arguments to put forward in the newspaper.

You will then physically assemble a paper to disseminate, attempting to frame your perspective based on the issues you think are important. If you frame your arguments successfully, your ideas will get traction and the state discourse will swing your way. If you fail to be relevant, you won't sway the state and you will have to move on.

You will have 10 key points to make as a Federalist or Anti-Federalist, with each point ranked at a higher or lower amount in each state. When you assemble your paper, you decide which key point receives “top billing”, and which two other points are supporting.

iii. Guiding Objectives & Questions: Scholarly Engagement

iCivics will work with scholars to distill the Federalist and Anti-Federalist perspectives into key points, as well as delve into the realities in each state to understand which issues were most critical to determining support for the new Constitution. We will also call upon their expertise to ensure we're capturing a full spectrum of perspectives, accounting for many diverse segments of society, even if those segments were excluded from deliberations or even major considerations.

Guiding Objectives

- Support player engagement with the diverse viewpoints/arguments presented by the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists concerning ratification of the Constitution and inclusion of a bill of rights.
 - The Federalists supported ratification because they advocated the importance of a strong central government, especially to promote economic development, public improvements, and social stability.
 - The Anti-Federalists opposed the ratification of the Constitution because they feared an overly powerful central government destructive of the rights of individuals and states, leading to their demand for the incorporation of the United States Bill of Rights.
- Provide insights into how the ratification played out across geographic and demographic regions, as well as across socioeconomic classes.

- Support development of argumentation and media literacy skills through the editorial responsibilities within the game.

Guiding Questions that Will Engage Our Scholars

- How do we best represent multiple perspectives within and beyond those of the Federalist and Anti-Federalist authors?
- How do we establish the role of the press on the very broad and public debate over ratification within the states?
- How can we “place” this effort within a space and time that reflects how widely these discussions were had (i.e., “out of doors debate” among the public)?
- What is the best way to show the impact of the debate? What issues comprise it (i.e. ratification of Constitution with the addition of the Bill of Rights) without presenting it as a foregone conclusion? Or does this matter?
- What is the best balance to strike between player agency (the player must pick the right states) and historical chronology (scheduled conventions)?
- What is the ideal way to display the voting tendency of each state (unanimous vote pro/con, leaning pro/con, split), while still showing the diversity of support within that state? (As it relates to public opinion “research” in the game.)

iv. iCivics Key Game Design Principles

iCivics is successful because we provide easy-to-use, reliable, and high-quality civic resources to teachers that make the most of classroom time, meet learning standards, inspire active learning strategies that engage students in the material, and provide embedded pedagogical and content support. iCivics is committed to educating students about the ways in which their local, state, and national government work using dynamic and engaging curriculum, including digital gameplay. We have four key principles and questions that guide our games:

- Purpose: What learning objectives and standards do teachers need help with?
- Process: How well do learning objectives translate into game play? What data is needed to show that learning actually happened?
- Practicality: How does it fit into classroom instruction?
- Playability: It is fun? Will they keep playing?

iCivics games are at their heart simulations—ones that help explain the mechanics and systems that underlie the seemingly distant and obtuse structures of government, from the federal budget to the interaction of branches of government. This follows McCall’s (2012) reasoning that conceptualizing historical simulation games as “problem spaces” will improve learner understanding and teaching of history.

v. Textual Sources

The challenge in translating ratification into a game is best summarized by Antley (2012): “Games, and especially video games, are hybrid visual, material, and digital objects whereas historical scholarship most often analyzes and produces textual sources.”

Textual sources are the primary barrier to knowledge in this curricular area. As Seagraves (2017) laments, “after attempting to teach *The Federalist* to hundreds of students at two public universities and three private ones during the last decade, I have come to the conclusion that the original text is simply no longer accessible to the vast majority of ordinary students and citizens.” To address this problem, iCivics will develop an immersive first-person educational video game to provide students with access to the rich textual sources surrounding this seminal era, not the least of which include the essays of *The Federalist*.

At the heart of the ratification debate are passionate disagreements over the nature of union and republican government, the strength of the federal government relative to that of the states, and the guarantee of personal liberty. For mature learners, the vastness and depth of the arguments comprising these disputes can be intellectually organized for quick retrieval and critical analysis. However, for “the vast majority of ordinary students and citizens,” a more simple, straightforward, and structural framework is required.

As such, the game will be organized across six foundational issues of the ratification debate:

- An Extended Republic
- The House of Representatives
- The Senate
- The Executive
- The Judiciary
- The Debate Over a Bill of Rights

In this way, the content of the debate over the Constitution is organized in a similar fashion as the Constitution itself, making it more concrete and accessible for young historians.

Across these six foundational ideas, students will be presented with the essential texts forming the Federalist and Anti-Federalists perspectives. Among other sources, these texts were pulled from the *Themes of the Ratification Period* page of Center for the Study of the American Constitution at the University of Wisconsin-Madison (<http://csac.history.wisc.edu/themes.htm>). Since these long, complex texts are suitable for neither gaming nor (with rare exception) the young mind, students will only be exposed to carefully chosen passages from each text (see Appendix C).

vi. Extending the Experience

Part of the design of our games is supporting all learners in a variety of settings. iCivics believes learning from games is an excellent strategy, but for the learning to transfer, all of our materials must be taught using varied, multi-modal strategies to reach a wide range of learners.

Extension Packs

To that end, while a stand-alone game is a valuable learning tool by itself, it must be supported by other instructional materials to ensure best learning. iCivics will deepen the learning experience of the game with an Extension Pack: a comprehensive teaching resource that uses the game as an anchor to set learning goals, activate students' background knowledge, and provide context before playing the game. The Extension Pack will include a starter activity, mini-lesson, post-play activity, and assessment. It will be an effective and reliable classroom resource for time-strapped teachers to make gameplay more meaningful.

This curricular resource serves several key purposes in relation to the game. First, the activities trigger students' prior knowledge and get them thinking about what they already know. This helps give context to the games. Second, the Pack will introduce new knowledge and skills. Students gain additional context and learn how to approach the conceptual issues, pre-suppositions, and themes of the game in a critical manner. After playing, the Extension Pack reinforces important game concepts with activities that prompt students to reflect on what they have just learned. These post-play activities will help teachers delve deeper into the subject and get their students to draw new lessons and questions. Finally, the Pack provides teachers two new ways to assess whether students have mastered the concepts presented in the game and related activities.

Other Complements

Further, iCivics will actively seek funding to complement the ratification-themed game with additional materials for English Language Learners, classroom supports, and non-classroom programmatic facilitation, as outlined below. We also plan to identify funding for a large national campaign for this project. While this material is outside of the scope of the NEH funding, we believe it is critical that the full vision is communicated on this stage.

English Language Learners

One of our biggest supplemental funding efforts will focus on making *Ratification* available for all learners. Today, there are 4.5 million English Language Learners (ELLs) in K-12, mainly Spanish speaking. The proportion of ELLs is rising, and dramatically so in some large urban areas. iCivics exists to develop *all* students' lifelong interest and knowledge in civics, which necessitates an intentional focus on the needs of non-native English speakers.

Our teacher-users want unique resources to support the range of English language abilities found in their classrooms. With the appropriate pedagogical supports, ELL students will become knowledgeable about our government, their civil rights, and the law. Making our resources ELL accessible is one of iCivics' top priorities today.

We have begun the process to embed literacy development techniques into our games and support materials with the aide of a stellar panel of academic language literacy experts. These techniques include a full text review for language scaffolds, academic vocabulary introductory activities, professional learning opportunities as well as socio-economic and cultural context review.

While full adaptation for ELLs is outside the scope of this grant proposal, our takeaways from projects already under way will influence every language choice we make.

Classroom Contexts

iCivics has a proven record of creating highly engaging, classroom-ready, standards-aligned curricular resources that teachers love. Our teachers want classroom supports, including lesson plans that complement the learning that happens in our games. While the Extension Pack will contextualize the game and provide a foundation for learning, we envision more supports. Helping students understand ratification is a huge gap that we would like to fill with some new high school-focused lessons and additional complementary materials. We plan to seek supplemental funding for such resources.

Out-of-Classroom Contexts Facilitation Guide

We will also seek funding for non-school settings, such as after-school programs, libraries, and museum programmatic experiences. We propose a facilitation guide focused on interaction and engagement:

- Suggestions for using *Ratification* with students in classrooms and in afterschool settings
- Talking points about the game, the humanistic themes, and critical concepts
- Using the game with elementary, middle, and high school audiences

Ratification: The Great Debate Campaign

We will work to identify funding to promote the new game to our networks of teachers. iCivics game campaigns are highly strategic and goal focused and use a variety of tactics and channels to make our key audience aware of the new materials. Recent campaigns have led to over a million game plays of each game promoted (and in the case of our 2016 Election promotion, 3.9 million game plays of *Win the White House* [campaign dates: March 1, 2016-Nov 8, 2016]).

II) User experience

- *Describe and visually illustrate how a typical user would experience the project, section by section. Use site maps, mockups, wireframes, screenshots, storyboards, or object schematics.*
- *Explain and provide examples of how the design and user experience will convey the project's central humanities ideas and analysis.*
- *Describe how the project will present interpretive text and audiovisual materials. You may include small images to clarify the descriptions. Provide examples of interpretive text.*

Critical UX Elements for Ratification: The Great Debate

The player's experience will be crafted into four game play phases:

Phase 1: Introduction – an introductory phase during which the player selects a perspective that they want to advocate for during the debate over ratification of the Constitution

Phase 2: Interviews - an interview phase where the player talks to colonists about their local interests and needs

Phase 3: Argument Construction - an argument construction phase where the player consolidates what they learned from their interviews to align with their perspective, assembling a paper to disseminate to colonists

Phase 4: Results - a culminating results interface where the player sees how well aligned their arguments were with both their own goals and the goals of the colonists.

The game's entire structure is built on understanding both Federalist and Anti-Federalist arguments and aligning them with the sentiments of different colonial groups, giving players both the tools for evidence-based argumentation and a historical appreciation of the complexity of America's founding. In this way, American History is approached not just as a series of events, but as a practice that involved ideas clashing and coming together to deliver a series of ideas and compromises that formed the pillars of the country's modern government and society.

The player is put into the role of newspaper editor in 1787. As a newspaper editor, each of the students will choose one of three specific regions of the colonies they live in, and then whether they are interested in supporting a Federalist or Anti-Federalist position (Phase 1). The three regions will represent different areas of America in terms of supporting Federalism, Anti-Federalism, or mixed. Once players have made their choice of region, they'll then go out and conduct three to six interviews with different newly-minted Americans (Phase 2). In each interview, players will hear the story of a different American and how the Constitution will affect them. Each interview is conducted via a branching dialogue system. The interviewee will ask insightful questions, revealing a key point about their perspective. This point will appear as a physical object such as a coin or token, and is added to the player's idea inventory.

Players can then interview additional subjects. In some cases, previous idea tokens can be applied to conversations to unlock either consensus on a given idea or complementary ideas. Thoughtful application of community knowledge will let players understand what ideas resonate the most with the people of that region. If an idea resonates, it will become a stronger token, and visually upgrade.

Players can re-interview previous subjects with new ideas or complete their interviews after three interviews. More thorough interviewing and thoughtful application of ideas, however, will lead to a broader and stronger inventory to be used in the next phase, which is building a paper.

Critical themes from the *Federalist* and *Anti-Federalist Papers* (described in section 2 of the Narrative Document) form the colorful commentary and character and imagery and visual color for the characters in the game. While the text of the era is extremely challenging for many people today, playing up the barbs and insults with the “burns” of the time will be a way for us to communicate both the passion of those people and the critical arguments they were making. By offering up “Infirmities and Depravities”, analogies of monsters, and Greco-Roman language—somewhat contextualized in our modern parlance— we will offer students a sense of the flavor and energy. We plan to mine the *Federalist Papers* even further to capture students’ imagination around this seminal period.

The player now interacts with an empty newspaper template (Phase 3). They use their idea tokens by placing them on the paper in different slots. There is a headline section, for a dominant idea, and then multiple lesser slots for complementary or alternate ideas that seemed to resonate with the people in the region. The headline idea can be supplemented with up to two other tokens, if they make sense, creating a reinforced article that should be very compelling to the locals.

Once the player has assembled their paper, it is now time to print and disseminate it (Phase 4). The player will hear the reaction of their interview subjects as they read the paper. They will find out if they were persuaded, already agreed, or still are not convinced by the paper’s arguments—all based on both their initial opinions and the argument strength and content presented in the paper. Each interviewee rates the paper in terms of how informative and persuasive they thought it was, with those ratings forming the player’s ultimate scores. If the player passes a specific persuasive threshold, that region of the state will support the player’s position. If the player’s informative score is too low, their paper will be put out of business.

III) Technical Specifications & iCivics Infrastructure

- *Explain the project's technical architecture(s), platform, content management system (CMS), and, if applicable, anticipated user-generated content (UGC).*
- *Document the project's CMS, including all procedures pertaining to creating, managing, storing, and disseminating content.*
- *Explain the system for moderating, evaluating, and incorporating UGC, if applicable.*
- *Describe how the project will handle obscene, libelous, indecent, or defamatory content (including hate speech, personal attacks, or material constituting harassment), if applicable.*

i. The iCivics Platform and Content Management System

iCivics games are accessed in one of several ways: via (1) our icivics.org website with playable and downloadable materials, (2) the Apple App Store, and (3) the Google Play Store (also used for Chromebooks). We make certain our games work on the dominant platforms used for technology by schools, which is currently Chromebooks, desktops, and iPads.

The *Ratification: The Great Debate* game will be implemented using the Unity game engine. Unity allows iCivics to publish a plugin-free HTML5 version for the web and also native versions for iOS and Android from a single codebase. iCivics has found that for games, native applications perform better and reduce battery drain compared to mobile web apps.

iCivics plans to extend its pre-existing customized Drupal 7-based CMS to support delivery of the game. Because the games will require significant custom art, sound, and animation, assets will be designed according to the right platform. The CMS will manage metadata for the game as well as deliver the web assets. iCivics has a dedicated team that manages its web properties, applications, and infrastructure.



iCivics has launched 21 digital games and tools since its founding, eight of which are currently available as native apps. The iCivics platform is a highly used site, with over 56 million gameplays over its lifetime.

ii. Technical Architecture

The Drupal CMS along with the game content files will be hosted on Amazon Linux servers inside of an Amazon Web services data center. The front-end servers will be behind an Application Load Balancer to allow for horizontal scaling. Durable storage will be handled via Amazon EFS and relational data will be stored in an Amazon Aurora RDS cluster.

The game(s) will be tested and certified on the following platform configurations:

DEVICE	FORM FACTOR	BROWSER	RESOLUTION	MEMORY	CPU	NETWORK
Windows 7	Desktop	Edge Latest	N/A	N/A	N/A	100 Mbps Ethernet
Windows 7	Desktop	Firefox Latest	N/A	N/A	N/A	100 Mbps Ethernet
Windows 7	Desktop	Chrome Latest	N/A	N/A	N/A	100 Mbps Ethernet
OS X 10.12.4	Mac	Safari Latest	N/A	N/A	N/A	100 Mbps WiFi
ASUS Chromebook	Chromebook	ChromeOS Latest	N/A	1366 x 768	Rockchip Cortex-A17 RK3288C / 1.8 GHz	100 Mbps WiFi
HP Chromebook 14	Chromebook	Chrome OS Latest	N/A	1366 x 768	Celeron 2955U	100 Mbps WiFi
iPad Mini 1	Tablet	8.4.1	N/a	1024 x 768	1 GHz dual-core ARM Cortex-A9	100 Mbps WiFi
iPad 3	Tablet	9.3.3	2048 x 1536	1GB	1 GHz dual-core ARM Cortex-A9	100 Mbps WiFi
iPad Air	Tablet	9.2.1	2048 x 1536	1 GB	1.4 GHz dual-core Apple Cyclone	100 Mbps WiFi
iPad Mini 4	Tablet	9.3.2	2048 x 1536	2 GB	1.5 GHz	100 Mbps

					dual-core Apple Typhoon	WiFi
iPad Pro 12.9	Tablet	10.3.1	2732 x 2048	4 GB	2.24 GHz dual-core 64-bit ARMv8- A[1]	100 Mbps WiFi
Samsung Galaxy Tab S2 9.7	Tablet	6.0.1	2048 x 1536	3 GB	Octa-Core (4x1.9 GHz Quad + 4x1.3 GHz Quad), Exynos 5433	100 Mbps WiFi
Asus Google Nexus 7 (2013)	Tablet	6.0.1	1920 x 1200	2 GB	Quad-core 1.5 GHz Krait	100 Mbps WiFi
Samsung Galaxy Tab 4 10.1	Tablet	5.0.2	1280 x 800	1.5 GB	4-core 1.2 GHz Snapdragon S5	100 Mbps WiFi

iii. Technology & Gaming Partner: Filament Games

iCivics has partnered with Filament Games, a Madison-based educational gaming company, to develop most of our gaming and digital resources. They are a full-service design studio, offering a wide range of capabilities in game, web, and interactive development. Their extensive software experience includes:

- Developing single-player, multiplayer, 2D, 3D, simulation, MMO, role-playing, Facebook, and puzzle games;
- Producing in Java, C#, Python, PHP, ActionScript, JavaScript, Lua, and C++;
- Designing collision, acoustic modeling, quest, inventory, dialog, animation, rendering, sound, and effects systems;
- Developing two in-house game engines: one for Adobe AIR, and one for HTML5

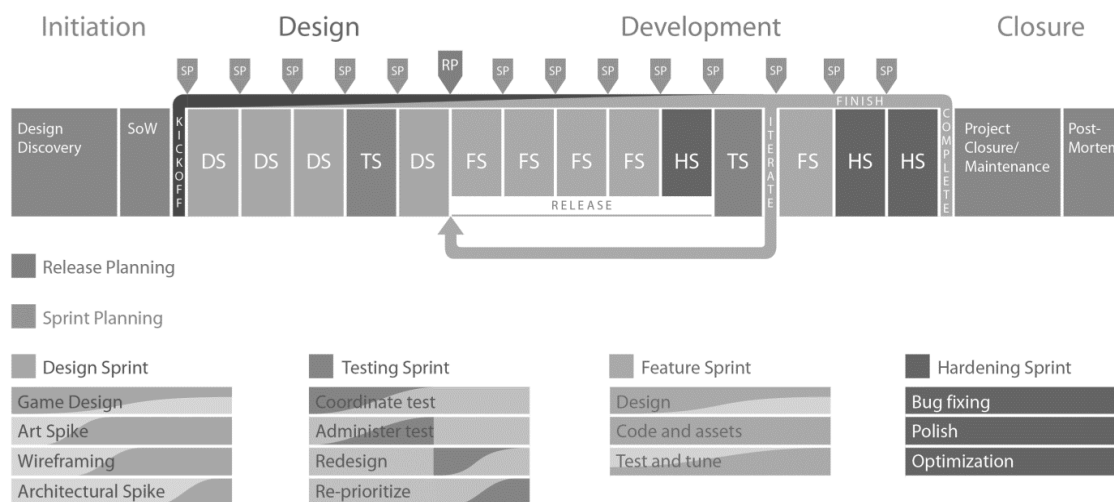
The Filament team is experienced with the creation of mobile apps and platforms. iCivics and Filament Games have a strong collaborative process and a clear production plan that allows for playtesting at multiple phases of production. The iCivics Director of Content is embedded at Filament and works in their offices full-time to ensure an efficient and robust collaboration.

iCivics houses its own Web Development Engineering team, which will work directly with Filament on this project. Together, they produce leaderboards, teacher dashboards, user profiles, and database architecture. And the team has experience in Drupal, jQuery, and Ampersand-JS based user experiences. Furthermore, a recent partnership with Amazon Web Services has

enabled iCivics to expand its server capacity—while reducing costs—to meet growing traffic demands into the future. We would involve these technical capacities to ensure the successful development and long-term sustainability of our game *Ratification: The Great Debate*.

Below is a diagram illustrating our phased production approach. As we move through Initiation, Design, Development, and Closure phases, we produce a series of sprints driving towards three iterations that will be tested (Alpha, Beta, and Gold phases).

Game Production Phases



iv. The Adolescent School Audience: Mitigating Risks

Critical to our success in reaching our adolescent school audience is the idea of keeping them focused on a task. Because our programs are designed for school use, we design all of our materials with the utmost respect for privacy and security. There will not be opportunities for user-generated content (UGC) to be posted or shared online. Such activity with an adolescent audience requires extremely close monitoring, which we do not have the resources or staffing to ensure. Because students do not get to do UGC, there is no risk of obscene, libelous, indecent, or defamatory content being shared.

IV) Sustainability plan

- *Describe the project's plan to deal with technological changes (affecting both hardware and software).*
- *Include estimated future costs and maintenance fees for the project.*
- *If a project is designed to function only for a limited time, explain your procedures for shutting it down and which—if any—core aspects of the project will be maintained.*

Once the game is developed, it will be available for free on our website (www.icivics.org) and as a stand-alone app for free download on the Apple App Store as well as the Google Play store.

iCivics is experienced and well-equipped to maintain the game across multiple platforms for many years. iCivics launched the beginning of a game library in 2010 and has worked to maintain, update, and upgrade our games over the years. As an example, iCivics began a transition from Adobe Flash to Unity, and since the first Unity game launched in 2016, four of our games have received a full upgrade. We have plans to do more. When we upgrade our games, we take the opportunity to improve curriculum, gameplay, art, and UX based on our feedback from teachers and students.

The project will not require further support beyond the period of funding. Given technology lifecycles, though, one can imagine a desire, if not a need, to upgrade the project five or more years down the road.

V. A Unique Opportunity

Finally, it is critical to communicate that this game represents a new stage in iCivics' game development, and we feel the National Endowment for the Humanities would be the ideal partner and collaborator for this endeavor. While we have built many successful games, this will be the first truly historical game that we have created, and the first iCivics game to represent a multiplicity of perspectives and themes.

iCivics is experienced in conveying historical concepts to students, including those concerning the foundations of American government, the road to the Constitution, landmark court cases, and more. Similarly, we consider indigenous people, tribal sovereignty, enslaved peoples, and other critical perspectives in our lesson plans (extant and forthcoming), but not in games. *Ratification The Great Debate* would be our first video-game to address many of these historical themes.

iCivics was initially formed to teach the underlying mechanics and structures of government (how bills turn into laws, how the branches of government work and how they interact). As our capacity with this type of civic knowledge grew, we turned our attention to critical thinking skills, and how we could engage students in reasoning and argumentative thought. We created

tools to help with critical thinking and reasoning. Our most recent innovation is a digital primary source textual analysis tool, which we are creating with the generous support of the Library of Congress.

Ratification: The Great Debate brings together all of these pieces: civic skills, historical perspectives, critical thinking, and primary sources. It is iCivics' next phase of evolution, and one we would be honored to undertake with the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Appendix B

Independent Research Studies on iCivics' Effectiveness

iCivics resources are supported by sound evidence and produce real benefits to students and teachers alike. Independent research conducted by the Schools of Education at Arizona State University and Baylor University, and the Center for Information and Research on Learning and Civic Engagement (CIRCLE) at Tufts University have validated positive outcomes on civic knowledge, skills, and attitudes

Persephone Group, iCivics Effectiveness and Popularity, 2009

Overview and Method: The Persephone Group, an educational evaluation service, conducted an independent assessment of iCivics' effectiveness and popularity. Persephone Group studied students in 6th, 7th, and 8th grade in 22 classrooms across 13 states. Of the participating schools, seven were urban, nine were suburban, five were rural, and half of the participating educators taught at Title I schools. Students were given a pretest before and a posttest after playing two of iCivics' earliest games, *Do I Have A Right?* and *Supreme Decision*. The study included observation of students receiving iCivics lesson plans, playing iCivics games, and a collection of surveys and teacher feedback. **Results:** Results show student scores improved 13.7% after playing *Do I Have A Right?* only once; those who played at least twice improved by 18.3%. The study found the greatest increase among sixth grade students, the youngest of the test population. After playing the game in class, researchers found that 57% of students played *Do I Have A Right?* in their free time at home, unprompted. Student scores improved 14.4% after playing *Supreme Decision* in class, and 78% reported they would play the game again. 100% of participating teachers said they would use iCivics again and would recommend it to a colleague.

Arizona State University, Research on iCivics Effectiveness, 2010

Overview and Method: Arizona State University conducted a similar study of middle school and high school students who played *Branches of Power* and received instruction on the related lesson plans. Researchers administered a pretest and posttest for all students, and collected qualitative data through surveys. **Results:** Study results showed a 20% improvement in student knowledge after treatment; 78% of all students, and 85% of middle school students, felt they had a better understanding of how the government worked after playing the game, and 86% reported enjoying playing the game. Teacher comments also revealed appreciation for the game, with one teacher noting: "[A]ll students were engaged in learning about how government works."

Baylor University, Impact of iCivics on Students' Core Civics Knowledge, 2011

Overview: Baylor University conducted preliminary research in Waco, Texas to evaluate iCivics' popularity with students and efficacy with respect to improving civic knowledge. The initial study by Baylor University included fourth through twelfth graders playing iCivics games for at least one hour per week for six weeks, with a pretest and posttest. **Method:** Students were

free to play any of the sixteen iCivics games at the time of the study (limited only by their teachers' instructions), and for all but twelfth grade, iCivics games were the only formal civics curriculum students received during the study. The population studied included 46% economically disadvantaged, 6% special education, and 8% limited English proficiency students. In addition to the pretest and posttest, students used journals to chronicle their experiences, which were collected to provide qualitative data. **Result:** The Baylor University study indicates a statistically significant 19% mean increase in test scores from pretest to posttest scores across students in grades 4-11. The youngest participants in the study had the largest increase in knowledge from pretest to posttest, nearly doubling their scores. Additionally, the Baylor study indicates that iCivics functions as a "great equalizer:" there were no significant differences in test scores from pretest to posttest when controlling for gender and ethnicity. Qualitatively, students reported "loving" iCivics' games, and teachers commented that there were no classroom management problems while students played the games because they were so engaged. Consistent with this, Waco ISD Superintendent Bonnie Cain noted that students "were actually looking forward to their civics classes and their social studies classes."

CIRCLE at Tufts University, Evaluation of Drafting Board, 2012

Overview and Method: The Center for Information and Research on Learning and Civic Engagement (CIRCLE) at Tufts University conducted the pilot study of the effectiveness of iCivics' new "Drafting Board" module, a computer-based module that assists students in constructing argumentative essays. CIRCLE conducted a randomized controlled experiment to evaluate the impact of Drafting Board on students' literacy and knowledge of civics. The study involved 42 teachers and 3,740 8th grade students in Florida public schools from three counties. Teachers in the experimental group implemented the Drafting Board module in the spring semester during normal social studies class periods. Students in the experimental group used Drafting Board in only 2-3 class periods. At the end of the semester, students in both the control and experimental groups were given an essay exam, which were blindly graded by Tufts University research assistants using the California Writing Standards Test rubric.

Results: CIRCLE researchers found that students in the experimental group performed better on the essay exam assignment than students in the control group. The mean essay exam score of the experimental group was 7.48% higher than the mean score of students in the control group—a statistically significant difference. Additionally, students in the experimental section were 38% more likely to write "excellent" essays than students in the control group.

SRI International: Next Generation Learning Challenge [NGLC] Wave II (Drafting Board) Grantee Evaluation, 2013

Overview: The Next Generation Learning Challenges ([NGLC](#)) initiative, provided grants to 19 organizations for implementing proven and emerging technology-enabled instructional and assessment materials to improve students' mastery of Common Core-aligned content for grades 7

through 9. **Method:** The evaluation was designed to address three general areas: impact on students' mastery of grade 7-9 content aligned with Common Core standards as measured by a variety of assessments; if student outcomes vary significantly for different kinds of innovations, schools, students, or treatment doses; and the implementation of each innovation by the grantees. SRI's evaluation was based on site visits, interviews, usage and implementation data from iCivics, online participating teacher survey data, student achievement data, and project final reports. **Results:** Drafting Board students showed statistically significantly better performance on their essays compared to the control students, even after controlling for race, gender, and income levels. Students who felt highly engaged with *Drafting Board* were much more likely to write "excellent" essays (i.e., scoring four out of four) than who felt less engaged.

Baylor University, iEngage Summer Civics Institute, 2016

Overview and Method: During the summer of 2013 and 2014, researchers at Baylor University planned and hosted a free 3-day summer civics institute, iEngage, for students entering fifth through ninth grades. The students played a number of iCivics games and engaged in a variety of authentic civic experiences, including meeting local civic leaders, participating in a mock trial with local judges, and visiting the University law school. The study sought to uncover how students' civic knowledge, attitudes, and dispositions changed as a result of participating. In 2013, iEngage was 3 days and had 55 attendees. In 2014, the camp expanded to 5 days with 94 campers in attendance. The curriculum focused on youth civic agency, while exploring issues around the powers and processes of the three branches of local government. Campers played digital games on iCivics.org, engaged in hands-on activities, and participated in research and group discussion. The researchers utilized a mixed-methods approach. Qualitative data included student reflections, group discussions, semi-structured interviews, and student artifacts. Quantitative data included pre- and post-institute surveys, which were designed to assess students' commitment to civic participation and competence for civic action. To code and analyze their qualitative data, the researchers utilized Gingold's (2013) Building an Evidence-Based Practice of Action Civics Framework. Two levels of quantitative analysis were used on the survey data: percentage difference calculations to see changes in student responses and dependent samples t-test to see changes within survey items that attended to various citizenship attitudes and dispositions. **Results:** The iEngage Summer Civics Institute fostered four outcomes from Gingold's action civics framework: producing 21st-century positive youth leaders; producing active and informed citizens; increasing youth civic participation; and encouraging youth civic creation. Notably, the combination of playing iCivics games and engaging in meaningful civic-related activities promoted students as active and informed citizens possessing increased knowledge of civics; commitment to electoral, community, and civic engagement; increased ability to enact change alone or with others; and a developed civic identity. Students were given the opportunity to apply the content knowledge they gained from playing iCivics games, which promoted increased understanding of civics content knowledge, statistically significant gains regarding participants' attitudes about civic engagement, and increased sense of efficacy in their ability to make a difference in their community.

Appendix C: Federalist and Anti-Federalist Passages

An Extended Republic

(F) Madison as Publius: *The Federalist No. 10*, *New York Daily Advertiser*, 22 November 1787 on nature of a republic

A Republic, by which I mean a Government in which the scheme of representation takes place, opens a different prospect, and promises the cure for which we are seeking. Let us examine the points in which it varies from pure Democracy, and we shall comprehend both the nature of the cure, and the efficacy which it must derive from the Union. The two great points of difference between a Democracy and a Republic are, first, the delegation of the Government, in the latter, to a small number of citizens elected by the rest: secondly, the greater number of citizens, and greater sphere of country, over which the latter may be extended.

(F) James Wilson's Speech to the Pennsylvania Ratifying Convention, 24 November 1787 on the suitability of republican government for the American states

The remaining system which the American states may adopt is a union of them under one confederate republic. It will not be necessary to employ much time or many arguments to show, that this is the most eligible system that can be proposed. By adopting this system, the vigor and decision of a wide-spreading monarchy may be joined to the freedom and beneficence of a contracted republic. The extent of territory, the diversity of climate and soil, the number, and greatness, and connection of lakes and rivers, with which the United States are intersected and almost surrounded, all indicate an enlarged government to be fit and advantageous for them. The principles and dispositions of their citizens indicate that in this government, liberty shall reign triumphant. Such indeed have been the general opinions and wishes entertained since the era of independence. If those opinions and wishes are as well-founded as they have been general, the late Convention were justified in proposing to their constituents, *one* confederate republic as the best system of a national government for the United States.

(AF) Brutus: *The Anti-Federalist No. 1*, *New York Journal*, 18 October 1787 on the tyrannical fate of large empires

History furnishes no example of a free republic, any thing like the extent of the United States. The Grecian republics were of small extent; so also was that of the Romans. Both of these, it is true, in process of time, extended their conquests over large territories of country; and the consequence was, that their governments were changed from that of free governments to those of the most tyrannical that ever existed in the world.

(AF) Patrick Henry Speech to the Virginia Ratifying Convention, 5 June 1788 on the threat of consolidate power

But we are told that we need not fear, because those in power being our Representatives, will not abuse the powers we put in their hands: I am not well versed in history, but I will submit to your recollection, whether liberty has been destroyed most often by the licentiousness of the people, or by the tyranny of rulers? I imagine, Sir, you will find the balance on the side of tyranny:

Happy will you be if you miss the fate of those nations, who, omitting to resist their oppressors, or negligently suffering their liberty to be wrested from them, have groaned under intolerable despotism. Most of the human race are now in this deplorable condition: and those nations who have gone in search of grandeur, power and splendor, have also fallen a sacrifice, and been the victims of their own folly: While they acquired those visionary blessings, they lost their freedom.

The House of Representatives

(F) Cassius VI, Massachusetts Gazette 14 Dec 1787 (HR term of office)

The weakness the anti-federalists discover in insinuating that the federal government will have it in their power to establish a despotick government, must be obvious to every one; for the time for which they are elected is so short, as almost to preclude the possibility of their effecting plans for enslaving so vast an empire as the United States of America, even if they were so base as to hope for any thing of the kind. The representatives of the people would also be conscious, that their good conduct alone, would be the only thing which could influence a free people to continue to bestow on them their suffrages: the representatives of the people, would not, moreover, dare to act contrary to the instructions of their constituents; . . . The second section also says, no person shall be elected a representative who shall not have been seven years an inhabitant of the United States. This clause effectually confounds all the assertions of the anti-federalists, respecting the representatives not being sufficiently acquainted with the different local interests of their constituents; for a representative, qualified as the constitution directs, must be a greater numbskull than a *Vox Populi* or an *Agrippa*, not to have a knowledge of the different concerns of the Confederation.

(F) The Landholder IV, Connecticut Courant, 26 November 1787 (apportionment)

...if so numerous a representation were made from every part of the United States, with our present population, the new Congress would consist of three thousand men;...Such a body of men might be an army to defend the country in case of foreign invasion, but not a legislature, and the expence to support them would equal the whole national revenue.

Considering the immense territory of America, the objection with many will be on the other side; that when the whole is populated it will constitute a legislature unmanageable by its numbers. Convention foreseeing this danger, have so worded the article, that if the people should at any future time judge necessary, they may diminish the representation.

(AF) Federal Farmer 21 June 1788 to New York Ratifying Convention (HR should be larger to represent cross-section of the country)

From these observations results this conclusion that the number of representatives should be so large, as that while it embraces men of the first class, it should admit those of the middling class of life. I am convinced that this Government is so constituted, that the representatives will generally be composed of the first class in the community, which I shall distinguish by the name of the natural aristocracy of the country.

(AF) William Grayson Speech in the Virginia Convention 1788 (HR is too large)

Their number is too small. Is not a small number more easy to be corrupted than a large one? Were not the Tribunes at Rome the choice of the people? Were not the Decemviri chosen by them? Was not Caesar himself the choice of the people? Did this secure them from oppression and slavery? Did this render these agents so chosen by the people upright? If 560 members are corrupted in the British House of Commons, will it not be easier to corrupt 91 members of the new constitution? . . . It is thought necessary to have 1500 Representatives for the great purposes of legislation throughout the Union, exclusive of 160 Senators, which forms a proportion of about one for every 1500 persons. By the present Constitution, these extensive powers are to be exercised by the small number of 91 persons, a proportion almost 20 times less than the other. It must be degrading indeed to think that so small a number should be equal to so many! Such a preferential distinction must presuppose the happiest selection. They must have something divine in their composition to merit such a pre-eminence. . . . Considering the immense territory of America, the objection with many will be on the other side; that when the whole is populated it will constitute a legislature unmanageable by its numbers. Convention foreseeing this danger, have so worded the article, that if the people should at any future time judge necessary, they may diminish the representation.

The Senate

(F) Robert R. Livingston Speech in the New York Convention, 24 June 1788

As to the senate's rendering themselves perpetual, or establishing such a power, as to prevent their being removed, it appears to me chimerical.—Can they make interest with their legislatures, who are themselves varying every year, sufficient for such a purpose? Can we suppose two senators will be able to corrupt the whole legislature of this state? The idea, I say, is chimerical—The thing is impossible.

(F) Fabius II, *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 15 April 1788

One would really have supposed, that *smallness of number* could not be termed a cause of danger, as *influence* must encrease with *enlargement*. If this is a fault, it will soon be corrected, as an addition will be often made to the number of the *senators*, and, almost every year, to that of the *representatives*; and in all probability much sooner, than we shall be able and willing to bear the expence of the addition. As to the *senate*, it never can be, and it never ought to be large, if it is to possess the powers, which almost all the objectors seem inclined to allot to it, as will be evident to every intelligent person, who considers those powers. . . . It is essential to every good government, that there should be *some council*, permanent enough to get a due knowledge of affairs internal and external; so constituted, that by some deaths or removals, the current of information should not be impeded or disturbed; and so regulated, as to be responsible to, and controulable by *the people*. Where can the authority for combining these advantages, be more *safely, beneficially* or *satisfactorily*, lodged, than in the senate,

(AF) Cato V, *New York Journal*, 22 November 1787

but the framers of this *perfect government*, as it is called, have departed from this democratical principle, and established bi-ennial elections, for the house of representatives, who are to be chosen by the people, and sextennial for the senate, who are to be chosen by the legislatures of the different states, and have given to the executive the unprecedented power of making temporary senators, in case of vacancies, by resignation or otherwise, and so far forth establishing a precedent for virtual representation (though in fact, their original appointment is virtual) thereby influencing the choice of the legislatures

(AF) Luther Martin: *Genuine Information IV*, *Baltimore Maryland Gazette*, 8 January 1788

Another consideration, Mr. Speaker, it was thought ought to have *great weight* to prove that the *smaller States* cannot *depend* on the *senate* for the *preservation of their rights*, either against *large and ambitious States*, or against an *ambitious, aspiring President*.— The senate, Sir, is so constituted, that they are not only to compose one branch of the legislature, but by the second section of the second article, they are to *compose a privy council for the President*; hence it will be necessary, that they should be, in a great measure, a *permanent* body, *constantly residing* at the seat of government.

The Executive

(F) Publius: *The Federalist 68*, *New York Packet*, 14 March 1788 on the manner by which the president is elected

It was desirable that the sense of the people should operate in the choice of the person to whom so important a trust was to be confided. This end will be answered by committing the right of making it, not to any preestablished body, but to men chosen by the people for the special purpose, and at the particular conjuncture. It was equally desirable, that the immediate election should be made by men most capable of analyzing the qualities adapted to the station, and acting under circumstances favorable to deliberation, and to a judicious combination of all the reasons and inducements which were proper to govern their choice. A small number of persons, selected by their fellow-citizens from the general mass, will be most likely to possess the information and discernment requisite to such complicated investigations. . . . All these advantages will happily combine in the plan devised by the convention; which is, that the people of each State shall choose a number of persons as electors, equal to the number of senators and representatives of such State in the national government, who shall assemble within the State, and vote for some fit person as President. Their votes, thus given, are to be transmitted to the seat of the national government, and the person who may happen to have a majority of the whole number of votes will be the President. But as a majority of the votes might not always happen to centre in one man, and as it might be unsafe to permit less than a majority to be conclusive, it is provided that, in such a contingency, the House of Representatives shall select out of the candidates who shall have the five highest number of votes, the man who in their opinion may be best qualified for the office. The process of election affords a moral certainty, that the office of President will never fall to the lot of any man who is not in an eminent degree endowed with the requisite qualifications.

(F) Publius: *The Federalist 72*, *New York Independent Journal*, 19 March 1788 on terms of executive office

Nothing appears more plausible at first sight, nor more ill founded upon close inspection, than a scheme, which in relation to the present point has had some respectable advocates—I mean that of continuing the chief magistrate in office for a certain time, and then excluding him from it, either for a limited period, or for ever after. This exclusion whether temporary or perpetual would have nearly the same effects; and these effects would be for the most part rather pernicious than salutary. . . .

One ill effect of the exclusion would be a diminution of the inducements to good behaviour. There are few men who would not feel much less zeal in the discharge of a duty, when they were conscious that the advantages of the station, with which it was connected, must be relinquished at a determinate period, then when they were permitted to entertain a hope of *obtaining* by *meriting* a continuance of them. . . .

Another ill effect of the exclusion would be the temptation to sacred views, to speculation, and in some instances, to usurpation. An avaricious man, who might happen to fill the offices, looking forward to a time when he must at all events yield up the emoluments he enjoyed, would feel a propensity, not easy to be resisted by such a man, to make the best use of the opportunity he enjoyed, while it lasted; and might not scruple to have recourse to the most corrupt expedients to make the harvest as abundant as it was transient

Would it promote the peace of the community, or the stability of the government, to have half a dozen men who had had credit enough to be raised to the seat of the supreme magistracy, wandering among the people like discontented ghosts, and sighing for a place which they were desirous never more to possess?

A third ill effect of the exclusion would be the depriving the community of the advantage of the experience gained by the chief magistrate in the exercise of his office. That experience is the parent of wisdom is an adage, the truth of which is recognized by the wisest as well as the simplest of mankind.

(AF) Luther Martin: Genuine Information IX, Baltimore *Maryland Gazette*, 29 January 1788 on the manner by which the president is elected

. . . .those who wished as far as possible to establish a *national* instead of a *federal* government, made repeated attempts to have the president chosen by the people at large; on this the sense of the convention was taken, I think not less than three times while I was there, and as often rejected; but within the last fortnight of their session, they obtained the alteration in the manner it now stands, by which the large States have a very undue influence in the appointment of the president.—There is no case where the States will have an equal voice in the appointment of the president, except where two persons shall have each an equal number of votes, and those a majority of the whole number of electors, a case very unlikely to happen, or where no person has a majority of the votes; in these instances the house of representatives are to choose by ballot, each State having an equal voice, but they are confined in the last instance to the five who have the greatest number of votes, which gives the largest States a very unequal chance of having the president chose under their nomination.

(AF) George Mason Speech in the Virginia Convention, 17 June 1788 on terms of executive office

The President is elected without rotation.—It may be said that a new election may remove him, and place another in his stead. If we judge from the experience of all other countries, and even our own, we may conclude, that as the President of the United States may be re-elected, so he will. How is it in every Government where rotation is not required? Is there a single instance of a great man not being re-elected? Our Governor is obliged to return after a

given period, to a private station. It is so in most of the States. This President will be elected time after time—He will be continued in office for life.

. . . . The Electors who are to meet in each State to vote for him, may be easily influenced. To prevent the certain evils of attempting to elect a new President, it will be necessary to continue the old one. The only way to alter this, would be to render him ineligible after a certain number of years, and then no foreign nation would interfere to keep *in* a man who was utterly ineligible. Nothing is so essential to the preservation of a Republican Government, as a periodical rotation. Nothing so strongly impels a man to regard the interest of his constituents, as the certainty of returning to the general mass of the people, from whence he was taken; where he must participate [in] their burdens.

The Judiciary

(F) Publius: The Federalist 78, New York, 28 May 1788

Whoever attentively considers the different departments of power must perceive, that in a government in which they are separated from each other, the judiciary, from the nature of its functions, will always be the least dangerous to the political rights of the constitution; because it will be least in a capacity to annoy or injure them. The executive not only dispenses the honors, but holds the sword of the community. The legislative not only commands the purse, but prescribes the rules by which the duties and rights of every citizen are to be regulated. The judiciary on the contrary has no influence over either the sword or the purse, no direction either of the strength or of the wealth of the society, and can take no active resolution whatever. It may truly be said to have neither FORCE nor WILL, but merely judgment; and must ultimately depend upon the aid of the executive arm even for the efficacy of its judgments.

(F) Publius: The Federalist 79

The precautions for their responsibility, are comprised in the article respecting impeachments. They are liable to be impeached for mal-conduct by the house of representatives, and tried by the senate, and if convicted, may be dismissed from office and disqualified for holding any other. This is the only provision on the point, which is consistent with the necessary independence of the judicial character, and is the only one which we find in our own constitution in respect to our own judges. The want of a provision for removing the judges on account of inability, has been a subject of complaint. But all considerate men will be sensible that such a provision would either not be practiced upon, or would be more liable to abuse, than calculated to answer any good purpose. . . . An attempt to fix the boundary between the regions of ability and inability, would much oftener give scope to personal and party attachments and enmities, than advance the interests of justice, or the public good.

(AF) Brutus 31 January 1788

1st. There is no power above them that can correct their errors or control their decisions. The adjudications of this court are final and irreversible, for there is no court above them to which appeals can lie, either in error or on the merits. . . .

2nd. They cannot be removed from office or suffer a diminution of their salaries, for any error in judgment [due] to want of capacity. It is expressly declared by the constitution, “That they shall at stated times receive a compensation for their services which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.” The only clause in the constitution which provides for the removal of the judges from offices, is that which declares, that “the president, vice- president, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office, on impeachment for, and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors. “By this paragraph, civil officers, in which the judges are included, are removable only for crimes. . . .

3rd. The power of this court is in many cases superior to that of the legislature. I have showed, in a former paper, that this court will be authorised to decide upon the meaning of the constitution; and that, not only according to the natural and obvious meaning of the words, but also according to the spirit and intention of it. In the exercise of this power they will not be subordinate to, but above the legislature. . . .

Hence it is that the true policy of a republican government is, to frame it in such manner, that all persons who are concerned in the government, are made accountable to some superior for their conduct in office. This responsibility should ultimately rest with the people. . . .

(AF) Brutus XV: New York Journal, 20 March 1788

. . . it has departed from almost every other principle of their jurisprudence, under the idea, of rendering the judges independent; which, in the British constitution, means no more than that they hold their places during good behaviour, and have fixed salaries, they have made the judges *independent*, in the fullest sense of the word. There is no power above them, to controul any of their decisions. There is no authority that can remove them, and they cannot be controuled by the laws of the legislature. In short, they are independent of the people, of the legislature, and of every power under heaven. Men placed in this situation will generally soon feel themselves independent of heaven itself.

A Bill of Rights

(F) Publius: The Federalist 84, New York, 28 May 1788 on the danger of a bill of rights

I go further, and affirm that bills of rights, in the sense and in the extent in which they are contended for, are not only unnecessary in the proposed constitution, but would even be dangerous. They would contain various exceptions to powers which are not granted; and on this very account, would afford a colourable pretext to claim more than were granted. . . .

The truth is, after all the declamation we have heard, that the constitution is itself in every rational sense, and to every useful purpose, A BILL OF RIGHTS. The several bills of rights, in Great-Britain, form its constitution, and conversely the constitution of each state is its bill of rights. And the proposed constitution, if adopted, will be the bill of rights of the union. Is it one

object of a bill of rights to declare and specify the political privileges of the citizens in the structure and administration of the government? This is done in the most ample and precise manner in the plan of the convention, comprehending various precautions for the public security, which are not to be found in any of the state constitutions.

(F) Aristides: Remarks on the Proposed Plan, 31 January 1788 on the guarantee of rights by enumerated powers

With all due deference, I apprehend, that a bill of rights might not be this innocent quieting instrument. Had the convention entered on the work, they must have comprehended within it every thing, which the citizens of the United States claim as a natural or a civil right. An omission of a single article would have caused more discontent, than is either felt, or pretended, on the present occasion. A multitude of articles might be the source of infinite controversy, by clashing with the powers intended to be given

(AF) Federal Farmer, Letters to the Republican, 8 November 1787 on the obvious nature of which rights are should be listed

In the year 1788 the people of the United States make a federal constitution, which is a fundamental compact between them and their federal rulers; these rulers, in the nature of things, cannot be bound to take notice of any other compact. It would be absurd for them, in making laws, to look over thirteen, fifteen, or twenty state constitutions, to see what rights are established as fundamental, and must not be infringed upon, in making laws in the society.

(AF) Patrick Henry Speech in the Virginia Convention, 12 June 1788 on the fact that many state constitutions included a bill of rights within document rather than as an add on (to refute the argument that some states did not have such bills)

Give me leave to add (if I can add any thing to so splendid an example) the conduct of the American people. They Sir, thought *a Bill of Rights* necessary. It is alleged that several States, in the formation of their governments, omitted a Bill of Rights. To this I answer, that they had the substance of a Bill of Rights contained in their Constitutions, which is the same thing. I believe that Connecticut has preserved by her Constitution her royal charter, which clearly defines and secures the great rights of mankind—Secure to us the great important rights of humanity, and I care not in what form it is done. Of what advantage is it to the American Congress to take away this great and general security?

Prototype

In the process of developing the concept behind the game, we created a set of guiding objectives as well as guiding questions. The objectives are based on state standards, best practices, and overall goals we have for the game. The questions are for our scholars, game design team and curriculum team to consider as we move deeper into development of the product.

Guiding Objectives

- Support player engagement with the diverse viewpoints/arguments presented by the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists concerning ratification of the Constitution and inclusion of a bill of rights.
 - The Federalists supported ratification because they advocated the importance of a strong central government, especially to promote economic development, public improvements, and social stability.
 - The Anti-Federalists opposed the ratification of the Constitution because they feared an overly powerful central government destructive of the rights of individuals and states, leading to their demand for the incorporation of the United States Bill of Rights.
- Provide insights into how the ratification played out across geographical and demographic regions, as well as across socioeconomic classes.
- Support development of argumentation and media literacy skills through the editorial responsibilities within the game.

Guiding Questions

- How do we best represent multiple perspectives within and beyond those of the Federalist and Anti-Federalist authors?
- How do we establish the role of the press on the very broad and public debate over ratification within the states?
- How can we “place” this effort within a space and time that reflects how widely these discussions were had (“out of doors debate” among the public)?
- What is the best way to show the impact of the debate and its contents (ratification of Constitution with the addition of the Bill of Rights) without presenting it as a foregone conclusion? Or does this matter?
- What is the best balance to strike between player agency (pick states) and historical chronology (scheduled conventions)?
- What is the ideal way to display the voting tendency of each state (unanimous vote pro/con, leaning pro/con, split), while still showing the diversity of support within that state? (As it relates to public opinion “research” in the game.)

Keeping these goals and questions in mind, the curriculum team worked with the game and art departments at Filament Games to create two mockups for the proposed game experience. Both are designed to show possible layouts, the text and final design will be informed by research, work with our scholars, and additional design efforts.

The first image depicts the player engaging with a resident of Virginia. This interaction, along with other conversations like it, will be critical to collecting the ideological bent of the state's residents. The conversations allow the student to access diverse narratives and ask questions to develop a finessed understanding of the best approach to editing each state's newspaper. Additional information collection elements may be added to this screen to assist the student in keeping track of the variety in opinions.

The second image shows the newspaper building screen. After the student engages with a number of residents of a state, they will be tasked with building the editorial page of a newspaper. They will have to review their options, determine priority (lead article versus secondary articles), and then finalize the approach before sending it to the printing press. Each coin represents an issue that has been introduced as a basic component of the ratification debate for either side. With a total of ten for each side, students will be able to work through the articles (arguments) to select the most effective and impactful items for that state and that side of the debate. Once the paper goes to press, the student will see the impact of their editorial choices on the paper's readership. This will inform how likely the state is to ratify the Constitution; as well as how successful the player is at gaining a 9 state ratification goal.

Extending the Learning Experience

Part of the design of our games is supporting all learners in a variety of settings. iCivics believes game-based learning is an excellent strategy. But for the learning to transfer, all of our materials must be taught using varied, multi-modal strategies to reach a wide range of learners. iCivics will actively seek funding to complement the ratification-themed game with materials for English Language Learners (ELLs), classroom supports, and non-classroom programmatic facilitation. This will ensure greater equity in the civics classroom, and beyond it.

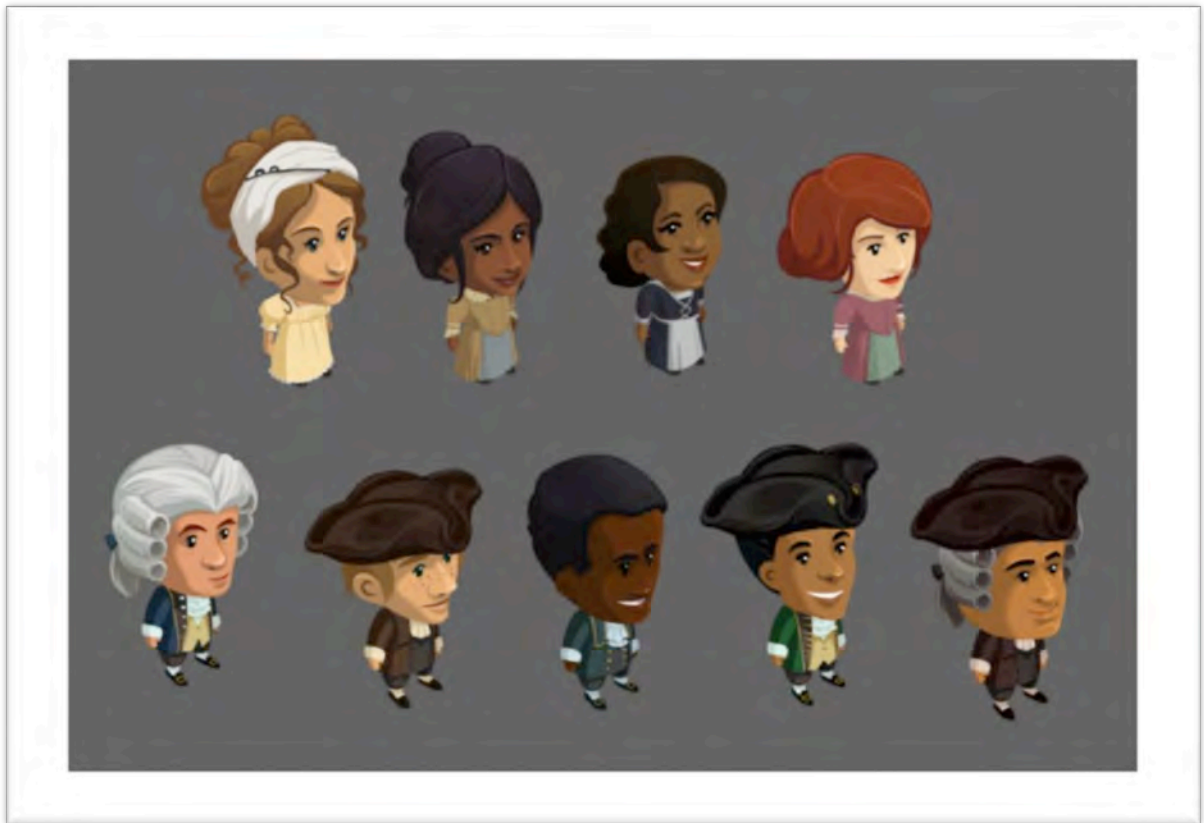
One of our biggest supplemental funding efforts will focus on making *Ratification* available for all learners. Today, there are 4.5 million English Language Learners (ELLs) in K-12, mainly Spanish speaking. The proportion of ELLs is rising, and dramatically so in some large urban areas. iCivics exists to develop *all* students' lifelong interest and knowledge in civics. Therefore, we must focus on the needs of non-native English speakers.

Our teacher-users want unique resources to support the range of English language abilities found in their classrooms. With the appropriate pedagogical supports, ELLs will become knowledgeable about our government, their civil rights, and the law. Making our resources ELL accessible is one of iCivics' top priorities today.

We have begun the process to embed literacy development techniques into our games and support materials with the aide of a stellar panel of academic language literacy experts. These techniques include a full text review for language scaffolds, academic vocabulary introductory activities, professional learning opportunities as well as socio-economic and cultural context review. While full adaptation for ELLs is outside the scope of this grant

proposal, our learnings from the project already under way will influence every language choice we make.

Character List:



Ratification: The Great Debate

Game Screen Mock-ups

Image One: Interview Experience

General Menu:

Takes you to the overall navigation screen

Interview

Menu: Select from a variety of people to speak with as you collect information for your paper.

Statement:

Read through the resident's take on the ratification issue at hand. The arrow shows that there is more to read.



Issue Coin: Each coin represents an issue at the core of the ratification argument

Setting: Additional context for the interviews will be provided through art.

Residents: Each person you speak with will come from a unique place in the state's socio-economic space.

Image One: Newspaper Building

Issue Coin: This ties the interviews to the editorials.

When selected it provides more insight into the role of this particular argument in the larger debate.

Coin Bank:

You can draw from a variety of editorials for your paper by selecting an issue coin and placing it on the paper.



The Newspaper: This state-wide newspaper will act as your soap box, influencing the residents to support or oppose ratification. Your goal is to select the editorials most likely to influence the people you've interviewed.

Progress Bar: Check on the impact of your editorial choices here.