Chapter
2

Should Kids Be Allowed to Have a Job? (Dimension 2: History)

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Figure 1. ***Eight-Year-Old Jennie Camillo***

Note. In this photo, eight-year-old Jennie Camillo picks cranberries with her family. School has already been in session for a month, and cranberry picking season won't end for another two weeks. Hine, L. W. (1910, September 27). *Eight-year-old, Jennie Camillo* [Photograph]. National Child Labor Committee Collection, Library of Congress. www.loc.gov/item/2018674052/

Should Kids Be Allowed to Have a Job?		
C3 Disciplinary Focus History	**C3 Inquiry Focus** Evaluating sources and communicating conclusions	**Content Topic** Child Labor
C3 Focus Indicators **D1.4.3–5.** Explain how supporting questions help answer compelling questions in an inquiry. **D2.His.2.3–5.** Compare life in specific historical time periods to life today. **D3.3.3–5.** Identify evidence that draws information from multiple sources in response to compelling questions. **D3.4.3–5.** Use evidence to develop claims in response to compelling questions. **D4.1.3–5.** Construct arguments using claims and evidence from multiple sources.		
Pedagogical Approach Scaffolding Resources; Guided Inquiry; Student Discussion		
Suggested Grade Levels 4–5	**Resources** Library of Congress digital collections, See Appendix	**Time Required** Four 20–30-minute class periods

Introduction and Connection to the C3 Framework

Working with primary sources helps students gain a deeper understanding of history through the development of personal connections. While a single source is an incomplete fragment of history, when primary sources are combined, they allow students to weave individual historical events into the larger tapestry of history. Determining how, when, and why to include primary sources in the elementary classroom can be difficult, but when they are thoughtfully combined with authentic questions, primary sources can serve as guideposts to student inquiry and lead students through an engaging discussion. This chapter demonstrates how to intentionally pair primary sources with authentic questions to lead students from discussing a single primary source—a simple photograph—to more complex documents, questions, and conversations.

Authentic questions are "thoughtful, open-ended questions that prompt students to seek understanding, not arrive at a predetermined answer" (Billings & Roberts, 2014, p. 62). This means that unlike exam questions, which often expect students to parrot a fact-based answer, authentic questions do not have a single correct answer. This allows students to think independently rather than regurgitate answers they think their teachers expect. Research shows that teachers who use authentic questions to elicit student voice, rather than require

the recitation of fact-based information, were more likely to not only spark but also maintain engaging discussions in their classrooms (Hess, 2009).

Throughout this chapter, readers will be challenged to think about how the intentional incorporation of authentic questions, paired with structured discussion techniques and primary sources, can serve as scaffolding to assist elementary students in developing claims and constructing arguments (C3 Focus Indicators D3.4.3–5 and D4.1.3–5). To model these ideas, this chapter presents a lesson created with three primary sources that tell one story about what life was like for some children in the United States before child labor laws went into effect. (See the Appendix for a list of primary sources used in this inquiry.) When combined with supporting questions and discussion-based teaching strategies, these primary sources equip students to answer the compelling question, "Should kids be allowed to have a job?"

Inquiry Arc

Dimension 1: Developing Questions and Planning Inquiries

As part of the C3 Framework, teachers are encouraged to create *compelling questions*, as linchpins that hold together parts meant to function as a single unit (Grant, 2013). The Inquiry Design Model (IDM) builds this idea further, suggesting that teachers create additional *supporting questions* that frame and give structure to the inquiry (Swan et al., 2019). However, because this chapter focuses specifically on combining primary sources and discussion-based teaching strategies, it is important to include a third type: *authentic questions*. As defined above, authentic questions are a valuable teaching tool that can help teachers sustain discussion in the classroom, even at the elementary level. Often, this type of question is posed by a student, but teachers can also thoughtfully and intentionally create authentic questions that guide deep classroom conversations. In this lesson, authentic questions will be created by both the teacher and the student. While the teacher will create a set of questions that guide the lesson, in Dimension 2, students will also ask questions about the primary sources they encounter. See Table 1 for further characteristics of authentic questions.

Table 1. ***Characteristics of Authentic Questions***

Characteristics of Authentic Questions	
compelling	can be asked by student or teacher
provocative and engaging	sincere
are worth of spending time on	have no predetermined answer
intellectually meaty	thoughtful
prompt students to seek understanding	open-ended

Authentic compelling and supporting questions prompted by the sources included in this lesson include the following:

- Compelling Question: Should kids be allowed to have a job?
- Supporting Question 1: What sort of jobs can kids do?
- Supporting Question 2: Is it safe for kids to work? Why or why not?
- Supporting Question 3: Who decides when and where kids work?

These teacher-created authentic questions are open-ended and thoughtful with no predetermined answers, but they still act as guideposts to move the conversation forward. Though the questions may seem simple, in conjunction with the primary sources introduced in Dimension 3, they ask students to spend time on topics that require a deeper understanding of the topic than they presently have. Intentionally, the three supporting questions are designed to work together to help students form an evidence-based answer for the compelling question, which is used both to introduce the topic and to conclude the lesson, highlighting the skills in C3 Focus Indicator D1.4.3–5. And finally, these questions are engaging to students because they deal with a topic students enjoy.

When thinking about developing lessons that incorporate the use of authentic questions, consider the following in addition to the characteristics listed in Table 1:

- When/Why might I use an authentic question?
- Can I think of an authentic question I have heard/used in my classroom before?
- How often should I use authentic questions in my classroom?

Dimension 2: Applying Disciplinary Concepts and Tools

In social studies lessons focused on inquiry, discussions are often called for as part of the lesson activities, or the use of discussion-based pedagogy is implied in response to the included compelling and supporting questions (Bickford, 2021; Hauver, 2017; Ledford et al., 2019). In Dimension 2, it is important to ground students in the historical time period. In this model lesson, over the course of several days, students are asked to compare life in specific historical time periods to life today. To do this, students will participate in structured discussions that are organized using strategies that combine authentic questions with primary sources from the Library of Congress.

Classroom discussion encourages student voice and sees students exploring ideas and conducting inquiry with a group of fellow learners. While there are some questions about when it is appropriate to engage in meaningful discussions with young students, the National Council for the Social Studies (2019) asks teachers to plan activities designed to cultivate young students' abilities to form and voice opinions, and studies show that even the youngest of our students are able to take the perspective of others, consider ethical dilemmas, and participate in thoughtful conversations about hard questions (Allen, 2018; Mitra et al., 2017; Payne & Green, 2018; Serriere, 2010; Serriere et al., 2017). The well-designed strategies in the lesson modeled here can help teachers guide students in effective discussions.

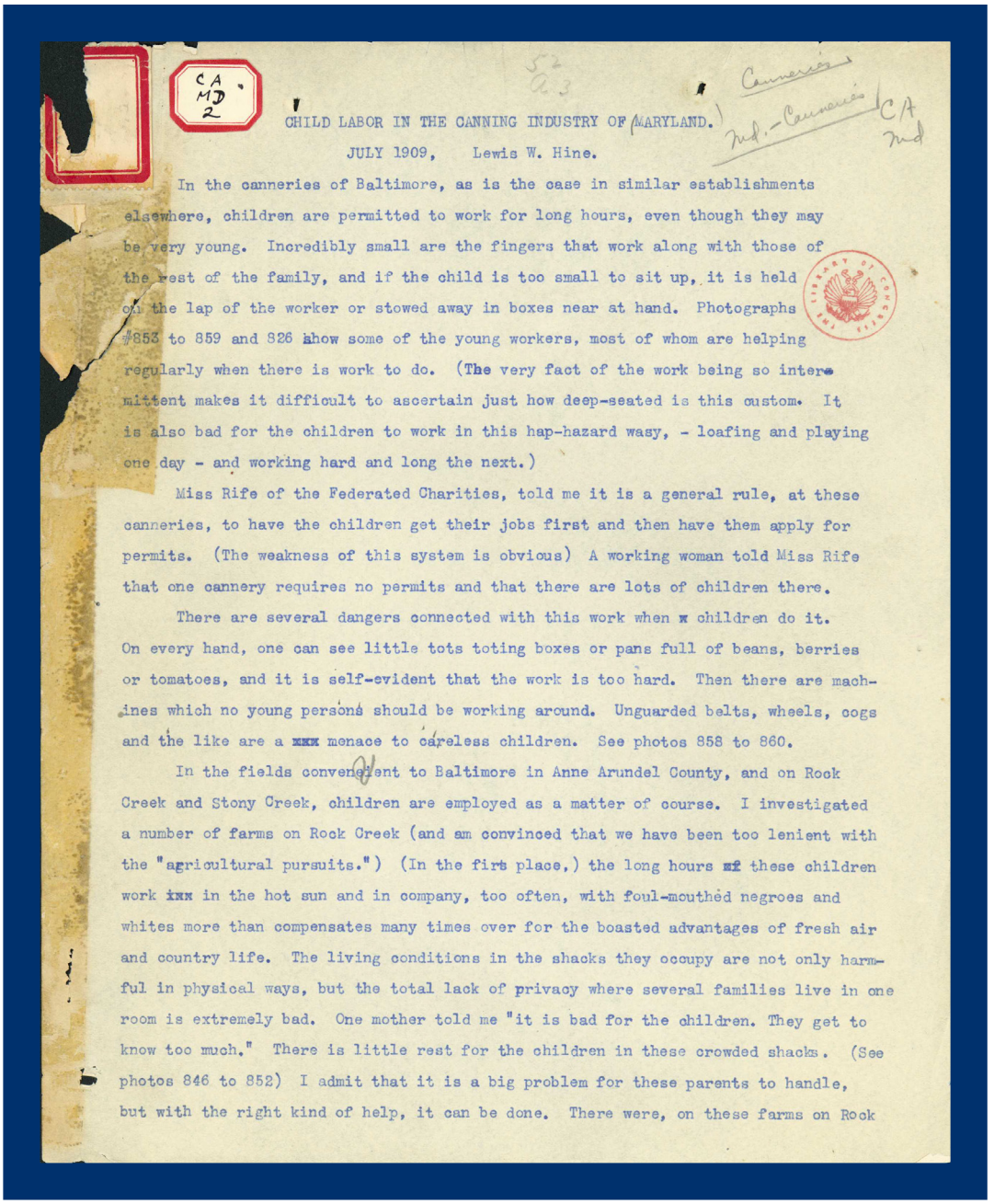
To begin the model lesson, students will first respond to a primary source photograph of eight-year-old Jennie Camillo (Figure 1). After presenting the picture, encourage students to engage with the primary source by sharing things they notice and asking questions about things in the photograph that they are unsure about. It would be easy to answer student questions at this point, but resist the urge. Allow students to evaluate the primary source and come to their own conclusions over the course of the lesson. However, the teacher may consider recording authentic questions asked by the students to return to or incorporate later in the lesson.

After viewing the primary source and generating questions, students will engage in a pyramid discussion surrounding the supporting question, "What types of jobs can kids do?" A pyramid discussion is a helpful strategy that helps students transition from concrete observations to more abstract ideas and provides space for students who are typically reluctant to participate in a large group setting by beginning discussion in pairs and slowly progressing to whole-group discussion. To facilitate a pyramid discussion, the classroom teacher should develop a set of questions that progress in difficulty. For this particular discussion, the following questions might be used:

- What does it look like the child in this picture is doing? Why?
- Is what she is doing a job? Why or why not?
- What sort of jobs do you do at home? What makes them jobs?
- What types of jobs can kids do?

Using these questions, the teacher can facilitate this discussion by dividing students into groups of two and asking the first question. When students have had a couple of minutes to respond, combine the groups of two into groups of four, read the photograph's caption, and ask students to discuss the second question. Again, once students have had a couple of minutes to respond, combine student groups and ask students to discuss the third question. Finally, combine all groups to conclude with a whole class discussion about the first supporting question, "What types of jobs can kids do?"

Figure 2. ***Child Labor in the Canning Industry of Maryland***



CHILD LABOR IN THE CANNING INDUSTRY OF MARYLAND.

JULY 1909, Lewis W. Hine.

In the canneries of Baltimore, as is the case in similar establishments elsewhere, children are permitted to work for long hours, even though they may be very young. Incredibly small are the fingers that work along with those of the rest of the family, and if the child is too small to sit up, it is held on the lap of the worker or stowed away in boxes near at hand. Photographs #853 to 859 and 826 show some of the young workers, most of whom are helping regularly when there is work to do. (The very fact of the work being so intermittent makes it difficult to ascertain just how deep-seated is this custom. It is also bad for the children to work in this hap-hazard wasy, - loafing and playing one day - and working hard and long the next.)

Miss Rife of the Federated Charities, told me it is a general rule, at these canneries, to have the children get their jobs first and then have them apply for permits. (The weakness of this system is obvious) A working woman told Miss Rife that one cannery requires no permits and that there are lots of children there.

There are several dangers connected with this work when children do it. On every hand, one can see little tots toting boxes or pans full of beans, berries or tomatoes, and it is self-evident that the work is too hard. Then there are machines which no young persons should be working around. Unguarded belts, wheels, cogs and the like are a menace to careless children. See photos 858 to 860.

In the fields convenient to Baltimore in Anne Arundel County, and on Rock Creek and Stony Creek, children are employed as a matter of course. I investigated a number of farms on Rock Creek (and am convinced that we have been too lenient with the "agricultural pursuits.") (In the first place,) the long hours of these children work in the hot sun and in company, too often, with foul-mouthed negroes and whites more than compensates many times over for the boasted advantages of fresh air and country life. The living conditions in the shacks they occupy are not only harmful in physical ways, but the total lack of privacy where several families live in one room is extremely bad. One mother told me "it is bad for the children. They get to know too much." There is little rest for the children in these crowded shacks. (See photos 846 to 852) I admit that it is a big problem for these parents to handle, but with the right kind of help, it can be done. There were, on these farms on Rock

Note. Hine, L. W. (1909, July 10). *Child labor in the canning industry of Maryland* [Report]. National Child Labor Committee Collection, Library of Congress. www.loc.gov/collections/national-child-labor-committee/articles-and-essays/reporting-on-labor-conditions/

Next, the teacher will share preselected excerpts from the report *Child Labor in the Canning Industry of Maryland* (Figure 2), pausing to ask questions that help students connect the ideas in the document with both the photograph of Jennie Camillo (Figure 1) and the compelling question. These questions may be direct. For example, after reading, "one cannery requires

no permits and … there are lots of children there," the teacher might ask the following direct questions: "What is a permit? Would it be a problem that a factory is operating without a permit?" These preplanned and intentionally designed read-aloud questions should not only help students understand and engage with the primary source text but also aid them in developing historical thinking skills. For example, questions like, "What parts of this passage sound similar to life today? Are there parts that describe significant differences?" directly connect with C3 indicator D2.His.2.3–5 by asking students to make personal connections to primary sources. Using a discussion-based teaching technique, Philosophical Chairs, ask students to consider the second supporting question, "Is it safe for kids to work? Why or why not?" by modifying the question into a statement, "It is safe for kids to work."

In a Philosophical Chairs discussion, students are given a statement and asked to move to an area of the room based on whether they agree or disagree with the statement. Students are given the opportunity to briefly discuss their opinions, based on the evidence provided, with students in their small groups before sharing them with the class. Students from each side of the room will take turns presenting arguments in defense of their opinions, and students can choose to move to the other side at any point if they change their minds. Because a Philosophical Chairs discussion is similar to a debate and all answers should be based on the evidence provided, this strategy helps students use primary source material—that is, "use evidence to develop claims in response to compelling questions" (D3.4.3–5). Teachers can further this discussion by leading students to consider the differences between the working conditions in 1909 (the date on the primary source in Figure 2) and the working conditions for jobs available to children today.

Finally, students will be shown a series of three pictures of Phoebe Thomas, an eight-year-old sardine packer who had a serious accident (Figure 3, Figure 4, and Figure 5). While looking at these photographs and reading the captions, students will be asked to reflect on the primary sources by answering the question, "Who decides when and where kids work?" Again, discussion can be facilitated by the teacher using a discussion-based teaching technique. In this case, a fishbowl discussion works well because it can be used to slowly introduce additional material. It also encourages students to listen to other student responses, and it provides space for all students' voices to be heard.

Figure 3. ***Phoebe Thomas Going to Work at Seacoast Canning Company Factory***

Note. Hine, L. W. (1911, August). *Eight-year-old Syrian girl, Phoebe Thomas* [Photograph]. National Child Labor Committee Collection, Library of Congress. www.loc.gov/item/2018676735/

Figure 4. ***Phoebe Thomas Running Home From the Factory***

Note. Hine, L. W. (1911, August). *Phoebe Thomas, 8-year-old Syrian girl, running home from the factory all alone* [Photograph]. National Child Labor Committee Collection, Library of Congress. www.loc.gov/item/2018676736/

Figure 5. ***Phoebe's Thumb***

Note. Hine, L. W. (1911, August). *Phoebe's thumb, a week after the accident* [Photograph]. National Child Labor Committee Collection, Library of Congress. www.loc.gov/item/2018676741/

In a fishbowl discussion, a small group of students sits in the middle of the room. Only the students sitting in the small group should talk. The rest of the students stand around the seated students and listen to the conversation. Once a student has spoken in the discussion, they may be tapped out by another student who wishes to join the conversation. As the facilitator, the teacher chooses how many students are part of the small group, when and how many questions are asked, and whether students are required to participate. In this lesson, the teacher will show students the first picture of Phoebe on her way to work (Figure 3), read the caption aloud, then ask students to reflect on the picture by answering the supporting question, "Who decides when and where kids work?" After giving some time for students to discuss and tap in/out, the teacher then shows the second picture of Phoebe, in which she is running home from work after slicing the end of her thumb (Figure 4). The teacher reads the caption and allows students to continue discussing the same question. Finally, the teacher shows the third picture, of Phoebe's thumb one week later (Figure 5), reads the caption, and gives students time to complete their discussion. Further questions to consider when engaging students with primary sources are also available in the Getting Started with Primary Sources guide from the Library of Congress. See Table 2 for a summary of the strategies discussed above.

In all these examples, the length of time given for discussion may vary significantly based on the age and ability of students. For third-grade students, a 15-minute fishbowl discussion

can be very successful and appropriate, while fifth-grade students may discuss the same topic for close to an hour. Ultimately, the success of a discussion does not depend on the length; its success depends on whether the goal of the discussion was reached. In this case, the goal of the discussion is to ground students in the historical time period and, more specifically, to engage in conversation around C3 Framework Indicator D2.His.2.3–5: "Compare life in specific historical time periods to life today."

When thinking about developing lessons that incorporate the use of discussion-based teaching strategies, consider the following:

- What is the goal of the discussion?
- Will I have one overarching question or a series of questions that progress in difficulty?
- What specific strategy works best for the type of question I am trying to ask?

Table 2. *Suggested Discussion Strategies*

Strategy	General Overview of Strategy
Pyramid Discussion	• Begin with groups of 2 students for the first question. • For the second question, groups of 2 combine to form groups of 4. • For the third question, groups of 4 combine to form groups of 8. • For the last question, groups of 8 combine for a whole class discussion. • Each group gets a new question to add to the conversation. The size of the group and/or the number of questions can be modified to meet the needs of a particular class. • Students may self-select groups, or the teacher may predetermine the grouping depending on the individual classroom setting.
Philosophical Chairs Discussion	• Write an authentic statement or question on the board. • Have students think about whether they agree or disagree and why. This can be completed on paper depending on the age of the student. • Designate sides of the room as the "yes/agree" side and the "no/disagree" side. Have students who are unsure sit in the middle. • Remind students that when they hear an argument that changes their mind, they should move to that side. • Start with any side (although the side with the fewest supporters is normally a good idea). • One student will step forward and share one viewpoint that supports their side. Sides will alternate speaking one at a time and sharing one point at a time. • Each student needs to paraphrase what the last person said before they share their own viewpoint. (Students should address each other, not the teacher, when they are speaking.) • The teacher will act as a moderator to keep the discussion on topic, clarify falsehoods, and keep track of time.

Fishbowl Discussion	• A group of students sits in the middle of the classroom to begin the discussion. Only the students sitting in the center of the fishbowl may talk. • Determine the number of students that makes sense for a particular class. The number doesn't matter. • The rest of the students stand outside of the fishbowl listening. This includes the teacher who should model the activity and follow the rules. • Once someone in the middle of the fishbowl has spoken, a student on the outside of the fishbowl may tap them out and take their place. • If the discussion begins to die, introduce a new question. • Each student must participate at least once but can participate more than once. The teacher should determine the number of times students are required to participate (or if they are required to participate at all).

Dimension 3: Evaluating Sources and Using Evidence

Inquiry lessons designed with the C3 Framework ask elementary students to "identify evidence that draws information from multiple sources in response to compelling questions" (D3.3.3–5). To meet this goal, the Library of Congress has a multitude of resources and curated primary source collections for teachers and the general public.

When beginning to plan a lesson that incorporates a primary source, teachers may wonder where to begin. Does it make sense to start by browsing the Library of Congress website, or should a teacher first decide on an authentic compelling question? It can be either. The topic for this model lesson originated from state standards. While textbooks are often used as the backbone of social studies education in elementary school, state standards are the foundation that teachers should work from when planning social studies lessons for their grade level. The sources used in this inquiry were found during a search for sources about the topic of child labor as a way to approach the Industrial Revolution, a subject included in many upper elementary standards. The sources are a part of the *National Child Labor Committee Collection*, a digital collection on the Library of Congress website; however, this collection includes over 5,000 photographs—more than any lesson would require.

To narrow down primary source materials and select items to use in an inquiry lesson based on the C3 Framework, teachers should think about the goals of the lesson. For example, the Focus Indicators proposed in the table at the beginning of this lesson suggest that students should have the opportunity to compare historical time periods to life today (D2.His.2.3–5), draw information from multiple sources (D3.3.3–5), and use evidence to develop claims (D3.4.3–5). Additionally, these sources should provide the information needed to answer the compelling question about the topic, and they should be engaging and interesting to students. Consider which supporting questions students will need to answer in order to formulate a strong evidence-based answer to the lesson's compelling question. Then, find sources

that help students develop answers to the supporting questions. At the conclusion of the lesson, students will be able to synthesize this information to answer the lesson's compelling question.

Once sources have been chosen, as part of Dimension 3, students should be carefully analyzing the primary source photographs and documents to build the skills needed to "use evidence to develop claims in response to compelling questions" (D3.4.3–5). While there are many ways to accomplish this, this chapter highlights the use of discussion-based teaching strategies to achieve this goal. During the initial pyramid discussion, students use the caption and photograph of Jennie Camillo (Figure 1) as an example of a child being asked to forfeit their rights (i.e., schooling) in order to provide a service (i.e., berry picking/food production). Students use this primary source example to "compare life in specific historical time periods to life today" (D2.His.2.3–5) by comparing the photograph to what they have experienced in their own lives. In the second discussion, students see and listen to a report on the dangers involved in child labor (Figure 2). They respond to the claim, "It is safe for children to work," using this information as "evidence to develop claims in response to compelling questions" (D3.4.3–5). In the final discussion, students evaluate a series of primary source photographs (Figure 3, Figure 4, and Figure 5) to consider who has the right to decide when and where children work. This discussion helps students "construct arguments using claims and evidence from multiple sources" (D4.1.3–5). These explicit examples demonstrate the importance of intentionally selecting primary sources that allow students to build skills outlined in the C3 Framework. See the Appendix for the complete set of primary sources used in this lesson.

Dimension 4: Communicating Conclusions and Taking Informed Action

Dimension 4 is often seen as the place where the goal of social studies, making informed decisions for the public good (NCSS, 1994), is realized. Beyond teaching students to recognize a problem, it teaches them the skills of active citizenry: considering solutions but also taking necessary steps to enact those solutions. Equipping students with the skills they need to communicate conclusions and take informed action prepares students to become effective participants in a democratic society. Too often, we ask young students to find a problem and formulate a plan to enact real change but stop short of actually allowing them to do the work. As adults, this translates into verbalism: reflection without action (Friere, 1970). Successful completion of all four dimensions of the inquiry arc demonstrates how to combine reflection, research, and action in a robust and meaningful way to address real-world issues and enact change. The following are examples of how students might achieve this goal:

1. Ask students to take a stance on child labor and write a letter in response to the report *Child Labor in the Canning Industry of Maryland* (Figure 2). In this letter, students should answer the compelling question, "Should kids be allowed to have a job?" and

show support for their answer by referring to evidence supplied by the primary sources considered. This task asks students to engage in the activities suggested by indicator D4.1.3–5, "construct arguments using claims and evidence from multiple sources," and helps them communicate conclusions they have reached as a result of participating in this inquiry lesson.

2. Ask students to engage in and present additional research about the existence of child labor working conditions in the present age. Rethinkingschools.org shares a significant number of Global Sweatshop Resources to help teachers build personal background knowledge about this issue, and many articles/videos available through this site could be scaffolded for students to investigate the prevalence of child labor concerns today. This research could be shared with the class or with the community at large, as appropriate.

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Appendix

Primary Sources From the Library of Congress		
Source	**Reference**	**Summary**
Eight-year-old Jennie Camillo	Hine, L. W. (1910, September 27). *Eight-year-old, Jennie Camillo* [Photograph]. National Child Labor Committee Collection, Library of Congress. www.loc.gov/item/2018674052/	Eight-year-old Jennie Camillo picks cranberries with her family. School has already been in session for a month, and cranberry picking season won't end for another two weeks.
Child labor in the canning industry of Maryland	Hine, L. W. (1909, July 10). *Child labor in the canning industry of Maryland* [Report]. National Child Labor Committee Collection, Library of Congress. www.loc.gov/collections/national-child-labor-committee/articles-and-essays/reporting-on-labor-conditions/	A 1909 report on child labor in the canning industry of Maryland by Lewis W. Hine who took the images of children used in this inquiry.
Phoebe Thomas going to work at Seacoast Canning Company Factory	Hine, L. W. (1911, August). *Eight-year-old Syrian girl, Phoebe Thomas* [Photograph]. National Child Labor Committee Collection, Library of Congress. www.loc.gov/item/2018676735/	Phoebe Thomas, with a large butcher knife, on her way to work at a canning factory where she cuts sardines.
Phoebe Thomas running home from the factory	Hine, L. W. (1911, August). *Phoebe Thomas, 8-year-old Syrian girl, running home from the factory all alone* [Photograph]. National Child Labor Committee Collection, Library of Congress. www.loc.gov/item/2018676736/	Phoebe Thomas running home from the factory after she nearly cut the end of her thumb off while cutting sardines in the factory.
Phoebe's thumb	Hine, L. W. (1911, August). *Phoebe's thumb, a week after the accident* [Photograph]. National Child Labor Committee Collection, Library of Congress. www.loc.gov/item/2018676741/	Phoebe's thumb, a week after the accident. She was back at the factory that day, using the same knife.