



Teaching Inequality: Cupcakes & Graphs

This paper presents a quick and easy-to-adopt classroom activity. While graphs are a great way to communicate data, instruction benefits from more modalities. Five students represent income quintiles. The instructor endows each participant with a share of cupcakes that mirrors the inequality data. I cover techniques that create dramatic tension. Following the literature, students perceive real world inequality to be less than what is observed. After the activity, the “rich” students often voluntarily redistribute their surplus to classmates. This opens the door to discuss the positive causes of inequality along with the normative debates about distribution.¹

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¹ I would like to thank the many suggestions and encouraging comments from the audiences at the McGraw-Hill Economic Symposium as well as the Journal of Economic Teaching Symposium on Economic Teaching (JETSET).

1. Introduction

The level of inequality is often misperceived. Survey results find that Americans believe our levels of inequality are significantly lower than reality (Niehues, 2016; Gimpelson & Treisman, 2017; Hauser & Norton, 2017). Arsenio and Willems (2017) find the misperceptions are even larger for adolescents.² While normative views differ as to how much inequality society should have, many of these surveys find that perceptions, rather than actual inequality levels, affect these views. It is important for students base their beliefs on accurate empirical facts.

Economic instruction continues to rely on a few primary modalities, such as Power Point slides, chalk and talk, and lecture (Ahlstrom, Harter, & Asarta, 2023). Instructors often feel it is difficult to use more interactive activities and classroom experiments due to significant setup costs, class time requirements, or a narrow application of many suggested activities. This paper presents a quick, easy, and widely applicable classroom activity to teach income inequality using cupcakes.

Nearly every textbook begins the inequality section by presenting a bar or pie chart representing the distribution. We can take that static graph and convert it into an Interactive Lecture Demonstration.³ This involves three steps (Palmer, 1995): The students *Predict* an outcome; They then *Observe* the demonstration; Finally, they *Explain* the outcome. Some express concern that these types of activities function more as entertainment than learning. Crouch, et al. (2004) initially find that observation alone does not statistically increase retention for students after a demonstration. However, if they first predict the outcome, retention doubles. If a discussion is held after the demonstration, retention levels quadruple.

This paper adds to the literature by describing a short, low-cost activity that can be added to any Principles classroom large or small. There are a handful of activities developed in previous work. One is a "Hop on a Bus" homework activity where students document observations or photography as they traverse through unequal neighborhoods (Nichols, Berry, & Kalogrides, 2004; Grauerholz & Settembrino, 2016). Fischer and Simpson (2000) wrote a small one-page activity partitioning the entire classroom space into three classes and dividing brownies among them. The activity took 30 minutes and worked best for small classes.

Kemp and Wunder (2007) created an interactive macroeconomic simulation that incorporates inequality. Again, length and investment are a cost. It requires two 50-minute class periods to complete. This cupcake activity can take as little as 5 minutes of class time, and as long as 25 minutes, depending on the length of discussion portion.

Most recently, Babb (2023) also developed a classroom M&M activity focused on wealth inequality presented at the Indiana Council for Social Studies Annual Conference. Her activity differs as it is structured as a whole-class participatory activity instead of a demonstration and the discussion is framed for a broader interdisciplinary course.

2. Activity

A: Predict

Materials needed:

² See the recent literature survey, (Jachimowicz, et al., 2023).

³ For an excellent introduction see Maier (2012), as well as Merritts, Walter, and MacKay (2006).

- 20 cupcakes. It is helpful if these are individually wrapped, such as Hostess® Cupcakes.⁴
- Polling software. I use Google Forms with a link displayed via a QR code. There are many websites that can create a QR code for free. I use Canva.com. The link to my Google Form is here: https://docs.google.com/forms/d/1IDc_MFSrAry4cHL51qGuMMQ_rf3WiA5Yc_iZz8PA4Hg/copy
- Power Point presentation with accompanying graphs and data provided in this paper.
- Whiteboard or other writing medium.

Instructions:

Begin by showing 10 cupcakes to the class. Explain that they represent equal portions of the nation's labor income. Announce you will ask for five volunteers. Each person will represent one-fifth of the population ranked in order of income. So, the first person will represent the bottom 20 percent, or the lowest income, while the fifth person represents the richest portions of society. To set a starting baseline, discuss a perfect equality hypothetical.

Question: "If income were distributed equally in society, how many cupcakes would each volunteer get?"

Answer: Each will get $10/5=2$.

Now let's guess what the country's income distribution actually is.

Question: "How many cupcakes will each of the five individuals get from the poorest 20 percent to the richest 20 percent?"

Record these responses using polling software. As mentioned, I created a Google Form template. The form is a "multiple-choice grid" format. For each quintile, the students select their guess. For convenience, the options are in half-cake intervals, so any response less than that may require a little bit of rounding.

Remind the students they have a total budget of ten cupcakes. Google Forms has the option to record the guesses in Sheets. This can allow you to create a column chart showing the classroom's *a priori* inequality distribution.

After the students have submitted their answers, take the averages for each quintile. Label this row as "Guess" in the A column of the spreadsheet. In the row above, label each column 0-20th, 20th-40th, etc. This row will be the X-axis range in the column chart. Plot the bar chart interpreting the results with the class. The "guess" row will be the series. Example screenshots of this are in the Appendix.

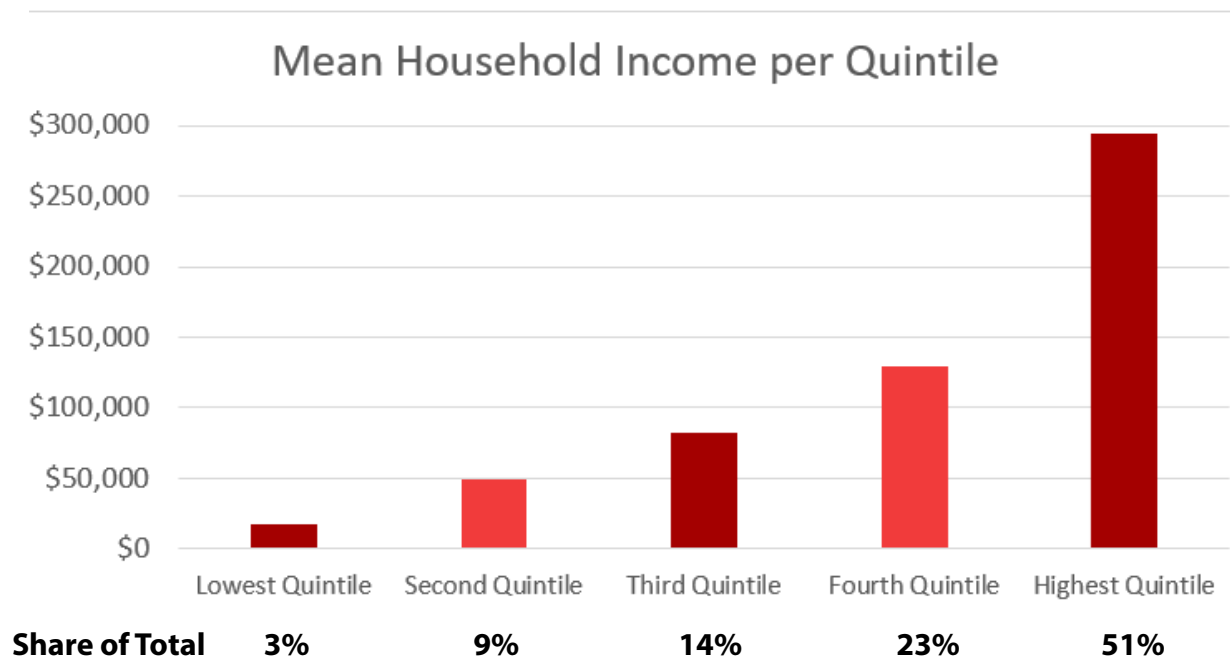
B. Observe

Next, invite the five volunteers down to the front of the class lined up in a row. Reveal the actual distribution (Figure 1).

As is most often the case, the class underestimates the degree of income inequality in the economy. Once the graph is shown, the students standing in front of the class will gain a new realization for how many cupcakes they will receive.

⁴ Naturally, any edible treat will work that excites the audience.

Figure 1



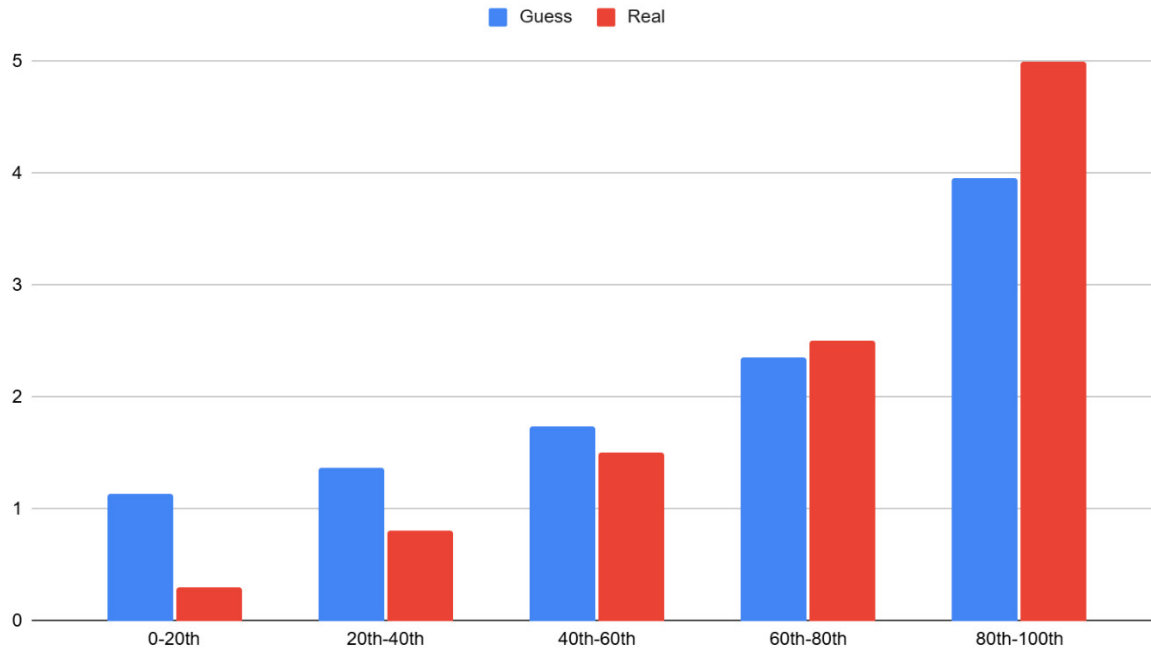
Source: U.S. Census Bureau Tables B19801 and B19082 for 2024

The instructor then goes one by one to each student and asks the audience how many cupcakes they should receive. This allows for greater audience participation. I usually start at the bottom, increasing the dramatic tension as each quintile receives more. The lowest quintile receives a 3% share of the economy's income or about a third of a cupcake. I bring a butter knife and slice the cupcake, accordingly, having the student take their small portion. The second quintile student receives a full cupcake. For the third, the audience has figured out the pattern for rounding, and usually shouts out "one and a half."

Along the way, we discuss the average income for each quintile and the type of occupations associated with the earnings. In larger classes, ask each student their name and repeat it to the class. Thread together how their experience receiving a portion of the cupcakes symbolizes what corresponds in the real world. The lowest quintile at \$17,132 corresponds to part-time work that many of the students perhaps do. The middle-class averages \$82,246[A2.1] [A2.2], such as a fashion designers and web developer. The upper middle class, which include economists and engineers, averages \$129,107. Finally, doctors and lawyers comprise the top quintile averaging \$294,144.

Figure 2

U.S. Income Inequality



Note: Results from a recent Fundamentals of Macroeconomics course. Data from other semesters yield a similar difference between guesses and the real-world data.

For the highest quintile, the instructor again asks the audience to help count each cupcake individually. As each cupcake is handed to the student, the audience slowly counts along, “One. Two. Three. Four. Five.” It’s important to let the tension build, briefly pausing between each cupcake. Allow the audience to react and for the student to figure out how to receive more in their outstretched hands.

Upon completion, congratulate the student who received five cupcakes. Give condolences to the student who only received a portion of a cupcake. Thank them for their participation and encourage the audience to applaud them. As the students return to their seats, silently observe their actions. Do they eat them? Do they place them in their bags for later? Or do they share them with their classmates?

Now return to the initial guesses in the spreadsheet. Create a new row below the average guesses. Label it “Real” and enter in the values from the slide. This is another opportunity to get the class to repeat the figures for you as you enter them in. In the graph settings, go to “series,” and add the new row.⁵

⁵ Note that in Google Sheets, there are a few chart properties required to get the desired formatting for the column chart. Make sure to “switch rows/columns,” “use column A as headers” and “Use row [label row] as labels.” See Figure A3

The students can now see paired next to each other their predictions compared to the real-world survey data. Following the aforementioned surveys, my classes have always underestimated the level of inequality. Discuss why that may be the case.

Question: *“Why do we perceive less inequality than we observe in the data?”*

Answer: The fact that people primarily live, work, go to school, and are friends with other people in their economic bracket distorts our perception of reality. Very few of us have a truly representative sample of people we interact with. We believe more people have similar income levels as us than is the case.

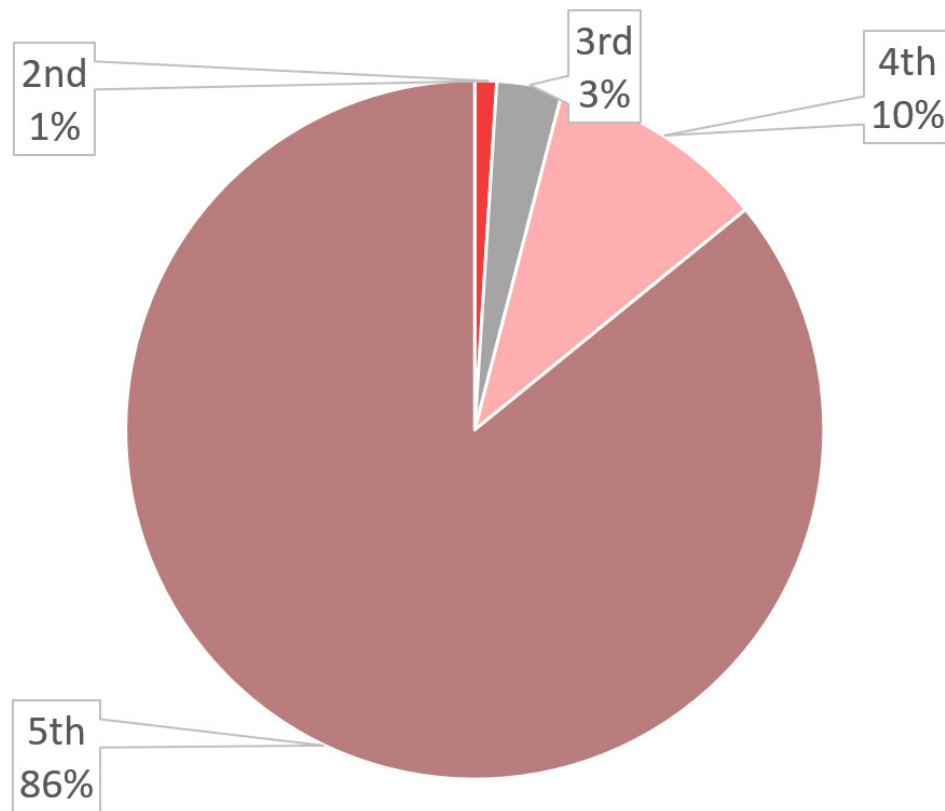
To summarize the distribution into one comparison, I note that the top quintile receives 50%, while the bottom quintile has less than 5% of income. This is an easy-to-remember figure that we will need to explain later in the activity.

C: Wealth Inequality

Now we move onto wealth inequality. Ask for five more volunteers. The students eagerly line up in the front. There are often jokes about who is standing on the left or right. First, discuss the difference between wealth and income. Be sure to mention this is for “net wealth,” so it includes credit card, mortgages, and student debt. Then ask whether they believe wealth inequality will be greater or lower than income inequality.

With the audience’s predictions in mind, switch to the new slide to reveal the data.

Figure 3: Wealth Inequality



Source: Survey of Consumer Finances for 2022. Calculations by Bruenig (2023).

Upon seeing the far greater wealth disparity, the classroom generally reacts strongly. Take this energy and ask the audience which side you should begin, the left or the right.

With the demonstration, the lowest 20% do not have positive net wealth. Ask the audience why that may be so. Note how many students are at an early stage in life with student debt and perhaps an auto loan. This category may include them. Also remind them that the official poverty line is around 11% of the population.

The second individual receives a few crumbs. The third quintile, representing the middle class, receives a third of a cupcake. The upper middle class (4th) receives one cupcake. Then the highest 20 percent will receive eight and a half. This is always quite dramatic, with each cupcake being counted out by the audience, and the pile in the student's hands becomes ever more precarious.

Again, thank the students for their participation sending them back to their seats.

I have given this demonstration 13 times across 3.5 years. It still amazes me that every single time, without any prompting from myself, the top quintile individual voluntarily redistributes their endowment, either by tossing it around, giving it to their friends, or just students reaching out asking for one along the row. This is the perfect segue to discuss redistribution and the causes of inequality.

D. Discussion

Question: “Why did they give their cupcakes away for free?”

Answers may vary widely:

“I can’t eat that many.”

“I have more than I need.”

“To win new friends.”

“Because they asked.”

If not mentioned or hinted at, this is a great time to remind the class about “diminishing marginal utility.”

Questions: “Does income experience diminishing marginal utility? At the same rate? How likely would you voluntarily redistribute if you had received \$100? What about \$1,000 or \$100k? What about \$10M?”

Answer: Students will vary greatly in how they answer this. The instructor can point to earnings vs gifts. In a meritocracy, income should correspond to what is “earned” either through effort or ingenuity. Our example is an endowment.

Question: “How would students feel about sharing with their friends if they had exchanged their labor for the cupcakes?”

Answer: Some students may recognize that the cupcakes were not “earned” and therefore they do not have the same right or desire to exclusive ownership. The left to right rank order may have been random, that is “unearned”.

Nevertheless, they did put in the effort to volunteer earlier than their fellow students.

Questions: “How much does luck relate to wages? How much control do we have over our path in life? How much does the luck of birth, health, or circumstance dictate where we end up?”

Answer: While hard work and ingenuity are crucial to explain inequality, they are not sufficient. Luck is a necessary component. The economist Robert Frank argues that even if a small component of an outcome is accounted by luck, the likelihood that the most qualified end up in the top tier “approaches zero” (Frank, 2016).⁶

While it is far more difficult to determine what we can attribute to luck in the real world, in this example, the initial ordering of the first group was largely driven by luck. Perhaps this changes how the class feels about redistribution.

3. Causes of Inequality

The key for retention to the Interactive Lecture Demonstration is the final step of *Explaining* the phenomenon. We have established how much inequality exists. Now we need to know the “Why.” This third section of the paper explores five common hypotheses to explain the observed income inequality.

⁶ Robert Frank’s book is a short and easy read. Even more brief and equally engaging is the (Veritasium, 2020) YouTube essay. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3Lopl4YeC4I>

Question: “We have observed an income inequality share gap of 50% to 5% between the top and lowest quintiles. What are some possible causes for this level of inequality you believe or have heard of?”

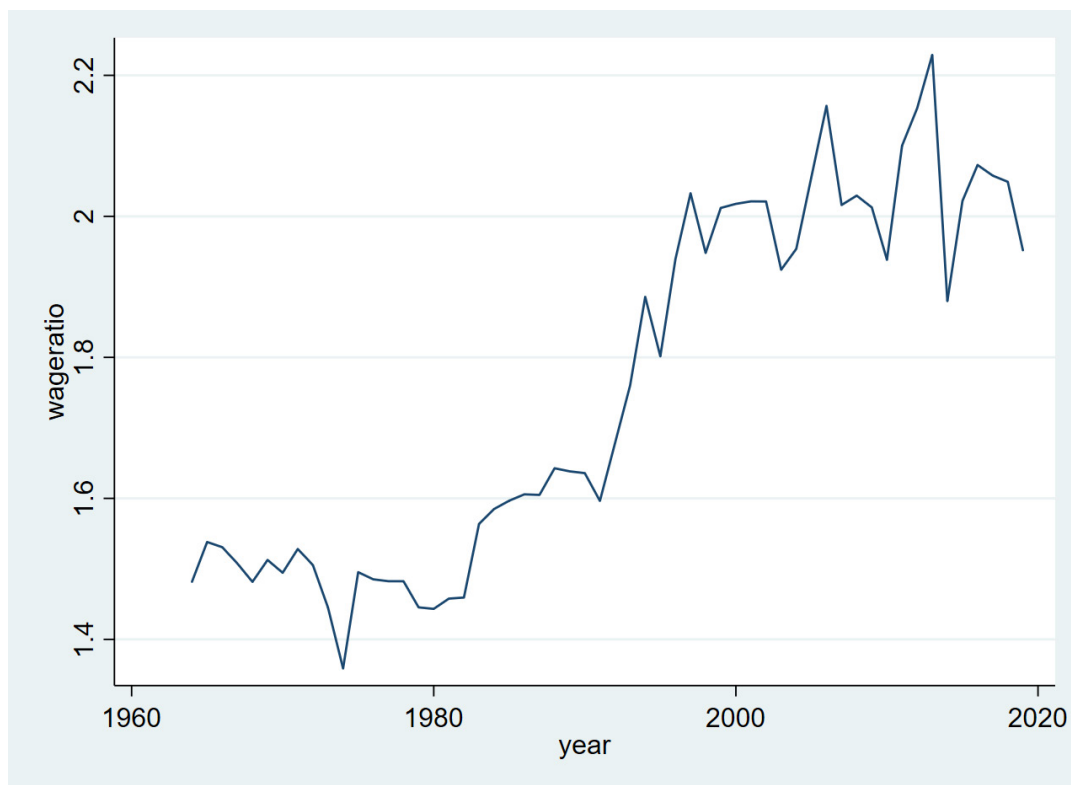
Write on the whiteboard and organize the answers together. Remind them our goal is to understand the particular magnitude we observe in the data. While it is interesting to note all causes and effects, it is important to identify the magnitude of each cause. Is the phenomenon sufficiently large enough to explain the distribution we see in the data?

Now, I will briefly discuss five prominently believed causes, explore whether they are large enough to explain income gaps, and mention policies we use to mitigate their effects.

A: Education Differences: Both ‘Formal’ and from ‘the School of Life’

Between 1980 and 2000, the college wage premium increased from 50% to 100%. The average college wage is now twice the average wage for non-college earners. This is a substantial component. But it is not large enough to explain the entire distribution.

Figure 4: College Wage Premium



Source: Current Population Survey.⁷ Author’s calculations.

⁷ See Flood et al. (2015) for data and Appendix A of Clarke and Batina (2023) for calculation methodology.

Economists since Adam Smith have argued that subsidizing public education is necessary to overcome the inherent disadvantages from birth.⁸ Nevertheless, inequality in access to quality education persists, especially at the K-12 levels. Research also finds that the 'school of life' or the opportunities for networking can matter more than quality of schools (Rothstein, 2019).

B: Work Ethic

The Current Population Survey from the Census shows that the bottom 10% works an average of 42.2 hours per week, whereas the top 10% of income earners work 46.6 hours per week. This is only a 4.4 weekly hour difference. While large enough to explain some inequality, it is far too small to explain most of it (Mathisen, 2022).

I ask students how many hours they work. How much do their friends from high school who are not university students work? Most folks, no matter their income level, work a "full time" job.

C. Savings and Investment

Because of exponential growth of compounding interest, differences in savings rate can drastically affect lifetime wealth. Income can be divided into two categories: labor income, and capital income. Labor income includes wages, salaries, and benefits, while income from savings and assets is categorized as capital income. Many economists have observed a recent decline in the labor share of income. Everyone has labor, but does everyone own capital? Ask your students how many of them own a house or own stocks?

Capital ownership is concentrated among a smaller share of households relative to the labor force. Therefore, a rising capital income share in the economy is one of the causes of inequality. See the recent discussion by Karabarbounis (2024).

However, is this enough to explain our 50%/5% income share ratio? The capital share of income has grown from approximately 33% in the 1960's to 40% today. That's a 7% increase in income. But also note that the Census measure of household income used in our initial income distribution chart only includes regular capital income, such as interest payments, but excludes capital gains (U.S. Census Bureau, 2025a).

Policies to address this help increase access to savings instruments, increase banking access for lower incomes, first-time home buyer subsidies, as well as small business loans to help folks create new capital.

D. Life Cycle

Some observed inequality is simply due the standard income life cycle. When we are younger, we earn lower incomes. Ask why the students are going to college. Higher incomes will be one of the first answers. As we grow in our careers and gain experience, income rises.

⁸ "In every improved and civilized society ... the labouring poor ... must necessarily fall, unless government takes some pains to prevent it." Pg 840. "For a very small expence the public can facilitate, can encourage, and can even impose upon almost the whole body of the people, the necessity of acquiring those most essential parts of education." Book V, Ch. 1, Part III. Pg 843. (Smith, 1776)

Does this explain our observed household income distribution? While it is important, we still find households from all age groups in each quintile.⁹

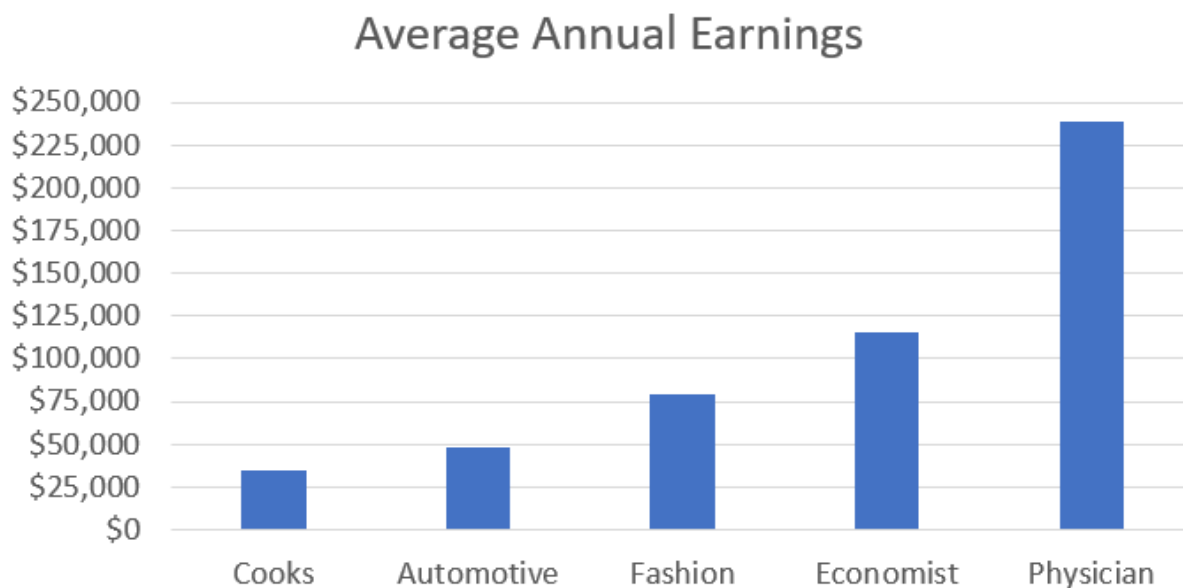
Policies that allow people to smooth consumption over their life include early life credit subsidies such as student loans and first-time home buyer assistance, as well as tax breaks for retirement accounts and other old age programs such as Social Security and Medicare.

E: Occupational Choice

Incomes vary significantly by career. The Occupational Outlook Handbook is an easily accessible website of occupation descriptions and their average incomes (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2025). It shows cooks earned an average annual income of \$34,320 in 2024, while physicians earned an average of \$239,200. This is a 7-fold difference. In our national income distribution, the richest quintile earned an average annual \$294,144, whereas the lowest quintile earned \$17,132.

Occupational differences are one of the largest sources of household income inequality. The magnitude differences in the occupational average incomes get very close in appearance to the inequality shares we observed in the national data.

Figure 5



Source: BLS's Occupational Outlook Handbook for 2024.

⁹ For example, see Census Table [B19037](#) which shows a substantial number of households of different age groups experience every income level.

What policies can address this inequality? On the one hand, becoming a doctor requires more years of preparation and skill than other occupations. Economists have long recognized the need to pay higher wages for difficult jobs.¹⁰ On the other hand, fostering equal opportunity via equal quality, universal education can do much to reduce barriers to entry into these higher paying careers. We will always have some inequality, but it may be possible to reduce the magnitude of current levels.

4. Conclusion

Teaching inequality poses important pedagogical challenges. While measuring inequality and investigating its causes is an exercise in positive economics, the topic brings significant normative implications. Students come from a variety of moral backgrounds. The first steps in exploring moral questions involve establishing a common set of facts. This paper argues that effective instruction must do more than present a graph on a slide, it must confront students' prior beliefs, create an emotionally relevant experience, and open minds to analytical thinking.

This cupcake demonstration offers a low-cost, easily adaptable way to transform standardized charts into an interactive, lively, even dramatic experience. Importantly, the lesson does not prescribe universal moral conclusions. The activity reveals instances in which students choose redistribution, as well as circumstances under which they oppose it. The activity explores the roles of merit, luck, initial endowment, educational efforts, opportunities, and career choices.

Not only do students participate in democratically influenced public policy, but they are also preparing for their personal futures. Understanding the true distribution of inequality is essential to navigate their career possibilities and to create the society they desire.

¹⁰ See Adam Smith, "it must be expected, over and above the usual wage of common labour, will replace to him the whole expense of his education." Book I, Chapter X, Part I, pg. 117. He also noted the need for "the most detestable of all employments, that of public executioner," to be "better paid than any common trade whatever." pg. 116 (Smith, 1776).

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Appendix: Google Form Screenshots

Figure A 1

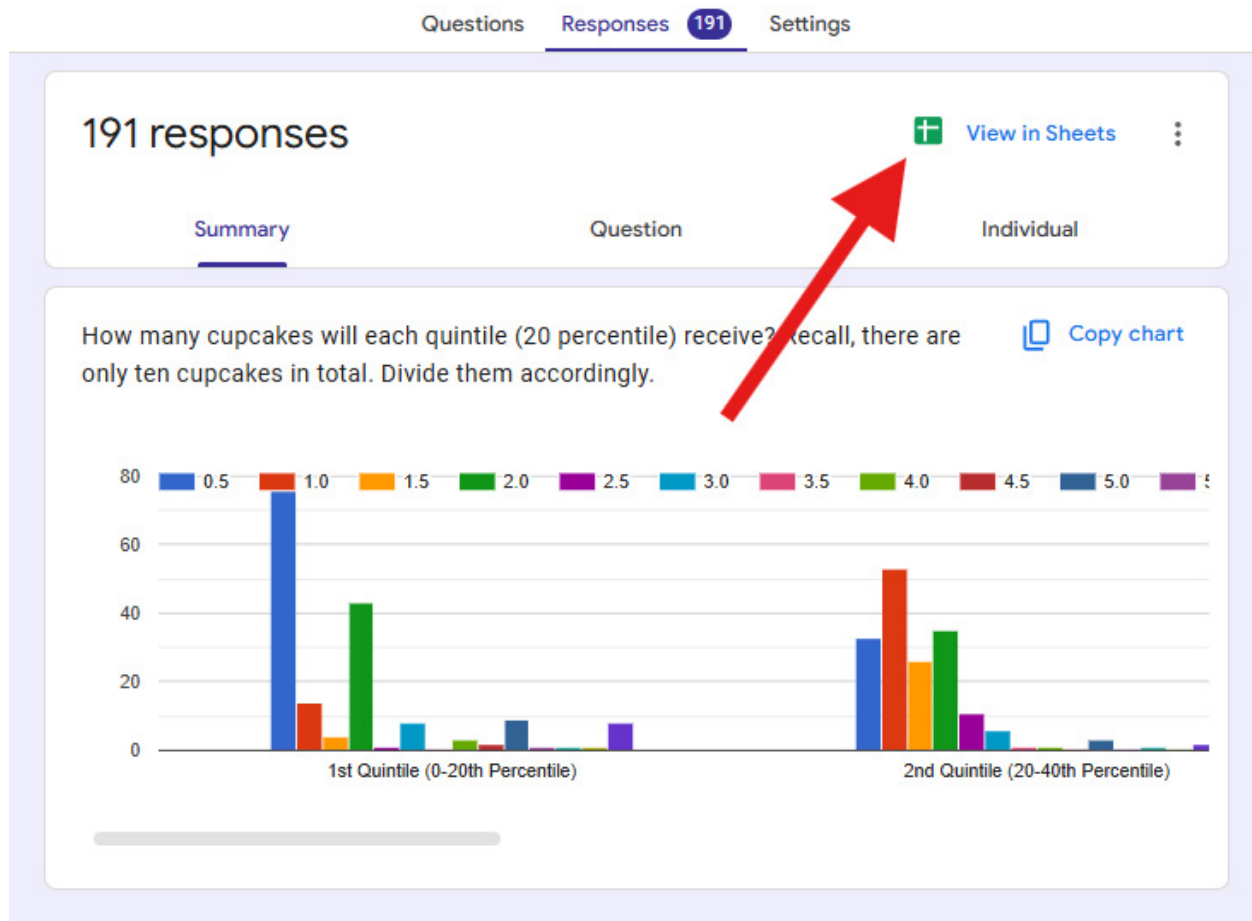


Figure A 2

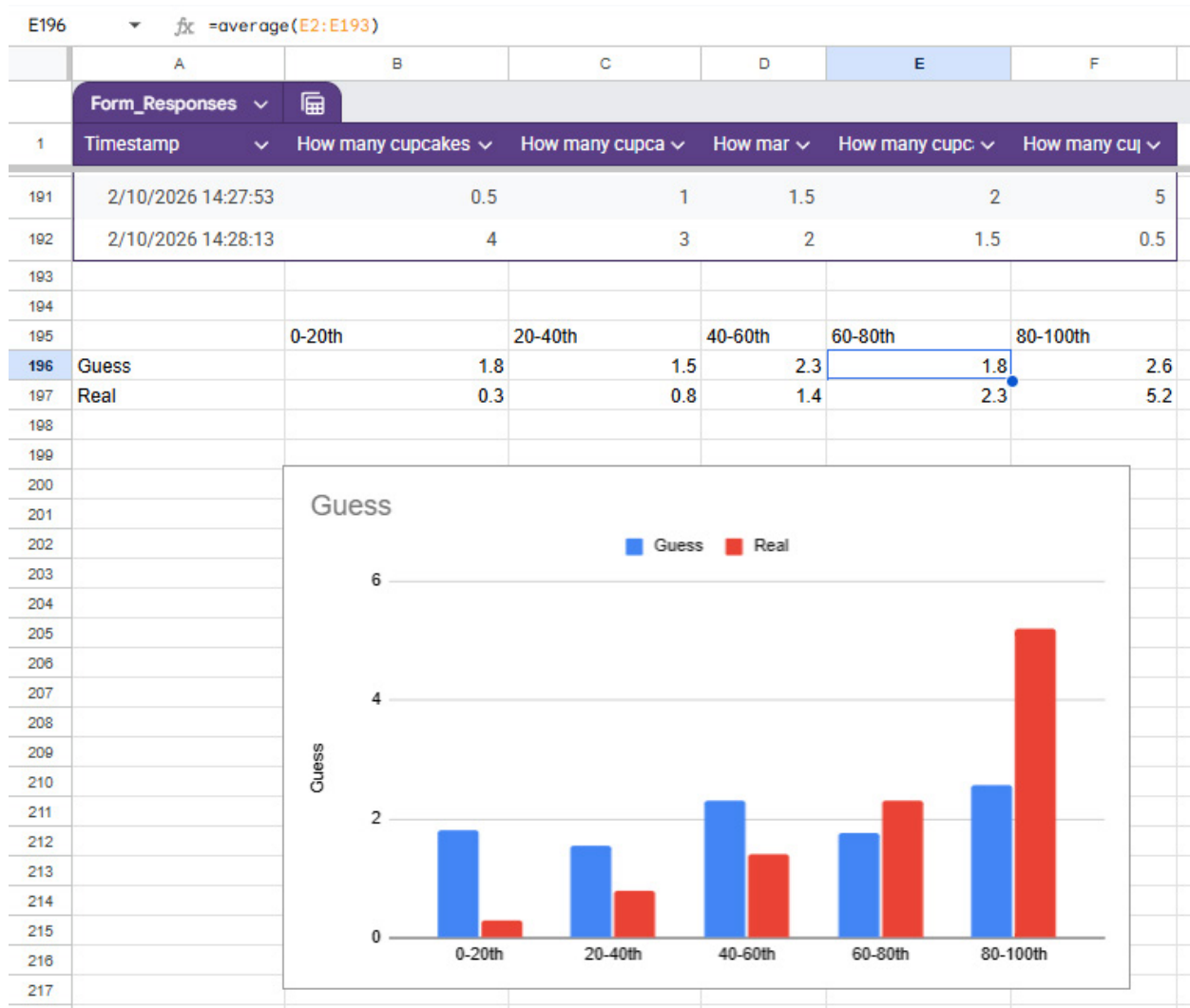


Figure A 3

 Chart editor ×

Setup

Customize

Chart type

 Column chart ▼

Stacking

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Data range

A195:F197 

X-axis

 A195:F195 ⋮

☐ Aggregate

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Add Series

☒ Switch rows / columns

☒ Use column A as headers

☒ Use row 195 as labels