A Developmental Approach

The paper also outlines how competencies relating to these strands are acquired from kindergarten through the 12th grade, and provides examples of civic knowledge, skills and dispositions by grade span. According to research by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA),[3] by age 14, the average student in democratic countries is already a member of his or her political culture. This (and other research) makes the case for a developmental approach beginning in the early grades, rather than starting citizenship education in high school.

Professional Judgment Groups

Professional Judgment Groups (PJGs) consisting of state policymakers; state, district and school leaders; teachers and community partners were convened by NCLC from October 2003 to February 2004. Participants, who are experts and practitioners in the field, discussed how civic education should be delivered at different grades, and then identified necessary resources and policies. These policy approaches will be tested in three states starting in fall 2004. The PJGs focused their work on the policy and resource levels needed to effect school reform. This effort, however, also acknowledges the importance of other influences, such as parents, community groups and higher education. The results of the PJGs and the resulting state policy approaches will be released at the Education Leadership Colloquium (ELC), July 12-13, 2004, in Orlando, Florida.

Recommendations for Policymakers

Recommendations for state policymakers are based on the evidence cited throughout the paper on positive attributes of effective citizenship education. Recommendations include such concepts as the following:

- Ensuring the three strands of knowledge, skills and dispositions are represented in state standards

- Extending citizenship education into the elementary and middle grades

- Making citizenship education experience grounded in knowledge and explicitly designed to be engaging for students

- Allowing more time for preparation and professional development to teach citizenship education.

- Recognizing testing and assessment are important elements of any citizenship education program, and legislators are encouraged to develop tests that go beyond civic knowledge.

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[3] Torney-Purta, J., Lehmann, R., Oswald, H. and Schulz, W. (2001). *Citizenship and education in twenty-eight countries: Civic knowledge and engagement at age fourteen.* Amsterdam: IEA. Also: **www.wam.umd.edu/~iea/**; Torney-Purta, J. and Amadeo, J. (2004). *Strengthening democracy in the Americas through civic education.* Washington. DC: Organization of American States.

Developing Citizenship Competencies from Kindergarten through Grade 12: A Background Paper for Policymakers and Educators

The past three years have seen a remarkable set of actions promoting attention to a multidimensional view of civic competencies and commitment to the school's role in fostering them. Among the most important report is a consensus document, *The Civic Mission of Schools,* issued in early 2003 by the Carnegie Corporation of New York and CIRCLE (the Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement). Nearly every previous report on this subject began with an assessment of the relatively gloomy picture of youth civic engagement as a rationale for proposed activities. The rationale contained in the *Civic Mission of Schools* represents a consensus (of liberal and conservative views, of practitioners, policy analysts and researchers) that is especially compelling. This report is beginning to be seen as a critically important reference document in this area, and the rationale contained there is presented in **Box 1** as a frame for what follows.

Box 1: A Consensus Rationale

For more than 250 years, Americans have shared a vision of a democracy in which all citizens understand, appreciate and engage actively in civic and political life – taking responsibility for building communities, contributing their diverse talents and energies to solve local and national problems, deliberating about public issues, influencing public policy, voting and pursuing the common good. Americans know it is a rare and precious gift to live in a society that permits and values such participation.

In recent decades, concern has grown about the increasing number of Americans who are disengaging from civic and political institutions such as voluntary associations, religious congregations and community-based organizations. This disengagement extends to political and electoral processes such as voting and being informed about public issues. In many ways, young people reflect these trends. Americans under the age of 25 are less likely to vote than either their older counterparts or young people of past decades. Surveys have shown they are not as interested in political discussion and public issues as past generations were at the same point in their lives. In addition, there are gaps in young people's knowledge of fundamental democratic principles and processes. As a result, many young Americans are not prepared to participate fully in a democracy when they become adults.

At the same time, young people are volunteering and participating in community activities at high rates. Some experts, in fact, argue this generation is one of the most engaged in history, evidenced by the growing number of young people involved in community-based civic renewal or volunteer projects.

Individuals do not automatically become free and responsible citizens but must be educated for citizenship. In recent years, the call has grown for new strategies that can capitalize on young people's idealism while addressing their disengagement from political and civic institutions. How to achieve this goal, however, has been a matter of considerable debate among experts representing various perspectives. Political scientists, for example, focus on the political; educators focus on what happens in or near the classroom; service-learning advocates focus on service and volunteering, and their connection to the curriculum; and youth development specialists focus on the developmental experience of the young person.

Recently, however, various experts from these disciplines, teachers, civic leaders, policymakers, federal judges and even the President of the United States agree that school-based civic education is one of the most promising approaches to increasing young people's informed involvement with political institutions and issues. It is also a promising way to spur interest in, and commitment to, service and voluntarism. (*Civic Missions of Schools*, p. 8)

Rationale and Purpose of This Paper

The purpose of this paper is to provide a short history of and background for a multipronged initiative of ECS/NCLC. The paper begins by reviewing ECS' history in the process of citizenship education renewal, and continues with a section reviewing existing sets of competencies and standards (as well as a synthesis of evidence regarding the climate for innovations in citizenship education). It also describes the process by which NCLC arrived at three strands of competencies (see cover graphic). The strands incorporate major features of previous sets of standards and a discussion of ways in which overarching competencies might be specified for different grades across K-12. The paper concludes with recommendations for state policymakers.

In the next step, four Professional Judgment Groups examined the ways in which civic competencies such as those outlined here might be realized within four different policy approaches at the district and state levels.

This paper is based on two premises. (1) To participate in a democratic society, young Americans need civic competencies that extend beyond knowledge of the history of the ratification of the Constitution or skills that contribute to their participation in conventional political activities such as voting. (2) Schools have a vital role to play in education contributing to civic engagement.

Schools and other organizations foster civic engagement when they help students to do the following:

- Gain meaningful historical and contemporary civic knowledge
- Link knowledge gained in an abstract form to more concrete everyday situations in which knowledge might be used
- Gain knowledge and skills in working with others toward political goals
- Gain skills in interpreting political information such as that from mass media
- Learn how to participate in respectful discourse about social and political issues
- Learn about effective leadership in groups of peers and how to mitigate the influence of negative experiences such as bullying
- Respect the rule of law and civil liberties
- Understand arguments concerned with the rights of groups subject to discrimination
- Join other students and adults to address a community need
- Learn about the root causes of community problems and assess opportunities to solve them
- Acquire a view of their community and nation based on appropriate levels of trust
- Develop a sense of identity that incorporates civic and political dimensions
- Demonstrate the willingness to spend time in bettering their communities
- Respect diverse adult role models who are politically active
- Link experiences in their families and communities with school-based civic education
- Express their views in media forms that are attractive and familiar to them.

History of ECS Involvement in Citizenship Education and the Carnegie-supported Project on Citizenship

ECS History

The Education Commission of the States (ECS) is a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization involving key leaders from all levels of the education system. Its mission is to help state leaders shape education policy. As part of ECS, the National Center for Learning and Citizenship (NCLC), founded in 1998, focuses on state policies that support citizenship education. ECS collects and disseminates information through a variety of formats, including the nation's most extensive Web site about education policy; provides policy research and analysis; brings key education and policy leaders together through networks and partnerships; offers customized technical assistance to states; and convenes policymakers and education leaders through state, regional and national conferences and through such means as Thinkers Meetings and Professional Judgment Groups that provide input about policy specifics and implementation.

This section of the paper outlines the events and reports that led NCLC to its view of citizenship education's important dimensions. It also explains the process NCLC is undertaking to help state lawmakers improve citizenship education policies and their potential implementation.

NCLC uses and defines the term "citizenship education" to mean the values, knowledge, skills, sense of efficacy and commitment that define an active and principled citizen (Eyler and Giles, 1999).

Citizenship education, from NCLC's view, is the responsibility of entire schools and education systems at all levels, not solely of civics teachers and designated classes during high school. With the proper support in content, pedagogy and policy, it is possible for schools and teachers to effectively engage students in activities that foster citizenship competencies at all school levels and all subjects. Social studies courses, such as history and civics, are well positioned to teach citizenship, especially the acquisition of civic knowledge. These classes, however, support other school- and community-based learning opportunities and should not be students' only opportunities to acquire citizenship competency.

NCLC's citizenship work is based on the goal of the Every Student A Citizen initiative, which is to engage all students in active citizenship and to help education leaders meet schools' academic and civic missions. The ECS National Study Group's report, *Every Student A Citizen: Creating the Democratic Self*, released in July 2000, outlines recommendations for schools, districts, states and national organizations to improve citizenship education, including support for service-learning as an effective pedagogy.

The NCLC strategic plan is based on the Every Student A Citizen mission. The plan's main goals are as follows:

- Provide timely and accessible information on the policy options available to state and district policymakers regarding citizenship education and service-learning
- Analyze and encourage research to determine effective citizenship education and service-learning policy, practice and capacity
- Provide policymakers and education leaders with expert guidance, technical assistance and facilitation on policy and practice options associated with effective citizenship education and service-learning that relates to positive student outcomes
- Exercise leadership in identifying the cutting edge of education policy, and enable state leaders to think, plan and act in a way that moves beyond current issues and short-term solutions
- Develop and maintain strategic internal and external partnerships
- Improve the expertise of the NCLC board and staff
- Communicate effectively the importance and results of citizenship education, including strategies for public involvement and political change.

NCLC believes that policymakers have an important role to play in helping districts and schools provide students with a well-rounded citizenship education. In particular, state policymakers can provide a framework for districts and schools to implement comprehensive citizenship education programs throughout the K-12 system. ECS and NCLC, with their broad constituency of state policymakers, are particularly

suited for developing effective methods to support states in developing comprehensive citizenship education policies. When called upon to help energize this constituency, ECS designed several potentially complementary approaches to state policies that will help engage all students in citizenship education.

The Carnegie-sponsored Project and its Elements

In April 2003, the Carnegie Corporation of New York funded NCLC to help states produce comprehensive citizenship education policies. NCLC's commitment to Carnegie is as follows:

- Provide a Web-accessible scan of existing state, district and school-level policies designed to promote students' civic knowledge, attitudes or skills (initial funding from CIRCLE; completed and disseminated on November 11, 2003; see details below).

- Convene a Thinkers Meeting to begin the process of developing and identifying student-level competencies for citizenship education (meeting held May 29-30, 2003, described below).

- Draft a background paper that builds on results of the Thinkers Meeting and consultations at the July 2003 Education Leadership Colloquium to assess the climate for policy, as well as some of the existing approaches and standards to provide a starting point for delineating the content of student competencies (this document).

- Conduct in-depth interviews in selected districts to better understand the unique elements that helped create – or impede the creation of – successful citizenship education policies in a district (conducted June through October 2003).

- Develop a state policy framework for citizenship education from which model state policies can be derived (includes meetings of four Professional Judgment groups that began by examining this background paper and then looked at alternative instructional approaches – held for four two-day periods in October, November and December 2003 and January 2004; see details below).

- Disseminate electronically (and perhaps in hard-copy form) a revised version of this background paper that takes into account the work of the Professional Judgment Groups, other professional and policymaker reviews and a further examination of state policies and standards (April 2004).

- Pilot the four policy options in three states. These states will be chosen based on their previous work in citizenship education policy and a strong commitment from state education leaders and policymakers (fall 2004).

- Create and disseminate (via the Web) alternative state policy models to state policymakers. This will include a list of key findings from applying the policy frameworks in three pilot states to identify the citizenship policies that best fit the needs of that state (May 2005).

> **Box 2: ECS Policy Scans**
>
> ECS/NCLC provides state-by-state tracking of state policies on civic education that goes beyond standards (**http://www.ecs.org/nclc**). Some of this material appeared in 1999 in the form of a comprehensive chart covering 41 states. Among the factors included were graduation requirements, standards and frameworks, the strength of statutory language, program design, grade levels covered and relation to other curricula. A frequently updated list of policies in the areas of citizenship and character education is on the ECS/NCLC Web site as well. Efforts in this area are being broadened to include a greater variety of state policies and a further study of linkages among standards, other policies at state or local levels, and instruction. This effort links different types of policy-relevant information and provides frequent updates of a rapidly changing situation.

Thinkers Meeting: Background, Process and Follow-up Professional Judgment Groups

A major NCLC goal is the development and dissemination of a policy framework for citizenship education that states can use to create coherent collections of state policy. This framework will help state policymakers consider policies that effectively include the key elements of K-12 citizenship education. To meet this goal, NCLC convened a National Study Group on Citizenship in K-12 Schools, a 21-member group of K-12 and university teachers, students and representatives from national civics and education organizations. A Thinkers Meeting, including some members of the study group, was held on May 29-30, 2003.

At the Thinkers Meeting, practitioners and policymakers from across the country gathered in Denver to generate lists of civic competencies for K-12 students. Led by NCLC staff and the senior author of this report, the group worked toward a framework identifying what students across grade levels need to know and be able to do to become effective citizens. The meeting addressed one of the recommendations to ECS in the *Every Student A Citizen* report, which encouraged the NCLC to develop a set of student competencies that*: identifies the core sets of knowledge and skills for all K-12 students; establishes benchmarks and indicators of various degrees of success; and articulates the set of values that citizenship education is schoolwide.* Thinkers Meeting participants applied their experiences and knowledge along with the resources provided by NCLC and other participants to deliberate and discuss student competencies for citizenship education. A wide range of domains was discussed:

- Dispositions/attitudes
- Expectations
- Behaviors/actions
- Knowledge
- Skills
- Efficacy
- Ideology
- Philosophy
- Values and commitment.

Three working groups considering competencies in cognitive, behavioral and affective categories developed provisional lists (although the discussions ranged a bit further than strict definitions of these terms would suggest). In addition, the groups called attention to a number of other considerations, including the importance of connecting student competencies across categories, teachers' instructional competencies, schools as communities, making it safe to teach about politics, ways of assessing competencies, and ways to counter the tendency for testing in reading and mathematics that crowd citizenship-related material out of the curriculum.

At the annual Education Leadership Colloquium (ELC), held July 16-17, 2003, the authors of this report met with participants, including state policymakers, chief state school officers, citizenship education leaders and advocates to discuss results of the Thinkers Meeting and its implications. Participants helped reframe the categories, while maintaining the focus on the areas defined by the Thinkers Meeting. They also discussed the policy implications of developing state policies to support citizenship education.

The next phase of this work was to convene four Professional Judgment groups from October 2003 to February 2004 with the task of creating and establishing policy and practice recommendations tailored to each of four instructional approaches. Each group considered one of the following approaches:

- Civics course-based
- Standards-based approach to citizenship education (based in most cases on social studies, civics or history standards)
- Citizenship education infused across the curriculum as part of standards-based reform
- Citizenship education using a community-connected approach.

The groups reviewed materials in this background paper and suggested changes. The end product will be a brief description of different ways of organizing instructional approaches and a set of policy and practice recommendations related to citizenship engagement for states and districts to use as guidelines. This product was released at the Education Leadership Colloquium July 12-13, 2004, in Orlando, Florida.

The Current Situation: Standards, Courses and the Quality of Civic Education

The Intended Curriculum for Citizenship

An assessment of the extent to which citizenship education is and could be provided as part of formal education should be examined by beginning with the "intended curriculum" or what groups with statutory power over education believe should be included in students' civic preparation. This is often reflected in standards linked to what is required of students for graduation or promotion (see **Box 3**).

Standards of the Center for Civic Education (CCE) and the National Assessment of Civics (NAEP)

To examine the "intended curriculum" of citizenship education in the United States is not as straightforward as in some other countries, where there are nationally mandatory curriculum standards. In the United States, only voluntary national standards are appropriate, and the Center for Civic Education (CCE) was supported by the U.S. Department of Education to produce such standards in 1994. These standards served as the basis for the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) administered in 1998 and reported in 1999 (and will serve as the basis for another civics NAEP in 2006).

CCE's standards are organized around three categories: content, skills and dispositions, and are found in **Table 1**. The standards received detailed treatment in the CCE document, *National Standards for Civics and Government.* For example, 100 pages were devoted to explicating content standards in detail with considerably shorter sections devoted to skills and dispositions. These standards appear very detailed (especially to teachers who lack extensive background in political science or history and time to spend in analyzing them). They have been extensively disseminated nationally and internationally to shape both curriculum and assessment.

In addition, CCE's Civitas document, produced in 1991 prior to the national standards, identified core values of American constitutional democracy such as equality, justice, patriotism, individual rights and the public or common good.

Perhaps most important for the policy focus of this paper, a conceptual framework derived directly from the national standards served as the basis for the 1998 NAEP Civics Report Card and also will be the basis of the 2006 NAEP. One can learn a great deal about what the standards mean from the ways in which they were defined for an assessment. In the 1998 NAEP test for 4th graders, for example, the emphasis was on questions I, II and V; for grade 8 on question II, III and V; and for grade 12 on II, III, IV and V. Intellectual skills were defined as part of the measurement. Identifying and describing was the major intellectual skill tested for grade 4; identifying and describing, and explaining/analyzing for grade 8; and explaining/analyzing and evaluating for grade 12.

This is a somewhat narrowly defined view of cognitive or thinking skills. Proportionally, a small amount of test space was devoted to assessing participation skills or civic dispositions (and for the most part with items that could be scored right and wrong). Grade-level expectations for the Basic, Proficient and Advanced levels of competency were defined. These expectations were used by experts who made judgments and set benchmarks about what questions students at each level should be able to answer.

> **Box 3: A Definition of Standards**
>
> Generally speaking, standards are defined as what students should know and be able to do by grade level (knowledge and skills). In the case of citizenship education standards, both the Center for Civic Education (CCE) and the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) offer national voluntary standards related to civic education and social studies. Both emphasize a multidisciplinary approach, meaning that the civic or social studies standards are supported by other subject areas and in the "informal curriculum" of the school. NCSS also offers Curriculum Standards for Social Studies, which include strands such as "Civic Ideals and Practices" that emphasize the importance of civic dispositions. States are encouraged to use these national standards in developing their own. Some states also include performance standards, along with content standards. Performance standards focus on civic skills and often require performance assessment, which can be expensive and difficult for states to implement.

Table 1
Content Standards /Organizing Questions in the National Standards (CCE)

I. What are civic life, politics and government?*

II. What are the foundations of the American political system?*

III. How does the government established by the Constitution embody the purposes, values and principles of American democracy?

IV. What is the relationship of the United States to other nations and to world affairs?

V. What are the roles of the citizen in American democracy?

*Used in grades 5-12, simplified versions of questions I-II used for grades K-4.

Skills in the National Standards (CCE)

Intellectual Skills:

- Identifying and describing

- Explaining and analyzing

- Evaluating, taking and defending positions

Participatory Skills:

- Interacting

- Monitoring

- Influencing

Civic Dispositions in the National Standards (CCE)

- Becoming an *independent* member of society

- Assuming the personal, political and economic *responsibilities* of a citizen

- *Respecting* individual worth and human dignity

- *Participation* in civic affairs in an informed, thoughtful and effective manner

- *Promoting* the healthy functioning of American constitutional democracy

Standards of the National Council for the Social Studies

Another influential set of curriculum standards was issued by the National Council for the Social Studies in 1994 after an extensive process of development. A number of the 10 thematic strands have relevance to citizenship, while others are related to economics or geography. Two strands relate directly to citizenship:

- Power, authority and governance (how people create and change these structures)
- Civic ideals and practices in a democratic republic.

Several other strands have an indirect relationship. Early grade, middle grade and high school perform-ance expectations are given. For example, under civic ideals, students in the early grades are asked to explain actions citizens can take to influence public policy decisions. In high school, they are to analyze and evaluate the influence of various forms of citizen action on public policy (not just a particular deci-sion). Sets of essential skills also are elaborated: acquiring information, using information and social par-ticipation. Generally, the standards are less elaborate and encyclopedic than the CCE standards, and skills are more fully considered.

These standards have been strengthened and sharpened by an NCSS Task Force on Citizenship (charged in 2001 with "revitalizing citizenship education"). Their statements emphasize people who have made a difference in the civic domain in the country's history and links to civic engagement in the future. As a large membership organization of teachers and teacher educators, NCSS has exemplified ways of implementing these standards in their publications, for example, a lesson suitable for early elementary students about "defining good citizenship" (in *Social Studies and the Young Learner,* September 2002*)* and a lesson for middle school students on "Using Newspapers To Teach about Elections" (in *Social*

Education, September 2002*).* In fact, lessons about citizenship or ways of studying history in relation to citizenship appear frequently in NCSS publications (and have for decades).

Describing these two major sets of standards doesn't do justice to other sets of influential standards, many of them more focused on civic participation or engagement and less on content knowledge. For example, those developed by a Carnegie-sponsored group, including psychologists, sociologists and political scientists meeting at Stanford in 1999 emphasized youth development in citizenship outside as well as inside school. Standards from the Constitutional Rights Foundation emphasize youth engagement adapted to a particular context in the community.

Other groups have developed lists of competencies or outcomes relating to service-learning experiences (emphasizing the ability to evaluate and criticize public norms or institutions and to build social capital). If service-learning is to be a prominent feature of civic education or if out-of-school organizations for young people are to be involved, the content and skills standards developed by CCE and NCSS may need to be augmented with other perspectives.

State Standards

There have been attempts to document the intended curriculum for the 50 states and the District of Columbia within the past 10 years, some of which have related directly to the voluntary national standards covered previously. State standards for civics education, however, are evolving rapidly and often difficult to track. K. Tolo (1999), in collaboration with CCE, reviewed states' standards in light of the voluntary national standards CCE had developed. The findings included:

- InfluencingOverall, more than half the states had statutes specifically addressing civic education; more than half the states had course requirements.
- InfluencingState standards were perceived to influence funding, textbook selection, course sequences and curricular design at the district level.
- State-level assessments sometimes were aligned with these standards, but in only a few states (at that time) were tests dedicated to civic topics (more usual were assessments in the context of history or social studies generally).
- Most standards focused on the section of the CCE standards that dealt with the ways in which government established by the Constitution embodies the principles of American democracy (see **Table 1**, Content Standards, Question III).
- State standards were addressed in a variety of courses, including U.S. history and government.
- A survey of teachers and curriculum coordinators in several districts indicated that many were unaware of the national standards or unclear how their teaching related to them.

State policy regarding citizenship education also recently caught the interest of two national policy organizations. In November 2003, NCLC released a scan of state education policies that support citizenship education. The policies are searchable online (www.ecs.org) and offer states the opportunity to compare themselves to others. The NCLC scan, although it has information in different categories than Tolo's, offers some similar conclusions (see also **Box 2**).

According to the NCLC scans:

- Forty-one states' statutes specifically provide for the teaching of government, civics and/or citizenship.
- While 41 states have a course or credit requirement in government or civics for high school graduation, only five of those states currently require students to pass an exit exam to graduate (Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, New Mexico and New York). West Virginia will require four social studies credits, including one credit of civics, for high school graduation for students entering 9th grade in 2005.
- Alabama, Maryland, Ohio, Texas and Virginia are phasing in exit or end-of-course exams as a requirement for high school graduation.
- Assessment and accountability systems remain a primary focus of state education reform efforts, but less than half of state systems address civics. Twenty-two states' assessment systems include

knowledge of government or civics, while 13 states include performance on civics/government or social studies assessments within their accountability systems.

- Over the last two years, at least 17 states have enacted or amended legislation regarding recitation of the Pledge of Allegiance, study of the Declaration of Independence, and display of the flag or the national motto, "In God We Trust," in schools.

The National Conference of State Legislatures also offers a database of recent state policies on their Trust for Representative Democracy Web site.

In another study, a 2002 CCE telephone survey of state social studies supervisors found 24 states had separate standards documents for civics/government; while 17 states incorporated civics/government as strands under a social studies standards document. The personnel questioned in all but two states reported that CCE's national civic standards had been influential in developing the state standards.

A variety of other state standards exist as well. At the May 2003 Thinkers Meeting, Ohio's social studies standards were presented. State tests are the mode of accountability for teaching about designated topics there. These standards include benchmarks (with the grades in five groups), as well as specific grade-level indicators. Kindergarten through grade 3 deals with important basic concepts of social life, grade 4 with Ohio history, grades 5 and 6 with North American and world geography, grades 8-10 with U.S. and world history, grade 11 with economics and grade 12 with preparation for citizenship.

This is somewhat misleading, however, since historical issues and the goals of understanding and preparing for citizenship may be found in the early grades and do not really begin at grade 8. For example, by the end of the K-2 program, students should be able to describe the results of cooperation with others and demonstrate the necessary skills; by the end of the program for grades 3-5, they should be able to explain how citizens take part in civic life to promote the common good; by the end of the grade 6-8 program, students should identify the historical origins that influenced the rights U.S. citizens have today.

The Ohio groups developing the standards used language and concepts from other sets of standards, including NCSS standards, as well as those developed in history, geography, economics and civics (the CCE standards mentioned previously).

In Maryland, social studies standards have similar sources but are organized in a slightly different way: spatial, chronological, individual, organizational and comparative perspectives, plus the disciplines of history, geography, economics and political science.

Study of the political system takes place starting in grade 1 (e.g., understanding why people create rules and describing the services governments provide) through grade 8 (e.g., differentiating between the use of legitimate authority and the use of unlimited power). In grades 9-12, for example, students analyze the relationship between governmental authority and individual liberty, and compare the effectiveness of the U.S. political system with the political system of major democratic and authoritarian nations. A lengthy list of social studies skills is enumerated and linked to various grade levels.

Both content knowledge and skills are covered in most of the standards documents, similar to the national voluntary standards upon which many state policies are based. The emphasis in most cases seems to be on content. Some state standards do support civic dispositions, motivation and participation, in addition to content (Miller, 2003). For example, Alabama's standards include "civic problem solving," and Alaska's Government and Citizenship Content Standards also include support for discussing public issues and recognizing the value of public service.

Arkansas' social studies curriculum framework acknowledges, "the formal curriculum should be augmented by related learning experiences, in both school and community, that enable students to learn how to participate in their own governance." Hawaii mentions service-learning as an example of how to accomplish its citizenship/participation standard, and Wisconsin's performance standards for grades 4, 8 and 12 include participating in a debate on public policy issues and other forms of civic action.

Although not part of state standards, a few states have established programs for students to be interns during elections or take part in other ways to encourage youth registration and voting when they become eligible. Such activities could help students develop their civic skills and dispositions outside of school.

For example, California requires the secretary of state to provide all students in high schools, community colleges and institutions within the state university system with voter registration forms and information. Recent Connecticut legislation establishes a statewide voter registration drive. Connecticut, Arkansas and Mississippi encourage students to participate in the political process by serving as poll workers.

Because standards tend to be diverse and extensive, questions have been raised about their quality as well as how realistic these standards are. Historian Paul Gagnon recently wrote a recent set of ratings of state-level standards found in a report issued by the Albert Shanker Institute, *Educating Democracy: State Standards To Ensure a Civic Core.*

Gagnon judged that *no state was realistic in matching standards to the amount of time necessary to teach to an adequate level of performance.* He gave the lowest rating for that criterion to all 50 sets of state standards. Lack of realism in expectations for American history courses was especially serious. There were somewhat less vague standards for civics, and he noted: "It helps that many of their (civics) salient points can be taught in the context of United States history." Gagnon also found that serious problems in producing a coherent and teachable set of standards resulted when isolated strands for civics, economics, geography and history were written by separate teams. Some states identify with a star items eligible for testing within much longer lists, resulting in teachers emphasizing those topics to the exclusion of others. Many states also fell short of fully meeting the criterion of teaching material covered in the standard to all students.

In summary, knowledge standards are clearly the focus in most documents; there is somewhat less emphasis on standards relating to skills and dispositions. The problem is not that there are too few standards or too little complexity in the way they are delineated. Rather, it seems that teachers have too little time either for instruction or for lesson planning, and too few opportunities for content-rich professional development (for example, opportunities to discuss students' level of understanding with other teachers). Given a debate about the relationship between the study of history and citizenship education among public intellectuals and some educators, as well as the current emphasis on tested subjects of reading and mathematics, many classroom teachers may be tempted to teach as they have always taught, modifying the content to meet whatever tests are announced for a particular year. When asked about the most important factor influencing what happens in their classrooms, teachers often mention particular students they have in their class and the desire to give them resources to help them learn. A different group of students in a different year studying to meet the same standard may evoke a different instructional plan from a teacher. *The challenges for state policy are to set more realistic standards and to provide teachers with what they need to give individual students the opportunity to learn.*

Transcript Reviews and the IEA CivEd Study: The Implemented Curriculum

Important information about the extent of citizenship education received by students was collected from the transcripts of graduating seniors by researchers Niemi and Smith (2001) in a reanalysis of the High School Transcript Study (HSTS) with data from 1987, 1990, 1994 and 1998, and parallel material from the 1970's and early 1980's. Courses were coded into the following categories: American history, economics, sociology/psychology, American government and politics (separating civics and problems of democracy), and international relations.

The study found "substantial erosion in the proportion of students studying American government in a stand-alone course [over this period]" (p. 282). History courses continue to be strongly represented, but there is no way of telling the extent to which citizenship is incorporated or emphasized in history.

The first phase of the IEA Study (see **Box 4**) is also a source of information about the intended curriculum. In the late 1990's, the national research coordinator for the United States in this study surveyed coordinators of social studies in the states and found the following:

> *Respondents from 45 states estimated that the majority of school districts in their state taught United States government or civics sometime between grades 6 and 12. Additionally, representatives from 34 states said the majority of districts in their state taught state and local government, often in courses combined with either state history or United States government. Courses specifically on government were likely to be offered at grades 8 or 9 and 12 (Hahn, 1999, p. 590).*

The IEA case study further concluded there was remarkable similarity among the three widely used textbooks. They emphasized the structure and function of national, state and local government beginning with representative democracy and introducing the Constitution as a foundation both for democracy and national identity. The texts discussed the three branches of government and tended to emphasize citizens' rights more than responsibilities. Although the books discussed the existence of the two political parties, they made little mention of the function of a multiparty system (see Hahn, 1999). How textbooks are used in teaching to these standards is a matter of debate (Chambliss and Calfee, 1998). Teachers reported they rely on them as general guides rather than as sole sources. Students, in contrast, reported the books are used extensively (and sometimes commented they were boring or old-fashioned).

Principals surveyed as part of the IEA study in the United States in October 1999 reported more than half the 9th-grade students were required to study civic-related topics five periods per week. Only about 20% of students were not taking a civic-related subject (Baldi et al., 2001). Reports from students corroborated these estimates of time studying civics-related topics. IEA data from teachers in the United States (and other countries) indicate the teaching of a core of content topics, especially national history, the national constitution and citizens' rights. Teachers considered international organizations and economics less important and covered them less fully. These teachers' reports were corroborated by the responses of U.S. students about topics studied, with the Constitution, how laws are made and the Congress the most studied topics, and international organizations and other countries' governments the least studied.

The teachers reported an emphasis on knowledge transmission and respect for national heritage and tradition. Across countries, textbooks, worksheets and recitation predominated, with role-playing exercises and projects used more rarely. In the United States, students were asked about the instructional methods used in their classrooms. Baldi et al. (2001) indicated in the U.S. national report that students reported reading from the textbook and filling out worksheets were the most frequent activities, with role-playing, debates, discussions and more interactive lessons much less frequent.

Both students and teachers internationally were asked one set of identical questions about what is learned in school. Similar percentages of both groups within each country agreed that students learn how to cooperate in groups with other students, to understand people who have different ideas and to contribute to solving social problems in the community. Within each country, however, *the proportion of teachers who believed students learned about voting in school tended to be considerably higher than the proportion of students who believed they had learned about this topic* (Torney-Purta et al., 2001). This discrepancy was especially large in several countries in which students appeared unconvinced about the importance of voting and other forms of political participation. Students were more likely to vote in countries that emphasized voting.

While many teachers teach about elected officials or elections that are important in history, implicit messages about the importance of elections may not be coming across to students. A relatively small proportion of students reported in the IEA survey they had opportunities to learn about the debate and discussion that is part of election campaigns.

Students, teachers, principals and policy scans all reveal that American students are studying the basics of government structure. Whether that is sufficient or effective across the grades is another matter.

The Current Climate for Education for Citizenship and Related Policy

The review of standards and requirements together with discussion at the May 2003 Thinkers Meeting and the Education Leadership Colloquium at The 2003 National Forum on Education Policy lead to some tentative conclusions about the current climate for education for citizenship and related policy.

- The current emphasis in the curriculum is on subjects such as reading and mathematics, to the extent that history and civic-related subject matter may be excluded. The unspoken assumption is that students will learn how to fulfill the role of citizen from sources other than the school.

- In the last 10 years, there have been many new lists of requirements, competencies and standards relating to citizenship education that provide useful starting points. These requirements, however, also deserve close examination. These documents:

  ‣ Frequently consist of encyclopedic coverage of details of government structures or historical documents that may have little meaning to students and do not connect to their own identity as a citizen with responsibilities and rights

  ‣ Are often complex, making it difficult to adapt them for students in the early years of school or for immigrants and/or second-language learners

  ‣ Sometimes suggest covering a topic in the same way at several grades, rather than cumulatively building more complex understanding on earlier basic concepts

  ‣ May be difficult to connect to students' motivation to learn about their communities

  ‣ Sometimes focus almost exclusively on patriotic observances, which are important but incomplete as preparation for engaged citizenship.

The climate relating to teachers' or administrators' roles can be characterized this way:

- The teaching activities and subject matters that teachers are expected to emphasize (i.e., those which are tested) are usually *not* those explicitly connected with making students thoughtful or participating citizens.

- Concern exists about how instruction can help students acquire better literacy skills (as a tested subject). Considerable uncertainty exists about how enhanced literacy (or other currently valued aspects of education) might contribute to students' identities

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Box 4: The IEA Civic Education Study

In the early 1990's, the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA, a comparative education association of nearly 60 member countries with headquarters in Amsterdam) explored the subject of civic education to develop a measuring instrument and conduct a test and survey of young people. In the first phase of the IEA Civic Education Study, participating nations wrote case studies concerning the expectations for 14-year-olds learning about civic-related subjects (Torney-Purta, Schwille and Amadeo, 1999). After cross-national consensus building, considerable agreement about a core set of expectations for civic education was achieved.

Knowledge about democracy and its principles, sense of engagement and willingness to participate in civil society organizations, attitude of trust in government and about the rights of various groups formed the basis for the test and survey, which made up Phase 2 of the study. A three-year process of test development involving research coordinators from more than 20 countries arrived at an instrument suitable for classroom administration across countries. Fourteen-year-olds were tested because that was the last year before school-leaving age in some countries.

The instrument included three core domains: democracy, democratic institutions and citizenship; national identity and international relations; and social cohesion and diversity (Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald and Schulz, 2001). The IEA instrument also included a measure of concepts of the good adult citizen. The knowledge test had two subscales – content knowledge (relating to concepts of democratic governmental structures, citizenship, international organizations and social diversity) and skills in interpreting civic information (e.g., a political leaflet, political cartoons).

The test and survey were administered in 1999 to 90,000 students, a nationally representative sample of students in the modal grade for 14-year-olds. In the United States, more than 2,000 students in grade 9 participated (from a nationally representative sample of schools). Each sampled school surveyed three teachers of civic education-related subjects (often history or social studies) and the school principal.

as citizens. Generally speaking, an inadequate evidence base exists for making connections between citizenship and other areas of the curriculum.

• Few teachers have access to high-quality professional development in civic-related subjects and fewer have preparation time to fully incorporate suggested new content or effective approaches into their classes.

• There is a division of opinion regarding the best way to enhance the teaching force's proficiency in teaching citizenship. For example, is a history major (or a political science major) the only appropriate preparation for teaching about citizenship? How can teachers in the nonspecialized elementary grades acquire the background to teach citizenship?

• Many of those currently preparing to be teachers are from the generation in which conventional political participation is at an unprecedented low. This raises the importance of preservice preparation, but the direction to be taken is not clear.

• There is hesitation about whether and how to incorporate enhanced opportunities for students' voice and input in their schools and classrooms.

• Although some methods, such as service-learning, make explicit connections to the community, uncertainty exists about how to use citizenship education systematically to meet the needs and concerns of the community and its members.

• Ambivalence also exists about whether and how to incorporate service-learning into citizenship education programs. Research shows that teachers using service-learning in other subjects do not necessarily connect it to the civics curriculum. When high-quality service-learning is used for civic outcomes, research shows it does help improve students' skills and dispositions.

• Because of the political nature of teaching and learning citizenship, teachers often are unsure of the boundaries around engaging students in political activities.

• To address some of the above issues, ECS' *Every Student A Citizen* report offers "principles of best practice," including school climates that support a civically engaged school, civic engagement as a part of the school's mission and exemplifying a commitment to democracy throughout the school's activities.

The NCLC Thinkers Meeting and its Results

After considering these aspects of the current climate, NCLC believes state policy could be an effective way to help create a more supportive environment for citizenship education by stating what students should know and be able to do by grade level. With the purpose of integrating existing national and state standards into a framework that state policymakers could adopt eventually, NCLC convened a Thinkers Meeting in May 2003.

Thinkers Meeting participants moved from a consideration of the specifics of standards developed by organizations and states to developing long lists of competencies in three categories, and then to a more integrative discussion that attempted a synthesis of concepts. There was general agreement on several issues:

- First, there are three important overarching sets of competencies related to citizenship:

  ▸ Civic-related *knowledge* (both historical and contemporary)
     This knowledge includes historical knowledge, such as understanding the structure and mechanics of constitutional government and contemporary knowledge, knowing who the local political actors are, and current issues of local debate and concern.

  ▸ Cognitive and participative *skills* (and associated behaviors)
     These skills include the ability to understand and check data about government and local issues, and articulate abstract concepts such as patriotism and democracy. Participatory skills refer to a student's ability to be part of an informed discussion about a candidate or be able to resolve conflict as part of a group.

  ▸ *Dispositions* (motivations for behavior and values/attitudes)
     Students will not necessarily connect knowledge and skills to their civic dispositions without experience or a reason to believe their participation is worthwhile. Civic dispositions can include support for justice and equality, a sense of personal responsibility (to include voting and obeying the law) and a personal commitment to others and their well-being.

  In the sections that follow, the three terms – knowledge, skills and dispositions – are more fully defined.

- Second, these three strands of citizenship should be seen as approximately equal in importance and connected with one another. In fact, the braid on the front of this paper is the way in which the group envisioned the three competencies together forming a stronger cord than any could alone. The balance among the three strands is a critical component of any systemic approach to citizenship education.

- Third, these competencies are built by school-related and out-of-school experiences (in family or neighborhood) that begin in early childhood and are by no means confined to experiences in a high school government course. Different types of experience foster different competencies (as the *Civic Mission of Schools* noted in a matrix developed from an examination of research evidence; see **Box 5**).

- Fourth, the knowledge, concepts, information or skills learned in school need to be connected to students' civic identity, including their feeling of responsibility to vote or volunteer in the community. For example, knowing some of the ways in which elected officials shape policy influencing citizens' everyday lives is pertinent information when motivating citizens to vote. Knowledge needs to be connected to plausible motivations for civic engagement.

- Fifth, most existing state policies regarding citizenship education can be enhanced or modified in ways that can fit into the overarching framework. The aim is *not* to establish a new set of competencies to compete with those already developed by national organizations or the states. The hope of those involved in the ECS/NCLC effort is that it will bring groups together. To enhance that possibility of collaboration, a framework recently developed by John Patrick, director of the Social Studies Development Center, Indiana University, to derive core concepts from the CCE Standards and the 1998 NAEP was merged with the Thinkers Meeting's competencies. Patrick, based on many years of work in civic education in the United States and internationally, derived six core concepts for students at all levels of pre-adult education and in teacher education programs to use in comparing and evaluating democratic systems (see **Box 6**).

Box 5: Excerpt About Promising Practices and Competencies from the *Civic Mission of Schools*

Many schools across the country have adopted the following approaches (and sometimes combinations of them), and research clearly demonstrates their benefits. These approaches produce different types of benefits, ranging from knowledge of politics to civic skills to willingness to volunteer.

Most Substantial and Direct Benefits from Each Promising Approach

Approach	Civic and political knowledge	Civic and political skills	Civic attitudes	Political participation	Community participation
Classroom instruction in social studies	✔	✔		✔	
Discussion of current issues	✔	✔	✔	✔	
Service-learning		✔	✔		✔
Extracurricular activities		✔			✔
Student voice in school governance		✔	✔	✔	
Simulations	✔	✔	✔		

Given these diverse outcomes, educators, policymakers and communities must decide on their priorities when they choose an approach to civic education and/or integrate more than one approach in a curriculum that develops several dimensions of civic and political engagement at the same time.

1. Representative Democracy (Republicanism)
   Examples: Free, fair and competitive elections of representatives in government

2. Rule of Law (Constitutionalism)
   Examples: Observance of the rule of law in the government, society and economy; an independent judiciary

3. Human Rights (Liberalism)
   Examples: Natural rights/constitutional rights to liberty, equality and justice; political or public rights; personal or private rights

4. Citizenship (Civism)
   Examples: Membership in a people based on legal qualifications for citizenship; rights, responsibilities and roles of citizenship

5. Civil Society (Communitarianism)
   Example: Pluralism, multiple and overlapping group memberships and identities; civic participation for personal interests and the common good

6. Market Economy (Capitalism)
   Example: Freedom of exchange and economic choice through the market; protection of private property rights (Patrick, 2003, p. 28)

Five of these six concepts have been merged into **Table 2**, containing three categories of content and the three strands of competencies listed above as an organizing framework for the competency lists.

Table 2: The Intersection of Three Categories of Content (from Patrick) and Three Strands of Competencies (from NCLC)			
	Strands of Competencies		
Categories of Content	**A. Knowledge**	**B. Skills**	**C. Dispositions**
1. Democracy/Law			
2. Citizenship/ Human Rights			
3. Civil Society/ Market Economy			

Each of the three strands of competencies will be considered in the next sections. Market Economy from Patrick's list is more likely to be part of economics-related subject matter than civic-related subject matter and has not been incorporated here.

The Three Strands of Competence

Knowledge

Knowledge relating to democracy, citizenship and civil society is already an important dimension of competency lists and deserves to remain so. **Box 7** summarizes the *Civic Mission of Schools* consensus view about knowledge.

Box 7: Research-based Recommendations Regarding Knowledge from the *Civic Mission of Schools*

Schools should provide instruction in government, history, law and democracy. The NAEP and IEA studies indicate that students perform better on tests of civic knowledge and skills if they have studied a range of relevant subjects, such as the Constitution, U.S. history, the structure and processes of government and elections, and the legal system. In particular, the breadth and amount of such instruction correlates with improved knowledge of citizens' rights, of state and local government, and of the structures and functions of government. Similarly, evaluations of specific programs (such as the "We the People" curriculum of the Center for Civic Education) clearly show that such approaches can have a positive impact on students' tolerance, civic knowledge and skills.

Formal instruction in U.S. government, history or democracy is most promising as a way to increase civic knowledge. Knowledge is a valuable civic outcome, quite apart from any relationships it may have with other forms of engagement. Americans should grasp a body of facts and concepts, for example, the fundamental principles of U.S. democracy and the Constitution; the tensions among fundamental goods and rights; the major themes in the history of the United States; the structure of our government; the powers and limitations of its various branches and levels; and the relationship between government and the other sectors of society. Studying these concepts does not have to be seen as "rote education," but rather as intellectually challenging and beneficial.

Knowledge also helps people engage politically. More knowledgeable adults are more likely to vote on the basis of issues rather than perceived personalities; they vote more consistently; and they distinguish better between substantive debates and personal attacks. There is little evidence, however, that political knowledge correlates with volunteering or group membership.

The effects of formal instruction on behavior appear to be greater when teachers make explicit connections between academic material and concrete actions. IEA data, for example, suggest it is not enough to point out that the right to vote was won after long struggles in the past. Only when teachers explicitly teach about the importance of voting in the present, and convey that voting is a citizen's duty, are students likely to say they will vote. Likewise, when teachers explicitly discuss ways of addressing community problems, more students say they expect to volunteer.

The May 2003 Thinkers Meeting generated a short but comprehensive list of knowledge-related competencies, making it clear that historical as well as contemporary understanding and illustrations are essential. Examples from these competencies can fit into each of Patrick's three conceptual categories:

- Examples of knowledge relating to the content category of "Democracy: The System or Rule of Law":
  - ▸ Understand the structure and mechanics of constitutional government (at the national and state levels), political institutions (including elections), and how they evolved in the history of the United States.
  - ▸ Understand democratic principles such as the rule of law, majority rule and minority rights, representative government and constitutionalism – markers of democratic and nondemocratic government.
  - ▸ Understand historical conflicts over the meaning of the Constitution.
  - ▸ Understand the role of media in democracy.

- Examples of knowledge relating to the content category of "Citizenship/Human Rights":
  - ▶ Understand the legal system and the rights of citizens, such as freedom of religion, speech and association, in balance with the responsibilities of citizens.
  - ▶ Know how ordinary citizens can act and have acted in the past to create change.
  - ▶ Understand ideologies and other bases on which political organizations (such as political parties) are formed, which also shape interest groups or the media.
- Examples of knowledge relating to the content category of "Civil Society":
  - ▶ Understand reasons for disagreement as well as consensus on issues of public concern.
  - ▶ Describe local community assets and problems and their connection to broader issues, including the important local actors.
  - ▶ Know about issues that might be addressed through community service.

Skills

Competencies related to skills are also part of most (if not all) of the standards documents, though they sometimes may be merged with knowledge. Many feel it is appropriate for schools to transmit skills that would make students' current and eventual participation more informed and effective, but that it is less appropriate for schools to actually require participation. Sympathetic to this viewpoint, the Thinkers Meeting generated a list of civic actions and behaviors (ranging from paying taxes to voting to being active in one's community to protesting injustice) and then looked at skills whose possession would enhance either the effectiveness of the behaviors or the likelihood that students would participate in them. They distinguished *thinking skills* (similar to cognitive or intellectual skills described in the IEA study in **Boxes 4** and **8**, and the NAEP assessment, respectively) from *participatory skills* (similar to the leadership, group mobilization and communication skills in **Box 8**).

Box 8: Research Findings on Skills in Citizenship Education

The IEA Civic Education Study measured skills in interpreting political information (leaflets, cartoons, news articles) because these are potentially important in the process of getting information related to elections, issues and protest (though probably less so for volunteering). IEA measured this directly with right-and-wrong-answer items, including this kind of stimulus material. These skills can be thought of as a kind of specialized literacy (decoding information where differences in point of view are important). And these skills can be taught (at least as evidenced by the increase in scores between ages 14 and 17 in the IEA data and the fact that countries which emphasize a hands-on approach in their curricula, such as the United States, Australia and Sweden, tend to have 14-year-old students who excel in them). In fact, American 14-year-olds are far more proficient in demonstrating their skills in interpreting political information than they are in showing they understand the principles and concepts of democracy. On the skills subtest in the IEA study, they scored at the very top of the 28 countries. In content knowledge of democratic principles and concepts, however, these same students were tied for 10th place, scoring at the same level as students from Russia, Slovenia and Hungary (and well below Finland and Greece, for example).

The Political Participation Project (Burns, Schlozmann and Verba, 2001) concentrated on skills in being part of, mobilizing or leading a group that might take political or social action (including volunteering, getting others to vote, managing conflict-related problems). This was measured retrospectively by asking adults about their experience. The researchers viewed these skills as resources acquired through experience in adult employment as well as in adolescence. They argue that the absence of these resources in women is a serious issue in the generation they surveyed.

Examples of these skills generated at the Thinkers Meeting also can be incorporated under the three content categories derived from Patrick.

- Examples of skills relating to the content category of "Democracy: The System or Rule of Law":
  - ▶ Be able to understand, analyze and check the reliability of information about government from media sources and political communications.

‣ Be able to articulate the meaning of abstract concepts such as democracy and patriotism.

‣ Be able to articulate the relationship between the common good and self-interest and use these ideas in making decisions.

• Examples of skills relating to the content category of "Citizenship/Human Rights":

‣ Be able to express one's opinion on a political or civic matter when contacting an elected official or a media outlet.

‣ Be able to participate in a respectful and informed discussion about an issue.

‣ Be able to reach an informed decision about a candidate or conclusion about an issue.

‣ Be able to analyze instances of social injustice and decide when some action or nonviolent protest is justified.

• Examples of skills relating to the content category of "Civil Society":

‣ Be able to analyze how conditions in the community are connected to policy decisions.

‣ Be able to act in a group in a way that includes others and communicates respect for their views.

‣ Be able to resolve conflict and build consensus in a group.

‣ Be able to envision a plan for action on community problems and mobilize others to pursue it.

Dispositions and Motivations

Motivation and the disposition to be engaged civically are built over a span of years, not in the last two years of high school. Some motivations for engagement are based on positive experiences (for example, academic success in civic-related subjects), others on negative experiences (for example, experience with injustice). Several examples follow:

Acquiring knowledge and practicing citizenship in the community is sometimes a by-product of the pursuit of another goal. Students may learn facts about the Constitution because passing a test on these facts is required for promotion, or they may volunteer in the community because it looks good on a college application. This type of learning does not necessarily promote a long-lasting disposition that will sustain engagement.

Young people gain motivation when they can readily see the people they trust value their nation and/or their community and the democratic principles that sustain them. Students gain such exposure by being surrounded by practices, symbols, groups and individuals that reinforce the message that democracy is important. Community service, which is undertaken in a partnership or collaboration with respected adults who talk with young people about their experiences, is a potentially important source of this kind of motivation. Classrooms with respectful discussion also have a role.

The knowledge and cognitive skills acquired in and out of school serve as motivators when they help young people develop a framework for understanding what happens in their community or nation and a reason for believing their participation is worthwhile. This has several layers: knowledge itself; accepting norms that participation is worthwhile; having the skills to assess a situation from different points of view; and possessing the dispositions, motivation and skills to actually participate. This knowledge and these skills provide a background for engaging in effective participation. What is important about this type of motivation is that enhancing young people's skills encourages them to believe in their own self-efficacy and in the more generalized efficacy of getting together with others to take action. This is a positive type of dispositional pattern, but it depends on meaningful knowledge, on experience in settings in which students can feel empowered and on feedback from respected adults. This is an orchestration of experience that is rare for the majority of students.

Finally, motivation may result when students get upset or angry about something, often about injustice they feel personally or see in the lives of others. This is a kind of motivation that can be prompted by volunteer experience, but if the resulting action is to be constructive, it often requires discussion with adults.

Box 9: Research Findings on Dispositions, Motivations and Values in Citizenship Education

Some educators place an emphasis on cultivating civic dispositions (also called civic virtues or motivations), often meaning students' responsibilities and acceptance of duties to obey the law and participate in activities associated with conventional adult political activity and with being a contributing member in solving problems in the community. The IEA results show that when asked about norms for citizens' participation, 14-year-olds across countries agree that adults should obey the law and vote, but other aspects of what is called conventional political participation (discussion participation, party membership) are much less likely to be seen as important.

Willingness to volunteer also can be considered a positive civic disposition. In contrast to its importance as a predictor of voting, the IEA test score on civic content knowledge is not a significant predictor of the likelihood of volunteering as an adult in the United States. In some countries, the less knowledgeable students say they are more likely to volunteer. Instead, currently being a member of a volunteer organization and learning in school about community problems and how to solve them are the important correlates of willingness to volunteer. It also is important to note that considerable emphasis is placed on the confidence students develop in participating within the school environment, in discussion with parents and through organizational membership in general. Different experiences are important in promoting voting and volunteering (see also Table 1, Skills in National Standards).

There is evidence the school can address many types of attitudes and dispositions, especially those priming different kinds of dispositions toward participation and attitudes supporting rights for groups experiencing discrimination. Family influences are especially important for values development, a factor supported by the IEA relationships between attitudes and reported participation with parents in discussion.

In another study, *The Civic and Political Health of a Nation, A Generational Portrait* (Keeter, 2002), "civic" (volunteering or helping to solve community problems) is distinguished from "electoral" (voting, campaigning) engagement. This research supports the idea that volunteering predicts electoral behavior. Only 15% of the 15- to 25-year-old respondents are engaged in electoral activities, while only slightly more (17%) are engaged in civic activities. Only 11% engage in both. Another category, consumer activism, had a surprising response. Over half report boycotting a product or buying something as a positive response to a company's practices. This research also suggests that open conversations in schools and political discussions at home are important to student engagement, as well as having an example of volunteering in the home. The 19 indicators identified in this research have been duplicated in other studies, both in K-12 and higher education.

The Thinkers Meeting group that dealt with topics related to dispositions and motivations found them linked in many respects to knowledge and skills transmitted at school, but suspected they also were linked to experiences at home more than to the other two strands.

- Examples of dispositions relating to the content category of "Democracy: the Rule of Law":
    ‣ Patriotism and commitment to American democracy
    ‣ Support for justice, equality and other democratic values and procedures.
- Examples of dispositions relating to the content category of "Citizenship/Human Rights":
    ‣ Respect for human rights and willingness to search out and listen to others' views
    ‣ Sense of realistic efficacy about citizen' actions
    ‣ Sense of personal responsibility at many levels (obeying the law, voting).
- Examples of dispositions relating to the content category of "Civil Society":
    ‣ Social trust in the community
    ‣ Personal commitment to others and their well-being, and to justice.

In summary, intersecting the results of the three groups at the Thinkers Meeting with Patrick's three concepts provides a useful set of exemplars of competencies.

Principles for a Continuous and Increasingly Complex Consideration of Citizenship Competencies Beginning at Kindergarten

A variety of studies of elementary and middle school students, including the IEA Civic Education Study, shows that in democratic countries the average student is already a member of his or her political culture by age 14. Students' attitudes about the economic role of government and their trust in government-related institutions, for example, already match in many respects those of adults in their society. Identity groups already exert an influence; at 14, there are already gender differences in support for women's rights and differences between immigrants and native-born students in their attitudes toward immigrants' rights. Between 9th grade and high school graduation, substantial gains in political knowledge and civic skills occur.

Early studies of elementary school children showed that from grade 2 to grade 8 attitudes change (toward less personalized attitudes about government and more awareness of issues). Rudimentary concepts of fairness and freedom of speech exist. By 8th grade, in children were much like adults in many of the dimensions underlying political awareness (Hess and Torney, 1967).

The 1998 NAEP framework looked at three levels of competency at each of the three grade levels tested (4, 8 and 12). The resulting competencies, however, were only moderately well-integrated across grades, and a number of them presented difficulties for paper-and-pencil measurement. Some state frameworks are probably a better source for grade-level competencies, but this is beyond the scope of this paper.

Based on these findings and on studies in developmental psychology, however, a sequence of experiences such as the following seems appropriate:

In the early elementary grades, build on children's interest in what adults do to introduce them to voting as a process. Expand their curiosity about how governmental processes work and how America developed its form of government (much as how their curiosity is built about how trains work). A concrete point is easier to grasp than an abstraction at these levels. Careful scaffolding of experience is important. Prompt students to think about issues outside their immediate environment (both past and present). Certain aspects of law and institutions such as elections can be discussed in rudimentary form. As students learn to read, or as they hear stories in the classroom, include books with historical, social and civic content. Early elementary students often have the opportunity to take field trips into the community, which can be excellent opportunities to connect these experiences to classroom discussions of government's role in influencing their communities.

In the late elementary grades, build on children's growing ability to take others' perspective and increase opportunities to look at community issues. Encourage participation in out-of-school organizations that have age-appropriate ways of involving children in their communities. Begin formal (but not rote) civic education classes and make explicit the civic-related themes that are central in social studies and history topics. Ask "what is a meaningful connection for a child of this age between this topic and some kind of understanding of the importance of informed and skillful citizen involvement in a democracy or ways in which one can become personally engaged in one's community?" (see Torney-Purta and Richardson, 2003).

In early adolescence, offer the first full civic education course (preferably at grade 7 or 8) or make the history course one in which explicit attention is given to citizenship education competencies. Have daily discussions of related issues in the classroom, rather than infrequent current events exercises. Think of innovative out-of-class or homework assignments that will make these issues engaging for students. Provide opportunities for developmentally appropriate service-learning (or, for the students who prefer or whose parents prefer, opportunities to review community assets and risks). Make it possible for students to engage with adults in common activities and to talk with them about those activities. Continue formal (but not rote) civic education classes and make explicit civic-related themes central in history and the social studies. Introduce democratic simulation exercises, such as mock trials and town meetings. For a range of curriculum topics, ask "what is a meaningful connection for a student of this age between this topic and some kind of understanding of the importance of citizen involvement in democracy or ways in

which one can become personally engaged in civil society?" Consider using the school as a democratic laboratory.

In high school, study issues in the context of history and politics in greater depth. Expand the complexity of exercises in reasoning and finding information about social and civic topics. Encourage students to compare sources, which can mean analyzing media and other sources of information to assess their validity. Provide opportunities for relationships with adults engaged in common projects and opportunities to discuss the many dimensions of civic and political identity. Allow students to work in groups to address a local issue. There is quite a bit of good material in state competencies and textbooks at the high school level already; the challenge is to choose the materials and activities that will be motivating to students.

At all levels, it is important to realize there are individual as well as developmental or age differences. Building competencies is a cumulative process. For example, the student who gains a good understanding of the basic nature of elections in the primary grades has a foundation to build more advanced understanding. Individual differences are present in all classes but tend to be larger at higher grades.

Anyone who is a parent or a teacher knows that some 8-year-olds have considerable curiosity about how the social world outside their immediate environment operates and how people different from themselves think, while other 8-year-olds do not. Some 11-year-olds will read parts of the news section of a newspaper, while others will go right to sports or comics. Some 14-year-olds are alienated from society, while some can be mobilized to engage in their community. By this age some young people may begin to reject their community as having too few opportunities. Some 17-year-olds are so preoccupied with their right to be silent in front of their peers that they refuse to utter a word in class, while others voice an opinion on any subject (informed or not). The school can aim its civic education programs at the average student, but should provide opportunities to build variations addressing both developmental and individual differences, as well as fitting into the community in which the school is located.

As a more detailed illustration, **Table 3** presents a draft schematic of one aspect, elections, of the first two rows of **Table 2** (dealing with Democratic Institutions/Law and Citizenship/Human Rights,). **Table 4** presents a similar schematic dealing with understanding processes of conflict and agreement (or consensus). Because there is less elaboration available of competencies appropriate for the lower grades, that is where **Tables 3** and **4** concentrate. Almost any government text or set of state standards would yield appropriate high school examples.

The purpose of these tables is to suggest some developmentally appropriate themes and examples. The examples are meant to be illustrative, not comprehensive, and to suggest ways in which connections might be made to several subject areas in the curriculum (for example, history, language arts, science, environmental studies). These tables are based on the national voluntary standards developed by the Center for Civic Education and National Council for the Social Studies. The categories of civic knowledge, civic thinking skills, civic participation skills, and civic dispositions and motivations are derived from the braid illustration on the front of the paper.

	Table 3: An Example of K-12 Civic Competencies: Government and Elections			
Grade Span	**Civic Knowledge**	**Civic Thinking Skills**	**Civic Participation Skills**	**Civic Dispositions**
	What students should know about citizenship	*Cognitive civic skills students should possess*	*Participatory civic skills students should possess*	*Civic dispositions and motivations students should possess*
	Know:	*Be able to:*	*Be able to:*	*Demonstrate:*
K-3	...that groups and leaders beyond those in family and school influence people's actions (by rules, laws). …that leaders are often chosen by election and what an election is.	…recognize pictures of national leaders (and distinguish between those who are historical and contemporary). …consider basic aspects of candidates or positions before voting.	…participate in a simple election (both as voter and candidate).	…support for equality and fairness in voting.
4-6	...why only adult citizens vote in most elections. …what elected representatives do. …that citizens can and cannot do various things to influence the outcome of elections.	...interpret a simple news story or political cartoon about an election.	…discuss the reasons for making an electoral choice. …give persuasive reasons about why citizens should vote.	...commitment to equality and fairness and the ability to consider the public good as well as self-interest.
7-9	...that elections have their basis in the Constitution (and basics about the history of the right to vote). ...about elections at the local, state and national levels. ...the role of political parties and interest groups.	…interpret a news story or political cartoon about an election that shows different perspectives. …to get information about candidates.	...persuade others to become a candidate or to vote based on a reasoned and respectful argument.	…a sense of personal responsibility to vote and seek fair elections. …motivation to seek information before voting.
10-12	[Many examples from standards]	[Many examples from standards]	[Many examples from standards]	[Many examples from standards]

Grade Span	Civic Knowledge	Cognitive Thinking Skills	Participatory Civic Skills	Civic Dispositions
	What students should know about citizenship	*Cognitive civic skills students should possess*	*Participatory civic skills students should possess*	*Civic dispositions and motivations students should possess*
	Know:	*Be able to:*	*Be able to:*	*Demonstrate:*
K-3	...that persons in the present and in history sometimes differ about what the best course of action is. ...how leaders sometimes help groups achieve consensus.	...show nascent awareness of other perspectives.	...participate in a simple discussion that recognizes and respects different points of view.	…willingness to listen to others. …willingness to articulate one's own views.
4-6	...about important debates in history – how they have been resolved and that some served as "turning points." ...how consensus as well as conflict contributes to political dialogue.	...recognize and find sources (newspapers, cartoons) where different points of view are presented. ...take another person's or group's perspective.	...frame an argument giving both sides fair treatment. …argue using evidence, reason and persuasion in school-based or local issues.	…willingness to consider the public good as well as self-interest in resolving a conflict. ...willingness to participate in discussion to build consensus. ...motivation to seek information and evidence from media sources.
7-9	…about more complex historical and contemporary debates. …mechanisms used to resolve conflict in school, community, nation.	…interpret a news story, speech or political cartoon that presents different perspectives.	…make a presentation using evidence, reason and persuasion on national as well as school-based or local issues.	...willingness to engage someone with an opposing point of view in discussion (while conceding valid points).
10-12	…how different political groups differ on issues (e.g., political parties, interest groups).	…compare different news sources.	...evaluate the effectiveness of different strategies to make a point.	…motivation to work toward self-accepted political and civic goals on issues where people differ.

Table 4: An Example of K-12 Civic Competencies: Conflict and Consensus

Embedded Contexts of Schooling Relating to Civic Education

The last remaining piece of this paper is a graphic to orient the Professional Judgment Groups (PJGs) to the variety of contexts in which civic education is embedded, delineating the groups involved and influencing the actions suggested. **Box 10**, which contains a modification relating to citizenship of a schematic originally developed by McLaughlin and Talbott to apply to high schools more generally, can serve as a way to examine the implications of the material presented in this paper. Although the participants in the PJGs looked at all these levels, and affirmed their importance, they focused on the governance and policy systems.

Box 10:

Societal culture: educational values and norms, parenting norms, youth culture; political values

Occupational system: local, regional, national job opportunities and work cultures

Education professional environment: standards, programs, associations, networks

Higher-level education contexts: education requirements of destination colleges

Local business, media and community organizations: resources for families and youth

Parent community: demographics, relations with school, education and politics

Governance and policy system: district and state policies (tests) and resources

School organization: programs, policies, resources, ethos, student culture(s)

Teacher community and culture

Class: students, teacher, subject matter

Adapted from *Professional communities and the work of high school teaching*, Appendix A, p. 144, of McLaughlin, M. and Talbott, J. (2001). Gray shaded portion refers to proximal influences on teaching.

Suggestions for State-level Policymakers and Advisers Using This Document

As indicated previously, this document and the process with which it is associated is not intended to supplant other work in this field but to extend it and make it more coherent and effective.

There is considerable evidence about positive attributes of effective civic education programs. They do the following:

- Fit into the three categories of content and three strands of competency detailed earlier
- Incorporate strands of civic preparation in designated courses and across the curriculum, through schooling and related community experience
- Include, as appropriate, didactic instruction, experiential learning, issue-centered classroom discussion, peer interaction outside the classroom
- Emphasize meaningful learning and authentic engagement
- Expect students to reason about the support for their own positions and reflect about their experience in and outside the classroom
- Evaluate students in a developmentally appropriate way to assess more than easily measured facts; for example, analytical or participatory skills
- Connect to the world outside the classroom, not only to what's in the textbook
- Make knowledgeable, committed and caring adults accessible to students
- Allow different opinions to be expressed, not expecting one right answer for every question
- Empower students to solve problems
- Make links among subject areas, for example, not unnecessarily isolating learning to read from reading about their communities and nation.

It is important that state education policies begin citizenship education in the elementary years, starting with simple concepts and progressing to more complex concepts, which allows students to embrace citizenship as part of their identity by age 14.

Some states have standards or lists of competencies that have been strongly influenced by the National Voluntary Civic Education Standards (CCE), while others reference their standards more closely to the NCSS Standards or the National Standards for History. Some may have developed programs that relate to standards with a different focus (for example, service-learning) or to an emphasis on aims such as loyalty and patriotism. The entry point into examining standards or lists of competencies will be different, but the direction of effort should be the same:

- Toward greater coherence around concepts such as those identified by Patrick and illustrated here, rather than encyclopedic detail
- Toward making sure the three strands (knowledge, thinking skills and participatory skills, and dispositions) are all represented and related to one another, rather than an overwhelming focus on content knowledge
- Toward extending citizenship teaching into the primary and middle school grades, rather than a predominant emphasis on high school
- Toward making the curriculum suitable for students at a variety of learning levels, especially second-language English students and students from homes with poor literacy and economic resources, rather than focusing predominantly on preparing students who are likely to receive reinforcement at home for becoming informed and active citizens
- Toward making citizenship education experiences more likely to engage and motivate every student, rather than relying primarily on the incentive to get good grades or to be accepted into college
- Toward making it possible for teachers to cover the material in the lists of competencies by allowing more preparation time and professional development support

• Toward a developmentally appropriate testing procedure that moves beyond multiple-choice items about facts to more informative ways of benchmarking students on knowledge, skills and motivations to be active citizens.

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Web Sites

Center for Civic Education: **www.civiced.org**

Constitutional Rights Foundation: **www.crf-usa.org**

Education Commission of the States/ National Center for Learning and Citizenship: **www.ecs.org/nclc**

IEA Civic Education Study: **www.wam.umd.edu/~iea**

Kids Voting: **www.kidsvotingusa.org**

National Alliance for Civic Education: **www.cived.net**

National Conference of State Legislatures/Trust for Representative Democracy: **www.ncsl.org**

Project 540: **www.project540.org**

Student Voices: **www.student-voices.org**

Youth as Resources: **www.yar.org**