Essential School Supports for Civic Learning

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THESIS

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This dissertation is dedicated to my daughters, Gracie and Madison. I wrote much of it during Gracie's naps and between dinner and her bedtime stories. Maddie's pending arrival inspired me to write quickly and complete the defense before her due date. Of course, none of this could have been accomplished without the love and support of my wife and best friend, Vikki.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CMS	Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools
ICMC	Illinois Civic Mission Coalition
IRT	Item Response Theory
NAEP	National Assessment of Educational Progress
NCLB	No Child Left Behind

SUMMARY

A study of the respective contributions of traditional and innovative civic learning practices to students' civic knowledge and skills was tested via statistical analysis of student performance on the past three iterations of the National Assessment of Educational Progress in Civics. Their ability to close the "civic achievement gap" across race and ethnicity, family income, parental educational attainment, and English language proficiency was also tested.

Next, through analysis of 2013 Illinois Five Essentials survey data, school mission and vision statements, student handbooks, school-wide civic assessments, and structured interviews with 25 teachers and administrators at Illinois high schools recognized for their strong civic learning programs, common elements for sustained, systemic commitments to students' civic development were determined.

Exposure to selected traditional and innovative civic learning practices collectively contributes to students' civic knowledge and skills. The latter do not universally outperform the former. In fact, they appear most impactful when offered in tandem. Moreover, the vast majority of these practices fail to close the aforementioned "civic achievement gap." They do, however, make positive contributions across demographic groups.

Finally, schools with sustained, systemic commitments to students' civic development have strong civic mission statements and shared leadership in their pursuit. They boast challenging curriculum with traditional and innovative civic learning practices woven across grade levels and subject areas. They also leverage reciprocal relationships with parents and the surrounding commitment, where all parties view one another as vital resources. While the selected schools have room for improvement in the areas of staff development and school climate, these indicators are vital to sustaining and systematizing school-based civic learning.

1. INTRODUCTION

Generational declines in both political knowledge and engagement are widely documented, along with their deleterious implications for representative democracy (Putnam, 2000; Bauerlein, 2008; Wattenberg, 2008). Whereas political participation was once premised on a sense of individual duty, this motivational factor has eroded across successive generations. Political knowledge is now the driving force for participation in this sphere, and formal education stands as perhaps its most prominent source (Milner, 2010). However, current federal policy mandates high stakes standardized tests focused exclusively on literacy and numeracy. This rigid testing regime has narrowed the curriculum, as schools "teach to the test," and subsequently push civics, among other subjects, aside (McMurrer, 2008; Ravitch, 2010).

Civic participation is premised upon the early acquisition of related knowledge, skills, attitudes, and behaviors, a process long known as political socialization. The process itself is complex, a product of multiple influences, including parents, peers, socioeconomic status, and schools. These sources considered, our public schools stand alone as the institution over which we have the most control from a public policy standpoint and thus remain our best hope to reverse the tides of civic apathy and disengagement (Healy, 2013).

The influence of schools was long dismissed in the field of political science, but recent research accounts for a dramatic reversal. Over the past decade and a half, political scientists and educational researchers have examined the impact of school-based civic learning and engagement opportunities, and for the most part identified positive results. As Peter Levine

(2007), writes, “Schools are not the only venues for civic development, but they are vital” (p. 119).

Graham and Hand (2010) go further, claiming that

> There have been plenty of institutions in American life that have contributed to the sorry state of citizenship: political parties, elected officials, the media, and various special interest groups. But the burden to rescue democracy rests primarily on the American educational system (p. 22).

While the literature to date clearly delineates the power of incorporating civic learning opportunities across the curriculum using both traditional and interactive pedagogical approaches, findings are mostly obtuse and lack a descriptive sense of how sound approaches to civic learning translate in practice. Moreover, the literature largely ignores the broader context of essential school supports for students’ civic development.

With these questions in mind, my first hypothesis predicts that traditional school-based civic learning opportunities will lead to higher levels of civic knowledge and skills among students as opposed to those denied these opportunities altogether. My second hypothesis further parses this data, suggesting that students who experience interactive, school-based civic learning practices will outperform those exposed to only traditional methodologies on measures of civic knowledge and skills.

Recent research has revealed evidence of a “democracy divide,” where exemplary civic learning practices and engagement opportunities are disproportionately available to privileged elites already predisposed to adult participation (Levinson, 2007; Kahne and Middaugh, 2008). The participation literature highlights inequities across gender, race, income, and education, and

the status quo further privileges white students whose parents are relatively affluent and who boast high educational attainment.

Moreover, the extent to which “demographics are destiny” when it comes to adult civic participation is unclear. Can school-wide commitments to civic learning help overcome the widening “democracy divide”? My third hypothesis answers in the affirmative: Students who experience school-based civic learning opportunities (traditional or innovative) will exhibit higher levels of civic knowledge and skills regardless of their race or ethnicity, family income, parental educational attainment, or English language proficiency.

My final hypothesis is positioned within the larger framework of essential school supports for student learning (Bryk et al., 2010). The framework begins with the notion that school leadership and vision undergird an institution’s ability to incubate student learning. Powerful curriculum, combined with an ongoing commitment to staff development follow. Student learning thrives within a positive school climate, and schools benefit from a reciprocal relationship with their surrounding community where both view one another as valuable resources and key stakeholders. This framework is anchored in measures of student achievement in subject areas outside of civic learning, namely reading and math, and my hypothesis attempts to test the extent to which it is transferable to civics.

Channeling the findings of the Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools’ *No Excuses* report (2010), my final hypothesis builds off of the dependent variable, namely schools with sustainable, systemic approaches to civic learning. Independent variables that will be tested, in

turn, in Chapters Six through Ten, include a "strategically-designed curriculum" that incorporates promising civic learning practices (H4a); "a vision for the importance of civic learning and effective leadership to see it through" (H4b); staff development practices that support civic learning, including hiring, evaluation, and professional development (H4c); a strong, reciprocal relationship with parents and the surrounding community (H4d); and a school climate that "…nurture[s] and model[s] civic dispositions" (H4e).

My work is informed by the *Civic Mission of Schools* (CMS) report (Carnegie Foundation, 2003), revised and re-released under the title *Guardian of Democracy* in 2011 (Annenberg Foundation) which articulates six "promising approaches" ("proven practices" in the updated report) to citizenship development. It also draws heavily from the *Illinois Civic Blueprint* (McCormick Foundation, 2009), which applies these aforementioned approaches to Illinois high schools, connecting them to their communities and civic education organizations committed to rekindling civic learning in schools statewide. As mentioned in the previous paragraph, the *No Excuses* report provides a framework for my measurement of schools' overall commitment to civic learning.

Data is drawn from a plethora of sources, and my study begins with descriptive and explanatory analysis of results from a national sample of high schools whose students took the National Assessment of Educational Progress in Civics during 1998, 2006, or 2010, accounting for variation by instructional techniques, civic learning opportunities, and student demographics.

Next, I turn to teacher and student responses to the 2013 “Five Essentials” Survey administered in every public school in Illinois. Through descriptive comparisons of results from schools with publically-recognized commitments to civic learning with comparable schools lacking this distinction, I will assess discernible differences in these schools’ broader supports for student learning.

Finally, these findings will be supplemented with qualitative data gleaned from the former schools, including school-wide assessments of civic learning programs, school mission and/ or vision statements, student handbooks, and interviews with administrators and teachers. I plan to paint a rich picture of necessary school supports for civic learning for replication not only in Illinois, but across the nation.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. The Political Knowledge Deficit

Low levels of political knowledge among the American citizenry are widely-panned, perhaps most notably by Jay Leno in his regular montage titled "Jaywalking." This is especially troubling given dramatic increases in educational attainment over the past several generational cohorts coupled with the advent of the Information Age. Mark Bauerlein, in *The Dumbest Generation* (2008), laments, "All the ingredients for making informed and intelligent citizens are in place. But it hasn't happened" (p. 10).

Bauerlein places blame on home, social, and leisure lives, absolving schools' roles given the fact that students spend less than ten percent of their daily lives there (p. 37). The author contends that democracy demands an informed electorate, and current deficits equate to "civic decay." Moreover, democracy does not mandate participation, enabling citizens to divorce themselves from a public scene where they see too little personal payoff (212-213).

Bauerlein is arguably guilty of making a caricature of the American citizenry, young people in particular, and the chorus from which he writes is large and receives a disproportionate amount of coverage in the popular press. Delli Carpini and Keeter (1999) take issue with fact-based surveys that shame Americans for their lack of basic political knowledge. However, they acknowledge that participation is premised upon political information, and that political knowledge is a resource rather than an inherited trait (pp. 5, 8-9).

The authors define political knowledge as “the range of factual information about politics that is stored in long-term memory.” It includes familiarity with “rules of the game,” the major issues of the day, and political candidates and parties (pp. 10, 14-15).

Since the 1940’s, general surveys have shown low levels of political knowledge among the American citizenry, yet Delli Carpini and Keeter believe that public ignorance, while relatively high, is overblown. Public opinion gauges often fail to report that participants are often closer to the truth than their responses permit, and that public opinion is sometimes manipulated by biases in information provided. Rather than being in the dark, the authors suggest that Americans are mostly in the “shadows” (pp. 62, 69, 95).

Potential arenas for improved political knowledge include the mass media and the workplace. However, Delli Carpini and Keeter find formal education is the best predictor of political knowledge among a set of variables that also includes income and occupational status (188). Education is such an important tool because it provides opportunities to learn about politics, stimulates motivation, and develops the cognitive skills necessary to learn more (p. 190). Yet, despite broad increases in education levels, political knowledge remains constant, calling into question the means by which civics is taught and the extent to which it is even emphasized in our schools (p. 199).

The benefits of political knowledge are clear. The authors list five of them. First, it promotes civic virtues (political tolerance, for example), and two, it fosters active participation. Three, it allows citizens to develop stable opinions on the issues of the day. Four, it helps

citizens identify their true interests and connect these with their values. Finally, attitudes are linked to participation that serves individual interests (p. 219).

Most recently, the Center for Information Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE, 2013b) administered a survey of political knowledge to more than 4,000 youth, ages 18-24, on the day after the 2012 election. Their findings were mixed. Youth were informed on some issues; for example, 55.9% were able to identify a candidate's position on an issue they deemed important. However, they were misinformed on others; for instance, a majority believed that federal government spends more on foreign aid than social security. Perhaps most importantly for our purposes, those with high-quality high school civic learning experiences were more likely to vote, be knowledgeable about campaign issues, form political opinions, and retain facts about U.S. political system (pp. 1-2).

Arguably the most significant work in reviving schools' role in the political knowledge equation is Niemi and Junn's *Civic Education: What Makes Students* Learn (1998). They echo the benefits described by Delli Carpini and Keeter and CIRCLE in relation to formal education as a locus for improved political knowledge, yet point to the uncertainty about what components of this process are most effective toward these ends.

Richard Niemi (2012) suggests that there is no definitive explanation for the decline in civic knowledge among young people. It may be a combination of changing interests, adverse effects of the media revolution, and unintended consequences of classroom teaching (p. 30).

The prevailing argument for the better part of three decades that schooling has no impact on political knowledge was premised upon the plethora of out-of-school influences, along with in-school influences outside of civics courses. Even within civics courses themselves, it is difficult to separate knowledge and values, and school procedures themselves (school climate, extracurriculars) can be part of the political learning process.

It is clear, however, that schools in general and individual classes in particular have significant effects on student learning, teacher style and student ability among the most prominent variables (Niemi and Junnn, pp. 13-17). Niemi and Junn's breakdown of the 1988 National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) exam administered to twelfth graders nationally yields substantive findings in favor of the overt teaching of civics (p. 21), a topic to be addressed in greater detail below and in my own analysis of NAEP test scores in subsequent iterations in Chapters Four and Five.

2.2. <u>The Political Engagement Deficit</u>

Colby et al. (2007), write:

> Being politically informed…is closely related to being politically engaged: Implicit in the goals of having an informed populace is the assumption that citizens possess political knowledge and reflective judgments that are useful in guiding their voting or other political activities (p. 28).

The link between political knowledge and participation resonates throughout the literature referenced above, but is perhaps addressed most pointedly in Nie et al.'s *Education and Democratic Citizenship in America* (1996). They write, "education is strongly related to the characteristics of…both the capacity for self-rule and the acceptance of democratic rule" (p. 12).

The authors go on to identify seven characteristics of democratic citizenship, beginning with political participation, followed by voting, and political tolerance. Also included are attentiveness to politics, along with three knowledge indicators tied to democratic principles, political leaders, and current political factual knowledge (p. 13).

Nie et al. acknowledge that there is no single pathway by which education influences political engagement. Instead, it is bifurcated between the cognitive outcomes of education and the impact of education on the positional life circumstances of the affected individual (p. 39). Through network positioning, education reduces the costs of political participation. It also affords participatory opportunities, including campaigning, working with others in the community, and serving on governmental boards (pp. 59, 73).

As referenced above and throughout the participation literature, political scientists have a difficult time explaining the disjuncture between broad societal gains in educational attainment and stagnant, even declining, political knowledge and participation. The common assumption is that "formal education works as an additive mechanism," yet "…the number and rank of seats in the political theater are fixed" (pp. 97, 101). Thus, higher aggregate levels of engagement should yield greater "democratic enlightenment," but political engagement will not increase in concert (pp. 106, 108).

While I disagree normatively with the zero-sum views of Nie et al., it is beyond the scope of this research project to disprove them. However, it is their link between formal education and political participation that is relevant for our purposes. They do bear future consideration in light

of my hypotheses below related to the restoration of civic learning in our schools and the provision of adequate resources to attain these ends.

The seminal book in the field of political participation is Verba and Nie's *Participation in America* (1972, 1987). They focus not only on the process by which citizens become politically involved, but also how their participation affects the responsiveness of government leaders (pp. ix-x). They ask three essential questions: What is the nature of participation? How is its size and shape determined? What are its consequences? (p. 9).

Verba and Nie break down participation along the lines of modes of participation and types of influence. This includes voting, campaigning, citizen-initiated contacts, and organizational activities that address political and social problems (pp. 46-48). Among these modes, citizens may be totally inactive or active, specialize in voting, involved only for personal reasons ("parochial activists"), engaged solely in organizational activities ("communalists"), or "campaigners" (p. 77).

Among the differences between modes include interest in and attentiveness to politics, skill and competence, party affiliation, and civic mindedness (pp. 83-85). They find that socioeconomic status is a strong predictor of political participation, with civic attitudes an intervening variable (p. 126). They also find life cycle participatory effects. Participation begins slowly as one reaches voting age, increases during middle years, and declines in later years. Some of these changes are attributed to variable socioeconomic status, including the declines among the elderly who often live on reduced, fixed incomes (pp. 142-145).

The authors hold high a “gradual learning model of political activity,” where sustained exposure to politics equates with enhanced participation (p. 148). Voluntary organizations, while often not overtly political, provide channels for members to participate or influence the participatory activities of members (p. 175). This activity boosts participation across socioeconomic groups, though lower-income individuals are less likely to be organizational members (pp. 202-203, 205).

This early work laid the seeds for Verba et al.’s *Voice and Equality* (1995), which invokes a “civic volunteerism model” to tie the socioeconomic disparities referenced above with various participation modes, along with the impact of these disparities (p. 5). They call the latter “participatory distortion,” which occurs when activists are unrepresentative of the general public in politically significant characteristics. Simply stated, Verba et al. suggest that disengaged individuals do not participate “because they can’t; because they don’t want to; and because nobody asked” (p. 15).

This rudimentary response translates into the more sophisticated, three-pronged civic volunteerism model, combining resources, psychological attachment to politics, and access to recruitment networks (p. 267). Resources include time, money, and civic skills (p. 271), while one’s psychological attachment to politics is measured by interest, efficacy, information, and strength of party identification (pp. 245-348). Participatory requests come from the workplace, nonpolitical organizations, and religious institutions (p. 373).

This research project continues with Burns et al.'s *The Private Roots of Public Action* (2001), where socioeconomic inequalities specific to gender are explored in greater detail. Women typically trail men in political knowledge and participation, and the authors point to a myriad of possible explanatory factors, including demands on women's time, the patriarchal family structure, socioeconomic resources, discrimination, and socialization (pp. 7-8). For example, politics was historically referred to as a "man's world."

In the end, education is the strongest variable in explaining these disparities, as men traditionally boasted significantly higher levels of educational attainment (p. 280). This translates into greater opportunity via the workplace and within voluntary organizations, and while women are more active in religious institutions, the net result is a "moderate, not cavernous" advantage for men (pp. 66, 256).

It should be noted that gender-based participatory disparities are dwarfed by those attributed to race and ethnicity, as whites are more active than African-Americans, who are significantly more involved than Latinos. These disparities are tied once more to education, income, and experiences (pp. 277, 280).

Jacobsen and Linkow (2012) generate more recent data on the race-based civic and political engagement gap. Across several measures of engagement, Hispanics rank lowest, followed by African-Americans. Both minority groups trail whites by a significant margin, although types of engagement vary by race. The largest gap centers on political and civic knowledge (p. 1).

Black youth voter turnout surpassed that of whites in 2008, a continuation of trends that saw a narrowing of the previous gap in favor of whites since the 1980's (p. 3). However, as has been true in the past, participatory inequalities are less pronounced when it comes to voting (p. 4).

Hispanics are more likely than blacks and whites to participate in protests, while blacks are most likely to contact media to express opinions. White youth outperform black and Hispanic youth on the vast majority of civic and political engagement measures the authors employ, leaving "…much room for policy initiatives and programs aimed at education, especially for minority youth" (p. 28). Unfortunately, we will encounter similar gaps in schools related to civic learning opportunities below that further widen the "democracy divide" (see Chapter Five).

The advent of the Information Age has not changed the socioeconomic character of civic engagement in America as "…the well-to-do and well-educated are more likely than those less well-off to participate in online political activities such as emailing a government official, signing an online petition or making a political contribution" (Smith et al., 2009, p. 3). Differences in internet access, the so-called "digital divide," remain, though a younger internet user demographic has reduced the participation gap between unengaged youth and more engaged middle-aged adults (p. 5). Moreover, these activities are associated with higher rates of political and nonpolitical participation (p. 7).

Pasek et al. (2006, 2009) have analyzed the relationship between media, and specifically social networking sites, and political participation, with similarly encouraging results. Hampton

et al. (2009), however, did find that those who frequent social networking sites may substitute online connectedness for neighborhood involvement.

Cohen and Kahne (2012) explore the intersection of online presence and political engagement in a report titled *Participatory Politics: New Media and Youth Political Action*. They find near universal youth participation on social networking sites. Much of this presence is "friendship-driven" and devoid of politics, but this builds the "weak ties" that Putnam (2000) considers building blocks of civil society. Moreover, a significant number of youth engage in "interest-driven" online activities, several of which have a political component. Finally, counter to the participatory inequalities documented by the earlier participation literature, new media usage transcends racial, ethnic, and economic cleavages, emerging as a tool for greater equity in our democracy.

Kahne et al. (2012) urge educators to meet youth where they are: in digital and online spaces. They should guide youth towards interest-driven communities, and find ways to create participatory cultures around academic experiences. The benefits, from the perspective of civic learning and engagement, are many. They write, "Participation in online communities often functions much like offline, extracurricular activities, which have been found to foster later civic engagement by teaching skills, by developing a sense of agency and group norms, and by fostering an appreciation of the potential of collective action" (pp. 211-215).

Kahne et al. (2010), in a panel survey of California high school students, examined the prevalence of school-based digital media literacy experiences. Students were asked how often

they learned how to assess the trustworthiness of online information, used the internet to get information on political or social issues and to find different points of view on these issues, and were given an assignment where they created something to post on the web. These experiences were fairly widespread, with only 20% of respondents reporting that they've never experienced such opportunities.

Moreover, the researchers found that these experiences boosted online driven political participation, even when controlling for demographic variables, and also promoted online exposure to diverse viewpoints. Finally, in a finding that is relevant to my exploration of demographic disparities in civic learning opportunities and outcomes in Chapter Five, demographic differences do not seem to predict the frequency of digital media literacy education opportunities. This finding contrasts with many other school-based civic learning opportunities (pp. 11-18).

The authors also explore the extent to which youth are flocking to ideological “echo chambers” online, and find little evidence of this. Of greater concern is their tendency to participate in “empty chambers,” where they are not exposed to any perspectives at all on societal issues. However, these nonpolitical online discussions remain important because they may involve those who are not civically and politically engaged in an ideologically heterogeneous environment (pp. 216-217).

VeanVechten and Chadha (2013) also recognize the potential of youth online discussions. They write, "...Social networking sites can function as virtual civic communities that promote

deliberative forms of civic engagement" (p. 167). They continue, “"Being knowledgeable about political issues, feeling confident about discussing these issues, and feeling qualified to act upon them are dimensions of political efficacy, or a sense or agency considered a precursor to civic engagement" (p. 169). Social networking sites thus facilitate personal, instead of abstract, opportunities to read, think, and write about politics.

Turning to more traditional forms of civic engagement, Putnam (2000) painstakingly documents declines in social capital since the 1960s throughout the United States. Social capital has both collective and individual components. Individuals form personal connections that benefit themselves individually, but produce externalities that benefit the entire community. They yield mutual obligations or “generalized reciprocity,” through bridging and bonding, producing both weak and strong ties, the former critical to social capital (pp. 20-23). Putnam’s title, *Bowling Alone*, an apt metaphor, invokes the fact that more Americans are bowling than ever before, yet league bowling, where one might engage in community conversations over beer and pizza, has “plummeted” (pp. 112-113).

Putnam points largely to generational explanations as the culprits for widespread disengagement. He celebrates the so-called “Civic Generation” (born 1910-1940), and blames the decline on “Baby Boomers,” with “Generation X exhibiting similar qualities (pp. 250, 255, 259). He also addresses critics who point to modern trends toward racial and political tolerance, claiming that “the most tolerant communities in America are precisely the places with the most civic involvement” (pp. 355-356).

Schudson (1998) was among the first to grapple with Putnam's version of social capital. His conception of civic engagement is quite broad: "(It) now takes place everywhere. It exists in the micro processes of social life." The exercise of citizenship thus transcends voting, encompassing court rooms and interest groups, class action suits, the fight for minority rights, and filtering into our homes, schools, and even the workplace. Thus, high voter turnout is not necessarily a sign of civic health, and low levels of trust are not completely troubling (pp. 298-302).

Dalton (2008) contends that Putnam and other critics of participatory decline (see Wattenberg, 2008) are off the mark in championing "duty-based citizenship" which privileges "…the formal obligations, responsibilities, and rights of citizenship as they have been defined in the past." Instead, Dalton holds high "engaged citizenship," which is premised upon "…a more assertive role for the citizen and a broader definition of the elements of citizenship," including "social concerns and the welfare of others." Duty-based norms of citizenship are declining among young people, while engagement norms are rising (p. 5).

Dalton embraces societal educational gains, yielding, he argues, "a more expansive and engaged image of citizenship" (p. 9). He suggests that in this new model, education is even more important (p. 40). His refutation of Putnam is quite direct. He suggests that low voter turnout is a poor indicator of political involvement (Verba et al., 1995, would agree). Moreover, political information is now consumed from a variety of sources, and "…people are more active in more varied forms…" Changes in citizenship norms equate with shifts in the nature of political action, along with different forms of citizen influence (pp. 77-78).

Zukin et al. (2006) echo Dalton's contention that apparent generational declines in civic engagement are misleading. Instead, they suggest that there is currently a different mix than in years past, through a wider variety of channels, yet in aggregate, the volume is similar (p. 3). They write, "A significant segment of the public eschews voting and campaigning and concentrates on civic attributes such as volunteering and community problem solving with others" (p. 4). Moreover, the authors claim that youth participation is attainable through direct efforts to engage them in the political sphere (p. 5).

Zukin et al. acknowledge Putnam's generational differences, attributing them to personal and collective experiences that can lead to "…differences in political attitudes, opinions, and behaviors," especially when viewed in light of the larger information environment (pp. 18-19). Like Dalton, they distinguish between civic and political engagement, separating community problem solving with voting, for example. They also measure public voice through traditional activities like legislative contacts, but also via consumer decisions like boycotting and "buycotting" (purposefully purchasing products or services for political reasons). Cognitive engagement is documented via traditional attention to the news media, but also by talking with family and friends about politics (pp. 57-58).

It is widely known that young people are politically and cognitively disengaged, but this is certainly not the case in the civic realm (pp. 72-74), nor in the practice of consumer activism (pp. 77-78). However, Levine (2007) suggests that while volunteerism is increasingly common among young people, much of the uptick is episodic in nature, a product of school-based

requirements and attempts to pad college applications and employment resumes (p. 85). Andolina et al. (2002) make similar claims (p. 193).

However, Zukin et al. contend that civic engagement can be a pathway to its political counterpart, and both Dalton and Zukin et al. acknowledge the desirability and necessity of the latter (p. 200). The latter authors conclude, "…absent a conscious, collective, and systematic effort to provide young Americans with the motivation, skills, and opportunities to participate in politics, we will continue to see a slow but steady exodus from this realm of the public sphere" (p. 204).

Simply stated, civic engagement and voting are inextricably linked given "…the connection of the individual with the social and political system" (Gentry, 2013).

Harward and Shea (2013) fear that the recent surge in youth voting in presidential election cycles is temporary and not an eagerly anticipated and prematurely celebrated "sea change." The initial act of voting may not to substantial enough to reduce the costs of more extensive participation. They call for "…a deeper understanding of the obligations and opportunities for substantial, prolonged engagement to alter the course of government" (pp. 28-29).

Colby et al. (2007) find that young people's lack of knowledge about how to get involved may be the biggest barrier to their political participation. In a college setting, courses that

emphasize political action produce greater political efficacy and interest, proving that political skills and understanding are intertwined (p. 122).

We thus turn next to the process through which civic education fuels engagement: political socialization.

2.3. The Political Socialization Process

The term "political socialization" was first coined by Herbert Hyman in the title of his 1959 book (Dudley and Gitelson, 2003), which focused on how social institutions shaped the political attitudes of youth. A wave of intense interest followed, but after a little more than a decade, research on young people all but disappeared from political science journals. The field was reborn in the 1990's, but research focused mostly on the cognition of political facts.

Echoing Delli Carpini and Keeter (1996), Dudley and Gitelson contend that current pronouncements of knowledge deficits are often based on a small sample of questions. Moreover, they write, "…Political knowledge is a *necessary* precondition for civic engagement, but information *per se* is unlikely to be a *sufficient* precondition to civic engagement" (pp. 263-265).

What follows is a journey through nearly five decades of political socialization literature. A good portion of it either dismisses the impact of schools, or treats formal education as a "theoretical black box."

Hess and Torney (1967) laid the groundwork for the field of political socialization in *The Development of Political Attitudes in Children*. Even though actual political participation is distant, they argue, young children develop a view of government, the proper role of citizens, and excitement toward political campaigns. Simply stated, while socialization might be a lifelong process, much of the basic teaching occurs early on. Such "anticipatory socialization" includes the acquisition of attitudes and values about adult roles, specific information that can be applied later in life, and general and specific skills that can be practiced immediately and called into duty throughout one's adult life (pp. 1, 6-7).

The authors find that socialization occurs rapidly during one's elementary school years, and tapers off thereafter. Teachers play an important role in socializing students on matters concerning governmental organization and operation, along with norms of citizen behavior. They are restrained from addressing partisan controversy (p. 13), a weakness addressed in greater detail below. Teachers, Hess and Torney report, see their roles as creating a lasting, positive attachment to the political system among their students (pp. 64-65).

Their impact is significant. According to the authors, the view that voting is important is universal among students by the time they reach eighth grade. Party affiliation is shaped as early as late elementary school, though teachers tend to believe we should transcend partisanship and vote on the basis of individual candidate qualities (pp. 84, 88).

Socialization occurs in three contexts according to Hess and Torney. Institutions like family, school, and church play prominent roles, as do larger social settings that include social

class, ethnicity, and geographic region. Individual characteristics like intelligence are also important variables (pp. 93-94).

Recalling the socioeconomic disparities in the participation literature, the authors find that lower-class students are more oriented toward schools and teachers as socialization agents, attesting to their pivotal role in narrowing the participatory gap further detailed in Chapter Five (p. 100).

The duty-based norms described by Dalton (2008) are a major focus of civic education at the elementary school level, with participatory norms underemphasized in the curriculum (see also Westheimer and Kahne, 2004). In sum, schools tend to teach the structures of government well, but fail to socialize students into participatory norms (p. 154). The school curriculum underemphasizes citizens' rights and obligations. According to Hess and Torney, an overt failure to teach about political parties or controversial issues leaves students ill-prepared for orientation into the political process (p. 218).

Easton and Dennis (1969), like Hess and Torney, focus on the political socialization of elementary school children in *Children in the Political System*. They point to the fact previous research dismissed political socialization among young people due to the excessive influence of partisan politics, an awareness that admittedly develops at a later age (p. 83). Unlike Hess and Torney, the authors focus instead on system politics, defined as "…those behaviors and orientations relevant for the persistence of some kind of system," and find that children do acquire systematic orientations as early as second grade (pp. 86-88).

According to Easton and Dennis, authority is critical to political systems, and a child learns about the political system via the structure of authority (p. 95). They suggest that "…primary socialization involves the acquisition of some knowledge about the structure of political authority and the development of attitudes toward its parts." Government thus serves as the structure of authority (pp. 100-102).

The President stands as the early focal point of political socialization (p. 171), but the child is less concerned with the President as a person than the position in the political structure he occupies (p. 197). The policeman also plays a prominent role. Through the policeman, children realize that there are individuals beyond the family with authority, and the ability to impose their will on other adults and children. Children learn to respect his authority and the legitimacy of power (p. 209).

Later, children differentiate personalities from institutions (p. 271). The authors suggest this is critical to governance in the United States:

> For the American system, with its emphasis on the power of the office, not of the occupant, and with its commitment to collective participation in the making of political decisions, the capacity of the maturing member to reorient his thinking from personalized figures of authorities to institutions is critical (p. 279).

Easton and Dennis conclude that by eighth grade "…the child has evolved a complex yet predictable pattern of basic political orientations, and these may have significant consequences for the American political system." This pattern is characterized first by politicization, the "knowledge and understanding the child quickly acquires about the presence of a political sphere external to the family." Second, personalization occurs, where the President and the policeman serve as the preliminary points of contact, eventually giving way to other political figures and

institutions. Third, political authority is idealized. Finally, institutionalization sets in, where early feelings about personalized objects are shifted towards institutions like Congress and the Supreme Court (pp. 391-392).

Astuto and Ruck (2010) lament the lack of research in the intervening years since the publications of Hess and Torney and Easton and Dennis on the childhood antecedents to adolescent political behavior (p. 249). To children, they argue, early settings like classrooms are representative of larger society where they learn about the meaning of citizenship, a sense of belonging, and democratic ideals (pp. 253-254). They point to childhood play as a locus to study civic engagement as it involves as early exercise in citizenship (p. 262). Recess, creative arts, and physical education have been among the many casualties in this era of standardized testing dictated by national policies, and their loss may have detrimental impacts on later civic engagement (pp. 264-266).

Jennings and Niemi (1972) pick up where the previous researchers left off, moving beyond the elementary school years to bridge the gap in political socialization to adulthood (p. xv). They identify three primary agents of socialization, a trio that transcends the literature that follows: family, school, and peer groups (p. 23).

Much of their work centers on parents, particularly the notion that young people take on their political characteristics, including partisan affiliation (pp. 37, 39). Students' political interest levels mirror those of their parents (p. 47), as does their political knowledge, at least to a moderate degree (p. 97). However, political efficacy, an important precursor to participation, is

weakly related to that of one's parents, particularly when educational attainment varies (pp. 128, 130).

Jennings and Niemi also tackle the effects of high school curriculum on political socialization, expecting to find signs of increased knowledge about institutions and processes, greater interest, and better understanding of individual rights (p. 181). They note, however, that the relative contributions of teachers, the curriculum, the school climate, and peer groups to the socialization process is unclear (p. 182). They find "strikingly little support for the impact of the curriculum," suggesting that perhaps students reach a saturation level by this point of their educational careers (pp. 191, 193). Jennings and Niemi report similar results for teachers' impact ("…from nonexistent to weak," p. 217).

The authors do find relationships within students' peer networks. Twelfth graders show political similarities with their friends, and are most pronounced with "best friends." Apparently, friendships are conceived with some political similarities present in the attraction, and throughout the relationship, political values are brought into "modest alignment" (pp. 235, 237). That said, the impact of friendship on socialization is smaller than that of families (p. 244), and changes in adulthood in terms of political development, short of voter turnout and the incidence of "cataclysmic events," are relatively small (p. 252).

Findlay et al. (2010) identify adolescence as a period when civic values and commitments are formed. Through exploration, civic identities and political positions are solidified, part of a continuous cycle of civic engagement throughout life. Adolescents spend the majority of their

days in school, exploring their personal viewpoints, yet they have not attained their full legal rights. As adolescents become young adults, they encounter an unpredictable and heterogeneous developmental pathway with full knowledge that they have entered a new phase in life. They spend time exploring their own identities. During their thirties and forties, individuals move into careers, relationships, and families that in turn make them political stakeholders and thus pull them into the process (pp. 277-280).

In referencing the work of Delli Carpini and Keeter (1996), Nie et al. (1996), and Niemi and Junn (1998), Galston (2001) reports a sea change in thinking about the importance of formal civic education as pivotal to the political socialization process, dismissing the earlier conclusions of Jennings and Niemi (pp. 220-221). He writes,

> For three decades, the scholarly consensus has been that formal, classroom-based civic education has no significant effect on political knowledge…Recent findings challenge this consensus and provide insight into both the overall effects of civic education on political knowledge and the specific pedagogical strategies that effectively foster political understanding (226).

For instance, Niemi and Junn (1998) conclude that "…the case for the ineffectiveness of the civics curriculum has not been proven and that prima facie evidence as well as some scholarly research suggest the contrary" (p. 62). In their study, students who did not take civics courses exhibit less knowledge about all aspects of government than those who did. Moreover, it is the amount and recency of civics course work that matters. Civics courses not only improve student knowledge, but they also improve their reasoning capacities and ability to engage in discussions of civic affairs. Further, they increase faith in government responsiveness and political efficacy tied to elections (pp. 69, 72).

In commenting upon the “sea change” that has taken place in the field of political socialization, Haste (2010) writes, formerly, it “…implied a top-down process in which essentially passive young people were molded by socializing agents into citizens.” Instead, what has emerged is “…socially constructed and mediated development of identity and agency, in which the experience of action is at least as important as the acquisition of knowledge” (pp. 161-162).

The old model was premised upon passive human beings acquiring knowledge, leading to action, via motivation. Contemporary challenges center on the belief that experience breeds awareness of an issue via actual contact, and through action, an individual gains skills, motivation, and confidence for competent engagement (pp. 162-163).

Recent scholarship has followed in the path of Niemi and Junn, proving multiple paths of political socialization, but placing school-based efforts front and center. For instance, Andolina et al. (2003), pays homage to influences at home and through outside groups (churches, for example), but addresses effective pedagogical approaches specific to school, both inside the classroom and through extracurricular activities. Each of these recommendations will be addressed at greater length below, but they include class discussions, student volunteerism, skill development, and student involvement in extracurricular political groups.

Given this emerging evidence, Niemi (2012) writes, "If attentiveness to politics is truly habitual, then forming that habit at a young age should be a major priority" (p. 35).

Vercellotti and Matto (2010) make linkages between school and home in an experiment where students engage in consumption of political news and are asked to discuss what they learned with their parents over the dinner table. Most students (Advanced Placement and honors students excluded) showed gains in political knowledge, internal efficacy, and information-seeking (p. 3). They conclude, "the more educators can do to build and maintain that connection between school and home, the greater the likelihood that education and parents can work together to create a more knowledgeable and efficacious citizenry" (p. 29).

Higher education has also reemerged as a locus for students' political socialization in recent years (Colby et al., 2007; McCartney et al., 2013). McCartney (2013) writes, "…teaching students the skills and values of political and civic engagement, in addition to foundational knowledge, is central to the survival and vitality of democracy and the education mission of colleges and universities in the 21st century" (p. 10).

Colby et al. (2007) focus intensely on political motivation in the university setting, which they consider the sum of political identity and efficacy. They write,

> Motivation for democratic participation includes qualities as varied as being interested in political affairs, feeling personally responsible for collective outcomes, or having a commitment to active participation—to doing one's part… Some of the most important forms of long-term motivation include fidelity to democratic ideals, seeing democratic participation of some sort as among the central features of one's sense of self, a belief in the overall legitimacy or general responsiveness of the political system, and a sense of political empowerment or confidence in one's ability to act effectively (p. 139).

These dispositions can be shaped by school-based civic learning experiences during adolescence and early adulthood. Colby et al. argue that students' sense of political participation can be reframed. It is the obligation of schools and teachers to offer students accessible political actions, to demystify politics for them, and to speak directly about efficacy and why political participation matters (p. 149).

McCartney (2013) claims that civic engagement pedagogy is becoming common practice in the field of political science within higher education because community service is common among today's students, and an ever diverse student population has distinct needs. Moreover, educators must demonstrate the effectiveness of their teaching strategies, and civic engagement pedagogies have proven particularly effective.

This dissertation will draw upon the literature focusing on both secondary and higher education given the relationship between the students who attend both in succession and the prevailing pedagogical and institutional practices.

In closing this section on the political socialization process, McIntosh (2010) lists five properties of the supporting theory:

- First, there is situated learning, where people learn by doing in communities of practice. Taking part in a political discussion is one example.
- Second, schools, youth programs, and other social organizations provide scaffolding, which includes training, access to a real political system, and support while participating within it.

- Third, one begins to see and understand an issue from another person's perspective.
- Fourth, as suggested by many of the earlier authors, families, schools, and community organizations serve as mechanisms of political socialization.
- Finally, "context matters," as "political socialization is embedded in institutions and adult relationships" (pp. 31-35).

Within these properties lies evidence that the field of political socialization, especially relating to the role of schools, has been fully revitalized.

2.4. Gaps in the School-Based, Political Socialization Literature

The recent turn toward schools as prominent incubators of political socialization is welcome, and scholarship in the past decade and a half is rich in proving the utility of specific classroom-based and extracurricular methodologies (see Section 2.5 below). However, this body of work is limited to specific civic learning programs (Kids Voting USA, for example, see McDevitt and Kousis, 2007), fails to explore the impact of comprehensive, school-wide commitments to civic learning, and rests singly on the results of regression analysis.

Owen (2000) cements this point. She writes, "The emphasis on objective, scientific analysis caused researchers to abandon participant observation, in-depth interviews, and classroom experiments, thus precluding the collection of interesting and valuable data that could be used to inform the development of civic education programs." My study will use qualitative

data to further inform quantitative conclusions from statistical analysis, and also fill holes left unaddressed by the quantitative data.

Kahne, Crow and Lee (2012) lament the overabundance of cross-sectional studies, which limit generalizations. They also highlight the narrow focus of existing studies, not only addressing a single approach, but also similar contexts or populations, which further inhibits generalizing. While my primary data source, the NAEP Civics Assessment, is cross-sectional in nature, this study benefits from a longitudinal look given that it draws upon three iterations of the assessment over the span of twelve years. Moreover, given that it is administered nationally to a representative sample of students, I will avoid the pitfalls of many past studies focused on homogenous student populations.

While "demographics (may) not (be) destiny," according to Sporte and Kahne (2008), there remain significant participatory inequities along racial, ethnic, and economic lines in the United States when it comes to civic engagement (Schlozman et al., 2012). These inequities may be partly traced to disparate school-based civic learning opportunities afforded to students of color and those of low-income families (Kahne and Middaugh, 2008; Campbell, 2007). Sporte and Kahne's study is limited to students in a single school system, Chicago Public Schools. My study will draw upon a national sample and thus permit broader conclusions along these lines.

Hart et al. (2007) suggest that "… the most pressing research need is for large, well-designed experimental field studies that assess the relative value of improved civic curricula,

community service, and increased extracurricular opportunities for transforming students into civically active adults" (p. 215).

While I agree with these authors, I might suggest that school-based civic learning opportunities are alone insufficient. In the current national fervor for continuous school improvement through building and nurturing essential supports for student learning literature (see Section 2.6 below), civics has been marginalized and absent from measures of their effectiveness, namely student achievement. Given the empirical support for this framework in the realms of literacy and numeracy (Bryk et al., 2010), one might expect similar impact on civic learning outcomes.

My own project is an attempt to fill this void and provide descriptive and explanatory detail about the complexion and effectiveness of a comprehensive school-based commitment to civic learning. Simply stated, my hypotheses rest on previous research, but context and comprehensiveness are critical when it comes to the political socialization of young people in a school setting.

I will draw upon a national sample of schools and students from the National Assessment of Educational Progress in Civics (NAEP Civics). A similar study, detailed further in the section that follows, focuses on results from the 1988 NAEP Civics results (Niemi and Junn, 1998), but mine will draw upon its past three iterations (1998, 2006, and 2010). Moreover, I am responding to the call of Zhang et al. (2012), who lament the dearth of scholarly work on youth civic knowledge since Niemi and Junn’s trailblazing research.

In Chapter Four, through analysis of student and school surveys that accompany the NAEP Civics assessment, I assess the threshold question of the value of school-based civic learning opportunities, regardless of methodology, which lead to higher levels of student civic knowledge and skills. Next, I measure the impact of traditional civic learning methodologies versus student-centered, interactive civic learning practices. In Chapter Five, I also test empirically the extent to which demographics are destiny when it comes to the development of students' civic knowledge and skills.

In Chapters Six through Ten, I operationalize the civic-oriented essential school supports model detailed in the *No Excuses* report published by the Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools (2010) and their relationship to measures of students' civic knowledge and skills. Finally, I triangulate these quantitative findings with qualitative analysis of this model in the context of select Illinois high schools collectively representative of statewide student demographics.

In my experiences as an educator in the classroom and external educational consultant, islands of excellence, be they highly-skilled teachers, home grown school governance models, or engagement-oriented extracurricular opportunities, are numerous in the civic learning space. I believe that we must build bridges between these proverbial islands to make civic learning ubiquitous throughout school systems, gradually yielding greater net civic engagement among our populace. I hypothesize that a civic-oriented continuous school improvement model incorporating a variation of the five essential supports framework of the *No Excuses* report is the most promising path to this end.

Finally, it bears mentioning that few studies use schools themselves as units of analysis. Goodlad (2004) writes, “Researchers criticize schools but tend to study students, teachers, or methods of teaching” (p. 17). My study is an attempt to fill this void and put forth a positive paradigm for schools seeking to live their civic mission.

2.5. Promising (and Increasingly Proven) Classroom, Extracurricular, and School-Wide Approaches to Citizenship Development

2.5.1. The Civic Mission of Schools

The original purpose of public schools in the United States was to prepare young people for their role as citizens in a representative democracy. Thomas Jefferson, in a 1787 letter to James Madison, wrote: "Above all things I hope the education of the common people will be attended to; convinced that on their good sense we may rely with the most security for the preservation of a due degree of liberty." As the torch was passed from Jefferson to Horace Mann to John Dewey, the belief in the transformational potential of our schools to prepare young people for their roles as citizens in a democracy burned brightly.

Indeed, forty current state constitutions mention the importance of civic literacy among citizens, and thirteen of them state the central purpose of the educational system is to promote good citizenship, democracy, and free government (Carnegie, p. 5). During the intervening years, however, schools have been tasked with ensuring that their students are career and college-ready, but unfortunately, in too many locales, their original civic mission has been all but abandoned (Wagner, 2008).

Hess (2011) writes, "…As schooling has become more economically central, the stuff of citizenship has become increasingly peripheral. When we do design to speak of citizenship today, it is increasingly in transactional and practical terms—with citizenship understood as a basket of skills (how to shake hands, speak properly, be punctual) that will help students attend prestigious colleges and obtain desirable jobs" (p. xii).

Campbell (2012) claims that school-based civic learning is even more important in the current context. This includes the widespread declines in civic engagement documented above, severe political polarization, and a growing lack of trust in government institutions (pp. 2-4).

School-based civic education is indisputably in decline. While a single-semester government course is a staple of most high school curricula, three required civics courses were the norm two generations ago. Besides a government course focusing on institutions (three branches of government, how a bill becomes a law, etc.), students enrolled in a separate course addressing the rights and responsibilities of citizens, along with a course that addressed contemporary issues, often titled "Problems of Democracy" (Carnegie, pp. 5, 14).

The slow abandonment of a curricular commitment to civic learning was accelerated by the renewal of and revisions to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act a decade ago. Relabeled "No Child Left Behind (NCLB)," the legislation focused primarily on demonstrable gains in student achievement and strict accountability for states and schools, and the principal measurement vehicle was standardized tests in reading and math.

Since its inception, NCLB has narrowed the curriculum, while marginalizing social studies, civics, and other subjects that collectively constitute a “well-rounded” education. For example, in a 2008 study the Center for Education Policy (McMurrer, 2008) finds that 53% of districts surveyed cut back on social studies instructional time by at least 75 minutes per week.

Further confirmation of these downward trends surfaced in a recent survey of 1,000 public and private school social studies teachers (Farkas and Duffett, 2010), finding that public school teachers, in contrast to their private school counterparts, feel that the social studies are losing ground. Even in content areas which teachers deem most important like the Bill of Rights, only a small minority (24%) are confident that their students understand the first ten amendments to the Constitution upon graduation. This might be attributed to the fact that only a little more than half of teachers (56%) report that their students have closely examined the founding documents of the United States by the end of high school.

Like Bryk et al. (1993), Farkas and Duffett ironically conclude that private schools may do a better job at strengthening civic virtues among students and preparing them for the rigors of citizenship. Private school social studies teachers feel that the subject is more valued, their schools are better focused on students acquiring civic attitudes, behaviors, and knowledge, and that student motivation and teacher autonomy in this discipline are more robust. These teachers are also more confident that their students graduate high school with requisite civic knowledge.

Students who attend private schools are more likely to have a community service requirement and be encouraged to join student government or other issue-oriented clubs, two of

the promising civic learning practices detailed below. More than anything, while not beholden to the testing dictates of NCLB, private schools do address learning standards and test students in the social studies (pp. 1-7).

Indeed, given the apparent permanence of NCLB's dictates, some suggest that civics join the testing fray, adding a mandatory civics exam, or use civics as a means of preparing students for standardized tests (Levine, 2007, p. 154). The limitations of standardized tests in the context of civics are many: one, they must be relevant for large numbers of students in multiple communities; two, their lengthy development cycle precludes the inclusion of current events; three, they measure knowledge and only certain skills; and finally in a related point, they cannot measure values given their association with grades and credits (Levine, 2012).

Given these considerations, the Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools has pushed for alternative forms of assessment like group projects and portfolio assessments (Annenberg Foundation, 2011). For example, Tennessee became the first state to mandate civics project-based assessments at the middle and high school levels in 2012 (Tennessee Center for Civic Learning and Engagement).

In the wake of NCLB, student performance on civic learning assessments has stagnated and in some cases regressed. The National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), administered by the National Center for Education Statistics within the federal Department of Education, is a continuous, representative assessment of student knowledge and skills in select subject areas, civics included. Scores are relatively flat over the last three iterations (1998, 2006,

and 2010), where less than a quarter of middle and high school students performed at or above proficiency level in the subject. Moreover, fewer than five percent of graduating seniors leave high school with advanced proficiency in civics, including the ability to list two privileges of U.S. citizens, explain the impact of television on the political process, or summarize the views of Roosevelt and Reagan on the role of government (National Center for Education Statistics).

Acknowledging that the vast majority of students remain in public schools, "it is no wonder then that young people demonstrate low levels of civic knowledge and lack proclivities toward political participation. While schools should continue to ensure the career and college-readiness of their students, they should also prepare them for the vital rigors of democratic citizenship" (Healy, 2011).

Hess (2011) claims that "the(se) challenges…fall uniquely on schools and educators. For one thing, schools are the only institutions with the capacity and mandate to reach virtually every young person in the country. Schools are also, by design, the institutions best equipped to teach civic and political knowledge and skills such as critical thinking and deliberation" (p. xiv).

Youniss and Levine (2009) document a "…shift of focus from the question of 'why youth don't get involved?' to the researchable issue of "which conditions encourage, promote, and sustain youth civic engagement?" (p. 5) Along these lines, the research that follows, and my proposed study, highlights the dire need to create comprehensive, school-based civic learning programs (Metzger and Smetana, 2010).

In 2003, the Carnegie Corporation of New York and Center for Information Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE) published *The Civic Mission of Schools* (CMS) report. The report references the common interest in rekindling youth civic engagement and considers schools the pivotal player (p. 8). It states, "Schools are the only institutions with the capacity and mandate to reach virtually every young person in the country." Moreover, schools have the ability to address the participatory inequalities articulated above (pp. 12, 14). On too many measures, as delineated below, they are failing in this vital role.

The general principles of the recommended approaches in the CMS report hold common an intentional focus on civic outcomes, not mere educational gains; a focus on political and civic engagement, while avoiding the promotion of an individual position or political party; the elevation of active learning with real world connections; and an emphasis on the ideas and principles embedded in the founding documents and their influence on societal institutions, including schools (p. 21).

The CMS report articulated six promising approaches (dubbed "proven practices" in the 2011 update, *Guardian of Democracy*; Annenberg) for citizenship development in schools. They include formal instruction in U.S. government, history, law, and democracy; structured engagement with current and controversial issues; service-learning linked to the formal curriculum; extracurricular activities that encourage greater involvement and connection to school and the community; authentic student voice in school governance; and finally, participation in simulations of democratic structures and processes (pp. 22-28).

It should be noted that these practices must not take place in isolation from one another, nor should they exist in the province of a single course or classroom. Colby et al. (2007), writing in the context of higher education, concur, "…that multiple experiences during undergraduate programs are even more effective—especially experiences that connect with and build on each other in the curriculum, the co-curriculum, and the campus more broadly" (p. 20).

"In the aftermath of the publication of the CMS report, a coalition known as the 'Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools,' emerged. The national Campaign is composed of forty organizations 'committed to improving the quality and quantity of civic learning in American schools.' To date, the Campaign has focused on implementing the recommendations of the CMS report at the local, state and national levels. Since 2004, the Illinois Civic Mission Coalition, an affiliate of the national Campaign, has led these efforts statewide" (Healy, 2011b). In the interest of full disclosure, my employer, the Robert R. McCormick Foundation, convenes the Illinois Coalition, and I serve as chair.

The promising approaches of the CMS report are reinforced in *Guardian of Democracy* (Annenberg Foundation), a 2011 report that echoes its predecessor, but presents updated research, much of it encompassed within the literature reviewed in this dissertation. *Guardian of Democracy* makes a case for the benefits of civic learning that transcend the civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions necessary for effective participation in civic life.

Echoing Levinson (2007, 2010, and 2012), it makes a compelling argument for civic equity, imploring educators to tackle a civic achievement gap that fails to empower students of

color and lower socioeconomic status, leading to participatory inequalities and related disparities in public policy outcomes.

Like Torney-Purta and Wilkenfeld (2009), *Guardian of Democracy* suggests that a combination of traditional and student-centered classroom-based civic learning opportunities build competencies like creativity, critical thinking, economic knowledge, global awareness, media literacy, and working collaboratively with peers. These competencies are transferable to the 21st Century work place.

High-quality, school-based civic learning also leads to improved school climate by teaching the importance of community, respectful dialogue, teamwork, and diversity. School climate is explored specifically in Chapter Ten.

Finally, experiential civic learning opportunities like service-learning and simulations, linked to the "real world," are among the most promising means of lowering the nation's drop-out epidemic (Bridgeland et al., 2006).

2.5.2. The Illinois Civic Blueprint

In 2009, the McCormick Foundation, in partnership with the Illinois Civic Mission Coalition, published the *Illinois Civic Blueprint* (a second edition was released in 2013). "The Blueprint is designed to give educators, policymakers, parents, and all residents of Illinois explanations of promising approaches to high school level civic education; examples of Illinois high schools, educators, and students using these approaches; recommendations for

implementing these approaches statewide; and resources that support schools and communities in promoting civic engagement among Illinois high school students." In the sections that follow, I will detail these promising approaches, highlighting relevant research to date proving their impact.

Formal instruction in US Government, history, law and democracy

The *Civic Mission in Schools* report reads, "'if you teach them, they will learn,'" arguing this is the "lesson of modern research on civic education" (p. 22).

Colby et al. (2007) list five goals in teaching for political knowledge and understanding. First, political knowledge must be both deep and wide, and students should be able to apply this knowledge to projects, placements, and simulations. Two, students should emerge with a broader conception of political participation. Three, students should develop their deliberative and reflective capacities, dimensions of two promising civic learning practices, discussion of current and controversial issues and service-learning. Four, students must develop a more realistic understanding of politics, including the complexity of issues, inherent trade-offs, and how democracy "really works." Fifth and finally, students should feel compelled to act despite a growing awareness of the limitations of their own knowledge (pp. 112-119).

Specifically, formal instruction means that social studies courses should make explicit connections between formal instruction and concrete actions; include material not contained in the text book and visits from people in the community; reflect key democratic knowledge, skills, and concepts; and utilize a range of instructional and assessment tools.

For example, visits from outside speakers can enhance students' political understanding, providing them with more realistic views, along with greater appreciation for diverse roles in the process. Students emerge from these experiences with deeper knowledge and the ethical issues present in political life (Colby et al., 2007, pp. 200-204).

These examples should not be read as an indictment of lecture in the context of direct instruction, as there remains a time and place for the practice so long as it is delivered in an interactive way. Schmoker (2011) writes, "Happily, the term 'interactive lecture' is gaining traction. At its heart, we find guided practice, formative assessment, and ongoing adjustments to instruction" (p. 69).

In order to achieve this, lectures must offer students information in "small digestible bites" (p. 87). He continues, "Good lessons respect the limits of memory and the average attention span; importantly, learners need the chance to process new information every few minutes" (pp. 71-72)."

Reading is another traditional practice critical to civic learning. Schmoker (2011) contends, "Literacy is…the key to effective social studies instruction. Next to language arts, social studies is perhaps the most intensively literate of the disciplines" (p. 133). The author argues that selected textbook readings are "essential" to a social studies curriculum, and should be supplemented with primary source documents and news articles (p. 136).

Turning to course content, relevant themes include the Constitution and its fundamental principles as applied to the past and present; the structure of government over time; the powers and limitations of branches of government at the federal, state, and local levels; the relationship between government and other sectors; the relationship between the United States and other nations and to world affairs; major themes in United States history; and the ideals, principles, and practices of citizenship in a democratic republic (Annenberg Foundation, 2011; McCormick Foundation, 2009). Niemi also recommends greater emphasis on public figures, parties, and policies (Niemi, 2012).

Recall that Niemi and Junn (1998) cemented the importance of civic education in the political socialization process. However, they lamented the tendency toward dry, textbook approaches to civics, with little topical variety from grade-to-grade, and a weak link between what students study and what they know (pp. 73-75). They write, "…What the teacher brings to the classroom by the way of methods and material—in ways that are understandable and theoretically plausible—seems to be an important factor in what students take away from their classes" (p. 81). Simply stated, "What takes place in the civics curriculum—the amount, content, and approach—makes a difference" (p. 90).

Kahne, Chi, and Middaugh (2006) echo this conclusion. They write, "The curriculum itself does not guarantee change. The way teachers use the curriculum—what they emphasize and how they do it—is also very important" (p. 398). They conclude that while personally relevant curricular content is highly related to desired civic outcomes, it is the least common classroom feature (p. 403).

Torney-Purta (2002) finds that civic knowledge is the number one predictor of whether or not a young person votes. Reciprocally, the rigor and teaching of social studies courses equates with greater civic knowledge (p. 207).

Niemi and Smith (2001) highlight increased enrollment in government courses over the past two decades, reaching three-fourths of American students. As of 1980, more than 62 percent of high school graduates did not take a government course. To date, most curricular decisions are highly decentralized and there is thus great diversity in the social studies curriculum. The authors recommend that students take government courses during their senior year, and the American Political Science Association calls for a movement away from institutions, and towards knowledge about political realities, behavior, and processes; skill in social science inquiry; knowledge about the international system; and skill development for effective democratic participation in political life (pp. 281-284).

Similarly, Owen (2013) finds that three-quarters of all students in a national survey she administered report civic learning experiences during high school, but much variance in quality and access across schools. Owen uses data from both a civic and political engagement survey, along with a survey of We the People alumni, to determine the link between experiential civic learning experiences in high school and participation in the 2008 Election through voting, campaigning, and social media engagement. She finds that access to high-quality civic learning experiences equate with higher voting rates. Most troubling is the “strikingly low” number of students who report exposure to experiential civic learning opportunities (pp. 314-324).

Torney-Purta (2002) suggests that a stand-alone government class late in a student's high school career is not enough. She found that the average fourteen year old in the United States grasps the basic concepts of democracy. Therefore, they are prepared for an earlier curricular focus on the actual practices of citizenship (p. 206). Moreover, given the persistently high national dropout rate, it may make sense to offer civics and/ or government courses earlier in high school.

Research on specific civic education programs emphasizing formal instruction includes evaluation of CityWorks (Kahne, Chi, and Middaugh, 2006), Kids Voting USA (McDevitt and Kiousis, 2007) and Student Voices (Pasek et al., 2008). Longitudinal studies are quite rare in the field, but the Center for Civic Education, sponsors of the We the People program, has completed several studies of program alumni showing a greater appreciation for voting, higher levels of political knowledge, more news attentiveness, and better appreciation for the nuances of representative democracy (Soule and Nairne, 2009).

Teaching with current and controversial political and social issues

Colby et al. (2007) write,

> A central dimension of educating for political understanding is to teach students to bring these standards of deliberation and argumentation to their political thinking and discourse, to subject their own and others' claims and opinions to critical analysis and evaluation (p. 64).

In this spirit, the second promising approach to citizen development centers on discussion of current issues relevant to young people's lives. Such discussions are not new to the civic education scene. They were mainstays to the now extinct "Problems of Democracy" courses common to the social studies curriculum in the 20th Century (Hess, 2009a). The *Civic Mission of*

Schools report (2003) claims these approaches yield greater student interest in politics, improved critical thinking and communication skills, more civic knowledge, greater interest in discussing public affairs outside of school, and a higher probability of voting and volunteering as adults (p. 24).

Mutz (2006) suggests that participatory and deliberative democracy are in conflict (p. 16), as political discussion in the United States "tend(s) more toward(s) political agreement than disagreement." She finds that political disagreement is inverse to the intimacy of a personal relationship, and that political discussion is more frequent with those we consider intimate (pp. 25-26). Contrary to Putnam's thesis (2000), Mutz uncovers little evidence that cross-cutting political conversations occurring among those who are members of voluntary associations (p. 35).

This comes as little surprise given Bishop's (2008) finding that citizens are increasingly sorting themselves ideologically across the geographic landscape. While the United States boasts healthy representation on both ends of the political spectrum, we increasingly work, live, and recreate in relatively homogeneous ideological enclaves. Although Abrams and Fiorina (2012) contest this hypothesis, they do note that Americans are reluctant to discuss politics with neighbors, whether we perceive them to be ideological allies or opponents.

Among the benefits of cross-cutting political conversations, according to Mutz, is a deeper understanding of one's own personal viewpoints, greater awareness of the rationales for opposing views, and increased tolerance overall (p. 69). Tolerance, she argues, is a product of

exposure to dissimilar views, not mere conversation (p. 84). If these conversations occurred more frequently, Mutz claims, they would be "less likely…to erupt into something truly dangerous" (p. 90).

Returning to Mutz's original point, the status quo represents nothing more than individuals avoiding political involvement as a means of dodging "interpersonal conflict and controversy" (p. 118). Although she touches upon the remedy only in passing (p. 150), I would suggest that school-based, structured controversial issues discussions in an ideologically diverse setting can help reverse these societal trends and resolve the apparent dichotomy between civil discourse and political participation.

Indicators of quality classroom engagement with current and controversial issues include exploring issues that address meaningful and timely questions about public problems, and deserve both students' and the public's attention. Teachers should select learning materials that provide students with necessary background information, present the best arguments on varying sides of an issue, and engage students with multiple and complex perspectives. Teachers should also utilize "…a range of discussion models to explicitly teach students skills…to participate…" in discussion, and "develop… ground rules to ensure inclusive and productive discussions occur in a climate of respect and civility" (Annenberg Foundation, 2011).

Students should understand an issue or event well enough to form their own opinions. Schools and teachers must offer a rationale for addressing controversial issues, including how instruction meets civic and curricular goals. Finally, discussions should be undertaken with

regard to the ethical dilemmas involved in teaching about controversial issues, including the degree to which teachers disclose their own thoughts and opinions on these issues (Annenberg Foundation, 2011; McCormick Foundation, 2009).

Faculty need not be political neutral. However, students must be exposed to multiple views and be encouraged to voice dissenting opinions and personal judgments on issues at hand. Moreover, positions placed forward by students and teachers alike should be subjected to public scrutiny (Colby et al., 2007).

Service-learning linked to the formal curriculum and classroom instruction

The third promising approach embedded within the *Civic Mission of Schools* report centers on service-learning. Service-learning focuses purposefully on civic outcomes, encourages civic commitment, and increases students' knowledge of the community. It is used intentionally as an instructional strategy to meet learning goals and/or content standards.

Service-learning projects should have sufficient duration and intensity to address community needs and meet specified outcomes. Service activities must be meaningful and personally relevant for participants, and these experiences should incorporate multiple, challenging reflection activities that are ongoing, and that prompt deep thinking and analysis about oneself and one's relationship to society. Service activities should promote understanding of diversity and mutual respect among all participants, be collaborative, mutually beneficial, and address community needs.

Service-learning projects should engage participants in an ongoing process to assess the quality of implementation and progress toward meeting specified goals, and use results for improvement and sustainability. Students must have a strong voice in planning, implementing, and evaluating service-learning experiences with guidance from adults (Annenberg Foundation, 2011; McCormick Foundation, 2009; Colby et al., 2007).

Successful service-learning programs have an explicit civic orientation and provide opportunities for students to build civic skills. Adult mentoring is also critical, with a clear focus on young adults. Structured guidelines should be employed that encourage program completion. Finally, students should be exposed to diverse social networks in the process (Findlay et al., 2010, p. 295).

Findlay et al. (2010) summarize the benefits of service-learning as follows. One, it provides hands-on experience in developing a repertoire of skills. Two, it demonstrates to young people that they indeed have something meaningful to contribute to greater society. Third, it challenges individuals to understand their societal roles and responsibilities (pp. 294-295).

Service-learning holds great potential to spur youth civic engagement, but it manifests itself in a variety of forms upon implementation. Westheimer and Kahne (2004) contrast three notions of citizenship: personally responsible, participatory, and justice-oriented. They lament the fact that most school-based civic education, and service-learning opportunities in particular, centers on the first two forms of citizenship. Andolina et al. (2002) concurs, suggesting that youth volunteer opportunities are often devoid of political intent (p. 193).

Walker (2000) suggests that young people often view service as an alternative to politics. Educators are therefore wrong to assume that service experiences lead to political engagement, especially when the former is positioned as a morally superior alternative. “As educators,” he writes, “our task is to take the students’ experience and help them understand the larger political and social context.” We should not distinguish between service and politics then, for they instead lie on a continuum (pp. 647-648).

Colby et al. (2007) urge educators to make explicit the connection between service and its political context. They write,

> If students are guided to learn about and engage with policy issues that are directly related to the community service they are doing, the service activities provide graphic illustrations of the social issues the policies are meant to address, giving students an immediate and often compelling sense of how these issues are manifested in people’s everyday life, what they look like “on the ground (p. 39).

Jenkins (2013) suggests connecting students directly with political organizations themselves, or designing community-based projects in partnership with local governance as a means of infusing politics into service-learning (p. 110). For example, students might serve as election judges or work on political campaigns. O’Shaughnessy (2013) found that students who gained these experiences in high school were more likely to remain politically engaged later in life.

Kahne, Chi, and Middaugh (2006) employed the various notions of citizenship (personally responsible, participatory, and justice-oriented) in measuring the outcomes of the Constitutional Rights Foundation’s CityWorks curriculum. They found higher gains on participatory and justice-oriented forms of citizenship, but only marginal improvement on the

personally responsible rubric. Service-learning is embedded into CityWorks' principles, and more generally, I would argue that it is the most promising approach for producing the participatory and justice-oriented citizen the authors champion.

Studies on the impact of service-learning are in a fledgling state, but early returns are remarkably positive. Billig, Root, and Jesse (2005) find that students who participate in service-learning programs show higher civic knowledge and dispositions, a greater tendency to value school, and an increased likelihood to vote as adults (pp. 26, 53). There exists wide variation among service-learning programs, and the practices of individual teachers (active teaching strategies, for example) in this domain are deemed critical (pp. 5, 54).

Sporte and Kahne (2007) find that in-class learning experiences and service-learning opportunities are the strongest predictors of students' civic commitments in a longitudinal study of Chicago Public Schools high school freshmen and juniors. Also significant is their finding that demographics are not destiny, contrary to the findings of the early participation studies, as "…associations between these factors were the smallest in the study and never reached statistical significance" (pp. 1, 8-10).

Colby et al. (2007), writing in the context of a college setting, found widespread benefits from service-learning, internships, and other student placements. Students gained greater political understanding of the policy issues and political processes specific to their placement, and also learned about policy implementation along with the functioning of organizations (pp. 226-228). Students' political motivation also grew, including a politically engaged sense of self,

a sense of how their talents and interests best fit in the political process, and greater compassion and empathy for people unlike themselves (pp. 228-232). Students also developed important political skills, from political research and action, to cross-cultural and administrative skills like how to run a meeting (pp. 233-234).

Extracurricular activities that encourage greater involvement and connection to school and community

The fourth promising approach highlighted in the *Civic Mission of Schools* report centers on extracurricular activities, which are unique in their ongoing nature. They aren't bound to a quarter or semester and allow for sustained involvement over time (Colby et al., 2007). These opportunities should "provid[e] a forum in which students can use skills and knowledge in purposeful experiences that have both meaning and context." In a similar sense, these activities can "help…students develop a sense of agency as a member of one's community," as they claim "…membership in a socially recognized and valued group…"

These activities also "…develop…support networks of peers and adults that can help in both present and future," and foster teamwork and collaboration. Students who participate in these activities are provided opportunities to engage in challenging tasks that promote learning of valued skills, and to develop and confirm positive social identity. Students should voluntarily select these activities because they are genuinely interested in them, and the activities themselves should be structured, adult-led, intensive, and long-term (Annenberg Foundation, 2011; McCormick Foundation, 2009).

Student voice in school governance

Student participation in school governance stands as the fifth promising approach detailed by the *Civic Mission in Schools* report. While students learn about their roles as citizens in a democracy in the classroom and through extracurricular activities, it is important that they have opportunities to practice them in the school community. Examples include holding deliberative meetings to discuss school issues, reserving blocs of time for intensive, collaborative projects, student representation on administrative committees and/or the school board, and the creation of a school constitution (pp. 27-28).

Student voice in school governance must transcend social planning. Schools should provide opportunities that stimulate and engage large numbers of students in school and community service activities, and to discuss school policies, present their viewpoints and positions, and be heard respectfully. Along these lines, schools must establish mechanisms and processes to gauge and respond to student voices, and provide students with opportunities to work with others (peers, parents, teachers, etc.) to address school problems.

Students should be informed of their rights and responsibilities in school, have roles in resolving tensions and issues at school, and their decisions must have real impact. Overall, programs aimed at student voice should facilitate school-wide democratic deliberation as a way of fostering students' civic skills and dispositions (Annenberg Foundation, 2011; McCormick Foundation, 2009).

Research is admittedly sparse in this domain, though McIntosh and Younsis (2010) recently waded into these waters. They lamented the lack of evidence demonstrating a link between engaging the entire student body in democratic deliberation and students' civic development (p. 3). Specifically, they studied the civic engagement initiative at Hudson (MA) High School, which includes student clustering and school-wide governance. Through this program, students discuss and vote on school governance issues in clusterwide meetings reminiscent of New England town hall meetings of old. Cluster recommendations are sent for a monthly vote among the community council composed of students, faculty, administration, and members of the community (p. 4).

Their findings are mixed. The clusters are not as successful as anticipated, for they are perhaps too large and there is arguably a dearth of substantive issues over which to deliberate (p. 9). The community council, however, appears to be working well in process and product (p. 11). Moreover, the researchers find interest groups emerging out of the clusters, where discussions of governance issues transpire (p. 13).

Flanagan et al. (2010) offer normative justification for schools empowering their student bodies. They write, "While instruction is important in advancing the civic mission of schools, knowledge alone cannot promote civic interest, action, and commitment. Students also need opportunities to work together, to voice their views, and to hear those of fellow students."

Schools are thus "public spaces" with an informal curriculum critical to a healthy democratic culture. They hypothesize that schools which build a sense of solidarity and group

identification help establish young people's trust in one another. As a member of a community of learners, students are more willing to act in the common good if they are connected with one another and trust their teachers. Moreover, such school environs are perceived by parents as trustworthy and safe (pp. 308-311).

Participation in simulations of democratic structures and processes

The sixth and final promising approach to citizen development articulated in the *Civic Mission of Schools* (CMS) report recommends participation in simulations of democratic processes and procedures. Characteristics of simulations include students practicing citizenship through role-playing, acting in fictional environments in ways not yet possible in the "real world," and learning important civic content and skills along the way.

Simulations require advanced academic skills and constructive interaction with other students under challenging circumstances, and include applicability to both civic and non-civic contexts, such as public speaking, teamwork, close reading, analytical thinking, and the ability to argue both sides of a topic. They also provide the opportunity for a greater time investment and deeper learning, and often incorporate technology as a powerful tool for teaching students about democratic processes (Annenberg Foundation, 2011; McCormick Foundation, 2009).

Among the benefits of simulations are experiences with practices and roles unavailable to students at this stage of life, a more predictable learning experience, and not depending upon action taking place in real time like a city council meeting (Colby et al., 2007). Prominent

examples of simulations cited by the CMS report include Kids Voting USA (the subject of much of McDevitt's aforementioned research) and City Works (see Kahne, Chi, and Middaugh, 2006).

Louis Ganzler (2010) did an intensive study of the Legislative Semester simulation of United States government at Community High School in West Chicago, Illinois. He claims that school-based simulations are characterized by meaningful roles for all students, an "architecture for controversy," and a shift of responsibility for facilitating discussion from teacher to student (p. 53).

His analysis of student results reveals that comfort with conflict as a result of the simulation experience is associated with political engagement (p. 125). This challenges the findings of Mutz (2006), and provides further evidence of the need to provide students with opportunities to discuss controversial issues in a controlled classroom setting.

Along these lines, Ganzler finds that students are dramatically more confident in speaking before their peers, and also feel that their classroom environments are open for discussion (p. 137). Ganzler concludes that the Legislative Semester effectively bridges the gap between participatory and justice-oriented citizenship typologies discussed above (Kahne and Westheimer, 2004).

Similarly, in a study of a congressional simulation employed in undergraduate political science courses, Baranowski and Weir (2010) found that students improved their understanding of the legislative process and had a greater appreciation for the work of Congress. Additionally,

students in “power roles” such as leadership positions in the majority party had a more favorable view of the simulation itself.

2.6. Continuous School Improvement and Five Essential School Supports

Since their inception, American schools “..have always been the battleground for shaping society” (Reese, p. ix). “Schools cannot fix most of the (societal) problems they did not create, but, if historical precedent matters, that will not stop people from asking them to try” (p. 332).

John Goodlad (2004, 1984), writing nearly three decades ago, suggests that if schools were suddenly closed in this country, they would need to be dramatically reinvented. The schools we need, he argues, are not necessarily the one’s we’ve had, and current critiques lack constructive suggestions for reform (p. 2).

The No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) became law more than a decade ago, and concretized the school reform movement, for better or for worse. It ushered in an era of high-stakes testing in reading and math, with strict accountability measures for schools across student demographic groups.

In hindsight, the thresholds for student proficiency were set impossibly high, and the Obama Administration has issued waivers to states who implement their own reforms in line with federal dictates. The Act itself has expired, but Congress continues to appropriate funds, and the Administration used federal stimulus money to further a reform agenda centered on high-stakes testing, teacher evaluation, and school choice.

NCLB and the current school reform movement have its critics, perhaps most notably Diane Ravitch, an architect of the law and agenda who later did an about-face in reaction to empirical evidence questioning their effectiveness (Ravitch, 2010). Theodore Sizer (2004b) who has long promoted an alternative agenda through his Coalition of Essential Schools argues, “Imposing standards, testing, and privatizing on a dysfunctional system of schools is not reform, in the core meaning of that word” (p. 114).

Academic achievement is only one measure of school quality, and even it is calculated quite narrowly in the current environment (Goodlad, p. 61). A parallel reform movement has thus taken hold in select states, districts, and schools nationwide. While student achievement remains central to its aims, it shuns “teaching to the test,” and engages the entire school as unit for improvement.

Echoing, Goodlad, Smylie (2010) suggests that “"schools must change in fundamental ways in order to perform effectively in the future..., thus the call for schools to take on the organizational properties and adopt the processes of school improvement" (p. 2). The opposite of a one-time, abrupt shift, continuous school improvement is regular and ongoing, oriented towards incremental change, intentional and strategic, and both proactive and reactive. It focuses on the entire school and engages all members in the process, and is mission and values focused (p. 26)

The evidence of the continuous improvement processes on organizational improvement and performance is robust, but most existing research focuses on organizations other than

schools (p. 41). There is no one single model or path towards continuous improvement, but in the context of a school setting, the process emphasizes student achievement plus "..the development of particular aspects of school organization conducive to organizational effectiveness in general and to effective teaching and learning in particular" (p. 68).

Stated differently, Fullan (2007) writes, "Reform is not just putting in place the latest policy. It means changing the cultures of classrooms, schools, districts, universities, and so on" (p. 7). Goodlad articulates this challenge in greater detail:

> Schools are more different, it seems, in the somewhat elusive qualities making up their ambience—the ways students and teachers relate to one another, the school's orientation to academic concerns, the degree to which students are caught up in peer-group interests other than academic, the way principals and teachers regard one another, the degree of autonomy possessed by principals and teachers in conducting their work, the nature of the relationship between the school and its parent clientele… (p. 247).

Bryk et al. (2010) deduce "...a comprehensive, empirically grounded theory of practice" from a sample of Chicago elementary schools during a reform period that took root in the late 1980's and continued throughout the next decade (p. 11). Student achievement in reading and math as measured on standardized tests is their dependent variable, but they find a mere measure of the percentage of students performing at national norms in a given school an insufficient indicator. Instead, they argue, school performance should be measured from a value-added perspective, essentially how much students are learning at a given school and their improvement over time (p. 32).

Mirroring the suggestions of Fullan and Goodlad, Bryk et al. articulate a framework of five essential supports for student learning. First, school leadership is positioned as a driver for change, with "principals as catalytic agents for systematic improvement" (p. 45).

Second, high performing schools boast strong parent-community ties. “Through active outreach efforts, staff members seek to make the school a more hospitable and welcoming environment for parents and strengthen the connections to other local institutions concerned with the care and well-being of children and their families" (p. 46).

Third, the professional capacity of staff is critical for student achievement. High-performing schools have a “… focus on the quality of new staff…” They also “...strengthen…the process supporting faculty learning and promot(e) a continuous improvement ethos across a school-based professional community."

Fourth, student achievement is dependent on a learning climate “…where (they) feel safe and are pressed to engage (and succeed) in more ambitious intellectual activity."

Fifth and finally, schools must establish supports for curriculum and instruction “…in order to promote more ambitious academic achievement for every child."

According to Bryk et al. (2010), each facet of the essential supports framework is connected and interacts reciprocally (p. 65). While continuous school improvement must begin in a single area, in order to be sustained, it must address each of the essential supports (pp. 65-67). Based on their study of CPS elementary schools, gains in student engagement and learning are most likely in schools showing strength in one or more of the five support areas. Unfortunately, the converse was also true (p. 88). Schools who demonstrate strength across the indicators are ten times more likely to show improvement than those that are weak in one or

more areas. A low score on a single indicator reduces the likelihood of improvement to less than ten percent (p. 95).

The descriptions of continuous school improvement and essential supports for student learning have thus far been devoid of a civic dimension. Enter the 2010 *No Excuses* report of the Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools, with the following subtitle: *Eleven Schools and Districts That Make Preparing Citizens for Citizenship a Priority*. As suggested by the title, the Campaign visited eleven schools considered exemplary in their commitment to civic learning. They vary by region, location (urban/ suburban/ rural), and enrollment, and two are recognized Illinois Democracy Schools (see Chapter 3, Section 1, for a thorough description of this Illinois Civic Mission Coalition initiative).

Like Smylie (2010), the Campaign, in search of best practices, suggests that a linear approach is not necessary to institutionalize civic learning (p. 8). However, among these exemplars, civic learning was often referenced in schools' mission and vision statements (p. 10). Moreover, mirroring Bryk et al.'s (2010) professional capacity dimensions, teachers "enjoy…autonomy, responsibility, and leeway to introduce thought-provoking, appropriate civic topics in the classroom" (p. 11).

By way of contrast, among the barriers that Hess (2009a) cites for controversial issues discussions are the lack of support from school administrators, the difficulty of differentiating between facilitating these discussions and political indoctrination, and standardized testing that devalues deeper explorations of issues (p. 69).

Significant collaboration also occurs among teachers at these exemplar schools, and they set aside time for reflection and ability to make changes to civic practices (p. 15).

District administrators also play a vital role. Instead of standing passively to the side, administrators from the schools studied are "…instrumental in leveraging policies, resources, and political capital to create opportunities for students' civic growth" (Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools, p. 11). This, too, aligns with Bryk et al.'s contention that leadership is the driver of school change.

The schools' curriculum addresses civics in a spiraling fashion throughout students' four years of high school. Civic learning practices and programs are often developed "organically," yet supplemented by resources from outside organizations including Facing History and Ourselves, the Constitutional Rights Foundation, and the Center for Civic Education (pp. 12-13).

A reciprocal relationship exists in each case between the school and the communities transcending the school-parent relationship described by Bryk et al. Exemplar schools rely upon standardized processes to make sure stakeholders are embedded in the school culture. For example, some cities have experimented with youth commissions as a means of promoting civic engagement in a systematic and strategic fashion (Siriani and Schor, p. 121). The Campaign found that these partnerships work best when schools have a staff member dedicated to community relationships (16-17).

Finally, a student-centered learning climate also plays a significant role in the civic culture of these exemplary schools. Most display their mission statement and student work reflective of students' civic engagement. Also, principals and teachers tend to interact positively with students and are candid about their own civic experiences. In short, they serve as civic role models. These commitments to civic norms and values transcend specific staff members, and reciprocally, students show a sense of responsibility and efficacy (p. 18).

3. METHODOLOGY

As evidenced above, research in the field of civic engagement is fragmented by discipline, encompassing curriculum and instruction, educational psychology, political science, and sociology. Torney-Purta et al. (2010, pp. 497-498) recommend that future research be multidisciplinary in nature. They write:

> The goal is a research framework that will encompass the multidimensional views of civic participation (not limited to voting), of political understanding (not limited to factual knowledge), of attitudes and dispositions (not limited to generalized tolerance), and of context (not limited to the formal curriculum).

According to these authors, survey research has dominated to date, and it should be continued, but supplemented with more open-ended questions via focus groups and individual interviews.

Bennion (2013) echoes these suggestions, claiming that mixed methods approaches are perfect for assessing the impact of civic learning. These methodologies increase the validity of findings through triangulation, result in the creation of better data collection instruments, promote greater understanding of research findings, and provide something for everyone (pp. 419-420).

My study is responsive to these suggestions. It attempts to explore relationships between student achievement on a nationally-administered civics assessment and selected independent and control variables in order to test: 1) the threshold question of whether school-based civic learning opportunities of any variety lead to higher levels of civic knowledge and skills; 2) the relative impact of traditional versus more student-centered, interactive civic learning practices;

and 3) the extent to which school-based civic learning opportunities help close a civic achievement gap that correlates with selected demographic variables.

Civic learning is measured by student performance on the 1998, 2006, and 2010 National Assessments of Educational Progress in Civics. While it is difficult to measure civic learning through a standardized assessment tool like NAEP, the assessment does yield evidence of students' civic knowledge, and to a lesser degree, civic skills. Civic knowledge and skills predict current and prospective civic engagement.

Finally, this study attempts to test whether the essential supports framework for student achievement, proven critical in other academic areas, namely literacy and numeracy, has similar effects on civic learning. The essential supports framework has five component parts, ambitious instruction, effective leaders, collaborative teachers, involved parents and communities, and a supportive school climate. Each component will be explored through a civic lens and combined into a multi-pronged hypothesis.

Quantitative data from the 2013 "Five Essentials Survey" will be used to compare high schools who have demonstrated deep commitments to civic learning (selected Illinois Democracy Schools) with similarly situated high schools that have not. The study also draws upon qualitative data from these Democracy Schools (see Section 3.2 for a more detailed description of these schools) to contextualize quantitative conclusions and address gaps in the data.

My specific hypotheses follow immediately. Next, I further detail my data sources, namely the past three iterations of the NAEP Civics assessment and the 2013 "Five Essentials Survey," along with qualitative findings from Democracy School applications, school mission statements, student handbooks, and interviews with administration and faculty at the selected high schools. Then, I proceed to delineate my independent, dependent, and control variables. I conclude this chapter with my anticipated contributions to the political socialization field.

3.1. Hypotheses

My first two hypotheses are tested in Chapter Four and consider the relative effectiveness of school-based civic learning opportunities, be they traditional or student-centered and interactive. Hypothesis One (H1) tests the threshold value of traditional school-based civic learning opportunities as opposed to none at all. Traditional practices privilege formal instruction, characterized by lecture, reading from the textbook, and memorization.

H1: Students who experience traditional school-based civic learning opportunities will exhibit higher levels of civic knowledge and skills than students whose educational experience is devoid of civic learning opportunities altogether.

My second hypothesis distinguishes between traditional and student-centered, interactive civic learning practices, anticipating the latter will be more effective in developing students' civic knowledge and skills. Student-centered, interactive practices include teaching current and controversial issues, service-learning, simulations of democratic processes, student leadership and decision-making opportunities, and extracurricular activities.

H2: Students who experience interactive, school-based civic learning practices will outperform those exposed to only traditional methodologies on measures of civic knowledge and skills.

My third hypothesis is tested in Chapter Five and considers the extent to which demography is destiny when it comes to developing civic knowledge and skills. Recall that Campbell (2007), Kahne and Middaugh (2008), and Torney-Purta and Wilkenfeld (2009) found inequities in the civic learning opportunities afforded to varying demographic groups, which arguably produces what Levinson calls the "civic empowerment gap." Given the near consensus in the civic learning field that schools can and must play a role in closing it (Kahne and Sporte, 2007; Annenberg Foundation, 2011; Beaumont, 2013), I test the degree to which school-based civic learning opportunities neutralize or transcend the "civic achievement gap" that precedes lifelong inequities in civic participation.

H3: Students who experience school-based civic learning opportunities will exhibit higher levels of civic knowledge and skills regardless of their race or ethnicity, family income, parental educational attainment, or English language proficiency.

While critical, engaging civic learning methodologies alone are insufficient in developing students' civic knowledge and skills. They exist within the broader framework of the school setting, and are undergirded by essential supports for student learning of all varieties, civics included. Derived from the *No Excuses* report (Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools, 2010), schools with sustainable, systemic approaches to civic learning demonstrate the

following: “a strategically designed curriculum,” “a vision for…civic learning and shared leadership to see it through”; “hiring practices, performance reviews, and professional development that assert…and support…the importance of effective civic learning”; “opportunities to involve the community in the school and the school in the community”; and “a school climate that nurture(s) and model(s) civic dispositions such as personal responsibility, student engagement in decision-making, and mutual respect and tolerance” (p. 7).

Therefore, the individual components of the *No Excuses* framework will be tested separately in Chapters Six through Ten as part of the broader, fourth and final hypothesis.

H4: Schools with sustainable, systemic approaches to civic learning have:

a: A strategically-designed curriculum that incorporates promising civic learning practices.

b: A vision for the importance of civic learning and effective leadership to see it through.

c: Staff development practices that support civic learning, including hiring, evaluation, and professional development.

d: A strong, reciprocal relationship with parents and the surrounding community.

e: A school climate that models and nurtures civic dispositions.

3.2. Sample

Kahne, Chi, and Middaugh (2012) write, “The reality of the school environment makes it difficult to employ some features of true experimental design” (p. 392). This probably speaks to the prevalence of descriptive and correlational studies in the field, and dearth of longitudinal, experimental research by comparison (Wilkenfeld et al., 2010). My proposed study is only quasi-

experimental, weaving together both quantitative and qualitative data from separate national and state samples of high schools, and will produce primarily descriptive and correlational conclusions.

Such a mixed methods approach allows for "analytic texture," addresses the deficiencies of any one genre with compensatory data, and allows me to "…modify or strengthen the analytic findings when the results of each genre support, corroborate, or contradict each other" (Miles et al., 2014, p. 43).

The preliminary quantitative data this study draws upon is the past three iterations of the National Assessment of Educational Progress in Civics (NAEP Civics), administered to a representative sample of students at grades 4, 8, and 12 throughout the United States (National Center for Educational Statistics, 2011, pp. viii). Please see Appendix A for a breakdown of student demographics across each of the NAEP Civics assessments analyzed.

The *Illinois Civic Blueprint* (McCormick Foundation, 2009) sets forth a process by which Illinois high schools complete an assessment of their civic education offerings in pursuit of recognition as an "Illinois Democracy School." Interested "…schools assess the degree to which students are exposed to the six promising approaches articulated in…" Chapter Two across the formal curriculum and via extracurricular opportunities by course or club offering, grade level, and percentage of students enrolled or participating.

Applicants also complete a qualitative portion of the application that requires a summary of current activities and evidence for assessment in the aforementioned six promising approaches. Finally, applicants develop future plans in order to demonstrate their schools' continued commitment to the civic development of their students, consider opportunities to better leverage the reciprocal relationship between the school and the local community, and are subsequently eligible for supplementary funding from the Robert R. McCormick Foundation.

Illinois Democracy Schools are "…accredited…secondary schools that provide students with authentic experiences in the rights, responsibilities, and tensions inherent in living in a constitutional democracy. These schools consciously promote civic engagement by all students, have an intentional focus on fostering participatory citizenship and place an emphasis on helping students understand how the fundamental ideals and principles of our democratic society relate to important current problems, opportunities, and controversies" (Healy, 2011).

"Illinois Democracy Schools collaborate with parents, students and their communities in developing a civic mission and in providing curricular and extra-curricular civic learning experiences for all students. They engage their students in a continual process of improving and increasing civic learning. Evidence of these characteristics can be found in students' classrooms and formal learning opportunities, in their interactions with school governance structures, and in the occasions for civic growth provided through service-learning and extra-curricular activities" (Healy, 2011).

"Since 2006, [22] Illinois high schools have successfully completed a [school-wide civic assessment] and have been subsequently recognized as Democracy Schools" by the Illinois Civic

Mission Coalition. The current group of Illinois Democracy Schools is not demographically representative of schools statewide (see Table 3.2.1). They have fewer African-American students, low income students, and students with limited English proficiency.

Table 3.2.1: Illinois Democracy Schools—Student Demographics

Name, Year of Recognition	Enrollment	% White	% Black	% Hispanic	%Asian	% Native American	% 2 or More	% Low Income	% Limited English Proficient
Democracy Schools Average	2,348	60.6	6.9	19.7	10.3	0.3	2.1	24.9	3.0
State Average	NA	51	18	23.6	4.2	0.3	2.8	49	9.4

Sources: Illinois Interactive Report Card

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On other school characteristics available through the Illinois Interactive Report Card (Northern Illinois University), Democracy Schools have a greater percentage of students meeting or exceeding standards on standardized tests of reading and math in compared to the statewide average (See Table 3.2.2). They also spend more money per pupil on both instruction and operating costs. While the average attendance rate at Democracy Schools is slightly lower, their graduation rate is substantially higher.

Table 3.2.2: Illinois Democracy Schools—School Characteristics

Name	All Subjects Meets/ Exceeds	Instructional $/ Pupil	Operating $/ Pupil	Attendance Rate	Graduation Rate
Democracy Schools Average	64.7	8344	13559	94.0	91.7
State Average	57.6	6864	11664	94.4	82.3

Source: Illinois Interactive Report Card

From the 22 current Illinois Democracy Schools, the two Catholic schools are subtracted given the dearth of publically available data to make comparisons both among Democracy

Schools and with other similarly situated schools in terms of student demographics and broader school characteristics.

Urban Prep is unique in that it is the only Chicago public school in the mix. Roughly one out of every five students in Illinois attends a Chicago Public School. It was not until 2013 that a CPS high school was recognized as an Illinois Democracy School, and Urban Prep thus emerges as a valuable test case for purposes of this research.

Similarly, Coal City High School is the sole downstate Democracy School, also joining the ranks in 2013. Southern Illinois is culturally and economically distinct from the Chicago metropolitan area, and Coal City's presence is also crucial for this research endeavor.

With the Catholic high schools excluded, and the Chicago and downstate schools held high as test cases for their respective geographic areas, we are left with 18 suburban Chicago high schools that have been recognized as Democracy Schools. Using data presented in Tables 3.2.1 and 3.2.2, the suburban Democracy Schools were classified on the basis of the diversity of their student bodies and per pupil expenditures (See Table 3.2.3).

Schools with greater than average non-white and economically disadvantaged student bodies were classified as "heterogeneous," and those with a higher than average white student population and fewer economically disadvantaged students as "homogeneous." Schools with higher than average expenditures per pupil on both instruction and operations were considered "well-resourced" and those with below average expenditures "under-resourced."

Four high schools each landed in the "well-resourced-heterogeneous," "under-resourced-heterogeneous", and "under-resourced-homogeneous" categories, while five were classified as "well-resourced-homogeneous." One high school from each of the squares of the suburban school matrix of Illinois Democracy Schools below (Table 3.2.3) was selected for purposes of advanced analysis in this research project.

Table 3.2.3: Illinois Democracy Schools—Suburban School Typologies

	Heterogeneous Student Population	**Homogeneous Student Population**
Well-Resourced	Sheepside	Eisenhower
Under-resourced	Pony Peak	Whitman

Sheepside High School represents well-resourced Democracy Schools with heterogeneous student populations. Dwight D. Eisenhower High School was selected to represent well-resourced Democracy Schools with relatively homogeneous student populations. Pony Peak High School represents under-resourced schools with heterogeneous student populations and Walt Whitman High School under-resourced schools with homogeneous student populations. The relative proximity of these schools' recognition as a Democracy School was a decisive factor in their selection. Each was recognized as Democracy Schools during a three year period from 2010 to 2013, so their school-wide civic assessments and Democracy School applications are reasonably up-to-date.

In order to test the five-part Hypothesis Four specified above and further detailed below, each of the six selected Democracy Schools was paired with another Illinois high school using a "compare schools" tool on the Illinois Interactive Report Card website (Northern Illinois University). Comparison schools have similar student populations, standardized test

performance, financial resources, and attendance and graduation rates (See Tables 3.2.4 and 3.2.5). These schools have not pursued recognition as Illinois Democracy Schools, and thus their commitment to civic learning is largely unknown.

As is clear in Table 3.2.4, these paired schools have quite similar student populations in terms of race and ethnicity, poverty, and Limited English Proficiency.

Table 3.2.4: Illinois Democracy Schools vs. Paired Comparisons—Student Demographics

Name	Enrollment	% White	% Black	% Hispanic	%Asian	% Native American	% 2 or More	% Low Income	% Limited English Proficient
Coal City	1,107	57.9	27.9	7.1	5.1	0.1	1.9	49.2	2.6
Farmville	1,489	57.8	23.7	8.7	2.2	0.4	7.1	49.2	1.3
Walt Whitman	3,580	79.3	4.1	10.1	5.1	0.1	1.3	10	1.2
John Keats	2,271	87.4	3.2	4.1	1.2	0.2	3.9	10.3	0.6
Sheepside	2,598	50.7	11	25.6	9.5	0.3	2.7	36.8	3.8
Hawkeye	1,997	40.1	14.2	24.8	17.4	0.3	3	29.2	4.4
Urban Prep	975	3.8	1.6	92.7	0.8	0.5	0.4	94.5	9
Center City	882	0.9	5.1	93.9	0	0	0.1	96.3	14.1
Pony Peak	1,884	54.3	14.5	12.3	15.2	0.3		19.1	1.9
Great Mills	4,522	54.3	10.4	22.8	8.6	0.3	3.5	14.4	2.1
Dwight D. Eisenhower	4,118	70.1	1.7	7	18.4	0	2.6	4.3	1.6
George C. Marshall	2,804	76.9	2.4	4.5	13.3	0.2	2.6	5	0.9

Source: Illinois Interactive Report Card

Likewise, the paired schools exhibit similar performance on standardized tests, spend roughly equal amounts per pupil on instruction and operations, and have parallel attendance and graduation rates (See Table 3.2.5).

Table 3.2.5: Illinois Democracy Schools vs. Paired Comparisons—School Characteristics

Name	All Subjects Meets/ Exceeds	Instructional $/ Pupil	Operating $/ Pupil	Attendance Rate	Graduation Rate
Coal City	53.9	8834	14112	93.1	82.9
Farmville	44.7	6127	11369	92.4	74.1
Walt Whitman	71.5	8187	13267	96.9	94.5
John Keats	74.6	6279	11688	95.3	93.4
Sheepside	55.6	8975	14103	93.6	85.5
Hawkeye	55.5	9696	16177	95.4	91.8
Urban Prep	22.1	8235	13616	84	90.8
Center City	14	8235	13616	85.7	82.9
Pony Peak	72.1	6496	10202	93.1	97.2
Great Mills	61.8	6304	10763	93.5	92.3
Dwight D. Eisenhower	86	10392	16871	95.9	92
George C. Marshall	87.4	11469	16865	94.3	97.2

Source: Illinois Interactive Report Card

3.3. Data Sources

The primary data sources for the first part of this study are the 1998, 2006, and 2010 National Assessments for Educational Progress (NAEP) in Civics. NAEP draws upon representative samples of students in 4th, 8th, and 12th grades throughout the United States. It does not report scores of individual students or schools.

NAEP is a biennial survey mandated by Congress and considered "The Nation's Report Card." Administered by the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) since 1969, NAEP has collected and reported student achievement in various subject areas, civics included. It is intended to serve as ".. a barometer or broad indicator of how much and how well students are learning"(National Assessment Governing Board, 2011, p. 1). The first NAEP civics assessment took place in 1969-1970 under the guise of "citizenship." It has been assessed seven additional times (1972, 1976, 1982, 1988, 1998, 2006, and 2010), two of them within the broader context of the social studies (1976 and 1982) (p. 8).

The current NAEP framework has been in place since the 1998 iteration of the test and addresses governmental and nongovernmental aspects of civic life (National Center for Education Statistics, pp. v, vii). The framework draws heavily upon the National Standards for Civics and Government published by the Center for Civic Education in 1994 (p. vi).

The test format contains a mix of multiple choice and open response questions, the latter encompassing short and extended responses (p. xii). In practice, individual students encounter a subset of the grade-level question pool, enabling efficiency and broad content coverage across the sample of students taking the test (p. 33). Sixty percent of test questions are multiple choice, 30% short answer, and 10% extended response (p. 38).

A second data set embedded in this study is the 2013 "Five Essentials Survey" administered to teachers, students, and parents at every public school in Illinois. The survey identifies schools' strengths and weaknesses through a series of questions and follow-up analysis. The survey operationalizes the essential supports framework for school improvement which encompasses "ambitious instruction," "effective leaders," "collaborative teachers," "involved families," and a "supportive environment."

The survey administration process typically takes thirty days per school. A designated coordinator facilitates student and teacher participation through an online tool ("Survey: Five Essentials"). The University of Chicago Consortium on School Research then converts the raw survey data into useful information for school leaders. They use Rasch analysis to parse the data, eliminating invalid responses and other sources of error to ensure conformity with anticipated

results. Through this process, schools are able to compare their performance across time and also to compare themselves both within and without their district ("Scoring: Five Essentials").

Illinois altogether lacks a standardized assessment of students' civic knowledge. In fact, the social studies as a discipline was removed from state tests in 2005. Given that standardized tests are by themselves incomplete instruments to assess the promising civic learning practices detailed in the *Civic Mission of Schools* report (Carnegie Foundation, 2003) and elsewhere, not to mention the *No Excuses* framework (Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools, 2010) for school-wide commitments to civic learning, there is a need for multimethod research that includes contextual and geographic information, survey data, classroom observation, experimental testing, and field experience (McLeod et al., 2010, pp. 383-386; Bennion, 2013). The indicators I employ are an answer to researchers who lament the lack of controls on content related to these promising approaches (Billig et al., 2005).

First, the Democracy School applications of the six high schools selected to represent their respective typologies were analyzed for data on the extent to which a) promising civic learning practices predominate across the curriculum, and b) these opportunities are available to students throughout their four year high school experience. To glean this information, I engaged in content analysis, defined as "…any technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics of messages." In each case, I employed codes (see Appendix A) that prevented "…analyses in which only materials supporting (my) hypotheses are examined." This analysis was carried out with the goal of hypothesis testing (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 2000, p. 296).

According to Miles et al. (2014), “Codes are labels that assign symbolic meaning to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during a study” (p. 71). I employed a “hypothesis coding” approach, described by these authors as “…the application of researcher-generated, predetermined list of codes onto qualitative data specifically to assess a researcher-generated hypothesis” (p. 78).

This qualitative analysis of school documents and interviews (described below) incorporates a deductive strategy, where I used “…a priori orienting constructs and propositions to test or observe in the field. For the most part, I used a deductive coding strategy, generating a “start list” of codes prior to beginning my fieldwork (81). These analytic units were later operationalized and the matched with a body of field data (Miles et al., 2014, p. 238).

In a few cases indicated in the chapters that follow, once I began coding the documents and interviews, other codes emerged and were included in an inductive manner (p. 81). My analysis of coded content employs both “case” and “variable-oriented” approaches, where I explore school-specific findings alongside “themes that cut across cases” (pp. 102-103).

Next, I also engaged in a content analysis of school vision and mission statements along with school policies articulated in student handbooks (see Appendix A for codes employed). The former were evaluated on the extent to which civic learning is articulated, be it overt, implicit, or altogether missing. The same gradations were used for student handbooks in search of civic learning goals in schools’ expectations of students’ academic performance, behavior, and personal development.

Finally, like Hess (2002) and Kahne, Chi and Middaugh (2006), I conducted semi-structured interviews of select school personnel, namely members of the Democracy School application team, including an administrator (the principal or the assistant principal specializing in instruction), the Social Studies Department Chair, and at least one other member of the social studies department. Across the six high schools I conducted twenty-five interviews in all from November 5, 2013, through December 26, 2013. I interviewed four principals, two assistant principals, six Social Studies Department Chairs, and thirteen social studies teachers. The survey questions are addressed, in part, in the section that follows, and listed in Appendix B.

The interviews typically lasted thirty to forty-five minutes, and I immediately transcribed these recorded conversations. Thereafter, I coded the responses to each of the questions, and the aggregated responses, tied to direct quotations, are discussed, in turn, in Chapters Six through Ten. The coding options that pertain to each question posed are also included in Appendix B.

As will become clear in the chapters that follow, the interviews and content analysis were orchestrated with an eye toward gathering qualitative data to supplement its quantitative counterpart relative to the independent variables specified below.

3.4. Independent Variables

My independent variables are derived from three sources: the *Civic Mission of Schools* report (Carnegie Foundation, 2003), the *Illinois Civic Blueprint* (McCormick Foundation, 2009), and the *No Excuses* report (Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools, 2010). The latter provides the basic framework within which the other variables lie.

The first independent variables are school-based civic learning opportunities. Hypothesis One contends that students' civic knowledge and skills are strengthened by exposure to traditional forms of school-based civic learning as opposed to no opportunities at all. By comparison, my second hypothesis tests traditional methodologies against the innovative, interactive, and experiential approaches detailed in the *Civic Mission of Schools* and *Guardian of Democracy* reports.

The NAEP Civics assessments of 1998, 2006, and 2010 contain various measures of school-based civic learning opportunities of both varieties, and align well with the recommendations of the *Civic Mission of Schools* and *Guardian of Democracy*. Traditional measures that fall under the umbrella of formal instruction include:

- Grades in which civics and/ or government is studied;
- Study of Congress;
- Study of how laws are made;
- Study of elections, political parties, and voting;
- Study of the presidency and the Executive Cabinet;
- Study of state and local government;
- Study of the U.S. Constitution;
- Filling out worksheets;
- Memorizing reading material;
- And reading material from textbooks.

The remaining five approaches are of the student-centered, experiential variety, and encompass teaching current and controversial issues, service-learning, simulations of democratic

processes, student leadership and decision-making opportunities, and extracurricular opportunities.

Indicators of teaching current and controversial issues include discussing current events and taking part in debates and panel discussions. Service-learning indicators are working on group projects and writing a letter to state one's opinion or helping to solve a community problem. Taking part in role-playing, mock trials, or dramas provides evidence of simulations. Extracurricular opportunities are measured by school-coordinated volunteer work in the community, and student leadership and decision-making opportunities by the presence of classroom government.

The next independent variables speak to the broader, strategic design of the curriculum, the subject of Chapter Six. Hypothesis 4a posits that schools with sustained, systemic approaches to civic learning have a strategically-designed curriculum that incorporates promising civic learning practices. Indicators of the latter are detailed in Chapter 2, Section 5, and are measured on Democracy School assessments and applications. In the School-wide Civic Assessment, prospective Democracy Schools assess the extent to which these promising civic learning practices are present across the curriculum, through extracurricular activities, and in school governance.

Additionally, the "Five Essentials" Teacher Survey asks a number of questions pertaining to classroom discussions, including student participation, deliberation, and use of "…data and text references to support their ideas" (see Appendix A, Section I, Indicator 1 for further details).

Further, the Teacher Survey also probes into other dimensions of promising civic learning practices, including project-based learning, debates, and demonstrations.

In addition to the presence of promising civic learning practices, the broader curricular framework encompasses:

- A thoughtful, strategic design for civic learning throughout students' four years of high school;
- Home-grown civic learning practices supplemented by resources from outside providers;
- And meeting standards requirements through curriculum and assessments complimented with civic learning.

The Democracy School assessments and applications will inform each of these indicators of a school's broader curricular framework. More specifically, the "Five Essentials" Teacher Survey asks a question about the coordination of curriculum, instruction, and learning across grade levels (See Appendix A, Section I, Indicator 2). This provides partial evidence of a school's four-year design for students' civic learning.

The balance between home-grown civic learning practices vis-à-vis resources provided by external sources is gauged through interview questions posed to administrators and faculty members at select Illinois Democracy Schools (Please see Appendix B, Questions 2 and 3). These responses add further qualitative texture to measurements of this indicator.

The final strain of the curricular framework indicator centers on meeting standards and assessment requirements, and complementing them with civic learning opportunities. A direct question along these lines was also posed to administrators and faculty members at select Illinois Democracy Schools (Please see Appendix B, Question 4).

The second element of the *No Excuses* framework is school vision and leadership, the focus of Chapter Seven. It operates under the premise that innovative, supportive leadership is critical to school-wide commitments to civic learning. This encompasses:

- A commitment to civic learning across the board as articulated in school mission and vision statements;
- A common understanding of how the school will reach its civic goals through students' academic performance, behavior, and personal development as specified in school policies and the student handbook;
- Creative teachers who show initiative and feel confident that they can take risks given autonomy, responsibility, and leeway to introduce thought-provoking civic topics in the classroom;
- An administration that does not sacrifice the long-term benefits of civic learning for short-term testing goals;
- And superintendents who exert positive leadership, as district administration leverages policies, resources, and political capital to create opportunities for students' civic growth.

A school's commitment to civic learning is derived through examination of mission and vision statements from select Illinois Democracy Schools, where civic-oriented themes are

probed via content analysis. A common understanding of schools' civic goals for students is measured through a content analysis of student handbooks at these same high schools.

Teacher autonomy and responsibility is gleaned from a direct interview question to this effect posed to administrators and faculty members at select Illinois high schools (See Appendix B, Question 1), along with a series of responses extracted from the "Five Essentials" Teacher Survey. They include the extent to which teachers feel respected by the principal, the principal's confidence in teachers' expertise, teachers' respect in colleagues' expertise, and teachers' influence on selecting books and instructional materials and building the curriculum (See Appendix A, Section II, Indicator 3).

One question on the "5Esssentials" Teacher Survey asks the extent to which the principal "communicates a clear vision" for the school. Responses partially gauge principals' personal commitment to civic learning in spite of current testing pressures (Appendix A, Section II, Indicator 4). A single interview question posed to administrators at select Illinois high schools further explores this indicator, (Appendix B, Question 12), and another assesses the leadership of the district superintendent in the civic learning dimension (Question 13).

Chapter Eight tackles the third element of the *No Excuses* framework, staff development, as indicated by:

- An expectation during the hiring process and teacher evaluations that civic learning be a priority;

- Regular opportunities for teachers to strengthen their understanding of civic learning, especially for teachers working across the curriculum;
- Peer-to-peer learning among teachers that allows for innovation within the required framework;
- And structures for support and continuous improvement of teaching practices, including the setting aside of time for ongoing democratic reflection and opportunities to make changes.

The prioritization of civic learning in the hiring process is measured by a single interview question posed to administrators at select Illinois high schools (See Appendix B, Question 14). Four responses from the "Five Essentials" Teacher Survey shed additional light on this subject. Questions assess the extent to which "Experienced teachers invite new teachers into their rooms to observe, give feedback, etc.," and the principal's personal commitment to teacher professional development. A third measures teachers' influence in hiring new staff (Appendix A, Section III, Indicator 1).

Regular professional development opportunities for teachers is gleaned through an interview question directed toward Social Studies Department Chairs at selected Illinois Democracy Schools (Appendix B, Question 19), along with a series of teacher-reported responses from the "Five Essentials" Survey. These questions measure the coherence and sustainability of professional development activities, their connection to the school's improvement plan, the amount of time teachers have to "…think carefully about, try, and evaluate new ideas," and opportunities to work with peers in their school and from other schools

(Appendix A, Section III, Indicator 2). While none of these questions center specifically on civic learning, they represent a school's broad commitment to best practices in teacher professional development.

Peer-to-peer learning is measured from a single interview question posed to faculty members at select Illinois Democracy Schools (Appendix B, Question 21), along with four responses derived from the "Five Essentials" Teacher Survey. They include conversations with colleagues about "What helps students learn best" and creating new curriculum. Two additional questions gauge the frequency of teachers observing colleagues' classrooms to "offer feedback" or "get ideas for (their) own instruction" (Appendix A, Section III, Indicator 3).

Continuous improvement structures are measured via an interview question directed at Social Studies Department Chairs at select Democracy Schools (Appendix B, Question 20), along with three responses from the "Five Essentials" Teacher Survey. All three questions assess the frequency by which teachers collaborate with one another. This involves reviewing assessment data to make instructional decisions, "develop[ing] materials or activities," or simply determining instructional strategies (Appendix A, Section III, Indicator 4).

The fourth dimension of the *No Excuses* framework relates to school and community partnerships and is detailed in Chapter Nine. The indicators include:

- An expectation of mutual benefit: Exemplar schools and their communities are a resource for each other. Schools invite speakers from the community and draw upon public

services, and community members call on schools to request students' involvement in service or public projects;

- Protocols so all stakeholders' voices are heard, where schools rely upon standardized practices to make sure all stakeholders are part of a school's civic learning program;
- And a dedicated staff member to connect the school and the community, with partnerships a specific part of their job description.

The mutual benefit indicator is assessed on Democracy School applications where schools are asked to detail their community connections. Two questions from administrator and faculty interviews at select Democracy Schools also address this indicator (See Appendix B, Questions 5 and 6).

The protocol indicator is measured via a battery of responses from the "Five Essentials" Teacher Survey. Teachers are asked to evaluate the strength of parent-teacher partnerships in "educating children" and the extent to which school staff "…work hard to build trusting relationships with parents." Teachers are also asked to reflect upon open communication channels with parents, which can take the form of classroom observations, regular communication home, solicitation of feedback, and the support necessary to advance the school's mission (Appendix A, Section IV, Indicator 2). This data is supplemented by qualitative data derived from an interview question directed towards administrators at select Illinois high schools (Appendix B, Question 16).

I also inquire whether schools have a dedicated staff member to build community partnerships through a question directed at administrators and Social Studies Department Chairs from select Democracy Schools (Appendix B, Questions 17 and 18). Their Democracy School applications are also reviewed for this information.

The fifth and final dimension of the *No Excuses* framework encapsulates school climate, the subject of Chapter Ten, and is indicated by:

- A clean, welcoming environment with visual reminders of the school's civic mission, including the display of the school mission statement and classrooms and hallways decorated with work reflective of students' and teachers' civic engagement;
- Teachers and administrators who serve as role models of civically engaged citizens. They interact positively with students and are candid about their own civic engagement;
- Students who have the skills, opportunities, and confidence to make a difference in their schools and communities;
- And policies, practices, and infrastructure support a set of civic norms and values as new staff members are continuously educated in the school's mission.

Separate interview questions posed to faculty and staff at select Illinois high schools gauge their climate for civic learning (See Appendix B, Questions 7-12). Drilling down further, staff interaction with students is measured through four responses on the "Five Essentials" Student Survey. Students are asked if they "…feel safe and comfortable with my teachers at this school," if their "…teacher always keeps his/ her promises," "…listen[s] to students' ideas," and treats them with respect (Appendix A, Section V, Indicator 2).

Students' sense of responsibility and efficacy is also assessed through three questions that explore their sense of value for what they learn in the classroom as it pertains to "valuable skills," future success, and what they "…plan to do in life" (Appendix A, Section V, Indicator 3).

Finally, teachers' continuous education in the school mission is measured via a single question on the "Five Essentials" Teacher Survey. It asks the extent to which "A conscious effort is made by faculty to make new teachers feel welcome here" (Appendix A, Section V, Indicator 4).

3.5. Dependent Variable

This study contains two dependent variables. Hypotheses One through Three center on students' civic knowledge and skills as measured on three successive iterations (1998, 2006, and 2010) of the National Assessment of Educational Progress in Civics.

According to the National Center for Education Statistics, "Like all NAEP assessments, this is a test of knowledge and skills, not of behavior or convictions..." Thus, success on this assessment requires students to "…show broad knowledge of the American constitutional system and of the workings of our civil society" (National Assessment Governing Board , 2011, p. vi).

The current NAEP Civics framework contains three components: knowledge, intellectual and participatory skills, and civic dispositions (p. x). Civic knowledge addresses the foundations of the American political system, the government established by the U.S. Constitution, the

relationship between the U.S. and other nations, and the roles of citizens in American democracy.

Standardized tests, for all of their benefits, have well-documented limitations, particularly in the realm of civic learning outcomes (Levine, 2007; Levinson, 2010; Levine, 2013). The NCES acknowledges this: "Direct measurement of participatory skills, such as participating in school governance or attending a public meeting, is beyond the scope of this assessment.” As a proxy, they use “students' knowledge and understanding of participatory skills." Similarly, students merely demonstrate familiarity with, and the importance of designated civic dispositions. Students’ personal values and dispositions are not gleaned from the assessment questions (p. 36).

It is also important to note that the NAEP is a “no stakes” test, unlike state-based standardized assessments in other subject areas. Additionally, as mentioned above, it doesn’t measure civic skills particularly well, nor does it address contemporary political issues (Levine, 2012; Niemi, 2012).

For all of its limitations, “Compared to other prominent tests and surveys in civics, the NAEP is one of the most carefully designed and validated and has the largest national sample,” according to Peter Levine (2013). He continues, “Whereas existing state civics tests rely exclusively on multiple-choice questions, the NAEP Civics assessment also includes short essays, which are better measures of advanced skills” (p. 1).

Similarly, Hall and Simeron (2008) write, “NAEP scores are not the end all, be all of assessment, but the NAEP still reigns as king of the mountain of American educational testing…” (Kindle Locations 146-148).

Student scores range on a scale of 0-300, and are based on a statistical procedure called Item Response Theory (IRT). IRT allows summaries of student performance across a range of test exercises assessing civic knowledge and skills (National Center for Education Statistics, 2012). Three achievement levels have been established: Basic, which indicates “partial mastery” and is “fundamental for proficient work at all grade levels”; Proficient, which entails “solid academic performance and competency over challenging subject matter”; and Advanced, or evidence of “superior performance” (National Assessment Governing Board , 2011, p. xiii).

These levels are derived from item maps created for students in 4th, 8th, and 12th grades (National Center for Education Statistics, 2012). An example from the item map above the basic achievement threshold from 12th grade is the ability to identify the meaning of a Supreme Court opinion. A proficient score requires students to differentiate between international and domestic politics, and an advanced score identification of how the federal system incentivizes the proliferation of interest groups (National Center for Education Statistics, 2012b).

As alluded to in Chapter 2, Section 4, student performance on the NAEP Civics assessment is both poor and flat across its last three iterations (1998, 2006, and 2010). The average score for 12th grade has lingered in the basic range, from 150 in 1998, up a single point to 151 in 2006, and down three points (not statistically significant) to 148 in 2010. Cut scores fell

at each percentile (10th, 25th, 50th, 75th, and 90th) from 1998 to 2010, although the only statistically significant drop was at the 75th percentile. Almost two-thirds of 12th grade students (64%) performed at the basic level or better in 2010, nearly one-quarter (24%) were considered proficient, and a mere 4% advanced (National Center for Education Statistics, 2011, p. 35).

Although Levine (2013) cautions us in drawing drastic conclusions from these relatively arbitrary gradations, he suggests that the NAEP Civics assessment data does allow us to examine differences in mean scores between students and relationships between practices and mean scores, two tactics that I pursue in this research project (p. 9).

The dependent variable for Hypothesis Four is schools with sustained, systemic approaches to civic learning. Six Illinois Democracy Schools (identified in Section 3.1 above) serve as proxies for this variable. By contrast, their paired comparisons have not made similar public commitments in completing a school-wide civic assessment or applying for recognition as a Democracy School.

By comparing responses to select questions on the “Five Essentials” Teacher and Student Surveys, I explore variation in indicators of five independent variables, namely a strategically-designed curriculum, effective school leadership, a broad commitment to staff development, strong school-parent-community relationships, and a positive school climate. I expect Democracy Schools to outperform their paired comparisons on these measures.

Regardless of these results, further insights will be gleaned on contributing factors to these six Democracy Schools’ sustained, systemic commitments to civic learning through a

thorough review of their Democracy School assessments and applications, mission statements, and student handbooks. Also critical are the interviews with administrators, department chairs, and social studies teachers at these schools. Rich case studies will thus emerge and serve to supplement the quantitative comparisons discussed above.

3.6. Control Variables

Levinson (2007, 2010, and 2012b) acknowledges a "profound civic empowerment gap in the United States," and sees schools as venues where the gap can and should be narrowed, especially given that they are the most inclusive state institutions in today's society.

Levine (2012) agrees, suggesting that the real crisis in civic education today is one of inequities in opportunities and outcomes. Thus, "Diverse schools must...be intentional and transparent in converting diversity from a potential challenge to a civic educational opportunity" (Levinson, 2012b).

Given that schools, and not individual students, are my object of study, I control for the following demographic variables captured in the student-reported questionnaire accompanying the last three iterations of the NAEP Civics assessment (1998, 2006, and 2010) in order to test Hypothesis Three: the racial and ethnic breakdown of the participating students, their eligibility for the National school lunch program, parental educational attainment, and those who are English language learners.

In order to test Hypothesis Four, I control for the racial and ethnic compositions of the respective student bodies of the six selected Democracy Schools and their paired comparisons.

The percentage of students considered low income based on their eligibility for the Federal free or reduced lunch program is also accounted for, along with the percentage of students with Limited English Proficiency. Finally, in another attempt to control for SES, I measured the amount of money schools spend per pupil on both instructional and operating costs.

3.7. Contribution to the Research Field

Colby et al. (2007) write, "The focus that has dominated political science for the past half century…is the objective, often mathematically-driven study of political institutions and behavior rather than more normative goals or applied work of educating for citizenship" (p. 4).

This dissertation is a departure from mainstream political science in its explicit focus on civic learning, yet it draws upon empirical data to determine the relative importance of certain school-based supports for students' civic development.

Chapter Two, Section 6 alludes to the gaps in the school-based, political socialization literature. In concluding this chapter on research design and methodology, I will comment briefly on my anticipated contributions to the research field and the gaps addressed upon conclusion of this project.

As in the previous chapter, the large-scale quantitative studies that permeate the school-based political socialization field lack descriptive detail of schools' systemic commitment to civic learning. Studies focusing on a single teaching methodology or civics program fail on similar grounds.

My mixed methods approach provides multiple levels of data, starting with student achievement data on a national standardized assessment, and proceeding to Democracy applications, results from the teacher, parent, and student versions of the 2013 "Five Essentials" Survey, interviews with select school faculty, and finally, content analysis of school mission statements and student handbooks. While analysis of survey data alone predominates, its conclusions lack the larger perspective of schools' commitments to civic learning, not to mention supplemental qualitative data to further illuminate quantitative findings.

Current research obsesses with school-based curricular and extracurricular offerings. While the six promising approaches to citizen development detailed above are fundamental to school-based political socialization, they reside within the broader context of a school setting. As demonstrated in the *No Excuses* report, other variables impact what transpires inside and outside the classroom, including vision and leadership, staff professional development, school-community interactions, and school climate.

My research design operationalizes each of these variables, and explores variation among schools with different degrees of public support for civic learning.

Upon conclusion of this dissertation, I emerge with a descriptive account of sustained, systemic school-based civic learning best practices with empirical evidence of their effectiveness. Beyond testing the hypotheses detailed in the previous section, I place forth a more comprehensive framework to design and assess school-wide approaches to civic learning. Through this framework, it is my hope that these best practices will be replicated across Illinois

and the country, spurring a renewed commitment by educators, parents, community members, and policy makers to the civic mission of our schools.

4. TRADITIONAL INSTRUCTION VERSUS STUDENT-CENTERED, SCHOOL-BASED CIVIC LEARNING PRACTICES

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I weigh the relative impact of various school-based civic learning opportunities. The first section will test Hypothesis One (H1), which considers the effects of exposure to traditional school-based civic learning opportunities as opposed to none at all. Traditional practices center upon exposure to civics or government as subjects, specific civic content, and formal instructional methodologies, including worksheet completion, textbook reading, and material memorization.

H1: Students who experience traditional school-based civic learning opportunities will exhibit higher levels of civic knowledge and skills than students whose educational experience is devoid of civic learning opportunities altogether.

This threshold question answered, the second half of this chapter distinguishes between traditional and student-centered, interactive civic learning practices, anticipating the latter will be more effective in developing students' civic knowledge and skills. Student-centered, interactive practices encompass teaching current and controversial issues, service-learning, simulations of democratic processes, student leadership and decision-making opportunities, and extracurricular activities.

H2: Students who experience interactive school-based civic learning practices will outperform those exposed to only traditional methodologies on measures of civic knowledge and skills.

4.2. Traditional civic learning opportunities

A majority of students who took the 2010 NAEP Civics assessment report studying civics or government during each grade of high school. Upperclassmen suggest significant exposure during both senior (76%) and junior year (66%), followed by sophomores (58%) and freshmen (51%, see Appendix C for a more detailed breakdown of these percentages and those that follow). Only five-percent of students who took the NAEP Civics assessment in 2010 report that they did not study civics or government at all during high school.

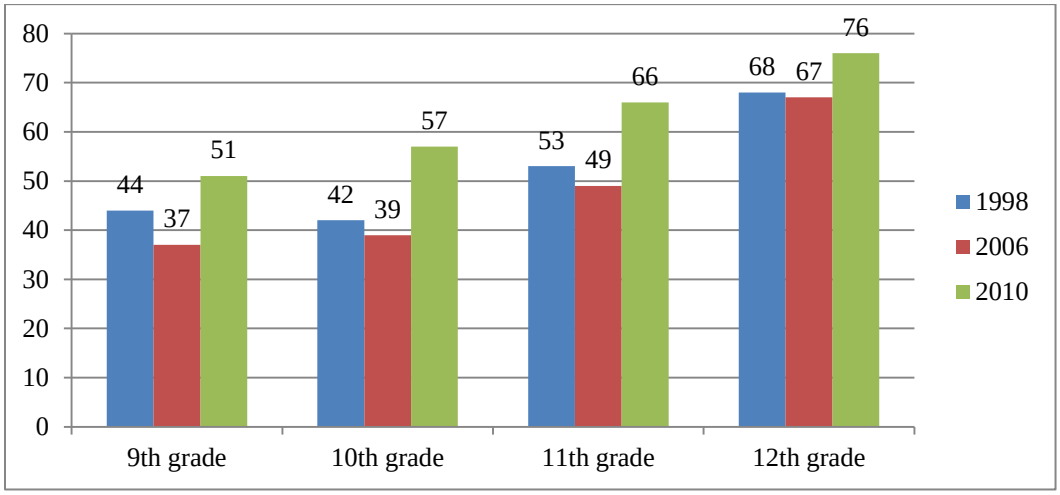
Student scores vary only slightly in 2010 based on having studied civics or government in each respective grade. There is no difference in scores in 9th grade, a statistically-insignificant one-point decrease in 10th grade, a four-point increase in 11th grade, and a statistically-insignificant two-point gain in 12th grade. In a finding that will be explored further below, those who do not study civics or government at all actually outperform those who do by four points. In fact, they score at the same level as students who study civics and government junior and senior year.

There is more variation in the impact of students' exposure to civics or government across grade levels in both 2006 and 1998. In 2006, student scores increase by five points during both 9th and 10th grade when exposed to civics or government, seven points during 11th grade, and six points during 12th grade. A similar pattern holds true in 1998, with scores increasing by

three points in 9th grade, five points in 10th, eleven in 11th, and nine in 12th grade. Across all three iterations of the NAEP Civics assessment, students exposed to civics and government in both 11th and 12th grade seem to benefit most.

It is an encouraging sign that the percentages of students reporting exposure to civics or government increases significantly from 1998 to 2010, although there is very little change from 1998 to 2006. Please see Figure 4.1 for additional details.

Figure 4.1: Percentage of Students Reporting Exposure to Civics or Government by Grade, 1998-2010



Drilling down into specific content, a majority of students report studying Congress during the current school year, in this case 12th grade, through the past three iterations of NAEP Civics. However, this number declines from a high of 71% in 1998 to a low of 66% in 2010. Student scores across the past three NAEP Civics assessments show a negative relationship with having studied Congress. They are three points lower in 1998 and 2006 (151 to 154 in both

cases; the difference is not statistically significant in 1998), and four points lower in 2010 (148 to 152).

Similarly, nearly two-thirds of students report studying how laws are made during the same time span, with a slight decline from 64% in 1998 to 61% in 2010. Likewise, student scores trend inversely to studying how laws are made, varying from a five-point gap in 1998 (150 to 155) and 2006 (151 to 156), to a six-point deficit in 2010 (147 to 153).

A higher number of students report studying political parties, elections, and voting, with a small drop from 70% in 1998 and 2006 to 68% in 2010. The negative trends continue on this measure, with student scores ranging from four-to-five points lower across the last three NAEP Civics assessments.

A smaller number of students, yet still a majority, report studying the President and his Cabinet across this time span, from 63% in 1998 to 59% in 2010. Student scores exhibit no variation on this measure from 1998 through 2010.

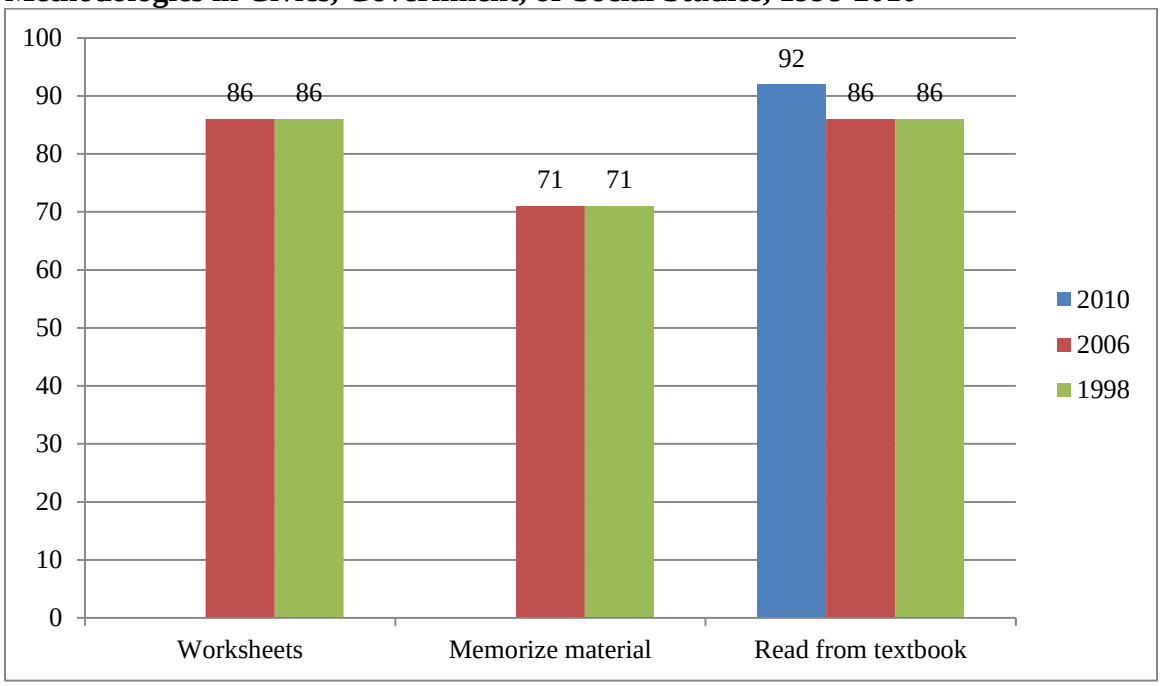
More than two-thirds of high school seniors say they study state and local government, and this number remains stable from 1998 through 2010 (ranging from 68-69%). Returning to the earlier trend, student scores are negatively related to studying state and local government. They range from a four-point gap in 2006 (151 to 155) and a larger six-point gap in both 1998 (150 to 156) and 2010 (148 to 154).

The study of the court system experiences more variance across the last three iterations of NAEP Civics. The percentage increases five points from 1998 to 2006 (64% to 69%), but falls eight points in 2010 (61%). Once more, this variable relates negatively to student scores on all three assessments, producing a four-to-five point deficit.

Finally, more than two-thirds of students report studying the United States Constitution. This ranges from 72% in 2006 to 67% in 2010, and also correlates inversely with student scores, producing a three-to-four point reduction.

Turning to measures of traditional teaching methodologies (see Figure 4.2 below), the vast majority of students report filling out worksheets in social studies classes, registering at 86% in both 1998 and 2006 (this question was not asked in 2010). Like the content variables tested above, filling out worksheets correlates negatively with students' NAEP Civics scores, registering a five point gap in 1998 (151 to 156), and a six-point deficit in 2006 (151 to 157).

Figure 4.2: Percentage of Students Reporting Exposure to Traditional Teaching Methodologies in Civics, Government, or Social Studies, 1998-2010



A smaller, but still significant, majority of students are required to memorize material read for social studies courses. Seventy-one-percent of students report memorizing material in both 1998 and 2006 (once more, this question was not asked in 2010). Contrary to completing worksheets, student scores improve when they are asked to memorize material. Students gain six points in 1998 (153 to 147), and eight points in 2006 (154 to 146), when this is required in their social studies classes.

More specific to civics and government courses, in a number that mirrors filling out worksheets, 86% of students report reading material from textbooks in both 1998 and 2006. Like memorizing material, textbook reading produces higher student scores each year. They increase eight points in 1998 (152 to 144) and five points in 2006 (152 to 147).

Taking just textbook reading away from the trio that includes memorization and worksheet completion, scores plateau, as students gain one point in 1998 (145 to 144) and lose two points in 2006 (149 to 151). Moreover, a substantial number of students report this combination (26% in 1998 and 19% in 2006).

Remove memorization, while retaining textbook reading and worksheet completion, and student scores drop three and twelve points in 1998 (149 to 152) and 2006 (145 to 157), respectively. This combination is prevalent 12% (2006) and 14% (1998) of the time.

Finally, when memorization and textbook reading are combined and worksheet completion is excluded, scores increase measurably to an average of 165 and 167, respectively, in 1998 and 2006. However, this combination rarely occurs (9% of the time in 1998, and 8% in 2006).

All of this data taken together, it appears that students benefit most from studying civics and government as upperclassmen. The specific civic content presented in their social studies courses doesn’t appear to match well with the questions that are asked on the NAEP Civics assessment. In no instance does the content knowledge presented above correlate positively with student performance, and in all cases but one (studying the President and his Cabinet), student scores decline, sometimes noticeably. Finally, among traditional teaching methodologies, students seem to benefit most from a combination of textbook reading and memorization (and an absence of worksheet completion) in preparation for the NAEP Civics assessment.

Drilling down further into the relative effectiveness of traditional methodologies, I regressed the impact of memorizing material and reading from a textbook with exposure to civics or government in 11th grade for both 1998 and 2006 in Table 4.1.

In 1998, lack of exposure to each of these three variables exhibits a negative influence on NAEP Civics scores. No 11th grade civics or government exposure yields the largest negative coefficient, yet the statistical differences (if any) among these variables cannot be determined as their absence is measured only relative to the presence of civics or government subject matter in 11th grade paired with material memorization and textbook reading in social studies courses.

In 2006, not memorizing material has the highest negative coefficient, followed closely by not studying civics or government in 11th grade. Lack of textbook reading isn't statistically distinct from the intercept, which once again includes civics or government exposure, memorizing material, and textbook reading. All other coefficients reported in Table 4.1 are statistically different from the base group.

Table 4.1: Regression Analysis of Selected Traditional Civic Learning Practices, 1998 and 2006

Independent variables:	*Regression coefficient (Standard error)*	
	1998	*2006*
Didn't study civics or government in 11th grade	-8.66*	-6.50*
	(1.16)	(1.22)
Didn't memorize material in social studies classes	-3.99*	-7.12*
	(1.17)	(1.18)
Don't know if memorized material in social studies classes	-14.74*	-15.99*
	(3.70)	(3.29)
Didn't read from textbook in social studies classes	-6.14*	-2.13
	(1.92)	(1.78)
Don't know if read from textbook in social studies classes	-22.36*	-20.71*
	(5.62)	(4.33)
Intercept:	157.45	157.49
	(0.82)	(1.13)
Degrees of freedom:	2,935.63	2,846.91
R^2:	0.04	0.04

* Indicates that a variable is statistically significant the $p<0.05$ level.

Using 2010 data, I regressed exposure to civics or government in 11th grade with various frequencies of textbook reading (see Table 4.2). Once more, the base group includes students who studied civics or government junior year, and in this case, no textbook reading. The negative coefficient associated with no 11th grade civics is offset by positive coefficients for all frequencies of textbook reading. Textbook reading once or twice weekly registers the highest positive coefficient relative to the base group, and each of these coefficients is statistically different from the intercept.

Table 4.2: Regression Analysis of Selected Traditional Civic Learning Practices, 2010

Independent variables:	*Regression coefficient (Standard error)*
Didn't study civics or government in 11th grade	-3.82* (0.87)
Read from textbook a few times a year	4.21* (2.10)
Read from textbook once or twice a month	12.38* (2.22)
Read from textbook once or twice a week	16.23* (1.98)
Read from textbook almost every day	14.92* (2.02)
Intercept:	138.54 (1.86)
Degrees of freedom:	3,779.83
R^2:	0.03

* Indicates that a variable is statistically significant the $p<0.05$ level.

Taken together, lack of exposure to civics or government in 11th grade, not memorizing material in social studies classes, and not reading from a textbook, exert negative pulls on NAEP Civics scores across the last three iterations of the assessment. Most often, coefficients among the three variables are similar. However, greater frequencies of textbook reading do seemingly offset the negative pull of no civics or government exposure in 2010.

Given the predominance of textbook reading in civics and government classes, additional attention should focus on the content within, making sure that they are "…concerned with important civic issues, and encourage students to participate in civic activities" (Chambliss et al., 2007). In a study of the impact of different types of textbook reading on students' civic

engagement, Chambliss et al. found that "…students expressed interest in civic engagement and increased their understanding by reading sophisticated texts similar to those that political scientists use to communicate their ideas to one another" (p. 7). Moreover, students who were not generally interested in social studies proved more likely to participate civically when the text passages they read were deemed personally interesting.

Textbook reading, memorizing material, and worksheet completion are often assigned as homework. Dean et al.. (2012) write, "Traditional" homework practice that involves reviewing notes or rereading texts has little effect on achievement; however, it is better than no practice at all (Kindle location 1715-1716). Generalized to the NAEP Civics assessment, this contention is backed by test scores.

As an alternative, the authors recommend that "…practice…be overt, which means it actively involves students recalling material through quizzes, rehearsal, or self-assessment (e.g., flash cards or labeling) (Kindle location 1717). Traditional practices thus have value in the civic learning space, but must be used intentionally and "…directly tied to the skills needed for achieving mastery of learning objectives" (Kindle location 1743).

In sum, Hypothesis One is confirmed as it relates to civics or government exposure (limited gains acknowledged) and traditional teaching practices (sans worksheet completion). It is rejected when it comes to specific content covered in courses. This conclusion aligns with a CIRCLE (Center for Information Research on Civic Learning and Engagement, 2013) study that suggests "…civics courses matter, but their impact is relatively modest and depends heavily on the quality of instruction and whether young people see the topics in their social studies classes

as relevant to their own issues and their own lives" (p. 27). We thus segue into a comparison of interactive and traditional civic learning practices.

4.3. Interactive Versus Traditional Civic Learning Opportunities

Goodlad (2004) suggests that student learning is not premised on a single pedagogical approach, but instead many (p. 104). As might be expected given the preponderance of traditional teaching practices discovered above, the author finds that explaining and lecturing predominate in America's classrooms across subject areas, and increase steadily through high school (p. 105). As a result, "passivity" predominates, accompanied by a dearth of active learning approaches.

Looking specifically at what he calls "classroom ambience," Goodlad finds that whole group instruction reigns where the teacher serves as the proverbial sage on the stage. Group norms reinforce the teacher's pivotal place, where the tone of the classroom is neither positive nor negative, but instead "flat."

Relevant to this section, the author locates scant evidence of hands-on activity like multimedia, guest speakers, or field trips. Specific to the social studies, Goodlad's classic study of Americans schools revealed, "Junior and senior high students viewed the social studies to be among the least useful subjects in relation to their present and future needs" (p. 210).

He continues,

> The topics commonly included in the social sciences appear as though they would be of great human interest. But something strange seems to have happened to them on their way to the

> classroom. The topics of study become removed from their intrinsically human character, reduced to the dates and places readers will recall memorizing for tests (p. 212).

In the social studies, Goodlad's study discovers a "preponderance of classroom activity involving listening, reading textbooks, completing workbooks and worksheets, and taking quizzes…" (p. 213). Moreover, teacher talk is frequent across subject areas, consuming an estimated 70% of class time (p. 229). Small group, student-led discussion is thus exceedingly rare.

Goodlad posits that traditional pedagogical approaches continue to dominate due to a lack of societal pressure to change, coupled with the fact that many teachers were taught this way themselves. Further, he contends that teacher preparatory programs fail to provide sufficient depth to transcend these approaches, and that teacher autonomy in the classroom continues unimpeded (p. 298). I'll explore this latter issue in greater depth in Chapter Eight.

MacManus (1999) surveyed college students in every state, asking them about their high school civics and government classes and for recommendations on improving them. Students reported taking courses that lack the basics, like how to register to vote, use the voting machines, and change registration when moving. They also leave without knowing how to volunteer on a campaign or join a political party, about careers in government, or how to run for office. Unfortunately, as is clear in the data analyzed above, the NAEP Civics assessment does not ask students or schools these important questions.

These findings lend context to data showing a rise in volunteerism among youth alongside their continued avoidance of the political sphere. In addition to accounting for the

deficiencies articulated above, civics teachers should invite officeholders and candidates to class and have them discuss personal ideologies and platforms. Echoing the promising approaches detailed in the Civic Mission of Schools report (2003, Carnegie Foundation), courses should include more current events, debates, mock trials, elections, and simulations.

Kids Voting USA offers an innovative curriculum that embraces these promising approaches. It encompasses parent interviews, candidate and issue research, the history of voting, the rationale for political parties, analysis of television commercials, and accompanying parents to the polls on Election Day. Chaffee (2000) probes the impact that Kids Voting USA has on participants' interpersonal discussion, media attentiveness, and political socialization. He finds significant effects on knowledge about voting, knowledge about candidates, and awareness of issues in the campaign.

Although Chaffee discovers only slight effects on the importance of voting, this may be due to an already high ceiling. Additionally, the author finds strong effects on strength of students' party identification and their ability to articulate opinions on issues. Furthermore, the program encourages students to converse with their parents about politics, and this reciprocally impacts their parents' engagement as evidenced by increased newspaper readership, television news consumption, expression of political opinions, and party identification. Perhaps more significantly, Kids Voting USA helps to close the gap between working class and middle class students, and the effects persist long (6 months) after the election cycle.

As was clear in the previous section, merely offering civics courses is insufficient for students' civic development. Gimpel et al. (2003) write, "..How students evaluate...government-

related subject matter is likely to be more important than simple exposure alone" (p. 149). They conclude that ".. the most striking and frequently overlooked curriculum-relevant factor is the importance of liking government and politics as subject matter" (p. 152).

With this in mind, they suggest additional focus on both curriculum development and staffing. For instance, they find that teachers are too reliant on textbooks, and American history courses fail to address conflict (p. 153).

When students show appreciation for civics coursework, they develop more stable opinions on issues, which leads to talking among students, and broadly, more engagement (p. 154).

Pasek et al. (2008), in their study of the Philadelphia-based Student Voices Program (described in greater detail below), find that "… enhancements to standard civic education can play an important role in long-term political and civic socialization."

Moreover, the Center for Information Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE, 2013b) surveyed 4,483 youth, 18-24, on the day after the 2012 election, with an oversample of African-American and Latino youth (p. 1). Of this sample, 87.8% recall taking a civics course in high school. More than three-quarters of respondents (76.9%) report that teachers encouraged them to vote, and three of five recalls learning where and how to vote (p. 5).

Roughly one-quarter of respondents either do not recall a taking a civics course, or remember only a single high-quality civic learning experience. Nearly one-third (31.5%) recall

two-to-three high-quality experiences, and a plurality (43.5%) remember four-to-five (p. 6). Most importantly, exposure to high-quality civic learning experiences predicts higher political knowledge and engagement.

Parker et al. (2012) conducted a design study of the Advanced Placement American Government course with the intent of deepening knowledge gains among students. The AP Government course is notoriously known for its “broad coverage” and “fast pacing” equated with “rigor” (p. 3).

Design studies "...aim to improve practice through iterative modifications of the intervention." Parker et al. revised the AP Government course to include project-based learning, while retaining its intensive study component with the goal of high student achievement on the culminating exam, but also deeper and longer-lasting learning outcomes.

They write, "Collaborative, realistic, challenging investigations are often missing in the conventional grammar of teaching and learning, including conventional Advanced Placement courses" (p. 8).

The revised course was designed with five goals in mind, One, it leverages rigorous projects which are central to the course. Two, these project cycles are repetitive and build upon one another. Three, the course is designed with the assumption that engagement creates a need for information, rather than vice versa. Four, it engages teachers as co-designers of the course instead of a pre-packaged curriculum. Fifth and finally, the course is designed for national replication (p. 9).

The authors compared student outcomes at two high schools, one with overall high achievement, and another with moderate achievement levels (p. 6). In both cases, AP Government test scores remained the same or higher when students enrolled in the project-based adaptation of the course (p. 11). While students from the high-achieving school demonstrated a deeper understanding of the subject matter, students from the moderate-achieving school showed no gains on this measure. The authors attribute this finding to inferior literacy skills among the latter student body and thus the need for reading and writing scaffolds moving forward (p. 12).

Hutchens and Eveland (2009) studied the impact of two contrasting approaches to instruction over the course of a school year. The first engages students in rote learning of traditional civics content, while the second emphasizes political communication through media attentiveness and political debate (pp. 1-2).

Their research is gleaned from a survey of social studies teachers in Columbus, Ohio (p. 4). Dependent variables included students' internal efficacy, cynicism, news elaboration, discussion elaboration, civic participation, factual political knowledge, and Knowledge Structure Density (KSD, p. 7). KSD is defined as "..the extent to which students perceive political concepts as related or connected, whereas factual knowledge examines what bits of political information students know" (p. 2).

Independent variables center on separate communication and learning scores. The communication score is composed of analyzing media content and political advertising, reading the newspaper or watching television news, debating political issues in the classroom, talking to

family members about their political opinions, and debating a classroom issue and creating a binding resolution.

The learning score measures whether students are taught the length of public officials' terms, how to register to vote, how a bill becomes as law, how certain groups have been historically excluded from the political process, and the Bill of Rights (p. 5).

More broadly, newspaper use, factual knowledge, KSD, participation, and cynicism varies with the environment (p. 12). For example, more learning activities equate with less participation and cynicism, while exposure to communication activities predict cynicism.

Perhaps most relevant to this chapter, courses which leverage only traditional learning activities produce lower levels of factual knowledge among students (p. 12). On the other hand, frequency of class discussion is positively related to all of the dependent variables except cynicism. Television viewing is positively related to internal efficacy and participation, while newspaper use is positively related to internal efficacy and marginally to news elaboration (p. 13).

The authors thus conclude that "…Macro-level contexts such as school, course, and classroom environment have important implications for socialization outcomes" (p. 14).

Kawashima-Ginsberg (2013), in her review of 2010 NAEP Civics assessment data, finds a positive relationship between the presence of the number of promising practices and NAEP

civics scores. Parsing the data further, currents events discussions prove most beneficial for 12th graders. The effects are more modest for 8th graders. Debates also have the strongest impact on 12th grade performance. The results are more mixed for 4th and 8th grades.

Recall that my analysis of NAEP Civics assessment data looks beyond 2010, incorporating results from 2006 and 1998, too. Also, it focuses solely on 12th grade performance. Moreover, whereas Kawashima-Ginsberg limits her analysis of promising practices to discussion and simulations, I take the liberty of operationalizing indicators of service-learning, extracurricular activities, and student voice present on at least one of the last three iterations of NAEP Civics.

We finally turn to a test of Hypothesis Two, which reads as follows: "Students who experience interactive school-based civic learning practices will outperform those exposed to only traditional methodologies on measures of civic knowledge and skills."

I address the promising civic learning practices in order, beginning with discussion, followed by service-learning, extracurricular activities, and student voice, and conclude with simulations. Each section begins with an additional review of the existing literature pertinent to the practice, and then proceeds to analyze the frequency and impact of indicators of these practices on one or more of the past three iterations of the NAEP Civics assessment.

4.3.1. Discussion

Education researcher Diana Hess' 2009 book *Controversy in the Classroom* makes a powerful case for structured engagement with current and controversial issues. She writes, "…the purposeful inclusion of controversial political issues in the school curriculum…illustrates a core component of a functioning democratic community, while building the understandings, skills, and dispositions that young people need to live in and improve such a community" (p. 5).

Schools, Hess contends, are ideal sites for students to encounter controversial political issues because they complement the curriculum, are in the presence of trained teachers who have or can develop expertise in fostering deliberation or inquiry, and the classroom setting presents rich ideological diversity among students (p. 6).

Hess' earlier work (2002) encompasses a "model of wisdom study," documenting best practices shared by middle and high school teachers known for their effective use of controversial public issue discussion models. She finds that skillful controversial public issues discussion teaching entails: teaching for, not just with discussion; student ownership of discussion forums, including the creation of discussion guidelines; and teacher selection of a discussion model congruent with their reason for using discussion and their definition of what constitutes an effective discussion. Hess concludes that these skilled practitioners receive support for controversial public issues discussion teaching from the school's mission statement, their administrators, and the school culture (pp. 29-33). I address these elements in Chapters Seven, Eight, and Nine, respectively.

In a subsequent article, Hess (2004) reports that effective discussions revolve around interpretable topics or questions, where students share, analyze, and critique multiple perspectives. They occur in open classrooms that teach students how to criticize ideas without engaging in personal attacks, and encourage participation without pressure. Finally, they require skillful planning and facilitation by the teacher. Discussions fail because of teachers' tendency to talk too much and ask inauthentic questions, a lack of focus on and depth of student contributions, and unequal participation among students.

Colby et al. (2007) offer practical suggestions for discussions and deliberation in the context of a college classroom. A few echo the best practices detailed above, but others are missing and worthy of consideration. They include teaching students how to represent others' views, having students stand back from deliberations and observe the process, teaching students to moderate discussions themselves, delaying discussions until students are familiar with the issues, using a mix of small and large group discussions, and creating diverse discussion groups to the greatest extent possible (p. 166).

Torney-Purta (2002) measures classroom climate via students' gauge of their ability to safely disagree with their teacher, along with the likelihood of controversial issues discussions. In an eight-year study of thirty countries, she finds that American students, to the contrary, are most likely to report textbook reading and completion of worksheets in social studies classes. While many students believe it is important to obey the law and vote, barely a majority feel it is important to participate in political discussions (pp. 208-209). To invoke Dalton's core

contention (2008), the duty-based norms are clearly winning the day in American social studies classrooms to the exclusion of their more engaging counterparts.

Torney-Purta and Wilkenfeld (2009) later measure a plethora of "21st Century competencies" among ninth grade students in the United States, and test their incidence in relation to the classroom environment and teaching techniques to which they are exposed. Among the competencies are media literacy, economic knowledge, experiences with cooperative groups, exposure to individuals with diverse views, learning about other countries, support for minority rights, willingness to work hard and obey the law, and a commitment to voting. Classrooms are classified as either open or closed, and teaching techniques as either lecture-based or interactive.

On all of these measures but two, students exhibit higher competencies in classrooms with a mix of lecture and interactive methodologies (pp. 6-8). The exceptions are positive attitudes towards minorities and efficacy in discussing issues (p. 24), which are most common in interactive classrooms. The authors contend that the first two promising approaches detailed in the *Civic Mission of Schools* report align well with lecture-based and interactive teaching practices measured in this study, and as the findings suggest, are not "antithetical" to one another (p. 29).

Using Torney-Purta's (2002) definition of "open classrooms," Campbell (2008) finds that these environments, where controversial issues discussions are common, lead to greater civic knowledge and appreciation for the role of conflict in the political process. He also suggests that

exposure to classroom-based political discussion leads students to think of themselves as future participants, particularly in their role as voters.

Campbell contends that effective civic education practices, like controversial issues discussions, might compensate for other civic disadvantages like low socioeconomic standing (pp. 447-448). Echoing Hess' emphasis on teaching methodologies, he writes, "…It is actually the nature of political discussion within the classroom, not simply the frequency of formal social studies instruction, which has the effect" (p. 450).

McDevitt and Kiousis (2006) find that student participation in deliberative instruction relates positively to news attentiveness and the salience of issues. It also relates to a larger discussion network that includes parents and peers. Finally, deliberative instruction is positively associated with students' propensity to openly disagree, to listen to opposing views, and to test opinions through political conversation (pp. 253, 261).

McDevitt's later work with Ostrowski (2009) tests the proclivity of adolescents who self-identify as Democrats to speak out in Republican states, a phenomenon he calls the "rebellion hypothesis" (pp. 2, 5). They find that these young Democrats are more likely in the post-election period (2004) to talk with parents and peers about politics, initiate conversation, disagree, confront their parents, be news attentive, and encounter political information (p. 13). These findings resonate in a classroom setting because they speak to the "…need for peer-centered discussion about topical issues in U.S. social studies curricula" (p. 25).

Next, McDevitt and Caton-Rosser (2009) document the reciprocal effects of classroom discussions of political issues and family members. This addresses the earlier disjunctures in the socialization literature (see Jennings and Niemi, 1972) as schools and parents overlap, making the process itself “symbiotic” rather than either or propositions (pp. 2, 4, 10).

Peng (2000) interviewed 49 high school students to assess the impact of the National Issues Forum (NIF) framework in the classroom. According to the author, "...The students' comments suggest that NIF had a deep impact on how they engage with issues and interact with others outside the classroom in a public context" (p. 78).

Peng articulates eight skills of democratic citizenship in a deliberative democracy that are intrinsic to the NIF framework. They include: listening carefully to others; developing a public way to talk about problems; naming and framing issues for public deliberation; engaging and understanding complex issues; using deliberation to make decisions; including voices of people not in the room prior to taking action; identifying the common, general, or public interest; and reaching a reasoned judgment about how to address an issue. Collectively, Peng writes, "This research has found that teaching public deliberation...not only helps students gain new knowledge about citizenship, it helps them develop citizenship skills to see how to integrate them into daily life" (p. 81).

Pasek et al. (2008) studied Student Voices Program in Philadelphia from 2002-2003, and measured its impact on voting in the 2004 election. The program "employs a deliberative framework, in which active classroom discussion and media use are expected to foster opinions

and attitudes supportive of political participation" (p. 28). The authors find qualified support for the hypothesis that students who participated in Student Voices will demonstrate higher levels of internal efficacy, political attentiveness, knowledge of candidate positions, and voting in the 2004 election. The long-term effects of Student Voices are related to the number of semesters that students experience in the program.

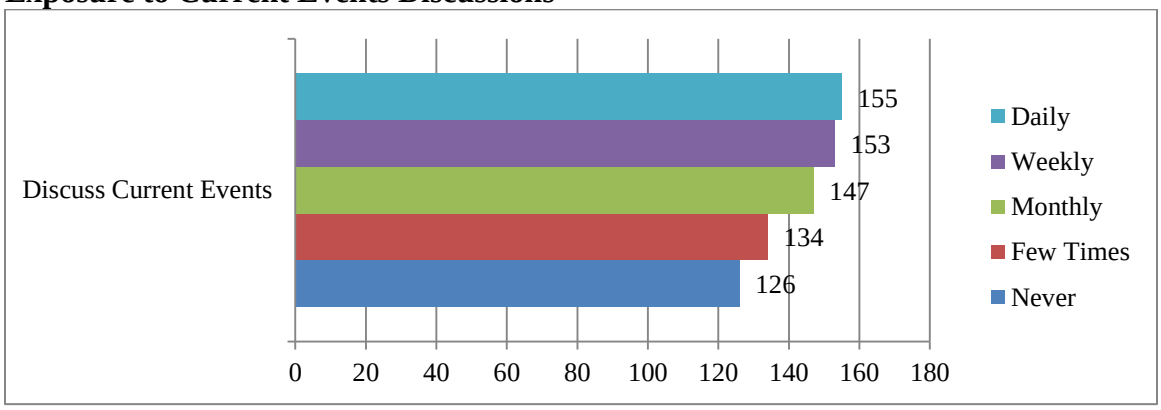
Before concluding this review of literature related to discussion and turning to my own data analysis, in this period of fierce ideological polarization, it is important to address concerns about ideological indoctrination of students in secondary classrooms and higher educational institutions. Once more, teachers need not be ideologically neutral, but must create a classroom environment where diverse views are both welcomed and encountered.

An extensive study of the impact of the political orientations of university faculty on students' beliefs shows no effect once students' peer groups are taken into account. This does not mean that students' political beliefs are static, only that in aggregate, they are not influenced by their instructors (Colby et al., 2007, p. 82). Students in this study are actually more likely to voice displeasure with the ideological rigidity of their peers than their professors (p. 101).

Discussion is measured via two variables on the 2010 NAEP Civics assessment. The first asks students how frequently they discuss current events in social studies or civics/ government courses. Greater frequency equates with higher student performance (see Figure 4.3). Discussion occurring almost daily proves the most effective, correlating with an average student score of 155. Discussions one-to-two times per week are only slightly less impactful (153), followed by

one-to-two times per month (147), a few times per year (134), and never (126). Almost two-thirds of students (63%) report daily or weekly current events discussions, while 29% experience this pedagogy monthly or a few times per year. Only 8% of students report never engaging in classroom-based current events discussions.

Figure 4.3: Student Performance on the 2010 NAEP Civics Assessment by Frequency of Exposure to Current Events Discussions



In 1998 and 2006, the current events discussion question was asked slightly differently. First, it was framed only in the broader context of social studies courses, and second, it was asked only with “Yes,” No”, and “Don’t Know” options as responses. The same pattern holds true for both years, with the vast majority of students reporting at least some exposure to current events discussions (87% in 2006 and 88% in 1998). These students significantly outperform their peers not exposed to this practice (by 19 and 18 points, respectively).

In Tables 4.3 and 4.4, I regressed the most impactful traditional civic learning practices, exposure to civics or government in 11th grade, reading from a textbook, and memorizing material, respectively, against current events discussions.

In both 1998 and 2006, the base group includes students who studied civics or government in 11th grade and read from a textbook and discussed current events in social studies classes. For each year, the negative coefficient for no junior year civics class is greater than the one associated with failure to memorize material (see Table 4.3). In contrast, the negative coefficient associated with a lack of current events discussions completely dwarfs the former two.

In 2010, the base group includes those exposed to civics or government junior year, but denied textbook reading and current events discussions. The negative coefficient for no 11th grade civics exposure is negated by textbook reading at least once or twice a month and current events discussions at all frequencies (see Table 4.4). Textbook reading a few times per year is not statistically different from its absence altogether. Relative to current events discussions, the innovative practice bests textbook reading at all frequencies except a few times a year, and daily current events discussions produce the highest positive coefficient relative to the base group.

Table 4.3: Regression Analysis of Selected Traditional Civic Learning Practices and Current Events Discussions, 1998 and 2006

Independent variables:	*Regression coefficient (Standard error)*	
	1998	*2006*
Didn't study civics or government in 11th grade	-8.16*	-5.99*
	(1.13)	(1.19)
Didn't memorize material in social studies classes	-3.77*	-5.36*
	(1.08)	(1.08)
Don't know if memorized material in social studies classes	-13.06*	-18.17*
	(3.10)	(3.05)
Didn't discuss current events in social studies classes	-16.37*	-17.16*
	(1.81)	(1.79)
Don't know if discussed current events in social studies classes	-30.83*	-17.25*
	(3.74)	(3.50)
Intercept:	158.25	158.43
	(0.83)	(1.10)
Degrees of freedom:	3,248.76	2,966.51
R^2:	0.07	0.06

* Indicates that a variable is statistically significant the $p<0.05$ level.

Table 4.4: Regression Analysis of Selected Traditional Civic Learning Practices and Current Events Discussions, 2010

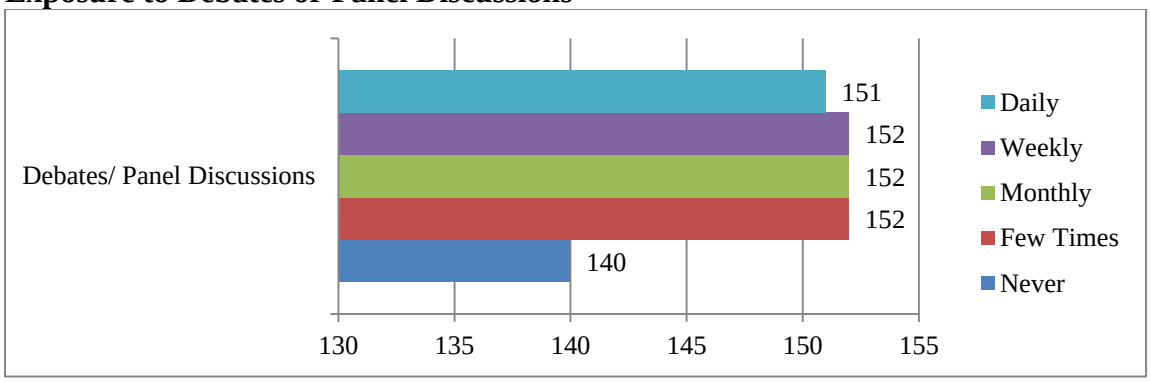
Independent variables:	*Regression coefficient (Standard error)*
Didn't study civics or government in 11th grade	-2.97* (0.88)
Read from textbook a few times a year	0.18 (2.06)
Read from textbook once or twice a month	6.07* (2.24)
Read from textbook once or twice a week	8.78* (2.00)
Read from textbook almost every day	6.51* (2.02)
Discuss current events a few times a year	6.37* (2.48)
Discuss current events once or twice a month	17.09* (2.12)
Discuss current events once or twice a week	22.76* (2.04)
Discuss current events almost every day	24.42* (2.00)
Intercept:	125.94 (2.16)
Degrees of freedom:	4,669.62
R^2:	0.07

* Indicates that a variable is statistically significant the $p<0.05$ level.

The second discussion variable measured on the 2010 NAEP Civics assessment is taking part in debates or panel discussions in social studies or civics/ government courses. Debates and panel discussions take place less frequently than dialogue about current events, and their impact is less pronounced with greater frequency. Monthly use of this methodology is most common (23% of the time) and this correlates with the highest student scores (152). This score holds

steady when debates and panel discussions take place weekly (16% of the time) or a few times per year (22%). Scores are one-point lower for daily deliberations (151), but these occur only 8% of the time. Most concerning is the high number of students (31%) who report never experiencing this promising pedagogy. Their average score of 140 pales in comparison to students with more common exposure to debates and panel discussions.

Figure 4.4: Student Performance on the 2010 NAEP Civics Assessment by Frequency of Exposure to Debates or Panel Discussions



Like current events discussions, the debates and panel discussion question was framed differently in 2006 and 1998. A smaller, but still strong majority of students report exposure to this practice in both years (57% in 2006, 56% in 1998). These students outperform peers denied these opportunities by smaller, but still significant margins (7 and 8 points, respectively).

Looking specifically at the 2010 NAEP Civics assessment, the sweet spot for the frequency of these combined discussion variables lies somewhere between daily and weekly current events discussions, and debates and panel discussions a few times per year. Students who

experience neither are particularly disadvantaged, registering an average score of 126, equivalent to the score of students never exposed to current events discussions.

In Table 4.5, I performed regression analysis to examine the relative impact of current events discussions and debate and panels at various frequencies in 2010. The coefficients associated with various frequencies of these two practices are expressed relative to their absence altogether. While the benefits of current events discussion increase with greater frequency, students prosper most from debates and panel discussions only a few times a year. Moreover, the positive coefficient associated with daily debates and panel discussions is statistically indistinct from the base group of students denied these experiences (all other coefficients reported are statistically significant at the $p>0.05$ level).

Table 4.5: Regression Analysis of Current Events Discussions and Debates and Panel Discussions, 2010

Independent variables:	*Regression coefficient (Standard error)*
Discuss current events a few times a year	5.70* (2.30)
Discuss current events once or twice a month	18.10* (1.93)
Discuss current events once or twice a week	24.26* (1.93)
Discuss current events almost every day	26.35* (1.91)
Take part in debates and panel discussions a few times a year	8.53* (1.26)
Take part in debates and panel discussions once or twice a month	5.35* (1.32)
Take part in debates and panel discussions once or twice a week	3.75* (2.15)
Take part in debates and panel discussions almost every day	1.42 (1.70)
Intercept:	124.71 (1.90)
Degrees of freedom:	5,027.89
R^2:	0.07

* Indicates that a variable is statistically significant the $p<0.05$ level.

As was done for current events discussions, I ran regression analyses of the relative impact of debates and panels when compared with the traditional practices of exposure to civics or government in 11th grade, reading from a textbook, and memorizing material in Tables 4.6 and 4.7 below.

In both 1998 and 2006, the base group of students includes those exposed to civics or government junior year and who memorized material and took part in debates or panel discussions in social studies classes. Relative to this group, a failure to study civics or government in 11th grade, memorize material, or take part in debates or panel discussions registered negative coefficients (see Table 4.6).

In 1998, the negative coefficient for no debates and panel discussions is higher than not memorizing material, but lower than no junior year civics exposure. In 2006, debates and panel discussions are outweighed by both traditional approaches. All of these coefficients are significantly different statistically from the intercept (base group).

Table 4.6: Regression Analysis of Selected Traditional Civic Learning Practices and Debates and Panel Discussions, 1998 and 2006

Independent variables:	*Regression coefficient (Standard error)*	
	1998	*2006*
Didn't study civics or government in 11th grade	-8.20*	-6.17*
	(1.18)	(1.21)
Didn't memorize material in social studies classes	-4.90*	-6.70*
	(1.16)	(1.16)
Don't know if memorized material in social studies classes	-15.72*	-16.93*
	(3.71)	(2.99)
Didn't take part in debates and panel discussions in social studies classes	-6.36*	-5.63*
	(0.89)	(1.12)
Don't know if took part in debates and panel discussions in social studies classes	-21.41*	-17.90*
	(2.66)	(2.55)
Intercept:	159.86	159.62
	(0.93)	(1.20)
Degrees of freedom:	3.418.06	2,975.74
R^2:	0.05	0.04

* Indicates that a variable is statistically significant the $p<0.05$ level.

In 2010, exposure to civics or government in 11th grade is paired with no textbook reading or debate and panel discussions. Taking part in debates and panel discussions offsets the negative coefficient associated with no 11th grade government or civics exposure at all frequencies except daily. Among the variables measured, textbook reading at the lowest frequency (a few times a year) is the only one not statistically different from the intercept (see Table 4.7). However, textbook reading once or twice a week yields the highest positive coefficient among all of the variables measured (relative to the base group), and it prevails over debates and panel discussions at the daily frequency, too.

Table 4.7: Regression Analysis of Selected Traditional Civic Learning Practices and Debates and Panel Discussions, 2010

Independent variables:	*Regression coefficient (Standard error)*
Didn't study civics or government in 11th grade	-3.29* (0.88)
Read from textbook a few times a year	1.99 (2.08)
Read from textbook once or twice a month	9.30* (2.24)
Read from textbook once or twice a week	12.94* (1.95)
Read from textbook almost every day	11.70* (1.97)
Take part in debates and panel discussions a few times a year	10.38* (1.30)
Take part in debates and panel discussions once or twice a month	9.57* (1.33)
Take part in debates and panel discussions once or twice a week	9.57* (1.39)
Take part in debates and panel discussions almost every day	8.42* (1.81)
Intercept:	134.57 (1.90)
Degrees of freedom:	4,576.04
R^2:	0.04

* Indicates that a variable is statistically significant the $p<0.05$ level.

In sum, across the last three iterations of the NAEP Civics assessment, debates and panel discussions have value in small doses. While they narrowly outperform some traditional practices, others like regular textbook reading have greater impact. However, when paired with regular current events discussions, the impact of structured engagement with controversial issues on students' civic knowledge is strong.

4.3.2. Service-Learning

Hamilton and Zeldin (1987) write, "Despite widespread endorsement and persuasive justification, experiential learning has remained at the periphery of school practice. In the current climate it is in danger of being all but eliminated by 'the basics'" (p. 408). A quarter of a century later, standardized testing and rigid preparation for them are deeply entrenched in our nation's schools. The efficiency of experiential civic learning in raising test scores is admittedly limited, yet it can contextualize classroom learning and promote the development of cognitive skills and attitude formation.

Both public and private schools have increasingly required student service hours, or more recently projects, as a graduation requirement. Congress reinforced this trend towards youth service with passage of the National and Community Service Act of 1990 and the National and Community Service Trust Act of 1993. Ideally, service transcends schools' mission statements and graduation requirements and is embedded in daily practice (Youniss and Yates, 1997, pp. 11, 142).

Both service-learning and community service offer opportunities for students to learn factual information about politics, but the relationship between classroom and experiential learning needs clarification (Delli Carpini and Keeter, 2000). The former is predicated on a formal tie between service projects and course curricula, while the latter operates independently.

Proponents of service-learning base their arguments on Dewey's embrace of experiential and democratic education. Too often, however, service-learning projects are devoid of political

context. Indeed, a majority of the students surveyed by Hunter and Brisbin (2000) report that their service experience did not affect their thinking about democracy or their role as a citizen. Hepburn et al. (2000) thus appropriately ask, “Can civic responsibility be taught outside the realm of polity, politics, and citizenship?" (p. 621)

Battistoni (2000) writes, "...When democratic citizenship is at the foundation of a community-based service experience, students can come away with a better and more critical understanding of their communities and their own roles as citizens in them." (p. 29) However, he cautions that the connection between service-learning and civic education is "not automatic." Educators must keep civic learning outcomes in mind as service-learning courses and programs are designed.

Students’ service projects, Battistoni suggests, should connect with their community, civic engagement, and democratic politics. They should use politically-oriented texts and materials. With this strategic design in mind, service projects can develop students' critical thinking skills along with challenge their natural assumptions about society, human nature, and justice.

Too often students’ service intervention is conflated with the problem itself, according to Battistoni: "service is not an end in itself." Instead, public problem solving should be an outcome of service projects (p. 37). Service projects should encompass a meaningful activity, with the quality of the project more important than its quantity, and the activity should address real needs, with an emphasis on helping others (Youniss and Yates, 1997, pp. 136-138).

Delli Carpini and Keeter (2000) write, "Young people want to help solve society's problems, but most do not see how what the government does can worsen or ameliorate these problems". Service-learning "...offers...a tangible context for exploring and understanding the very issues of public concern that give rise to the needs for community service" (Battistoni, p. 38).

Youniss and Yates (1997) claim that a primary purpose of youth service is to "…stimulate political thinking that will establish a basis for students' civic identity" (p. 68). Civic identity includes "development of a clear sense of political agency, awareness of how to be an effective person in a larger political community, and responsibility to keep that community functioning well." Echoing both Delli Carpini and Keeter and Battistoni, Youniss and Yates contend, "The experience of service should help individuals incorporate political orientations into the self, to an extent that politics becomes a 'habit of the heart'" (p. 69).

In terms of specific tactics, Battistoni suggests students work on teams and have a role in project design. Students should engage with topics that resonate with their lives and those of the people they know: "Only when political processes affect outcomes will they become more than textbook notions and be integrated into personal identity" (Youniss and Yates, 1997, p. 74).

Service-learning experiences should be analyzed as critically as texts, as reflection may involve a journal of field experiences, group discussions, and short commentaries or term papers (Hepburn, 2000). Finally, community partners should be viewed as interdependent with students

and their service projects: "...We have to hold all constituents...accountable to the mutual interests in long-term collaboration" (p. 40).

Hepburn (2000) finds that student service is widespread, but is less commonly tied to formal curriculum and/ or entails in and out of school experiences. She credits Learn and Serve grants previously funded through the Corporation for National Service as critical to the widespread adoption of school-based service-learning programs.

In addition to the parameters established by Battistoni above, Hepburn suggests that good service-learning programs are linked to the formal curriculum, have planned periods for student reflection, provide ample time for service work, and engage students, faculty, and community partners in the planning process. She writes, "Student service...is too often focused narrowly on improving the students' personal feelings of relevance and belonging in the community" (p. 49).

Hepburn also finds that service projects short in duration have little effect on students, and that high school programs have a longer-lasting impact that those in middle school. Longer projects allow students to develop relationships with community partners along with personal ownership of projects (Hepburn et al., 2000).

According to Hepburn, a hotly debated topic in service-learning is whether or not it should be required of all students (p. 56). Metz and Youniss (2005) weigh in on one side of this debate in their study of civic development from the perspective of attitudes and behaviors attributed to mandatory school-based service projects. They differentiate between youth who

came into service predisposed to gain something from the experience and those who are averse to service. Their study focuses on a school that implemented a mandatory forty-hour service requirement and were thus able to survey a class who did not experience this requirement and two others that did (p. 417)

The authors' measures of civic engagement include future voting, future conventional civic involvement, future unconventional civic involvement, interest, and understanding. They find that students who are more inclined to serve are disproportionally female, have mothers with a college degree, hold higher grade point averages, are more religious, and are more involved in extracurricular activities.

Metz and Youniss conclude that service experiences are particularly beneficial for students disinclined to serve and not advantageous nor harmful for students inclined to serve. Whereas inclined-to-serve students are influenced by their parents' volunteerism and religious salience, the service experience works as recruitment mechanism for less advantaged students (akin to the recruitment component of Brady et al.'s "Civic Volunteerism Model"; 1995).

Youniss and Yates (1997) studied a service program implemented at a Catholic school with a student population that was predominantly black and middle-class. They served at a local soup kitchen in conjunction with a junior year religion course, and their experiences "…led to reflections on the moral aspects of homelessness, with the search for transcendence being based in elemental acts such as giving and being tolerant" (p. 85). The course itself awakened students to social problems, homelessness in particular. The service experience brought students into

contact with people different from them, and the themes of the course conveyed their responsibility to help others (p. 120).

Bennett (2000) argues that it is laudable for schools to require volunteering for graduation, but suggests "volunteering is not the same as willingly engaging in the act" (p. 21). Hunter and Brisbin (2000) validate this point, finding that students who participate in voluntary service report an increase in the value they assign to attentiveness to politics, while required service results in a decrease.

The authors also find that students with a voluntary service experience tend to view it positively and are inclined to seek out other service experiences. Additionally, they learn about their community, refine academic skills, and feel as if they have helped members of their community. Students who complete voluntary service projects are slightly more willing to participate in a public meeting and possess improved listening skills. Moreover, in addition to political attentiveness, voluntary service is attributed to racial tolerance and concern about issues like poverty and hunger.

However, voluntary service does not appear to affect changes in cognitive skills, attitudes, and political values. Hunter and Brisbin recommend that educators pay "Special attention…to the explanation of political meaning and interpretation of experiences (which) should sharpen the students' appreciation of their service experience" (p. 626).

Youniss (2012) concurs, suggesting, "Not just any service stimulates civic engagement. Rather, the kind of service is what counts. Across studies, service is too broadly defined to be predictive of anything" (p. 127).

Hart et al. (2007) examine the impact of high school civics courses, service experiences, and extracurricular opportunities as contributors to early adult civic participation, emphasizing the dearth of knowledge about the relative importance of each. They measure civic participation by voting in national, state and location elections; voting in presidential elections; volunteering in civic organizations; and volunteering in youth organizations.

The authors find that community service and civic knowledge are related to local voting, and a similar pattern holds for presidential voting. Service is also related to civic volunteering, as is volunteering with youth organizations. Moreover, contrary to the findings of Hunter and Brisbin, required school-based service is as impactful as voluntary service.

Delli Carpini and Keeter (2000) focus on the relationship between the acquisition and retention of political knowledge and service-learning. They write, "It is likely that a service-learning experience, properly constituted, could activate interest and demonstrate relevance in ways that would increase students' receptivity to and retention of factual knowledge." The authors point to indirect evidence of this assertion on NAEP test results, which reveal a correlation between civic knowledge and volunteerism in communities. This assertion will be explored at greater length in the extracurricular activities section that follows. The effectiveness of a service project on this front is tied once more to its integration into the formal curriculum.

Morgan and Streb (2002) examine whether students who engage in service-learning projects practice political communication, participate in acts of civic support, contact public officials, and vote. They highlight the reciprocal relationship between participation and the development of civic attitudes, as only the former causing the latter is typically emphasized.

Morgan and Streb's study focused on 390 middle and high school students from 11 schools in 5 states during 1998-1999 school year. Their findings are statistically significant in the anticipated direction on all variables except predicted participation in programs to help people, although these changes are modest between pre- and post-tests.

The authors attribute these modest gains from service-learning projects to the great variety in implementation and quality of service projects. Morgan and Streb suggest that student leadership opportunities within service projects are critical to their success. They write, "Being actively engaged in the service project increases the likelihood that students will participate in politics or contribute to their community in the future, which, in turn, creates a stronger, more robust democracy" (p. 179).

Campbell (2000) approaches service-learning from the perspective of its potential to build social capital between students and their communities. Rather than constructing a wall between community and political engagement, the former can "…smooth…the way for collaborative efforts, including efforts directed at political change" (p. 642; also see Youniss and Yates, 1997, pp. 144-145). He reports a positive relationship across two decades between

community service and political participation, but acknowledges that his research does not specifically explore service-learning in schools, but rather community service more generally.

Service-learning often embodies the principles of cooperative learning. This involves "…more than simply organizing (students) into groups. It requires careful planning before and intentional facilitation during cooperative learning activities." Good cooperative learning embodies both "positive interdependence and individual accountability" and should be used "consistently and systematically" (Dean et al.., 2012; Kindle location 793-798).

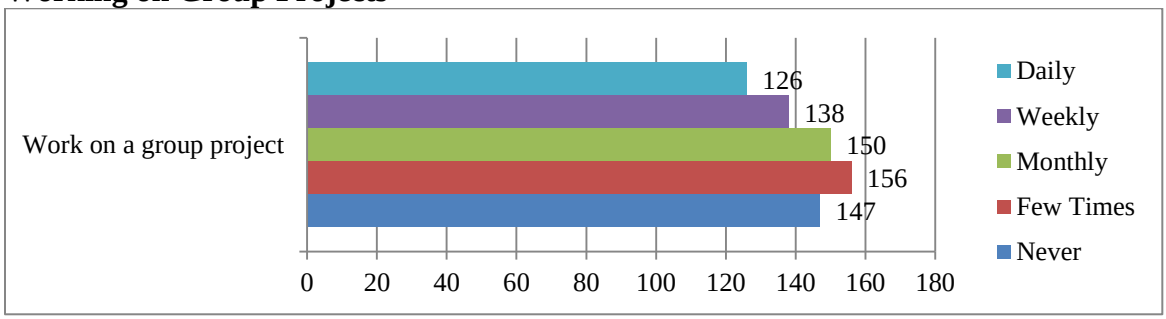
Exposure to cooperative learning, and by proxy, service-learning, is critical in "…a complex world (where) the students of today need to possess not only intellectual capabilities but also the ability to function effectively in an environment that requires working with others to accomplish a variety of tasks" (Kindle location 743).

Groups can be constructed to "…facilitate active processing of information during a critical-input experience" (Marzano, 2007; Kindle location 642). Marzano considers reflection the final step in a comprehensive approach to the active processing of information. It should be conducted at the conclusion of a "critical-input experience" and ask students to assess the confirmation and/ or rejection of previous understandings and assumptions. Students should also be asked to determine their degrees of confidence in what they learned through the experience and how they could improve their results in the future (Kindle locations 860-863).

Turning to my own research, measurement of students' exposure to service-learning on the NAEP Civics assessment is admittedly imperfect at best. Two variables were selected as proxies for service-learning, working on group projects and writing letters to express one's opinion and/ or help solve a community problem.

More specifically, the first question, posed only on the 2010 NAEP Civics assessment, asks students how frequently they worked on a group project in their social studies or civics/ government classes. Monthly group projects are most common, occurring 38% of the time, and correlated with an average student score of 150. A few times per year registers second (31% of the time), and correlates with the highest score (156). Weekly (16% of the time) and daily group projects (4%) are increasingly rare and relate negatively to student performance (138 and 126, respectively). Eleven percent of students never experience group projects, producing an average score of 147, significantly higher than students frequently engaged in group projects, but lower than the monthly and few times per year frequencies.

Figure 4.5: Student Performance on the 2010 NAEP Civics Assessment by Frequency of Working on Group Projects



The second proxy measure of service-learning centers on students writing a letter to express their opinion or to help solve a community problem in their social studies or civics/ government course. Fully 70% of students in 2010 report never completing this task, correlating with an average score of 152. Scores drop as letter-writing becomes more frequent, although it's quite rare for students to perform this task more than a few times per year.

Like the discussion questions discussed above, the letter-writing question was asked a bit differently on the 2006 and 1998 NAEP assessments. It was framed solely in the context of social studies courses and posed as a yes/ no question. Roughly one-quarter of students report exposure to this practice, and it appears to have a slightly adverse impact on student performance, with scores falling by six and four points in 2006 and 1998, respectively.

Taken together, students appear to perform best on NAEP when they engage in group work a few times per year and are not asked to write a letter to express their opinion or to help solve a community problem. These findings should not be read to condemn service-learning as a practice given their rather limited relationship to its parameters.

Moreover, these practices may have value in developing students' civic skills and dispositions, outcomes that are poorly measured on the NAEP Civics assessment.
For example, project-based learning does not align well with the acquisition of low-level factual knowledge. However, it does moderately contribute to the understanding of broader principles and is highly correlated with "applying knowledge to new situations" (Marzano, 2007; Kindle location 1361).

Given that the group projects question was presented to students in 2010 only, I could only compare its impact with two traditional practices, exposure to civics or government in 11th grade and reading from a textbook, in Table 4.8 below. The base group of students includes those who studied civics or government junior year, but not privy to textbook reading or group projects.

Working on group projects exhibits a positive coefficient only at the lowest frequency, a few times a year (the negative coefficient at the once or twice monthly frequency is not statistically different from the intercept). The positive coefficient associated with infrequent group projects offsets the negative impact of no civics or government exposure in 11th grade and outpaces reading from a textbook a few times a year (also not statistically different from the intercept). Moreover, reading from a textbook once a twice a month or more yields higher positive coefficients than working on group projects a few times a year.

Table 4.8: Regression Analysis of Selected Traditional Civic Learning Practices and Group Projects, 2010

Independent variables:	*Regression coefficient (Standard error)*
Didn't study civics or government in 11th grade	-4.06* (0.86)
Read from textbook a few times a year	3.68 (2.11)
Read from textbook once or twice a month	12.64* (2.21)
Read from textbook once or twice a week	16.95* (1.93)
Read from textbook almost every day	16.64* (1.95)
Work on group projects a few times a year	4.52* (1.74)
Work on group projects once or twice a month	-1.39 (1.68)
Work on group projects once or twice a week	-13.50* (1.76)
Work on group projects almost every day	-24.20* (3.09)
Intercept:	140.21 (2.15)
Degrees of freedom:	4,383.52
R^2:	0.07

* Indicates that a variable is statistically significant the p<0.05 level.

4.3.3. <u>Extracurricular Opportunities</u>

Kirlin (2003) examines the relationship between extracurricular activities during adolescence and political participation as adults via scholarship published to date. She finds a strong correlation between the two, particularly for instrumental organizations ("those with a collective goal beyond individual participation") like student government, school newspapers, or

yearbook, and not for expressive organizations such as sports or drama. As was true for service-learning, socioeconomic status is not a mitigating factor (pp. 13, 15).

Hart et al. (2007) find no distinction between expressive and instrumental organizations in measuring the civic impact of extracurricular participation (p. 209). They reveal a relationship between extracurricular participation and “civic volunteering,” especially for those who serve in leadership roles.

Davila and Mora (2007) discover that participation in student government equates with higher achievement on standardized tests across subject areas (math, reading, science, and history). The same is true of community service for all subjects but reading (p. 9). While the impact of community service on test scores is diminished somewhat when it is mandatory, it nonetheless retains a positive effect (p. 11).

Zaff et al. (2003) examine "...whether sustained and consistent participation (in extracurricular activities) has positive implications relative to no or minimal participation" in terms of academic achievement (college attendance), voting, and volunteering (pp. 603-605). They find a “significant linear relationship” on all counts which remains when demographics, family background, and individual characteristics are accounted for. They attribute the positive impact of extracurricular activities to time use, skill acquisition, school and community engagement, and positive relationships with adults (p. 620).

Thomas and McFarland (2010) conduct a deeper investigation of the links between voluntary participation in extracurricular activities as students and voting as adults. They find that extracurriculars, even those without an overt political focus, are powerful vehicles of political socialization. They contribute to one's sense of being able to make a difference, create influential relationships, and may change the political motivations of adolescents, helping them realize that they have a stake in the political world (pp. 6-7).

The authors issue a caveat in this area related to the self-selection bias inherent to extracurricular activities. They write, "Separating out how much of the differences in outcomes between these two groups is due to a transformative effect of the activity, and how much is due to differences in the kinds of people who choose to participate in the activity, can probably never be fully achieved" (p. 15).

Thomas and McFarland find that the performing arts show the strongest relationship to adult voting and that nonparticipants are less likely to vote than those involved in at least one activity. Sports actually have a negative relationship with voting in some cases (specifically, basketball, swimming, and volleyball, pp. 17-19). They conclude that explicit learning about politics is not the driving force behind these trends. Instead, collective efficacy and habituation in civic engagement may be the causal variables (p. 21). They also suggest that the impact of extracurricular activities on voting transcends self-selection, as political socialization occurs via the voluntary nature of these clubs (pp. 23-24).

Student journalism also yields positive outcomes when it comes to youth civic development. High school journalists view themselves as "providers of much-needed information" (Clark and Monserrate, 2011, p. 421). Their involvement allows them to get to know and appreciate others in school community (p. 424). Sometimes, student journalists come into conflict with authority figures, namely the school principal. Clark and Monserrate write, "…Student journalists are sometimes forced to take a stand regarding their view of community interests—the journalism an engaged citizenship expects and needs—at the risk of personal costs that might result from crossing authority figures with differing views" (p. 426).

The authors conclude that

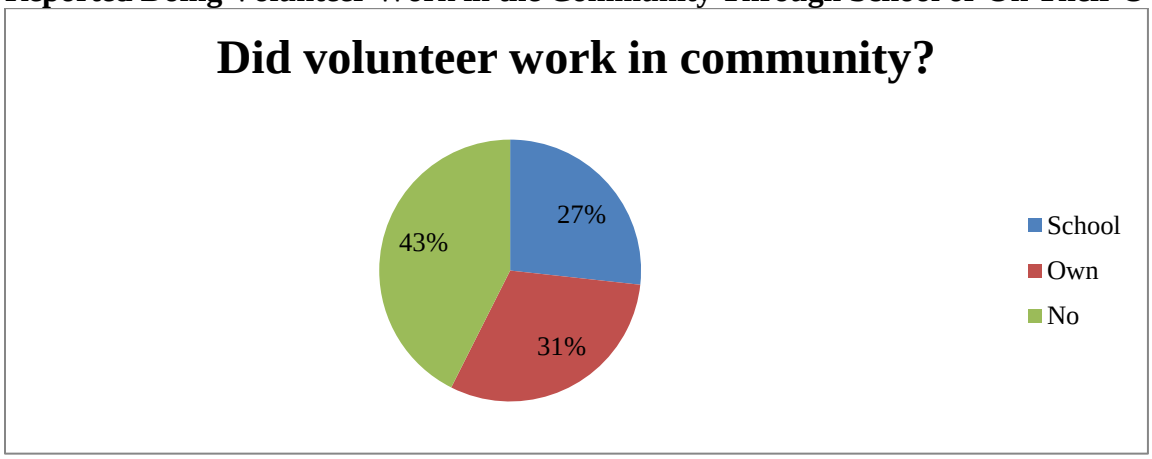
> High school journalism experiences may serve less of a location for learning about politics as traditionally conceived, or even as pre-professional preparation for aspiring journalists, and more as an important avenue of socialization into an awareness of one's role within a larger collective. Moreover, participation in high school journalism further socializes young people into an understanding of journalism's role in relation to citizenship within that collective (p. 427).

Finally, in its study of youth participation in the 2012 presidential election, CIRCLE (Center for Information Research on Civic Learning and Engagement, 2013) finds that extracurricular participation in high school predicts greater political knowledge as adults (p. 32).

Like service-learning, student engagement in school-based extracurricular opportunities is not directly measured on the NAEP Civics assessment. However, students who completed the 1998 assessment were asked if they volunteered in their community in the past year as part of a school-based program. More than one-quarter of students (27%) report school-sponsored volunteer work, correlating with an average score of 159. Nearly one-third of students (31%) say they volunteer on their own and perform only a statistically-insignificant tick lower on NAEP (an

average score of 158). Forty-three-percent of students have no volunteer experiences to speak of, and exhibit significantly lower scores (141).

Figure 4.6: Percentage of Students Who Completed the 1998 NAEP Civics Assessment and Reported Doing Volunteer Work in the Community Through School or On Their Own



In Table 4.9, I regressed the impact of volunteer work in the community versus two traditional learning practices proven effective earlier in this chapter in the 1998 iteration of the NAEP Civics assessment. The base group of students includes those exposed to civics or government in 11th grade, textbook reading in social studies classes, and school-initiated volunteerism. The negative coefficient associated with not doing volunteer work in the community is more than double that of no 11th grade civics or government exposure or not reading from a textbook in social studies classes. All reported coefficients meet the test of statistical significance ($p>0.05$) from the intercept (base group).

Table 4.9: Regression Analysis of Selected Traditional Civic Learning Practices and Doing Volunteer Work in the Community, 1998

Independent variables:	*Regression coefficient (Standard error)*
Didn't study civics or government in 11th grade	-7.62* (1.12)
Didn't read from textbook in social studies classes	-7.01* (1.76)
Don't know if read from textbook in social studies classes	-30.68* (4.56)
Did volunteer work in community independently	-1.55 (1.20)
Didn't do volunteer work in community	-17.22* (1.02)
Intercept:	164.05 (1.08)
Degrees of freedom:	3.135.08
R^2:	0.09

* Indicates that a variable is statistically significant the p<0.05 level.

4.3.4. Student Voice

Percy-Smith and Thomas (2009) write:

> If children are to achieve real benefits in their own lives and their communities, and create a better future, they can only do this by being active citizens, articulating their own values, perspectives, experiences, and visions for the future, using these to inform and take action in their own right and, where necessary, contesting with those who have power over their lives (p. 3).

They point to a lack of clarity as to what participation means. It typically assumes solely forms of social engagement. Instead, the authors argue, not only do children have the right to be heard, but they also have a capacity to contribute to decision making. In order to achieve this end, Perry-Smith and Thomas push for the integration of child cohorts into broader decision making structures, thereby allowing children to speak on behalf of their peers. They caution that

we must avoid replicating existing power structures and balance the right to participate with the need to protect children. Youth participation can range from consultative, to collaborative, to entirely youth-led (pp. 11-20).

The authors argue that the Western child is often viewed as lacking agency and needing protection (p. 26). They instead offer a transcendent view:

> When considering children's participation, and particularly children as change agents and active citizens, we believe it is important to acknowledge children as capable and competent agents who, with adults, can imagine and create projects around their lives, instead of the projects that adults imagine and design for them (pp. 31-32).

When conceiving of channels for youth participation, Perry-Smith and Thomas lay out a plethora of challenges, including a narrow definition, an excessive focus on educational and not transformational outcomes, and a field with a plethora of models, but too few underlying theories supporting them (pp. 33-35).

The authors urge that children be viewed as "…active citizens, (who) mak(e) contributions and tak(e) actions within their everyday life settings." Small-scale projects rooted in local communities are a great place to begin. They have proven more successful than national alternatives to date. While the right structure is critical, they alone are insufficient for success. The quality of relationships between youth and adult allies is critical, as are the values informing them. Simply stated, "Adults are crucial to children's participation" (pp. 259-362).

Perry-Smith and Thomas point to school government structures as great places to study young people's participation. They boast representative, cross-sectional populations, yet are subject to high degrees of authority and control "where state meets society" (pp. 363-364).

Marzano (2007) articulates a process by which teachers can delegate the development of classroom rules and procedures to students.

> The interaction usually begins with a wholeclass discussion regarding the characteristics of a class that facilitates learning. The teacher might then organize students into small groups that generate general rules that should govern behavior. In the context of a whole-class discussion, the students and teacher aggregate these lists into a single list. Students then identify the specific behaviors and procedures associated with the general rules (Kindle location 2036).

The widely-acclaimed education researcher and author acknowledges that this process can be time-consuming, but it has the potential of "…significantly increas[ing] student ownership of the management of the classroom."

This provides an excellent segue into my own analysis of the impact of student voice in school governance on the NAEP Civics assessment.

As was the case with both service-learning and school-based extracurricular opportunities, the NAEP Civics assessment does not directly measure student voice. However, students who completed the 1998 assessment were asked if they had a classroom government (loosely-defined). A plurality (43%) answers in the negative, and these students score highest on NAEP (average score of 154). Thirty-nine-percent of students do report experiencing classroom government, with an average score of 149. A significant number of students (19%) suggest they don't know the answer to this question, speaking to its ambiguity. They score lowest of all, with an average score of 148. However, this score is not significantly different from students who do experience classroom government.

4.3.5. Simulations

Asal et al. (2013) write, “Even though simulations have been used in political science as a teaching tool for decades, evidence of their pedagogical effectiveness, in comparison to other methods, is mixed” (p. 130).

With this in mind, Asal and Kratoville (2013) call for an empirically-tested baseline on the effectiveness of simulations as a learning tool. They suggest that simulations are rooted in constructivist learning theory, embracing problem-based learning which “…allows students to understand why the concepts and strategies they are learning are important in a real-world context.” They claim that “…it also creates an interactive environment where students can share and build their knowledge cooperatively.”

These authors encourage instructors to “establish clear, theory-based goals and build or adapt the simulation around them.” Instructors should also leverage teachable moments within simulations, and speed things up when students become bogged down with something that doesn’t forward its learning goals. Active participation by all students is key. Post-simulation debriefings are equally critical.

Marzano (2007) touts the benefits of simulations as a form of student engagement, but warns of their time-consuming nature and the danger of superficiality. In order to prevent the latter, teachers must “…ask...students to explain how their enactments represent the important information from the critical-input experience” (Kindle location 812).

Markowitz (2009) studied the impact of “Vermont Votes for Kids,” a K-12 program that culminates in a mock election at schools or polling places. The program is sponsored by the Vermont Secretary of State, who partnered with Kids Voting USA (analyzed in the section on Discussion above) for the state's first mock election in 2000.

The author sought to determine the impact of the program on students' civic attitudes, behaviors, and dispositions. She finds that three-quarters of students participated in the mock election during their school career, and almost half participated while in high school. Forty-five percent of students subsequently went to the polling place with their parents. Most importantly for our purposes, "…there is a strong correlation between students' participation in (this) mock election and their positive feelings about their civic skills, knowledge, and dispositions."

The “Vermont Votes for Kids” program feeds into Kollars’ and Rosen’s (2013) claim that “…most work on simulations to date focuses on showcasing useful and effective simulations created by instructors to meet a particular content goal.” They encourage more sophisticated models moving forward, where the pedagogical purposes of simulations are differentiated on the basis of whether they are formative or summative and if students’ idea generation is internal or external.

They make the former distinction as follows: “A formative simulation uses the game as a complement or substitute to lecture, discussion, or other teaching method… Simulations can also be summative, in which they act as evaluative instruments to assess student understanding.” Being upfront about the purpose of the simulation will prevent student confusion.

The authors position simulations "as an assessment tool," where "…illustrative simulations draw direct conclusions from the literature studied to student action in the simulation." In such instances, simulations serve as replacements for exams instead of lecture or discussion.

Although assessment through simulations is rare in political science, it is widely accepted in other fields. Among the benefits of simulations as an alternative form of assessment is a reduction in students' anxiety and tendencies to make mistakes, along with a model that more closely measures real-world performance.

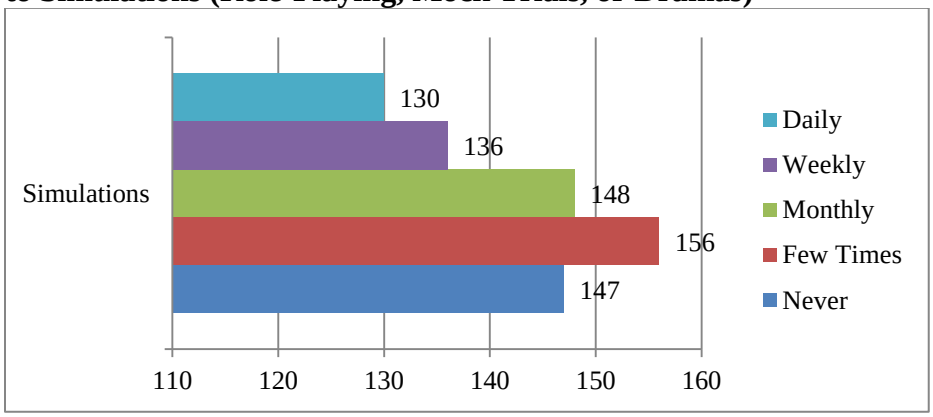
Raymond and Usherwood (2013) probe further into simulations as assessment tools. They suggest that their pedagogical productivity remains an open question despite long-time use and a plethora of quantitative and qualitative data. They thus urge "university faculty (to) ask themselves what a simulation adds to a student's knowledge base that cannot be learned more efficiently in a traditional classroom setting, and how this can be measured."

The authors list several of the impacts assumed from simulations, including increases in student motivation and an altered learning environment from dyadic instruction to peer-to-peer learning and self-discovery. Simulations are also assumed to build both content knowledge and knowledge about themselves. Unfortunately, students' self-reflections are often the sole measure of simulations' effectiveness.

As an alternative, Raymond and Usherwood call for "a methodologically well-designed simulation (that) integrates student participation, learning objectives, and learning outcomes" (p. 162). Simulations, they suggest, should also be aligned with assessment and have opportunities for student feedback and debriefing.

Simulations were measured on the 2010 NAEP Civics assessment with a question that asked whether students experienced role-playing, mock trials, and dramas in their social studies, civics, or government courses. A majority reports never experiencing these opportunities (56%), and their performance lags behind those who experience them monthly (12%) or a few times per year (26%; 147 versus 148 and 156, respectively). The small numbers who report daily (3%, 130) and weekly (4%, 136) exposure to these practices perform worse than those denied these opportunities altogether.

Figure 4.7: Student Scores on the 2010 NAEP Civics Assessment by Frequency of Exposure to Simulations (Role-Playing, Mock Trials, or Dramas)



Like the previous measures of innovative civic learning practices, questions discerning the presence and impact of simulations were asked differently on both the 2006 and 1998 NAEP Civics assessment. Framed in only a yes/ no format, nearly two-thirds of students report never experiencing these simulation forms (63% in 1998 and 62% in 2006), the one-third of students who did score higher on the assessment (155 to 150 in each year).

Finally, I performed regression analyses in Tables 4.10 and 4.11 below, comparing the relative impact of role-playing, mock trials, and dramas (proxies for simulations) with exposure to civics or government in 11th grade, textbook reading, and memorization.

In both 1998 and 2006, the base group of students is exposed to each of these practices or subjects. The negative coefficients associated with the absence of these variables are each statistically distinct from the intercept, although the coefficients are larger for the two traditional variables in both years

Table 4.10: Regression Analysis of Selected Traditional Civic Learning Practices and Role Playing, Mock Trials, and Dramas, 1998 and 2006

Independent variables:	*Regression coefficient (Standard error)*	
	1998	*2006*
Didn't study civics or government in 11th grade	-8.46*	-6.31*
	(1.15)	(1.24)
Didn't memorize material in social studies classes	-5.34*	-7.28*
	(1.21)	(1.13)
Don't know if memorized material in social studies classes	-15.85*	-17.70*
	(3.54)	(3.14)
Didn't take part in role playing, mock trials, and dramas in social studies classes	-4.22*	-3.75*
	(1.05)	(1.09)
Don't know if took part in role playing, mock trials, and dramas in social studies classes	-24.41*	-16.60*
	(3.80)	(2.53)
Intercept:	160.17	159.93
	(1.14)	(1.31)
Degrees of freedom:	2,892.62	2,953.28
R^2:	0.05	0.04

* Indicates that a variable is statistically significant the $p<0.05$ level.

In 2010, the base group of students includes those studying civics or government junior year and paired with no textbook reading or simulations. Relative to this mix, only infrequent simulations (a few times per year) correlate with a positive impact on NAEP Civics scores. Simulations at this prevalence offset not studying civics or government in 11th grade and textbook reading at the lowest regularity, a few times a year. The latter dosage of textbook reading is statistically indistinct from the intercept, as are simulations once or twice monthly. The positive coefficients associated with textbook reading at greater frequencies (at least once or twice a month) exceed the benefits of infrequent simulations (all relative to the base group).

Table 4.11: Regression Analysis of Selected Traditional Civic Learning Practices and Role Playing, Mock Trials, and Dramas, 2010

Independent variables:	*Regression coefficient (Standard error)*
Didn't study civics or government in 11th grade	-3.77* (0.86)
Read from textbook a few times a year	3.71 (2.19)
Read from textbook once or twice a month	11.47* (2.28)
Read from textbook once or twice a week	15.73* (2.02)
Read from textbook almost every day	14.87* (1.99)
Take part in role playing, mock trials, and dramas a few times a year	8.09* (1.25)
Take part in role playing, mock trials, and dramas once or twice a month	-0.05 (1.70)
Take part in role playing, mock trials, and dramas once or twice a week	-12.27* (2.09)
Take part in role playing, mock trials, and dramas almost every day	-19.02* (3.02)
Intercept:	137.84 (1.86)
Degrees of freedom:	4,317.9
R^2:	0.05

* Indicates that a variable is statistically significant the p<0.05 level.

4.4. Summary

The outright superiority of the innovative civic learning practices over their traditional counterparts, as posited in Hypothesis Two, must be rejected. However, some individual practices do emerge as powerful contributors to students' positive performance on the NAEP Civics assessment (see Table 4.12). For example, the more frequently students are exposed to

current events discussions (relative to no discussions at all), the better they perform. Only infrequent current events discussions (a few times a year) have lower positive coefficients than textbook reading at the greatest frequencies (weekly and daily), and the differences across these coefficients are very narrow.

Table 4.12: Summary of Selected Traditional Versus Innovative Civic Learning Practices

Practice	***Civics, 11th Grade (C11)***	***Read from Textbook (RT)***	***Memorize Material (MM)***
Discuss current events (CE)	CE	CE[Ω]	CE
Debates or panels (DP)	C11 (1998 and 2006); DP (2010)	Even[!]	DP (1998); MM (2006)
Group projects (GP)	C11[^]	RT[%]	NA
Volunteer in community (V)	V	V	NA
Role-playing, mock trials, or dramas (S)	C11[#]	RT[~]	MM

Ω Except at a few times a year frequency for current events discussions versus daily and weekly textbook reading in 2010
^ Except when group projects are offered few times per year in 2010
% Except at the few times per year frequency for both variables in 2010
# Only at a few times per year frequency in 2010
! Positive coefficients greater for debates and panel discussions at few times a year and monthly frequencies; greater for reading from textbook at weekly and daily frequencies
~ Except when simulations occur a few times per year in 2010

Likewise, some exposure to debates and panel discussions is better than none. However, their impact relative to selected traditional practices (civics or government exposure, memorizing material, and textbook reading) is mixed.

Occasional group projects also prove helpful. When offered only a few times a year, as compared to their absence altogether, they offset lack of exposure to civics or government during junior year civics and reading from a textbook at the lowest frequency (a few times per year).

Volunteer work is yet another powerful practice, although its impetus doesn't seem to matter much, be it school- or individually-initiated. Its presence outperforms each of the traditional practices measured on the 1998 NAEP Civics assessment.

Like group projects, infrequent role-playing, mock trials, or panel discussions are positive forces on students' NAEP performance. These practices, used as proxies for simulations in this study, produce a coefficient that offsets the absence of exposure to civics or government in 11th grade when used a few times per year in 2010. Likewise, simulations surpass reading from a textbook only at the lowest frequency. The absence of material memorization in social studies classes exerts more negative force than no simulations.

Having students write letters to give their opinion or help resolve a problem in the community has a negative impact on NAEP Civics scores. The same holds true for the presence of classroom government. Moreover, the benefits of group projects and simulations diminish with increased frequency. In fact, they exhibit an adverse effect on students' performance.

It must be said that these practices should not be devalued on the basis of these findings. They may speak to the limitations of the NAEP Civics assessment to measure valuable civic skills and dispositions. Additionally, the indicators selected from the NAEP Civics assessment

are particularly limited in their measures of certain innovative practices, namely service-learning, extracurricular activities, and student voice.

For these reasons, Hypothesis Two is only partially confirmed, especially given the benefits of traditional instruction when it comes to exposure to civics or government and certain rote practices like textbook reading and memorization.

5. ARE DEMOGRAPHICS DESTINY? THE POTENTIAL OF SCHOOL-BASED CIVIC LEARNING OPPORTUNITIES TO CLOSE THE "DEMOCRACY DIVIDE"

5.1. Introduction

In Chapter Four, we found that some traditional and innovative civic learning practices have a profound impact on students NAEP Civics assessment performance across its past three iterations. This chapter will explore the extent to which demographics intersect with these practices, both in terms of elevating performance regardless of race or ethnicity, income, parental educational attainment, or English-speaking proficiency, and also the extent to which these opportunities are equitably provided.

Kahne and Middaugh (2008), in study of 2,500 California high schools students over a two-year period, find massive inequities in reported school-based civic opportunities by race, socioeconomic status, and academic track. African-American students report fewer civic-oriented government classes, while Latinos are afforded fewer community service opportunities and open classroom environments.

As detailed in Chapter Four, an open classroom environment is measured by the ability of students to safely disagree with their teacher and likelihood of controversial issues discussions occurring in class (Torney-Purta, 2002).

By comparison, students with higher socioeconomic standing are more likely to study how laws are made, participate in service activities, and experience debates or panel discussions (Kahne and Middaugh, 2008).

Finally, students enrolled in Advanced Placement courses are more likely to report experiences across a range of civic learning opportunities.

Campbell (2007) finds that greater racial heterogeneity in school classrooms correlates with less political discussion during class, and a domino effect in the sense that these students profess a lower intention of voting as adults (p. 57). He attributes this chasm to fears of conflict in heterogeneous classrooms by teachers and students alike and thus an avoidance of controversial issues altogether (p. 61).

Like Kahne and Middaugh, Campbell discovers that African-American students are less likely to report an open classroom environment than their white counterparts. More classroom diversity equates with lower student perceptions of an open classroom environment (p. 64). By contrast, as the African-American percentage of a classroom grows, so does the perception of an open classroom. The same is true for white students (pp. 66-67). Such racial solidarity also correlates with African-American and white students viewing themselves as informed voters (p. 70).

Working with the same data set as Campbell, Torney-Purta and Wilkenfeld (2009) find similar inequities in civic learning opportunities. African-American and immigrant youth are unlikely to attend classes incorporating interactive methodologies, and schools with a large number of students low in socioeconomic standing are not only less likely to experience interactivity, but also lectures (p. 18). These disparities are mirrored in students' civic achievement, with scores on the 2010 National Assessment of Education Progress in Civics

channeling students' race and parents' educational attainment, along with their own reported plans for educational attainment (p. 22).

In an earlier study using the same data set derived from the thirty-country study referenced in the previous chapter, Torney-Purta (2002) finds that students' political knowledge and engagement is highly associated with education and home resources, the latter measured by available literary resources. This phenomenon is particularly pronounced in the United States where "Those who do not plan to attend college, who have few home educational resources, and who attend high-poverty schools have lower levels of knowledge and are also less likely to say they will vote" (p. 207).

Torney-Purta concludes, "This socioeconomic gap is troubling because it extends across civic knowledge, expressed likelihood of voting, and factors in school that are likely to enhance students' preparation for citizenship."

A couple of interesting distinctions emerge in Torney-Purta and Wilkenfeld's (2009) later findings, leading us to conclude that promising approaches to civic education are not a one-size-fits-all model. For example, traditional teaching techniques lead to higher media literacy skills for average and low school socioeconomic status (SES) students, but the reverse is true for high school SES students (p. 27). Additionally, when it comes to student efficacy via discussing social and political issues, students attending low SES schools benefit from traditional teaching, where the opposite is true in high SES schools. The effects appear minimal in average SES schools (p. 28).

Gimpel et al. (2003) discover their own distinctions between students' race, SES, and family structure. For example, they find that blacks have high internal efficacy when controlling for SES, yet their external efficacy remains low regardless (pp. 38-9).

Critical in understanding disparities in NAEP Civics scores below, the authors suggest "..one of the bedrock differences between white respondents and those of the ethnic minority subgroups is the frequency of political discussion with friends and family." In turn, black and Latino students are also less knowledgeable about politics (p. 72).

In a nod to family structure, a variable not directly measured in my study, Gimpel et al. find that two-parent households outperform one-parent households on measures of political knowledge, discussion, and efficacy (p. 76).

Given the uneven impact of both traditional and innovative civic learning practices documented in the pages the follow, the authors write,

> The standard curriculum is wrong to assume that all students come into social studies classes as a blank slates, lacking a social context and personal history that will influence their absorption of and reaction to the material (p. 94).

Most relevant for our purposes, Kawashima-Ginsberg (2013) explores the impact of three of the innovative civic learning practices measured on the 2010 NAEP Civics assessment: current events discussions, debates and panels, and simulations. For both 8th and 12th grade students, white students and those with high socioeconomic status are more likely to be exposed to these practices, and also seem to benefit more from exposure to them.

For example, Hispanic students in12th grade are less likely to experience each of the innovative practices examined. Parental educational attainment and school lunch eligibility were also predictive of exposure to these practices.

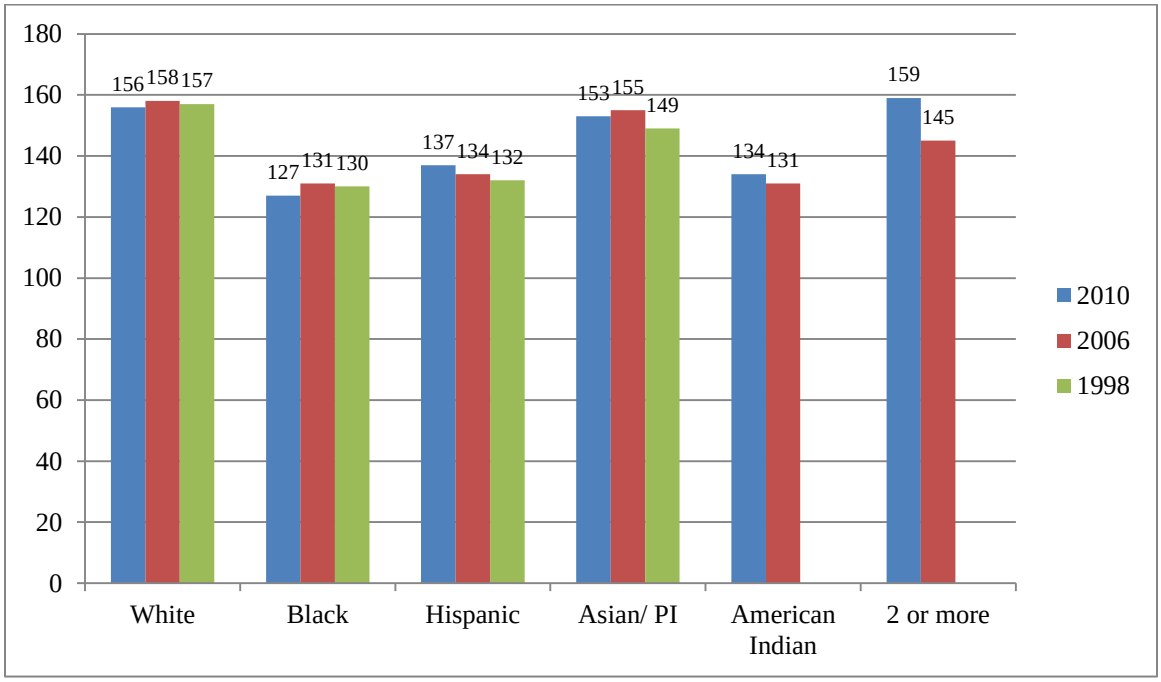
Kawashima-Ginsberg identifies gains from current events discussions across both gender and race. Overall, the largest gains for all groups occur between the no practices and one. In a discouraging finding that I'll explore in greater depth below, assessment scores for black and Hispanic students exposed to all of the practices still trail those of whites with none. The same is true for students whose parents have low educational attainment levels.

In a continuation of Kawashima-Ginsberg's study, her employer, the Center for Information Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE, 2013) finds that affluent white students attained the NAEP Civics proficiency standard at a rate of four to six times greater than disadvantaged black or Hispanic students. CIRCLE writes, "Not only are white and wealthy students more likely to receive recommended civic education experiences in school, but the content and topics they discuss and the way these are presented are often tailored to White and middle-class students rather than students of color and poor students" (p. 16).

We turn now to multiple tests of Hypothesis Three, which once again reads as follows: **H3: Students who experience school-based civic learning opportunities will exhibit higher levels of civic knowledge and skills regardless of their race or ethnicity, family income, parental educational attainment, or English language proficiency.**

In the past three iterations of the NAEP Civics assessment (1998, 2006, and 2010), white students outperform their peers from other racial and ethnic groups (see Figure 5.1). The "civic achievement gap" is narrow when whites are compared to Asian-Pacific Islanders (and not statistically significant), but wide (and persistent) when measured alongside African-Americans and Hispanics. Native Americans, who represent only one-percent of the 2006 and 2010 assessment samples, score similarly to African-American and Hispanic students.

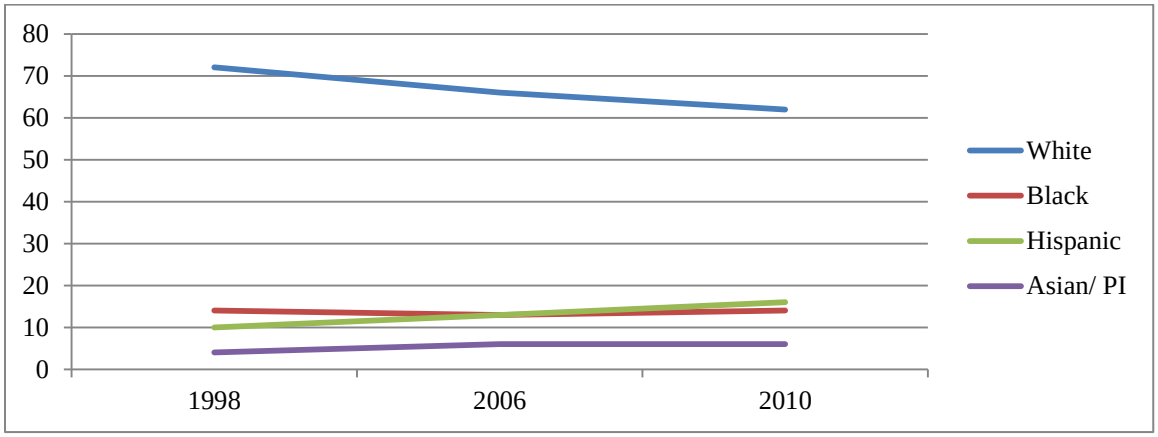
Figure 5.1: Student Performance on the NAEP Civics Assessment by Race/ Ethnicity, 1998-2010



Please note that reporting standards were not met for the "American Indian" and "Two or more races" categories on the 1998 NAEP Civics assessment.

From 1998 to 2010, the white portion of the student sample shrunk from 72% to 62%, while the Hispanic portion grew from 10% to 16% (see Figure 5.2). The African-American portion held constant at 14%, and the Asian-Pacific Islander percentage grew from 4% to 6%.

Figure 5.2: Racial/ Ethnic Composition of Students Taking the NAEP Civics Assessment, 1998-2010



The percentage of students in the sample who are eligible for the National School Lunch program, according to school records, more than doubled from 1998 to 2010 (14% to 31%). Across all three iterations of the NAEP Civics assessment, these students trail their non-eligible peers by an average score of exactly 23 points.

Turning to parents' academic achievement levels, NAEP asked the question differently in 2006 and 2010 in comparison to 1998. In the former, it focused solely on the student's mother, whereas in the latter it asked the highest academic achievement level of either parent.

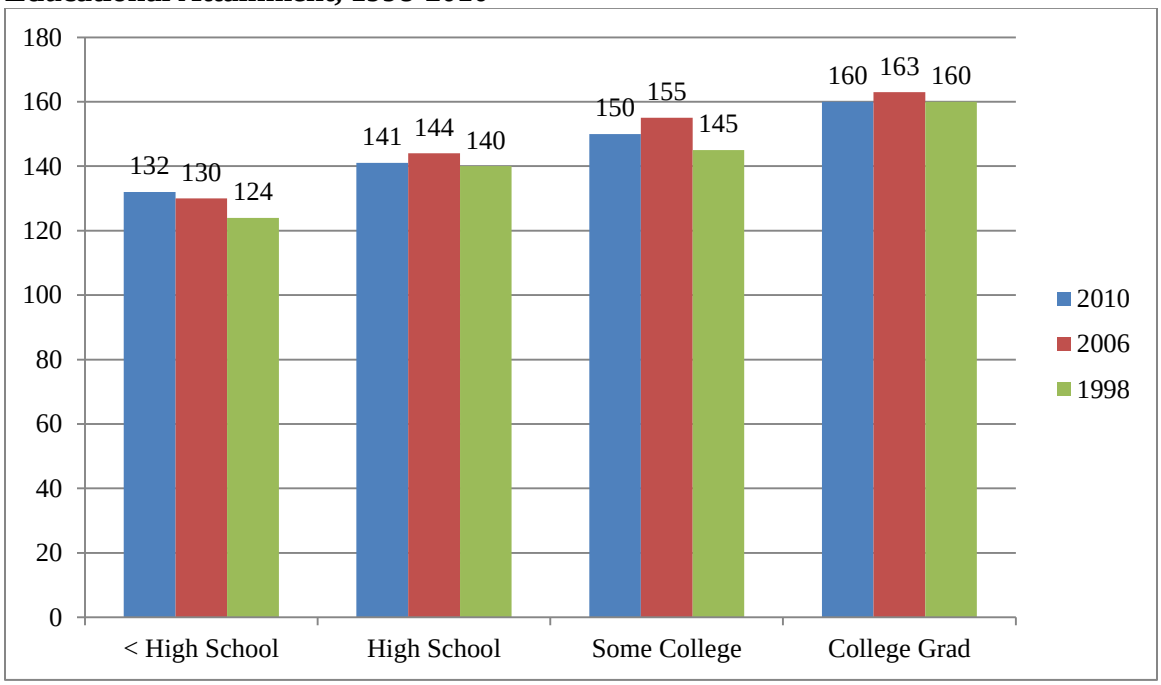
Regardless, student scores increase the higher the reported achievement level of their mother or parents, respectively.

For example, in 2010, a student whose mother dropped out of high school achieves an average score of 132 (see Figure 5.3). This increases to 141 if their mother graduated high school, 150 if she continued her education beyond high school, and soars to 160 if she graduated

from college. Fortunately, a plurality of mothers was college graduates (38%), while roughly a quarter either completed some education beyond high school or earned a diploma (23% each). Only 12% didn't complete high school.

As might be expected, when a second parent is added to the pool in 1998, more than half of students (52%) report that at least one of their parents graduated from college. Their average score (160) is equivalent to that of students whose mother completed college. Scores drop to 145 and 140, respectively, when a student's parents pursued some education beyond high school (27%) or merely earned a diploma (14%). Scores bottom out at 124 for students whose parents each dropped out of high school (6%).

Figure 5.3: Student Performance on the NAEP Civics Assessment by Mother's/ Parental Educational Attainment, 1998-2010



Please note that students were asked to identify their mother's highest level of educational attainment in 2010 and 2006, and either parent's highest level of educational attainment in 1998.

Average score differentials are most stark for students who were classified by their schools as English Language Learners (ELL). Their percentage of the student sample was small across all three iterations of NAEP Civics examined, but it did double from 2% to 4% from 1998 through 2010. Unfortunately, the "civic achievement gap" also grew over time, from 46 in 1998 to 51 in 2010. It actually dipped to 42 in 2006.

In order to explore the relative impact of these various demographic variables, I regressed each of them against the others in Tables 5.1 through 5.4 below. The base group includes a combination of white students, students eligible for the National School Lunch Program, students whose mothers dropped out of high school, and/ or English Language Learners.

Looking first at the combination of race/ ethnicity, National School Lunch Program eligibility, and parental educational levels, other than Asian/ Pacific Islanders and students of two or more races, all of these ordered and binary variables are statistically distinct from the aforementioned base group. Black students face the largest negative coefficient, offset statistically only by one's mother being a college graduate (see Table 5.1). The negative coefficient for Hispanic students, on the other hand, is two-thirds lower than that of blacks and offset by both not being eligible for the National School Lunch Program and having one's mother complete some education beyond high school.

Table 5.2 subtracts parental educational attainment and adds English Language Learner status. Only Asian/ Pacific Islanders and American Indians/ Alaskan Natives are not statistically different from the base group. The negative coefficients for black and Hispanic students change

only slightly, while the positive coefficient for non-eligibility for the National School Lunch Program increases. However, not being an English Language Learner has by far the most positive impact on NAEP Civics scores.

By stripping away National School Lunch Program eligibility and restoring parental educational attainment, the major benefits of not being an English Language Learner remain (see Table 5.3). The negative coefficient for black students grows larger, while that for Hispanic students shrinks slightly from Table 5.1 and is roughly similar to that in Table 5.2. Asian/ Pacific Islanders fare similarly to Table 5.2. As for parental educational attainment, the positive coefficients parallel those of Table 5.1, but the benefits of being raised by a college graduate grow slightly. Like the previous mix, only the coefficients for Asian/ Pacific Islanders and American Indians/ Alaskan Natives fail to meet the test of statistical significance.

In Table 5.4, race/ ethnicity are removed and National School Lunch Program eligibility restored. The positive coefficient associated with the latter is almost identical to Table 5.2. However, the positive coefficients for parental educational attainment are reduced at all levels, where high school graduation doesn’t even vary in a statistically significant way from the constant (all of the other binary and ordered variables do). Non-English Language learners also benefit less given this mix of demographic variables.

Table 5.1: Regression Analysis of Selected Demographic Variables, 2010

Independent variables:	*Regression coefficient (Standard error)*
Race/ ethnicity:	
Black	-21.32* (1.45)
Hispanic	-7.14* (1.65)
Asian/ Pacific Islander	2.48 (2.76)
American Indian/ Alaska Native	-14.08 (12.84)
Two or more races	3.56 (4.41)
National School Lunch Program Eligibility	
Not eligible	12.30* (1.06)
Information not available	15.56* (2.76)
Parental education level	
Graduated high school	3.37* (1.46)
Some education after high school	12.62* (1.53)
Graduated college	19.16* (1.39)
Unknown	-15.77* (2.44)
Intercept:	131.23 (1.40)
Degrees of freedom:	2,489.1
R^2:	0.20

* Indicates that a variable is statistically significant the $p<0.05$ level.

Table 5.2: Regression Analysis of Selected Demographic Variables, 2010

Independent variables:	*Regression coefficient (Standard error)*
Race/ ethnicity:	
Black	-22.29* (1.44)
Hispanic	-6.50* (1.68)
Asian/ Pacific Islander	5.68* (2.06)
American Indian/ Alaska Native	-9.45 (8.45)
Two or more races	4.51 (4.31)
National School Lunch Program Eligibility	
Not eligible	15.65* (1.08)
Information not available	20.53* (2.94)
Status as English Language Learner (ELL)	
Not ELL	42.95* (2.03)
Intercept:	99.48 (2.30)
Degrees of freedom:	2,823.15
R^2:	0.20

* Indicates that a variable is statistically significant the $p<0.05$ level.

Table 5.3: Regression Analysis of Selected Demographic Variables, 2010

Independent variables:	*Regression coefficient (Standard error)*
Race/ ethnicity:	
Black	-24.95* (1.51)
Hispanic	-6.13* (1.65)
Asian/ Pacific Islander	5.27* (2.25)
American Indian/ Alaska Native	-14.26 (10.59)
Two or more races	2.26 (4.62)
Parental education level	
Graduated high school	3.07* (1.51)
Some education after high school	12.85* (1.54)
Graduated college	21.55* (1.39)
Unknown	-12.28* (2.46)
Status as English Language Learner (ELL)	
Not ELL	41.56* (2.17)
Intercept:	98.86 (2.32)
Degrees of freedom:	3,008.33
R^2:	0.22

* Indicates that a variable is statistically significant the $p<0.05$ level.

Table 5.4: Regression Analysis of Selected Demographic Variables, 2010

Independent variables:	*Regression coefficient (Standard error)*
National School Lunch Program Eligibility	
Not eligible	15.06* (1.19)
Information not available	17.76* (3.08)
Parental education level	
Graduated high school	0.47 (1.60)
Some education after high school	8.86* (1.70)
Graduated college	16.64* (1.62)
Unknown	-13.18* (2.56)
Status as English Language Learner (ELL)	
Not ELL	37.10* (2.40)
Intercept:	92.13 (2.66)
Degrees of freedom:	3,541.43
R^2:	0.19

* Indicates that a variable is statistically significant the p<0.05 level.

In sum, when compared to their white peers, black students are at a significant disadvantage regardless of the other demographic variables controlled for, while Hispanic students fare better when income, parental attainment, and language proficiency are considered. Asian/ Pacific Islanders fare most favorably among all of the racial/ ethnic groups considered.

The benefits of non-eligibility for the National School Lunch Program are fairly consistent across-the-board, while higher parental educational attainment yields improved achievement, too (relative to high school dropouts), although its impact is reduced when paired with income and language proficiency measures (see Table 5.4). Finally, English proficiency is a major independent contributor to success on the NAEP Civics assessment.

All of the above information considered, it is clear that these demographic variables are interrelated, and that their impact varies based on the collective categories that characterize individual students. Moving forward, it therefore makes sense to be cautious with conclusions that cross tabulate the impact of civic learning content and pedagogies with these demographic variables.

We turn next to the measures of traditional and experiential school-based civic learning explored in Chapter Four, cross-tabulating these opportunities with the four demographic variables considered in this chapter, race/ ethnicity, national school lunch program eligibility, parental educational attainment, and English Language Learners (ELL).

5.2. Race/ ethnicity

Looking first at scores when schools reported instruction in civics or government in 9th grade, only Hispanic students score higher on the NAEP Civics assessment, and this is true only in 2006 and 1998.

Similar trends hold true for 10th grade. Score differentials for students who study civics or government as sophomores are not statistically significantly from those who don't across the three largest racial groups for both 2010 and 2006. Hispanics benefit marginally from this opportunity in 1998.

The story is more complicated in 11th grade, where white scores increase when civics is offered in 2010, while nonwhites don't seem to benefit in the same way. In both 2006 and 1998,

however, all but Asian/ Pacific Islanders of the major racial/ ethnic groups demonstrate statistically significant increases when civics or government is taught.

Finally, students show no demonstrable increases in test performance across racial and ethnic groups when civics or government is taught in 12th grade in 2010. The story is dramatically different in the two earlier iterations of the NAEP Civics assessment. All but blacks benefit in 2006 and 1998. Overall, it must be said that mere exposure to civics and government content does little to nothing to close a wide chasm in student performance between students of color and the white majority.

Table 5.5 that follows provides a summary of the impact of exposure to civics or government by grade, year, and race/ ethnicity.

Table 5.5: Student Score Increases on the NAEP Civics Assessment When Civics or Government Is Taught by Race/ Ethnicity?

Grade	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI
9th	No	No	Yes*	No
10th	No	No	Yes#	No
11th	Yes	Yes*	Yes*	No
12th	Yes*	No	Yes*	Yes*

* 2006 and 1998 only
\# 1998 only

White students are more likely to be exposed to civics or government in 9th grade than their black peers in 2010 and 2006, and their Hispanic and Asian peers in all three iterations of NAEP Civics. Similar trends hold true for 10th grade (Blacks are not underrepresented in 2010 nor Asian/ Pacific Islanders in 1998) and 11th grade (Asian/ Pacific Islanders excepted). In 12th

grade, white students are disproportionately less to study civics or government in 2010 and 2006, but more likely in 1998. Black students are underrepresented all three years, and Hispanics overrepresented.

Next, given the apparent impact of studying civics or government in 11th or 12th grade across racial and ethnic groups, it bears examining whether such exposure can help close a correlated achievement gap. Only Asian/ Pacific Islanders overcome an inferior starting position in comparison to their white peers. For example, their eight point gain from non-exposure to exposure exceeds the three points gain or whites and the four point gains of blacks and Hispanics. While this places the test scores of white and Asian/ Pacific Islander students at parity, blacks and Hispanics trail by 27 and 17 points, respectively. Similar trends hold true across all three iterations of the NAEP Assessment and in 12th grade.

Turning to specific content, studying Congress does not lead to statistically significant performance gains on the NAEP Civics assessment for any racial/ ethnic group, and actually correlates with reduced scores for most racial groups, Hispanics excepted. Similar trends hold true for studying how laws are made; parties, elections, and voting; the President and his Cabinet (Hispanics show slight gains in 2010); state and local government; the court system; and the United States Constitution. At best, the aforementioned content doesn’t appear to work to the detriment of Hispanic students in some years. However, it is mildly harmful to students of other racial and ethnic groups in a general assessment of their civic knowledge and skills.

When it comes to traditional teaching techniques, filling out worksheets seemingly works to the detriment of students across racial and ethnic groups, yet the only statistically inferior performance is by white students in 2006 (this question was not asked in 2010). White and Hispanic students benefit from memorizing material in both 2006 and 1998, and blacks demonstrate similar gains in 2006 (Asian/ Pacific Islanders do not exhibit statistically significant gains in either year). However, black and Hispanic students who memorize material do not come close to narrowing an achievement gap with white students who do not engage in this practice.

Reading textbooks at least a few times per year reaps benefits across racial and ethnic groups in 2010. The tipping point towards improved performance on NAEP Civics is once or twice monthly for white and Asian students, a few times per year for black students, and once or twice a week for Hispanic students. It is also interesting to note that non-white students are more likely to report reading from a textbook daily, and white students are more likely to report never reading from a textbook.

In 2006 and 1998, students were only asked the threshold question of whether they read from a textbook in their social studies courses. When this is true, white students increase their scores in both years and Hispanics in 2006 only. Black students do not exhibit statistically significant gains in either year (reporting standards are not met for Asian/ Pacific Islanders).

As was true of memorization, black and Hispanic students who receive ideal dosages of textbook reading cannot close an achievement gap with white peers who never open a textbook

in their social studies classes, although Hispanics with daily or weekly textbook reading come close.

Table 5.6 below captures the impact, if any, of each of the traditional teaching practices analyzed by year.

Table 5.6: The Impact of Exposure to Traditional Teaching Practices on NAEP Civics Assessment Student Scores by Race/ Ethnicity

Practice	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics	Asian/ PI
Worksheets	Decrease*	No Difference	No Difference	No Difference
Memorize	Increase	Increase*	Increase	No Difference
Textbooks	Increase	Increase#	Increase	Increase$

* 2006 only
# 2010 only
$ Reporting standards not met for 2006 and 1998

In Table 5.7, race/ ethnicity in 2010 is regressed with exposure to civics or government in 11th grade and textbook reading. The base group includes white students exposed to civics or government junior year, but do not read from a textbook in social studies, civics, or government courses. The coefficients for Asian/ Pacific Islanders, American Indian/ Alaskan Natives, and students of two or more races are not statistically different from the intercept. All of the other coefficients associated with these ordered and binary variables meet tests of statistical significance at the $p<0.05$ level.

Relative to the base group, exposure to civics or government fails to cancel out the negative coefficient associated with black and Hispanic students. Textbook reading, on the other

hand, negates much of the negative coefficient for Hispanic students at the once or twice monthly frequencies or more. However, it leaves a yawning gap for black students.

Table 5.8 regresses race/ ethnicity in 2006 with exposure to civics or government once more and adds memorizing material. The base group thus includes white students who study civics or government in 11th grade and memorize material in social studies classes. In this case, only the coefficient for Asian/ Pacific Islanders fails to meet the test of statistical significance relative to the intercept. However, even when these practices are offered in tandem, they neutralize half or less of the negative coefficient for black and Hispanic students.

Table 5.7: Regression Analysis of Race/ Ethnicity and Selected Traditional Civic Learning Practices, 2010

Independent variables:	*Regression coefficient (Standard error)*
Race/ ethnicity:	
Black	-27.36* (1.65)
Hispanic	-18.02* (1.60)
Asian/ Pacific Islander	-3.03 (2.57)
American Indian/ Alaska Native	-23.35 (19.27)
Two or more races	4.04 (4.75)
Studied civics or government in 11th grade	
No	-3.20* (0.85)
Read material from a textbook	
A few times a year	5.05* (2.06)
Once or twice a month	13.08* (2.12)
Once or twice a week	17.01* (1.90)
Almost every day	17.06* (1.89)
Intercept:	143.91 (1.78)
Degrees of freedom:	1,684.72
R^2:	0.12

* Indicates that a variable is statistically significant the $p<0.05$ level.

Table 5.8: Regression Analysis of Race/ Ethnicity and Selected Traditional Civic Learning Practices, 2006

Independent variables:	*Regression coefficient (Standard error)*
Race/ ethnicity:	
Black	-27.60* (1.62)
Hispanic	-23.64* (1.35)
Asian/ Pacific Islander	-2.61 (3.06)
American Indian/ Alaska Native	-27.74* (3.79)
Two or more races	-12.23* (6.13)
Studied civics or government in 11th grade	
No	-4.51* (1.07)
In social studies memorize material	
No	-8.12* (1.10)
I don't know	-22.75* (2.90)
Intercept:	163.61 (1.14)
Degrees of freedom:	3,193.36
R^2:	0.14

* Indicates that a variable is statistically significant the $p<0.05$ level.

We next consider the intersection of innovative civic learning practices and students' race/ ethnicity. Across all groups, students benefit most from current events discussions at least once or twice per week. However, white students are disproportionately more likely to report monthly, weekly, and daily current events discussions than their nonwhite peers. Reciprocally, nonwhite students are more likely to never experience current events discussions in social studies classes.

Similarly, white students are more likely to answer in the affirmative to a yes/ no question about discussing current events in 2006 and 1998. Black, Hispanic, and Asian students are more apt to have been denied this opportunity in 2006, as were Hispanics and American

Indians in 1998. All but Asian/ Pacific Islanders in 2006 demonstrate substantial and statistically significant gains given this exposure (reporting standards are not met for Asian/ Pacific Islanders on this measure in 1998).

White students benefit most from taking part in debate or panel discussions a few times per year, blacks once or twice a week, and Asian/ Pacific Islanders once or twice per month. Whites are more likely to experience these practices weekly, monthly, and a few times per year, and blacks and Hispanics more frequently lack these opportunities altogether.

As was true of current events discussions, white students are more likely to answer in the affirmative to the threshold question of whether they experience debates or panel discussions in social studies classes in 2006 and 1998. Hispanic students are disproportionately denied access to these practices in both years and black students in 1998 only. While white and Hispanic students benefit from exposure to these practices in both years, blacks demonstrate gains in 2006 only and Asian/ Pacific Islanders in neither year.

In 2010, white students benefit most from working on a group project a few times annually, while black students demonstrate no statistically significant gains from any exposure to group projects (this question was not asked in 2006 or 1998). In fact, both white and black students perform worse on NAEP Civics when participating in daily group projects. Hispanic and Asian/ Pacific Islanders do best when engaged in group projects once or twice per year or never. White students are more likely to report engagement in group projects weekly, monthly, and a few times per year. Black and Hispanic students report disproportionately greater exposure

to them daily and weekly. Hispanic students are disproportionately denied the opportunity to work on group projects altogether.

Writing a letter to voice one's opinion or help resolve a community problem does not elevate student performance for any racial and ethnic group across the past three iterations of the NAEP Civics assessment. In fact, it proves harmful in any dosage for Asian / Pacific Islanders in 2010 and not detrimental for the other major racial groups if letter writing occurs a few times per year or less. When asked only the threshold question of any exposure to letter writing in 2006, white and Hispanic students perform worse when answering in the affirmative and black and Asian/ Pacific Islanders demonstrate an insignificant difference. In 1998, the latter outcome is true across racial and ethnic groups.

On the surface, students perform best across racial and ethnic groups on the 2010 NAEP Civics assessment when taking part in role playing, mock trials, and dramas (simulations for short) a few times per year. Scores plummet with greater frequency, even below those for students denied this pedagogical opportunity altogether. Upon further examination, white and Hispanic students benefit from this practice a few times per year, while black and Asian/ Pacific Islander students demonstrate no appreciable gains from the absence of this practice. White students are disproportionately more likely to experience simulations at the few times per year threshold, and black and Hispanic students less likely. Hispanic students are also more likely than should be expected to report never experiencing role playing, mock trials, and dramas in social studies classes.

When this practice is measured through a simple yes/ no question in the two prior iterations of NAEP Civics, scores increase only for white students when this practice is present. Scores are not significantly different for nonwhite students in either 2006 or 1998 given the presence or absence or role playing, mock trials, and dramas. Whites are more likely to experience this practice in both years and Hispanics less likely in 1998.

Students from all racial and ethnic groups gain from participating in volunteer work in their communities. However, it does not appear to matter whether the source of volunteering is school-based or from the individual. White students are disproportionately more likely, and black and Hispanic students less likely, to report volunteering through school or on their own.

Finally, the presence of classroom government correlates with reduced scores on the 1998 NAEP Civics assessment for white students (this question was only asked in this iteration of the assessment). Score differentials are not statistically significant for nonwhite students extended or denied this opportunity.

Table 5.9 below summarizes the impact, if any, of each of the innovative teaching practices examined by year.

Table 5.9: The Impact of Exposure to Innovative Teaching Practices on NAEP Civics Assessment Student Scores by Race/ Ethnicity

Practice	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics	Asian/ PI
Current Events	Increase	Increase	Increase	Increase#^
Debates/ Panels	Increase	Increase*	Increase	Increase#
Group Projects	Increase	No Difference	Increase	Increase
Letter Writing	No Difference/ Decrease&	No Difference	No Difference/ Decrease&	Decrease#/ No Difference
Role Playing/ Mock Trials/ Dramas	Increase	No Difference	Increase#	No Difference
Volunteering	Increase	Increase	Increase	Increase
Classroom Government	Decrease	No Difference	No Difference	No Difference

* 2010 and 2006 only
\# 2010 only
& 2006 only
$ Reporting standards not met for 2006 and 1998
^ Reporting standards not met for 1998

Before moving on to the next section, the impact evident for a few of the innovative practices, namely discussing current events, debates and panels, group projects, and volunteering, bears additional scrutiny.

In 2010, students who experience daily current events discussions outperform those who never do by a range of 25 for blacks, 27 for whites and Hispanics, and 36 for Asian/ Pacific Islanders. Given that white students start from a stronger base score (134) than those of blacks (110), Hispanics (117), and Asian/ Pacific Islanders (117), only the latter group is able to close the gap with major dosages of this practice. This trend also holds true for 2006 and 1998.

The case is the same with debate and panel discussions. White scores peak with a weekly dosage of this practice, exceeding those of blacks and Hispanics with similar dosages from 29

and 25 points, respectively. Black and Hispanic scores were highest with daily dosage, yet still trail their white counterparts by 27 and 24 points, respectively; scores in 2006 and 1998 exhibit similar patterns.

Next, recall that all racial and ethnic groups appear to benefit from occasional group projects (a few times per year). While scores of Asian/ Pacific Islander students eclipse those of whites at this frequency by two points, blacks and Hispanics trail by 30 and 28 points, respectively.

Finally, students across racial groups score highest when engaged in community volunteerism. White, black, and Hispanic students score slightly higher when it is school-based, and Asian/ Pacific Islanders when it is individually-initiated (these distinctions are not statistically significant). White students with school-based opportunities outscore similarly situated black and Hispanic students by 26 and 23 points, respectively. They outperform Asian/ Pacific Islanders by six points when volunteering is individually-initiated.

Taken together, it is only in the case of current events discussions that black and Hispanic students with ideal dosages of these innovative practices outperform white students denied these opportunities altogether, and the difference is marginal (one point for blacks and ten points for Hispanics). In all other cases, black and Hispanic students with ideal dosages of these innovative practices fail to entirely close the gap with even their most disadvantaged white peers.

Finally, when we regress these selected innovative practices with students' race/ ethnicity (see Tables 5.10 and 5.11 below), the challenges of overcoming the destiny of demographics becomes even clearer.

In Table 5.10, three ordered variables were regressed: race/ ethnicity, current events discussions, and group projects. The base group constitutes white students denied access to current events discussions and group projects in social studies, civics, or government courses. Among the coefficients presented in the table below, Asian/ Pacific Islanders, American Indian/ Alaskan Natives, students of two of more races, and those who reported working on group projects once or twice per month are statistically indistinct from the base group.

While completing group projects a few times a year produce a positive coefficient, they make little more than a dent for black and Hispanic students. However, current events discussions at least monthly for Hispanic students, and weekly or more for black students help close the gap.

In Table 5.11, using 2006 data, the ordered race/ ethnicity variable was regressed alongside the binary variables of debates and panel discussions and volunteerism. Once more, the base group includes white students, but in this case includes those exposed to these two practices. All of the coefficients reported below meet the test of statistical distinctness from the base group with the exception of Asian/ Pacific Islanders and students of two or more races. Relative to the aforementioned base group, debates and panel discussions in social studies

classes, if paired with school-based volunteer opportunities, nearly neutralize the negative coefficients for black and Hispanic students.

Table 5.10: Regression Analysis of Race/ Ethnicity and Selected Innovative Civic Learning Practices, 2010

Independent variables:	*Regression coefficient (Standard error)*
Race/ ethnicity:	
Black	-25.37* (1.54)
Hispanic	-16.73* (1.55)
Asian/ Pacific Islander	-2.39 (2.39)
American Indian/ Alaska Native	-20.84 (15.18)
Two or more races	2.31 (4.52)
Discuss current events	
A few times a year	6.34* (2.23)
Once or twice a month	19.01* (1.92)
Once or twice a week	25.99* (1.89)
Almost every day	28.70* (1.83)
Work on a group project for social studies, civics, or government	
A few times a year	3.95* (1.57)
Once or twice a month	-2.82 (1.49)
Once or twice a week	-13.65* (1.60)
Almost every day	-23.48* (2.47)
Intercept:	136.53 (2.03)
Degrees of freedom:	2,495.7
R^2:	0.19

* Indicates that a variable is statistically significant the $p<0.05$ level.

Table 5.11: Regression Analysis of Race/ Ethnicity and Selected Innovative Civic Learning Practices, 1998

Independent variables:	*Regression coefficient (Standard error)*
Race/ ethnicity:	
Black	-24.69* (1.89)
Hispanic	-21.99* (1.51)
Asian/ Pacific Islander	-6.58 (5.33)
American Indian/ Alaska Native	-18.67* (8.78)
Two or more races	-20.23 (12.56)
In social studies take part in debates or panels	
No	-5.30* (0.88)
I don't know	-24.88* (2.86)
Did volunteer work in community	
Did work on my own	-2.16* (1.06)
No	-16.33* (0.98)
Intercept:	167.95 (1.10)
Degrees of freedom:	2,510.62
R^2:	0.17

* Indicates that a variable is statistically significant the p<0.05 level.

5.3. National School Lunch Program Eligibility

Recall that students who qualify for free or reduced lunch via the National School Lunch program underperform students who do not by 23, 22, and 23 points respectively on the 2010, 2006, and 1998 NAEP Civics assessments. As with race/ ethnicity, we will first turn to the intersection of National School Lunch program eligibility and the impact of exposure to civics or government by grade.

Beginning with exposure to civics or government in 9th grade, school lunch eligible students are the sole beneficiaries, and only in 2006 (see Table 5.12). Turning to 10th grade, non-eligible students gain in 2006 and 1998, but eligible students do not in any year. In 11th grade,

eligible students benefit from civics or government exposure in 2006 and 1998, while ineligible students gain in all three years (2010, 2006, and 1998). Finally, the same pattern holds true in 12th grade for eligible students, with similar effects on ineligible students.

Table 5.12: Student Score Increases on the NAEP Civics Assessment When Civics or Government Is Taught by National School Lunch Program Eligibility?

Grade	Eligible	Not Eligible
9th	Yes#	No
10th	No	Yes*
11th	Yes*	Yes
12th	Yes*	Yes*

* 2006 and 1998 only
\# 2006 only

Further compounding the problem, students not eligible for the school lunch program are disproportionately more likely to be exposed to civics or government in grades 9-11 in 2010, 2006, and 1998. They are similarly advantaged in 12th grade on the 1998 assessment. Parity surfaces only in 12th grade on the 2010 and 2006 iterations.

As was true for race and ethnicity, the benefits of studying specific civic content is minimal when cross-tabulated with students' eligibility for the National School Lunch Program. In fact, eligible students score lower when they study how laws are made (in both 2010 and 1998), parties, elections, and voting (2010 and 1998), and state and local government (2010). Ineligible students exhibit higher scores when they study Congress in 2006 and lower scores when they study state and local government in 1998. In all other cases, scores across program eligibility and year are not impacted by the selected content variables.

When it comes to the intersection of traditional practices and National School Lunch Program eligibility, neither eligible nor ineligible students benefit from filling out worksheets as measured by their performance on the 2006 and 1998 NAEP Civics assessments (see Table 5.13). Eligible students improve their performance when asked to memorize material in their social studies courses in 2006, and ineligible students in both 2006 and 1998.

Unlike ineligible students, school lunch-eligible students don't benefit from the threshold question of whether or not they read from a textbook in social studies courses in 2006 and 1998. However, in 2010 when the textbook reading question is asked with five frequency options, the ideal dosage for eligible students is once or twice a week. For ineligible students, on the other hand, it is somewhere between once or twice per week and daily.

Table 5.13: The Impact of Exposure to Traditional Teaching Practices on NAEP Civics Assessment Student Scores by National School Lunch Program Eligibility

Practice	Eligible	Not Eligible
Worksheets	No Difference	No Difference
Memorize	Increase*	Increase
Textbooks	Increase#	Increase

* 2006 only
\# 2010 only

Tables 5.14 and 5.15 display regression analysis of National School Lunch Program eligibility *vis a vis* traditional civic learning practices. In Table 5.14, the binary National School Lunch variable is regressed alongside the ordered textbook reading variable using 2010 data. The base group includes students who are National School Lunch Program-eligible and not exposed to textbook reading in social studies, civics, or government courses. Each of the coefficients

reported below meet tests of statistical distinctiveness from the base group. However, all frequencies of textbook reading fail to close the achievement gap for eligible students. Weekly textbook reading boasts the highest positive coefficient relative to its absence altogether.

Table 5.14: Regression Analysis of National School Lunch Program Eligibility and Selected Traditional Civic Learning Practices, 2010

Independent variables:	*Regression coefficient (Standard error)*
National School Lunch Program Eligibility	
Not eligible	23.62* (1.18)
Information not available	26.63* (3.28)
Read material from a textbook	
A few times a year	5.68* (2.09)
Once or twice a month	13.83* (2.08)
Once or twice a week	18.20* (1.99)
Almost every day	16.80* (2.06)
Intercept:	117.61 (2.23)
Degrees of freedom:	3,119.97
R^2:	0.13

* Indicates that a variable is statistically significant the $p<0.05$ level.

Turning to 2006 data, the base group once more includes National School Lunch-eligible students, but in this case who studied civics or government junior year and memorized material in social studies classes (see Table 5.15). While each of the coefficients is statistically different from the base group, even the combination of exposure to civics or government in 11th grade and being asked to memorize material fails to close the National School Lunch-eligible gap.

Table 5.15: Regression Analysis of National School Lunch Program Eligibility and Selected Traditional Civic Learning Practices, 2006

Independent variables:	*Regression coefficient (Standard error)*
National School Lunch Program Eligibility	
Not eligible	22.21* (1.35)
Information not available	25.53* (2.36)
Studied civics or government in 11th grade	
No	-5.64* (1.09)
In social studies memorize material	
No	-7.29* (1.11)
I don't know	-20.77* (3.08)
Intercept:	139.24 (1.11)
Degrees of freedom:	2,604.07
R^2:	0.11

* Indicates that a variable is statistically significant the p<0.05 level.

Despite its empty contribution to students' performance on the NAEP Civics assessment, student lunch-eligible students are disproportionately more like to fill out worksheets in both 2006 and 1998. In the one year they benefit from memorizing material (2006), they are less likely to do so. Finally, they are more likely to read from a textbook in 2006, a year where this does not positively impact performance. In 2010, they are less likely to read from a textbook one or two times a week, the apparent ideal dosage.

Moving on to the impact of innovative civic learning practices on school-lunch eligible students, both eligible and ineligible students benefit from current events discussions during all three years of the NAEP Civics assessment (see Table 5.16). In 2010, the ideal dosage is weekly to daily current events discussions.

This finding is reinforced by CIRCLE's (Center for Information Research of Civic Learning and Engagement, 2013) 2012 National Youth Survey, where controversial issues discussions proved most impactful for students lacking these experiences at home. These students are disproportionately more likely to come from economically disadvantaged backgrounds (17).

Participating in debates or panel discussions also yields benefits for both student lunch-eligible and ineligible students with the exception of 1998 for the former when they have no statistically significant impact. In 2010, the ideal frequency of debates or panel discussions ranges from a few times per year to daily.

Both groups gain from participation in group projects when the question was asked in 2010. School lunch-eligible students do best when taking part in group projects a few times a year to once or twice per month, while ineligible students excel at the once or twice a year frequency.

Writing a letter to voice one's opinion or help resolve a community problem has a negative impact on student lunch-eligible students in 2006 and ineligible students in both 2006 and 2010. It makes no difference in 1998 for each group and 2010 for eligible students. Therefore, the prescribed dosage of letter writing (for the purpose of elevating NAEP Civics scores) is none at all.

Both student lunch-eligible and ineligible students benefit from taking part in role-playing, mock trials, or dramas during 2010 and 2006. Ineligible students show similar gains in 1998. The ideal frequency of this practice is once or twice a week to daily for eligible students, and a few times per year to once or twice a month for ineligible students.

While the distinction between school- and individually-inspired volunteerism is not statistically significant, both school lunch-eligible and ineligible students benefit from the presence of this practice.

Finally, classroom government makes no difference for school lunch-eligible students and adversely impacts ineligible students.

Table 5.16: The Impact of Exposure to Innovative Teaching Practices on NAEP Civics Assessment Student Scores by National School Lunch Program Eligibility

Practice	Eligible	Not Eligible
Current Events	Increase	Increase
Debates/ Panels	Increase*	Increase
Group Projects	Increase	Increase
Letter Writing	No Difference$/ Decrease&	Decrease*/ No Difference^
Role Playing/ Mock Trials/ Dramas	Increase*	Increase
Volunteering	Increase	Increase
Classroom Government	No Difference	Decrease

* 2010 and 2006 only
# 2010 only
& 2006 only
$ 2010 and 1998 only
^ 1998 only

In Tables 5.17 through 5.19, selected innovative civic learning practices are regressed with students' eligibility for the National School Lunch Program. In Table 5.17, the base group, employing 2010 data, includes National School Lunch-eligible students denied exposure to current events discussions and group projects in social studies classes, civics and government included. Of the coefficients reported below, only monthly group projects are statistically indistinct from the base group (intercept). While group projects a few times a year have a positive impact on NAEP performance, they fail to close the achievement gap for National School Lunch Program eligible students. On the other hand, weekly current events discussions do, and when carried out daily, actually surpass the positive coefficient for non-eligibility.

Using 2006 data, Table 5.18 regresses National School Lunch-eligibility with the binary variables of debates and panels and role playing and mock trials in social studies classes. Once more, the base group includes eligible students exposed to these two practices, and in this instance, all of the coefficients reported below are statistically different from this mix. Combined, the positive coefficients for these two innovative practices comprise roughly one-third of the coefficient associated with non-eligibility.

On the other hand, school-based volunteerism does make a significant dent by itself in 1998, but falls just short of neutralizing this measure of student poverty (see Table 5.19). In this case, the base group by which these conclusions were drawn includes National School Lunch-eligible students exposed to volunteer experiences through school. Each of the coefficients reported below meet the test of statistical significance from the base group with the exception of volunteerism outside of school.

Table 5.17: Regression Analysis of National School Lunch Program Eligibility and Selected Innovative Civic Learning Practices, 2010

Independent variables:	*Regression coefficient (Standard error)*
National School Lunch Program Eligibility	
Not eligible	20.39* (1.15)
Information not available	22.51* (3.04)
Discuss current events	
A few times a year	6.61* (2.15)
Once or twice a month	18.46* (1.89)
Once or twice a week	25.21* (1.86)
Almost every day	27.44* (1.77)
Work on a group project for social studies, civics, or government	
A few times a year	4.25* (1.56)
Once or twice a month	-2.03 (1.46)
Once or twice a week	-13.32* (1.53)
Almost every day	-23.27* (2.44)
Intercept:	116.01 (2.11)
Degrees of freedom:	4,206.94
R^2:	0.19

* Indicates that a variable is statistically significant the $p<0.05$ level.

Table 5.18: Regression Analysis of National School Lunch Program Eligibility and Selected Innovative Civic Learning Practices, 2006

Independent variables:	*Regression coefficient (Standard error)*
National School Lunch Program Eligibility	
Not eligible	21.82* (1.34)
Information not available	25.56* (2.42)
In social studies take part in debates or panels	
No	-5.42* (1.11)
I don't know	-15.25* (2.68)
In social studies take part in role playing or mock trials	
No	-2.11* (1.02)
I don't know	-12.80* (2.36)
Intercept:	138.69 (1.34)
Degrees of freedom:	3,201.21
R^2:	0.10

*Indicates that a variable is statistically significant the p<0.05 level.

Table 5.19: Regression Analysis of National School Lunch Program Eligibility and Selected Innovative Civic Learning Practices, 1998

Independent variables:	*Regression coefficient (Standard error)*
National School Lunch Program Eligibility	
Not eligible	20.27* (1.62)
Information not available	19.82* (1.84)
Did volunteer work in community	
Did work on my own	-1.29 (1.13)
No	-16.82* (1.05)
Intercept:	141.32 (1.80)
Degrees of freedom:	2,880.94
R^2:	0.10

* Indicates that a variable is statistically significant the p<0.05 level.

Taking one last look at the prevalence of these selected innovative civic learning practices, school lunch-eligible students in 2010 are disproportionately denied frequent (daily, weekly, and monthly) current events discussions, and more likely to report experiencing these discussions a few times per year or not at all. When the threshold question of their incidence is asked in 2006 and 1998, eligible students are disproportionately less likely to answer in the affirmative.

Similar patterns carry over to debates or panel discussions. In 2010, school lunch-eligible students are less likely to experience any frequency of these practices, and more likely to report their absence altogether. They answer “yes” less frequently than their portion of the population and “no” more often in both 2006 and 1998 in regard to the presence of this practice.

While school lunch-eligible students are disproportionately more likely to report taking part in a group project at daily and weekly frequencies in 2010, recall that they benefit most from this practice either monthly or a few times per year. They are less likely to work on group projects at these frequencies.

The exceptional case that emerges from this data is the disproportionate frequency by which school lunch-eligible students participate in role-playing, mock trials, and dramas. They gain most from a weekly to daily range with these experiences, and are more likely to report taking part in them. However, this pattern does not hold in 2006 or 1998, where eligible students are less likely to report experiencing this practice at any frequency.

Finally, school lunch-eligible students are less likely to volunteer through school or their own volition than should be expected given their percentage of the population. By contrast, non-eligible students are more likely to report individually-inspired volunteerism.

5.4. Parental Educational Attainment

While there is no single year of high school when exposure to civics or government is equally impactful regardless of the educational attainment of students' parent or parents, each group benefits in at least one iteration of the 2010, 2006, or 1998 NAEP Civics assessments from exposure to civics or government during sophomore, junior, and senior year (see Table 5.20). Students whose parents dropped out of high school even gain from exposure freshman year on the 1998 NAEP Civics assessment.

Sophomore level exposure props up scores for students whose mothers either graduated high school or attended some school after high school in 2006, and for students whose parents dropped out of high school or completed college in 1998. Students of college graduates prosper from a civics or government exposure junior year in all three iterations of the assessment, and their peers gain in two of them (2006 and 1998). Senior year exposure to civics or government boosts scores for students whose parent or parents dropped out of high school, attended some school beyond high school, and graduated college in both 2006 and 1998. Students of parents who are high school graduates make gains with exposure to civics or government in 12th grade only in 1998.

Table 5.20: Student Score Increases on the NAEP Civics Assessment When Civics or Government Is Taught by Mother's/ Parents' Educational Attainment?

Grade	<High School	High School	High School +	College
9th	Yes#	No	No	No
10th	Yes#	Yes^	Yes^	Yes#
11th	Yes*	Yes*	Yes*	Yes
12th	Yes*	Yes#	Yes*	Yes*

* 2006 and 1998 only
# 1998 only
^ 2006 only

Next, in focusing on the grades and years of exposure to civics or government selected in Table 5.20, students whose mother advanced no further than high school are disproportionately less likely to study civics or government in 10th, 11th, and 12th grade. The reverse is true for students whose mothers graduated from college.

Recall that the 1998 NAEP Civics assessment asks students to identify the highest level of educational attainment for either parent. In 9th, 10th, and 11th grade, students whose parent or parents dropped out of high school are disproportionately less likely to encounter civics or government and children of college graduates more likely. Only in 12th grade does the student population exposed to civics or government assume proportionality.

The civic content students study has a positive impact in only one case when viewed through the prism of parental educational attainment: students with at least one parent who graduated from college benefit from exposure to parties, elections, and voting in 1998. On every other variable analyzed across the 2010, 2006, and 1998 NAEP Civics assessments, students across the parental educational attainment spectrum are either not impacted by specific civic

content, or are negatively affected by such exposure. The latter outcome is limited to students whose parent or parents either graduated high school or college.

Traditional civic learning practices have an uneven impact on students' performance on the past three iterations of the NAEP Civics assessment when their mother's or parents' educational attainment is factored in. Filling out worksheets has no positive impact for any group (see Table 5.21). In fact, students whose mother or parents completed college actually do worse when this question was asked in both 2006 and 1998. On the other hand, memorizing material is beneficial across the spectrum in 2006 and 1998 with the exception of the latter year for students whose parent or parents graduated from high school.

Gains from textbook reading are limited to students whose mother graduated from college in 2006, and whose parent or parents either graduated from college or completed some education beyond high school in 1998. The impact of textbook reading was measured in a more sophisticated manner in 2010 as students were asked the frequency by which they engaged in the practice. Students whose mothers dropped out of high school do best with monthly textbook reading. Those whose mothers graduated from high school or completed some education beyond high school do best with daily to monthly reading. Students whose mothers graduated from college perform highest with daily to weekly textbook reading assignments.

Table 5.21: The Impact of Exposure to Traditional Teaching Practices on NAEP Civics Assessment Student Scores by Mother's/ Parents' Educational Attainment

Practice	<High School	High School	High School +	College
Worksheets	No Difference†	No Difference	No Difference	Decrease
Memorize	Increase	Increase*	Increase	Increase
Textbooks	Increase#^	Increase#	Increase&	Increase

* 2006 only
# 2010 only
& 2010 and 1998 only
† Reporting standards not met in 2006
^ Reporting standards not met in 1998

In Tables 5.22 and 5.23, the educational attainment of students' mothers is regressed alongside selected traditional practices using 2006 data. In both cases, the base group includes children of high school dropouts who are exposed to the selected practices in social studies classes.

Studying civics or government junior year and material memorization are analyzed in Table 5.22, and all of the coefficients, including the ordered variable of parental educational attainment, are statistically distinct from the base group. While exposure to civics or government in 11th grade and memorizing material both impact NAEP Civics scores positively, only in combination can they close the gap between a single parental education level (high school drop out to high school graduate, for example).

The next table regresses only parental educational attainment and textbook reading in social studies classes. Each of the coefficients reported in Table 5.23 are statistically distinct from the intercept except for unknown parental attainment. As was true of the previous

traditional variables, textbook reading closes only about half the gap associated with each respective attainment level.

Table 5.22: Regression Analysis of Mother's Educational Attainment and Selected Traditional Civic Learning Practices, 2006

Independent variables:	*Regression coefficient (Standard error)*
Parental education level	
Graduated high school	12.18* (1.78)
Some education after high school	24.11* (1.78)
Graduated college	35.53* (1.90)
Unknown	-6.55* (3.25)
Studied civics or government in 11th grade	
No	-5.98* (1.09)
In social studies memorize material	
No	-6.50* (0.99)
I don't know	-18.45* (2.79)
Intercept:	131.63 (1.80)
Degrees of freedom:	4,153.57
R^2:	0.16

* Indicates that a variable is statistically significant the $p<0.05$ level.

Table 5.23: Regression Analysis of Parental Educational Attainment and Read from a Textbook, 2006

Independent variables:	*Regression coefficient (Standard error)*
Parental education level	
Graduated high school	12.84* (1.86)
Some education after high school	25.04* (1.83)
Graduated college	36.57* (2.00)
Unknown	-5.93 (3.31)
In social studies read from textbook	
No	-5.47* (1.55)
I don't know	-28.38* (3.89)
Intercept:	126.49 (1.82)
Degrees of freedom:	3,997.3
R^2:	0.15

* Indicates that a variable is statistically significant the p<0.05 level.

Students whose mothers failed to complete college are disproportionately less likely to be asked to memorize material in 2006. The same is true in 1998 of students whose parent or parents dropped out of high school. In both years, students whose mother, parent, or parents completed college are more likely to memorize material.

Similar patterns hold for textbook reading across each iteration of the NAEP Civics assessment. Students of high school dropouts and graduates are less likely to experience textbook reading and college graduates more so at all frequencies. In 2006, students of high school dropouts, graduates, and those with some education beyond high school are disproportionately less likely to experience textbook reading. The case is the same for only students of high school dropouts in 1998. Once more, students whose mother, parent, or parents graduated from college are more likely to take part in this practice in both 2006 and 1998.

When it comes to innovative civic learning methodologies, students of parents from all educational backgrounds benefit universally from current events discussions during the last three NAEP Civics assessments (see Table 5.24). The 2010 assessment offers evidence of the ideal dosage of this practice and others. Students whose mothers either dropped out of or graduated from high school benefit most from a range between daily and monthly current events discussions. Students whose mothers completed some education beyond high school or graduated from college do best with a frequency that ranges from daily to weekly current events discussions.

While students whose mother, parent, or parents completed some education beyond high school or graduated from college prosper from taking part in debates or panel discussions in all three years, children of high school dropouts gain only in 2010, and high school graduates in 2010 and 2006. Ideal frequencies in 2010 range from daily to a few times per year for students whose mothers completed some education beyond high school or graduated from college, to weekly to a few times per year for children whose mothers dropped out of high school, to a few times per year for students of high school graduates.

All groups but students of high school dropouts gain from participating in group projects a few times per year. The latter are not harmed by the experience so long as the frequency does not exceed monthly projects.

Writing a letter to express one’s opinion or help resolve a community problem has either a negative effect on NAEP scores across all groups or makes no difference at all. Only children

whose mothers completed some education beyond high school are not harmed by exposure to this practice at a minimum frequency (a few times a year or less in 2010).

The benefits of role-playing, mock trials, and dramas are mixed, but each group gains in at least one of the NAEP Civics assessments analyzed. Exposure to this practice a few times per year is the ideal dosage for each group in 2010.

Volunteering in one's community also presents across-the-board benefits on the 1998 NAEP, although the difference between school-sponsored and student-initiated volunteering is not statistically significant in any case.

Finally, the presence of classroom government has no statistically significant impact on 1998 NAEP Civics scores for all students except those whose parent or parents graduated from college. Their scores are actually diminished by such exposure.

Table 5.24: The Impact of Exposure to Innovative Teaching Practices on NAEP Civics Assessment Student Scores by Mother's/ Parents' Educational Attainment

Practice	<High School	High School	High School +	College
Current Events	Increase	Increase	Increase	Increase
Debates/ Panels	Increase#	Increase*	Increase	Increase
Group Projects	No Difference	Increase	Increase	Increase
Letter Writing	Decrease$	Decrease*	No Difference	Decrease*
Role Playing/ Mock Trials/ Dramas	Increase#	Increase$	Increase*	Increase$
Volunteering	Increase	Increase	Increase	Increase
Classroom Government	No Difference	No Difference	No Difference	Decrease

* 2010 and 2006 only
\# 2010 only
$ 2010 and 1998 only

Tables 5.25 through 5.27 display regression analyses of parental educational attainment and selected innovative civic learning practices across the last three iterations of the NAEP Civics assessment.

In Table 5.25, using 2010 data, three ordered variables, parental educational attainment, current events discussions, and group projects, were regressed. The base group includes students whose mother dropped out of high school and were denied exposure to current events and group projects. With the exception of monthly group projects, all of the coefficients reported meet tests of statistical significance relative to the base group.

Current events discussions and group projects a few times a year nearly close the gap between students of high school dropouts and graduates. Monthly current events discussions bring the former students to the same status of those whose mother completed some education

beyond high school, and weekly or daily current events discussions place them on par with children of college graduates.

Using 2006 data, the base group represented in Table 5.26 includes students of high school drop outs never exposed to debates and panels or role playing and mock trials in social studies classes. The coefficient associated with the absence of the latter fails to meet tests of statistical significance relative to the base group, as does the group of students whose mother's educational attainment is unknown. As was true for National School Lunch Program eligibility, mere exposure to debates and panels or role playing and mock trials fails to close the gap of any of the parental educational attainment thresholds, even when offered in combination.

However, in 1998, school-based volunteering virtually bridges the gap between children of high school dropouts and graduates and more than surpasses the other respective gradations (see Table 5.27). In this case, the base group includes students of high school dropouts who experienced volunteer opportunities in school. Of the coefficients presented below, only out-of-school volunteerism is statistically indistinct from the intercept (base group).

Table 5.25: Regression Analysis of Parental Educational Attainment and Selected Innovative Civic Learning Practices, 2010

Independent variables:	*Regression coefficient (Standard error)*
Parental education level	
Graduated high school	5.85* (1.44)
Some education after high school	15.25* (1.51)
Graduated college	25.42* (1.41)
Unknown	-12.22*(2.67)
Discuss current events	
A few times a year	5.40* (2.17)
Once or twice a month	17.67* (1.86)
Once or twice a week	24.00* (1.88)
Almost every day	26.09* (1.86)
Work on a group project for social studies, civics, or government	
A few times a year	3.76* (1.53)
Once or twice a month	-2.70 (1.40)
Once or twice a week	-14.32* (1.62)
Almost every day	-24.25* (2.58)
Intercept:	115.44 (2.16)
Degrees of freedom:	5,425.41
R^2:	0.20

* Indicates that a variable is statistically significant the $p<0.05$ level.

Table 5.26: Regression Analysis of Parental Educational Attainment and Selected Innovative Civic Learning Practices, 2006

Independent variables:	*Regression coefficient (Standard error)*
Parental education level	
Graduated high school	11.84* (1.81)
Some education after high school	23.66* (1.83)
Graduated college	34.95* (1.95)
Unknown	-6.38 (3.34)
In social studies take part in debates or panels	
No	-4.40* (1.11)
I don't know	-13.23* (2.58)
In social studies take part in role playing or mock trials	
No	-1.41 (0.99)
I don't know	-11.25* (2.31)
Intercept:	130.38 (2.03)
Degrees of freedom:	4,551.91
R^2:	0.15

* Indicates that a variable is statistically significant the p<0.05 level.

Table 5.27: Regression Analysis of Parental Educational Attainment and Volunteer Work in Community, 1998

Independent variables:	*Regression coefficient (Standard error)*
Parental education level	
Graduated high school	14.94* (2.01)
Some education after high school	18.26* (2.19)
Graduated college	30.86* (2.08)
Unknown	-17.65* (5.58)
Did volunteer work in community	
Did work on my own	-1.77 (1.06)
No	-14.80* (1.00)
Intercept:	134.87 (1.93)
Degrees of freedom:	4,432.24
R^2:	0.14

* Indicates that a variable is statistically significant the p<0.05 level.

Before turning last to English Language Learners, I'll explore the proportionality by which the effective innovative practices identified above are offered to students with a parent or parents of various educational backgrounds.

In 2010, students whose mothers either dropped out of or graduated from high school are disproportionately less likely to experience current events discussions in social studies classes at every frequency (see Appendix C). By contrast, students whose mothers completed college are more likely to experience this practice at every frequency. The case is identical in 2006 when students are only asked the threshold question about exposure to current events. When presented with the same question in 1998, students whose parent or parent dropped out of high school are less likely to experience current events discussions, and children of college graduates more likely.

Recall that students with mothers who dropped out of high school do best when exposed to debates or panel discussions from a range of weekly to a few times per year, and those of high school graduates lock in at a few times per year. At each of these frequencies, students in these two groups are proportionately less likely to experience these opportunities, and college students once again more likely. When the basic threshold question of exposure to this practice was asked in 2006, students whose mother either dropped out of, graduated from, or completed some education beyond high school are less likely to experience debates or panel discussions, and those of college graduates more likely.

In 2010, students whose mothers dropped out of high school are disproportionately less likely to take part in group projects across their ideal range, from monthly to never. They are more likely than should be expected to report engagement in daily projects, a frequency that undermines performance on the NAEP Civics assessment. Students whose mothers graduated from high school are also less likely to take part in group projects at their ideal dosage, a few times per year. Once more, students whose mothers are college graduates are more likely to experience group projects at every frequency.

Each group does best when taking part in role-playing, mock trials, or dramas a few times per year. However, students whose mothers graduated from college are disproportionately more likely, and the other less advantaged students less likely, to experience these practices at this dosage. An identical pattern emerges in 1998 when students are asked a threshold question about these experiences.

Finally, students whose parent or parents dropped out of, graduated from, or completed some education beyond high school are less likely to volunteer in the community through both school-sponsored and individually-initiated endeavors. By comparison, students of college graduates are more likely to volunteer through both channels.

5.5. English Language Learners

Like the previous three demographic sections, we begin this final section on the intersection between English Language Learner status and traditional and innovative civic learning practices with a look at the impact of exposure to civics or government by grade. Only

on the 2006 NAEP Civics assessment do ELL students benefit from exposure to this subject area, and the gains are restricted to 11th and 12th grade (see Table 5.28). Non-ELL students demonstrate gains in each grade on at least one of the last three NAEP Civics assessments.

Table 5.28: Student Score Increases on the NAEP Civics Assessment When Civics or Government Is Taught by English Language Learner Status?

Grade	ELL	Not ELL
9th	No†	Yes^
10th	No&	Yes*
11th	Yes^	Yes
12th	Yes^&	Yes*

* 2006 and 1998 only
^ 2006 only
† Reporting standards not met in 2006 or 1998
& Reporting standards not met in 1998

According to the 2006 NAEP Civics assessment results, exposure to civics or government in these two grades is uneven. ELL students are disproportionately less likely to report enrolling in them despite their positive impact. By default, non-ELL students are more likely to gain this exposure.

The impact of selected civic content on students NAEP performance is a familiar refrain when ELL status is accounted for. In only two cases during a single assessment (2006) do ELL students benefit from exposure to specific content. This includes studying Congress and the President and his Cabinet. In other years, and including the other content areas examined in this study, exposure has no impact on ELL students. In every content area except studying the

President and his Cabinet, however, it has a negative impact on non-ELL student scores in at least one of the three years analyzed.

Although small samples limit the ability to determine the impact of exposure to selected traditional civic learning practices, neither memorizing material nor reading from a textbook in social studies classes seems to boost NAEP scores for ELL students (see Table 5.29). On the other hand, these two practices prove beneficial for non-ELL students across the three assessments analyzed (memorization was measured on only two, 2006 and 1998). Filling out worksheets is detrimental to non-ELL students' scores.

Table 5.29: The Impact of Exposure to Traditional Teaching Practices on NAEP Civics Assessment Student Scores by English Language Learner Status

Practice	ELL	Not ELL
Worksheets	†	Decrease
Memorize	No Difference	Increase
Textbooks	No Difference^	Increase

† Reporting standards not met
^ Reporting standards not met in 2006 or 1998

As completed in the previous three sections, Tables 5.30 and 5.31 display regression analyses of English proficiency alongside selected traditional civic learning practices. In 2006, neither exposure to civics or government in 11th grade nor being asked to memorize material in social studies courses came close to offsetting the negative consequences of English Language Learner status (see Table 5.30). These conclusions are drawn relative to a base group of ELL students who studied civics or government junior year and memorized material in social studies classes. Each of the coefficients displayed below are statistically distinct from this group.

Table 5.30: Regression Analysis of Status as English Language Learner and Selected Traditional Civic Learning Practices, 2006

Independent variables:	*Regression coefficient (Standard error)*
Status as English Language Learner (ELL)	
Not ELL	40.78* (2.51)
Studied civics or government in 11th grade	
No	-5.93* (1.15)
In social studies memorize material	
No	-7.28* (1.11)
I don't know	-21.31* (2.94)
Intercept:	117.40 (2.53)
Degrees of freedom:	2,817.2
R^2:	0.07

* Indicates that a variable is statistically significant the p<0.05 level.

Weekly textbook reading proved most impactful in 2010, but once more, failed to bridge even half of the distance between English proficient and ELL students (see Table 5.31). In this case, the base group included ELL students not exposed to textbook reading in social studies, civics, or government classes. Once more, the coefficients for both of these variables are statistically different from the intercept (base group).

Table 5.31: Regression Analysis of Status as English Language Learner and Read Material from a Textbook, 2010

Independent variables:	*Regression coefficient (Standard error)*
Status as English Language Learner (ELL)	
Not ELL	50.82* (2.28)
Read material from a textbook	
A few times a year	5.19* (2.04)
Once or twice a month	14.04* (2.11)
Once or twice a week	18.27* (1.99)
Almost every day	16.06* (2.03)
Intercept:	85.49 (2.79)
Degrees of freedom:	3,943.79
R^2:	0.10

* Indicates that a variable is statistically significant the $p<0.05$ level.

In evaluating the impact of innovative civic learning practices, both ELL and non-ELL students gain from exposure to current events discussions in their social studies courses (see Table 5.32). ELL students do best when exposed to this practice on a daily basis, and non-ELL students in a range from daily to weekly current events discussions.

Scores for both ELL and non-ELL students improve when taking part in debates and panel discussions, although progress is limited to 1998 only for the former group. Group projects also contribute to gains on the 2010 NAEP Civics assessment for both groups. ELL students do best with a monthly dosage of group work, and their non-ELL counterparts at few times per year.

Letter-writing is harmful to both groups in 2006 and to non-ELL students in 2010 and 1998, too. Taking part in role-plays, mock trials, and dramas benefits only non-ELL students.

The number of ELL students who report volunteering through school or on their own was too small to measure impact due to NAEP's reporting standards. The presence of classroom government does not move ELL students' scores on the 1998 NAEP Civics assessment. However it does affect non-ELL students' performance negatively.

Table 5.32: The Impact of Exposure to Innovative Teaching Practices on NAEP Civics Assessment Student Scores by English Language Learner Status

Practice	ELL	Not ELL
Current Events	Increase^	Increase
Debates/ Panels	Increase#	Increase
Group Projects	Increase	Increase
Letter Writing	Decrease@	Decrease
Role Playing/ Mock Trials/ Dramas	No Difference^	Increase
Volunteering	†	Increase
Classroom Government	No Difference	Decrease

@ 2006 only
# 1998 only
† Reporting standards not met
^ Reporting standards not met in 1998

In Tables 5.33 and 5.34, I regressed ELL status with innovative civic learning practices beneficial to this group of learners. Using 2010 data, the ordered variables of current events

discussions and group projects were regressed relative to ELL students (see Table 5.33). The base group thus includes ELL students exposed to neither of these practices in social studies, civics, or government courses. Of the coefficients displayed below, only that representing monthly group projects is statistically indistinct from the intercept (base group). As has been true across demographic groups, occasional group projects prove beneficial to ELL students, yet fail to close the related civic achievement gap. Current events discussions are much more impactful, especially at the highest frequencies (monthly or more), but still leave a wide chasm between ELL learners and their English proficient peers.

Like group projects, debates and panel discussions in 1998 close only about one-sixth of this language-related achievement gap (see Table 5.34). These conclusions are drawn from a base group of ELL students exposed to debates and panel discussions. Each of the coefficients is statistically different from the base group (intercept).

Table 5.33: Regression Analysis of Status as an English Language Learner and Selected Innovative Civic Learning Practices, 2010

Independent variables:	*Regression coefficient (Standard error)*
Status as English Language Learner (ELL)	
Not ELL	44.31* (2.23)
Discuss current events	
A few times a year	6.38* (2.24)
Once or twice a month	19.16* (1.87)
Once or twice a week	25.79* (1.86)
Almost every day	27.94* (1.80)
Work on a group project for social studies, civics, or government	
A few times a year	4.96* (1.61)
Once or twice a month	-1.33 (1.49)
Once or twice a week	-13.08* (1.60)
Almost every day	-24.61* (2.41)
Intercept:	86.74 (3.01)
Degrees of freedom:	5,040.14
R^2:	0.17

* Indicates that a variable is statistically significant the p<0.05 level.

Table 5.34: Regression Analysis of Status as English Language Learner and Take Part in Debates or Panels, 1998

Independent variables:	*Regression coefficient (Standard error)*
Status as English Language Learner (ELL)	
Not ELL	43.03* (3.58)
In social studies take part in debates or panels	
No	-7.03* (0.88)
I don't know	-26.43* (2.74)
Intercept:	112.58 (3.49)
Degrees of freedom:	3,182.76
R^2:	0.06

* Indicates that a variable is statistically significant the p<0.05 level.

I'll close this section by measuring the proportionality by which ELL and non-ELL students are exposed to innovative civic learning practices that led to gains on at least one of the last three NAEP Civics assessments. ELL students experience daily and weekly current events discussions less frequently than their share of the population would predict. Along these same lines, ELL students are more likely to report experiencing current events discussions rarely (only a few times per year) or never.

Similarly, ELL students are less likely to take part in debates or panel discussions in their social studies classes in 1998. They are as likely to engage in monthly group projects.

5.5. Summary

Recall that Hypothesis Three posited that students who experience school-based civic learning opportunities will exhibit higher levels of civic knowledge and skills regardless of their race or ethnicity, family income, parental educational attainment, or English language proficiency. As was true of the first two hypotheses, this one is only confirmed in part.

Race and ethnicity proves too powerful a force for students to overcome with the exception of Asian/ Pacific Islanders. Black and Hispanic students do benefit, in part, from selected traditional and innovative civic learning practices. Blacks and Hispanics score better on both the 2006 and 1998 NAEP Civics assessment when studying civics or government in 11th grade, and Hispanics benefit in both years from 12th grade exposure, too.

Similarly, both black and Hispanic students gain from memorizing material in 2006 and the latter group only in 1998. Textbook reading emerges as the most potent of the traditional practice variables. Hispanics gain across all three years of the NAEP assessment analyzed, and blacks in 2010 only. Across all of these traditional practices, the only nonwhite group to close the gap is Hispanics when given weekly to daily dosages of textbook reading in 2010.

Among the innovative civic learning practices analyzed, current events discussions, debates and panels, and school-sponsored volunteerism present gains for all racial and ethnic groups with the exception of debates and panels for blacks in 1998. This confirms Levinson's (2012) contention that structured controversial issues discussions and project-based learning stand as promising means of addressing and leveraging diversity (98).

Role-playing, mock trials, and dramas benefit Hispanic students in 2010 and group projects Hispanics and Asian / Pacific Islanders in the same year. While the latter group once again overcomes the negative coefficient associated with their status when exposed to each of these aforementioned innovative practices, blacks and Hispanics do the same only through frequent current events discussions.

School lunch-eligible students improve their NAEP performance in 2006 and 1998 when studying civics or government, but still come far short from closing the gap with ineligible students. The same is true of other the other traditional practices that prove effective: textbook reading in 2010 and memorizing material in 2006.

The case is similar for innovative practices. While benefiting from current events discussions, debates and panels (2010 and 2006 only), group projects, role-playing, mock trials, and dramas (2010 and 2006 only), and volunteering, only daily to weekly dosages of current events discussions in 2010 fully bridge the divide between school lunch-eligible and ineligible students.

Parental educational attainment proves a powerful independent force in its own right in determining student performance on the past three iterations of the NAEP Civics assessment. Students whose mother, parent, or parents dropped out of high school benefit from exposure to a civics or government in grades 9 through 12 in 1998, and 11 through 12 in 2006, too. If their parent or parents graduated from high school or completed some education beyond high school, these students gain from sophomore civics in 2006, junior civics in 2006 and 1998, and senior civics in 1998 for the former group and both 2006 and 1998 for the latter.

However, in none of these instances does exposure to civics or government close the gap from students whose parents dropped out of high school to those who graduated. In only two grades during 1998 (11th and 12th) do children of high school graduates bridge the divide with those who completed some education beyond high school. The gap between the latter group and children of college graduates is never completely closed through exposure to civics or government.

Among the other traditional practices analyzed, memorizing material and textbook reading prove effective across parental educational attainment groups on at least one of the last

three iterations of NAEP Civics. Memorization produces across-the-board gains in 2006, and improvements in 1998 for all but children whose parents graduated from high school. While textbook reading serves children of college graduates best, the other groups benefit on at least one in the assessments analyzed. In no instance does either of these practices close any one of the gaps associated with parental educational attainment.

The story is a bit different when parental educational attainment and selected innovative civic learning practices are paired. As is true with the previous demographic groups, current events discussions present universal benefits. Debates and panels help all groups in 2010 and all but children of high school dropouts in 2006. The latter group is the only one that doesn't gain from infrequent group projects (a few times per year) in 2010. Role-playing, mock trials, and dramas prove impactful for all groups in 2010 and volunteering across-the-board in 1998.

Frequent current events discussions allow students to advance at least one place on the parental educational attainment chart in 2010. They have a similar effect in 2006 and 1998 for all students except those trying to make the leap to those whose mothers, parent, or parents graduated from college. Debates and panels, along with group projects and role-playing, mock trials, and dramas, do the same at only the lowest frequencies (a few times per year) for students of high school dropouts in 2010. Only school-based volunteering allows all students to climb the latter at least one step on the parental educational attainment ladder in 1998.

Finally, English Language Learners (ELL) gain from exposure to civics or government in 2006 only, and its incidence fails to close the gap with their non-ELL peers. They don't benefit from exposure to other traditional practices measured.

ELL students improve their performance on the NAEP Civics assessment in 2010 and 2006 when they experience current events discussions. Debates and panels produce gains in 1998, and group projects also add value in 2010. However, only frequent current events discussions (weekly to daily in 2010) close the ELL/ non-ELL divide.

In sum, both selected traditional and innovative civic learning practices provide benefits to students across race and ethnicity, school lunch eligibility, parental educational attainment, and ELL status. Other practices, including filling out worksheets, specific civic content, letter writing, or classroom government provide no added value when it comes to performance on the NAEP Civics assessment, although the same is true with the general NAEP sample. Only frequent current events discussions completely close demographic gaps. Hypothesis Three is thus partially confirmed.

Perhaps the most important finding in this chapter is further confirmation of the denial of both effective traditional and innovative civic learning opportunities to disadvantaged students. In almost every scenario, nonwhite, poor, and non-English speaking students are disproportionately less likely to access these opportunities. Given these sobering statistics, the underlying gaps associated with demographics are further widened by school-based civic learning opportunities or lack thereof.

Finally, the CIRCLE study (2013) referenced earlier in this chapter concluded that "…discussion, debate, and role-playing simulations in school boosted civic knowledge more for advantaged students than disadvantaged students…" They thus call for "…materials, activities, and professional development that address the special needs of disadvantaged youth."

More broadly, "One size does not fit all: civic education must be attentive to diverse perspectives and must honor students' experiences and the cultural context of the communities in which they live" (pp. 17-18). Along these lines, students who attend multiracial schools are less likely to discuss current events or to vote as adults. However, students who attend diverse schools where current events are discussed are more likely to be informed and engaged as adults. This conclusion speaks to the promise of an equitable distribution of high-quality civic learning opportunities in our ever-more diverse schools and society.

Moreover, a combination of effective traditional and innovative civic learning practices must be employed by teachers "…like instruments in an orchestra." Dean et al.. (2012) write

> Each has its own characteristics, contributes to the orchestra in particular ways, and must be masterfully played both alone and in combination with other instruments to obtain the desired effect. The orchestra's conductor must know when to emphasize each of the instruments and how to bring out their particular qualities in order to accomplish the purpose of the music. An orchestra sounds best when the composer selects the most appropriate instruments and the conductor blends those instruments in just the right way to create the desired sound. To be skilled conductors of instruction, teachers must intentionally select the best mix of instructional strategies to meet the diverse needs of students in their classrooms (Kindle location 2441-2442).

6. THE BROADER, STRATEGIC DESIGN OF THE CURRICULUM

6.1. Introduction

Hypothesis Four, Part A builds off of the findings in Chapters Four and Five, which demonstrate the impact of a combination of traditional and innovative civic learning practices as contributors to students' civic knowledge and skills. It posits that schools with sustainable, systemic approaches to civic learning have a strategically-designed curriculum that incorporates promising civic learning practices.

Recall that the entirety of Hypothesis Four is premised on the Bryk et al. (2010) essential school supports model for student achievement. Part A of this hypothesis explores the dynamics of student learning, which the authors measure via time allotted for student learning in a given subject area and the effectiveness of academic and social supports for learning (p. 49). This speaks to the overarching instructional guidance at a school, and encompasses organization of the curriculum, content standards included, and the academic goals of instruction (pp. 52-53).

The academic success of students, Dean et al. claim (2012), is dependent upon

> High-quality instruction…requires teachers to develop a common language for instruction and effectively use a common set of instructional strategies that have a high likelihood of increasing student achievement (Kindle location 105).

In measuring the impact of a school's curricular organization on student attendance in their study of the impact of reform in Chicago, Bryk et al. find that "schools (who) us(ed) a well-paced, aligned curriculum and deploy(ed) an application oriented pedagogy were much more likely to show significant improvements in attendance." The reverse was true for schools that relied primarily on didactic instruction (p. 102).

The authors conclude that "...introducing constructivist pedagogies that involve more active student learning in project-based work can act as a productive resource for engaging in a school more generally" (pp. 121-2). The results of Chapters Four and Five provide at least partial confirmation of the transfer of these truths to the realm of civic learning, as certain innovative practices like current events discussions, debates and panels, and community service (each in proper dosages) prove more impactful than traditional practices like filling out worksheets, memorizing material, or teaching any specific content.

The *No Excuses* report (Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools, 2010) provides the basic framework for a test of the Bryk et al. essential supports model in the context of civic learning. In the curricular domain, the subject of this chapter and Part A of Hypothesis Four, the framework entails four dimensions which provide the backbone of the analysis that follows. Schools with sustained, systemic approaches to civic learning offer students a diverse array of civic learning opportunities, and they do this by leveraging the promising civic learning approaches detailed in Chapter Two, Section Five, and tested in Chapters Four and Five.

Schools also have a strategic design for civic learning, where civic learning is consciously integrated into students' entire four year high school experience. This design relies on a combination of home-grown civic learning practices supplemented by programs and resources from outside providers. Finally, these schools prove that it's possible to meet standards requirements and pursue innovation in the realm of civic learning simultaneously. In this era of high-stakes testing focusing exclusively on literacy and numeracy, these schools complement the grind of "drill and kill" with high-quality civic learning opportunities.

In testing Part A of Hypothesis Four, this Chapter will feature diverse data sources, including School-wide Civic Assessments from selected Illinois Democracy Schools, teacher responses to specific questions on the 2013 "Illinois Five Essentials" survey from these schools and their paired comparisons, and interviews of administrators and social studies teachers at these Democracy Schools.

6.2. Diverse Array of Civic Learning Opportunities

Schools with sustained, systemic commitments to civic learning rely upon both traditional and innovative approaches to civic learning. These approaches include direct instruction, current and controversial issues discussions, service-learning, simulations of democratic practices and processes, extracurricular opportunities, and student voice in school governance.

In search of evidence of selected Democracy Schools' use of these traditional and innovative civic learning practices, I analyzed their School-wide Civic Assessments completed between 2010 and 2013. I supplemented this information by reviewing transcripts of interviews with administrators and faculty at these same schools, all conducted in November and December of 2013.

The civic learning programs of schools employing all six of the practices are deemed "comprehensive." Programs with four to five of the practices are labeled "extensive," two-to-three "average," and only one "minimal." Three of the six schools utilize each of the six practices, and the other half of the cohort five of six (see Table 6.1). The latter group does not

have a formal service-learning program in place, but as will be clear in the descriptions that follow, each offers extensive community service opportunities to students through extracurricular endeavors.

Table 6.1: Selected Illinois Democracy Schools' Use of Combinations of Six Promising Approaches to Civic Learning

School	***Urban Prep (U)***	***Coal City (D)***	***Sheepside (S1)***	***Eisenhower (S2)***	***Pony Peak (S3)***	***Whitman (S4)***
Civic learning program	Comprehensive	Extensive	Extensive	Extensive	Comprehensive	Extensive

Each of the six practices is profiled at length in the balance of this section. Examples from the selected Democracy Schools are derived from School-wide Civic Assessments only, as interview transcripts illuminate other sections in this chapter and the four that follow. Current and controversial issues discussions are explored at great length given comparative data available through the teacher portion of the 2013 Illinois Five Essentials survey.

We begin with direction instruction. In a required senior year Government course at Coal City High School, students complete a public meeting assignment. They are asked to attend a local community meeting and to write a reflection paper afterward. Students are often surprised at the strong public turnout these meetings inspire. Instructors hope that through this assignment, "students will harness a greater understanding of what it means to be an active participant in the community."

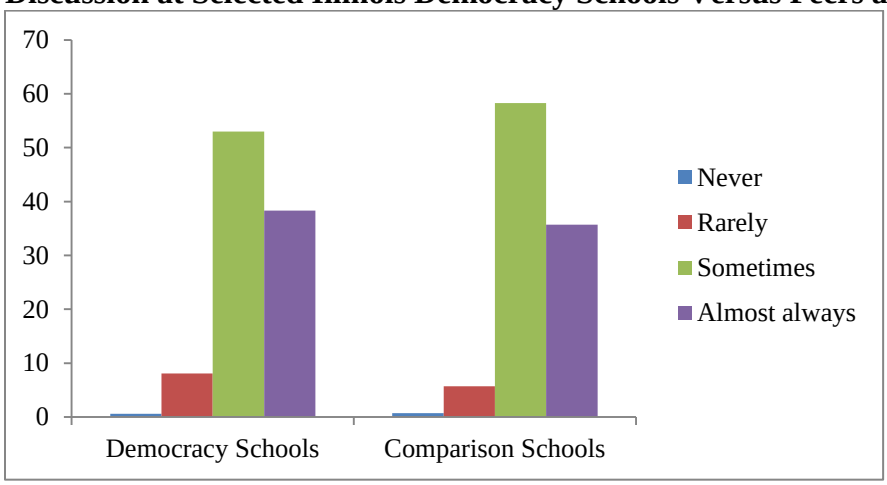
Dwight D. Eisenhower High School students must complete United States history and government courses in order to graduate too. AP Environment Science students at Eisenhower examine scientific policies throughout the semester. One project centers on mining policy, where students research the Keystone Pipeline, mountain top removal, or a 19th Century federal mining act, and ultimately write a letter to their congressman. This "business letter…states their position and scientific reasons for their opinion and a specific action they would like the representative to take."

Walt Whitman High School's commitment to direct instruction is straight forward. Students must pass an exam on the Constitution in its sophomore Government class. This class, in turn, is required for graduation.

As we pivot from direct instruction to discussion, let's turn first to an examination of related data from the 2013 Illinois Five Essentials survey. Teachers were asked a host of questions in regard to the quality and quantity of discussion that takes place in their classrooms.

The first question measures the extent to which students "build on each other's ideas during discussion." Responses from teachers at selected Democracy Schools vary little from those at comparison schools. While teachers at the former are slightly more likely to suggest that students build upon the ideas of their peers almost always (38.3% versus 35.7%, see Figure 6.1), their colleagues at comparison schools more frequently select "sometimes" (58.3% to 53.0%).

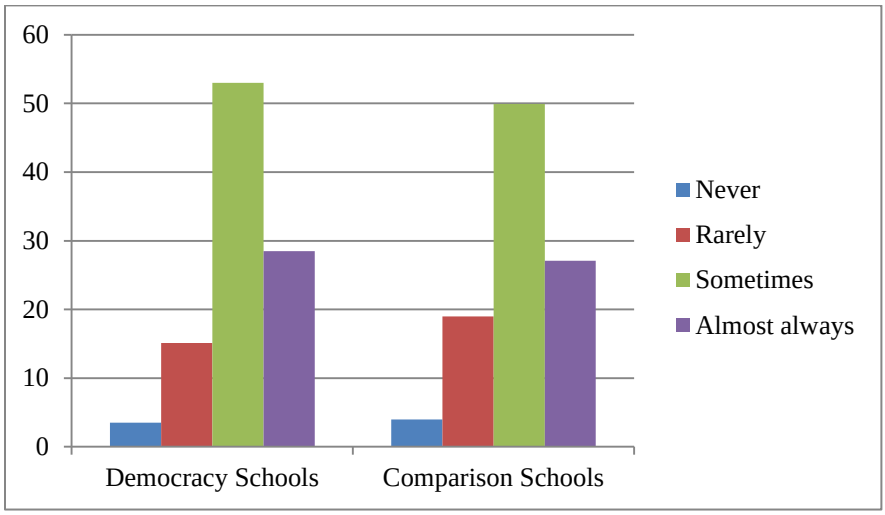
Figure 6.1: The Extent to Which Students Build upon One Another's Ideas during Discussion at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools Versus Peers at Parallel Schools



Among the twelve schools studied, Urban Prep High School was most likely to report that students rarely (22.2%) or never (2.8%) engage in this practice, in both cases more than two standard deviations above the mean (6.9% and 0.7%, respectively). Suburban Eisenhower, on the other hand, is most likely to answer "almost always," a rate (55.2%) greater than one standard deviation above the mean (37%).

The second discussion-related question gauges students' use of "data and text references to support their ideas." As is visible in Figure 6.2 below, selected Democracy Schools outperform their paired comparisons on both the "Almost always" and "Sometimes" counts, and reciprocally, trail on the "Rarely" and "Never" measures. However, it must be stated that variation on each of these measures is slight.

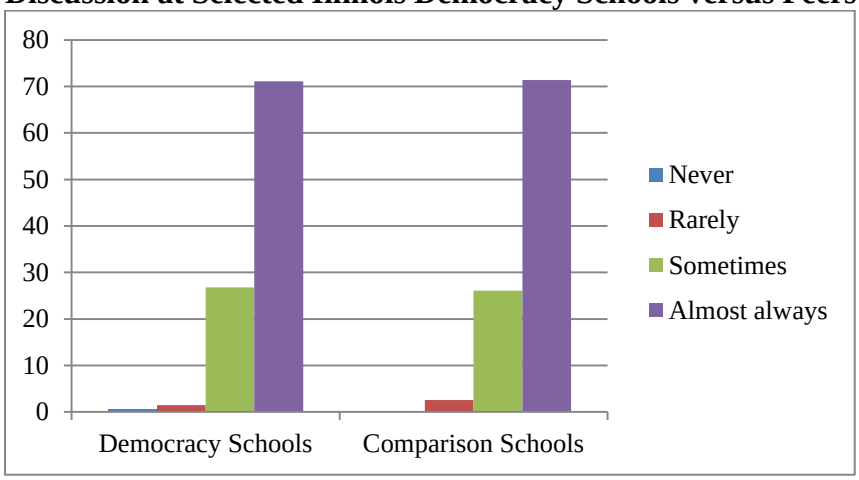
Figure 6.2: The Extent to Which Students Use Data and Text References to Support their Ideas during Discussion at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools versus Peers at Parallel Schools



Suburban Sheepside High School paces the twelve schools in "sometimes" responses to students' use of data and text references (60.6%), a clip greater than two standard deviations above the mean (51.5%). Its comparison school has the lowest percentage at this frequency (42.9%), itself two standard deviations below the mean. Once more, Eisenhower is most likely to answer almost always (39.6%).

A third measure of discussion centers on students' demonstration of respect for one another. Results are remarkably even between teachers' responses at selected Democracy Schools and their paired comparisons (see Figure 6.3). Perhaps most encouraging is the sense that the vast majority of students at these schools (71.1% and 71.4%, respectively) show respect for one another "Almost always," and much of the balance at least "sometimes" (26.8% and 26.1%).

Figure 6.3: The Extent to Which Students Demonstrate Respect for One Another during Discussion at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools versus Peers at Parallel Schools

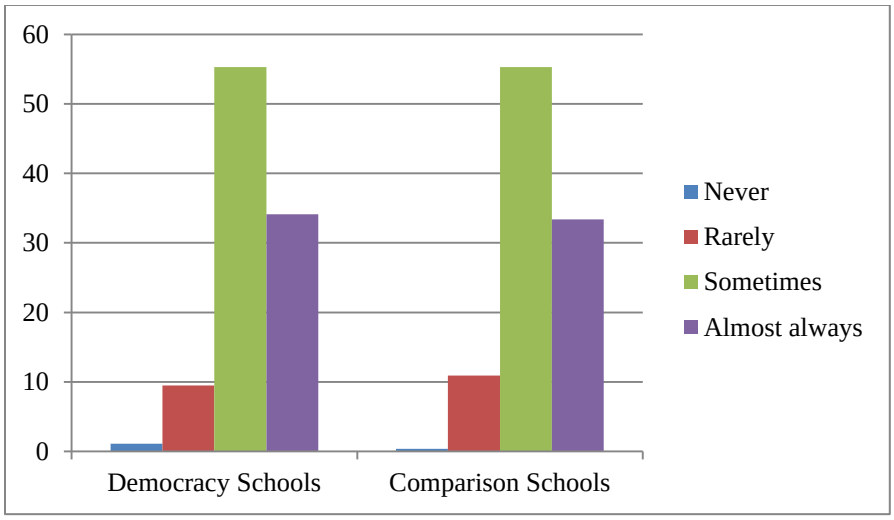


Urban Prep is the most likely of the twelve schools to answer "never," albeit at a low frequency (2.8%), but still two standard deviations above the mean (0.3%). Its comparison school selects "rarely" most often (6.5%), again two standard deviations higher. Coal City leads the field at the "sometimes" frequency (50.9%), and Eisenhower for a third time in a row at "almost always" (84.3%), the former two standard deviations about the mean (26.5%) and the latter one (71.2%).

Beyond respect, the fourth discussion-related question grapples with students' provision of constructive feedback to their peers and teachers alike. The similarities between selected Democracy Schools and their paired comparisons are remarkable on this indicator. An identical majority of teachers in both groups report that students offer constructive feedback "Sometimes" (55.3%, see Figure 6.4), and roughly a third from both schools suggest this happens "Almost always" (34.1% and 33.4%, respectively). A similar pattern among the dozen schools studied holds for this measure as Urban Prep answered "rarely" most often (2.8%), Coal City

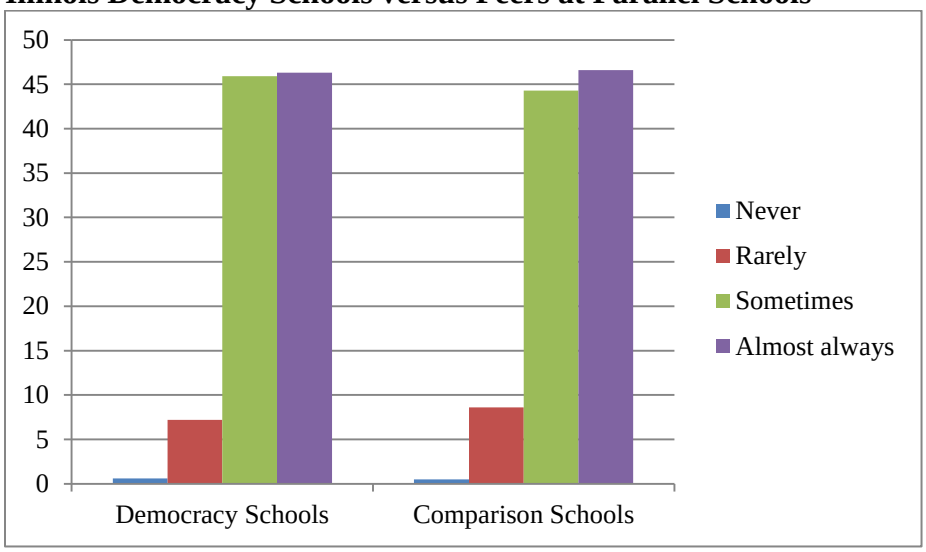
"sometimes" (65.5%), and Eisenhower "almost always" (48.5%), each of these percentages more than one standard deviation greater than the mean (10.2%, 55.3%, and 33.7%, respectively).

Figure 6.4: The Extent to Which Students Provide Constructive Feedback to their Peers and/ or Teachers during Discussion at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools versus Peers at Parallel Schools



Student participation in discussion, the fifth measure on the Illinois Five Essentials teacher survey, is robust and nearly identical across selected Democracy Schools and their paired comparisons (see Figure 6.5). A plurality of teachers in both cohorts report that "Most students participate in discussion at some point" "Almost always" (46.3% and 46.6%, respectively). Most of the balance contends that this occurs at least "Sometimes" (45.9% and 44.3%).

Figure 6.5: The Extent to Which Most Students Participate in Discussion at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools versus Peers at Parallel Schools

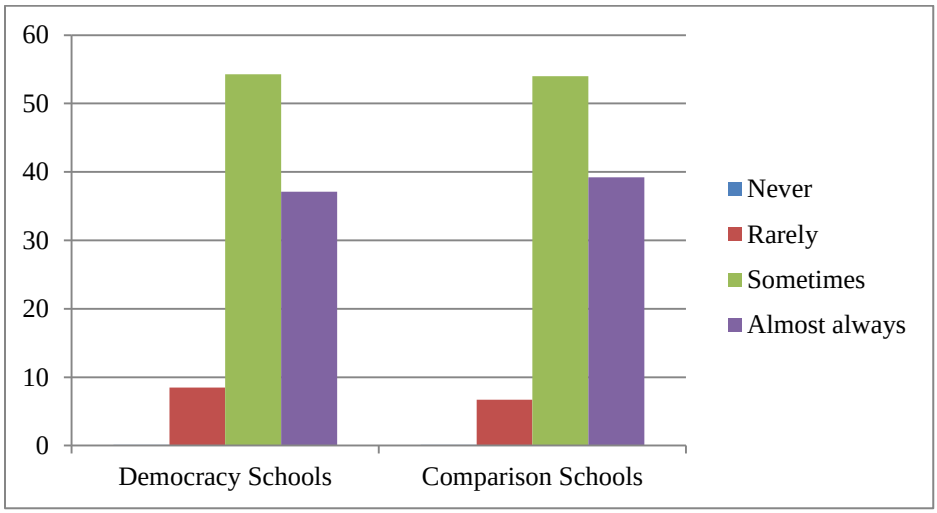


Again, Urban Prep teachers most frequently suggest students "never" participate (2.8%), and its comparison school "rarely" (21.7%, both two standard deviations above the mean, 0.6% and 7.9%, respectively). Coal City bests the "sometimes" threshold (54.5%, one standard deviation above 45.1%), and Eisenhower "almost always" for a fifth consecutive time (68.7%, two standard deviations above 46.5%).

A sixth measure of discussion in teachers' targeted class assesses whether "Students draw on relevant knowledge learned outside of class." Once more, there exists only minimal differences between selected Democracy Schools and their paired comparisons on this count (see Figure 6.6). The latter schools are slightly more likely to say that students draw on background knowledge "Almost always" (39.2% to 37.1%) and the former a bit more frequently report that this happens rarely (8.5% to 6.7%).

It should also be stated that data on this measure and each of the next three discussion variables is not reported for Urban Prep or its paired comparison. Among those surveyed, only Whitman's "never" response stands two standard deviations from the mean (0.1%) in both directions, and the percentage is under one (0.7%). Coal City is once more most likely to answer sometimes (63.6%) and least likely "almost always" (25.5%).

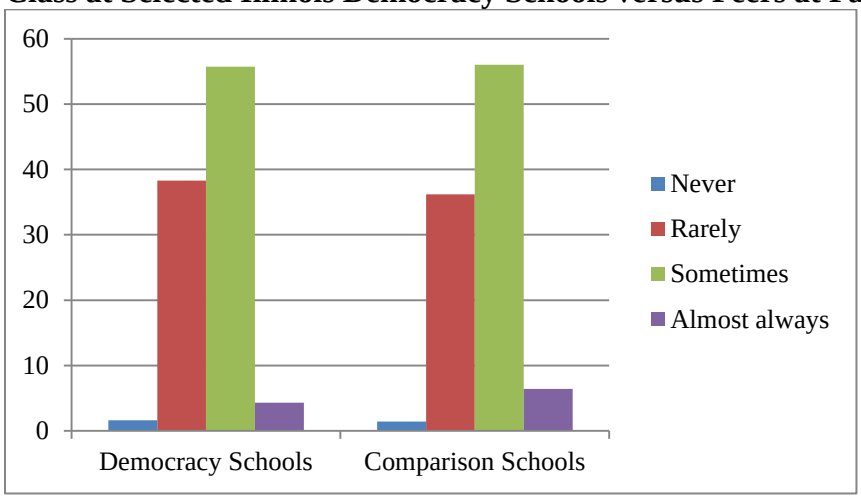
Figure 6.6: The Extent to Which Most Students Draw on Relevant Knowledge Learning Outside of Class during Discussions at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools versus Peers at Parallel Schools



The seventh indicator of discussion measures an undesirable trait, the extent to which "Students get off the subject being discussed in class." A remarkably similar majority of teachers in both groups admitted that this phenomenon happens at least sometimes (55.7% at selected Democracy Schools and 56.0% at comparison schools, see Figure 6.7). Democracy Schools are less likely to report that students get off the subject "Almost always" (4.3% versus 6.4%, respectively), and more likely to label it a rare occurrence (38.3% and 36.2%).

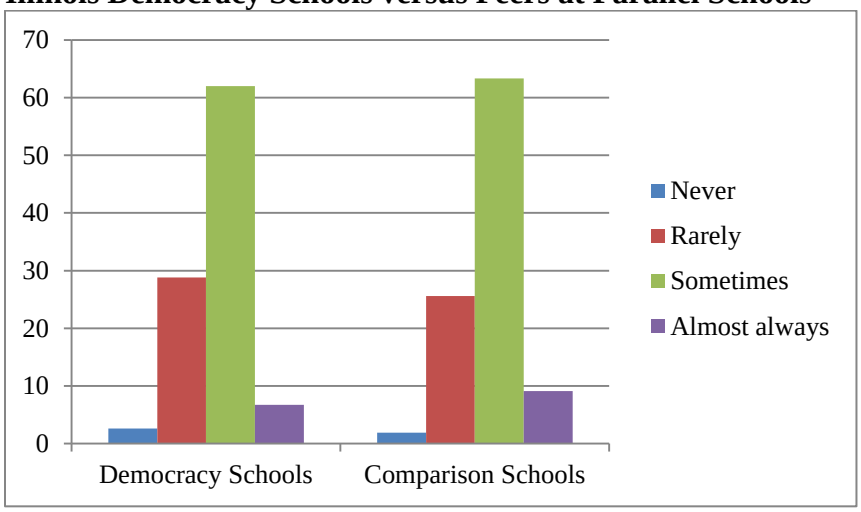
Whitman teachers suggest their students never get off topic most often (3.3%), and their counterparts at Eisenhower "rarely" (53%). The pattern holds where Coal City clinches the "sometimes" frequency (74.5%), whereas Eisenhower scores lowest (41%). The former is the only one of the twelve schools with zero responses at the "almost always" rate.

Figure 6.7: The Frequency by Which Most Students Get off the Subject Being Discussed in Class at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools versus Peers at Parallel Schools



The next-to-last discussion indicator also pursues a negative angle, discerning whether or not "A few students dominate…discussion(s)." If viewed from the perspective that widespread student participation in class discussions is desirable, selected Democracy Schools outperform their paired comparisons on every measure, albeit slightly (see Figure 6.8). They are less likely to say that a few students "Almost always" (6.7% versus 9.1%) or "Sometimes" dominate discussion (62.0% versus 63.3%), and more frequently report that this happens "Rarely" (28.8% versus 25.6%) or "Never" (2.6% versus 1.9%).

Figure 6.8: The Frequency by which a Few Students Dominate Discussions at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools versus Peers at Parallel Schools

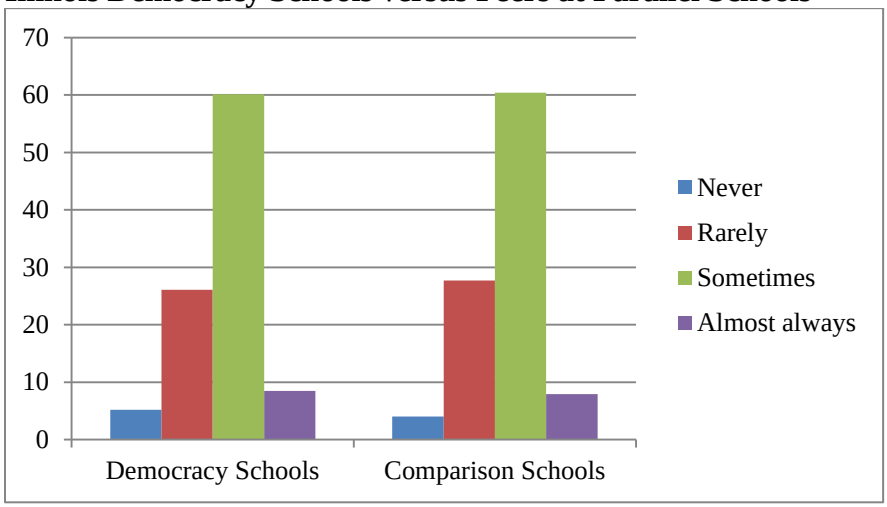


Coal City was the most likely of the twelve schools to answer "never" (5.5%) and its paired comparison resides at the other end of the spectrum (0%), its narrow range acknowledged. Coal City and Eisenhower serve as foils on the middle frequencies. The former rates "rarely" least often (18.2%) and "sometimes" most often (67.3%), with the opposite true for the latter (40.3% "rarely" and 53% "sometimes"). Finally, Sheepside teachers are the least likely (3%) to report that a few students "almost always" dominate discussions.

The final discussion measure on the Illinois Five Essentials teacher survey asks how often "Students generate topics for the discussion." Six-in-ten teachers in both cohorts report that this takes place "Sometimes" (60.1% at selected Democracy Schools and 60.4% at their comparison schools; see Figure 6.9). Democracy Schools are minimally more likely to say students generate discussion topics "Almost always" (8.5% versus 7.9%). While Coal City is the

most likely to report that students never generate discussion topics (7.3%), Whitman leads the "sometimes" category (64.9%) and Pony Peak "almost always" (12.9%).

Figure 6.9: The Frequency by Which Students Generate Topics for Discussion at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools versus Peers at Parallel Schools



To review, the prevalence of best practices in classroom discussion at selected Illinois Democracy Schools parallels that of their paired comparisons on most measures. In a handful of cases, Democracy Schools do outperform their peers, but differences are slight and unlikely to meet tests of statistical significance. School-by-school analysis of these discussion measures suggests that Eisenhower leads the way. Coal City's high frequencies of "sometimes" responses to these questions should motivate faculty to make best practices in discussion even more common. Finally, small, but consistent cadres of Urban Prep teachers report that these practices never occur at their school, cause for at least some concern.

In order to better understand the discussion pillar of promising civic learning practices prevalent in their classrooms, we return to case studies of each of the selected Illinois Democracy Schools. Urban Prep High School seemingly specializes in structured engagement with current and controversial issues across the curriculum. For example, Freshmen English students complete a research project on a current event like marijuana legalization or U.S. intervention in Syria.

The Environmental Science class goes further in singling out controversial issues like global climate change. It explores "issues (that) address meaningful and timely questions about public problems" along with "issues that deserve both students' and the public's attention." In the context of climate change, learning materials, adapted from recent NASA data, "provide the best arguments on various sides of an issue," enabling students to "…engage with multiple and complex perspectives." Discussion is leveraged in this course via Socratic seminars, among many models, where students debate the most promising alternative energy sources specific to a geographic area.

Socratic discussions are also prevalent at suburban Sheepside High School. The Democracy School application team writes,

> Teachers seem to value the need to controversial and open-ended topics/ events in a student-led format. Discussions are more valued than often trivial facts—facts that invite lecture instead of discussion.

A communication arts course at Eisenhower, "Political Thought and its Literature," explores the tenets of a just war and "tactical examples of justice in battle" through a reading assignment. Students proceed to "extrapolate ideas and apply them to current situations" at

Guantanamo Bay, Afghanistan, and Syria. This process provides a sound foundation for controversial issues discussions.

At Whitman, "authentic discussion experience(s)" are built into both required and elective courses, along with co-curricular organizations. For example, the Global Awareness Organization "…brings together students to highlight significant issues happening in the global community and they work to draw attention to these issues and bring relief whenever possible."

Admittedly, student membership in any given club is limited, yet collectively at Whitman, "they collect a wide cross-section of different students." In turn, these clubs engage students in "…a much higher level of social interaction, necessary for learning to participate in a democracy."

Controversial issues discussions are deeply ingrained in the social studies courses at Pony Peak High School. Freshmen World Geography classes discuss the Israel-Palestinian question, the role of government in China, and the responsibility of the international community to prevent genocide. Junior year American History courses explore civil rights, federalism, and war powers, and senior year government classes use deliberation materials developed by the Constitutional Rights Foundation Chicago. This program will be discussed at greater length in the third section of this chapter.

From discussion we segue to service-learning. Pony Peak also boasts a strong service-learning program with connections across courses and extracurricular activities. Psychology

students take part in the Kid to Kid program where they apply class concepts while working in the local elementary school each week. Physical Education classes use Best Buddies and Peer Partners programs to pair regular education students as mentors to special education students. Pony Peak's student government even has dedicated committees for service and community ambassadors.

Whitman students must complete 24 service hours prior to graduation, and the school has a dedicated staff member to coordinate community placements. It also pursues the S4 Initiative (Successful Schools-Successful Students), which in part "works to initiate programs and service to instill character that embodies accountability, responsibility, integrity, ethical citizenship, respectful relationships, and positive leadership…." (S4 is explored at greater length in the sections and chapters the follow).

Urban Prep is part of a district-wide service-learning program in place since the late 1990's. The school has a dedicated service-learning coach on staff who works in tandem with the district's Office of Service-Learning and in partnership with their peers throughout the city "to offer additional opportunities to teachers and students." Further details about this robust service-learning program are provided in the section that follows.

Although Sheepside's extensive community service program fails to meet many of the rigors of service-learning, students in social studies, special education, and music courses are asked to volunteer in the community, and as a result, "learn important lessons from serving

others." For example, ten percent of a student's grade in a required American Government course is dependent on the completion of a community service project.

Like Sheepside, Eisenhower has a strong community service program from a Rotary-affiliated club to National Honor Society to a school-wide gift program for disadvantaged students. Students who accumulate 300 or more service hours during their high school careers are recognized at graduation, and roughly 15% of the graduating seniors qualify. Moreover, formal service-learning projects are built into Environmental Science, Political Thought, and Sociology classes at Eisenhower.

Simulations follow service-learning among the innovative civic learning practices at selected Democracy Schools. In Urban Prep's Environmental Science course referenced earlier, students present their alternative energy strategies to an audience of their peers. These students role-play community members from three different geographic locales. Presenters defend their choice of where to locate a new power plant, justify the amount of energy will it will produce, and address its global and environmental benefits.

Students in the Coal City Government class profiled above participate in a number of simulations. A mock election engages students in a presidential campaign, where they work collaboratively to create collateral, commercials, and a stump speech. Students ultimately select a President and Vice President, and learn "the importance of voting and being an engaged citizen" along the way.

The required Government course at Eisenhower is a locus for simulated Supreme Court cases. Students are assigned a case in small groups, and proceed to prepare for arguments by reading a case summary, the constitutional question, and briefs from both sides. Then, student groups discuss the case in a "fishbowl" setting surrounded by their peers. Eventually, they predict how the Court will decide and ultimately critique its opinions.

As sophomores, students at Whitman take semester-long American Government and economics courses. The former weaves in simulations of elections, lawmaking, and the justice system, while the latter incorporates a stock market simulation that explores "…the relationship [between] our financial world and…democratic tenets." This early exposure to simulations piques the interests of many students and inspires them to join extracurricular activities like Youth and Government, Model United Nations, and Debate where the practice is central.

Simulations are likewise built into each unit of a required senior year Government course at Pony Peak. Among the simulations that each student experiences prior to graduation are mock city council meetings, mock elections, a simulated legislative assembly, a moot Supreme Court, and mock trials of both historic and contemporary events and issues. The Pony Peak Democracy School application team believes that "…students who are exposed to simulations will be more likely to get and stay involved in the democratic process."

Pony Peak also allows students to access simulations through extracurricular activities, the next innovative civic learning opportunity, like Youth and Government, Junior States of America, and Model United Nations. Even Business Professionals of America, Key Club, and

Skills USA teach participants the tenets of parliamentary procedure through mastery of Robert's Rules of Order.

Urban Prep prides itself in engaging students in their local community through after-school activities and clubs in addition to the service-learning strategies detailed above. Among the examples their Democracy School application team provide are the Environmental Science and Conservation Club, the Social Justice Club, Youth Guidance, and BuildOn.

The Political Action Club at Eisenhower sponsors annual candidate debates for local, state, and national office. It also takes members on field trips to the Iowa Caucuses every four years, and coordinates voter registration and an election judge program each cycle. Most recently, the club successfully advocated for legislation that lowered the voting age in state primaries to seventeen so long as voters will turn eighteen in time for the general election in the fall.

Altogether, Eisenhower offers 125 different clubs for students to join, and 93% of the student body affiliates with at least one club, equaling roughly 3,600 students. One of these clubs, Edufund, engages students in a larger cause to raise money and other resources to help students in adjacent communities. Eisenhower students come from mostly affluent backgrounds, but groups like Edufund help promote a spirit of giving back. Last year, for example, Edufund helped build a library at an urban elementary school lacking one, ultimately delivering boxes of books to this K-5 student body.

Coal City promotes diversity through participation in clubs that encourage students to "understand and respect the similarities and differences among themselves and others." It creates a "community of respect" through such organizations as Women in Leadership, Gay-Straight Alliance, Global Initiative, and African-American History Club.

Sheepside students have strong voice in the governance of their school, the sixth and final civic learning practice examined. Student Council deliberations are student-led with minimal faculty intervention. Moreover, the school hosts an annual Leadership Weekend where students "process challenging experiences through discussion" (further detailed in Chapter Ten).

At Whitman, a student advisory committee meets monthly with the building principal and quarterly with the district superintendent. These students "…are provided with an opportunity to answer the questions of school leaders and provide their own opinions on school issues."

In addition to offering a Student Leadership Academy and a related Student Leadership Advisory Committee, Eisenhower facilitates a Student Congress that engages all students in their second period classes. The Congress "…provides…ideas, feedback, and lobbying opportunities toward implementation of school policies and resources." Collectively, these student-led groups develop policies pertaining to school dances, mobile phones, and distribution of technological resources for student use.

6.3. A Thoughtful, Strategic Design for Civic Learning

Schools with sustained, systemic approaches to civic learning build these opportunities into students' entire four-year careers. Instructional designs must be coherent, where each of its component parts, including outcomes, activities, methods, materials, and groupings of students flow together. Emphasis should be placed on thinking and problem solving, permitting student choice and initiative, where depth is favored over breadth (Danielson, 2007, pp. 57-58).

Marzano and DuFour (2011) write, "…One of the most powerful things a school can do to help enhance student achievement is to guarantee that specific content is taught in specific courses and grade levels" (p. 89). They point to a "huge gap (that too often exists) between the intended curriculum established by the state or district and the implemented curriculum taught when teachers close their classroom doors."

Part of the problem centers on the fact that school curricula are "…often…a "mile wide and an inch thick." Dean et al. (2012) lament the fact that "there is so much content that teachers can teach few topics in depth" (Kindle location 2164).

In order to address these dual challenges,

> Educators must be clear on the knowledge, skills, and dispositions all students must acquire… When done well, it ensures that specific content be taught in specific courses and at specific grade levels regardless of the teacher to whom a student is assigned (p. 93).

This leads naturally to a discussion of content standards. Schmoker (2011) recommends that such standards be integrated vertically across grade levels in order "…to make final adjustments that reduce unnecessary redundancy, build on previous grade learning, and prepare

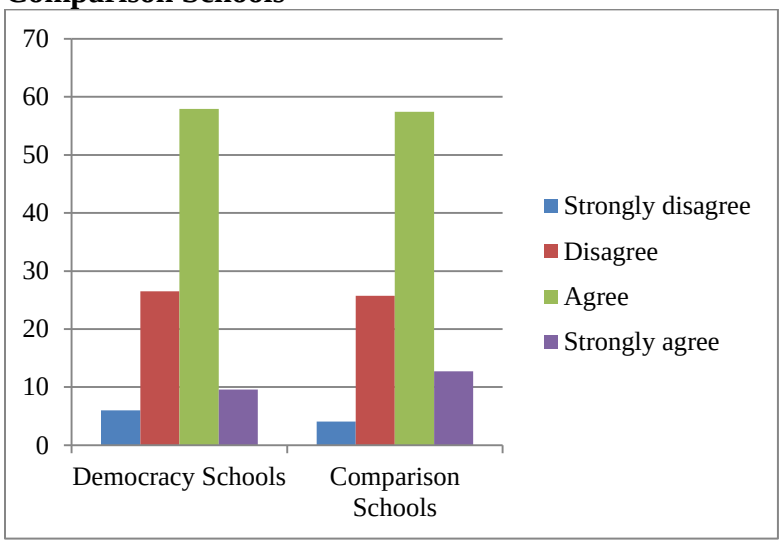
students for essential learning at the next grade level." Such integration, the author argues, should also happen within grades to achieve a "…'guaranteed and viable curriculum,' which is the single largest factor that affects learning outcomes in a school" (p. 48).

The prevalence of such strategically-designed curricula is measured through analysis of School-wide Civic Assessments completed by selected Illinois Democracy Schools, along with a single survey question posed to teachers on the 2013 "Illinois Five Essentials" survey. Both selected Democracy Schools and their paired comparisons are evaluated on this latter measure.

Beginning with a more holistic look at the strategic design of schools' curricula, teachers taking the Five Essentials survey are asked the extent to which "Curriculum, instruction, and learning materials are well coordinated across the different grade levels of the school." As is evident in Figure 6.10 below, Democracy Schools look much like their paired comparisons on this measure. A significant majority of teachers from both cohorts voice agreement with this statement (57.9% at Democracy Schools and 57.4% at comparison schools).

However, a slightly higher percentage of teachers at comparison schools strongly agree (12.7% versus 9.6%). Conversely, six percent of teachers at Democracy Schools strongly disagree with this statement about curriculum coordination, higher than the 4.1% who said the same at comparison schools. It should also be noted that Eisenhower is the most likely of the twelve schools profiled to "strongly disagree" with this statement (10.8%), yet this percentage falls within two standard deviations of the mean (5.1%).

Figure 6.10: The Extent to Which Curriculum, Instruction, and Learning Materials Are Well-Coordinated across Grade Levels at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools versus Comparison Schools



Next, the extent to which civic learning is intentionally built into students' experience all four years at selected Democracy Schools is gleaned primarily from a review of their School-wide Civic Assessments completed from 2010 through 2013 as they sought recognition from the Illinois Civic Mission Coalition for their exemplary commitments to civic learning. Transcripts from interviews with administrators and faculty from these same schools were also reviewed for supplementary information.

Schools' civic learning programs are considered "comprehensive" if civic learning is present both in social studies courses and classes in multiple other disciplines. If civic learning is present in the social studies and at least once other academic discipline, their programs are deemed "extensive." Programs are "average" if civic learning is addressed only within social studies classes and "minimal" if civic learning is confined to a single course. If a school should offer no civic learning opportunities, the phenomenon is "altogether missing."

Based on these gradations, four of the six civic learning programs at selected Democracy Schools are classified as "comprehensive" (see Table 6.2 below). One's programs are considered "extensive" (Whitman), and the remaining school's (Sheepside) as "average."

Table 6.2: The Extent to Which Civic Learning Is Intentionally Built into Students' Experience All Four Years at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools

School	***Urban Prep (U)***	***Coal City (D)***	***Sheepside (S1)***	***Eisenhower (S2)***	***Pony Peak (S3)***	***Whitman (S4)***
Civic learning intentionality	Comprehensive	Comprehensive	Average	Comprehensive	Comprehensive	Extensive

Urban Prep's School-wide Civic Assessment highlights its strength in two areas, current and controversial issues discussions and service-learning. The former promising civic learning practice is prevalent within multiple English and World Languages courses and also Environmental Science. The latter practice, service-learning, is featured "Across and throughout every department [where teachers] construct…and implement…curriculum in their regular classroom and then extend…the classroom experience to a clearly connected outside service-learning project."

Examples abound, and Urban Prep's Civic Assessment goes to great length to describe service-learning projects in Advanced Placement (AP) Human Geography, a class in which one-third of the junior class enrolls. The course "…curriculum is based [on] the idea of action civics, where students learn about the structures of U.S. government and the roles and responsibilities of citizens, and then actively apply them to their communities." Students explore pressing issues in their community, like gang violence or global warming, that resonate with them, give classroom

speeches, and ultimately present in a citywide forum attended by their peers. One class focused on peer pressure awareness, ultimately creating a "boot camp" for incoming freshman along with a permanent club to "…provid[e] ongoing support and strategies from adult allies and trained senior peer mentors."

Beyond AP Human Geography, civic learning at Urban Prep is embedded in required United States History courses (the Constitution in particular), an optional Advanced Placement American Government and Politics class, and a fledgling Civics course created under the auspices of a district-led initiative.

Coal City embeds civic learning in its American History course junior year, and unlike Urban Prep, requires students to pass American Government senior year. Civics also lives in elective social studies courses, including a Current Events class open to students of every grade.

Coal City's School-wide Civic Assessment provides evidence of civic learning across the curriculum tied to its annual Multicultural Festival and Common Reading Program. The former is described as "…an educational tool for diversity and an opportunity for the entire student body and community to showcase their own heritage and culture." Community members, neighboring schools, and organizations affiliated with the local university are invited to attend, and participation grows annually.

In 2012, the Common Read Program, which calls for the entire school to read the same book during a designated weekly time period, was tied to the theme of the Multicultural Festival, water. Every class and club was asked to "…study, experience, and grow in their understanding

of what ‘water’ means to people around the world, and especially in Africa.” For example, biology classes studied river ecology, and Spanish classes examined water use issues in countries where the language predominates.

Ultimately, the entire school raised funds through a variety of means (t-shirt sales, “Penny Wars,” and a student-staff basketball game) to finance the construction of water wells in Africa. According to Coal City’s principal, this link between the Multicultural Festival and the Common Read Program, facilitated by civic learning experiences across the curriculum, will be a school staple for years to come.

Eisenhower offers the most prolific Advanced Placement course options of any of the six selected schools, and this comes as no surprise given the relative homogeneity of its student population and vast resources devoted to their education. In the Social Studies Department alone, roughly 2,000 AP exams are administered annually in courses that all contain a civic component, including Comparative Government, Human Geography, Economics, United States History, Psychology, and American Government.

Moreover, non-AP students are exposed to civics through electives courses like Sociology and Political Thought, not to mention required courses like American Government and United States History (3.5 credits of social studies are required for graduation). Among the civic learning opportunities identified with the latter courses in Eisenhower’s Civic Assessment are “…simulations, debates, field trips, (and) service-learning requirements…”

Outside of the social studies, Eisenhower students who enroll in AP Environmental Science "…often discuss regulatory action as it pertains to the topic at hand… Students use their scientific knowledge to examine the benefits and or liabilities of environmental policies." They later write letters to their local congressman in favor of, or in opposition to, contemporary environmental issues like the Keystone Pipeline. "They are required to produce a 'business letter' that states their position and scientific reasons for their opinion and a specific action they would like the representative to take."

Additionally, recall the discussions of "justice in war and just war theory" within Eisenhower's Communication Arts course titled "Political Thought and Its Literature."

Pony Peak offers extensive evidence of civic learning across the curriculum in its School-wide Civic Assessment. Given elaborate descriptions of its prevalence in the Social Studies in other sections and chapters, I'll focus extensively on its presence in other academic disciplines.

First, controversial issues discussions are common in science, health, and English classes. Science classes address stem cell research (Anatomy and Physiology), reproductive technologies (Genetics), clean energy policies (Physics & Chemistry and Earth Sciences), and farm subsidies (AP Environmental Science). English classes grapple with racism, sexism, and the "American Dream," and Health classes drugs, mental health, contraception, and abortion.

Next, in addition to its required American government course, service-learning lives in a number of electives courses at Pony Peak with the departments of Technology and Engineering,

Family and Consumer Sciences, Music, Foreign Language, Science, and Special Education. For example, Foreign Language classes provide interpreters for foreign delegations and at the local health clinic, and Science classes take part in public landscaping and like Eisenhower students, attempt to influence public policy through letter-writing campaigns, in this case to local newspapers.

Finally, simulations of democratic processes, and mock trials specifically, abound across the curriculum at Pony Peak. They are used extensively in AP European History, but also required Social Studies courses like World History and American Studies. Cross-curricular applications occur in AP Environmental Science where the food industry is placed in trial, Drivers Education with drunk driving laws, and English classes when reading *To Kill a Mockingbird*.

Promising civic learning practices predominate in Whitman's social studies courses throughout students' four-year careers, but exist only in elective courses in other disciplines. Recall that United States History, American Government, and Economics are all required. Controversial issues discussions proliferate in all three courses and simulations in the latter two. Discussion also lives in Social Studies electives like Sociology, Chicago History, and World History, along with electives in other disciplines like Mass Media, Entrepreneurship, Debate, and Personal and Business Law. Community service, while a graduation requirement, is not formally tied to the curriculum, and thus fails to meet the standards of service-learning.

Civic learning lives specifically in the social studies at Sheepside. Beyond the required sophomore American Government course described in greater detail above and within the chapter that follows, Socratic dialogues are embedded in both World and United States History courses, where the "merits of capitalism and socialism" are discussed in the former, and the rationale for "Indian removal" in the latter. Community service is embedded within the Government course, and is also "an element" of the Psychology and Sociology courses, both electives within the Social Studies.

However, service-learning is a staple of Sheepside's Advanced Placement Environmental Science. Given that this is the lone civic learning opportunity that surfaced outside of the Social Studies, is not a required class, and remains exclusive to high-achieving students, the school earns only an "average" rating in the comprehensiveness of its civic learning offerings across the curriculum.

In sum, civic learning is built into students' courses throughout their academic careers at selected Illinois Democracy Schools. Four of the six offer comprehensive programs where civic learning proliferates across the curriculum, in social studies and other academic disciplines, Advanced Placement and general education courses, required classes and electives. Whitman's programs earned an extensive rating given the prevalence of civic learning in required and elective Social Studies courses, the school's 24-hour community service requirement, and cross-curricular controversial issues discussions. Sheepside's programs drew only an average rating, strong as they appear in the Social Studies. The only example of civic learning outside of the

discipline occurred in an Advanced Placement Environmental Science course, too exclusive to warrant an “extensive” rating.

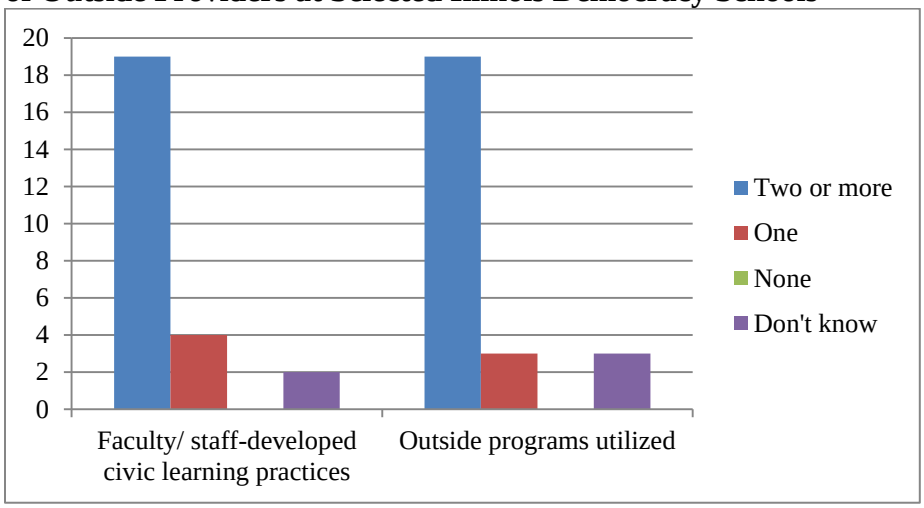
Whitman and Sheepside could both do more to build cross-curricular civic learning connections from the solid foundations they boast in the social studies and elsewhere, yet in my mind they meet the threshold of offering students civic learning opportunities throughout high school. Coupled with strong evidence of curricular alignment from the Five Essentials survey, all six selected Democracy Schools meet the standard of putting forth thoughtful, strategic designs for civic learning.

6.4. Home-Grown Civic Learning Practices as well as Outside Programs

A strategically-designed curriculum, where civics is intentionally integrated into students’ four-year career, is clearly a staple of schools with sustained, systemic commitments to civic learning. The next indicator of Hypothesis 4a measures the extent to which schools develop civic learning practices organically and supplement their original work with resources from outside providers.

In interviews with administrators and faculty at selected Illinois high schools, subjects were asked to share examples of both home-grown civic learning programs and programs offered by outside providers. Of the twenty-five individuals interviewed across six schools, the vast majority (76% for each) cite two of more examples of both home-grown and externally-developed civic learning programs utilized at their schools (see Figure 6.11). Sixteen-percent offer one example in the case of the former, and 12% one example in the case of the latter.

Figure 6.11: Examples of Homegrown Civic Learning Programs and Reliance on Programs of Outside Providers at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools



As is clear in Table 6.3 below, there is little variation across the six schools in terms of examples of either home-grown or outsider-developed civic learning programs cited. Three of the six schools universally cite two or more examples of home-grown civic learning programs, while responses range from two-plus to one example for the other three schools. Four of six schools give two of more examples of outside-developed civic learning programs, and the other two include a range of two-plus to one. Coal City and Eisenhower lead the way in universally citing two-plus examples for both categories.

Table 6.3: Frequencies of Homegrown Civic Learning Programs and Reliance on Programs of Outside Providers by Selected Illinois Democracy Schools

School	***Urban Prep (U)***	***Coal City (D)***	***Sheepside (S1)***	***Eisenhower (S2)***	***Pony Peak (S3)***	***Whitman (S4)***
Homegrown	2+/ 1	2+	2+/ 1	2+	2+/ 1	2+
Outside providers	2+	2+	2+	2+	2+/ 1	2+/ 1

Coal City relies on external partners like the Paul Simon Institute at Southern Illinois University and the Illinois State Bar Association. In the view of one Social Studies teacher, Coal City could do more, pointing to a coordination problem that matches the needs of the school with the services offered by outsider providers. She says, “We definitely don’t have a list of organizations that we can go to and say, ‘Will you help us with this?’”

Coal City serves as a polling location on Election Day. During the April 9, 2013 local elections, one teacher asked his students to survey voters through an exit poll containing student-generated questions based upon topics and issues addressed in his class. The 35-question poll included questions about political ideology, positions on local, state, national, and international issues, and assessments of the local school board and city council. Afterward, students tabulated and presented the results. Later, students took the survey themselves and compared results with adult responses. Generational differences on issues like same-sex marriage inevitably surfaced, and this teacher challenged his students to be change agents through lifelong engagement in the democratic process.

One Eisenhower Social Studies teacher suggests that home-grown civic learning practices constitute “most of what we do.” He continues, “I would say that 100% outside of the mandated stuff has been homegrown, particularly bringing kids outside the classroom.”

One such program is the Political Action Club created more than a decade ago to engage students across the political spectrum in grass roots campaign and policy-oriented activities. Activities range from student-run debates between local candidates to working at the offices of

gubernatorial campaigns. As referenced in the first section of this chapter, in the spring of 2013, the Political Action Club successfully advocated for lowering the voting age in Illinois primaries to seventeen so long as these individuals will be eighteen by the general election.

One long-time external partner of Eisenhower is the county clerk, who works with the school to train students as election judges. The teacher who leads this program calls this county clerk a "tremendous asset." In the late 1990's, he reports, the clerk

> Opened her staff to us for everything we want. To bring trainers to campus. So we do all of our election judge training on campus on our late arrival mornings. So it's convenient for our kids' schedules, it's convenient for our clerk. They get tons of election judges out of it when they need them.

Urban Prep's principal says that outside-developed civic learning programs are the exception, suggesting that beyond a couple of examples, "…almost everything else is nurtured here." The Social Studies Department Chair references one such program coordinated by the Mikva Challenge where students serve as election judges. He reports that 37 students signed up for the program in 2013, and another 30 served as judges in the 2014 March primary election in Illinois.

An Urban Prep Social Studies teacher describes a symbiotic relationship between home-grown and outside-developed civic learning programs. Internally, this means teachers

> Take a lot of what they've heard or they've seen or needs are met and they kind of create things that didn't necessarily exist before as well as things that they've gotten from professional development. So there are some things that might migrate from a science class to a Social Studies class.

Externally, she says that

> It really is just culling the best experiences, and I think for people that find that it's meaningful to them that they continue with those relationships as long as they feel like there's growth for them and for their students and the organization supports them in that.

Two Sheepside Social Studies teachers reference the relatively new required sophomore government course, designed specifically with a "civic component in mind." Simulations permeate Social Studies classes there, including mock Supreme Court hearings and a simulated Congress where "…a classroom (is) divided up into a Senate, a House, (and) the kids…propose bills and try to get (them) through."

Sheepside also leans heavily on the external programs offered by the Constitutional Rights Foundation Chicago, including "Equal Justice under the Law" and "Youth Summit." Like Eisenhower, Sheepside partners with their county election board to train students as election judges.

Whitman administrators and teachers all make reference to their home-grown mock election, which the principal describes as "…a grass-roots initiative spearheaded by members of the Social Studies department." One member of the department details the program as follows:

> In our government classes, our academic, college-prep government classes, non-AP, they've created, refined over the years a mock election for the students to engage in, where a student from a grouping of classes is ultimately elected president. Students have different roles. They work in an interest group, media, they may be a candidate. It's just a role-playing exercise. It's an entire day, a field trip, where we're in our…performing arts theater, there's the foyer to do the politicking, the inner working of government. There's a news crew filming commercials. There's probably a two-week lead-up in class to prep those students.

Whitman's civic learning programs benefit from the support of a district educational foundation, which offers teachers $5,000 grants for school-wide initiatives and $1,000 grants for

"classroom enhancement." For example, in 2008, a $5,000 grant underwrote the costs of a school-wide voter registration drive "…where virtually all of (their) 18-year olds got registered by students," and their voting decisions were informed by a student-created voter guide titled "Voice and Choice."

Whitman relies extensively on outside programs for co-curricular civic learning opportunities, including YMCA Youth in Government and Model United Nations. The school also partners with the American Cancer Society's "Relay for Life," and has emerged as the number one high school in the country for fundraising.

One teacher attributes this strong service and participatory inclination to the mentality of the school and the "greater community." He claims that "This is just a charitable, fundraising, spirited type of community. One of those communities that [rally] around causes whether it be vigils or…this greater cause of disease, whatever it may be."

Two Social Studies teachers at Pony Peak make reference to the Civic Engagement Project in the required senior government course. One teacher describes the project, which constitutes 40% of students' semester grade, as follows:

> We basically have developed this whole project…of which we felt that one of the things we want to do is…to have seniors who take government, we want them to leave our building with something more than just the basics. How old do you need to be president? How old do you need to be in Congress? Yes, we have to go over and cover all those things. But we want them to say, "You know what? I need to give back to my community. I need to give back to people who are under privileged and under-served. I need to know how to contact my senator or congressman."
>
> So what we have done with the Civic Project is that we've basically created three menus. There's Action, Voice, and then, [Beliefs]. They have to choose certain items and they have to do certain things. So a guideline is you have to at least volunteer one hour. You have to go at least one school board meeting. You have to go to one city council meeting. You have to write a letter to your congressman, or senator or other elected officials. And we're trying to get them to get their political voice.

Pony Peak's form of student government is unique in that it's not a "popularity contest" and open to "anyone at any time." It was designed and has been led by the Social Studies Department Chair since the school's inception five years ago. In an effort to "get more kids involved," there are no membership requirements. The department chair explains,

> You can kind of come in and out. We do have some elected [representatives]. We have one elected person per grade level who serves on the Exec Board, and then we have some chairs that are elected out of our committees, but in general, a kid can basically join student government at any point. Just walk in and start doing it.

Like each of the five previous schools profiled, Pony Peak supplements its home-grown civic learning programs with resources from outside providers. For example, the school hosted a county-wide candidate forum in December 2013 for local and statewide office seekers. Students who attended were able to count this event towards completion of their Civic Engagement Project.

In sum, each of the selected Democracy Schools boasts strong combinations of home-grown civic learning programs supplemented by resources from outside providers.

6.5. Simultaneously Meeting Standards Requirements and Pursuing Innovation

As was clear in my literature reviews in both Chapter Two and Four, social studies instruction in the United States generally emphasizes "superficial" coverage of "large bodies of content" (Saye et al., 2013, p90). Many critics, myself included, deem "…such instruction…inadequate for constructing the intellectual capital necessary for democratic citizenship."

Schmoker (2011) suggests that standards can serve as "…helpful starting points for building curriculum …but they are also sources of both confusion and overload." He recommends eliminating roughly half of written standards to avoid the latter predicament. The author predicts this will yield deeper learning among students, along with greater retention of knowledge paired with critical thinking skills. "…Test scores will (thus) take care of themselves" (41, 43-44).

Saye et al. (2013) investigates the prevalence of Authentic Intellectual Work (AIW) in American social studies classrooms. AIW is defined by a move beyond prior knowledge to the construction of new understandings of problems. It also entails "disciplined inquiry," complex communication of student understandings through explanations and dialogue, and engaging students in work that has meaning beyond the classroom (p. 92).

These indicators parallel the innovative civic learning practices analyzed in Chapters Four and Five. Unfortunately, these authors find the presence of AIW profoundly rare as only 21% of the students they observed experience these pedagogies. Most relevant to this section, Saye et al. discovered that exposure to these pedagogies results in higher student performance on standardized tests (p. 104). They conclude, "These results run counter to common beliefs among teachers and administrators that only a focus on low-order coverage of factual knowledge will produce successful student results on high-stakes tests" (p. 111).

Not only does the current testing regime lead to low-level coverage of vast content, but it fails to yield improved student performance on these high-stakes exams. These results

demonstrate that preparing students' for civic life through innovative pedagogical practices is not mutually exclusive to their success on standardized tests. In fact, the former appears to strengthen the latter.

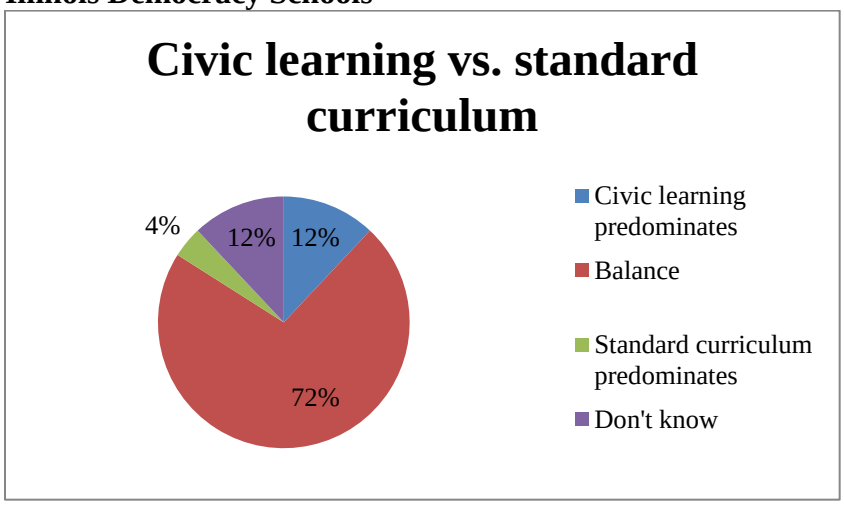
The final prong of Hypothesis Four, Part A posits that schools with sustained, systemic commitments to civic learning compliment their standard curriculum and assessments with high-quality civic learning opportunities. This indicator is explored in the School-wide Civic Assessments of and in a single interview question posed to teachers and administrators at these schools.

One declarative statement from Urban Prep's Civic Assessment frames this section well.

> Without doubt, the education system in the United States faces increasing pressure of accountability, where test scores and performance determine what schools are "failing" and "succeeding." The media and politicians, in particular, tend to oversimplify this matter for the public and show how the "data" represents U.S. schools. On the other hand, as all of us who work closely with students and teachers in schools knows, there are many additional strengths that should be emphasized in the education system, but too often are ignored.

In this spirit, all administrators and faculty members at selected Illinois high schools interviewed for this study were asked the following question: "Given testing pressures and a mandated standard curriculum, how does your school find time to offer students civic learning opportunities, too?" In the vast majority of cases (72%, see Figure 6.12), respondents describe a delicate balance between civic learning and the standard curriculum. A few say the civic learning predominates despite the pressure, and one Social Studies teacher claims that the mandated, standard curriculum reigns supreme over civic learning.

Figure 6.12: Balance between Civic Learning and the Standard Curriculum at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools



Coal City and Eisenhower emerge as the two schools where civic learning either predominates or stands in balance with the mandated curriculum (see Table 6.4 below). Urban Prep, Pony Peak, and Whitman report a balance, and Sheepside suggests a continuum that ranges from balance to the predominance of the standard curriculum.

Table 6.4: Balance between Civic Learning and the Standard Curriculum by Selected Illinois Democracy Schools

School	***Urban Prep (U)***	***Coal City (D)***	***Sheepside (S1)***	***Eisenhower (S2)***	***Pony Peak (S3)***	***Whitman (S4)***
Civic learning vs. standard curriculum	Balance	Civic learning/ balance	Balance/ standard curriculum	Civic learning/ balance	Balance	Balance

As was evident in the first section of this chapter, required American government courses are prevalent at Illinois Democracy Schools. Unfortunately, state law only requires the teaching of American history or government, and often government is merely integrated into history courses. Almost universally, Democracy Schools require both courses, evidence of a deep commitment to civic learning that transcends prevailing standards and assessments.

Turning to a school-by-school analysis of the civic learning versus standard curriculum balance, one Coal City Social Studies teacher is brazen in his choice to privilege civic learning:

> I don't have to worry about that… because Government is senior year, and I've got 12th graders. They're not taking any more standardized exams. They're not doing anything, they're getting ready for the real world, and that's why I feel my class is a reflection of the real world.

His colleague, on the other hand, suggests that it is more of a balance. She says that "You just have to throw [civic learning] in there whenever you can." This includes the World History course she teaches, where she inundates students with current events, making contemporary parallels to ancient history.

Their department chair, in reference to the arrival of Common Core standards in English-Language Arts, recognizes "some opportunities" for civic learning. He says,

> Because obviously [Common Core] deals with the depth, reading more primary sources. We want to certainly do that, but…I'm not anticipating a radical shift and like, okay guys, you're going to read a passage about this and you don't even know what it's about and comprehension. So I don't think you can get too far off. I've already thought about, there's some more things, probably some more information that the students, they can get themselves. How many members are there in Congress? Instead of wasting time talking about that, some more activities, some readings and so on, that build upon things that they should know coming in.

One way this balance is achieved at Coal City is through its Common Read program, profiled in the previous section, where students across grades read the same book over a short

time span. In 2012, the Common Read program centered on a book detailing the dearth of accessible, clean water on the African continent. Every grade, class, and extracurricular organization subsequently "joined in the effort to study, experience, and grow in their understanding of what water means to people around the world…" Then, the entire student body raised $4,000 and donated it to an organization dedicated to safe water supplies at the school's Multicultural Festival themed around this issue.

Eisenhower's principal and one Social Studies teacher both suggest that civic learning predominates at the school *vis a vis* the standard curriculum. The latter sees himself "…as an activist in this regard even if they're not going to be mandating it on a test." He continues, "…What do I do to deserve my salary? Or what am I doing to prepare these kids after (Eisenhower)? So we're high profile with it." He concludes, "…In the end, the average ACT doesn't really matter, or our average AP score doesn't matter. It's are we producing students who are going to be good neighbors?"

Eisenhower's Democracy School application reflects a strong embrace of civic learning, stating a core belief that "civics begets civics." They write, "Through continued work for (Eisenhower) students to initiate legislative action, expanded efforts to teach students how to act locally, and through a collaborative process to bring student-centered activism into more classes, we know the answer to the daunting question of 'What's next?' is to make civics education at (Eisenhower) even more of a lifestyle for our students."

Another Eisenhower Social Studies teacher doesn't see civic learning and standardized testing as "mutually exclusive," and reports that Eisenhower is working on formulas to promote both. Moreover, he

> Actually think[s] the tangible experiences will help [students] do better on the exam, because if you're a citizen you're dealing with real world questions and problems and you're forced to critically analyze. Those skills are what help you succeed.

The Social Studies Department Chair at Eisenhower attributes civic learning-standard curriculum balance to the "…commitment and focus of the faculty…, administration, [and] the community." Civic learning lives most clearly in widely-subscribed co-curricular activities, and the school has worked hard to expand these opportunities for students in the last decade-plus.

Moreover, seemingly counter to the test pressures prevalent at the other Democracy Schools studied, Advanced Placement (AP) test pressures predominate at Eisenhower. In the words of the Social Studies chair, "In our culture AP really is the big test beast for this school."

All three interview subjects at Urban Prep describe a balance between civic learning and the standard curriculum and assessments. The principal claims "…there's no conflict. There's no barrier to civic learning through the Common Core. There's no barrier to civic learning through assessment."

She went on to describe how her district has combined testing days, restoring eleven instructional days during the course of the school year. Previously, students took three separate end-of-the-quarter assessments. One for Common Core, another for college-readiness, plus stand-alone course final exams. While she isn't able to offer the exact number of days still spent

testing, she claims that her calendar was previously consumed by testing, and now "…there are big swaths of time when there is no standardized testing at all."

Urban Prep's principal concludes that prior to this change, "…a barrier to civic learning, and it was a barrier to all learning before, was the district's insane assessment schedule."

The social science department at Urban Prep pursues literacy outcomes by engaging students in the analysis of primary sources. Moreover, the school's "targeted instructional area" centers on critical thinking, which meshes well with document analysis and questioning strategies. The Urban Prep Democracy School application team write, "We aim to make our classrooms more student-centered by requiring students to ask the questions, and then search for evidence to find the answers.

Urban Prep's Social Studies Department Chair engages his students in extensive writing, both of the expository and persuasive variety. He sees these exercises as practice for their "roles as citizens." For example, students write letters to elected officials to express their opinions on current issues.

Pony Peak's Assistant Principal for Instruction says that the school's embrace of critical thinking skills from the get-go (the school opened in 2008) led to a complimentary balance between civic learning and the standard curriculum. She suggests that

> It's not either or. For some schools, it's a real challenge to have that conversation. Probably because we were new and we had an opportunity to build a new school, we really looked to what's important and looked at successful communities and schools and much of what we see now is that kids really do need to be part of the larger community to be successful.

Each of the Pony Peak Social Studies teachers points to the challenge of preparing students for tests in subject areas other than their own. One teacher worked with the English Department to strengthen her "letter to a lawmaker" assignment, asking students to use evidence to make a claim, and thus tying the assignment to Common Core standards.

Additionally, every Pony Peak Social Studies test has a writing component, and like Urban Prep, primary source analysis is woven throughout the curriculum. Another Social Studies teacher at the school suggests that despite strong Common Core connections to primary source documents like the Declaration of Independence and the United States Constitution, "…these documents are not child-friendly, yet they're considered grade-level appropriate."

All five administrators and faculty interviewed at Whitman describe a balance between civic learning and the standard curriculum. The principal contends, "You can reinforce Common Core concepts through the activities associated with civic learning; that's the method that makes the most sense."

Whitman's Social Studies Department Chair admits they are "struggling a little bit" with "…trying to meet Common Core standards with what we already have, (rather than) build our curriculum around Common Core." He continues, "The writing that we're doing is taking up so many days that what are we going to cut out of our government curriculum? So that's what we're struggling with right now."

Three of the four administrators and teachers interviewed at Sheepside suggest an existing balance between civic learning and the mandated standard curriculum, too. The Assistant Principal for Instruction claims civic learning is "…still an important part of the curriculum even though it's not part of Common Core." He continues, "It's still important for students to understand what democracy is and the type of society that we live in." Sheepside achieves its civic learning goals, according to the assistant principal, through the state-mandated Constitution test, "push(ing) more kids into AP classes," and through co-curricular activities with a civic focus.

Sheepside's Social Studies Department Chair has a strong, personal passion for civic learning, and seeks to "plant seeds" with senior electives teachers who preside over courses where "…the testing issue isn't as strong." He admits that test pressures and class time lost to test preparation make it "…very difficult to put more on teachers' plates all of the time."

One veteran Sheepside Social Studies teacher echoes his department chair. He says

> We're doing [civic learning]. It might not be getting crowded out, but I will say if you ask teachers, okay, "What are the priorities you're working on right now?" The administration would be happier that it's primarily Common Core, that they're wrestling with that, so the administration is putting more and more emphasis on Common Core characteristics and addressing them and I think teachers would say their plates are awfully full and some things kind of slip over the side, they can't address everything.

This extended comment provides context to the single interviewee who argues that the standard curriculum currently trumps civic learning, a young Social Studies teacher at Sheepside. Not only does the school "…have a specific curriculum that everybody has to get in," but the courses that emphasize civic learning are only a semester long, too short in her mind for long-term change in students' civic development. She calls test pressures the

Driving force just because we shortened our class periods this year and everyone is like, this isn't going to be a big deal, and it's a huge deal. So it's really just finding the time to do it and I think some of the clubs and activities take on that role, but then it's not always curriculum-based. It's more of volunteer work.

These concerning comments aside, it is clear that a precarious balance between civic learning and the standard curriculum and testing pressures reigns across the six Illinois Democracy Schools studied. Innovation is still nurtured in an environment that fails to privilege civic learning. Moreover, many interview respondents recognize openings for civic learning through Common Core, suggesting that the two are not mutually exclusive and can complement one another.

6.6. Summary

In addition to balancing Common Core and test pressures with a commitment to civic learning, and in many cases not seeing the two as mutually exclusive, selected Democracy Schools employ an array of promising civic learning practices both within the social studies and across the broader academic curriculum. Students also have opportunities to experience civic learning throughout their four-year high school tenure. These opportunities come from a mix of home-grown programs and resources provided by community-based civic organizations.

Taken together, all four indicators of Hypothesis Four, Part A are met at each of the selected Illinois Democracy Schools. Thus, schools with sustained, systemic approaches to civic learning do indeed have a strategically-designed curriculum with promising civic learning practices woven throughout.

7. LEADING A VISION FOR A SCHOOL'S CIVIC MISSION

7.1. Introduction

Beyond a challenging curriculum, according to Hypothesis Four, Part B, schools with sustainable, systemic approaches to civic learning have a vision for the importance of civic learning and effective leadership to see it through. One indicator of this hypothesis is a commitment to civic learning across the board, where civic learning is articulated in school mission and/ or vision statements.

Vision and leadership also entails a common understanding of how the school will reach its civic goals. Civic learning is thus woven into the school's expectations of students' academic performance, behavior, and personal development. Student handbooks and school policies are preferred sources for such information.

Next, schools with a vision for the importance of civic learning have creative teachers who show initiative and feel confident that they can take risks. These teachers are given autonomy, responsibility, and leeway to introduce thought-provoking civics lessons in the classroom. A number of questions on the teacher component of the "Illinois Five Essentials" survey speak to this indicator, along with an interview question posed to administrators and teachers at selected Illinois Democracy Schools.

The final two indicators of Hypothesis 4B address the leadership side of the equation. The first is premised upon school administrators maintaining a balance between short-term testing goals and the long-term gains derived from high-quality civic learning opportunities. Like

the previous indicator, I pull data from a single question on the teachers' iteration of the "Illinois Five Essentials" survey that reads, "The principal at this school communicates a clear vision for our school." In turn, I ask an interview question to school administrators at select Illinois Democracy Schools on how they seek the aforementioned balance.

The second of the school leadership indicators lies at the district level. It is premised upon superintendents who exert positive leadership, which in the context of civic learning, is achieved through leveraging policies, resources, and political capital to create opportunities for students' civic growth. I measure this fifth and final indicator of Hypothesis Four, Part B through an interview question directed towards school administrators at selected Illinois Democracy Schools.

In the sections that follow, I address each of these indicators in order, and conclude by confirming this second prong of Hypothesis Four.

7.2. A Commitment to Civic Learning across the Board

Evans (1996) writes, a school "Mission refers to (its) basic purpose, vision to future direction, and core values to underlying beliefs and guiding principles" (p. 207). He finds little evidence of faculty members embracing mission and vision statements. In fact, few can even recite them. Most are "blurred and clogged." They are too long, fragmented, impractical, and cliché-laden.

Evans continues, "To be done right, formal vision work demands...lots of staff time, exceptional leadership skills, and a clear, focused agenda" (p. 209).

Smylie (2010) suggests "…Schools and school districts are 'existing' systems and 'somewhere on the journey' to their missions" (p. 71). Essential elements to fulfilling these missions include a clear vision and core values, the ability to identify their current status in relation to these values, establishing goals and objectives to address this gap, and ultimately, implementing these strategies and assessing outcomes they produce prior to beginning the process anew (p. 82).

Smylie says that "…no substitute exists for the organizing power of the core mission of the organization" (p. 143). He recommends that school leaders:

> Identify, clarify, and promote the mission, vision, and core values of the school, as these establish the foundation, direction, the strategic focus, and the touchstone of accountability for continuous improvement.

In sum, schools must be clear about student learning outcomes from the get go and commit to pursuing these (p. 147).

Sizer (2004) writes, "Good schools are clear on their missions. They are fair. Very simply, they are decent places, deserving loyalty. They are demanding, but not threatening, places of unanxious expectation" (p. 176).

In order to test the extent to which civic learning is articulated in school mission and/ or vision statements at schools with sustained, systemic approaches to civic learning, I analyzed a

small sample of them from selected Illinois Democracy Schools. Statements were coded on the extent to which civic learning is emphasized: overtly, implicitly, or entirely absent.

As is clear in Table 7.1, civic learning is explicit in the mission and/ or vision statement of two of the six schools studied, Sheepside High School and Dwight D. Eisenhower High School. It is implicit in each of the remaining four statements.

Table 7.1: The Extent to Which Civic Learning Is Articulated in School Mission and/ or Vision Statements of Selected Illinois Democracy Schools

School	***Urban Prep (U)***	***Coal City (D)***	***Sheepside (S1)***	***Eisenhower (S2)***	***Pony Peak (S3)***	***Whitman (S4)***
Civic learning articulated?	Implicitly	Implicitly	Overtly	Overtly	Implicitly	Implicitly

Sheepside's brief mission statement leads with preparation for "productive citizenship." In addition to intellectual and workplace skills, this mission statement privileges both individual and social responsibility.

By comparison, the vision and/ or mission statements of Eisenhower and Walt Whitman High School stand out given their length and articulation of school goals, the former overtly civic, and the latter only implicitly. Coincidentally, these two schools have the most racially and ethnically homogeneous student bodies of the six selected.

Eisenhower's vision statement is multipronged. It begins with curriculum, and then proceeds to address student equity and access. Next, it articulates the bounds of a professional learning community among staff, and in turn, speaks to a "culture of learning" for its students. Finally, the vision values community engagement.

Civic outcomes are explicit in the curricular vision at Eisenhower:

> From the classroom to the athletic field and in all activities, students prepare to thrive in a global community and learn to accept the challenge and responsibility of participating and leading in a democracy.

Equity and access translate into "high expectations for learning in academic, social, and emotional contexts" for all students. The civic dimensions of the professional learning community plank speak to the school community's commitment to "…actively promote and uphold the [school's] mission, vision, values, and goals." Reciprocally, the school commits to hiring, developing, and keeping staff that live these values.

The learning culture as articulated in Eisenhower's vision values diversity and promotes "social awareness" among all stakeholders. This learning is "dynamic and socially constructed," engaging, collaborative, and premised on relationships with students and staff alike. Also, in another nod to positive school climate, the vision elevates "social-emotional learning" and the school community "…works diligently to serve as models for all members…"

The community engagement pillar at Eisenhower is arguably the most robust when viewed through the prism of its civic mission. It is premised upon "…strong collaborative

relationships with its extended community — families, residents, businesses, government agencies, and other educational systems."

This pillar underlines the reciprocal relationships that schools with sustained, systemic approaches to civic learning build and maintain, a topic explored at greater length in Chapter Nine. It includes "shared-learning opportunities" with community partners, resources provided by these partners to strengthen academic and co-curricular programs, and the school itself as an asset for community use.

Specific to high-quality civic learning, the community engagement pillar at Eisenhower stresses students' community engagement through volunteerism, service-learning, and leadership development. The school also commits to leveraging expertise in the community "…in order to develop authentic career experiences and opportunities for growth that ignite a passion for learning and exploration beyond the classroom."

Eisenhower's Social Studies Department has its own vision statement, stating that the discipline exists to cultivate "democratic values and positive and productive citizenship." Teachers in this department must commit renewing "…the American dream— in each new generation, and in each new child."

The following vignette, written in reference to Eisenhower High School, pulled from Marzano and DuFour's book on effective school leadership (2011), warrants quoting at length:

[Two Eisenhower teachers] took [this] commitment to each child very seriously and concluded that a curriculum that reserved honors courses for a select few did not match their democratic principles or the pledge to help every student acquire the knowledge to fulfill his or her responsibilities as a citizen. So they became advocates for opening

> their advanced placement [AP] American Government course to all interested students. They scheduled study sessions in the evenings and weekends to help students meet the requirements of the course.
>
> When some students had difficulty attending the study sessions, [these teachers] took to the airwaves and began hosting review sessions over the radio as students called in with their questions. Their radio program was picked up by C-SPAN, which broadcasts it across the nation each year to help students prepare for the AP exam in American Government.
>
> Their success has encouraged other departments in their school to make their most challenging curriculum accessible to all students, and a school that once had only 7 percent of its graduating class writing AP exams now has over 80 percent writing those exams (pp. 196-197).

Eisenhower's vision for civic learning and its shared leadership to see it through yields benefits far beyond the social studies. By living its civic mission, the school enhances its larger academic goals.

The mission of Whitman is reflected in its core values as articulated in its Successful Schools-Successful Students touchstone (S4) referenced in the previous chapter. It starts with a student-centered philosophy and is achieved through a mix of curricular, co-curricular, and support structures with the intent of balancing "rigor, relevance, and relationships."

S4 also embraces the premise of mutual respect among all stakeholders, staff, parents, students, and community partners alike. It is intended to yield "legitimate dialogue" and "to add valuable insight and ongoing improvement" to the district's programs.

The touchstone holds both students and staff in high regard, recognizing, developing, and respecting the "human potential of all staff and students." Ongoing staff development is thus aligned with S4 and student feedback is solicited and squared with the goals of the district.

Next, S4 is premised on a model of continuous school improvement. It arguably provides the framework by which the Whitman Democracy School team completed its school-wide civic assessment, application, and future plans to advance its civic mission.

Finally, S4 values "resource efficiency" as a means to providing "equitable opportunities for students and access for community partners."

Pony Peak High School's mission statement takes the form of the acronym LIFE: Live with integrity, Inspire passion for learning, Foster positive relationships, Expect equity and excellence for all.

Like Whitman, Pony Peak's mission is only subtly civic. It speaks to personal responsibility, interconnected relationships, and equity. However, it is nested within the larger district mission statement, which among its guiding principles asks students to "Embrace their role and responsibility within their community and world," and to "Value and respect self and others in a diverse society." Moreover, the principles specific to serving students emphasize reciprocal school-staff development and motivation (further explored in Chapter Eight), community relationships (Chapter Nine), and the school's culture and climate (Chapter Ten).

Urban Prep High School's vision and mission statements are also devoid of overt attention to civic learning. However, the vision statement calls for a "student-focused learning community" premised on collaboration by all stakeholders. Additionally, the mission statement values students' critical thinking skills and a proclivity for lifelong learning. Once more, these are not civic outcomes on the surface, but are critical to informed, effective, lifelong engagement in our democracy.

Coal City is the last of the schools where civic learning is only implied in its mission statement which embraces students' intellectual, emotional, and physical development. Like Eisenhower, it also values an appreciation for both local and global diversity. Finally, Coal City suggests that students learn the "habits of mind and self-discipline" in order to be "contributing members of society."

Taken together, while only two of the six schools' vision and/ or mission statements analyzed are overtly civic in nature, each of the schools sampled embraces either dimensions of high-quality civic learning, civic-oriented outcomes, or both.

What stands out most is the great variety is schools' approaches to constructing vision and/ or mission statements. Not only do they vary on the extent to which they embrace explicit civic learning goals and outcomes, but they also differ greatly in length and specificity. The longer, more detailed visions of Whitman and Eisenhower provide a more detailed road map by which these schools can live both their educational and civic missions.

Regardless of length and specificity, it is fair to say that these selected schools who have demonstrated deep commitments to civic learning are living the specific intent or spirit of their vision and/ or mission statements.

7.3. A Common Understanding of How the School Will Reach its Civic Goals

Homana et al. (2006) identify seven characteristics of an education for responsible citizenship (5-7). The first includes "official recognition and community acceptance of the civic

purpose of education that is communicated to all teachers, students, and administrators." This includes an explicit school mission statement to this effect along with supportive policies.

Also, echoing the principles of the previous chapter, students engage in meaningful learning of civic-related knowledge that builds upon and enhances both academic and participatory skills. Next, the staff takes a cooperative and collaborative approach to civic learning and problem-solving, and there exists mutual trust and positive interactions among students, staff, and administrators. The former is assessed in the chapter that follows and latter, in essence, speaks to school climate, the subject of Chapter Ten.

Characteristics five and six center on student voice, one of the promising civic learning practices detailed in the previous chapter. This includes valuing students' input in planning and skills in participatory problem-solving and deliberation and dialogue about issues that is thoughtful and respectful.

Chapter Nine explores the reciprocal relationship between schools with sustained, systemic approaches to civic learning and their surrounding communities. Homana et al.'s final indicator is very much in alignment, speaking to a community's engagement within the school and commitment within to learn about and interact with the broader community. The authors point to the importance of building deep relationships between the two parties.

In determining the extent to which schools with sustainable, systemic approaches to civic learning embed these goals in their expectations of students' academic performance, behavior,

and personal development, I explore student handbooks and school policies from selected Democracy Schools.

Like mission and vision statements, the length of student handbooks vary significantly across the six schools examined, but specific policies appear more uniform. A couple of the suburban schools are part of multi-high school districts, and student handbooks are generalized to each member school. More specific analysis follows.

The three dimensions of students' civic development in selected Democracy Schools, academic, behavioral, and personal, as reflected in student handbooks, were assessed using the same scale as the previous section. Each dimension was assessed on the extent to which civic learning goals are embedded and classified as "overt," "implicit," or "missing."

Coal City is the only one of the six schools to address all three dimensions overtly (see Table 7.2). However, two others emphasize each dimension implicitly or better (Urban Prep and Whitman). Moreover, the remaining three schools have overt or implicit goals in at least two dimensions. The only dimension missing from student handbooks at three of the schools (Sheepside, Eisenhower, and Pony Peak) is civic-oriented academic goals; they are addressed overtly at two schools and implicitly at one, so our more textured analysis begins here.

Table 7.2: The Extent to Which Civic Learning Goals Are Reflected in Schools' Expectations of Students' Academic Performance, Behavior, and Personal Development as Articulated within the Student Handbooks of Selected Illinois Democracy Schools

School	***Urban Prep (U)***	***Coal City (D)***	***Sheepside (S1)***	***Eisenhower (S2)***	***Pony Peak (S3)***	***Whitman (S4)***
Academic performance	Implicitly	Overtly	Missing	Missing	Missing	Overtly
Behavior	Overtly	Overtly	Implicitly	Overtly	Implicitly	Implicitly
Personal development	Implicitly	Overtly	Overtly	Overtly	Overtly	Overtly

In the "Objectives" section of Coal City's handbook, the foremost goal for students under curriculum is "…becoming contributing, responsible citizens of our society." To achieve this goal, not only are the social sciences emphasized, but so is "action learning," "respecting of individual differences," and maintenance of a "positive learning environment."

Under "Development, Growth, and Creativity," students' educational experiences are to provide them with the "resources necessary to relate to others as well as a larger society." Through experience, students should "develop values, awareness, interests, concerns, and…recognition of the obligation and value of service."

They are to also learn the "changeable nature of the world," along with the processes to affect change. This entails understanding of the interaction of social, political, and economic forces, and "…respect for…government, tradition, customs, and (the) heritage of this country and for all of the citizens who have contributed to its development."

Independent thinking is encouraged among Coal City students, as is personal responsibility. They are expected to connect lessons from history to the present and future, and understand "…the extricable interdependence between a disciplined freedom and accountable responsibility."

As described in Chapter Six, Whitman requires that all students complete 24 hours of community service prior to graduation. Projects may be classroom-based, co-curricular, or internship-related, and are described in the student handbook with explicitly civic language. Projects are to "Contribute to the completion of a task which will benefit the community, needy individuals, groups in the community…or school-based parent groups."

The more implicit civic goals embedded in Urban Prep's student handbook are reflected in defense of teachers' assignment of student homework. Among the eight bullet points, preparation for class participation and students' experience in utilizing community resources are the most civic in tone. Moreover, extracurricular involvement is also encouraged and considered "vital to a well-rounded student and school."

Behavioral goals at the selected Democracy Schools are overtly civic in three cases (Urban Prep, Eisenhower, and Coal City), and implicit in the other three. At Urban Prep, students are expected to "come prepared and on time to school every day," and to "respect other students, teachers, and staff…," but also to "practice good citizenship."

Profanity and fighting are reasonably prohibited, cast as a "…negative reflection on the school, the community, and…parents." The Urban Prep student handbook continues, "All student behavior is to be based upon respect and consideration for the rights of others for a safe, secure educational experience."

Urban Prep is unique among the six selected Democracy Schools studied in its maintenance of a student dress code. It is justified in eliminating the proverbial "Fashion Show," and also to "…safeguard the students from gang retaliations for 'representing.'"

The "Student Rights and Responsibilities" listed in the Eisenhower handbook encompass, in part, the First Amendment freedoms of speech and petition, the posting and distribution of materials, due process in suspension and expulsion, and freedom from discrimination. These rights are largely in line with existing law, but the practice of student petition bears additional consideration here. It allows students to share suggested changes with the Student Council for review, who may in turn submit them in writing to the principal. He must then provide written notice within two weeks of his decision to accept, reject, or further consider the said petition.

The Student Council may also take these issues before the School Board during the public session segment of its monthly meetings. The purpose of the Council, as defined in the handbook, "…is to aid the Board of Education in its decision and policy making by informing the Board about the feelings and views of the student body." The Council should also facilitate communication throughout the school.

As mentioned at the outset of this section, school rules are fairly uniform across the six student handbooks analyzed. However, Coal City prefaces them with a justifying statement that reads, “We believe the rules contained in this handbook are critical to the maintenance of an environment which balances the need for institutional structure with our students’ need for freedom and autonomy.”

Like Urban Prep, Coal City uses “good citizenship” as the pillar of its student discipline code. This constitutes “consideration for the rights and privileges of others, cooperation with all personnel in the school community, and respect for oneself and others…” This code also balances students’ First Amendment freedoms with school safety. When discipline is administered, students have recourse is requesting an appeal through the principal.

Coal City uses a Positive Behavior Intervention Strategies (PBIS) Program. It is defined as “…a statewide and national system that promotes positive behavior of our youth in school and the community.” This is pursued through four traits: “Be Here and Be Ready, Be Respectful, Be Involved, and Be Responsible.” Coal City created a matrix with these traits and posts it in every classroom and throughout the school. Students’ positive behaviors are regularly identified and rewarded.

Like Coal City, Sheepside employs a PBIS Program to prevent bullying, intimidation, and harassment. All members of the school community are thus encouraged to report these acts. Parents and guardians are actively engaged in remediation processes. Students are acknowledged and even rewarded for “demonstrating appropriate behavior.” All of this said, the civic

dimensions of Sheepside's PBIS program, and its larger emphasis on student behavior, is only implicit.

Similarly, the student discipline policy at Pony Peak (another PBIS school) is framed within the broader context of a commitment to maintaining a healthy school climate. This translates into an

> Open expression of beliefs, mutual respect, and trust, as well as personal, caring relationships, where every student is educated in an environment where they feel welcomed, valued, and supported in reaching their potential and encouraged to grow in self-discipline.

Whitman's handbook stresses students' "self-discipline," and identifies teachers as the front line "…in fostering an orderly school atmosphere." Contrary to the punitive language of some of the previous handbooks analyzed (Urban Prep, for one), Whitman described theirs as "progressive," applied "consistently and fairly," with elevated consequences for repeat offenders (from warnings to suspensions). Its intent is "positive and corrective," which collectively is implicitly, but not overtly, civic.

We turn last to the civic dimensions of students' personal development as emphasized in student handbook at selected Democracy Schools. Five of the six (all but Urban Prep) are overt in the civic nature of this development.

For instance, Coal City's "School Philosophy" section of its student handbook embraces its role of "…enabl[ing] all students to develop their talents and capabilities so that they may be able to assume their responsible roles in a democratic society…" This philosophy also seeks to build "…within each student a sense of responsibility, tolerance, and freedom." To achieve these

ends, the school seeks "cooperation, communication, and continuous effort" from students, staff, administration, and parents.

Sheepside High School's strategic plan is married to the other three high schools in the district. In its vision, it calls for "responsible individuals committed to greater good in our world." This is partly achieved through curriculum and instruction, and specifically "problem-solving, critical thinking, and the capacity to construct knowledge while connecting curriculum to real-world contexts."

Sheepside students are expected to "…respect the rights, beliefs, and feelings of others," contribute to a positive school climate, and be an active class participant. Teachers, in turn, must "…provide a pleasant, cooperative environment," along with "…an effective learning atmosphere." Parents are asked to partner with them in "promoting the school's programs."

The civic-oriented values and vision of Eisenhower High School are documented in the previous section of this chapter. They extend to a multicultural statement that

> Help[s] students acquire the knowledge, attitudes, and skills needed to function effectively in a democratic society and to interact, negotiate, and communicate with people from diverse groups in order to create a civic and moral, local, national, and global community that works for the common good.

Moreover, the school's "Green Vision Statement" emphasizes students' development as "productive and responsible citizens," and is pursued through reciprocal relationships with the surrounding community, including "residents, businesses, and other organizations."

In its handbook, Eisenhower makes seven "collective commitments" for its students, including two that are overtly civic in nature. First, students are expected to "Be active in the school and the community." Second, students should "Respect cultural diversity, individuality, and the choices and rights of others."

Pony Peak frames student responsibilities as "standards of good citizenship." Its handbook states, "Citizenship in a democracy requires respect for the rights of others and demands cooperation with all members of the school community." Extracurricular activities are also offered as a means of "broaden(ing) skills, knowledge, and citizenship…"

Whitman's "Successful Schools-Successful Students" (S4) touchstone is detailed in the previous section, but its student handbook further elaborates and reveals additional civic dimensions. It emphasizes "character that embodies…ethical citizenship, respectful relationships, and positive leadership" among its qualities. The S4 touchstone also touts the acquisition of communication and other "real world" skills transferable to participation in a "global community."

The personal development component of Urban Prep's student handbook falls under the banner of "Learning and Working Together." Here, student, staff, and parental responsibilities are detailed. None of these are overtly civic, although students are expected to "maintain a positive attitude towards learning" and to respect one's self and "the rights and property of others." Teachers must "provide an orderly classroom and safe school environment," while also attending to students' "social, emotional, (and) personal…" development.

Urban Prep's sparse student handbook acknowledged, it should be stated that it builds upon a student code of conduct applicable to all schools in the large urban district where it resides. Here, student rights and responsibilities are further detailed. Students have the right "to be treated fairly, courteously, and respectfully." They also are entitled "to bring complaints or concerns to the school principal or staff for resolution." Perhaps most importantly for the purpose of this section, students are allowed "to express opinions, support causes, assemble to discuss issues, and engage in peaceful and responsible demonstrations."

Numerous reciprocal student responsibilities are also listed in the district's code of conduct, including an obligation "to treat everyone with respect."

Much attention is devoted in the code of conduct to staff's role in reinforcing positive student behavior. Effective classroom management strategies are called for in order to engage students from the outset, reinforce positive behavior, and quickly redirect problematic behavior. Strong relationships between students and staff are also emphasized as a preemptive strike.

The code of conduct devotes significant attention to bullying prevention. It asks students to promise not to bully others, to help those who are targets of bullying, and to tell adults at both home and schools when it does happen. Students are also expected to "…work to include students who are left out."

Perhaps most unique to Urban Prep's district student code of conduct is its reliance on "balanced and restorative justice strategies," defined as "…ways of thinking about and

responding to conflicts and problems by involving all participants to identify what happened, describe how it affected everyone, and find solutions to make things right."

The document proceeds to highlight several structures to pursue restorative justice, including peace circles, community service, peer juries, and injured party impact panels. This represents a dramatic departure from the punitive measures that blanket many student handbooks. The fact that victims are part of the remediation process is also innovative.

In sum, this assessment of whether schools with sustainable, systemic approaches to civic learning embed these goals in their expectations of students' academic performance, behavior, and personal development is answered with a qualified "yes." As is clear in my analysis of six student handbooks from selected Illinois Democracy Schools, there is great variety across these documents in terms of length, specificity, and the degrees to which civic learning goals are overtly embraced.

Even minimalistic handbooks like Urban Prep's embrace students' civic development in both subtle and specific ways, if not at great length. Even in this case, a denser, district-wide code of conduct makes implicit civic development goals overt. Coal City's handbook emerges as a model in embracing all three dimensions of students' development, although all six schools boast strengths on at least two of these dimensions. Half of the cohort is advised to be more explicit about civic learning in academic goals articulated in student handbooks.

7.4. Creative Teachers Who Show Initiative and Feel Confident that They Can Take Risks

In assessing schools' preparedness for continuous improvement, Smylie (2010) writes, "..continuous improvement may be best served if authority and influence are diffuse throughout the organization rather than lodged in a particular location, position, or role, say 'at the top'" (p. 96). Critical is the establishment of trust in order to build support for continuous improvement (p. 98).

These processes, according to Smylie, ".. cannot be done 'on the cheap'" (p. 101). There is a need for teacher release time, dedicated professional development days, and time during the school day to work together. Smylie suggests that time is often the most overlooked "cost" (p. 107).

Goodlad (2004) writes, "A bond of trust and mutual support between the principal and teachers in a school appears to be basic to school improvement" (p. 9). He finds a strong relationship between teacher satisfaction and the principal's leadership (p. 179).

Similarly, Hall and Simeral (2008) suggest "The administrator has the ability to inspire, encourage, and activate the potential and output of every single teacher on staff." This is achieved primarily through "…cultivating relationships and building teachers' capacity for success" (Kindle Location 1700).

Among the responsibilities of effective school leaders identified by Marzano et al. (2005) is “the extent to which the school leader involves teachers in the design and implementation of important decisions and policies." Staff is thus involved in developing school policy, provides input on important decisions, and is engaged in leadership teams for the purpose of making these decisions.

Moreover, Marzano and DuFour (2011) suggest “… that no single person has the knowledge, skills, and talent to lead a district, improve a school, or meet the needs of every child in his or her classroom” (p. 2). Teachers must be considered leaders in their own right, but to date, they “… have lacked the collective capacity to promote student learning for all students in the existing structures and cultures of the systems in which they work” (p. 15).

Here therein lies the challenge. Marzano and DuFour write,

> The challenge confronting public education is not recruiting more good people to an ineffective system, but rather creating powerful systems that allow ordinary people to achieve success (p. 19).

From a civic learning angle, Apple and Beane (2007) argue that teachers “…have a right to experience and a responsibility to enact the democratic way of life in schools.” This is especially true, according to the authors, in the creation of curriculum for the students in their classrooms (p. 20).

On a discouraging note, the Center for Information Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (2013) found that roughly one-quarter of high school civics or government teachers they surveyed believe that parents or community members would object if political issues were

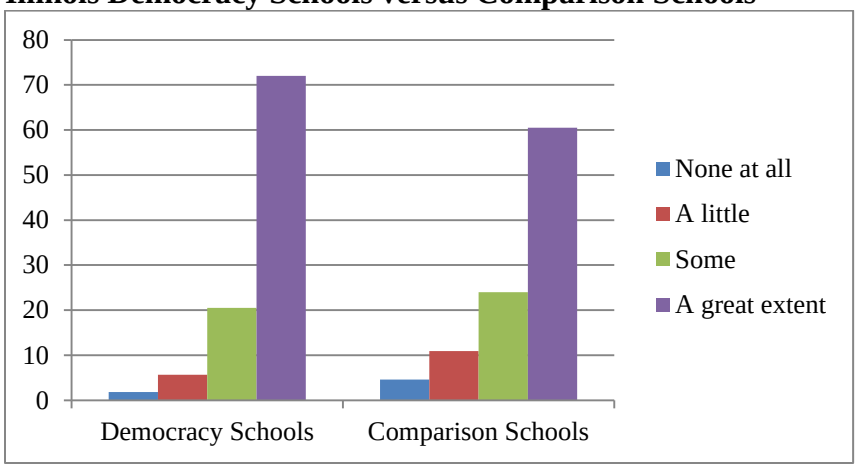
discussed in their classrooms. While almost all of these teachers (99%) believe their principals would support them teaching about elections (46% of strongly), only 38% feel supported by the district, and only 28% believe that parents would provide strong support (p. 11).

These findings are concerning given the positive outcomes associated with teachers' perceptions of support. For example, teachers with strong support are more likely to have open classroom environments and to use deliberative forms of discussion. Veteran teachers are also more likely to perceive support.

Turning to my own measurement of creative teachers who possess the confidence that they can take risks when it comes to civic learning, I look specifically at indicators of autonomy, responsibility, and leeway to approach civics in a thoughtful way in their classrooms.

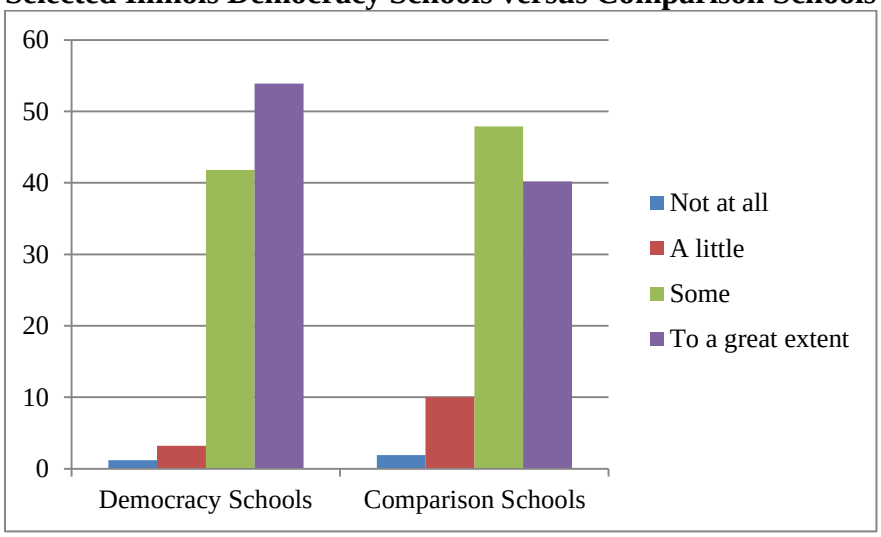
The teacher component of the 2013 Illinois Five Essentials survey offers rich data on these counts. One question measures the extent to which teachers at a given school feel respected by their principal. Teachers at selected Democracy Schools are much more likely to feel that their principals respects them greatly (72% to 61%) and less likely to say "not at all" (2% to 5%, see Figure 7.1). Sheepside's responses stand out in that they are most likely of the twelve schools studied to suggest "a great deal" of respect from the principal (83.3%), and the least likely to select the alternative descriptors (tied with Coal City for 0% at "none at all").

Figure 7.1: The Extent to Which Teachers Feel Respected by their Principal at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools versus Comparison Schools



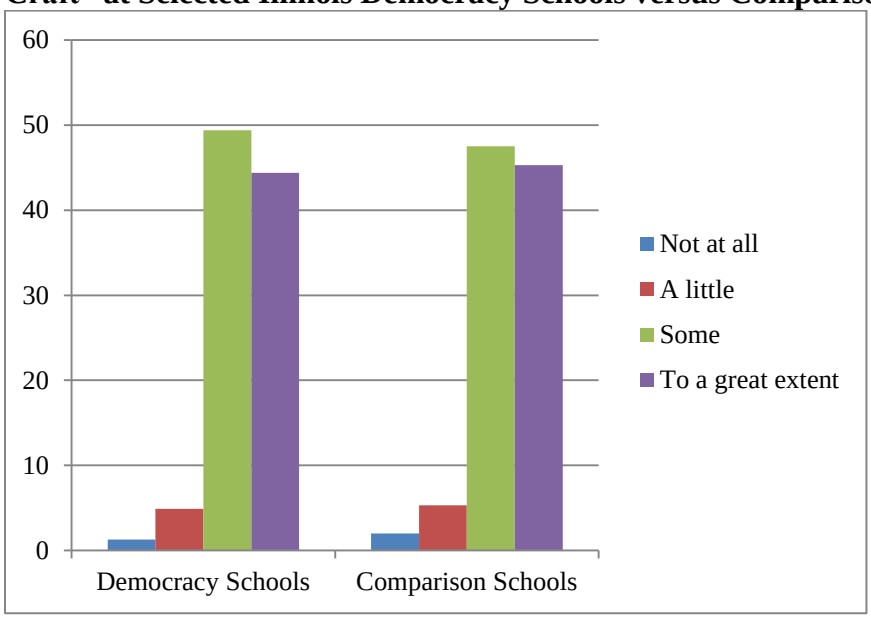
A second question gauges the extent to which principals have confidence in the expertise of teachers who work at their schools and follows a similar pattern. A strong majority of teachers at selected Democracy Schools perceive a “great extent” of respect for their expertise from principals (53.9%, see Figure 7.2), while a plurality at the comparison schools sense only “some” respect on this measure (47.9%). Once more, Sheepside teachers report a high degree of confidence in their expertise, pacing the pack at the “great extent” threshold, and ranking lowest on the other options (tied at 0% for “none at all” with four other schools, three of them Democracy Schools).

Figure 7.2: The Extent to Which Principals Possess Confidence in Teachers' Expertise at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools versus Comparison Schools



The third question assesses the extent to which teachers respect one another as "experts in their craft." Unlike the previous two indicators, there is little variation between selected Democracy Schools and their paired comparisons on this count (see Figure 7.3). However, Urban Prep does stand out with the highest percentage of teachers selecting "some respect" (65%).

Figure 7.3: The Extent to Which Teachers Respect One Another as "Experts in their Craft" at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools versus Comparison Schools



A fourth, multi-pronged question measures the relative influence that teachers have over school policy. One of the prongs centers upon "Determining books and other instructional materials used in classrooms," and a second "Establishing the curriculum and instructional program." Once more, the differences in responses between teachers at selected Democracy Schools and their peers at comparison schools are negligible on both measures (see Figures 7.4 and 7.5).

Figure 7.4: The Degree of Influence of Teachers on School Policy at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools versus Comparison Schools in Determining Books and Other Instructional Materials Used in Classrooms

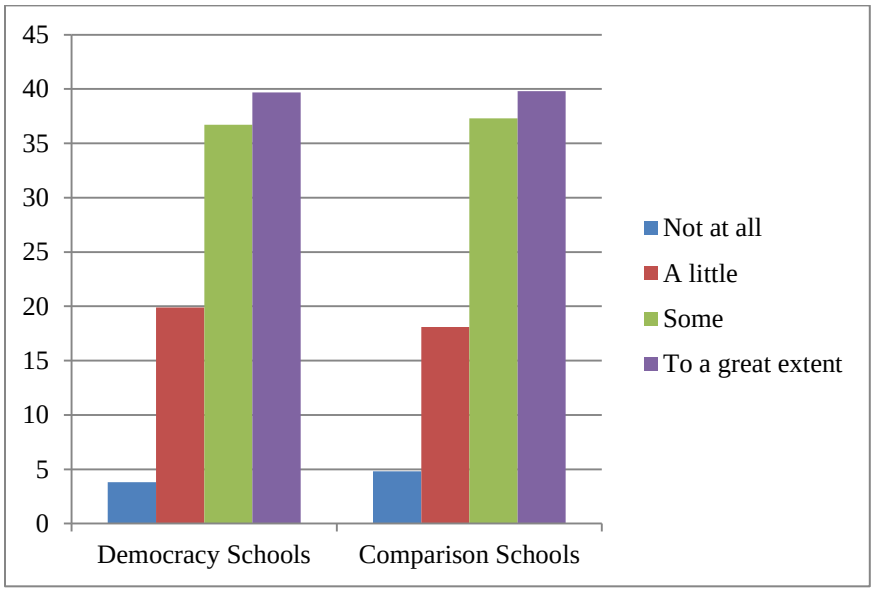
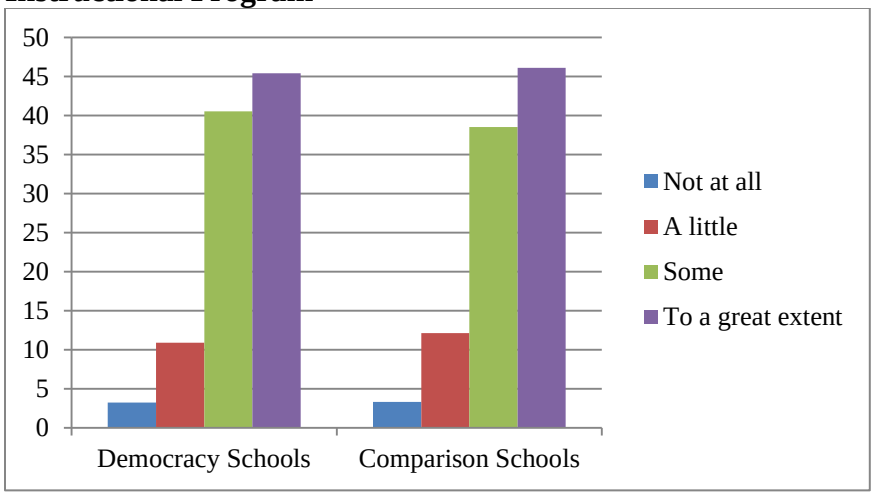


Figure 7.5: The Degree of Influence of Teachers on School Policy at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools versus Comparison Schools Establishing the Curriculum and Instructional Program



However, school-by-school differences do emerge. Coal City teachers are the most likely of the twelve schools surveyed to suggest "a great extent" of influence on both books and

instructional materials (67.1%) and curriculum and instruction (68.6%). They were also least likely to report “some” influence on each. Pony Peak, on the other hand, has the lowest frequency for “a great extent” (13.5%) and the highest for “a little” (37.4%) when it comes to classroom materials. Finally, Urban Prep and Eisenhower had the highest percentages of teachers claiming no influence of classroom materials selection, albeit a low percentage (both at 5.1%).

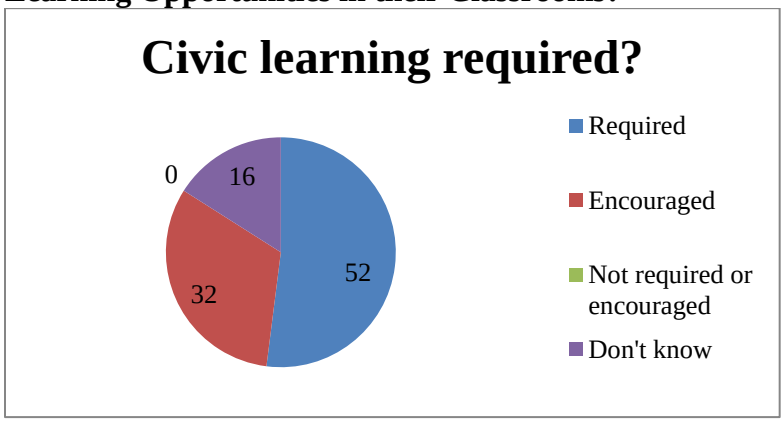
On each of the “Five Essentials” questions analyzed in this section, teachers at selected Illinois Democracy Schools score highly. They outperform comparison schools on separate measures of principals’ respect for teachers and their expertise, respectively. Democracy Schools and their paired comparisons are quite similar when it comes to peer-to-peer respect and teacher influence on curriculum, instruction, and the selection of classroom materials.

Among the selected Democracy Schools, Sheepside teachers stand out in their perceptions of the principal’s respect for them and confidence in their expertise. Collegial respect at Urban Prep, although somewhat strong, has room for growth. Finally, while Coal City leads the way in engaging teachers in selecting books and instructional materials and developing curriculum and instruction, Pony Peak, Urban Prep, and Eisenhower could all do more with teachers on book and materials selection.

In order to gain greater understanding of teacher creativity and autonomy in the context of civic learning, I posed a two-part question to administrators and faculty at selected Democracy Schools that asks first if classroom-based civic learning is required by the school. A majority of respondents (52%) report that civic learning is required in classrooms at their schools, and the

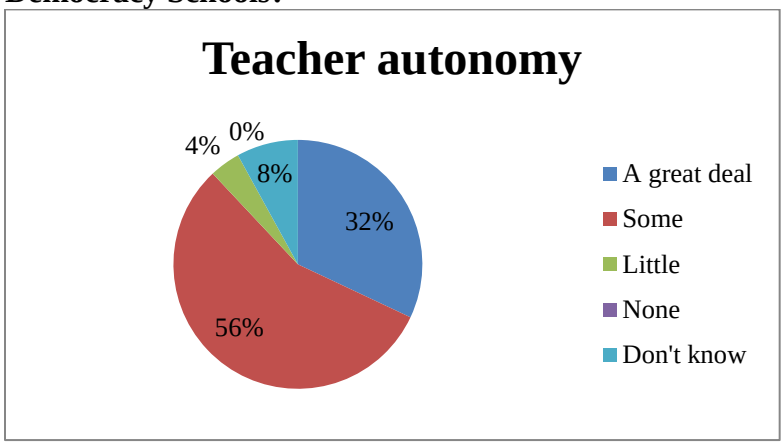
other third (32%) who answered this question suggest it is encouraged, but not required (See Figure 7.6).

Figure 7.6: Are Teachers at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools Required to Offer Civic Learning Opportunities in their Classrooms?



Second, respondents were asked the extent to which teachers have autonomy and flexibility in the development of civics curriculum. A majority (56%) report some autonomy and nearly one-third (32%) a great deal of autonomy (see Figure 7.7). A single respondent, the Assistant Principal for Instruction at Sheepside, suggests that teachers have little autonomy and flexibility when it comes to civic learning.

Figure 7.7: If Civic Learning Is Required or Encouraged, How Much Autonomy and Flexibility Do Teachers Have in Developing This Curriculum at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools?



When responses to this two-part question are aggregated by school, only one of six uniformly claim that civic learning is required in classrooms (Coal City, See Table 7.3). At three of six schools, more respondents report that civic learning is required than encouraged, while one suggests an even split (Sheepside). A bare majority at Whitman claims that civic learning is encouraged.

Whitman is the only school where a majority of respondents report that teachers have a great deal of autonomy and flexibility when it comes to civic learning in their classrooms. Pony Peak responses result in a split between a great deal and some autonomy, while some autonomy eclipses a great deal of it at both Coal City and Eisenhower. A plurality at Sheepside suggests that teachers have some autonomy while one respondent says a great deal and another little. Finally, a consensus emerges at Urban Prep where all interviewees report some teacher autonomy.

Table 7.3: Civic Learning Requirements and Teacher Autonomy by Selected Illinois Democracy Schools

School	***Urban Prep (U)***	***Coal City (D)***	***Sheepside (S1)***	***Eisenhower (S2)***	***Pony Peak (S3)***	***Whitman (S4)***
Civic learning required?	Required/ encouraged	Required	Required/ encouraged	Required/ encouraged	Required/ encouraged	Encouraged/ required
Teacher autonomy	Some	Some/ great deal	Some/ great deal/ little	Some/ great deal	Great deal/ some	Great deal/ some

Coal City addresses civic learning through a required United States History course junior year and a mandatory senior Government course. One Social Studies teacher there elaborates, suggesting that students "…do have electives of Social Studies at the freshman level, current events at any level, and then World History, so they have several different options..."

Urban Prep, on the other hand, infuses civic learning across the curriculum through its service-learning program. Its principal says, "If you are part of a social science or an English Language Arts class there will be service-learning components of your curriculum that are required, and so those teachers are required to do it."

Urban Prep's Social Studies Chair claims that civic learning lives in his department "…around the Constitution and learning the Constitution." He continues, "Other teachers certainly deal with the community and community needs, and we've all been in the community with service-learning projects."

Eisenhower's principal calls civic learning "…one of the pillars of our Social Studies education." The Social Studies Department aims to develop "artisans, citizens, and scholars," and these "…are part of the three pillars of work that [they] do…" He continues, "…the citizen structure is where you see that and we have done our best to develop all of our…Social Studies classes with those three threads."

The Social Studies Department Chair circles the Government course required for students to graduate, and claims that civic learning is "strongly supported, but not mandated in a formal sense" in other courses.

One member of his department points to the benefit of Democracy School accreditation in that they are "revisiting [classroom-based civic learning] and…have started to expand." She continues, "We do really good civic learning opportunities through student activities, but in the classroom it hasn't always been focused upon, so now we have started to expand that and that is something I think we're discussing more."

Like Eisenhower's principal, the Assistant Principal for Instruction at Pony Peak claims that civic learning is

> Woven through the fabric of our school vision and mission. So, are they required? I think that they understand it's part of who we are as a school. And that it's critical as our students move through high school that they learn about civics and the whole part of being part of the community beyond [Pony Peak].

One Pony Peak Social Studies teacher hesitates to call civic learning a requirement. Instead, she terms it a "departmental push." She struggles to incorporate civic learning into her

Advanced Placement American Government course "…because it's so content-focused." Election years, however, present opportunities to "…get kids civically-involved."

Sheepside has a required sophomore government courses, and all four interviewees point to it as a source for civic learning, be it required or encouraged. One of the Social Studies teacher's responses is typical: "In the very technical and narrow sense, I suppose the answer is no [civic learning is not required]. Having said that, I will say it is an integral part of our required Government course." He goes on to describe a civic engagement project built into students' final exam that is very similar to Pony Peak's, which was detailed in the previous chapter.

Another Sheepside teacher identifies civic learning components within the school's environmental science courses, and the Social Studies Department Chair says that service-learning lives in other academic departments at the school.

Whitman's principal highlights a legislative mandate to incorporate civic learning into the classroom, and its Social Studies Department Chair mentions its required sophomore government course. Two members of his department point to the school's 24-hour community service graduation requirement, but according to one respondent, "…that's not in conjunction with (a) civics class or civic learning."

Whitman is the only school where a majority of respondents (all three Social Studies teachers interviewed) contend that teachers have a great deal of autonomy and flexibility to develop civics-oriented curricula. One teacher reports that they "…have an extreme amount of

autonomy and (he) get(s) the freedom here." Another teacher says, "We're lucky that we can plan our own curriculum."

Whitman's Social Studies Department Chair speaks of some autonomy and flexibility on the civic learning front. He offers, "All of the teachers cover the three branches and the foundations, but within that, the government team has created a lot of things on their own."

Whitman's Principal echoes this notion of teacher autonomy within the standardized curriculum:

> We have a district-wide curriculum. It's standard across all three schools in the district. However, within the curriculum, teachers certainly have flexibility and academic freedom to explore particular concepts in a unique way. Certainly a lot of academic freedom with respect to instructional strategies and developing instructional lessons. I would say that within a structured, district-wide curriculum parameter, there's a lot of autonomy.

Pony Peak's respondents split between a great deal and some autonomy. The Assistant Principal, in an nod to the previous chapter's section on meeting standards via civic learning, says the following:

> Being the instructional AP, we've really been aligning with Common Core standards. One thing that has come up in those conversations is yes, these standards provide guidance, but they don't dictate what and how teachers actually engage kids. For me, I take that as it's important to give teachers a lot of autonomy. So we do encourage our teachers to really consider the most relevant opportunities for learning and to ensure that yes, to address learning goals and standards, but to do it in a relevant way. So for example with civics, not only is it important to teach the standards, but also to apply those standards in real life.

A Pony Peak Social Studies teacher acknowledges some degree of flexibility to experiment with civic learning. She tries to incorporate it into her "regular classes," but reports that "it doesn't always work out." The challenge, she suggests, is that with the "…shift to

Common Core, we're stuck in drill, drill, drill, drag kids through curriculum, and at no place are we creating authentic meaning for them."

While one Coal City Social Studies teacher claims that "…civic opportunities present themselves all over the school," his departmental colleague contends they're "…all on the same page, but…can kind of go off on our own tangents about different things that we're interested in." In this respect, she suggests teachers have "free reign."

A majority of Eisenhower respondents report that teachers have some autonomy and flexibility in the civic learning domain. The Principal says "…it really depends on how you define autonomy." He continues, "Individual teachers instructionally can do things they want on a day-to-day basis, but [in terms of] curriculum…, we are very common in our courses."

The Social Studies Department Chair seconds this notion, highlighting "Individual as well as team goals…" However, "…it's not, you must do X number of lesson plans." A member of his department centers his comments on the required American Government course at Eisenhower, which offers "…a fair amount of autonomy." He elaborates,

> There is a common final exam. If it's a college prep American Government class or an AP American Government class there's some common assessments, but within that commonality, there's tremendous flexibility for teacher to emphasize a particular topic that they're strong in or an interest that students in the class might have, or if it's an election season to spend more time covering elections and politics…

While Sheepside's Assistant Principal for Instruction identifies little teacher autonomy within a "set curriculum" handed down from the district, the Social Studies Department Chair

points once more to the opportunities provided by elective programs as vehicles for "…autonomy to provide what's best for our demographic of students."

The required Government course was developed at the district level and is relatively uniform across each of its four high schools. They use a common final exam, and have added the civic engagement activity referenced above. A Sheepside Social Studies teacher who was integral to the course's development says that the autonomy of individual course instructors is limited "…so the kids all have some common experience."

Urban Prep's Principal suggests that teachers have some autonomy, and this classification is true across all three interviews at the school. She says,

> We hire the best people we can. We try to stay out of their way. We review their curriculum maps. We review their unit plans. We review their assessments to make sure that the standards are aligned and we keep track of which standards they're teaching to. But the actual content we really try to give them as much room as possible for creativity and ownership.

Neither of the Social Studies teachers interviewed feels constrained by this structure. One points to common planning and assessments among colleagues, but doesn't "…feel in any way limited to what [they] reach consensus about." She continues, "As long as the same skills are being addressed, and as long as our kids are prepared to take the assessment, you're reflecting on the skills we are working on, I don't feel in any way constrained."

In sum, drawing upon data from both the Illinois Five Essentials survey and individual interviews with administration and faculty at selected Illinois Democracy Schools, it is fair to say that teachers have the respect of their principals, peers, and a reasonable degree of autonomy in

developing civic curriculum and instructional activities, along with selected classroom materials. Civic learning is either required or encouraged at each school, and teachers are allowed to experiment within broad district- or school-established parameters.

7.5. An Administration that Does Not Sacrifice the Long-Term Benefits of Civic Learning for Short-Term Testing Goals

Evans (1996) articulates the importance of this indicator succinctly. He writes, "A leader shapes a school's values and purposes chiefly through what she attends to and what she models." (p. 213). He continues, "Studies of high performing systems show that their leaders provide direction that is clear, strong, and unambivalent..."

From the view of faculty members, Evans suggests that teachers want to work for principals who are knowledgeable about education and averse to embracing the latest “fads.” They want someone who is "‘one of us,' who can see education from a teacher's point of view, and (is) attuned to the real world of classrooms, students, and parents" (p. 191).

Evans continues,

> No reform effort, however worthy, survives a principal's indifference or opposition... His involvement legitimizes the effort, giving it official imprimatur that carries symbolic weight and confirms that the staff should take it seriously (p. 202).

As has proven true through nearly a decade of leading teachers through the Democracy Schools assessment and application process, "...Teachers who press for reform on their own must realize the importance of bringing the principal along early...." (p. 203). Short of this, improvement processes like this most often fail.

Fullan (2007) echoes the need for principals to support school reform efforts. He finds that their attendance at dedicated workshops is a good indicator of this. He writes, "Today no serious change effort would fail to emphasize the key role of the principal" (p. 156).

The question, he suggests, is how principals can be best supported to serve as “change agents” (p. 15). Fullan continues, "The principal has always been the gatekeeper of change, often determining the fate of innovations coming from the outside or from teacher initiatives on the inside" (p. 74).

Looking at the process of continuous school improvement “in action,” Smylie (2010) suggests that student learning is a “focal point” and “driver for continuous improvement.” The process must be systemic, engage the whole school, and be inclusive of all stakeholders. At its heart, however, is the leadership of the building principal (pp. 137-138).

In becoming a continuously improving school, leaders from the exemplary schools Smylie studied develop structures for continuous improvement, allocate time and money for them, and develop staff capacity to take on this work (p. 142).

Bryk et al. (2010) point to three dimensions of school leadership. This includes a managerial dimension, an instructional dimension, and an inclusive-facilitative dimension where "...leaders nurture individual agency and build collective capacity to support fundamental change" (pp. 61-63).

These authors' indicators of school leadership contain inclusive leadership by principals, accounting for both teacher and community influence. Instructional leadership comes through program coherence and implementation of school improvement plans (pp. 71-72). In their study of school reform in Chicago, school leadership proved most important in improving the professional capacity of faculty and building parent-community ties, subjects explored in greater depth in Chapters Eight and Nine, respectively (p. 130).

Marzano et al. (2005) completed a meta-analysis of research on school leadership spanning 35 years and found 69 studies, encompassing 2,802 schools and 1.4 million students that met their criteria. They determine that effective leadership impacts student achievement by a factor of .25 (Kindle Location 170).

The responsibilities of a school leader, according to Marzano et al., are many (they articulate 21 in total). They begin with affirmation, or the "..extent to which a leader recognizes and celebrates school accomplishments--and acknowledges failures" (Kindle Location 742).

As was confirmed by several of the authors cited above, principals must also be "change agents." This includes leading initiatives with uncertain outcomes in consideration of new and better ways of doing things systematically. In so doing, the principal forces the school to operate at the "edge" of its competence (Kindle Locations 765-777).

Principals should also provide contingent rewards, recognizing hard work and results. Performance is thus privileged over seniority. The authors suggest that this phenomenon is rare in K-12 education (Kindle Location 789).

Effective principals are great communicators to teachers and students alike. They have open and effective communication channels for and are accessible to teachers (Kindle Location 812).

In a nod to the previous section on teacher autonomy, principals build a culture that promotes staff cohesion. This is achieved through a sense of well-being and a shared vision for the school (the second indicator of Hypothesis 4B; Kindle Locations 823-825).

Effective principals protect teachers' instructional time from both internal and external disruptions. They are also flexible, adapting their leadership style depending upon the situation. They also cultivate the expression of contrary opinions, and are comfortable with major changes to standard operating procedures (Kindle Locations 846-869).

As was suggested by previous authors, "An effective school leader ensures that change efforts are aimed at clear, concrete goals." This is true for curriculum, instruction, and assessment; the school's general functioning; and the goals and expectations set for students.

Enterprising school leaders hold well-defined beliefs about schools, teaching, and learning." They in turn share these beliefs with their staff, and their behaviors are consistent with these beliefs (Kindle Location 891).

These leaders must also make sure that their staffs are intellectually stimulated. This is achieved through continuous exposure to cutting-edge research, staying informed about current research and theory, and regular, facilitated discussions of this research and theory (Kindle Locations 927-938).

Despite the plethora of aforementioned responsibilities, principals should remain involved in curriculum, instruction, and assessment. This means they must be fluent in it and provide conceptual guidance to the faculty. They must also continuously monitor these practices and remain aware of their impact on student achievement (Kindle Locations 949-995).

Effective principals are inspirational leaders, pushing teachers to pursue goals beyond their immediate grasp. As other authors cited above suggest, principals must be the driving force behind major initiatives and maintain confidence in their staff's ability to accomplish substantive things (Kindle Locations 995-1006)

School leadership also requires the maintenance of order. Principals should establish routines for the smooth running of the schools so that students and staff alike can both understand and follow them (Kindle Location 1018).

Outreach to key stakeholders is another critical component of a principal's duties. They must be a consistent advocate for the school with parents, central office, and the surrounding community, and in direct line with the indicator measured in this section, ensure compliance with local and state mandates (Kindle Locations 1030-1041).

Principals must pay consistent attention to human resources, maintaining personal relationships with teachers. They should be aware of teachers' personal needs and significant issues occurring in their lives. In a variable that will be explored in much greater depth in the next chapter, principals need also to "…provide…teachers with materials and (the) professional development necessary for the successful execution of their duties" (Kindle Locations 1041-1053).

Situational awareness is the second-to-last characteristic of an effective school leader. This includes the ability to predict crises in advance, awareness of informal groups and relationships among staff, and a sense of the issues that have yet to surface but could create problems (Kindle Location 1075).

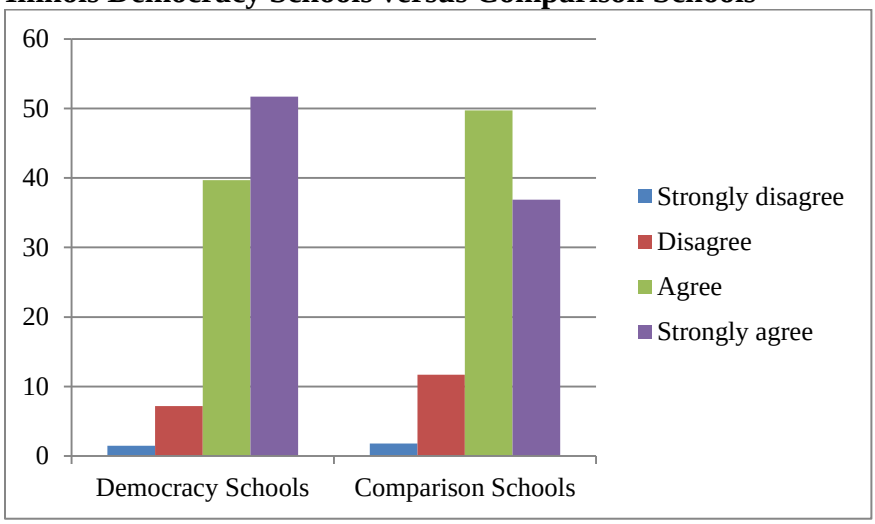
Finally, strong principals should be visible to teachers, students, and parents. This means regular classroom visits and frequent contact with students (Kindle Locations 1087-1099).

In sum, according to the findings of Marzano et al., each of these responsibilities of school administrators has a significant relationship to student achievement. Collectively, they appear daunting, but the authors offer five coping mechanisms, beginning by developing a strong

leadership team. Given the breadth of the responsibilities detailed above, they must be distributed across this team. It is also important to select the "right work," and to "identify the order of magnitude implied by the work." Finally, the team must be flexible in matching their management style to the magnitude of the change initiative (Kindle Location 1769).

We move next to testing the presence of principal leadership towards the civic mission of schools at selected Illinois Democracy Schools and their paired comparisons. A question posed to teachers in the 2013 Illinois Five Essentials survey asks how well the principal at their school "communicates a clear vision." More than half of teachers at selected Democracy Schools (51.7%, see Figure 7.8) rate their principals as highly effective at communicating a clear vision. By comparison, a little more than a third of their colleagues at comparison schools say the same.

Figure 7.8: The Extent to Which Principals Communicate a Clear Vision at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools versus Comparison Schools



Looking at specific schools in the sample, Urban Prep ties with Whitman's comparison with zero respondents who "strongly disagree." At the other end of the spectrum, Pony Peak paces the field with nearly three-quarters of teachers (72.2%) in "strong…agreement."

The vision variable measured on the Five Essentials survey is general, and individual interviews with school administrators at selected Democracy Schools allow us to specifically explore the civic dimension of school leadership. Administrators were asked, "How important is civic learning to you as part of your living school's mission?"

Five of the six responses to this question are coded as "very important" and one response as "important" (Coal City, see Table 7.4). Coal City's Principal groups civic learning with the school's broader educational mission to prepare students for "what's next." Among the balance of responses to this question are profound testaments to these schools' civic missions.

Table 7.4: How Important Is Civic Learning to Administrators at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools as Part of Living Their School's Mission?

School	***Urban Prep (U)***	***Coal City (D)***	***Sheepside (S1)***	***Eisenhower (S2)***	***Pony Peak (S3)***	***Whitman (S4)***
Civic learning's importance	Very important	Important	Very important	Very important	Very important	Very important

Whitman's principal reverts to the district's S4 Framework detailed in the previous chapter. She says its "tenets…really provide the purpose for everything we do…" She continues,

> It's what we're hired to do, it's what we're obligated to do, and then I would argue to even further, as educators it's our professional responsibility. I think that each of us regardless of whether we're a teacher in the classroom, or

whether we teach Social Studies or math, or whether we're a school administrator or secretary, so whatever it is, during the four years that we have them here, our job is to get them to prepare as best as we can to be productive, successful interactive members of society, whatever society's going to look like which is ever-changing. That's the reason we do what we do. That's why we're here.

Eisenhower's Principal was a long-time science teacher, and civic learning is core to his personal epistemology. He says his "…mission as a science teacher was to build someone who could read *USA Today* or *Discover* magazine or *Time* magazine and make an informed decision about the stuff that they see." He equates this with the broader goals of civic learning, asking, "Can we build kids who can read the opinion page, who can read the front page of the newspaper and make appropriate choices…?" He concludes, "…the whole purpose of offering public education is to provide the engine of democracy, right?"

The response of Urban Prep's Principal is arguably the most moving, and I quote her at length.

Fifteen percent of the seniors last year were undocumented. Ninety-four percent of my student body is either an immigrant themselves or their parents immigrated. They all came here for a reason, and that reason was a better life, and shot at the middle class.

And I think it is part of my job to insure that not only they are academically and socially-emotionally prepared to do that work, but also make sure that they understand that... Democracy is everybody's job. Freedom ain't free. We all serve. You either serve badly through ignorance, or you serve appropriately by being prepared.

You know, you're aware of what you do to serve every day, or you're aware of when you serve. Hopefully you feel guilty when you realize that whoa, I haven't served in a while and ought to do something. So we just want…awareness…on their radar…so that later in life they will understand that if you have, you give back. And pretty much everybody in this country has. Our job is to give back, right?

These strong statements considered alongside the conclusive findings from the Illinois Five Essentials survey, administrators at selected Democracy Schools communicate a clear vision for their schools, and civic learning is integral to these aspirational goals. They look

beyond the short-term goals of standardized testing to nurture the long-term benefits of civic learning.

7.6. Superintendents Who Exert Positive Leadership

Fullan (2007) finds evidence that superintendents and other district leaders are critical "change agents" alongside principals (p. 16). In fact, change is often initiated from a high-level advocate within a school district like a superintendent (p. 73).

Smylie (2010), writing in the context of continuous school improvement, identifies four key roles for district leadership. First, they must provide time, money and personnel. Second, they should be willing to adapt standard operating procedures. Third, they must both incentivize and hold district schools accountable in order to promote continuous improvement. Fourth and finally, they need to place coherent demands on schools, creating the space for continuous improvement (p. 149).

According to Marzano and DuFour (2011), effective school leaders embrace "defined autonomy" where

> Superintendents work with the board of education, other central office administrators, and principals to articulate clear, nondiscretionary student achievement goals for the district as a whole, for each school, and for subgroups of students. These districts also establish a common framework of research-based strategies for achieving those goals (p. 29).

Within such districts, each school is contextualized, and teachers have flexibility to experiment with curriculum and instruction within defined parameters. However, "… the district

leadership establishes the ‘common work of schools within the district’ that serves as the ‘glue holding the district together’” (pp. 29-30).

Too often, schools are overburdened by a large number of incoherent initiatives handed down from above. Alternatively, “Effective districts identify a few key priorities and they pursue them relentlessly.” This process is propelled by superintendents who communicate consistently with faculty and administration throughout the district (pp. 40-41).

The presence of positive leadership from the district level in support of students’ civic learning is measured through a single question posed to building level administrators at selected Illinois Democracy Schools. They were asked, “What kinds of policies, resources, and political capital does your school’s leadership (school board and superintendent included) provide to create opportunities for students’ civic growth?”

Responses range from strong levels of support at two of the suburban Democracy Schools (Eisenhower and Whitman, see Table 7.5) to minimal support at Urban Prep. Three schools (two suburban, the other downstate) describe district level support for civic learning as “adequate.”

Table 7.5: What Kinds of Policies, Resources, and Political Capital Does School Leadership (School Board and Superintendent Included) at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools Provide to Create Opportunities for Students' Civic Growth?

School	***Urban Prep (U)***	***Coal City (D)***	***Sheepside (S1)***	***Eisenhower (S2)***	***Pony Peak (S3)***	***Whitman (S4)***
Policies, resources, and political capital	Minimal support	Adequate support	Adequate support	Strong support	Adequate support	Strong support

Eisenhower's principal points to the district's embrace of co- and extracurricular activities of evidence of their strong commitment to civic learning. The school offers 128 different clubs to which students subscribe widely (in excess of 90% participation), and many of them, according to him, center on students' "civic growth." The district commitment comes in the form of

> Money and resources that [are] required for paying teacher's time, or buying equipment for all of those things, I think we view, we even have a director of student activities who runs that whole program. To us, it's an important part of the school day. We know kids who are involved in those activities are more successful in school, so with a 90% rate of kids being in this, because of that, you can see our support throughout the institution.

Whitman's principal circles the "…plethora of…resources and financial support…" provided by the district for students' civic development. Specifically, she highlights the district's community service requirement, which isn't mandated by state law. She continues, "It's not something I would say is the norm in public high schools, but the community, the school board, and the administration feel it is an extremely crucial part of a student being able to function in today's society."

The Assistant Principal for Instruction at Pony Peak describes her district's support for civic learning as adequate. It doesn't necessarily come from additional financial resources, but instead flexibility through existing budgets and their broader goal of 21st Century student engagement which is pursued primarily through the formal curriculum.

Coal City's principal also dismisses district-level financial support specifically for civic learning in favor of "…just thinking outside of the box and allowing us to operate outside of the box." He continues, "It's not always how much does it cost? It's not always about where it fits in. It's really about what kids can get from it, and having that student-centered approach in everything that we do has really helped us out as a school and a district to be different."

Thus far, despite differences on the degrees of heterogeneity of student populations of schools studied, paired with varying financial resources, district level supports for civic learning has not varied on these counts. This brings us to the exceptional case of Urban Prep among the selected Illinois Democracy Schools. It rests in a large, underfunded, and arguably dysfunctional urban school district crippled by pervasive poverty and in many parts of the city, endemic violence. It therefore comes as little surprise that Urban Prep's principal suggests that the district provides only minimal levels of support for students' civic development.

She says district level support is "never direct," and in order to take advantage of available resources "You have to be clever." She attributes Urban Prep's success in attracting district level support to having spent eight years in the district office downtown. This allowed her to develop deep connections with the social science department and when opportunities in the

civic learning space surface, "they call." She also credits "brilliant" staff hires "…who have really powerful connections in the world of civic…engagement and they bring that with them."

Urban Prep's Principal continues,

> I know that there is money downtown if you have a good relationship with people and they know you are willing and that you will share your data and that you're good with your partners and when there's a report due, you do it on time, so they're like, oh, [Urban Prep] always meets its deadlines. We'll use [Urban Prep] for this. And so my job is to be really careful about which programs I say yes to so we don't become a Christmas tree.

Her school's budget was cut by 15% last year and she scaled back funding for extracurricular activities in an effort to retain faculty. Another equivalent, compounding cut looms on the horizon and unfortunately, classroom teachers won't be spared this time around. She ponders,

> So who do I cut? I can't cut staff. I cut my staff last year. I can't cut back anymore. So now its classroom and I'm looking at, so am I damaging my World Studies program? Am I wiping out my library? Am I cutting my counselor? …I mean, what do I do? And that's every school in this district.

Urban Prep's principal and her peers at schools throughout the district are thus left "…to wait for better times." She'll try to "…keep the good people (and) the programs that are sustainable." Marginalized programs, like the student newspaper for example, "will go." She laments, "… they may be fabulous programs, but…if I don't have a huge outcrying of support for them…, they'll go. And that's where we are now in 2014."

This extensive description of the district level challenges facing Urban Prep in the realm of civic learning and its schools' larger educational mission suggest that in the current environment, only the entrepreneurial efforts of administrators and faculty can help to bridge the resource divide with downstate and suburban schools. Not only is the district as a whole

underresourced, but its vast size also presents a coordination problem that many of its schools are probably ill-equipped to navigate. Urban Prep thus presents an exceptional case and it stands as no mystery that it emerged as the first urban Illinois Democracy School.

7.7. Summary

Beyond Urban Prep, the remaining Democracy Schools in the sample enjoy either "strong" or "adequate" support for civic learning from district leadership. Revisiting the earlier indicators of vision and leadership, each of the selected Democracy Schools features civic learning either overtly in their school mission and/ or vision statements, or in either case, appears to live the specific intent or spirit of them, respectively.

Their student handbooks universally emphasize civic learning in students' behavior and personal development goals, once more either overtly or implicitly. Three of them fall short when it comes to the civic dimensions of students' academic development in handbooks. However, evidence from the previous chapter suggests that it is universally valued both in curriculum and instruction and co- and extracurricular activities among the six schools.

Civic learning is either encouraged or required at selected Democracy Schools. Teachers at these schools enjoy the respect of their principal and peers. They also have some autonomy to experiment with curriculum, instruction, and other classroom materials. Reciprocally, administrators at these six schools lead a vision for their civic mission, where prevailing pressures from Common Core and standardized tests are balanced, and in some cases reinforce one another.

These five indicators of Hypothesis Four, Part B considered as a whole, the test of whether schools with sustained, systemic approaches to civic learning have broad commitments to civic learning and the shared leadership to see it through is confirmed. We turn next to staff development, the subject of Chapter Eight.

8. SUPPORTING CIVIC LEARNING THROUGH STAFF DEVELOPMENT

8.1. Introduction

With the challenging curriculum and the leadership and vision components of Hypothesis Four confirmed, we turn next to staff development. Goodlad (2004) argues that teachers are not the sole variable of consequence in schools. In underlining the various prongs of Hypothesis Four, he points to the importance of "a school's sense of mission, the principal, policies and directives of the central office, parental interest and collaboration, traditions, the stability of the faculty and student population…" (p. 168).

However, by implication, the quality of teaching is endemic to a school fulfilling both its academic and civic missions. Sizer (2004b) cements this fact in writing, "As with most professional work, the quality of a school is no better than the quality—the authority—of its on-the-line professionals, its teachers and administrators." (p. 87).

In the second edition of a book he penned two decades earlier, Sizer (2004) elaborates further on this point which is central to the volume:

> This book urges renewed public attention to the importance of teaching in high schools and to the complexity and subtlety of the craft...none is more important than who teachers are and how they work. Without good teachers, sensibly deployed, schooling is barely worth the effort (p. 4).

Like Goodlad, Marzano situates the importance of teacher quality within the larger context of school supports, and agrees with him and Sizer that this variable is paramount in predicting school quality. He argues,

> In the last decade of the 20th century, the picture of what constitutes an effective school became much clearer. Among elements such as a well-articulated curriculum and a safe and orderly environment, the one factor that surfaced as the single most influential component of an effective school is the individual teachers within that school (Kindle locations 35-36).

In fact, Bennett (2002) suggests that political scientists should follow the paths of other disciplines to ensure that civics and government teachers are properly trained. He urges the profession to engage Parent-Teacher Associations, state legislators, and local school districts to make this aspiration a reality.

As was clear in the previous two chapters, Bryk et al.'s (2010) essential school supports model for student achievement is the framework from which Hypothesis Four was conceived, albeit with a civic learning emphasis. According to these authors, the professional capacity of a school's teaching staff is a product of the quality of human resources, the quality of professional development opportunities, a general disposition towards continuous improvement, and the existence and sustenance of a professional learning community (pp. 54-55).

Among the professional capacity indicators employed by Bryk et al. are the frequency and quality of professional development, the ability to hire quality teachers and remove poor ones, and teachers' commitment to both the school and innovation. The professional community is measured by the degree to which classroom practices are public, the extent to which teachers engage in reflective dialogue and collaborate with one another, the socialization of new teachers, and the collective responsibility that the faculty assumes for school improvement with a specific focus on student learning (pp. 72-73).

In their study of the impact of professional capacity and community on student achievement in math and reading, students show academic gains when high-quality professional development is paired with a professional community of teachers oriented towards improvement

(p. 113). All of this said, Bryk et al. find faculty quality most important, yet difficult to measure. I'll assume this challenge in the context of civic learning in the balance of this chapter.

Recall that Hypothesis Four, Part C suggests that schools with sustained, systemic commitments to civic learning have staff development practices that support it, including hiring, evaluation, and professional development. In order to test this third prong of the hypothesis, I rely on four indicators, which once more are addressed in order in the sections below.

The first indicator focuses on the hiring process and subsequent teacher evaluations, and assumes that civic learning will be a priority throughout. Not only do schools with sustained, systemic commitments to civic learning hire mission-driven staff, but they also train teachers consistently in the mission. This indicator is measured through three teacher responses on the 2013 "Illinois Five Essentials" survey, along with an interview question directed at administrators at selected Illinois Democracy Schools.

The second indicator points directly to teacher professional development opportunities. It calls for teachers to have regular chances to strengthen their understanding of civic learning, and that these opportunities extend to teachers across academic disciplines. Teachers' civic knowledge and skills are thus strengthened from exposure to professional development programs offered both by external partners and "in house." Once more, the "Illinois Five Essentials" survey asks teachers a battery of questions in regard to the professional development opportunities available in their schools. I'll pursue additional detail on this measure through a

targeted interview question posed to Social Studies Department Chairs at selected Illinois Democracy Schools.

The next indicator focuses on the extent to which teachers in a school learn from one another. The assumption is that peer-to-peer learning will result in innovations within the overall framework set forth by the school. Two questions from the “Five Essentials” teacher survey inquire about the frequency of constructive conversations with colleagues, and the other pair focuses on colleagues observing one another to provide feedback and generate ideas for their own practice. I also ask faculty members a broader question to gain additional insights about the degree to which collegiality reigns in selected Democracy Schools.

The final indicator stresses the existence of structures to support a culture of continuous improvement. This involves both setting aside time for democratic reflection and authentic opportunities to advance change. A few questions on the Illinois “Five Essentials” teacher survey measure the frequency by which they work with one another on continuous improvement processes and a single, more general interview question directed at Social Studies Department Chairs at selected Democracy Schools will be used to assess this indicator.

We now proceed to a detailed test of the four indicators of Hypothesis Four, Part C.

8.2. An Expectation during the Hiring Process and Teacher Evaluations that Civic Learning Be a Priority

Fullan (2007) suggests that fundamental school change is dependent upon two outcomes. One, we must recruit quality people to teaching, and two, "…the workplace (must be)…organized to energize teachers and reward accomplishments" (p. 129).

Hall and Simeral (2008) contend, "The quality of the teacher is the 'X factor.' Everything in education depends on it" (Kindle Location 276). The hiring process is thus critical, as is the induction of novice teachers into the culture of a school.

Darling-Hammond et al. (2009) tout the benefits of school-based mentoring and induction programs. First, they can help to reduce attrition among beginning teachers. A mentor who teaches the same subject or grade is most helpful. Also important are common planning time, collaboration with other teachers, and participation in larger teacher networks (p. 12).

Effective mentoring programs also yield evidence of improved classroom performance. As is echoed in the sections on in-service teacher professional development below, induction programs should be "collegial" and "embedded," meaning that standalone workshops are also ineffective in this respect. While beginning teachers are increasingly likely to experience induction programs, ongoing access to mentors varies significantly (p. 24).

Gimpel et al. (2003), in their study of the impact of community context on students' civic development, find that "Some schools produced better citizens than others for a rather

straightforward reason: they hired personnel who had an interest in the social studies subject matter and who developed novel ways of communicating the material to their students." Simply stated, "Politically interested teachers produce politically interested students" (p. 167).

Patterson et al. (2012) group teachers according to their views of citizenship using the Kahne-Westheimer paradigm discussed in Chapter Two (p. 193). They find that almost two-thirds of teachers surveyed can be classified as personally responsible, another quarter as participatory, and fewer than 4% as justice-oriented (pp. 197-8).

Given these findings, the authors conclude that

> Teachers' conceptualizations of citizenship education can have a tremendous impact on the sorts of citizenship learning experiences students receive, and that these conceptualizations may pose barriers to effective social studies teaching (p. 204).

Similarly, Castro (2013) contends that preservice teachers enter the profession with various worldviews. They therefore have different conceptions of the skills necessary for successful participation in our democracy, and their role as teachers in cultivating these skills among students. A majority of the preservice teachers interviewed by the author present a "conservative, values-based" notion of citizenship the author deems at odds with a critique of the status quo and our increasingly multicultural society. Those responsible for training preservice and novice teachers must thus broaden the(ir) civic worldviews…in order to encourage more critical and multicultural views of citizenship" (p. 238).

Zhang et al. (2012) study the intersection of teacher preparation, students' classroom experiences, and the civic knowledge and skills the latter group possesses. They deem three

dimensions of teacher qualifications essential in the social studies: content knowledge, pedagogical knowledge pertaining to content, and their overall belief system.

They report that "Students deficient in the basic conceptual knowledge upon which more refined knowledge or skill sets can develop are likely to have experienced a thin curriculum" (p. 22). Moreover, an open classroom climate is also an important factor in students' basic conceptual knowledge acquisition. Their mastery of skills, on the other hand, is associated with traditional classroom activities.

Given the importance of current and controversial issues discussions to students' civic development evident in Chapters Four and Five, "…teachers need adequate content knowledge in order to raise questions for discussion, proctor student comments, and ask probing questions that force students to critically analyze their positions" (Journell, 2013, p. 318). Unfortunately, preservice programs poorly monitor these developments, leaving it to courses in content areas and assuming students' knowledge given successful completion of these courses.

While preservice teachers in Journell's study suggest that knowledge of current events and politics is critical to their profession, most spend less than two hours per week following the news, and those surveyed demonstrate disturbingly low scores on an assessment of this knowledge (p. 332). These students blame their content area courses for failing to prepare them for success on the survey, yet keeping up with current events falls mostly on their own shoulders.

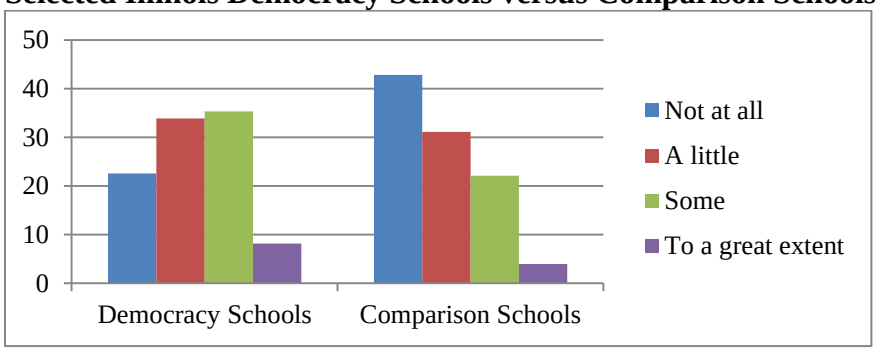
Although the survey itself serves as a wake-up call for many participants, the results speak to the care with which schools must build their staffs. Journell writes,

> That prospective social studies teachers could be entering classrooms unable to name the Vice President of the United States is, at the very least, a public relations nightmare waiting to happen. A more substantive concern is how this lack of knowledge could impact the instructional practices of future social studies teachers (p. 339).

Collectively, these conclusions point once more to the importance of the hiring component in order to build a staff committed to civic learning. The Illinois Five Essentials survey inquires about the extent to which teachers have influence in "…hiring new professional personnel." On this measure, teachers at selected Democracy Schools are vastly more likely to have influence on staff hiring than their colleagues at comparison schools (see Figure 8.1).

Whereas a plurality of teachers at Democracy Schools report at least some influence on personnel decisions (35.3%), a larger percentage of their peers at comparison schools claim no influence at all (42.8%). For example, Sheepside High School teachers have the lowest percentage reporting no influence (5.5%), while Walt Whitman High School's comparison school was more than two standard deviations above the mean claiming "a little" (82.2%, mean of 32.7%).

Figure 8.1: The Extent of Teacher Influence in Hiring New Professional Personnel at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools versus Comparison Schools



While it may be argued that teachers and those in the social studies specifically, will privilege civic learning as they partake in the interview process of prospective colleagues, I sought to measure this phenomenon specifically in interviews with school administrators at selected Democracy Schools. Three of the six administrators surveyed suggest that civic learning is indeed a high priority (see Figure 8.1). One of the six (Coal City High School) considers it among many other priorities, and the remaining two deem it a low priority (Urban Prep High School and Dwight D. Eisenhower High School), although as we will see, it does emerge as a tangential benefit of the qualities that they do emphasize in recruiting new teachers.

Table 8.1: Is Civic Learning a Priority as Administrators at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools Hire and Evaluate Teachers?

School	***Urban Prep (U)***	***Coal City (D)***	***Sheepside (S1)***	***Eisenhower (S2)***	***Pony Peak (S3)***	***Whitman (S4)***
Civic learning and hiring/ evaluation	Low priority	Among many priorities	High priority	Low priority	High priority	High priority

Whitman's principal considers hiring for civic learning "absolutely critical." By the time prospective applicants sit before her, she is "…looking for, are they going to be a good team member…, an asset to the school (and) the community…, (and) are they going to be a better teacher five or ten years from now…?"

The core values document of Sheepside's district emphasizes the recruitment and retaining of "quality employees," along with "…continued learning for faculty and staff [in order to] keep...the district aligned to best practice and better equipped to achieve [its] mission and vision."

According to Sheepside's Assistant Principal for Instruction, hiring for civic learning is "important." He continues,

> It's one of those things where our job as educators is to prepare our students for life after high school and the community. Being productive citizens. And having knowledge of how things work within our society. I think once again that's important to understand…what those rights are, what good citizenship is. It's what we do as educators.

Not only does Pony Peak High School's Assistant Principal for Instruction place a premium on prospective teachers' "…understanding of community… (and) the importance they place on civic learning throughout all content areas," but the evaluation process for current faculty also has a civic dimension. Given the fact that student "…engagement is a school-wide focus...; every evaluation observation (includes) that conversation with teachers."

Coal City's Principal considers "hiring good people" the most important part of his job. Like his colleague at Whitman, he looks for prospective teachers "…who have the ability to add

to [their] programs. Not sustain them. Not take [them] back, of course, but someone that can add something to what [they] already have going [there].”

As mentioned above, the principals of Eisenhower and Urban Prep contend that they do not hire with civic learning in mind. Eisenhower’s principal looks for the “…person who can best teach the curriculum.” Most educators are “civically-minded,” he argues, so he “…hire[s] the person who has the curricular knowledge, the pedagogy that matches the work [they] want to do.”

Urban Prep’s Principal suggests in the previous chapter that the school hires “brilliantly.” For the purposes of this section, she says her faculty was “absolutely not” hired for civic engagement. She continues,

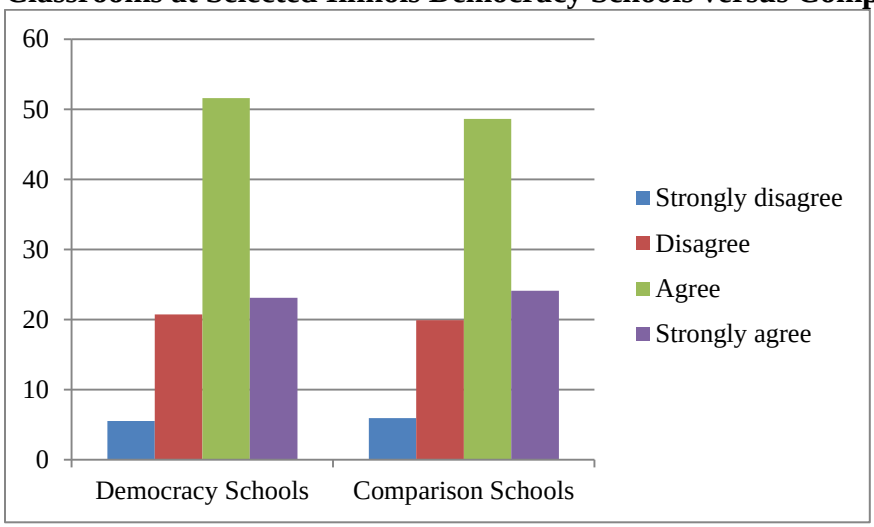
> They’re nationally board certified or they are the best goddam literacy people I know in the district and we could get them and they thought well, [Urban Prep], stable, stable, love that, let’s go there. So what we are doing here is, we bring in good people and then good people talk to other people, and then they recruit other people, and that’s how you build a school. That’s how you build a faculty…

Beyond hiring, mentoring of novice teachers is also critical. The Five Essentials Survey also asks teachers if “Experienced teachers invite new teachers into their rooms to observe, give feedback, etc.” As is clear in Figure 8.2, teachers at selected Democracy Schools differ very little from their peers at comparison schools when it comes to veterans inviting rookies into their classrooms.

A majority of teachers at Democracy schools agree with the aforementioned statement, and another 23.1% strongly agree. By comparison, just fewer than half of teachers at comparison

schools agree (48.6%), and a slightly higher number strongly agree (24.1%). Urban Prep's teachers are most likely in the twelve schools sampled to "strongly disagree" with this statement (9.8%), while Coal City teachers end up at the other end of this spectrum (1.4%).

Figure 8.2: Degree to Which Experienced Teachers Invite New Teachers into their Classrooms at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools versus Comparison Schools



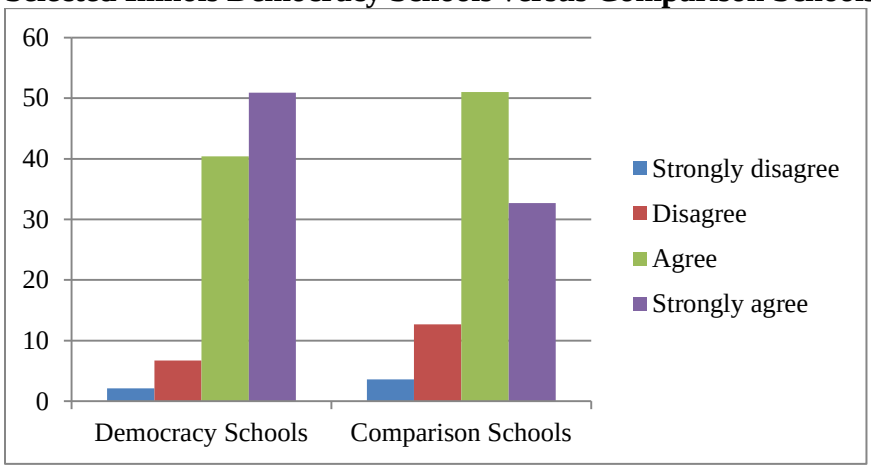
Veteran and novice teachers alike need ongoing professional development to become and remain experts in their craft. The Five Essentials survey asked teachers if their "…principal takes a personal interest in the professional development of teachers." Significant differences emerge on this measure when responses from teachers at selected Democracy Schools are placed beside those at comparison schools (see Figure 8.3).

While a majority of teachers at Democracy Schools strongly agree with this notion (50.9%), less than one-third of teachers at comparison schools concur (32.7%). A majority of teachers in the latter group select "agree" instead (51.0%). This group is also more likely to

"disagree" (12.7% versus 6.7%) and "strongly disagree" (3.6% versus 2.1%) with this statement than teachers at Democracy Schools.

Not a single Urban Prep teacher expresses disagreement with this notion, nor does one Coal City teacher "strongly disagree." The Urban Prep delegation is also most likely to "strongly agree" (62.5%). Pony Peak is the least likely to "agree" (34.2%), but has an above average percentage that agrees "strongly" (56.3%).

Figure 8.3: The Principal's Personal Interest in Teachers' Professional Development at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools versus Comparison Schools



An illustrative example of Democracy Schools' commitment to teacher professional development is cemented within Coal City's student handbook. It states,

> We…provide encouragement and opportunities for faculty, administrators, and board members to engage in activities which will cause them to acquire new skills, knowledge, and enthusiasm for the work which they do in this district.

This is achieved through "an ongoing program of education and self-renewal within the district which is generated by the interests of the staff." Resources are allocated for these ends in an effort to enhance the faculty's "…ability to contribute to the intellectual growth of others."

In sum, teachers at selected Democracy Schools are more likely than their colleagues at comparison schools to have influence on the hiring process for prospective peers. Administrators either hire teachers for and evaluate them on their commitments to civic learning, or achieve the latter through emphasis on other criteria like curricular knowledge, instructional acumen, or personal dynamism. Veteran teachers at selected Democracy Schools are as likely as their peers at comparison schools to invite novice teachers into their classrooms in order to observe and provide feedback. Finally, principals at selected Democracy Schools are more likely to take a personal interest in the professional development of their faculty members. Taken together, it is clear that Democracy Schools privilege civic learning, overtly or tangentially, through teacher hiring, evaluation, and their ongoing professional development.

8.3. Regular Opportunities for Teachers to Strengthen their Understanding of Civic Learning, Especially for Teachers Working Across the Curriculum

Danielson (2007) cements the importance of ongoing professional development for inservice teachers. She writes,

> Teachers (like other professionals) are obliged to continue their learning for their entire professional lives. As in other fields, the preparation and training of teachers is merely the beginning of professional learning, which can be expected to continue throughout one's career (p. 101).

However, "Despite recognition of its importance, the professional development currently available to teachers is woefully inadequate" (Borko, 2004, p. 3).

In an international study of teacher professional development, Darling-Hammond et al. (2009) find that most in-service teachers in the United States participate in some form of professional development annually, yet these opportunities have a largely academic focus and lack depth. The authors also discover that the intensity and duration of existing professional development opportunities is insufficient, leaving nearly half of teachers dissatisfied with the status quo (p. 19).

There is little funding or support for additional professional development and great variation for support of these opportunities across schools. Secondary level teachers, the subject of this study, are more likely to pursue traditional, offsite professional development than their elementary counterparts, who are more likely to engage in job-embedded programs (pp. 21-22).

In Chapter Five, I examined the impact of traditional and innovative civic learning practices on students' civic development and discover major inequities along racial, ethnic, income, and linguistic lines in terms of both academic outcomes and opportunities. Parallel evidence emerges in the case of teacher professional development, Darling-Hammond et al. find that teachers from schools with larger nonwhite, low income, and ELL students are more likely to participate in traditional forms of professional development proven less effective than their reform-oriented alternatives (further detailed below). Moreover, teachers in urban schools are less likely to receive school support for professional development in form of release time, tuition reimbursement, and support for conference fees or related travel.

In defining high-quality professional development, Borko (2004) suggests that "…Teacher learning is usefully understood as a process of increasing participation in the practice of teaching, and through this participation, a process of becoming knowledgeable about teaching" (p. 4).

The key elements of a professional development system, according to Borko, are the program itself, the teachers, its facilitators, and the context in which it takes place. Its byproducts are critical, as "…teachers must have rich and flexible knowledge of the subjects they teach." They must also"… understand how children's ideas about a subject develop and the connections between their ideas and important ideas in the discipline" (p. 6). In reality, meaningful learning for teachers is "slow and uncertain," and some benefit more from professional development opportunities than others.

Garet et al. (2001) lament the fact that "…relatively little systematic research has been conducted on the effects of professional development on improvements in teaching or on student outcomes." (p. 917). Their research attempts to fill this vacuum, focusing on the federally funded, math- and science-focused Eisenhower Professional Development Program (distinguished from the high school pseudonym used throughout this study; pp. 917-918).

They focus on both structural and core features of teacher professional development within this program. Structural features measured include the type of activity, its duration, and the extent to which participation is designed for groups of teachers from the same school, subject area, or grade level (pp. 920-922). Evans (1996) further personalizes professional development,

suggesting that it should recognize the need to tailor offerings to its recipients' current knowledge, needs, and practice.

Workshops are the most common and also the most criticized of the professional development activities. However, they chart movement towards what is often called "reform" professional development which sometimes even takes place during the regular school day, may be more responsive to how teachers learn, and also could have more influence on changing practice.

In terms of duration, Garet et al. (2001) claim that the literature calls for sustained professional development opportunities. This arguably allows for more depth and experimentation with actual classroom practices.

Evans (1996) draws a parallel to corporate America, where managers spend five percent of their time training. Contextualized to the teaching profession, this would equate to nine-to-ten days of professional development annually (p. 137).

The collective participation of teachers from same school, subject area, or grade level allows them to debrief professional development experiences, share materials and assessments, discuss students' needs across classes and grade levels, and to sustain practices over time at a school despite teacher turnover.

The core features of teacher professional development Garet et al. measure are the focus of its content, the extent to which active learning is promoted, and whether or not it fosters coherence (pp. 923-928). The content varies by the emphasis on subject matter versus teaching methodologies, the specificity of changes in teaching practices encouraged, and the emphasis of goals for student learning along with the ways in which they learn.

Active learning is premised upon opportunities to observe other teachers and be observed, to develop curricula and test it, to review student work, and to lead discussions and engage in written work.

Finally, professional development offerings are often criticized by teachers given the lack of connections between programs. Therefore, Garet et al. measure its coherence by assessing whether it not it makes connections with goals and other activities, aligns with state and district standards and assessments, and results in communications with peers.

The authors then proceed to square the aforementioned structural and core features of teacher professional development with two outcomes. The first centers on the enhancement of teachers' knowledge and skills, and the second changes in classroom practice (p. 929).

Garet et al.'s findings are many, including the fact that reform activities have a longer time horizon and involve a greater number of contact hours than traditional activities (p. 930). Reform activities are also slightly more likely to have a positive impact on enhanced knowledge and skills among participating teachers. These two findings are related, as "Professional

development is likely to be of higher quality if it is both sustained over time and involves a substantial number of hours" (p. 933).

The authors also discover that each of the core features of professional development they measure enhances teachers' knowledge and skills, which in turn improves teaching practices. Program coherence is another contributor to classroom practice (p. 934). They conclude that collective participation of teachers in a given school is critical, as is a subject matter focus (p. 936).

Birman et al. (2000) come to a similar conclusion, writing "Teachers do not find generic professional development that focuses on teaching techniques without also emphasizing content to be effective" (p. 30).

However, most Eisenhower programs studied by Garet et al. are traditional in nature. Only a small percentage of them embrace reform activities. They suggest that it is difficult to deliver professional development based on best practices given their costs, challenging nature, and lead time necessary to plan, resources all in short supply in contemporary schools.

Kennedy (1998) is critical of proposed reforms to professional development given their frequent failure to incorporate content. Content, she argues, goes beyond classroom subject matter. It may address classroom management, parental engagement, how students learn specific subject matter, or how to teach specific subject matter (p. 1). Kennedy concludes, "In order to understand how students understand particular content, teachers have to understand the content

itself, so subject matter understanding is likely to be a by-product of any program that focuses on how students understand subject matter" (p. 17).

In the context of civic learning, Hess and Zola (2012) write, "The most transformative civic learning programs are teacher-driven and teacher-dependent, as 'models of wisdom' and descriptions of high-quality civic education demonstrate" (p. 184). However, less than half of teachers rate their professional development experiences as "useful," and many have little control over the type of opportunities they receive.

According to Hess and Zola, "High-quality professional development provides structures that make learning experiences durable and sustainable." Examples include formal and information mentoring, periodic meetings to discuss progress, and explicit coaching or supervision by experts or colleagues (p. 190).

The authors hone in on professional development for one of the promising civic learning practices discussed in previous chapters, policy-based service-learning. They suggest that it requires knowledge of community and policymaking processes, connections to policymakers and experts, and pedagogical skills to guide diverse students through an unconventional educational approach (p. 192).

Hess and Zola acknowledge that best practices in civics professional development are extrapolated from math and other subject areas, and admit that "The educational community

doesn't simply know enough yet to feel fully confident that the professional development programs in the field would have the full impact desired" (p. 203).

These caveats aside, the authors offer five general categories of effective professional development in the realm of civic learning. It begins with a content focus that is "rigorous, accurate, and balanced." It also should improve understanding of content for educators in line with what they are currently teaching. Next, multiple perspectives must be presented on both historic and contemporary controversies. Finally, the content focus should favor depth of understanding over broad coverage.

Second, echoing Garet et al. above, professional development opportunities must be connected to teachers' daily work through "high-leverage practices." This involves demonstrating learning models and debriefing afterward so that participants learn how to apply them to their own classrooms. Hess and Zola argue that promising civic learning practices should be at the center of these models, and teachers must have frequent opportunities for reflection.

Third and fourth, professional development in the civics context must also be collaborative and ongoing. Hess and Zola offer additional insights on the latter, beginning with the expectation that teachers implement what they learn at school and in the classroom. They should also have opportunities to share both successes and challenges, and mentors must be available for coaching at school.

Peer coaching starts with a self-assessment and an identification of areas for personal improvement. Then, teachers make requests for assistance in those areas. In this sense, experienced teachers recognize one another's strengths and weaknesses (Danielson, 2007, pp. 176-7). Next, structures should be created for administrative support of professional development and reinforcement through subsequent opportunities.

Fifth, professional development opportunities must be context-sensitive. A given school's diversity should be reflected in the goals, materials, and learning experiences selected. Providers should be sensitive to local resource conditions and constraints, and workshop presenters and support personnel should reflect the demographics of the school and the surrounding community.

It is this final point where Stein et al. (1999) dig in, that of what is required of professional development providers. The industry standard is "…elective participation in courses, workshops, and summer institutes…," with little follow up after the fact (pp. 238-239).

Among the changes these authors recommend in light of this predicament and the best practices detailed above are

> Requir[ing] professional developers to become immersed in the actual settings in which their clients do their work, to be willing to examine firsthand the impact of their efforts on teachers' practice and student learning, and to hold themselves responsible for the successful implementation of an instructional program by a cohesive group of teachers, not simply the development of teachers as individuals (p. 243).

The actual design and implementation processes for professional developers must be a collaborative effort between providers and their teacher audience. While the latter group may be at first deferential, over time this will likely demand more autonomy and responsibility for their

own professional learning. The challenge for providers is thus to "…grow self-sustaining learning communities..." (pp. 263-266).

One civic learning professional development program has been studied extensively (nearly 100 studies in total), Facing History and Ourselves (Barr and Facing History, 2010, p. 3). As part of its mission, "Facing History promotes teacher self-efficacy, professional satisfaction and growth, and student academic and civic learning."

In the most intensive study of the program's impact to date, Facing History teachers feel more capable of creating classroom environments and engaging in teaching practices that promote student historical understanding, civic learning, ethical awareness, and character development. Facing History students, in turn, score higher on 100% of academic and civic dimensions, the latter encompassing three domains: tolerance, efficacy, and opportunities for civic learning.

The organization "…believes that adult development of educators to be the key lever of educational change." Facing History's professional development offerings revitalize teachers' interest in the craft and make them rethink methodologies, including greater use of class discussion and engaging content, with evidence of sustained impact (pp. 7-8).

An earlier 2006 study of the program's impact in a Chicago middle school revealed

That Facing History increased teacher retention, helped increase teachers' confidence about their positive impact on students, and helped the school recruit qualified teachers, while also increasing opportunities for student engagement and learning and enhancing the academic rigor of the curriculum. The school experienced significant increases in student math and reading scores during the first two years of its partnership with Facing History (p. 10).

Most recently, CIRCLE's (Center for Information Research on Civic Learning and Engagement, 2013) study of youth participation in the 2012 election included a supplemental survey of secondary civics or government teachers. They write, "A typical teacher in our survey reported having had just two professional development experiences in civics, and 18% reported none. The most common training lasted up to one day."

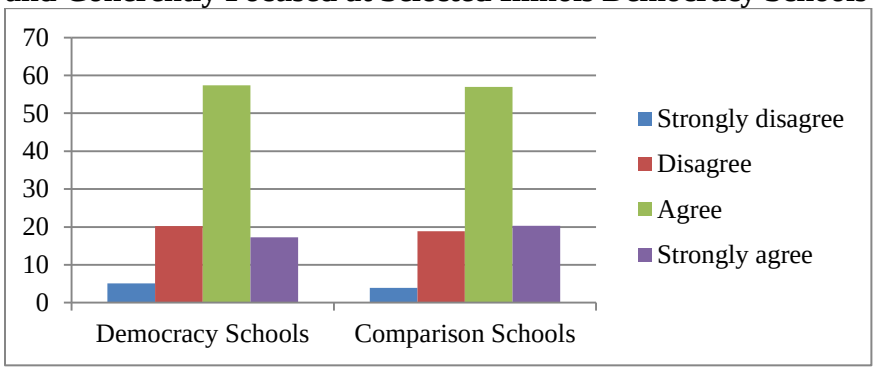
Teachers who experience multi-day professional development opportunities are more likely to feel supported by both their principal and school district, and in turn, to encourage political discussions among students. In a finding that parallels the stark inequities in civic learning opportunities available to non-white, low-income, and non-English speaking students, teachers in the CIRCLE survey are more likely to receive professional development when working in affluent communities, teaching college bound classes, and stationed at schools with higher daily attendance rates (p. 32).

For an indication of the extent to which teachers take advantage of civic learning programs and school-developed models to improve their civic content knowledge and instruction, I turn once more to data derived from the 2013 Illinois Five Essentials teacher survey. Teachers at selected Illinois Democracy Schools and their paired comparisons alike were asked a battery of questions pertaining to the quality of their professional development experiences in the past year.

In line with best practices, the first question inquires whether teachers' professional development experiences have "Been sustained and coherently focused, rather than short-term

and unrelated." Democracy Schools differ little from comparison schools on this professional development measure (see Figure 8.4). In fact, teachers at the latter schools are slightly less likely to strongly disagree (3.9% versus 5.1%) and disagree (18.9% versus 20.2%) with this statement, and a bit more likely to strongly agree (20.3% versus 17.3%). An almost identical majority of teachers in both groups agree that their professional development opportunities are sustained and coherently focused (57.0% at comparison schools and 57.4% at Democracy Schools).

Figure 8.4: The Extent to Which Teachers' Professional Development Has Been Sustained and Coherently Focused at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools versus Comparison Schools

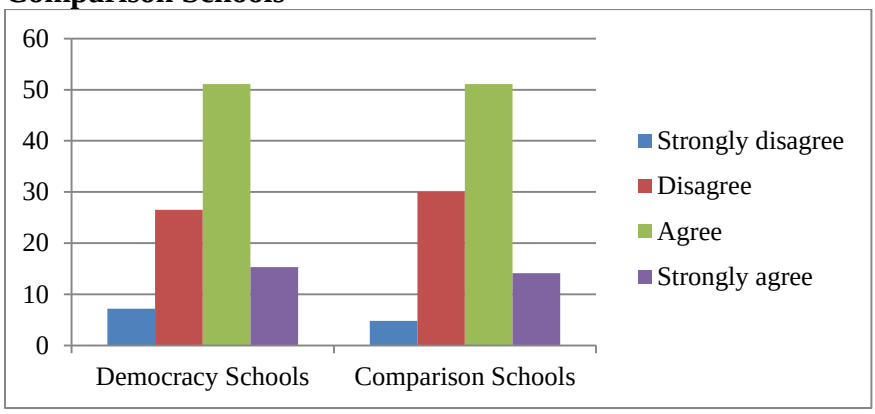


There exists great diversity in teacher responses at selected Democracy Schools on the sustainability and focus on their professional development. No teachers at Coal City disagree "strongly" with this statement, yet 13.3% of their peers at Eisenhower do, the latter percentage more than two standard deviations above the mean of all twelve schools in the sample (4.5%). Eisenhower teachers are least likely to express agreement (44.9%; this time more than two standard deviations below the mean of 57.2%), while Pony Peak lands at the other end of the spectrum at this frequency (65.2%).

A second measure of teacher professional development quality on the Five Essentials survey asks if experiences in the past year "Included enough time to think carefully about, try, and evaluate new ideas." Like the previous indicator, teachers at selected Democracy Schools and comparison schools respond almost identically to this question (see Figure 8.5). Exactly 51.1% in both groups express agreement with this statement. While teachers at Democracy Schools are more likely to strongly agree (15.3% versus 14.1%) and less likely to disagree (26.5% versus 30%), they are more apt to strongly disagree, too (7.2% versus 4.8%).

Similar patterns to the previous question hold for teacher reflection, experimental, and evaluation of their professional development in school-by-school analysis. Coal City is the least likely to disagree "strongly" with this statement (1.4%), while its paired comparison has the highest percentage (10%). Coal City also has the greatest majority who agree (63.8%), while Eisenhower ranks lowest at this gradation (35.2%). Finally, Sheepside boasts the highest percentage who agrees "strongly" (21.1%).

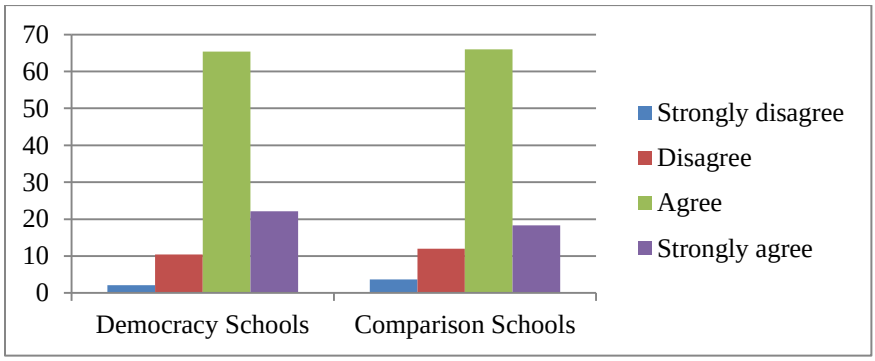
Figure 8.5: The Extent to Which Teachers' Professional Development Included Time for Reflection, Experimentation, and Evaluation at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools versus Comparison Schools



A third measure of teacher professional development quality on the Five Essentials survey gauges its connection to school improvement plans. Nearly two-thirds of teachers at both selected Democracy Schools (65.4%) and their paired comparison schools (66.0%) express agreement with this quality measure (see Figure 8.6). However, teachers at Democracy Schools are slightly more likely to agree strongly (22.1% versus 18.3%), and less apt to both disagree (10.4% versus 12.0%) and disagree strongly (2.1% versus 3.7%).

Coal City again proves least likely to "strongly disagree" with the notion that their professional development is connected to the school improvement plan, tying with Whitman's paired comparison at zero percent. By contrast, its paired comparison paces the pack (10%), more than two standard deviations above the mean (2.9%). Moreover, Coal City had the highest number who agree "strongly" (27.1%), and its comparison the lowest (8.3%). Finally, although a majority of each of the twelve schools sampled express agreement with this statement, Pony Peak stands at one end of the spectrum (75.2%) and Eisenhower the other (57%).

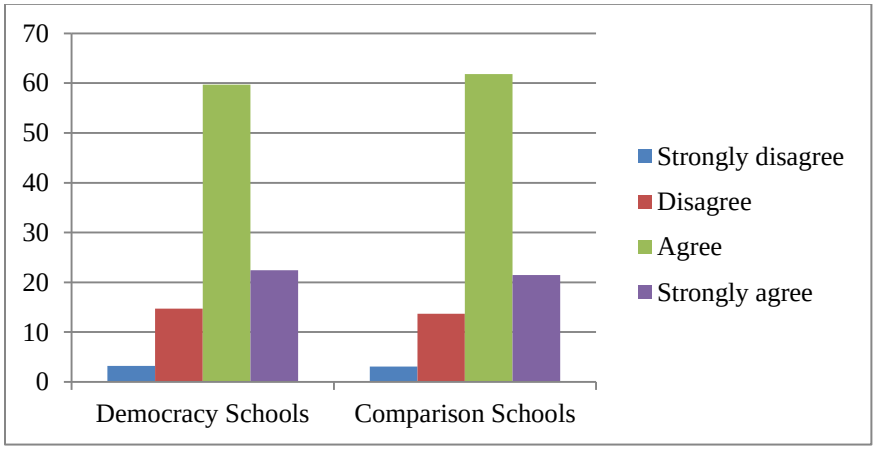
Figure 8.6: The Extent to Which Teachers' Professional Development Is Connected to School Improvement Plans at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools versus Comparison Schools



The fourth measure of professional development quality gauges the extent to which these experiences are collaborative. More specifically, does professional development "Include....opportunities to work productively with colleagues (at) school." Like most of the previous indicators, the results vary little between selected Democracy Schools and comparison schools. Moreover, professional development is remarkably collaborative within both cohorts of schools.

Over eighty-percent of teachers in both groups either agree or strongly agree with this statement (82.1% at Democracy Schools and 83.3% at comparison schools). Eisenhower is the only school where less than a majority of teachers express agreement with this notion of internal collaboration (49.7%, more than two standard deviations below the mean of 60.8%), but this is offset by the higher-than-average percentage who agree "strongly" (27.7% versus 21.5%).

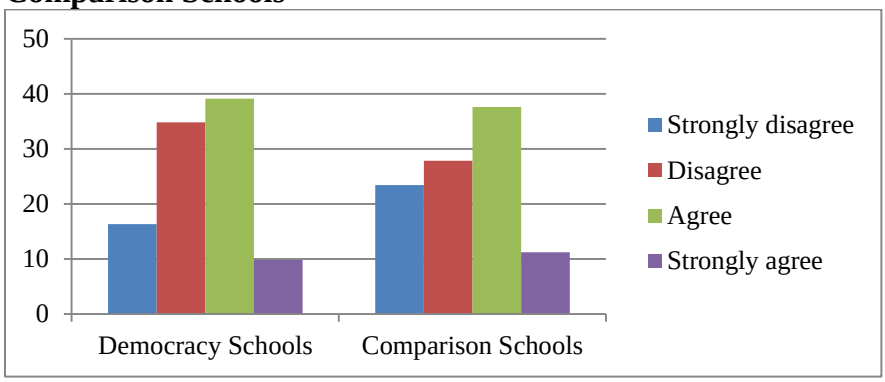
Figure 8.7: The Extent to Which Teachers' Professional Development Allows Collaboration among School Colleagues at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools versus Comparison Schools



The fifth and final professional development measure also focuses on collaboration among teachers, but in this case "…opportunities to work productively with teachers from other schools." While a plurality of teachers from both selected Democracy Schools and comparison schools state agreement with this measure of external collaboration (39.1% and 37.6%, respectively; see Figure 8.8), a combined majority of both cohorts either disagree (34.8% and 27.8%) or disagree strongly (16.3% and 23.4%).

Like many of the previous indicators in this section, Coal City and Eisenhower represent opposing positions when it comes to collaborating with colleagues at other schools. Coal City is the least like to report disagreement (1.4%), and scores above average at each of the higher frequencies. Half of teachers at its paired comparison disagree strongly, more than two standard deviations above the mean (19.8%). Eisenhower, on the other hand, has the second-highest percentage who disagree strongly (31%) and lower-than-average percentages for all of the remaining frequencies. A plurality of teachers at Urban Prep disagrees with notions of collegial collaboration with peers at other schools (39.6%), the highest percentage among the twelve schools in the sample.

Figure 8.8: The Extent to Which Teachers' Professional Development Allows Collaboration with Colleagues from Other Schools at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools versus Comparison Schools



In order to move from a general understanding of selected Democracy Schools' commitments to teacher professional development in line with best practices, Social Studies Department Chairs at each school were asked, "In reference to teacher professional development, to what extent do members of your department take advantage of the following to improve their civic content knowledge and instruction: Outside civic learning programs and school-developed models?"

The social studies chairs at both Urban Prep and Eisenhower suggest that their teachers take advantage of both outside and school-developed professional development programs "to a great extent" (see Table 8.2). Coal City's says that his colleagues rely heavily on outside programs, but only minimally on school-developed models. Whitman's Department Chair answers similarly, citing strong reliance on outside programs, and average use of internal programs. Pony Peak rates average on both external and internal programs, while Sheepside ranks average on the latter, and only minimally takes advantage of outside programs according to the Department Chair.

Table 8.2: Extent to Which Social studies Teachers Take Advantage of Outside Civic Learning Programs and School-Developed Models, Respectively, for Their Professional Development at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools

School	***Urban Prep (U)***	***Coal City (D)***	***Sheepside (S1)***	***Eisenhower (S2)***	***Pony Peak (S3)***	***Whitman (S4)***
Outside programs	To a great extent	To a great extent	Minimal	To a great extent	Average	To a great extent
School-developed models	To a great extent	Minimal	Average	To a great extent	Average	Average

Urban Prep faculty frequently attends programs provided by two local civic-oriented educational organizations, the Constitutional Rights Foundation Chicago and the Mikva Challenge. The Social Studies Chair cites the support of his administration for teachers to attend outside programs, funding the costs of substitute teachers in particular. He contends these experiences "…really benefit…us and get…us rejuvenated, too." Moreover, he "…really appreciate[s] having those opportunities, whether it's learning content or…skills or different instructional methods."

Probing internally, the Urban Prep Social Studies Department meets weekly, and course teams "…work on…instructional strategies…, write common assessments, and also look at student work and skills and try to alter instruction based on how students perform."

Eisenhower also leans on outside providers for professional development "Quite a bit in both civics and…otherwise," according to its Social Studies Chair. In additional to the Constitutional Rights Foundation Chicago, he also referenced Street Law's summer Supreme Court Institute and the James Madison Fellowship, of which three members of his department

drew upon to support graduate degrees with emphasis on teaching the United States Constitution. Internally, course-specific teams are "…constantly sharing strategies and activities that [they] may have…picked up from those outside activities."

Coal City benefits from its ability to "finance substitutes and send people to…conferences…[and pay for] hotels, and mileage." Its social studies chair also credits "…an administration that wants us to attend, they want us to get better, [and] they don't see that as a barrier, necessarily, to be overcome. It's something they encourage."

Coal City is challenged, however, by its remote downstate location where "There's not a whole lot locally as far as professional organizations." Several members of the social studies department attended the state social studies conference when it was held at a public university two hours away by car, and the entire department traveled to the National Social Studies Conference in St. Louis in November 2013.

The social studies chair credits the support and encouragement of his administration to pursue external professional development opportunities for his staff. He says that principal came to him and "…said, 'You guys are going to the National Studies Conference.'" Obviously, this is preferable to the alternative, "…having to go in and beg and plead. Instead, "you guys are going.'"

However, internal programs dedicated to civic learning are rare at Coal City. The social studies chair suggests that "in house" activities are "more general" and tend to be centered on "…Common Core, that sort of thing."

Whitman also sent a couple of teachers to the 2013 National Social Studies Conference, and members of its social studies department frequently attend seminars staged by the Newberry Library for "content-specific training." Professional learning communities are used at each of the Democracy Schools studied and will be profiled extensively in the sections that follow. They constitute the heart of Whitman's internal professional development offerings, although the school does offer additional trainings like using Google or the new teacher evaluation system. These trainings are held during lunch periods and increasingly over the summer because "We don't want teachers out of the building, and they don't want to be subbed out either."

Pony Peak's Social Studies Chair says his staff

> Should be going [to outside civic learning programs] as often as possible because [at] some of the workshops and activities there's great learning goes on and ideas that you can kind of spin. The challenge is finding a way to pay for it, finding subs, paying for subs. It actually becomes more of an economic barrier than like a philosophical one. I think people would like to, it's just not easy economically.

He sees a symbiotic relationship between outside professional development programs and their internal counterparts: "You can develop so many ideas in house, but sometimes an outside idea really gets things going." For example, Pony Peak invited the Constitutional Rights Foundation Chicago to deliver professional development to teachers in several academic departments in an effort to spread the teaching of current and controversial issues across the curriculum.

The Social Studies Department Chair at Sheepside blames his staff's inability to take advantage of outside professional development opportunities on being "…inundated with certain district initiatives and new things and new policies." Much of the professional development at Sheepside is thus staged internally around five district-wide initiatives. Money is scarce to send teachers to outside programs and must come from his departmental budget, making it "…difficult sometimes to really balance that."

Returning to the Five Essentials data analyzed above, selected Democracy Schools differ little from their paired comparisons in terms of the coherence and sustained duration of their professional development programs, their ability to reflect upon these experiences, experiment with that they learned, and evaluate its impact, although they fared favorably on these measures. Teachers at selected Democracy Schools are slightly more likely to see connections between their professional development experiences and school improvement plans. Internal collaboration within professional development programs is strong in both school cohorts, but weak when it comes to collaboration with colleagues at other schools.

For the most part, selected Democracy Schools rely extensively on civic-oriented professional development programs, the challenges of financing them and balancing this work with already "full plates" acknowledged. However, Pony Peak's all-staff example aside, there is scant evidence that faculty experience civic-oriented professional development outside of the social studies.

Moreover, internal programs are often centered on topics at best tangential to civic learning like Common Core. Therefore, the collective evidence suggests that Democracy Schools take advantage of external and internal professional development alike and it is well-aligned with the best practices detailed at the outset of this section, but there remains much room for growth when it comes to specific emphasis on civic learning both in the social studies and across the curriculum.

8.4. Peer-to-Peer Learning that Allows for Innovation within the Required Framework

Fullan (2007) claims that the "classroom effect" forces teachers to focus on the day-to-day, isolates them from other adults, drains their energy, and limits opportunities for reflection (pp. 24-25). Change is thus dependent upon "... developing infrastructures and processes that engage teachers in developing new knowledge, skills, and understandings" (p. 29).

Teachers, Fullan contends, prefer to get ideas from one another, but this rarely occurs, and when it does, they are not empowered to make them actionable (p. 75). He measures collegiality among teachers within a school through how frequently they communicate with one another and offer “mutual support.” Collegiality, by his calculations, is a strong indicator of the implementation success of school improvement plans (p. 138). Simply stated, "The teaching profession is at a crossroads because schools by and large are not places where teachers learn collectively every day" (p. 153).

Evans (1996) claims that teachers are most often “congenial” towards one another, but rarely “collegial” (p. 233). A culture of “non-interference” thus reigns, which is viewed as a sign of professional respect. Requests for assistance reek of weakness, and initiation of help makes the initiator look arrogant (p. 235).

Sizer (2004) claims that the current teaching force has “substantial strength.” The challenge is to “…empower and enhance the abler folk within it.” He continues, “Our experiment absolutely depends on able teachers. To plan otherwise is to give up" (p. 235). In order to leverage the extensive expertise that exists among a school staff, Sizer suggests that administrators must reserve time for collective planning among teachers (pp. 224-7).

Borko (2004) makes a parallel between classroom learning communities and the teachers in a given school who are at the center of them, claiming that “…We cannot expect teachers to create a community of learners among students if they do not have a parallel community to nourish their own growth” (p. 7).

Caine and Caine (2010) offer a proven model in response to Borko’s call, that of professional learning communities (PLCs). The authors contend, “…By building an effective and healthy learning community, a school can substantially reduce the stress felt by those who work and learn within it, and they can therefore function more effectively—and get better results” (Kindle Location 57).

PLC's are a process given that developing a learning community is "an ongoing undertaking." Their goal is nothing more than effective professional development. In order for improvements among school faculty to be sustained, "… new content and skills (should) be experienced." The principles of PLCs must extend beyond individual meetings to the practice of teaching itself (Kindle Locations 70-117).

Effective PLCs are voluntary and premised on the concept of "relaxed altertness," where

> Participants…[are] open to enjoying the process, to being interested in being more effective, to actually looking forward to trying out new things and learning from mistakes as well as successes, and to exploring and discussing all of this with colleagues in a safe environment" (Kindle Location 212).

Content must be embedded in the PLC experience, and participants should have opportunities to analyze and research issues in question; link to information they already know; engage with material for understanding or mastery, "receive coaching, guidance, and explanations"; "observe competent performances by others"; and use material for real world application (Kindle Location 223).

Finally, PLC members should actively process their experience. This can be achieved through observations of members' actions and responses, opportunities to engage in their own practice, "multiple modes of questioning," and data and source analysis. Members must also respond to and reflect upon feedback provided, and improve their own self-discipline and self-regulation (Kindle Locations 235-247).

Ultimately, PLCs exist "…to create a field of listening as the foundation for learning and working together in a stimulating and inviting climate." They help to develop expertise among educators to facilitate student learning, with the larger goal of the school itself becoming a learning organization (Kindle Locations 360-385).

Danielson's (2007) framework for effective teaching has been adopted by a number of states, Illinois included, as a means to evaluate educators. She, too, embraces the PLC or "communities of inquiry" model as a means for "teachers (to) remain fresh in their teaching and current with evolving techniques" (p. 55).

Improvement of teaching practices, according to Danielson, is achieved through ongoing reflection and a focus on aspects of teaching in need of strengthening. She suggests that mentors play a critical role in this respect for new teachers. More broadly "One's professional colleagues are a rich resource regarding teaching" (p. 99).

One of the four domains within Danielson's framework is an expectation that teachers participate in their professional community. Not only are relationships with colleagues integral, but she argues that "Professional educators are generous with their expertise and willingly share materials and insights..."

Reinforcing the PLC model of Caine and Caine discussed above, Danielson writes,

> Above all, participation in a professional community requires active involvement in a culture of inquiry. An enormous professional resource available in every school is the expertise of its teachers (pp. 99-101).

Unfortunately, according to Danielson, "In their quest to constantly improve their practice, some teachers overlook the most obvious and, in some respects, the richest source of all: their own colleagues" (p. 104).

One of the Illinois Democracy Schools selected for this study, Eisenhower High School, has attracted widespread attention for its pioneering PLC model. Schmoker (2011) writes,

> [Eisenhower] is a model of effective team-based professional learning communities, where teachers work in teams to ensure that coherent curriculum and effective, ever-improving lessons are consistently implemented. Team-based learning communities are the indispensable structure for both monitoring and ensuring the implementation of common curriculum and effective teaching.

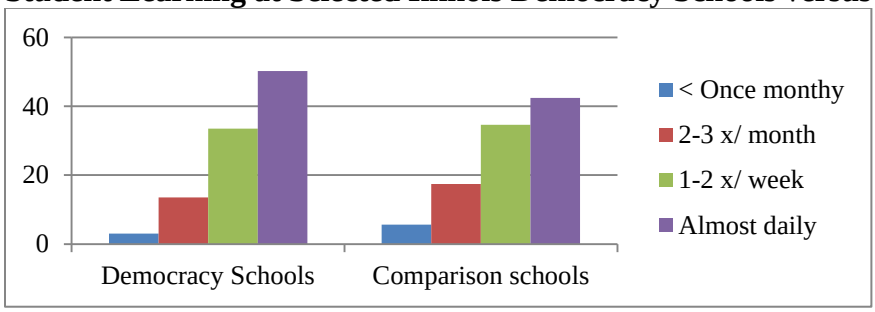
This deeply-rooted PLC model at Eisenhower began humbly through teacher collaboration on designing a high-quality, common curriculum for each course. This was monitored through quarterly meetings with teachers and administration to ensure progress through common assessments. The process itself took five years, and all professional development was internal and embedded in team meetings. Successes were recognized and celebrated by administrators at each meeting (pp. 22-23).

The literature on peer-to-peer learning along teachers considered, I move to measurements of the extent to which teachers report learning from one another at selected Illinois Democracy Schools (Eisenhower included) and their paired comparison schools. One question on the Illinois Five Essentials survey asks teachers to identify the frequencies by which they have conversations with colleagues about “What helps students learn best” and the “Development of new curriculum.”

Turning to the first question, a slim majority of teachers at selected Democracy Schools report that they speak with colleagues about student learning almost daily (50.2%; see Figure 8.9), as do a plurality at comparison schools (42.4%). Another third of each cohort have these conversations a couple of times a week (33.5% and 34.6%, respectively), and smaller percentages one-to-two times per month (13.5% and 17.4%). It appears relatively rare for these conversations to happen less than once monthly (3.0% and 5.6%).

Sheepside teachers are the least likely to report infrequent collegial conversations among the twelve schools studied (0.9% once a month or less and 10.1% two-to-three times per month), while Eisenhower leads the field at the daily frequency (57.9%).

Figure 8.9: The Frequency by Which Teachers Have Conversations with Colleagues about Student Learning at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools versus Comparison Schools

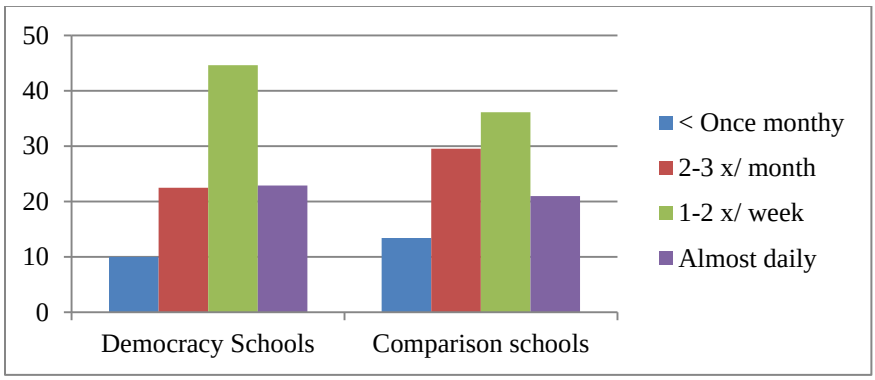


Collegial conversations about curriculum development also take place more frequently at selected Democracy Schools (see Figure 8.10). A plurality in both groups report weekly conversations of this nature (44.6% at Democracy Schools versus 36.1% at comparison schools), and monthly conversations come next (22.5% versus 29.5%), followed by daily dialogue (22.9%

versus 21.0%). Once more, infrequent conversations about curriculum are rare (10.0% versus 13.4%), though more common than those pertaining to student learning.

Coal City teachers emerge least likely of the twelve schools in the sample to converse about curriculum (21.7% less than once per month and 33.3% two-to-three times per month). On the other hand, Pony Peak tops the list at the once-to-twice per week threshold (55.1%), and Eisenhower at "almost daily" (44.3%).

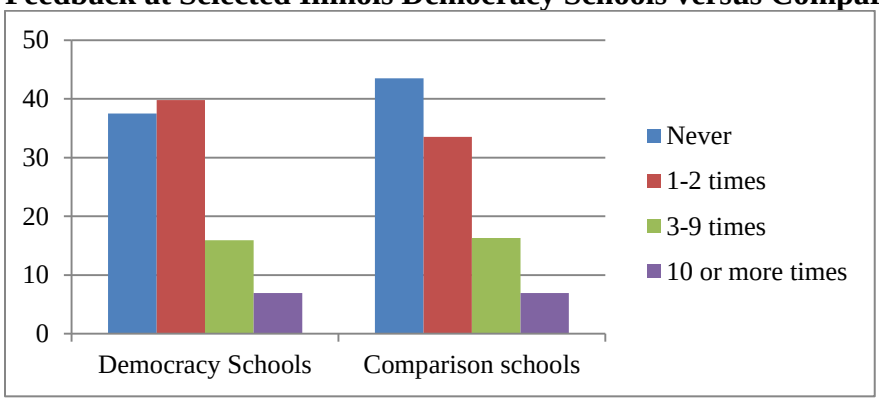
Figure 8.10: The Frequency by Which Teachers Have Conversations with Colleagues about Curriculum Development at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools versus Comparison Schools



Two final frequency measures of peer-to-peer learning among teachers come from the Illinois Five Essentials Survey. They ask teachers to reflect upon how often in the past year they "Observed another's teacher's classroom to offer feedback" or "…get ideas for…instruction." Peer observations for the purpose of providing feedback are more common at selected Democracy Schools, albeit incrementally (see Figure 8.11).

A plurality of teachers at Democracy Schools report such observations and exchanges once or twice a year (39.8% versus 33.5% at comparison schools). By contrast, a plurality at companion schools suggest they never observed colleagues for this purpose (43.5% versus 37.5% at Democracy Schools). Among the Democracy Schools in the sample, Urban Prep teachers are the least likely to report never observing peers for feedback purposes (21.4%), but also doing so ten times or more (0%). By contrast, they lead the pack at the one-to-two times per year frequency (54.8%). Pony Peak has the highest percentage reporting peer observations ten or more times per year (10.8%).

Figure 8.11: The Frequency by Which Teachers Observe Colleagues' Classrooms to Offer Feedback at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools versus Comparison Schools

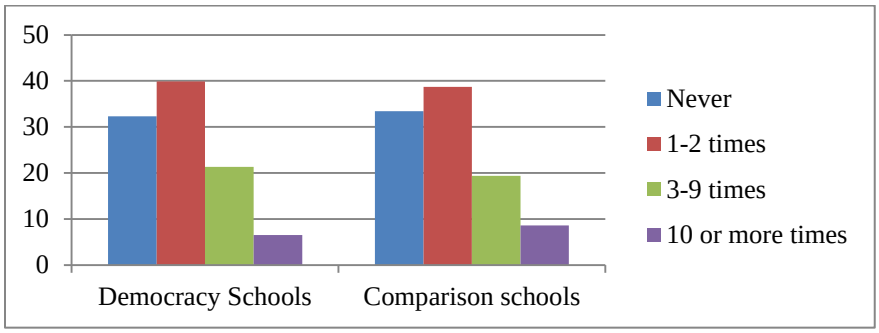


Peer observations of colleagues' classrooms for the purpose of gaining ideas for one's own instruction occur with similar frequencies, but the Democracy Schools versus paired comparison schools verdict is more mixed (see Figure 8.12). While Democracy Schools teachers are slightly less likely to report never observing colleagues for this reason (32.3% versus 34.4% at comparison schools), and more likely to report such observations one-to-two times per year

(39.9% versus 38.7%) and three-to-nine times per year (21.3% versus 19.4%), they are less likely to engage in the practice ten or more times than comparison schools (6.5% versus 8.6%).

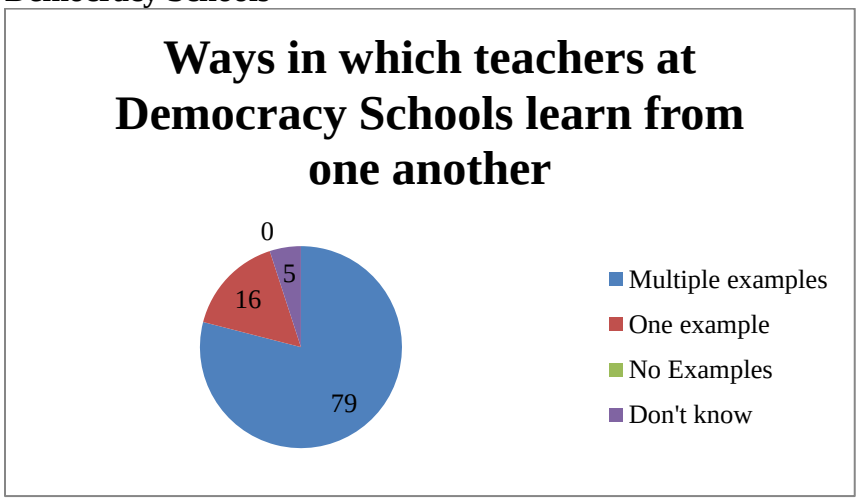
A near majority of Sheepside teachers observe one another to gain ideas for their own instruction once or twice per year, best in the sample (47.2%). Eisenhower falls to the other end of the spectrum at this frequency (30.6%). Urban Prep teachers lead the way at the three-to-nine times per year threshold (28.6%), and their peers at Coal City are least likely to conduct more frequent observations for this purpose (ten or more times per year, 4.3%).

Figure 8.12: The Frequency by Which Teachers Observe Colleagues' Classrooms to Get Ideas for their Own Instruction at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools versus Comparison Schools



This useful information from the Five Essentials survey considered, we turn next to interviews with faculty at selected Democracy Schools to gain a greater understanding of the civic orientation of collegial conversations. Teachers were asked the open-ended question, "In what ways do teachers at your school learn from one another?" As is clear in Figure 8.13 below, the vast majority of teachers interviewed (79%) provide multiple examples of collegial learning. The other respondents offer at least one example (16%).

Figure 8.13: Ways in Which Teachers Learn from One Another at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools



Given that most respondents provide multiple examples of teachers learning from one another, there is little variation when responses are aggregated by school (see Table 8.3). Three of the four suburban schools uniformly offer multiple examples of teacher learning, while the remaining suburban schools, along with the urban and downstate schools, list a range from multiple examples to a single example.

Table 8.3: Ways in Which Teachers Learn from One Another by Selected Illinois Democracy Schools

School	***Urban Prep (U)***	***Coal City (D)***	***Sheepside (S1)***	***Eisenhower (S2)***	***Pony Peak (S3)***	***Whitman (S4)***
Peer-to-peer learning	Multiple-one example(s)	Multiple-one example(s)	Multiple examples	Multiple examples	Multiple examples	Multiple-one example(s)

Sheepside's Social Studies Chair identifies "school-developed models…where [they] can go and observe [their] teachers specifically around…" five major district initiatives. For example, the district has debuted the use of the iPad as an instructional tool, and four teachers "…really ran with it as our pioneers. So there [are] opportunities to go see them teach using the iPad."

He continues, "…for the most part people are pretty open to learn from each other, especially if it's a new course they are teaching." However, "…the moment that it becomes required or mandated there's always a backlash."

Collaboration at Eisenhower comes in the form of team teaching and a peer observation model similar to Sheepside's. However, according to the Social Studies Chair, "…the lion's share [occurs through] the collaborative curricular teams."

A member of his department said that collaboration with colleagues is "…one of the greatest pieces about teaching…" at Eisenhower. She continues, "When you come to [Eisenhower] and have a team, six or seven teachers that help you with the curriculum, and we have such an inherent, collaborative mindset…" Her colleagues actively support one another so that "…it's not isolating at all, and it's a free-flowing conversation…" She concludes, "…we see the end goal to make learning best for students and the way to do that is not by hording your stuff," but instead "…by sharing it and letting each other make it better."

Indeed, another Social Studies teacher at Eisenhower says that collaboration with colleagues is an expectation made clear from the outset through the interview and mentoring processes.

Pony Peak provides common planning time for members of individual academic departments. Teachers are not privy to their own individual classrooms, and according to one Social Studies teacher, this is "frustrating as heck." Thus, teachers spend preparatory periods in offices that are interdepartmental, where they "…have to get out of [their classroom] and talk to other people." This veteran teacher is well-traveled, and she considers the degree of collaboration at Pony Peak the "best [she's] ever seen."

Her Social Studies colleague echoes this assessment. He says,

> We're really good about collaborating. We're not lone wolves, we don't sit in our classrooms isolated…, not talking with other colleagues. We're all very much out in the open about what we do without fear of reprisal.

Whitman's Social Studies Chair credits members of his department for their willingness to both share with and listen to one another. He claims, "At the end of the day [they've] got tons of ideas from one another, [and] I think our kids are better for it."

One Whitman social studies teacher references the school's long-standing peer-coaching model, where a team of teachers observe one another as an alternative to administrative review. The state's new teacher evaluation system threatens this system, but according to this teacher, "…the door's not closed…" yet.

Such classroom observations are rare at Urban Prep, according to one Social Studies teacher, but colleagues do share what they learned from one another through external professional development programs, and grade level teams discuss professional readings they complete in advance of meeting. These teams also focus on specific students who may be failing one or more classes despite solid attendance. They look at

> What's worked in [their] classrooms and what might work in someone else's classroom where they're not as successful. And so [they] share some best practices that are specific to that person. And then try to agree to implement them to help them improve.

Coal City's Chair claims "there is collaboration" among members of his department. He continues, "We change materials and ideas all the time, but we don't tend to terribly often just sit down and say okay let's brainstorm this next unit and everything different we do."

A member of his department concurs, pointing to strong collaboration within course teams, but suggesting room for growth between subject areas.

In sum, teacher collaboration at selected Illinois Democracy Schools manifests itself in myriad forms. Returning to the Five Essentials data detailed above, these schools outperform their paired comparisons, albeit slightly, on three general measures of teacher collaboration, including collegial conversations about student learning and curriculum and development, along with peer observations for the purpose of providing feedback. However, peer observations to generate ideas for one's own classroom is relatively rare for teachers in both cohorts and represent an important cultural shift that would benefit every school studied. Altogether, teachers at Democracy Schools learn extensively from one another and pursue innovative civic strategies as a result.

8.5. Structures for Support and Continuous Improvement

Given segmentation of education as a profession, the collaboration necessary for continuous school improvement is often missing (Goodlad, 2004, p. 9). As was clear in the previous section, teachers frequently function autonomously and in isolation (p. 186). Thus, they seldom work together to resolve school-based issues or problems (p. 279).

Sizer (2004) suggests that school improvement is "…absolutely depend(ent) upon improving the conditions of work and respect for teachers" (p. 180).

Echoing the literature on teacher professional development reviewed in previous sections, Darling-Hammond et al. (2009) emphasize the need for "…high-quality, sustained professional learning throughout the school year, at every grade level and every subject" (p. 3). This should take the form of "high-intensity, job-embedded collaborative learning…," practices all too often absent across states and districts (p. 4).

In their report focusing on the current state of teacher professional development both in the United States and abroad, Darling Hammond et al. write,

> Efforts to improve student achievement can succeed only by building the capacity of teachers to improve their instructional practice and the capacity of school systems to promote teacher learning (p. 7).

This is realized, according to the authors, through four design principles, the last two particularly pertinent to the final section of this chapter. First, professional development must be intensive, ongoing, and connected to practice. Second, these opportunities must focus on student

learning and the teaching of specific curriculum content (pp. 9-10). Third, professional development should align with school improvement goals and priorities.

In confirmation of this third principle, Marzano and DuFour (2011) write, "…the most effective professional development is specifically designed to result in the improvement of "schools and school systems, not just the improvement of the individuals who work in them" (pp. 20-21).

Hall and Simeral (2008) dub such practices "Strength-Based School Improvement," which "…recognizes what strengths a school possesses, what assets reside within its walls, and what successes it can build upon." Its goals center upon "Maximiz[ing] the skill, potential, and self-reflective abilities of each individual teacher on staff." They also call for "Recogniz[ing] and individualiz[ing] the unique supervision, professional development, and evaluation needs of each individual teacher on staff," along with "Strengthen(ing) the collaborative relationships of the entire teaching corps" (Kindle Locations 300-302).

Fourth and finally, professional development programs should build strong working relationships among teachers. The "…benefits can include greater consistency in instruction, more willingness to share practices and try new ways of teaching, and more success in solving problems of practice" (Darling-Hammond et al., 2009, p. 11).

According to the authors, the easiest way to achieve the latter end is to have teachers observe one another and provide constructive feedback.

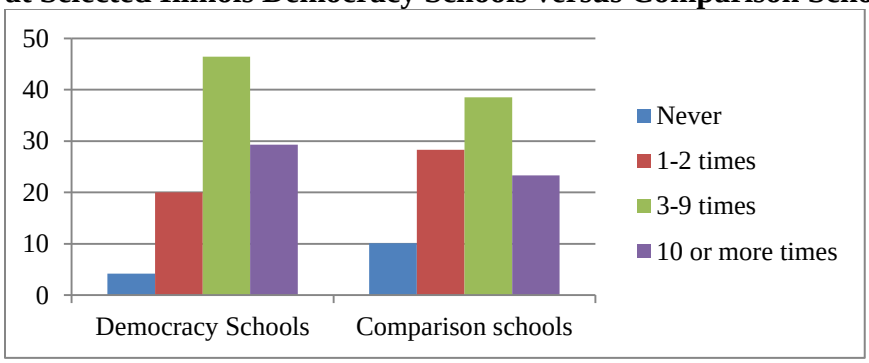
Reflection is fundamental to the four-part process detailed above. Hall and Simeral (2008) write, “Whether the teacher is a leading expert on best practices or a new educator who knows very little about how to run a classroom, what matters most is the teacher's personal level of self-reflection.” This relates directly to his or her classroom instruction and ultimately student achievement. Reflection includes an analysis of personal strengths and weaknesses, intentionality in instruction, openness to directives handed down from above, participation in professional learning communities (see the previous section), and an ongoing commitment to personal learning and self-improvement (Kindle Locations 630-636).

My measure of school-based structures that support teachers in the process of continuous improvement constitutes setting aide time for ongoing democratic reflection and opportunities to make changes. Once more, the Illinois Five Essentials Survey provides useful data from the perspectives of teachers at selected Democracy Schools and their paired comparison schools.

Teachers were first asked the frequency by which they have “Gone over student assessment data with other teachers to make instructional decisions” in the past year (see Figure 8.13). A plurality of teachers from both cohorts report participating in such meetings three-to-nine times per year, although the percentage is higher at Democracy Schools (46.4% versus 38.5%). In this test-driven era, it’s not surprising that the ten times or more frequency comes next for each group, though Democracy Schools once again outpace their peers at comparison schools (29.3% versus 23.3%). However, the latter group does participate in meetings to review student assessment data more often at the one-to-two times per year threshold (28.3% versus 20.0% at Democracy Schools).

Turning towards school-by-school analysis, Sheepside is the least likely of the twelve schools sampled to report infrequent meetings for the review of student assessment data (0% never and 12% once or twice per year). A plurality of Sheepside teachers paces the field at the highest threshold (44.4%). A majority of Urban Prep teachers lead the way at the second-to-highest frequency (56.1% at three-to-nine times per year).

Figure 8.14: The Frequency by Which Teachers Meet to Review Student Assessment Data at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools versus Comparison Schools

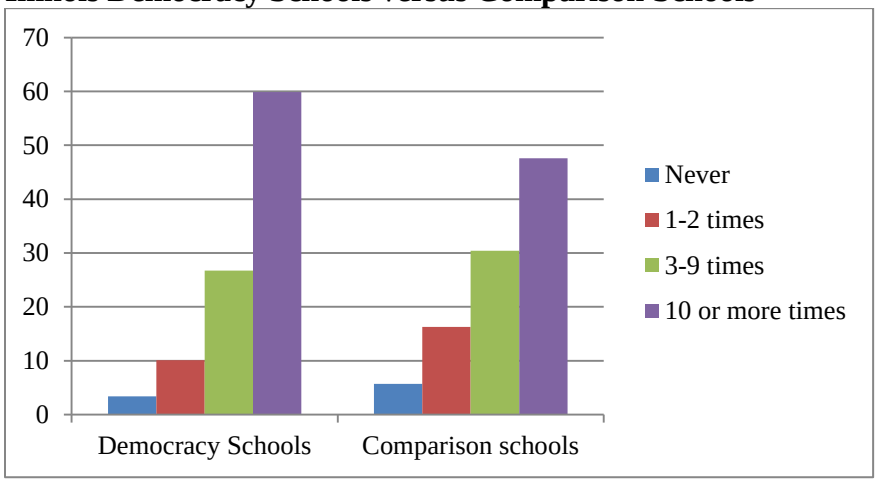


The next question asks teachers how often in the past year they "Worked with [colleagues] to develop materials or activities for particular classes." A strong majority of teachers at selected Democracy Schools meet ten or more times annually to develop course materials or activities, outpacing the plurality of colleagues of comparison schools who do the same (59.9% versus 47.6%). Teachers in the latter cohort are more apt to meet for this purpose three-to-nine times (30.4% versus 26.7%) and one-to-two times per year (16.3% versus 10.1%). They also have a higher frequency reporting never having such meetings (5.7% versus 3.4%).

Three-quarters of Eisenhower teachers (74.7%) report meeting ten or more times per school year to develop materials, topping the twelve schools studied. Pony Peak ranks second at

this highest threshold (63.9%) and its teachers are the least likely to report never meeting for this purpose (0.6%).

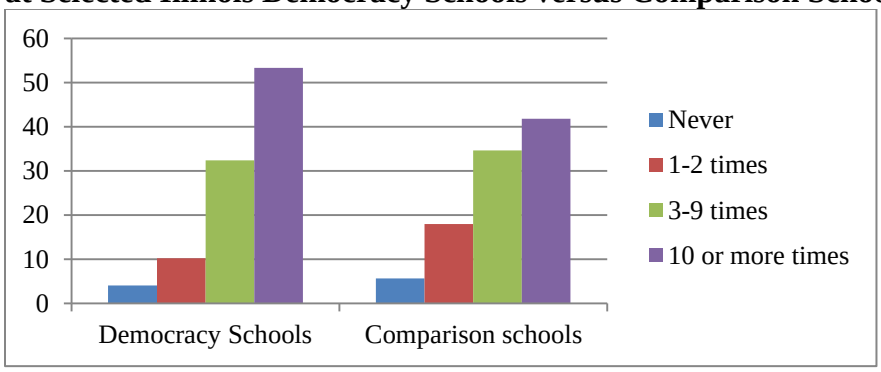
Figure 8.15: The Frequency by Which Teachers Meet to Develop Materials at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools versus Comparison Schools



The final Five Essentials measure of structures for teachers to pursue continuous improvement at their respective schools centers on "Work[ing] on instructional strategies with other teachers." An identical pattern to the previous measure emerges from the data when responses from teachers at selected Democracy Schools are placed beside colleagues at comparison schools (see Figure 8.15). A majority from the former cohort report meeting with peers to discuss instructional strategies ten or more times per year (53.3%), outpacing the plurality at comparison schools who suggest the same frequency (41.8%). Teachers at comparison schools outpace Democracy Schools at the lower frequencies for this indicator (3-9 and 1-2 times per year), and are once again slightly more likely to report never meeting to review instructional strategies (5.7% versus 4.1%).

Once again, Eisenhower teachers are the most likely of their peers in the school sample to meet ten or more times annually to work on instructional strategies (68.6%). All but Coal City boast above-average percentages at this threshold. By comparison, Urban Prep teachers are the least likely of the twelve schools to meet three-to-nine times per year (26.2%), Eisenhower one-to-two times (3.1%), and Sheepside ties its paired comparison at "never" (0%).

Figure 8.16: The Frequency by Which Teachers Meet to Work on Instructional Strategies at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools versus Comparison Schools



Selected Democracy Schools thus exhibit a slight edge over their paired comparisons when it comes to teachers meeting to review student assessment data, develop materials, and work on instructional strategies. As was true in previous sections, this data still leaves us with little understanding of the civic dimension of Democracy Schools' support structures for continuous improvement. Therefore, Social Studies Department Chairs at selected Democracy Schools were asked in an interview, "How frequently does your school set aside time for members of your department to engage with one another in ongoing democratic reflection and provide opportunities to make changes?"

As is clear in Table 8.4 below, five of the six schools meet ten or more times annually for these purposes, a product of their widespread adoption of the Professional Learning Community (PLC) model. The exception is Coal City, whose Social Studies Chair laments the fact that members of his department "…don't really get to break out a whole lot and just do our own things as a social studies group as [he] would like."

Table 8.4: The Frequency by Which Selected Illinois Democracy Schools Set Aside Time for Social Studies Department Members to Engage with One Another in Ongoing Democratic Reflection and Provide Opportunities to Make Changes

School	***Urban Prep (U)***	***Coal City (D)***	***Sheepside (S1)***	***Eisenhower (S2)***	***Pony Peak (S3)***	***Whitman (S4)***
Frequency	10 or more times annually	Once or twice annually	10 or more times annually	10 or more times annually	10 or more times annually	10 or more times annually

In addition to weekly meetings among department chairs at Urban Prep, the Social Studies Chair speaks about monthly, interdisciplinary, grade-level teams. He teaches primarily elective courses offered to seniors, and thus meets with other 12th grade teachers to

> Look at data, actually individual students, and talk about what strategies we can implement with them. It's a lot about reflecting on our practice, and thinking through how we can better cater to students and help learning grow.

In many ways, the PLC model was birthed, or perhaps perfected, as Eisenhower. One Social Studies teacher says, "I don't know if we invented it, but it's part of who we are. It's part of our DNA, PLCs."

Curriculum teams at Eisenhower meet weekly for fifty minutes, and every other month, academic departments congregate for staff development. Opposite the latter meetings, the administration carves out time for "…teacher or team plan late arrivals where teams can meet, or individuals can choose to meet in groupings that are not dependent on their teams." In some cases, for example, teacher teams read common books and review the material collectively.

Book studies through the PLC structure are common at Whitman, too. Teachers are allocated ninety minutes each Wednesday, and they "…drive the schedule based on their needs." Whitman's Social Studies Chair elaborates, "Out of all of those Wednesday's, ten days a year are strictly up to teachers, what they want to do." Time is predictably spent grading student work, but teachers spend "…plenty of time…discuss(ing) student results, changing lesson plans, [and] sharing ideas." The Social Studies Chair says "…that's one of the nice things about being [there]."

One Whitman Social Studies teacher in particular appreciates the autonomy faculty enjoy when it comes to PLCs. He argues that "It takes a lot of strength from our administration to function the way that [PLCs] do."

Sheepside meets in PLCs for 45 minutes every Monday by "subject…or course team," according to its Social Studies Department Chair. The PLCs are designed around teacher collaboration in support of the school's improvement plan. However, contrary to some of the best practices referenced in the literature reviewed above, "More and more [PLCs have been

governed] top-down" by building and district level administration. Collaboration time is thus lost as teachers spend PLC time creating common district assessments, for example.

One veteran member of Sheepside's social studies department wishes PLCs could "…devise a congressional simulation to emulate a bill making its way through Congress…" He suggests that when introduced to the faculty eight years ago, they were "sold" by the principal based on their voluntary, collaborative nature. Test pressures have since transformed the nature of PLC work at Sheepside. This teacher elaborates,

> With assessment becoming so much more important for several different reasons [with] what we do, we have to design test questions or look at data that breaks a test down and say, "Well, kids didn't do well on question two, why was that, was it distracting, was it too appealing, how can you change it?" So district-driven tasks like that have kind of taken over some of the work by PLCs.

Weekly PLC meetings also prevail at Pony Peak. As was true of the other schools, teachers are organized by subject, but also by school-wide initiatives like "Flipping Assessment and Technologies." Pony Peak has used the PLC model since its inception.

Unique to Pony Peak is its common planning period referenced in the previous section for most members of the Social Studies and other academic departments. The Social Studies Chair suggests "…it may not be to talk about democratic reflection, but it is to talk about teaching and instruction." He holds out hope that "…it does get to that democratic piece."

A member of his department testifies to the fact that democratic reflection does occur, and attributes it to the relative youth of Pony Peak's staff. By her estimation, "the average age is probably forty, and that's shooting high." From this comes "…fresh ideas, a lot of people willing

to try stuff, [and] people who are willing to make mistakes and then go back and fix it." She credits the administration for this philosophy of experimentation without fear of failure.

8.6. Summary

These selected Democracy Schools grouped together, all but Coal City provide extensive time for teacher collaboration. For most, it comes in the form of PLCs, and even with this model there's great variation. Teachers at Eisenhower, Whitman, and Pony Peak seemingly enjoy more autonomy through the PLC structure than their peers at Urban Prep and Sheepside. Only at the latter school, however, do interviewees critique the structure in practice.

Considering these findings alongside the Five Essentials data that preceded them, Democracy Schools, Coal City aside, do have structures in place that support teacher collaboration on curriculum, instruction, and assessment. At their best, these structures also support democratic reflection that underlies high-quality, school-based civic learning.

Returning to the other indicators tested in this section, selected Democracy Schools prioritize civic learning either consciously or by default through the process of hiring teachers, evaluating them, or supporting their ongoing professional development as educators.

Professional development opportunities abound both within these buildings and through stand-alone workshops, classes, and cohorts. However, all too rarely do teachers outside of the social studies receive training on transferable civic learning strategies. Moreover, most in-service

professional development focuses on subjects other than the social studies, and civics specifically.

Peer-to-peer learning is widespread among teachers in selected Democracy Schools, although the entire cohort would benefit from collegial classroom observations to learn new instructional approaches and/ or provide feedback.

In sum, given the caveats issued for each of the indicators, Hypothesis Four, Part C, is only partially confirmed. Schools with systemic, sustained commitments to civic learning *often* employ staff development policies that emphasize civic learning.

9. BUILDING A RECIPROCAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SURROUNDING COMMUNITY

9.1. Introduction

The strategic design of a school curriculum, vision and leadership, and staff development addressed in the previous three chapters, respectively, we turn next to the fourth prong of Hypothesis Four in Chapter Nine, school-community relations.

Bryk et al. (2010), in their essential school supports model for student achievement, focus on both parental ties and school-community partnerships. More specifically, the authors measure teachers' ties to the community by their knowledge of and personal links to the community, along with their use of community resources. Parental involvement is gauged by teachers' outreach to parents, and parents' involvement in the school as a whole (pp. 57-58, 72).

Danielson (2007) attests to the importance of the former, as "Teachers find...that when they engage the families in the actual learning process, all areas of communication are improved" (p. 98).

Robinson and Harris (2014) cast doubts on conventional wisdom related to the presumptive link between parental involvement and student achievement. Most measures of parental involvement they tested demonstrate no significant impact, and more indicators prove negative than positive (p. 226). What emerges is the importance of what they call "stage-setting" by parents for their children. They write, "Stage setting has more to do with parents' messages

about the importance of schooling and the overall quality of life that they create for their children" (pp. 204-205).

In the context of helping with homework, parents should not be asked to serve as "supplementary teachers or tutors." Instead, students should practice skills and processes they are equipped to handle independently. In line with Robinson and Harris' contentions, Dean et al. (2012) argue, "Parents and teachers should keep in mind that although it is helpful for parents to create appropriate environments for homework, their involvement in the actual content of the homework is often not beneficial" (Kindle locations 1765-1776).

Our discussion of school-community connections goes beyond parental outreach. Recall that Bryk et al. are writing with the City of Chicago as their backdrop, where "…extreme poverty combines with racial isolation" (p. 164). This is relevant because bonding and bridging social capital in a community (recall Putnam's distinction in Chapter Two) influence the ability of a school to improve student outcomes (p. 182). Schools in disadvantaged communities like much of Chicago must overcome this by building strong internal supports (p. 193).

The authors conclude,

> The neighborhood served by a school may offer significant social resources, or it may create formidable barriers to sustained development of the supports necessary to improve student outcomes (p. 194).

As was true of the previous three chapters, I test this fourth component of Bryk et al.'s essential supports model in the context of civic learning. Gimpel et al. (2003) provide excellent insights into the impact of the surrounding community of students' political socialization. They

argue that the process doesn't happen in a vacuum--some contexts are better than others at stimulating students' political interest and action (p. 8).

In their cross sectional study of students grades 9-12 from 1999-2000 at 29 schools in different districts in the Baltimore-District of Columbia metropolitan area, they find that "The political diversity that comes with two locally competitive parties proves to be the optimal setting for political learning." This is attributed to a feeling among young people that their votes count and actually impact of the outcomes of elections (pp. 10, 32-33). It also speaks to a rich information environment that accompanies competitive elections, effectively lowering the costs of knowledge acquisition (pp. 54-55).

Given that many of us live in political districts that can be gently described as less than competitive, Gimpel et al. provide hope. They write,

> Areas of high voter turnout rooted in a strong sense of civic engagement among adults are likely to have a strong socializing impact on young people, giving them first-hand examples of what participatory behavior looks like and how one gets involved (p. 34).

The resource disadvantages that the Chicago schools Bryk et al. studied endure. However, in the context of civic development, Gimpel et al. learned that community resource levels don't have a clear or direct impact on political discussion, knowledge, or efficacy. They "…find that there is nothing about lower-income communities that predetermine low levels of knowledge and efficacy among younger generations..." (pp. 50-51).

Campbell (2007b) distinguishes between civic and political engagement in his study of the impact of communities on youth political socialization. He uses volunteering as a proxy for

the former and voting for the latter. He finds that people in politically homogenous communities have a greater sense of civic duty. On the other hand, as was true in Gimpel et al.'s study described above, those in heterogeneous communities feel as if their vote has a higher probability in determining the outcome of an election (p. 48).

The driver of this distinction, according to Campbell, centers on trust. He writes,

> Where people differ from their neighbors, they are less likely to trust them, which means that social norms are less likely to be enforced. A lack of trust would also imply that they are more likely to have kindling for a political conflagration within their communities (p. 74).

The civic learning connection to the school-community relationship established, we turn next to a specification of Hypothesis Four, Part D. I anticipate that schools with sustainable, systemic approaches to civic learning have a strong, reciprocal relationship with parents and the surrounding community. Hypothesis 4D is measured via three indicators.

The first is premised upon an expectation of mutual benefit, where schools and their surrounding communities serve as resources for one another. Schools invite speakers from the community and draw upon public services for their students. Reciprocally, community members call on schools to request student engagement in a service or public project. I search for evidence of this indicator at selected Illinois Democracy Schools on both their School-wide Civic Assessments and through targeted interview questions posed to both administrators and faculty members.

The second indicator used to measure school-community relationships is the presence of protocols or standardized practices so that schools ensure that all stakeholders' voices are

accounted for. Questions on the teacher version of the "Illinois Five Essentials" survey provide useful evidence of the presence of these practices at selected Illinois Democracy Schools and their paired comparisons. A single interview question posed to school administrators at these Democracy Schools provides additional insights.

The third and final indicator involves a dedicated staff member to connect the school and the community. Building partnerships in the surrounding community is an explicit part of this person's job. The presence of this individual is gleaned from selected Democracy School applications, along with a question to this effect posed to both school administrators and Social Studies Department Chairs.

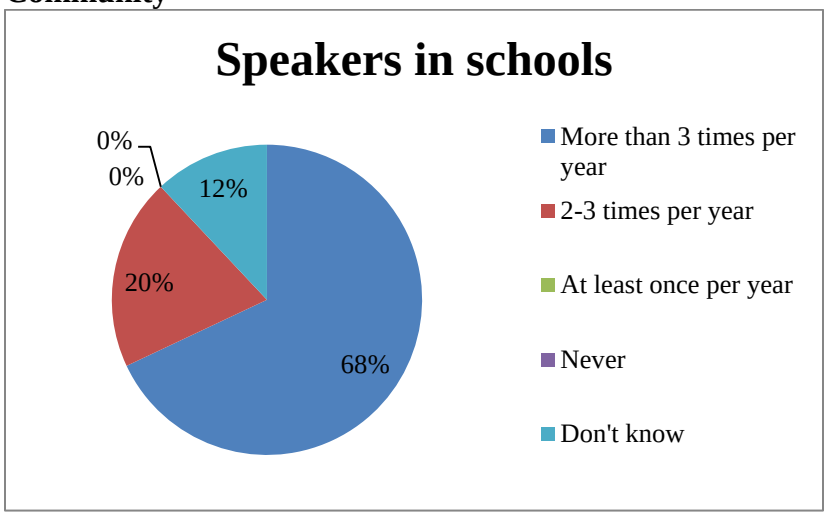
9.2. An Expectation of Mutual Benefit

Goodlad (2004) recommends that schools become more embedded in their communities, serving as a source of education, recreation, and education-related human services (p. 350). In this spirit, and in order to support students' civic development, I hypothesize, schools with sustained, systemic commitments to civic learning invite outside speakers from the community and reciprocally, community members call on schools to request student involvement in service or public projects.

Unfortunately, the "Illinois Five Essentials" survey doesn't ask questions to this effect, so I am left without comparative data. However, I did pose separate frequency questions for both outside speakers and community service requests to 22 of the 25 administrators and faculty members interviewed at six selected Illinois Democracy Schools.

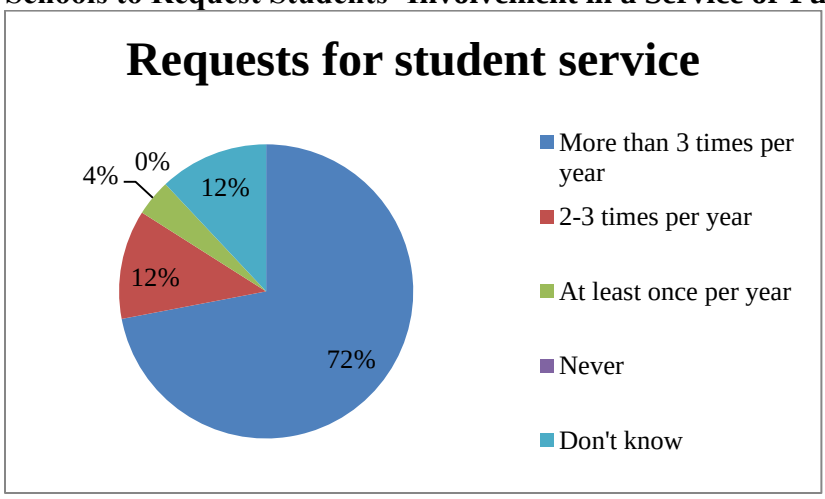
As is clear in Figure 9.1, the vast majority of respondents (68%) report that their schools invite outside speakers more than three times annually, and the remaining 20% host outside speakers two-to-three times per year.

Figure 9.1: Frequency by Which Selected Democracy Schools Invite Speakers from the Community



Even more interviewees (72%, see Figure 9.2) report that community members call on their schools to request students' involvement in service or public projects more than three times a year. Another 12% list a frequency of two to three times annually, and a single respondent reports one yearly request for student service.

Figure 9.2: Frequency by Which Community Members Call On Selected Democracy Schools to Request Students' Involvement in a Service or Public Project



When responses to these two questions are aggregated by school, the delegations at Coal City High School, Pony Peak High School, and Walt Whitman High School universally cite frequent visits (more than three times per year, see Table 9.1) by outside speakers and community requests for student service. By contrast, respondents at Urban Prep High School and Sheepside High School split between often and sometimes (2-3 times per year) in describing the frequency of both outside speakers and student service requests. Dwight D. Eisenhower High School exhibits similar data, the difference being one respondent who deems student service requests rare (at least once per year).

Table 9.1: Frequency by Which Schools Invite Speakers from the Community and Community Members Call On Schools to Request Students' Involvement in a Service or Public Project, Respectively, by Selected Illinois Democracy Schools

School	***Urban Prep (U)***	***Coal City (D)***	***Sheepside (S1)***	***Eisenhower (S2)***	***Pony Peak (S3)***	***Whitman (S4)***
Invite speakers	Often-sometimes	Often	Often-sometimes	Often-sometimes	Often	Often
Student service requests	Often-sometimes	Often	Often-sometimes	Often-rarely	Often	Often

One Social Studies teacher at Coal City says that each academic department draws on outside speakers in different ways. The Government course instructors "…try to bring in as many speakers as [they] can," including both local congressional candidates in 2012, the Green Party presidential nominee [brought in by another member of the social studies department], and the current Lieutenant Governor, who "stops in periodically."

The same teacher contends that community requests for student service come through the clubs, many of whom have "pet projects that they work on each year." For example, Key Club partners with Big Brother-Big Sister each year, and also serves veterans by collecting DVDs and sending Christmas cards. Both Coal City teachers mention the school's annual blood drive in partnership with the Red Cross.

The second teacher interviewed encourages his students to see that their community transcends politics. Instead, "A sense of community is full-board pride in everything about it." He references student-led food drives for pantries throughout the region, and concludes, "We do wonderful, giving things here."

Pony Peak's Assistant Principal for Instruction claims teachers there "…extend…that opportunity for community speakers to come into the classroom…" based on relevance. She continues, "I know it happens pretty often across content areas."

One Pony Peak Social Studies teacher invited local political candidates into her classroom, along with a campaign staffer. She often asks her father, a Vietnam War veteran, to reflect upon his experiences with students, and also searches for surviving World War II veterans as speakers. Another colleague invited a father who worked to pass a state law in California to prevent child rape. His family later moved to Illinois, and the visit inspired Pony Peak students to write their lawmakers and urge passage of a parallel law.

Pony Peak students are encouraged to complete thirty hours of community service prior to graduation. Moreover, senior Government students must volunteer in the community for a minimum of one hour, and a maximum of six hours. To meet these demands, the school has developed partnerships with feeder schools, nursing homes, and community agencies like Feed My Starving Children.

Pony Peak's Assistant Principal suggests that students work with their guidance counselor to identify community service options that match up well with their career aspirations. She continues,

> If a student really wants to work in a field that concerns doctors, they might try to match them up with hospital center to do some community service. I know that a lot of our kids like to work with our younger kids so they'll partner with other schools in our community. So they've done mentoring with their younger peers as well.

However, despite broad community engagement "at all levels," one social studies teacher laments the low "variance of options" for students to choose from. Yet community service permeates Pony Peak's extracurricular programs like Eco Club, Key Club, and Student Council. The Assistant Principal suggests that the school sets a goal for each team to "…do community service every year because that's really important to us.

Whitman's district goes beyond Pony Peak in requiring students to complete 24 hours of community service prior to graduation. Its Principal contends, "…a lot of times we partner with civic organizations to enable our students not just to acquire the community service hours, but more importantly, to connect with their own community and provide [a] public service."

A paraprofessional staffs Whitman's community service office. One Social Studies teacher says "…she's got fliers from the community saying we've got this need for students, manpower, and so forth for upcoming events…"

His colleague took her advisory period class to the office a few weeks prior to our interview. She reports,

> We went down there, and there was…over forty different activities that kids could sign up for to complete community service hours, and that ranged from helping with the Lions' Christmas tree lot all the way to one of the community colleges was holding a special education-autism conference, and kids could help out there. So there's a wide spectrum, working pancake breakfasts and stuff like that…

Like Pony Peak, Whitman invites veterans and local elected officials to come and address students. One Social Studies teacher also describes a "…big religious forum where ten different

religions were represented…" She continues, "…we are allowed to bring in whomever, whenever, there's really no restriction on that, which is nice."

Whitman is so large that whole school assemblies are impossible. Fall pep rallies must actually be replicated twice to involve the entire student body. In addition to the classroom speakers already mentioned, teachers Skype with "…speakers that are not in Illinois that provide a very unique, important perspective," according to the Principal. She also stresses "…field-based instruction, [where teachers] take students on field trips…that support our curriculum and the concepts we believe are essential."

One Urban Prep Social Studies teacher suggests that educators depend upon "…organizations to provide them with speakers bureaus or connections they may have because they tend to specialize in whatever it is they're working for in a way that teachers just don't have that kind of depth." For example, she relies on the News Literacy Project to bring in professional journalists to address her students.

Her Department Chair has staff from the Chicago Metro History Education Center visit and coach students for their history fair projects, a service he considers "…really beneficial for students doing research and thinking critically about their projects." He continues, "There are so many partners. We can't thank them enough."

Urban Prep's Principal even sponsors a "senior alumni forum" where graduates return for a town hall conversation "…about what they learned at [Urban Prep], what they didn't learn…, and what they wished they had learned."

As referenced in Chapter Six, Urban Prep boasts a robust service-learning program, which facilitates students' community service. The principal contends that "…kids are leaving…" the building and engaging in "…cross-age tutoring with elementary schools…" for example, or performances from the music department's chorus at an elementary school with the secondary purpose of future recruitment.

Sheepside's Social Studies Chair reports at least five external speakers visiting classrooms in his department each semester. He suggests other academic departments like physical education and health do the same, dealing with "relevant, controversial issues for teenagers" like "drugs and teen pregnancy."

One Sheepside Social Studies teacher hosts a Fourth Amendment panel for her Law class. It typically includes "…a dean, a police officer, a lawyer, and…[presents] different perspectives on the Fourth Amendment."

Another Social Studies teacher contends that community requests for student service come in a flurry at the beginning of the year, and are most frequently funneled through service organizations like the Key Club or National Honor Society.

His department chair seconds the fall flurry, and reports that he "…was inundated with organizations that wanted to come in…, who needed…student volunteers that come in and help them, and (he) would pass that along to all of [his] teachers and allow them, who know the students better than [he does], to help disseminate that information."

Sheepside's Assistant Principal for Instruction describes "…a lot of service projects throughout the community." The school partners with "government agencies," works with "local church groups," and runs "…a program where students shadow what's done over at town hall, the police department, the government over there, how that's run."

Like Whitman, Eisenhower isn't able to hold all-school assemblies given the size of its student body, so speakers are recruited "academic team by academic team," according to its principal. The Social Studies Chair reports regular speakers like a local Holocaust survivor and "police officers from the community." World religions classes have regular speakers who offer "…the perspective of the different religions they are covering per unit."

Members of the Social Studies Department have "developed very close relationships" with local elected officials, and they are thus frequent visitors, particularly during election years. One teacher contends that "The only stipulation [the school administration has] always had is to offer it to both sides so we don't get in trouble for trying to impose a political predilection on students, but we definitely have their support whomever and whenever."

Reciprocally, the school fields many requests from local campaigns according to one Social Studies teacher, "…calling [teachers] and wanting to do a debate [at the school], wanting some attention for their race, [and] wanting students to help them out."

His Social Studies colleague agrees and argues that Eisenhower "…students [have] buil[t] a reputation that they can handle this type…" of work. They are privileged to live in a politically competitive area, argues the first teacher. He says "…there's a certain magic…to having a competitive atmosphere because with our students…, it heightens their awareness that there are campaigns that they can get involved with."

In Chapter Eight, I described a robust partnership between Eisenhower and its local county board, who work in tandem to train a large cohort of student election judges. The Principal reports,

> Every year [the local election board] anoint[s] some set of kids as election officials, so the community uses our kids. As a matter of fact, last year I voted, I live in the community, I voted with two or three of our students. Our kids work those days so that's a nice piece of community involvement.

His response was the only of twenty-two coded as "rarely" in regard to community requests for community service, but probably is more reflective of a failure to elaborate further on the vast student involvement detailed above. Collectively then, these six selected Illinois Democracy Schools not only are frequent users of outside speakers to supplement classroom teachers, but they have developed deep relationships with community partners who regularly call on students to serve in the community through civic and political endeavors. There exists great variety on these variables among the cohort studied, yet all have strong, reciprocal relationships

with the surrounding community when it comes to use of outside speakers and requests for student service.

9.3. Protocols So Everyone's Voice Is Heard

Successful schools cultivate strong parent-teacher relationships (Fullan, p. 95). Fullan (2007) writes, "The closer the parent is to the education of the child, the greater the impact on child development and educational achievement" (p. 189).

Apple and Beane (2007) contend that "democratic schools (have) a commitment to building a community that is both of the school and of the society in which the school exists" (p. 25). Successful school-community partnerships are constructed consciously and are often "bottom-up" movements.

Partnerships between parents and teachers are equally critical. CIRCLE's (Center for Information Research on Civic Learning and Engagement, 2013) survey of high school civics or government teachers revealed that one-quarter feared parental objection to the teaching of political issues in class. A smaller, but still significant percentage (16%) felt a lack of support for parents in teaching about elections (p. 32). Strengthened teacher-parent partnerships may ameliorate these concerns and build support for critical classroom focus on both politics and elections.

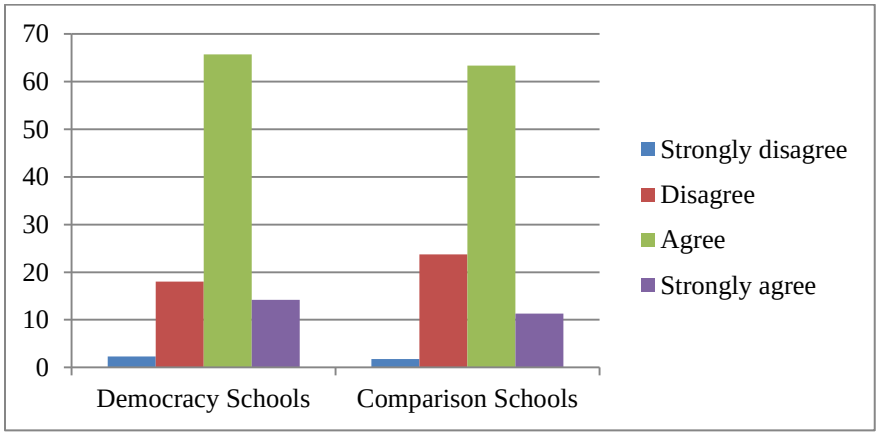
We begin our analysis of the extent to which schools rely on standardized practices to make sure stakeholders are part of their civic learning programming by turning once more to data

generated from the 2013 Illinois 5 Essentials teacher survey. The questions selected focus specifically on parent-teacher relationships, and responses enable comparisons between selected Democracy Schools and their paired comparisons in this area.

The first question asks whether or not "Teachers and parents think of each other as partners in educating children." Nearly two-thirds of teachers at both Democracy Schools and their paired comparisons agree with this statement (65.7% and 63.3%, respectively; see Figure 9.1), with the former barely outpacing the latter. Democracy Schools are also a bit more likely to agree strongly (14.2% versus 11.3%) and less likely to disagree (18.0% versus 23.7%).

On a school-by-school basis, Urban Prep teachers are the most likely of the twelve schools sampled to "strongly disagree" with this notion of parental partnership, albeit a small percentage (4.9%). Moreover, its paired comparison has the highest percentage who disagree (35.2%), more than two standard deviations above the mean (20.8%). The same is true for the half of teachers at this school who agree with this statement. Coal City boasted the highest percentage who agree (72.9%), and Eisenhower the most who agree "strongly" (26.4%, more than two standard deviations above the mean of 12.7%), and least who disagree (13.8%).

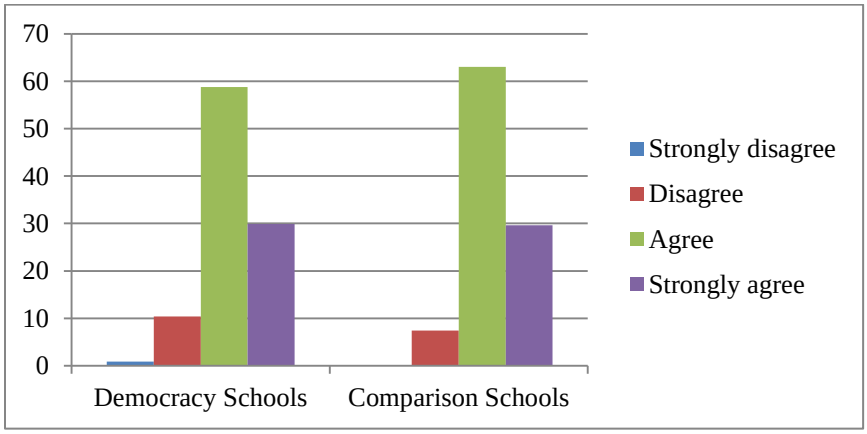
Figure 9.3: The Extent to Which Teachers and Parents Think of Each Other as Educational Partners at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools versus Comparison Schools



A second, related question determines the degree to which "Staff at (these) school(s) work hard to build trusting relationships with parents." The responses of teachers at selected Democracy Schools parallel their peers at comparison schools (see Figure 9.2). A strong majority of both cohorts agree with this statement, although comparison schools score slightly higher (63% versus 58.8%). Almost three-in-ten in each group agree strongly (29.6% for comparison schools and 29.9% for Democracy Schools), while teachers at Democracy Schools are slightly more likely to disagree (10.4% versus 7.4% for comparison schools).

Urban Prep's data for this survey question stands out among the six Democracy Schools in the sample. Its teachers are the most likely among both cohorts to "disagree" (32.5%) and "strongly disagree" (2.5%) with the staff's parental partnership efforts, in both cases more than two standard deviations above the mean (8.9% and 0.5%, respectively). While half of Urban Prep teachers agree with this statement, it represents the lowest percentage among the twelve schools. All of this said, nearly two-thirds of teachers at Urban Prep either agree or strongly agree with the statement (65% combined).

Figure 9.4: The Extent to Which Staff at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools and Comparison Schools Builds Trusting Relationships with Parents



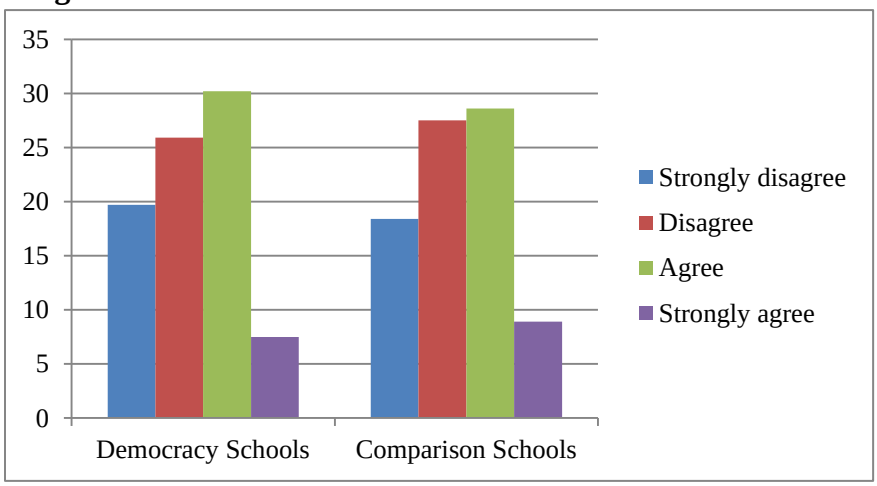
The next battery of questions probes further for signs of communication between teachers and parents. In the first case, the survey asks if parents receive invitations into teachers' classrooms "…to observe the instructional program." As is clear in Figure 9.3 below, there is significant variation in response to this question across the ten schools studied (data from Urban Prep and its paired comparison is unavailable for this question).

A plurality of teachers at both Democracy Schools and their paired comparisons express agreement (30.2% and 28.6%, respectively), but are nearly as likely to disagree (25.9% and 27.5%). Also, a significant number of respondents disagree strongly (19.7% and 18.4%). Thus, there is no clear verdict for the pervasiveness of this practice or a distinction between the two school cohorts.

Looking at specific schools, Whitman is most likely to "strongly disagree" with this statement about parental invitations to the school's classrooms (41.8%), and reciprocally, least

likely to “strongly agree” (3.3%). By contrast, a solid majority at Sheepside expresses agreement (56.9%).

Figure 9.5: The Extent to Which Parents Are Invited Into Teachers’ Classrooms at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools and Comparison Schools to Observe the Instructional Program

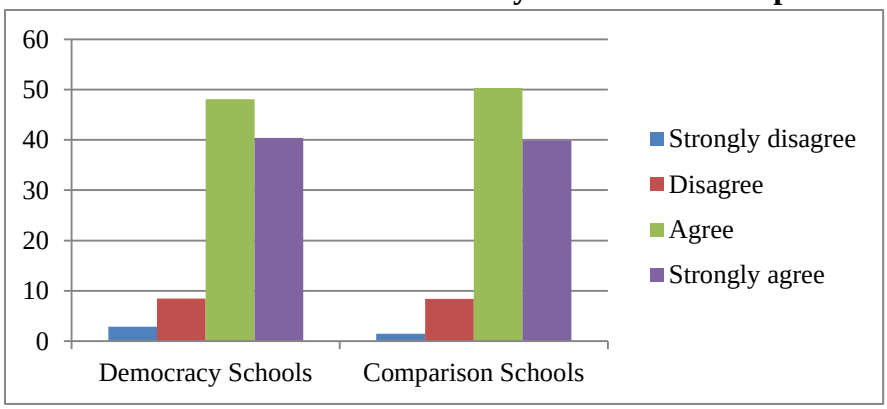


The remaining questions are all communication-oriented, beginning with whether “The principal pushes teachers to communicate regularly with parents.” A slim majority of teachers at comparison schools and a plurality of teachers at selected Democracy Schools answer in the affirmative (50.3% and 48.1%, respectively; see Figure 9.4). On top of this finding, roughly four-in-ten teachers in each cohort agree strongly with this statement (39.9% at comparison schools and 40.4% at Democracy Schools).

Among schools sampled, Eisenhower teachers are most likely to “disagree” and “strongly disagree” with this notion of pressure from principals to communicate with parents. Whitman is

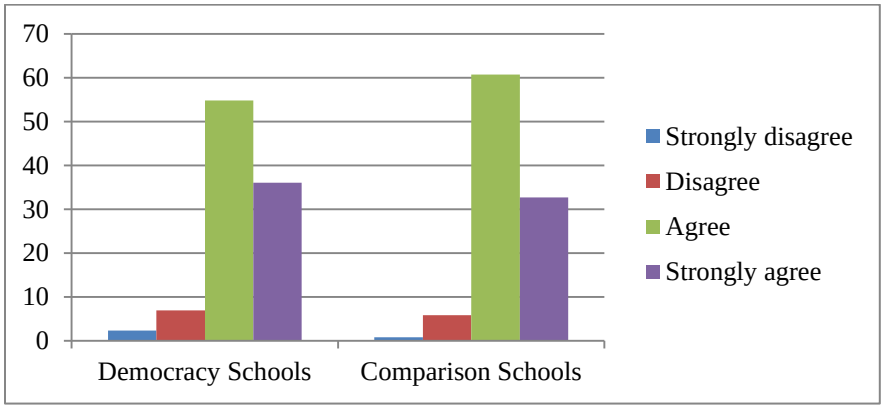
tied with Coal City's paired comparison as no teachers at either school disagree “strongly.” More than two-thirds of Coal City teachers agree “strongly” (68.6%), more than two standard deviations above the mean (40.1%), and Urban Prep teachers rank lowest at this threshold (19.5%).

Figure 9.6: The Extent to Which the Principal Pushes Teachers to Communicate with Parents at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools and Comparison Schools



The opposite end of the communication channel between parents and teachers is an “…encourage[ment of] feedback from parents and the community.” A majority of teachers at both selected Democracy Schools and their paired comparisons express agreement with this statement, with the latter group besting the former slightly (60.7% versus 54.8%; see Figure 9.5). However, Democracy School teachers are more apt to agree strongly (36.0% versus 32.7%). Few teachers in either cohort disagree (6.9% versus 5.8%). However, Urban Prep teachers are most likely to “disagree” (17.5%) and “strongly disagree” (7.5%) with this statement about parental feedback solicitation, both percentages more than two standard deviations above the mean (6.4% and 1.6%, respectively).

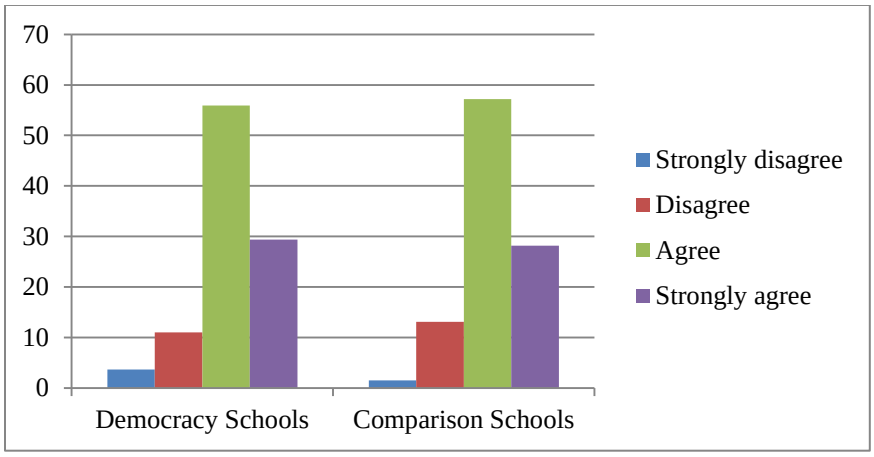
Figure 9.7: The Extent to Which Teachers Solicit Feedback from Parents and Community Members at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools and Comparison Schools



The final question analyzed in this section gauges parent-teacher communication from the perspective of advancing the school mission. It reads, “We work at communicating to parents about support needed to advance the school mission.” Reponses parallel those to the previous question (see Figure 9.6). Once more, a majority of teachers at both selected Democracy Schools and comparison schools expresses agreement (55.9% and 57.2%, respectively); with the latter group taking a narrow lead.

However, Democracy Schools are a bit more likely to agree strongly (29.4% versus 28.2%), and less apt to disagree (11.0% versus 13.1%). Urban Prep is again the outlier in the sample. Its teachers select both “disagree” (20%) and “strongly disagree” (7.5%) most frequently, but only the latter is greater than two standard deviations below the mean (2.6%).

Figure 9.8: The Extent to Which Teachers Communicate with Parents About Support Necessary to Advance the School's Mission at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools and Comparison Schools



This Five Essentials survey data considered in the context of the parental-school relationship, it is fair to say that there exists little variation between selected Illinois Democracy Schools and their paired comparisons on this front. Both cohorts exhibit strong practices with the possible exception of inviting parents into classrooms to observe schools' instructional programs.

Urban Prep lags on most of these measures, including teacher-parent partnerships and trust, solicitation of parental feedback, and communication with parents to advance the school's mission. This should come as little surprise given its location in a low-income neighborhood of a depressed city where many parents are first-generation immigrants. Moreover, its paired comparison school fares only slightly better on these measures. It is clear from my interviews with Urban Prep's principal and members of her faculty that the school is committed to strong parent partnerships, but these numbers are cause for continued attention to strengthening bonds with a key school stakeholder, parents.

Beyond the dearth of a discernable distinction between Democracy Schools and their paired comparisons when it comes to parental engagement, we are left without evidence of how the voices of other key stakeholders like faculty, students, and community partners are considered in the governance of these schools. A single question posed in interviews with school administrators at selected Democracy Schools provides descriptive detail and a broader measure of the overarching spirit of this section, school protocols to ensure that all voices are heard. The question asks, "What standardized practices does your school rely upon to make sure stakeholders' voices, including faculty, parents, and students, are considered in school governance?"

School practices described in responses to this question were coded on a continuum that ranges from "strong" to "adequate," and "weak" to "nonexistent" (see Table 9.2). Five of the six schools' practices are rated as strong, and one (Sheepside) as adequate. The latter's lower rating may be more of a product of poor elaboration by the interview subject than inferior protocols.

Table 9.2: Strength of Standardized Practices Utilized by Selected Illinois Democracy Schools to Make Sure Stakeholders' Voices, Including Faculty, Parents, and Students, Are Considered in School Governance

School	***Urban Prep (U)***	***Coal City (D)***	***Sheepside (S1)***	***Eisenhower (S2)***	***Pony Peak (S3)***	***Whitman (S4)***
Strength of practices	Strong	Strong	Adequate	Strong	Strong	Strong

The district vision document under which Sheepside High School lives emphasizes "…productive home, school, and community partnerships for education." This is achieved through strong parent-teacher communication, along with "…engag[ing] all facets of the [district] community…"

Sheepside's Assistant Principal for Instruction points to staff and school board meetings as venues where key stakeholder voices are present. He contends, "Students, teachers, [and] parents have opportunities to speak at board meetings, to voice their concerns and opinions." He credits the administration for its "open door policy," where "Any kids can come in, parents can make appointments.., [and] teachers [are welcome to visit] at any time." The Assistant Principal suggests receptiveness among the administrative team to the "concerns and needs" of "parents, staff, [and] community."

One way Sheepside communicates outwardly with these stakeholders is through monthly newsletters and weekly eblasts, both "…geared around the partnerships that [they] have with [their] local community."

Coal City's Principal places a premium on transparency given that the law states that schools "…act…in place of parents." He continues, "…people have to trust us, and know we're on their side. And we're working together and not against each other, so transparency is a big deal."

The handbook at Coal City spells out parental participation specifically. It references the Principal's Parent Advisory Committee and School Support Team, and calls for parental service on the School Improvement Committee and the student handbook itself.

The principal elaborates on the annual process of making changes to the student and faculty handbook:

> Many of the changes we made to that handbook in terms of policies came from a meeting that I had with students talking through some of the perceptions that we had as a faculty and an administration versus some of the realities that they were experiencing as students. After that process of talking to them and understanding what policies were good, what policies were useless that we had and really having as conversation with the faculty at the time where we wanted to go…

The voices of students and the faculty considered, Coal City's principal says the "…last stop was talking to the parents." He elaborates further:

> I invited just a sampling of…about 80 sets of parents, or groups of parents, or the parents of students, just to let them know what our proposed changes were. I put a PowerPoint just to let them know what the old policies were versus what the new policies were. And at that time I took those policies to the board and did the same thing for them and let them know through a memo, and at that time, that's open for public comment, if anybody has any questions or comments, so we really try to be transparent in all of our dealings.

Eisenhower's Principal pursues a similar path through the creation of task forces composed of "…parents, teachers, students, [and] community members…if [they] want to have a fundamental change in the way that [they] teach…" He continues, "There would be a set of meetings to first, teach people about the topic, and then secondly, to find out what their opinions are." He considers this protocol critical, and recently hired a "parent-community coordinator" whose "…fundamental job is to work on this."

Pony Peak's student handbook specifies "strong and effective" parent organizations. While they lack formal authority, "…their suggestions and assistance are always welcome." Building principals and teachers are encouraged to work closely with the school's parent organizations, providing information related to school "programs, policies, [and] problems…"

Pony Peak has a general "Parent, Teachers, and Students Association," and given the racial and ethnic diversity of its student body, "parent groups of color" according to its Assistant Principal for Instruction. The student handbook justifies the latter to provide educational resources for students and staff to create a "…learning environment [that is] culturally sensitive and inclusive."

Moreover, the Principal coordinates an advisory group for parents. His assistant principal contends, "…he really accepts any parents who would like to be on the advisory, but then also reaches out to parents who maybe are not as engaged in our community." She sums up the school's policies as "…very much [an] open door from the leadership level on down as far as parent, faculty, and student input."

Whitman's Principal admits that establishing and maintaining communication channels with key school stakeholders is "really tricky" given a student body of 3,400 students and 400 staff members. By comparison, she says, "I grew up in a community that was smaller than this building…" She equates her role with that of "…being the mayor of a small city."

In order to account for the voices of key constituencies in a school community of this size, she "…take[s] a very large organization and [has] it function as small communities and make[s] sure people's voices are heard…" through "committee work" and various "communication channels."

In a nod to the previous chapter on staff development, she speaks about the school's "…transition to truly being a professional learning community." Student voice surfaces through "…a very active, very informed, knowledgeable student government system…" sponsored by a member of the Social Studies Department. The Athletic Department coordinates a council of team captains from each season's sports teams where they "…talk about issues that are pertinent to athletics."

Whitman's Principal also presides over three separate school improvement teams, one for students, one for faculty, and a third for parents. These teams meet monthly by themselves, but with similar agendas. She reports that "…they're talking about the same issues, but it gives them an opportunity to see those perspectives from a different lens." They also meet collectively twice a year, and each group has a liaison from administration, which in turn "…brings that information back to [their] leadership team."

A faculty climate committee addresses staff and student climate in monthly meetings, and the Combined Parent Organizations committee meets quarterly, representative of athletic boosters, music boosters, and the parents, faculty, and student association. Whitman's principal compares it to the traditional PTA which provides a "parent-volunteer perspective."

She concludes, “I’m in a lot of meetings, but it’s necessary, because if you don’t have those structures in place…, people don’t have a voice or there’s a disconnect.” The principal admits that her school “…will never be perfect with communication…,” but they’re “always trying to improve with that, and it is without doubt a challenge when you’re talking about an organization of this size.”

The student handbook at Urban Prep High School states, “Parents are most welcome at our school.” Moreover, the district’s student code of conduct establishes parents’ right “to be actively involved in their child’s education,” and also “to be treated fairly and respectfully by the school principal, teachers, and other staff.” Furthermore, parents are asked to engage with school staff “to address any academic or behavior concerns regarding their child.”

Urban Prep’s Principal responds to the protocol question by way of example, returning to the budgetary pressures referenced in Chapter Seven. She shares her budget plans (“good, bad, ugly”) bi-annually with the Parent Advisory Committee and the Local School Council, which includes parental and community representatives. She claims these groups have been “very supportive” of her decisions to “…keep the people and cut the programmatic supports for their kids.”

She delegates departmental budgets to each chair, seeking to avoid being a “bottleneck” because “the principal is a very busy person…” The Principal sits down with department chairs twice a year, and says, “How do you want to move money around? It’s towards the end of the year, and do you have enough in books, enough in supplies, stuff like that.”

Administration-faculty relations are a sticky subject in this urban district given lingering bitterness over a recent strike and massive school closings, but Urban Prep's principal contends that the strike "made [them] a better community." She describes a healthy relationship with the school's union steward. They meet when a list of faculty grievances accumulates, and proceed to discuss each of them in turn, seeking resolutions amenable to all parties in a transparent manner. The principal concludes, "I've been in many other schools in my checkered [district] career, and have never heard of a school like that." The alternative, "adversarial relationship" between administration and faculty "…is harmful to kids and the teachers and the community and it doesn't have to be that way…"

In balance, we emerge with strong, descriptive evidence of selected Democracy Schools' protocols that engage the voices of key stakeholders in the governance of their respective school communities. Employing a myriad of approaches in a variety of contexts, these ongoing efforts to engage students, staff, community partners, and particularly parents, is truly impressive. Recall that these schools also fared favorably on the Five Essentials survey data brought to bear on this question with the exception of parents visiting classrooms to observe the schools' instructional program and Urban Prep's across the board challenges. Selected Democracy Schools thus satisfy the strong protocols for key stakeholders' voices plank of the school-community relationship hypothesis.

9.4. A Dedicated Staff Member to Connect the School and the Community

Given the plethora of protocols described in the previous section to engage key stakeholders in school governance, it is clear that these partnerships require active and ongoing

management by the administrative team. This section looks more broadly at community partnerships and assesses the degree to which selected Illinois Democracy Schools make building these partnerships an explicit part of someone's job. Administrators and Social Studies Department Chairs at these schools were asked, "Does your school have a dedicated staff member responsible for building partnerships between the school and the community? If so, who?"

Respondents at three of the six schools identify a single person responsible for building community partnerships (see Table 9.3). The other half of the cohort suggests that this is a shared responsibility at their schools.

Table 9.3: Do Selected Illinois Democracy Schools Have a Dedicated Staff Member Responsible for Building Partnerships Between the School and the Community?

School	***Urban Prep (U)***	***Coal City (D)***	***Sheepside (S1)***	***Eisenhower (S2)***	***Pony Peak (S3)***	***Whitman (S4)***
Dedicated staff member?	Yes/ Shared	Yes	Shared	Yes	Shared	Shared

Coal City's Principal considers partnership-building an administrative duty, but says that he and the Superintendent delegate this responsibility to the student activities director. He contends that her "…main job is to hear from students and what they do." She advises the Student Council, coordinates the blood drive, and led a major school-wide effort to raise money in support of building water wells in Africa (see further descriptions in Chapters 6 and 7).

The Principal points to "…valuable relationships with public relations sources that are in Southern Illinois…" she has built. He continues, "…in this day and age people are always quick to print the negative, but we want to make sure we are overwhelming them with the positive of what's going on at [Coal City] because we do some amazing things here."

Eisenhower's Principal references the parent-community coordinator described in the previous section, and also the head of the school's foundation which "…raises money [and] works to build…community relationships…" with organizations like the local Kiwanis or the Chamber of Commerce. He concludes, "…we have two people working differently, one more in a professional sense, with those professional organizations, and then [the parent-community coordinator] with the parents."

The Social Studies Chair at Eisenhower points to regular administrative meetings he attends where the foundation head participates and "…reaches out to us when there are any events going on…" He is also "eager to promote [school-sponsored] events as well."

Urban Prep's Social Studies Chair identifies the school's service-learning coach as the primary community liaison. He reports, "…she gets a lot of the communications about opportunities for service-learning and chances for the students to volunteer and work, so she really makes those connections." Without her help, teachers have a tough time completing the necessary "…paperwork and groundwork to do it and connect it to the curriculum." The school places a premium on connecting student service to the formal curriculum, and he says it isn't as simple as their teachers saying, "…you're going to go volunteer…"

The Principal agrees that the service-learning coach plays a principal role in partnership building and maintenance, but credits other members of her faculty and staff for taking this responsibility on, too, the Social Studies Chair included. She therefore considers it a shared responsibility and suggests her "…job is to fund it, stay out of their way, and make sure they don't fall over each other."

Both Sheepside's Assistant Principal for Instruction and its Social Studies Chair reference the district's Community Relations Director as the person responsible for school-community relationship-building. She compiles newsletters, "attends any type of community event," and even manages the district's Twitter handle. The Assistant Principal says she also "…does a lot of work within [their community] to form, establish, and sustain those partnerships and work with local government and community members." He also identifies the previous Department Chair that still teaches social studies and was interviewed for this study, as an individual who cultivates community partnerships.

Whitman's Principal paints a shared responsibility for building community partnerships between the district and her high school. The District Communications Director "…develop[s] and maintain[s] community communication channels between our three…" schools. At the building level, "…it isn't one person." Instead, an assistant principal, the Athletic Director, and individual faculty members collectively assume the responsibility.

At Whitman, the principal reports, "…a lot of partnerships we have are built at the ground level, connections that our staff make." She elaborates, "…I couldn't even tell you how

many connections are being made on the front lines, because I think that our teachers are really good about finding those resources, and…we're very blessed with a community that is very actively supporting what we do."

Like Sheepside and Whitman, Pony Peak also has a district level person solely responsible for partnership-building. According to its Assistant Principal for Instruction, "…he does a phenomenal job of building those relationships…" and his efforts have "…really paid off for the district." However, "…in a district of 20,000 [students], one person is not a lot." Therefore, one assistant principal at Pony Peak is also tasked with this responsibility, and it also "…trickles down to…the department chairs and different teachers…"

The Social Studies Chair at Pony Peak concurs. He reports, "…we have people who choose to fill that role at different points." It is a role he takes on as Chair and advisor of Pony Peak's student government. The Chair concludes, "Boy, it sure would be nice to have someone where it's their entire job, but unfortunately…, it tends to be who believes in it and is willing to go that extra step…"

9.5. Summary

Thankfully, at Pony Peak and each of the selected Democracy Schools profiled in this study, administration, faculty, and staff seemingly answer the bell for partnership-building whether the responsibility rests with a single person or is shared across the school or district. These schools regularly invite members of the community into classrooms and assembly halls to address students. Reciprocally, students are repeatedly asked to serve in the community in both

civic and political capacities. Finally, strong protocols are in place at each of the schools to provide stakeholders (students, staff, parents, and community partners) with channels to influence their governance.

These three tenets of Hypothesis 4D satisfied, it is confirmed that schools with sustained, systemic commitments to civic learning have strong, reciprocal relationships with the surrounding community. This conclusion does not by any means suggest that there is not room for growth in this dimension, but it is clear that each school takes stakeholder voices seriously and is committed to continuous improvement in this domain.

10. MODELING AND NURTURING CIVIC DISPOSITIONS THROUGH A POSITIVE SCHOOL CLIMATE

10.1. Introduction

We turn to the fifth and final prong of Hypothesis Four, school climate. According to the National School Climate Council (2007), "School climate refers to the quality and character of school life." Moreover, "…Sustainable, positive school climates powerfully promote student achievement and positive youth development" (p. 5).

Bryk et al. (2010), in their essential school supports model that undergirds student achievement, suggest that a student-centered learning climate is central to this end. It encompasses order and safety at school, accounting for both student safety and an absence of class disruptions. School climate also entails academic support and "press," the latter achieved through a press towards student achievement in classrooms. Student behavior is another component, as is their academic engagement. Finally, a school's learning climate encompasses peer support for academic work (pp. 58-59, 74).

Cohen's (2006b) definition of school climate is much broader, encompassing eleven factors, including the size of the schools and their cleanliness in addition to physical order and safety. While he also accounts for expectations of student achievement and the quality of instruction they receive, Cohen adds collaboration and communication to the mix, along with a sense of school community. Beyond peer norms, the author also emphasizes student morale. Finally, the school-community partnerships analyzed in the previous chapter are also critical (p. 212).

Goodlad (2004), in his extensive study of American public schools a few decades ago, finds that favorable school climates equate with positive classroom environments (p. 248). Large schools tend to be less successful facilitating this translation than their smaller counterparts (p. 251).

Writing in the context of continuous school improvement processes, Fullan (2007) argues that school climate work "…must tackle both faces of student engagement: the culture of the classroom in terms of day-to-day learning, and the culture of the school and community." Therefore, "…Student engagement strategies must reach all students..." (p. 187).

Charlotte Danielson's framework for effective teaching, invoked in each of the previous three chapters, emphasizes the importance of "…creating an environment of respect and rapport…," which equates with "…how…students are permitted to treat each other" (p. 65). This "culture for learning" underlines the critical work of students and teachers alike in the classroom. It is also evident in the school as a whole, although at the high school level, most often manifests itself in support for athletic endeavors (pp. 67-68).

Cohen et al. (2006) contend, "…A growing body of research underscores that students' subjective experience in school, commonly referred to as *school climate*, has a significant effect on their ability to learn and develop in healthy ways" (p. 27).

Jonathan Cohen, and the National School Climate Center he leads, provides the strategies and tools for schools to take on the work embraced by Bryk et al., Goodlad, and Fullan. Cohen's

(2010) five-pronged climate change framework begins with a call for the school community to develop a vision and plan for promoting, enhancing, and sustaining a positive school climate. Next, not only must school policies promote students' social, emotional, civic, and intellectual knowledge, skills, dispositions, and engagement, but in a nod to Fullan, schools must develop a system to address barriers to learning and to reengage students.

Third, school policies should also enhance engagement in teaching, learning and school-wide activities. They must also develop and sustain an operational infrastructure and capacity building measures to undergird these goals. More holistically, the fourth prong calls for the school community to create an environment where all members feel welcome, supported, and safe. Finally, the school community must live its civic mission through practices, activities, and norms that promote social and civic responsibilities (p. 28).

The benefits of this framework are many, beginning with reliable measurements of a school's climate. It also supports the professional learning communities detailed in Chapter Eight, along with the community connections outlined in Chapter Nine. By mobilizing students, parents, and the school's faculty, administration, and staff, the school is able to work collaboratively to leverage its strengths and take on its weaknesses as part of a process of continuous improvement (pp. 28-29).

Homana et al. (2006) frame school climate in the context of civic learning. They write, "A positive school climate is crucial for the development of competent, responsible, and capable citizens." Contextualizing my work in the balance of this chapter, these authors suggest that

"…exploring the relationship between school climate for citizenship education…provides a fruitful endeavor because it can lead to an improvement in how schools enhance students' academic, political, social, and civic responsibilities" (p. 4).

Flanagan (2013) eloquently describes the profound ways in which schools model and nurture students' civic dispositions. She writes,

> Schools are public spaces where members of the public, especially younger members, gather. As such, public schools need to stand for and to enact those principles that bind members of the larger polity together. Specifically, schools in the United States need to practice principles of equality of opportunity, of tolerance, and of respect for differences of opinion, beliefs, and cultural practices (p. 83).

Recall the civic learning spin on school climate in the *No Excuses* report of the Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools (2010) detailed in Chapter Two, Section Six. As articulated in Hypothesis Four, Part E, schools with sustainable, systemic approaches to civic learning build and maintain a school climate that models and nurtures civic dispositions.

In the balance of this chapter, I employ and test four indicators of this civic-centered school climate model. The first calls for a clean, welcoming environment with visual reminders of the school's civic mission. Evidence of this indicator includes displayed copies of the school mission statement in hallways and classrooms, alongside work reflective of teachers' and students' civic engagement. Interview questions were posed to both administrators and teachers at selected Illinois Democracy Schools to glean the presence of these two data points.

The second indicator of a civic-centered school climate suggests that teachers and school administrators serve as role models of civically engaged citizens. Evidence of this indicator

emerges when teachers and administrators interact positively with students and are candid with them about their own civic engagement. A student question on the 2013 “Illinois Five Essentials” survey hones in on the student-teacher relationship at selected Illinois Democracy Schools and their paired comparisons. One interview question directed at both teachers and administrators provides qualitative data on these relationships at these Democracy Schools. A second question to both parties queries the extent to which the school staff is candid about its own civic engagement.

Third, schools with civic-centered climates have students who possess the skills, opportunities, and confidence to make a difference in their schools and surrounding communities. In such schools, students likely express a sense of responsibility and efficacy in this regard. I leverage data from the 2013 “Illinois Five Essentials” survey to test this prong of Hypothesis Four, specifically three questions that inquire whether classes prepare them for “…what [they] plan to do in life,” “high school teaches [them] valuable skills,” and if class lessons are “…necessary for success in the future.” Once more, student responses are aggregated from both selected Illinois Democracy Schools and their paired comparisons. Finally, I posed a more targeted civic-themed question to this effect in interviews with teachers and administrators at the Democracy Schools.

The fourth and final indicator posits that schools with sustainable, systemic approaches to civic learning possess policies, practices, and infrastructures to support a set of civic norms and values. This is evidenced through continuous education of new staff in the school’s civic mission. Data was collected from a single question on the teacher version of the “Illinois Five

Essentials" survey which asks if "A conscious effort is made by faculty to make new teachers feel welcome here." An interview question directed at teachers and administrators at select Democracy Schools determines how new staff is trained in the school's civic mission.

10.2. A Clean, Welcoming Environment with Visual Reminders of the School's Civic Mission

As was evident in Chapter Six, schools often reference citizenship and ethics in their mission statements. However, according to Theodore Sizer (2004), they rarely employ programs to foster these objectives (p. 122). He writes, "…character education in schools infrequently goes beyond its own rhetoric, except for the periodic, well-intentioned exhortations of principals" (p. 124). Moreover, citizenship in schools most often takes the form of patriotism and patronizes it (p. 125). The reverse course is the proper one, because, according to Sizer, "Patriotism for mature people arises from understanding, not singsong rituals."

Apple and Beane (2007) make a case for "democratic schools," a concept very much in line with the indicators in this section. "Concern for the dignity and rights of individuals and minorities" and "…the welfare of others and common good" are among the values and principles of democratic schools offered by the authors. They also include a respect for a marketplace of ideas as a means of becoming informed, and the view of democracy as more than an ideal, but instead a set of values to continuously pursue. Such schools should thus constitute organizations that promote the democratic way of life (p. 7).

A school may remind its community members of its civic mission by displaying copies of mission statement in classrooms, hallways, and other school-sponsored communication channels, and also by decorating these spaces with work reflective of teachers' and students' civic engagement. Administrators and faculty at selected Illinois Democracy Schools were first asked, "Is your school's mission statement displayed in classrooms and hallways?" A second question was then posed: "Is work reflective of teachers' and students' civic engagement displayed in classrooms and hallways?" If answering in the affirmative to either question, they were encouraged to elaborate.

A large majority of respondents reference the public display of mission statements in school hallways (72%, see Figure 10.1), and a significant number also point to its display in classrooms (44%). A handful of respondents also allude to other locations like school web sites and letterhead (16%).

Teacher and student work reflective of their civic engagement is displayed in a majority of hallways and classrooms at selected Democracy Schools (52% each), and is also featured in school newsletters and on their web sites (16%).

Figure 10.1: Where School Mission Statements and Student Work Reflective of Civic Engagement Are Displayed, Respectively, at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools

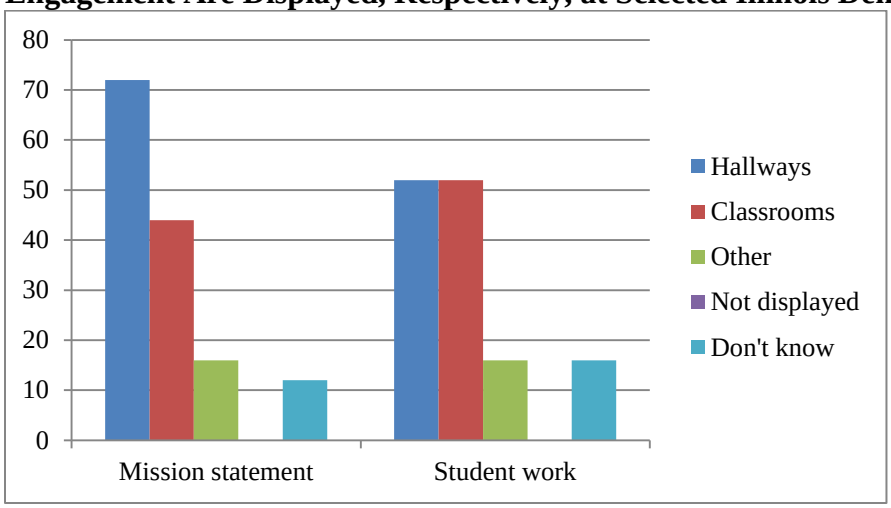


Table 10.1 aggregates responses to these questions by school. Both mission statements and student work are identified by at least one respondent at each of the six schools in its hallways. Mission statements are displayed in at least some classrooms at four of the six schools studied, and student work is displayed in classrooms at every school.

Table 10.1: Where School Mission Statements and Student Work Reflective of Civic Engagement Are Displayed, Respectively, by Selected Illinois Democracy Schools

School	***Urban Prep (U)***	***Coal City (D)***	***Sheepside (S1)***	***Eisenhower (S2)***	***Pony Peak (S3)***	***Whitman (S4)***
Mission statement	Hallways and Classrooms	Hallways	Hallways and other	Hallways, classrooms, and other	Hallways and classrooms	Hallways and classrooms
Student work	Hallways and classrooms	Hallways and classrooms	Hallways, classrooms, and other	Hallways, classrooms, and other	Hallways and classrooms	Hallways, classrooms, and other

Urban Prep High School's mission statement is displayed in the school hallways and some classrooms. Its principal suggests "…it's sort of lived every day, so I always think a lot of stuff put up in classrooms is for my bosses. It's not for the people I work for."

Urban Prep's Social Studies Chair does display the mission statement on his classroom wall. He reports, "As a college prep school, we emphasize, more than anything…, we want students to have those skills necessary to be successful…." He thus displays their work on his walls, too. Specifically, "…the essays that they write, as reinforcement of [the fact that] we value this, that students need to be able to make an argument and write well." He concludes, "…it's positive reinforcement for them, that they're valued, that their voice is valued in the classroom."

His departmental colleague reports strong familiarity with the school's motto of "respect, integrity, and responsibility." As for student work, she suggests student work with "longevity" stays in classrooms, while that used for "an immediate purpose," doesn't. In Urban Prep's hallways, she contends, "…it's always an ongoing evolution of new things coming in and new things going out."

Coal City High School's mission statement is displayed in school hallways and in the student handbook, according to one Social Studies teacher. She argues that the administration and faculty should "…work on…mak[ing] the mission statement more visible." She sees a divide among staff who believe the school lives up to all facets of its mission statement, and others in her camp who contend, "…in reality, [they] don't."

As for the display of student work, she reports its display in hallways reflective of student involvement in clubs. By her assessment, “For the students [at Coal City], their civic engagement comes when they’re involved in clubs.” However, she does go to point to “help wanted posters for president” created by students in Government classes and displayed in the Social Studies hallway.

Her veteran colleague in the Social Studies Department answers in the affirmative when questioned about displaying student work in classrooms and hallways. Yes,” he says, “you have to.”

Sheepside High School displays its mission statement in the main foyer of the school, in its student handbook, and on the web site according to its Assistant Principal for Instruction. The Social Studies Chair points to its display on school letterhead, too.

Student work, on the other hand, is present in Sheepside’s display cases. One social studies teacher reports, “We have service student of the month and things like that, so we can display that and do a brief summary of what they’re doing…, so…there is accessibility to that for teachers and students to know what’s going on and who’s doing what.” Two of the four Sheepside subjects interviewed also report student work featured in a monthly newsletter compiled at the district level.

The Department Chair concurs that student work is posted in hallways. He points to monitors in the stairwells that “…display pictures and other opportunities that kids can get

involved in." As for classrooms, he contends it varies by teacher: "I know there are certain teachers that have a screen saver where kids are seeing presentations…, the screen saver will take over and displays kids doing things that help out with the community." He concludes, "Frankly, I wish there was more."

Dwight D. Eisenhower High School's principal says, "Our school's mission statement is 'success for every student,' and it's everywhere." He references classrooms, the school's web site, even his PowerPoint presentations. He guesses "…people would be very familiar with it." He adds, "It's been the same for a long time, too." As for the display of student work, he considers this "teacher-specific," making reference to the school's 260 classrooms.

Academic departments have their own mission statements, and Social Studies has embraced the touchstone of "citizen, artisan, scholar" for the past fourteen years. The Social Studies Chair claims his peers at neighboring schools marvel at its longevity and "resonance with…staff." He continues,

> Our teachers are using it whether it may be, today we're sitting…in citizen style, artisan style, scholar style. It's embedded that way… We're using it in action most importantly. Celebrating it, identifying it in materials with the kids and activities. It's a frame, learning targets around, my citizen targets, my artisan targets.

One Social Studies teacher confirms the importance of the citizen plank of the touchstone. She contends, "I always say my classroom is about citizenship more than AP [Advanced Placement] Government, and I think that's a feeling that's echoed by all…"

As for student work, the Social Studies Chair mentions its display outside his departmental office, in individual classrooms, and increasingly on "teachers' web sites." He

reports, "…I think there's a bit more digital element to it than certainly would have existed five or ten years ago."

Another Eisenhower Social Studies teacher comments on the "dominance" of school hallways by "student artwork." To him, "…artwork is civic engagement." Much of it is produced in Art Club, and, he elaborates, "Some of its controversial and very though-provoking, so just that alone I think it civic engagement."

Pony Peak High School without doubt displays its mission statement most prominently and thoroughly among the six schools studied. Its Assistant Principal for Instruction contends, "It's all over the place. It's in every classroom, [and] it's in every hallway." She challenges, "You can't walk through a room without seeing the mission."

Pony Peak's mission statement is tied to its embrace of Positive Behavior Interventions and Supports (PBIS; see Chapter 7 for an extended discussion of this program). As part of this program, the school conducts an audit each year, and the Assistant Principal reports, "…random kids are selected among our 2,700 and close to 100% can tell you what the vision and mission (statements say), at least in lived reality."

Pony Peak employs regular PBIS-based lessons where the mission statement is "…the common thread of all of them." The Social Studies Department Chair shares the following anecdote for purposes of illustration:

I had the student of the month in my class today. I just gave out the award. He was thrilled and the rest of the class applauded for him. I was like, "That's kind of cool." He worked really hard in class and he gives up some of his extra time to help kids understand, basically go over the test to help them understand what they got wrong. He

comes in to help them, to mentor them, to help tutor them. We nominated him, a bunch of people nominated him…, but it just happened to be in my class, so I thought it was kind of cool.

A Pony Peak Social Studies teacher contends that the administration and faculty "work really hard" to live the school's mission statement, and in many ways they meet its aspirations, including "foster[ing] positive relationships" and "push[ing] the kids to have integrity." She feels they fall short, however, on the "equity" plank given the disproportionate rate by which students of color face referrals and other punitive measures.

Her departmental colleague echoes these sentiments. However, he feels the mission statement loses its luster among upperclassmen despite the staff's best intentions. He concludes, "The older they get, maybe the more cynical they are of our [mission] statement."

Pony Peak's Assistant Principal admits that the display of student work in classrooms and hallways isn't as prominent as the school's mission statement. Both she and a social studies teacher make reference to community-oriented pledge statements students made as part of the school's commemoration of September 11. The assistant principal elaborates,

I saw those displayed throughout the hallways as a commitment statement. It spoke to different service projects that they wanted to engage themselves with. It ranged from helping at home to helping at food banks to really do something really grand. It was really cool to see the kids thinking about it.

Walt Whitman High School displays its mission statement in hallways, but in classrooms, it's "Successful Schools-Successful Students (S4)" touchstone is a staple (see Chapters 5 and 6 for an extended discussion of S4). The Principal says, "All four of those tenets make sure that students graduate in four years with all of the skills necessary to participate as a productive member in society." She adds, "…civic learning is obviously an important part of that."

The Social Studies Chair contends that the mission statement isn't "…as visible as it should be." A member of his department agrees and suggests that Whitman is "…a large place," and not one of those schools [like Pony Peak] where the mission statement is "…drilled into you." However, both believe that its tenets are emphasized through student advisory periods that stress "ethics, doing the right thing", and "healthy choices," according to the department chair, and "academic integrity" offers his departmental colleague.

Advisory programs assign small groups of students to an advisor, and they proceed to meet regularly over an extended period of time. The advisor serves as a mentor and interactions with students are "low-pressure and supportive." While advisory periods may be devoted to structured activities, they are not academic in orientation. Ultimately, "Advisories build community; they promote academic success, social-emotional learning, and postsecondary planning; and they can support the community when tragedies occur" (Benson and Poliner, 2013, p. 51).

According Whitman's Principal, student work is most likely to be displayed in the corridor of the school that houses the Social Studies Department. The school newsletter is another vehicle to display student work reflective of civic engagement. The Social Studies Department Chair references a recent issue that featured a classroom visit by the local state senator, where the school tries to "…show parents here's what we're doing within our classes."

In sum, these selected Democracy Schools display their mission statements and student work reflective of civic engagement in different ways and frequencies. Some are very overt in

their intentions like Pony Peak with its mission statement, and others more subtle like Whitman through its actions. Most seem to live their mission statement in practice, and a couple like Coal City and Sheepside could benefit from closer attention to the central tenets of their respective statements.

All find ways to explore student work, although this is a challenge given the size of some of the schools and the fact that teachers are often not assigned individual classrooms (Eisenhower and Pony Peak). Some are quite creative on this front through teachers' screen savers and web sites, and others project this important work outwardly through use of newsletters and other communication vehicles.

In balance, selected Democracy Schools universally display their mission statements and student work in hallways, student work is displayed in classrooms at each school, as are mission statements at most of them. We are thus able to confirm this first part of the school climate plank of Hypothesis Four with a qualified "yes."

10.3. Teachers and Administration Who Serve as Role Models of Civically Engaged Citizens

Frank (2013), writing in the context of higher education, explores the extent to which political science faculty serve as models of political engagement for their students. He finds them more politically engaged than the general population, and that they model this for their students at a higher rate than they believe in its importance (pp. 92-93).

The same is true of teachers and administrators in K-12 schools. The National School Climate Council (2007) suggests that school personnel serve as school climate leaders (p. 9).

Moreover, Marzano (2007) makes a simple claim that "If the relationship between the teacher and the students is good, then everything else that occurs in the classroom seems to be enhanced" (Kindle location 2414).

Flanagan (2013) demonstrates the critical role that teachers play in building "inclusive school contexts." She contends,

> As the adult authorities within classrooms, teachers are instrumental in insuring civil climates for learning. When they create such climates, teachers convey messages about social inclusion, about who belongs and whose opinions count, and they model how members of a society should treat one another. Furthermore, when teachers insist upon such climates for learning, their actions are instrumental in shaping the democratic dispositions and civic commitments of their students (p. 83).

Coleman and Hoffer (1987) contrast public and private schools, and find much to emulate in the latter, Catholic schools in particular, for schools in search of their civic mission. They suggest that principals focus on student relationships, as "The strengths of these relations and the pressures they can exert on a young person are exceedingly great, which implies that they constitute an extraordinarily powerful form of social capital."

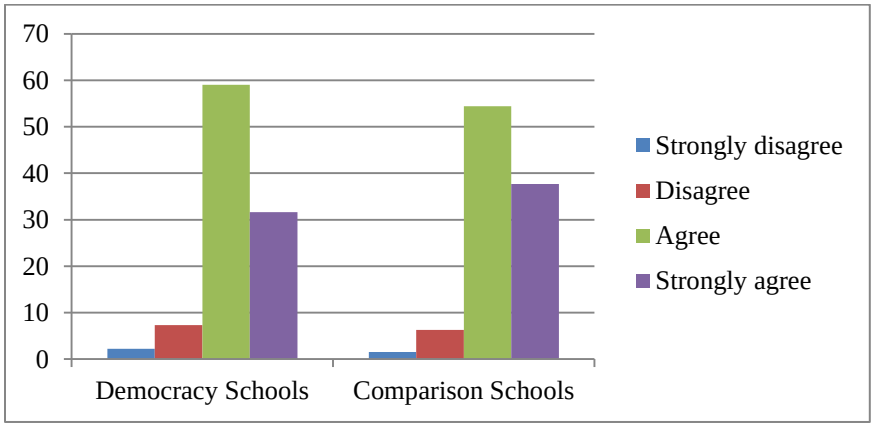
Similarly, emphasis should center on student-teacher relationships, with a goal for intensive contact between individual teachers and small groups of students. Finally, in a nod to the previous chapter, schools must strengthen relationships with parents (pp. 236-239).

As in the previous four chapters, the Illinois Five Essentials survey provides valuable data on various measures of school climate, and specifically the degree to which principals and teachers interact positively with students and are candid about their own civic engagement. This time we analyze data from student surveys administered at selected Illinois Democracy Schools and their paired comparison schools.

The first of four questions asks students if they "…feel safe and comfortable with…teachers at this school." A majority of students at both Democracy Schools and their paired comparisons express agreement with this statement (59.0% and 54.4%, respectively; see Figure 10.1). While the former pace the field on this count, students at comparison schools are more likely to agree strongly (37.7% versus 31.6% for Democracy Schools). Moreover, they are slightly less likely to disagree (6.3% versus 7.3%) or disagree strongly (2.2% versus 1.5%).

A small, yet significant percentage of Whitman students "strongly" disagree with this statement about feelings of safety and comfort with their teachers (3.2%), a percentage more than two standard deviations above the mean (1.8%). Urban Prep students, by contrast, are most likely to "agree" (66.7%) among the twelve schools, yet least likely to "strongly agree" (22.9%).

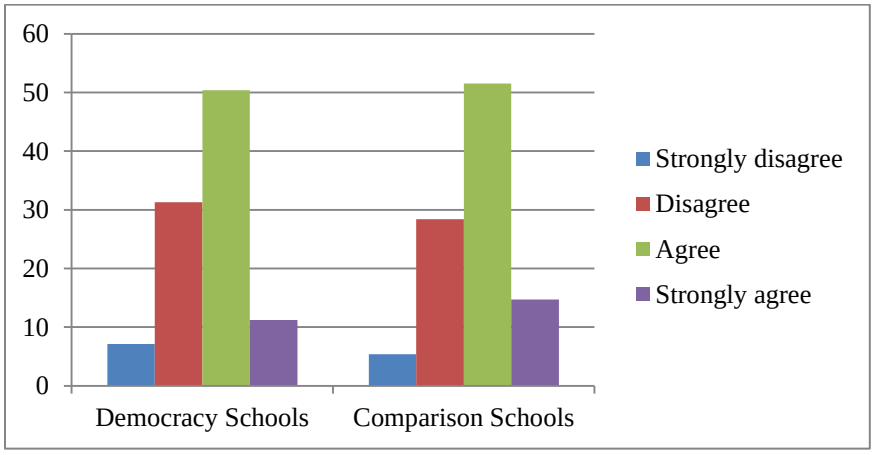
Figure 10.2: The Extent to Which Students Feel Safe and Comfortable with Teachers at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools and Comparison Schools



A second question to gauge whether interactions between teachers and students are positive asks students to weigh in on whether their "…teacher always keeps his (or) her promises." While more students disagree with this statement than the previous one (31.3% at Democracy Schools and 28.4% at comparison schools; see Figure 10.2), a narrow majority from both the Democracy Schools and comparison schools cohorts express agreement (50.4% and 51.5%). The latter group outperforms selected Democracy Schools on this measure across-the-board.

Among schools in the sample, Urban Prep students "strongly" disagree with this statement about teacher promises more than any of their peers at the other eleven schools sampled (9.9%), with Eisenhower students coming in at the other end of the spectrum (3.5%). Similarly, Coal City students are most likely to "disagree" (34.8%) and least likely to "strongly agree" (7.7%).

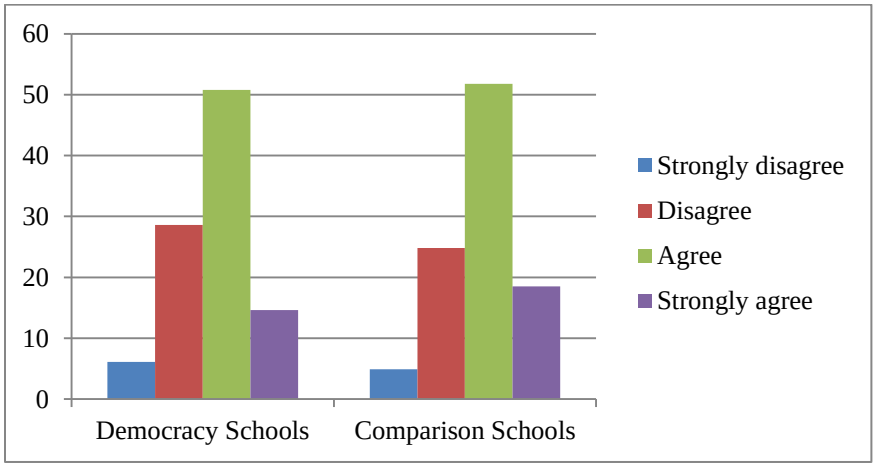
Figure 10.3: The Extent to Which Teachers Keep Promises Made to Students at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools and Comparison Schools



A third question measures the degree to which teachers elevate student voice in their classrooms. It reads, “My teachers will always listen to students’ ideas.” The verdict is the same as the previous measure as student responses at comparison schools are slightly more positive across-the-board (see Figure 10.3). Once again, a slim majority of students at both Democracy Schools and their paired comparisons express agreement (50.8% and 51.8%, respectively).

Among both cohorts of schools, Coal City fares particularly poorly on this measure of student voice. It leads the pack among students that disagree (38.5%) and disagree “strongly” (10%), the former percentage more than two standard deviations above the mean (26.7%). On the other hand, Urban Prep students paces the field in expressing agreement with this statement (58.2%).

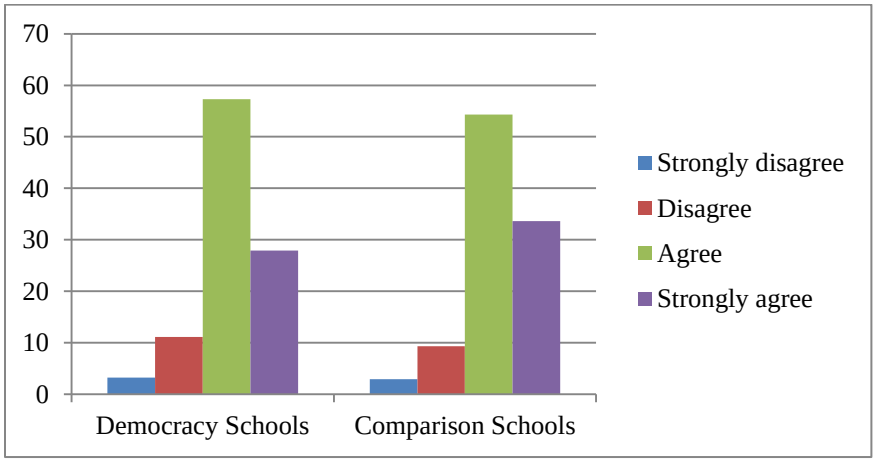
Figure 10.4: The Extent to Which Teachers Listen to Students' Ideas at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools and Comparison Schools



The fourth and final question employed in this section inquires whether "…teachers treat (students) with respect." On this measure, a larger majority of students from both selected Democracy Schools and comparison schools express agreement, with the former in the lead (57.3% versus 54.3%; see Figure 10.4). However, students at comparison schools are more likely to agree strongly (33.6% versus 27.9% at Democracy Schools) and less likely to disagree (9.3% versus 11.1%) or disagree strongly (2.9% versus 3.2%).

Whitman students are most likely of those sampled to disagree "strongly" with a sense of respectful treatment from teachers (5.2%). This is balanced by Eisenhower's standing at the other end of the spectrum (2%), albeit a narrow one. Coal City students rank highest in mere disagreement (13.7%), and lowest in strong agreement (22%). However, nearly two-thirds of Urban Prep students express agreement (62.4%).

Figure 10.5: The Extent to Which Teachers Treat Students with Respect at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools and Comparison Schools



The school climate data from the student component of the Five Essentials survey at best inclusive, I search next for additional texture in interviews conducted with administrators and faculty at selected Illinois Democracy Schools. Both groups were asked to "Describe the daily interactions between staff and students at your school." Of the twenty-one interviewees asked this question, responses are universally positive.

Urban Prep's Principal characterizes student-staff relationships as "excellent." Recently, students were asked to describe the school in four words. They chose "small, safe, joyous, [and] easy." The principal elaborates on joyous. "They said they love the school, [their] teachers…, the adults in the building, [and] their friends." She also feels that they "…have nailed the [teaching of] respect, the how you treat people in the hallways, how you treat each other." She pledges to spend the next decade taking on the easy adjective in search of an answer to the question, "How do we make [students] want B's, not D's?"

The Social Studies Chair at Hancock agrees that student-staff relations are respectful, where students see their teachers as authority figures. He also references a "…willingness to listen to students and have their voice heard." His departmental colleague added, "I think that our students are valued…and that we are very fond of them."

One Coal City Social Studies teacher also describes staff-student relations as respectful. She reports "good rapport," and "…a good mix of respect and…here's the line, if you cross it, there are going to be consequences." Her Social Studies colleague goes further, illustrating "…overall interaction of the schools [as] phenomenal."

Sheepside's Assistant Principal for Instruction attributes the positive relationships between his faculty and students to "…hiring well-educated staff members [who are] the hallmark of good democracy…" Both the Social Studies Chair and one teacher describe relations as "warm," and the latter adds, "…comfortable, without being inappropriate." A third Social Studies teacher speaks of crowded hallways, but in a "positive," "very jovial" sense.

Eisenhower's Principal uses "thoughtful" to describe staff-student relations. He continues, "One of the things we pride ourselves in is the way that we challenge kids to think and think differently." For example, students are invited to join Social Studies teachers for lunch debates about the prevailing issues of the day.

The Social Studies Chair seconds these sentiments, calling the school "…an amazingly good place to both educate and learn." He cites exit surveys completed by graduating seniors

who report that their "…teachers cared about them as people, not just as learners." Like Sheepside's Assistant Principal, he places a premium on hiring people first and foremost that connect personally with students.

Pony Peak's Assistant Principal for Instruction credits her principal for serving as a great role model for students and staff alike. "He lives the mission, his frequent refrain is …be kind to others, and the kids really embrace that." She continues,

> Most visitors that I've talked to who have come through our school have always commented on how respectful the kids are how such a positive feel that building has, not only in the classrooms, but the hallways. Any time we have families visiting almost 100% they decide to enroll because they leave with such a positive feeling.

One member of the Social Studies Department calls Pony Peak's atmosphere the "…best you could ever want in a high school." He attributes this to the hiring decisions of the principal, who chose teachers who are "good with kids." He elaborates, "Yes, we know our content and we bring a lot of other aspects…to the classroom, but we are good with kids, and we have relationships and build relationships with kids." He concludes, "…that is, at heart, at the foundation of what any high school should be about."

Whitman's Principal contends her building operates more like a college and considers this a compliment because "…there are certainly authority figures in the building, as a high school should [have], but there's also collaboration and democracy."

One Whitman Social Studies teacher calls the school "a fascinating place to work," and contends he "wouldn't want to work" anywhere else. He suggests students and teachers are

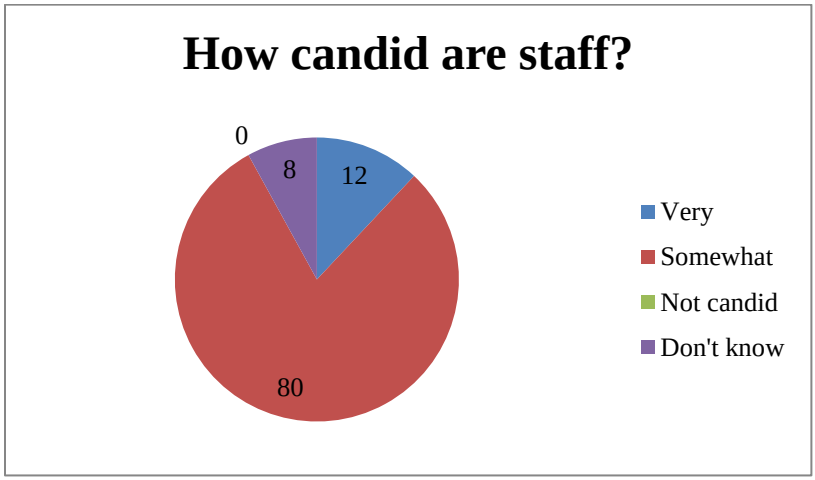
"constantly feeling one another out." These interactions are sometimes "…challenging, but in a good and healthy way."

Two other Social Studies colleagues echo these conclusions and suggest that the mutual respect that exists between students and staff is a product of character education lessons taught in advisory periods. One point of emphasis, for example, is "how to communicate with adults."

These universally positive descriptions of student-staff relations at selected Illinois Democracy Schools considered, we turn next to the degree to which staff members are candid with students about their own civic engagement. Specifically, all interviewees were asked, "How candid are school staff members with students about their own civic engagement?"

Of the twenty-three administrators and teachers who responded to this question, the vast majority (80%) report that staff members are somewhat candid about their own civic engagement (see Figure 10.6). Only three respondents (12%) suggest there are high levels of staff candidness, and this may be a product of their own personal dispositions than that of the faculties on which they serve.

Figure 10.6: How Candid Are Staff Members at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools with Students about Their Own Civic Engagement?



Responses are also aggregated by school, and it is no surprise that there is little variation across the six studied (see Table 10.2). Two schools have a mix of responses that range from high-to-moderate levels of staff candidness (Urban Prep and Eisenhower), whereas the remaining six uniformly report moderate levels of candidness.

Table 10.2: How Candid Staff members Are with Students about Their Own Civic Engagement by Selected Illinois Democracy Schools

School	***Urban Prep (U)***	***Coal City (D)***	***Sheepside (S1)***	***Eisenhower (S2)***	***Pony Peak (S3)***	***Whitman (S4)***
How candid?	Very-somewhat	Somewhat	Somewhat	Somewhat-very	Somewhat	Somewhat

Urban Prep's Principal claims her staff is "very candid" about their own civic engagement. According to her, the Social Studies Department "leads the way, but [they] have

some rabble rousers in [the] Science and ….English Language Arts department[s] as well." She adds, "They're pretty vocal."

The Social Studies Chair matches his principal's description. He displays ballot receipts in the classroom, discusses voting with his students, and even campaigned with them during the 2012 presidential election. When asked if he campaigned for the candidate he personally supported, he replies, "Yeah, I did, because most of the students chose the same candidate anyway…" Although he holds doubts about whether it is prudent to disclose his political beliefs with students, he finds it "…cool because they really want to know what [his] views are and [he does] share [them]."

A colleague in Urban Prep's Social Studies Department is more reserved about sharing her political beliefs with students. She speaks with them "…in terms of (her) passion for being involved…," but does "…not at all, ever share her personal feelings about issues." Instead, she believes students should have these conversations among themselves. Her fear is that teachers' disclosure of political beliefs "…does influence [students'] willingness to share their opinions if they think they're contrary…" to those of their instructors.

Similarly, Coal City's Social Studies Chair emphasizes his own engagement in the election process, but doesn't "…tip [his] hand where [he's] coming from." Instead, he sees himself as a "devil's advocate guy."

The same is true of one member of his department, who "…give[s] little hints to [her] own views, but never fully discuss[es] them." She does "…give them opinions," but shares "both sides" and "…then let['s] them decide."

Another colleague discusses past campaigns he volunteered for, and shares his opinions on only one issue, gun control. His belief is "…if you arm one moron, you arm them all," which is contrary to prevailing sentiments in Southern Illinois, and even among his colleagues who hunt. On the final day of class, however, he shares who he voted for and why because "they're seniors, they're walking."

Sheepside's Social Studies Chair suggests staff candidness is dependent upon their personal passions. Those who are civically engaged "…are quite honest and candid about what they do…, how they promote, or how they get involved…" with the goal of building the same dispositions among students. He uses voting as an example, as staff members sport voting stickers and make "…sure that kids are involved in the process of, at [a] minimum, learning about the candidates who are up for the vote."

His colleague suggests department members are somewhat candid, but perhaps not as much as they "should be." He points to a divide within the department, as

> There are those who think that you really shouldn't share with students…your political affiliations [or] political opinions, [instead] let[ting] the students their own. There are others…who aren't as abashed about sharing their political views with kids, but how they do it, inviting kids to respond. So it's not entirely, "I voted for so and so," or "I believe this and that, and you're not welcome to disagree." Kids are welcome to disagree and there is conversation.

Another Social Studies teacher is an adherent of the former philosophy, one she describes as “PC” (politically correct). She elaborates, “Anything that I would mention would be more neutral ground, I guess you would say.” She feels especially responsible for objectivity since she teaches Government and Law. However, despite her best efforts, she believes that her students know where she stands politically.

Eisenhower’s Principal considers the candidness exhibited by his faculty as “appropriate,” drawing a line between civic engagement and political activity. He continues,

> We’re always cautious of not sending political messages as a school because as a public school with lots of different views in our community, we want to make sure we’re not singling anyone out or making anyone feel marginalized, so we do our best to talk about how we work, but not what direction we work in…, right or left.

His Social Studies Chair senses that the department subscribes to this policy. Teachers model for students how to research issues and articulate one’s beliefs, a “…powerful lesson that kids can learn.”

However, one Social Studies teacher is “really candid” with his students from the outset. He admits, “I tell them Day One how I swing ideologically, and I tell them part of the story of how I became politically aware at the age of nine.” His parents were making a cross-country move on the day of the 1980 presidential election, and before leaving for the airport with the entire family, they stopped to vote, his father for Ronald Reagan. Upon landing, he remembers watching Reagan’s victory speech, and shares this story with students to reveal the forces that shaped his political ideology, but also his high level of efficacy.

In turn, this teacher asks his students to complete an assignment on their own political identity where they interview a family member and explore their own roots, be they political party, ideology, geography or religion. He shares his own story with parents, too, during open house night in order to set the stage for the assignment, of which he's never received a complaint. In the end, he also emphasizes the fluid nature of political beliefs, again returning to his parents and their evolving political views given the rise of marriage equality as a major issue.

Pony Peak's Assistant Principal for Instruction sees great variance in teachers' comfort with sharing their political beliefs. She finds that candid staff members connect with students "…because they see them as a person, a real person." Other teachers "…are probably more reluctant," she reports, "…because that's just not their style."

One Social Studies teacher falls definitely into the latter group. He shares, "I have always taken the attitude that the students should not get any sense of my political affiliation at all. If they do," he continues, "then I've done something wrong." However, he is willing to report on volunteer work he engages in, so long as it's non-partisan.

His colleague, on the other hand, campaigned actively for then-Senator Obama in 2008 and attended his presidential inauguration ceremony. She displays a picture of this in her classroom, "…but…only tell[s] the kids at the end of the year that [she's] a Democrat and that [she] worked for Barack Obama's campaign…" She tries to "…present both sides always," and may mention civic engagement activities more generally, "…but never specific candidates because [she] want[s] the kids to be open to express their viewpoints."

A third Pony Peak Social Studies teacher suggests that she feels safe speaking with students about voting in general, and even discusses voting on the basis of local education issues. When it comes to displaying artifacts of her engagement, however, she holds back given the Republican dominance of the surrounding county and "…teachers generally having the connotation of being raging liberals."

Like Pony Peak's Assistant Principal, Whitman's Principal contends that teacher candidness is a product of "…how comfortable the individual feels [as] there's certainly no stance to say that you must or you must not." She continues, "That is up to the discretion of the teacher in terms of what…he or she deems as most appropriate in terms of the instructional matter. The Principal concludes, "We are certainly not here to create future Democrats or Republicans, but [instead], future voters."

Whitman's Social Studies Chair estimates that most members of his department "never tip that hand." He does sense that students "get an idea of their [teachers'] ideology through…" conversations about controversial issues like marijuana legalization or same-sex marriage.

One Whitman teacher serves on his local school board. He waits until the end of the semester to share this information with students, and feels "fortunate…that it's a non-partisan office."

Another member of the Social Studies Department has "…been extremely involved in [his] life, and [he] push[es] students to become involved and be aware of their civic

responsibility, but [he] definitely [doesn't] make them aware of how personally involved [he has] been…"

A third Whitman Social Studies teacher "make[s] it a game…" as she "…[goes] through the political spectrum," discusses voting, or other prevailing trends. When asked by students how she votes, she replies, "You guys figure it out." Eventually, "…you'll be able to figure out what party I identify with." She finds this exercise acceptable so long as it's conducted in a "teachable moment type of way."

Collectively, the candidness of faculty at selected Illinois Democracy Schools about their own civic engagement is couched in the personal philosophies of individual teachers. Most are uncomfortable with fully disclosing their own political beliefs, but it appears that a handful do disclose quite responsibly. Others, like the final Whitman teacher profiled, selectively reveal their beliefs to students. A few believe in strict neutrality when it comes to one's political beliefs.

More broadly, there exists widespread comfort with sharing generic stories of civic engagement, be it voting or volunteering. Paired with universally positive assessments of student-staff relations, teachers clearly serve as civic role models whether or not they delve into their personal political preferences. The Five Essentials survey data from the perspectives of students at selected Democracy Schools generally supports the perspectives of their elders. They feel safe, treated with respect, listened to, and report that teachers tend to keep their promises. There is admittedly little variation between selected Democracy Schools on these measures and their paired comparisons on this battery of climate-related questions. The significant negative

responses to the two latter questions bears additional attention at schools in both cohorts, but they still constitute a minority of student responses.

10.4. Students Who Have the Skills, Opportunities, and Confidence to Make a Difference in Their Schools and Communities

The benefits of embracing student voice and participation in a school's functioning were articulated in Chapter Two, Section Five. Ancillary attributes surface in the context of school climate. Cohen et al. (2006) claim, "It is well-known that honoring students' voices and promoting student participation reduce risky behavior and support student learning" (p. 27).

More broadly,

> Measuring and working to improve school climate is the single most powerful K-12 educational strategy that supports schools' intentionally creating democratically informed communities which foster the skills, knowledge, and dispositions that support students' healthy development and capacity to learn and become engaged and effective citizens (Cohen et al., 2010, p. 74).

This is achieved, through two "core processes," according to Cohen (2006b). One, students' social-emotional competencies and ethical dispositions must be promoted throughout their educational careers. Second, students must attend "…safe, caring, participatory and responsive schools…" (p. 202).

As was clear in a review of the civic education literature in Chapter Two and my analysis of NAEP Civics assessment data in Chapters Four and Five, civic knowledge has traditionally trumped a focus on related skills and dispositions. Cohen (2006b) writes, "…This knowledge does not support the skills and dispositions that individuals need to be engaged members of the

community, the nation, and the world" (p. 203). Thus, the school climate work detailed at the outset of this chapter is dependent upon teaching students to be both socially and emotionally competent and ethically inclined (pp. 205, 211).

Cohen contends that "Many teachers are increasingly aware that it is possible to use existing language arts, social studies, history, or arts courses as a springboard from which to promote social and emotional literacy" (p. 216). However, the relationship between social-emotional learning and students' cognitive development is rarely discussed, particularly in a high school setting (p. 219).

Levinson (2012) argues that "…schools are members of a larger set of institutions that have historically inducted young people into American civic and political life." She writes, they "…function within a broader civic ecology insofar as they must mediate students' and teachers' incoming civic beliefs, habits, and values." Moreover, schools are civic actors in their own right (pp. 251-253).

Campbell (2007) concludes that the civic climate of school impacts students' duty-based notion of voting (p. 162). He writes, "…Civic climate in adolescence fosters the development of civic norms, which subsequently translates into civically motivated behavior rather than sparking the desire to engage in politically motivated activity" (p. 163).

In the context of voting, Campbell finds that civic climate trumps "…an individual's own reported sense of civic obligation…" (p. 166). There is, however, what Campbell calls a "sleeper

effect," where a student's civic climate experience in adolescent years does not predict voting an early stage, but is does fifteen years later (p. 172).

In a survey of more than 4,000 youth, ages eighteen to 24, on the day after the 2012 election, CIRCLE (Center for Information Research on Civic Learning and Engagement, 2013b), measured the impact of school climate among many other variables. They asked "… respondents to recall their high school years and to say whether students had a say in how the school was run, whether students could respectfully disagree with teachers, whether students were encouraged to express their own opinions, and whether students felt part of a community where people cared about each other."

Respondents who scored highly on these measures were slightly more likely to both register to vote and to show up at the polls on Election Day. Positive school climate experiences also predicted knowledge about politics and the 2012 campaign (p. 7).

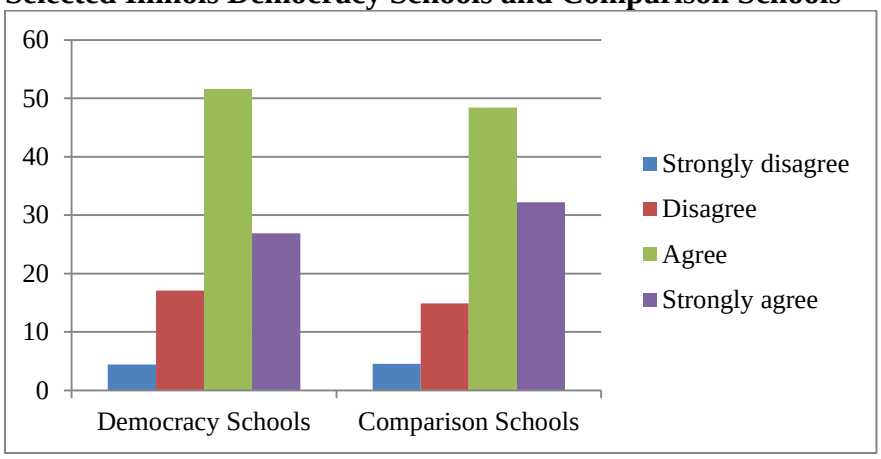
Finally, Gimpel et al. (2003) drilled down further into the impact of school climate on students' civic development. They measured students' sense of school fairness in respect to the assigning of grades (p. 146). The authors find that students' negative assessment of school fairness results in greater skepticism towards the courts and police, less enthusiasm for supporting the nation, and more hostility towards immigration-induced diversity (pp. 154-5).

In measuring the degree to which students express a sense of responsibility and efficacy at selected Illinois Democracy Schools and their paired comparisons, three additional questions from the 2013 Illinois Five Essentials student survey provide preliminary insights.

The first asks students whether their "…classes give [them] useful preparation for what (they) plan to do in life." A majority of students at Democracy Schools and a plurality at comparison schools express agreement with this statement (51.6% and 48.4%, respectively; see Figure 10.7). However, a higher percentage of students at comparison schools agree strongly (32.2% versus 26.9% at Democracy Schools), and a smaller percentage disagree (14.9% versus 17.1%). These differences, as was true in the previous section, are quite small.

On a school-by-school basis, Coal City has the highest percentage of students who disagree with this statement about feeling prepared for what they want to do in life (21.9%). By comparison, Urban Prep boasts the highest percentage of students who express agreement (65.5%). In both cases, these percentages are more than two standard deviations from the mean (16% and 50%, respectively).

Figure 10.7: The Extent to Classes Prepare Students for What They Want to Do in Life at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools and Comparison Schools

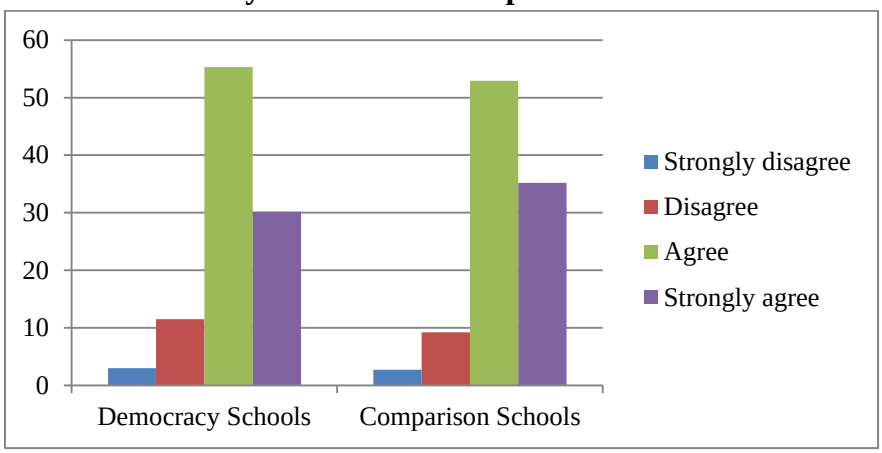


A second, similar question from the Five Essentials student survey asks if "High school teaches [them] valuable skills," and responses mirror those to the previous question (see Figure 10.8). A majority of students from both school cohorts agree with this statement. The higher percentage of students at Democracy Schools who agree (55.3% versus 52.9% at comparison schools) is neutralized by the greater number of students at comparison schools who strongly agree (35.2% versus 30.2% at Democracy Schools) and who are less likely to disagree (9.2% versus 11.5%).

Once more, student responses at Coal City and Urban Prep bear additional scrutiny. Coal City students are most likely among the twelve schools studied to "disagree" (17.7%, more than standard deviations above the mean, 10.3%) and disagree strongly (3.9%) when asked if they gained valuable skills. Its paired comparison is at the other end of the spectrum at both gradations. On the other side of the scale, nearly three-quarters of Urban Prep students feel they

were taught transferable skills (72.4%, greater than two standard deviations above the mean, 54.1%).

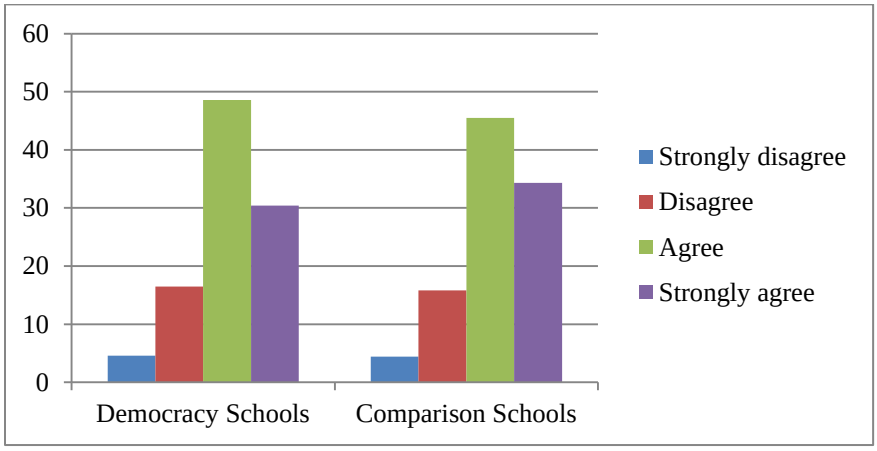
Figure 10.8: The Extent to Which High School Teaches Students Valuable Skills at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools and Comparison Schools



The third and final question extracted from the Illinois Five Essentials student survey for the purposes of this section asks them to weigh in on whether "What [they] learn in class is necessary for success in the future." The vast majority of students at both selected Democracy Schools and their paired comparisons either agree or agree strongly with this statement (see Figure 10.9). A higher percentage of students in the former group agree (48.6% versus 45.5%), but are bested by a larger share of students at comparison schools who strongly agree (34.3% versus 30.4% at Democracy Schools) and are a little less likely to disagree (15.8% versus 16.5%).

Sheepside students are least likely of the twelve schools in the sample to disagree "strongly" with their preparation for future success (2.8%). Urban Prep students are again most likely to agree (64.1%), more than two standard deviations above the mean (47%).

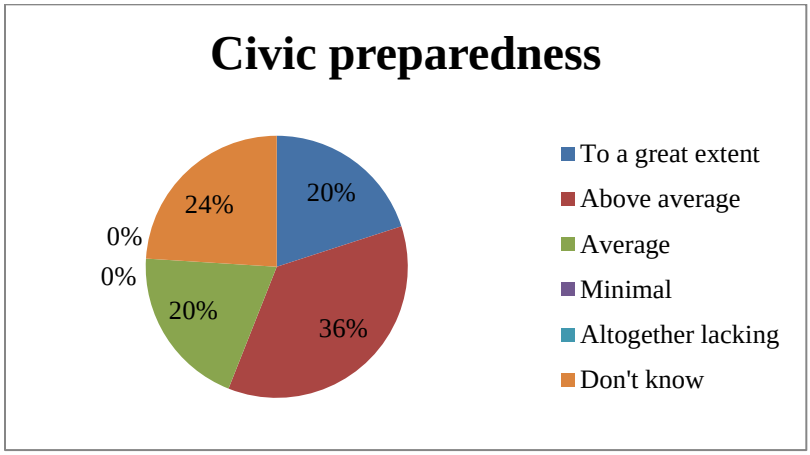
Figure 10.9: The Extent to Which Class Lessons Are Necessary for Students' Future Success at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools and Comparison Schools



Once more, the Illinois Five Essentials student survey data yields inclusive results in my exploration of the civic dimensions of school climate at Democracy Schools and how they compare with similarly situated schools. I thus search for additional clarity in interviews conducted with administrators and faculty at selected Democracy Schools. Nineteen of twenty-five interview subjects offer discernable responses to this question "By your assessment, to what extent do students at your school graduate with the knowledge, skills, opportunities, and confidence to make a difference in their schools and communities?"

One in five (20%) interviewees suggests that students graduate thoroughly prepared for civic life and a plurality (36%) rate their preparation as better than average (see Figure 10.10). Another 20% assess student preparedness as only "average." No respondents judge students under- or entirely ill-prepared for the rigors of democratic participation.

Figure 10.10: To What Extent Do Students at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools Graduate with the Knowledge, Skills, Opportunities, and Confidence to Make a Difference in their Schools and Communities?



When responses are aggregated by school, Eisenhower and Whitman rate highest with a range from top-of-the-line to "above average" civic preparation (see Table 10.3). Urban Prep and Pony Peak respondents settle universally on "above average" preparedness, while Coal City ranges from "above average" to "average." Sheepside's subjects suggest "average" preparation, which represents the floor among the six schools studied.

Table 10.3: The Extent to Which Students Graduate with the Knowledge, Skills, Opportunities, and Confidence to Make a Difference in Their Schools and Communities by Selected Illinois Democracy Schools

School	***Urban Prep (U)***	***Coal City (D)***	***Sheepside (S1)***	***Eisenhower (S2)***	***Pony Peak (S3)***	***Whitman (S4)***
Civic preparedness	Above average	Above average-average	Average	Great extent-above average	Above average	Great extent-above average

Eisenhower's Principal references the large number of students at the school who complete service hours; so many that they created the "300 Club." Students can earn an additional quarter credit for completing three hundred-plus service hours prior to graduation. Almost every Eisenhower student (98%) goes on to a four-year college, too, so the principal contends that they're "…building the skills, critical thinking, reading, (and) problem-solving, that [they] hope someone who's in civics would have."

The Social Studies Chair says students graduate "very well-prepared" for civic life. He credits a combination of "course preparation" and high participation in co- and extracurricular activities, many of the latter with a civic bent.

Another teacher in his department agrees and labels Eisenhower's student activities as a "linkage institution." She expands, "It links all of these students to our school, which is difficult to do in such a big school, and it raises their efficacy… And it creates that level of wanting to feel connected," she continues, "you know, that social capital that Putnam talks about."

This veteran Social Studies teacher would like to see more civic preparation embedded in the formal curriculum, and sees this as her central charge in the years ahead. Her colleague wishes his students had a stronger news diet given the infinite access to information technology has granted to the current generation. He observes, "My sense is…, compared with students eight years ago, students now don't seem to consume the news as much…"

This qualification aside, he takes great pride in Eisenhower's myriad offerings to foster students' civic development. He elaborates,

> In terms of knowing, giving them access to the institutions, registering them to vote, educating them about elections; making…political debates available to them, that are easy for them to access; bringing candidates in and making…campaigns easy to access; teaching them to participate outside of voting and the importance of participating outside of voting; I think that we're probably one of the best schools in the country.

Whitman's Social Studies Chair attributes students' solid preparation for civic life to the district's community service graduation requirement. He claims "…kids get to see a different side of this community, that there are people who are struggling…, the satisfaction that they get out of helping other people, that there doesn't always have to be strings attached to…helping others."

His departmental colleague is a bit more measured in his assessment of students' preparedness, calling it a tale of "two schools." One half of the student body is "…very knowledgeable and they have this efficacy. The other half…" emerges only "somewhat" prepared. He concludes, "They may not have been a full participant, but I think one way or another, every student, beyond the community service…requirement, 100% engage in some civic education…"

Another Social Studies teacher at Whitman suggests that graduating seniors are still developing empathy as they leave, but still "…feel[s] like these kids are very aware, and there's a large percentage of students that have an opportunity and willingness to engage."

A third teacher reflects on frequent visits from students who graduated in the recent past. They report their sense of preparedness for college to her, and "…a few of them even started different co-curriculars at some of the smaller schools…" She adds, "A lot of them do internships [that] they are able to receive because of the knowledge and skills they received from high school."

Urban Prep's Principal thinks graduates "…are well-prepared to engage in their communities." However, she feels "…they are poorly prepared to truly engage in academic work at the post-secondary level, and [their] job is to do both." As alluded to in the previous section, this Principal is committed to elevating the school's academic rigor in tandem with students' expectations of themselves. Early data suggests great progress on this front during her brief two-year tenure as school leader.

Her Social Studies Chair feels that most Urban Prep graduates are "inclined" towards civic engagement. However, he does "…feel a sense of apathy, but also…irritation with the system and powerlessness…" He expands, "Some feel their…ability to make change is limited, and so that tempers their enthusiasm for being civically engaged."

When asked if the high percentage of students at Urban Prep who are first and second generation immigrants factors into this, he nods, and points to examples of students not being able to vote or serve as election judges on account of their citizenship status. His solution is to emphasize "…other ways…to influence government…regardless of [their] status," and he "…think(s) they get that."

Pony Peak's Assistant Principal reports high levels of student exposure to civic learning and engagement opportunities during their four-year careers, and high interest among some, which influences college major selection or ongoing community engagement. She concludes, "…I do feel like our kids leave with high confidence [and] an understanding of how to engage."

One Coal City Social Studies teacher argues the school "…definitely prepare[s] students who have some understanding of what it's like outside of [their] walls." She'd like to an even larger dose of reality delivered, but complains "…there's only so much you can do in 55 minutes, and for the 100 something days that you have them in front of you, there's only so much you can tell them, prepare them."

Sheepside's Assistant Principal is proud of the civic preparedness of a portion of the student body. He reports, "We have a small group that really does a lot of service and…work within the community, and that's a lot of the same kids."

The Social Studies Department Chair came to Sheepside this year after teaching in an adjacent community. He feels as if his former school does a better job of preparing students for

civic life, assessing his new school as only "decent" in this domain. He feels Sheepside "…could do a much better job with almost mandating kids to do some type of civic or service-learning prior to graduation."

His predecessor, a veteran Social Studies teacher, judges Sheepside graduates as "…not nearly as well-prepared as they should be." He laments, "…the gap, and this frustrates all of us…, any affective teaching, [is] trying to get them to care about politics…" He considers this "…much harder than getting them to recognize the three branches [of government] and what each branch does."

In this section more than any of the others in previous chapters focused on the civic practices of the six selected Illinois Democracy Schools, the two that perform best when it comes to the civic preparedness of graduating students are demographically distinct. Eisenhower and Whitman represent the most homogeneous of the six schools, providing further evidence of the civic empowerment gap described by Levinson (2012) and others referenced in Chapter Five, which is further emboldened by the inequitable civic learning opportunities that surfaced by race, ethnicity, socio-economic status, and English language proficiency in analysis of the past three iterations of the NAEP Civics assessment. Thankfully, the more heterogeneous schools in this sample still offer an array of high-quality civic learning opportunities and boast other strong supports for students' civic development. However, their secondary standing in this section warrants additional attention, and perhaps remedial measures.

Sheepside's student leadership program stands as a potential model. It targets students from each grade, especially "…students that…have a lower self-esteem or have…faced adversity…," according to one social studies teacher. Pull-out time is allocated during the school year, and students also attend a weekend retreat to "develop skills [such as] being confident, being an opportunist, having a say, making a difference." She reports that "…great things come out of it." For example, one student created a Habitat for Humanity club at the school, and participants are much more likely to join other civic-oriented extracurricular clubs like Model United Nations and Mock Trial.

In sum, interview results from the six selected Democracy Schools yield assessments of students' civic preparedness that range from excellent to average. Coupled with inclusive findings from the Five Essentials survey that at least tangentially measures this variable, I conclude that *some* Democracy Schools graduate students who have the skills, opportunities, and confidence to make a difference in their schools and communities. Others' average performance provides room for growth, and particular attention must be paid to the prevailing civic empowerment gap and inequitable school-based civic learning opportunities that at least partially contribute to it.

10.5. Policies, Practices, and Infrastructure to Support a Set of Civic Norms and Values

In their somewhat dated study of Catholic schools, Bryk et al. (1993) find that "…the internal organization of schools as communities fosters, literally creates, the engagement of school members in its mission" (p. 293). They continue, "…Catholic schools benefit from a

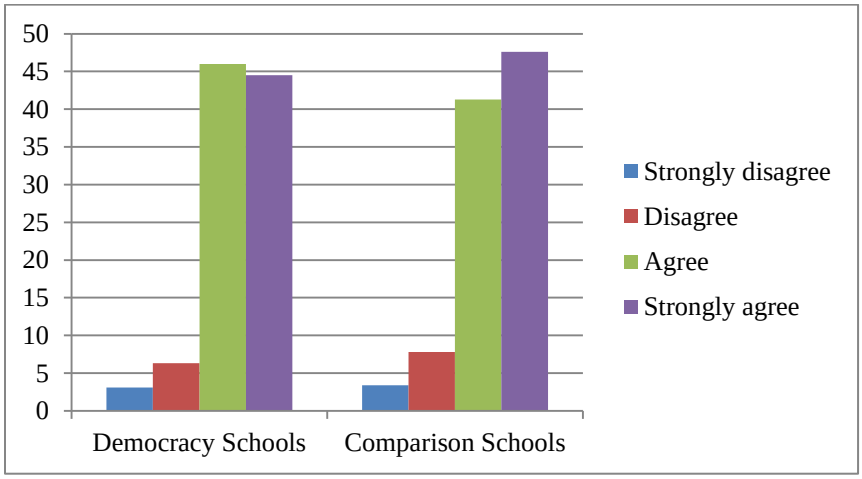
network of social relations, characterized by trust, that constitute a form of 'social capital'" (p. 314). In the words of Putnam (2000), such schools serve as "bridging institutions."

Public schools may also leverage social capital and serve as a bridge between school and community (Chapter Nine provides plenty of evidence to this end). However, they operate without the faith-based assumptions of parochial schools, and thus arguably must work harder to establish civic norms and values among students and staff alike.

A single question on the Illinois Five Essentials survey explores the degree to which schools provide continuous education in the mission to new staff. It asks teachers to assess whether "A conscious effort is made by faculty to make new teachers feel welcome..." Over ninety-percent of teachers (90.5%; see Figure 10.11) at selected Democracy Schools either agree (46.0%) or agree strongly (44.5%) with this statement, barely surpassing teachers at comparison schools (88.9% combined), and trailing among those who agree strongly (a 3.5% difference).

On a school-by-school basis, Urban Prep teachers are the most likely of their peers from both cohorts to "strongly disagree" (7.3%, more than two standard deviations above the mean of 3.3%) with a sense of new teachers feeling welcome, and the least likely to "strongly agree" (26.8%). Their paired comparison also fares poorly on this measure, pacing the pack at the "disagree threshold (16.1%). Coal City teachers say the exact opposite. They are mostly likely to "strongly agree" (58.6%) and least likely to "strongly disagree" (1.4%).

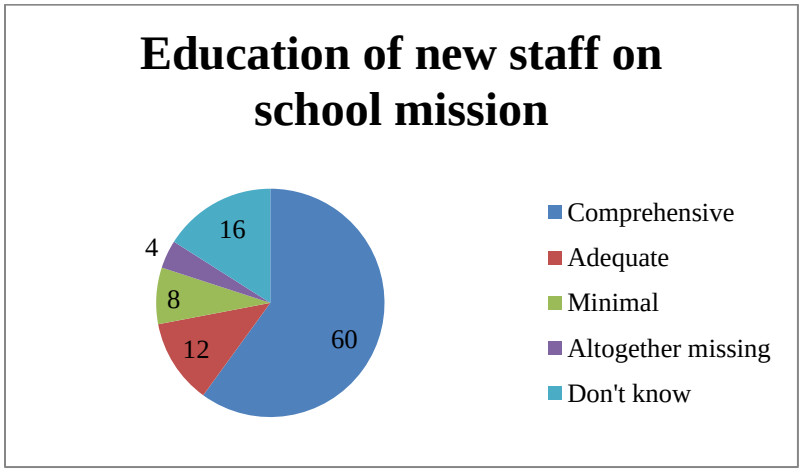
Figure 10.11: The Degree to Which Faculty Make New Teachers Feel Welcome at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools and Comparison Schools



It is clear that both selected Democracy Schools and their paired comparisons go to great lengths to insure that new faculty feels welcome. These favorable results fail to describe the specific actions that these schools take to educate new faculty in their respective missions. In search of this information, I asked administrators and faculty at selected Democracy Schools, "In what ways do you educate new staff members in the school's mission?"

A strong majority (60%) detail "comprehensive" new staff orientation and mentorship programs (see Figure 10.12). A few (12%) describe their schools' programs as "adequate," a couple (8%) only "minimal," and a single respondent (4%) reports the complete absence of such a program.

Figure 10.12: The Comprehensiveness by Which New Staff Members Are Educated in the School's Mission at Selected Illinois Democracy Schools



At least one respondent at five of the six selected Democracy Schools deem their staff orientation and mentoring programs "comprehensive." Three of the six school delegations (Eisenhower, Pony Peak, and Whitman) are uniform in this assessment (see Table 10.4). Urban Prep's delegation split narrowly between "comprehensive" and "adequate," and Sheepside's ranges widely from "comprehensive" to "minimal." Coal City lags behind these five schools. Its' education of new staff members in the school's mission is "adequate" to "altogether missing."

Table 10.4: The Comprehensiveness by Which New Staff Members Are Educated in the School's Mission by Selected Illinois Democracy Schools

School	***Urban Prep (U)***	***Coal City (D)***	***Sheepside (S1)***	***Eisenhower (S2)***	***Pony Peak (S3)***	***Whitman (S4)***
Comprehensiveness	Comprehensive-adequate	Adequate-missing	Comprehensive-minimal	Comprehensive	Comprehensive	Comprehensive

New teachers at Eisenhower meet for three days at the beginning of the school year, and then for two hours per month throughout the balance of the year. Professional development is matched with the school's mission statement. The Principal elaborates, "When we talk about working with the community, that's where we get into these ideas of civic engagement. How we partner with a group." He concludes, "We're customer service-oriented rather than institutional."

At the departmental level, the Social Studies Chair speaks with new staff about "culture" and focuses intensely on its mission to develop "citizens, artisans, [and] scholars." He also "…set[s] them up with mentors who are veteran teachers, usually [with] a similar prep [teaching assignment], but usually there's an eye towards the teacher you choose to be the mentor."

Mentoring at Eisenhower trickles down to Professional Learning Communities, which are arranged by course assignments. According to one Social Studies teacher, weekly "professional learning time" is set aside for departmental "…members, veterans and rookies, [to work together] on curriculum teams."

Pony Peak's Assistant Principal for Instruction presides over "new teacher camp" and the "ongoing training" of new faculty. She contends "…a huge part of that camp is learning about [their mission] statement, learning about what it means and what it looks like in the classroom." This continues through ongoing PBIS (Positive Behavior Interventions and Supports) lessons, updates via email and at staff meetings, and within individual academic departments.

Through the PBIS program, staff is encouraged to make "positive referrals" of students and to distribute fiat money nicknamed after the school's mascot for exemplary behavior that can later be exchanged for tangible goods. The administration regularly shares student discipline data, which is then used "…to drive behavior management stuff, school-wide," according to Pony Peak's Social Studies Chair.

Whitman's "formal induction process" is probably the most elaborate of the six schools studied. In addition to a mentoring program for first-year teachers, according to the Principal, all new staff takes part in a four-year induction program created with the intention of "…not just training them to be teachers, but it's training them to be a teacher at [Walt Whitman] High School…" The first and second year of the program are described by the principal as "pretty intense" and focus on the "little nuts and bolts and logistics." Third and fourth year teachers, by comparison, "[we're] preparing them to…go out and function as a collaborative, cooperative member of a bigger organization."

The Social Studies Chair alludes to monthly meetings where new teachers at Whitman "…cover all of the most important things because they're so swamped just trying to survive…" A younger member of his department adds, "You're overwhelmed, but I think it calms a lot of nerves. They know who to go see if they have questions."

On top of this, according to the Department Chair, freshmen faculty learn the school's mission statement, how to be a "role model," and to "follow…school policy."

A veteran member of his department details informal mentoring that takes place between veteran and novice Whitman teachers. He suggests "…it's this nature of empowerment among the staff, and encouragement to do something different, try something new that others aren't doing, or come help me out and follow along." He adds, "I think that's just the spirit of this place… I don't think I could teach elsewhere."

His younger colleague agrees and details "…holistic, grass roots support within the [Social Studies] Department." A third Social Studies teacher offers, "That's one thing with our department, we push each other to be better. I don't what to call it competition," she continues, "because it's not, but a drive [for] creativity [and] engagement."

Urban Prep's Principal points to the two full days of PBIS training that new faculty must complete prior to the start of the school year. She sees the PBIS program as a path away from the punitive, zero tolerance student policies of the past towards a system of restorative justice described in Chapter Seven.

For example, four female students were involved in the theft of an expensive jacket from a fellow student, with car keys in the pockets. The Principal contends, "…we could have destroyed those girls." Through "peace circles" that involved the offending students, the victim, and their parents, the money was "paid…back." Whereas felony charges would be the norm at most schools, these students emerged without a "mark on their record," served a suspension, "paid [their] debt to society," "apologized to parents," and one of them was even removed from National Honor Society."

To reinforce the school's embrace of PBIS, Urban Prep's principal makes certain that classroom rules are posted by each teacher and that they operate under the same sets of rules as their peers. She argues, "…you can't have different rules in your class than the teacher next to you. You just can't; that's chaos." Offending teachers are sent to one-day PBIS "boot camps" and follow-up observations focus on these facets of classroom management.

Beyond discipline, the Social Students Chair contends, "There's a lot of support within the departments" for new faculty members. He expands, "We have a good structure for course teams and departmental meetings and I think that makes a difference." Moreover, through the school's mentoring program, "…new teachers, even experienced teachers who are new to the school, they get a lot of support."

The chair also serves as the school's union delegate, which offer a "professional problems committee [where] even new teachers are willing to bring up issues that they feel need to be addressed." He concludes, "…I hear a lot of issues. I think that's a good conduit for making change, [as new teachers] can have influence."

One relatively new member of the Social Studies Department actually missed her induction experience on account of jury duty, which was followed by the 2012 teacher strike. She reports, "It was very awkward starting a new job when I knew nobody."

However, the school's mission is "…reiterated time and time again…" She continues, "…every school has a mission, and I think it's to what extent [do] people live and work by

[it]…" At Urban Prep, "…it's reiterated to you so much, it's clear that it's not just written on a piece of paper…" Instead, "It's something that's taken seriously…. I…get that loud and clear."

Sheepside has its own teacher orientation program, with follow up "…professional development pull out days during the course of the school day to help get [new faculty and staff] into the standardized way of doing things [t]here…," according to the Social Studies Chair. Like Pony Peak and Urban Prep, part of the orientation centers on the school's PBIS program. It is reinforced through regular staff meetings, and lessons they deliver for students every other week. All-school assemblies recognize students and staff alike for their exemplary behaviors. New faculty is encouraged to take leadership roles in all-school PBIS activities in an effort "…to help get them into the culture much faster."

Outside of PBIS, which the Social Studies Chair assesses training as "thorough," mission-centered staff induction isn't done "very well," says a veteran Sheepside Social Studies teacher. He adds, "…it's not done in a consistent [manner] or information about developing responsible citizens [is not well-delivered] even though that's in the mission statement."

His younger Social Studies colleague concurs, suggesting that new teacher orientation centers more on "general culture" than "…overt[ly on] the mission statement." She continues, "… we're not like New Trier where they go on a weekend getaway. I feel like some schools really get into that sort of thing and we do not do anything…like that."

New Coal City employees attend a standard "new teacher academy," which lasts for a few days and takes place two weeks prior to the start of the school year. Like many of the previous schools profiled, rookie teachers are then paired with a mentor, and according to the Social Studies Chair, department heads serve in this role "as well."

However, according to a young member of the Social Studies Department, the orientation process is entirely devoid of education in the school's mission statement. She admits, "I didn't know the school mission statement until we started this [Democracy Schools] application process." After having to "…dig and search to find the mission statement," she concludes, "…going through this process…allowed [her] to learn more about the school."

10.6. Summary

In sum, each of the selected Democracy Schools boasts orientation and mentoring programs that align with best practices. The Five Essentials teacher survey question on how welcome new teachers feel attest to this fact. However, a few of these schools prove less adept at educating incoming faculty on their mission statement, While Eisenhower, Pony Peak, and Whitman do this comprehensively, Urban Prep and Sheepside are only adequate in this endeavor, and Coal City skips the practice entirely. This indicator of the fifth prong of Hypothesis Four is thus only partially confirmed.

Revisiting the previous three indicators, the mission statements and student work are universally displayed at selected Democracy Schools, albeit in different manners and frequencies. Teachers and administrators serve as civic role models, regardless of whether or not

they disclose their personal political beliefs and allegiances. Students' civic preparedness ranges by school, with renewed concern for a civic empowerment gap at the more racially and economically diverse schools in the sample given their average rating on this measure.

Taken together, the fifth prong of Hypothesis Four is only partially confirmed. Thus, schools with sustainable, systemic approaches to civic learning *mostly* maintain a school climate that models and nurtures civic dispositions.

11. CONCLUSION

11.1. Summary

Peter Levine (2012) writes,

> Civic education has special value today. [It] is not just the name of a course, but refers to discussions of social issues in any school context, service-learning projects, extracurricular groups, and student government. At their best, these experiences embody the ideals of the public sphere that are being lost elsewhere, and they can teach students core skills and values to take into civil society when they graduate (p. 46).

Civic knowledge among the American citizenry is notably lacking and tied to poor aggregate civic participation measures. K-12 schools have long played an important role in the political socialization of our youngest citizens. This dissertation tests four hypotheses that collectively define the parameters of school-based civic learning and yields evidence in support of Levine's contentions.

Hypothesis One posits, "Students who experience traditional school-based civic learning opportunities will exhibit higher levels of civic knowledge and skills than students whose educational experience is devoid of civic learning opportunities altogether." It is partially confirmed, as students marginally benefit from exposure to civics or government, particularly in 11th or 12th grade. Specific content has the reverse effect in many cases, as does filling out worksheets in social studies and/ or civics or government courses. However, reading from textbooks in these classes and memorizing material read contributes to enhanced civic knowledge and skills as measured on successive iterations of the NAEP Civics Assessment.

Hypothesis Two poses these traditional civic learning practices against more interactive methodologies, including structured engagement with current and controversial issues, service-

learning, simulations, extracurricular opportunities, and student voice in school governance. Current events discussions carry the day, as does community volunteerism [a proxy for extracurricular activities]. Student exposure to debates or panel discussions is on par with civics or government exposure in 11th grade, reading from a textbook and memorizing material. Moreover, group projects [one indicator of service-learning] are even with 11th grade civics classes and inferior to textbook reading, and role-playing, mock trials, or dramas [simulations] are trumped by textbook reading, too.

Like the previous hypothesis, Hypothesis Two is only partially confirmed. Taken together, students seem to benefit from a mix of traditional and innovative civic learning practices. As was proven in Torney-Purta and Wilkenfeld's (2009) international study, they are not mutually exclusive, and may serve to reinforce one another, at least on this limited measure of students' civic knowledge and skills.

Hypothesis Three tests the extent to which demographics is destiny when it comes to civic learning. Specifically, it proposes that both traditional and innovative civic learning opportunities transcend race and ethnicity, poverty, and language proficiency when it comes to civic knowledge and skills.

In many cases, the starting point for non-poor white students proficient in English is far above that of their underprivileged, non-white, English Language Learner peers. However, as was true of the general student population, certain traditional and innovative civic learning practices are helpful in narrowing this civic achievement gap, some more than others. Ideal

dosages for each subgroup vary, and only frequent current events discussions completely close these chasms. Like the first two hypotheses, Hypothesis Three is only partially confirmed.

Moreover, these findings further cement the "civic opportunity gap" that grips our nation's schools. White, non-poor, English proficient students are more likely to experience a range of both traditional and innovative civic learning practices than their non-white, underprivileged, and English language learning peers. Given how powerful several of these practices prove in building students' civic knowledge and skills, unequal opportunities breed disparate achievement, and ultimately disempowerment throughout life when it comes to multiple forms of civic engagement.

Hypothesis Four contends that schools with systemic, sustained approaches to civic learning possess five common elements, each tested in successive chapters in this dissertation. In Chapter Six, the first element, a strategically-designed curriculum with promising civic learning practices woven throughout, is confirmed. Drawing upon data from School-wide Civic Assessments at selected Illinois Democracy Schools, along with quantitative data from the Illinois "Five Essentials" survey specific to these schools and their paired comparisons, the former employ a mix of promising civic learning practices in the social studies, and often, across the curriculum. Students experience these opportunities at strategic junctures throughout their four-year high school careers.

Structured interviews with administrators and faculty at these Democracy Schools reveal an impressive mix of home-grown civic learning practices supplemented by resources from

outside providers in the greater community. Finally, these interviews demonstrate that the arrival of Common Core standards and perennial standardized testing pressures need not further marginalize civic learning. Instead, it may be a lever by which the larger educational mission of the school is pursued.

The second element, a vision for the importance of civic learning and effective school leadership to see it through, is also confirmed. An analysis of school vision and/ or mission statements at selected Democracy Schools reveals the overt or implicit capture of civic goals.

Student handbooks at these same schools address students' behavioral and personal development goals from a civic angle too, again either explicitly or subtly. Some handbooks don't address civic learning goals from an academic perspective, but the previous chapter reveals that all six schools weave promising civic learning practices throughout the social studies during students' four-year experience, and frequently across the curriculum.

Civic learning is often required at selected Democracy Schools, and at a minimum encouraged. In pursuing it, teachers enjoy the respect of their principal and peers, and have autonomy to innovate when it comes to curriculum, instruction, and classroom materials.

Moreover, administrators at these schools exert strong leadership towards their civic missions, and find a way to balance standardized test pressures and national standards with high-quality civic learning opportunities. Rather than further marginalizing the social studies and

civics specifically, teachers and administrators alike see civic learning as a vehicle to meet standards and elevate test scores.

Finally, Democracy Schools, with the exception of one, enjoy strong or adequate support for civic learning from district leadership. The one urban school in the sample receives only minimal support, but through the relationships and entrepreneurial efforts of its faculty and administration, is able to secure resources to reinforce civic learning and the broader academic mission of the school.

The third common element that sustains and institutionalizes school-based civic learning centers on staff development. This includes hiring teachers with civic learning in mind, supporting them through a meaningful induction program, and providing ongoing opportunities for civic learning-focused professional development.

Data from the Illinois Five Essentials survey and interviews with teachers and administrators at selected Democracy Schools demonstrates that most of them recruit staff with civic learning goals in mind. A couple of principals suggest the opposite; however, both contend that civic learning commitments are a byproduct of the other credentials they seek in prospective faculty members. Moreover, teachers at Democracy Schools prove more likely that their colleagues at comparison schools to have influence on the hiring process of prospective peers.

Turning to mentoring, veteran teachers at Democracy Schools are more likely to invite younger colleagues into their classrooms to observe and provide feedback. Moreover, teachers'

ongoing professional development at Democracy Schools receives greater personal interest from their principals than those at comparison schools.

As the literature reviewed in Chapter Eight documents, teachers are powerful sources of learning for one another. Here, too, teachers at selected Democracy Schools outperform their peers at comparison schools on various measures of collegiality and peer learning, including conversations about student learning and curriculum development. While peer observations for the purpose of providing feedback are more common in Democracy Schools, observations to generate ideas for one's own classroom are rare in both cohorts and stand as an area for future growth. Overall, teachers at Democracy Schools inspire one another and collectively create innovative civic learning opportunities for their students.

Teachers at Democracy Schools meet more frequently with their peers to review student assessment data, work on instructional strategies, and develop related materials. Most point to weekly collaborative opportunities. The Professional Learning Community (PLC) model is the vehicle through which much of this collaboration takes place. Five of the six Democracy Schools studied employ this model. The one that doesn't, Coal City High School, trails on these final measures of staff development and is advised to consider adopting the PLC model. Thus, Part C of Hypothesis Four is only partially confirmed.

The fourth common element at schools with sustained, systemic approaches to civic learning is a reciprocal and mutually-beneficial relationship with the surrounding community. Selected Democracy Schools frequently invite community members to address students, and

community partners regularly call on students to serve on both civic and political projects. They also have adequate-to-strong protocols to ensure that all stakeholders' voices are considered in school governance.

While Democracy Schools differ little from their paired comparisons on a myriad of parental communication measures, they nonetheless exhibit great strength in this area with the exception of inviting parents into classrooms to observe their instructional program.

Lastly, while Democracy Schools don't universally benefit from a single, dedicated staff member who is responsible for building and nurturing community partnerships, all take this responsibility seriously and often spread the labor across administration and faculty members alike. Part D of Hypothesis Four is therefore confirmed.

School climate, the fifth and final prong of Hypothesis Four, is the subject of Chapter Ten. In the context of civic learning, school climate should model and nurture civic dispositions for and among students. Democracy Schools demonstrate great strength in this area, widely displaying school mission statements and student work reflective of their civic engagement. A pair is advised to pay closer attention to the central tenets of their civic-oriented mission statements. Furthermore, the massive size of some of the schools forces them to be creative in how they exhibit student work.

Staff at selected Democracy Schools are on average "somewhat candid" about their own civic engagement with students. Most prefer to model their engagement more generally, avoiding

disclosure of personal ideologies or partisan affiliations. A few teachers are “open books” in this area, but disclose their beliefs responsibly, and a handful privilege strict neutrality in this delicate area.

More generally, Democracy Schools are unanimous in their positive assessments of student-staff relationships, and data from the Illinois 5Essential student survey supports these claims. However, there is little variation in the latter data between Democracy Schools and their paired comparisons.

Students’ civic preparedness varies significantly across the six selected Democracy Schools. It is highest at the most racially homogeneous schools, cause for concern in light of the “civic achievement gap” evident in Chapter Five. All schools must work to ensure equitable civic learning opportunities, traditional and innovative, among their entire student bodies. Some should consider employing remedial measures like Sheepside’s leadership program (see Chapter Ten).

Each of the Democracy Schools studied operates sound orientation and mentoring programs for new teachers. However, some could do better in integrating training specific to their mission statements. The gaps in each of these school climate indicators acknowledged, most, but not all, Democracy Schools model and nurture students’ civic dispositions.

Taken together, the first, second, and fourth prongs of Hypothesis Four are confirmed (see Table 11.1 below). This includes a strategically-designed curriculum with promising civic

learning practices woven throughout, a vision for the importance of civic learning and effective leadership towards this end, and a reciprocal relationship between school and community. The third and fifth prongs centering on staff development and school climate are only partially confirmed. The inconclusive evidence that emerges on these counts should not diminish their importance, but instead raise the bar for these schools and others to improve their performance.

Table 11.1: A Summary of the Various Components of Hypothesis Four, Which Explores the Importance of Common Elements that Sustain and Systematize School-based Civic Learning

Hypothesis Four Prong	*Common element*	*Results*
Part A	A strategically-designed curriculum centered on proven civic learning practices	Confirmed
Part B	A vision for the importance of civic learning and the shared leadership to see it through	Confirmed
Part C	A commitment to civic learning throughout the hiring, evaluation, and ongoing professional development of faculty	Partially confirmed
Part D	A reciprocal relationship between the school and its community where both serve as resources for one another	Confirmed
Part E	A school climate that models and nurtures students' civic dispositions	Partially confirmed

11.2. <u>Recommendations</u>

Based on the results of my analysis of the last three iterations of the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) in civics, schools should offer students combinations of both traditional and innovative civic learning practices. Students seem to benefit most from exposure to civics or government as upperclassmen and traditional practices like textbook reading and

memorization prove helpful, at least in NAEP's measurement of their civic knowledge and skills. Critics' obsession with exposure to specific content (see Bauerlein, 2008) appears overblown, and mundane classroom exercises like filling out worksheets are counterproductive. Instead, echoing the recommendations of Gimpel et al. (2003), teachers should insure that civic content, along with it delivery, is more "stimulating" (p. 202).

Among innovative civic learning practices, current events discussions should take place daily, whether or not they are included in district, state, or national assessments. They appear to reinforce traditional content and make it relevant in a contemporary context.

Similarly, debates and panel discussions are effective in less frequent doses. Students should experience them at least a few times per year. These findings follow those of Gimpel et al., who suggest that "A teacher's willingness to discuss controversial issues is important for a child's political learning." They continue, "An inviting classroom climate will teach students to be critical citizens, capable of discussion even when others disagree with them" (p. 210).

Group projects serve as one proxy for service-learning, and prove effective if offered annually. Role-playing, panels, and mock trials stand in for simulations and are powerful in limited doses, too (a few times per year). Finally, students should have ample opportunities to do volunteer work in the community. Schools cannot control students' access to volunteering through their families and churches, but they can insure universal access to this powerful practice through both academic and extracurricular channels.

In my test of Hypothesis Three, which predicts that demographics are not destiny and that combinations of traditional and innovative school-based civic learning opportunities can bridge the so-called democracy divide, the most compelling findings that emerge are inequitable access to a range of civic learning practices. Schools must make certain that all students have access to high-quality civic learning opportunities throughout their educational careers.

Andrew (2011) makes this case more eloquently. He writes, “With few exceptions, the civic knowledge, skills, and attitudes of low-income Americans are spiraling downward in a vicious cycle of disengagement from American democracy. All the while, too many of our public schools contribute to the problem by effectively committing civic malpractice” (p. 99).

Other than frequent current events discussions, there is no other civic learning practice that bridges racial, ethnic, socioeconomic, and linguistic gaps among students. Schools must therefore design their instructional strategies based on the composition of their student bodies. While certain traditional and innovative civic learning practices prove effective in a general sense, their utility is strengthened or diminished based upon individual demographic variables, and their ideal dosages vary along these lines, too. Simply stated, there’s no one-size-fits-all model when it comes to facilitating students’ civic development.

More broadly, effective civic learning practices should live across the curriculum, not solely in the social studies, or as is too frequently the case, a single civics or government course. Students are entitled to experience these opportunities throughout their academic careers.

Similarly, the choice between civic learning and Common Core standards and assessments is a false one. While the current educational reform movement has marginalized civic learning, it actually serves as a gateway to Common Core, as several administrators and teachers at selected Democracy Schools attest.

School mission and vision statements frequently invoke civic learning, overtly or implicitly. I recommend that school staffs revisit them frequently, making sure that current improvement strategies are in alignment, and that their overarching civic mission isn't forgotten.

Likewise, student handbooks should reinforce the school's civic goals. This touches upon students' academic achievement, behavioral expectations, and personal development. All three facets are critical, and handbooks shouldn't solely privilege punitive measures.

As is implicit above, civic learning should be a required component of school curriculum. Perhaps more critical, however, is its encouragement by school leaders. In the best case scenario, principals lead a pursuit of their school's civic missions. At a minimum, they must create space for others to chart this course. Tied to this is teacher autonomy. Professional educators must have the trust of their administrators to take on civic learning and pursue innovation in partnership with their students.

Teachers cannot stand as islands of excellence in the civic learning domain. They have great potential as sources of learning for one another, and schools should insure that teachers have structured opportunities to collaborate on curriculum, instruction, and assessment. The

Professional Learning Communities (PLCs) model present at five of the six Democracy Schools studied shows much promise, especially if their deliberations are organic and not handed down by school or district administrators. Peer classroom observations are another powerful strategy, and should be used more frequently to both provide feedback and learn new instructional strategies.

Schools should value teachers' commitment to civic learning from the start, and arguably benefit from bringing their prospective colleagues into the interview process. Civic learning measurements must be built into new state and district teacher evaluation models, and the widely subscribed Danielson (2007) framework provides ample opportunities (see Chapter Eight).

While teachers' professional development opportunities appear abundant, a civic learning angle is often absent, especially for non-social studies teachers. Given the opportunities for cross-curricular civic learning, this must change. Moreover, school-centered professional development should address civic learning content and instructional strategies. Social studies teachers are seemingly exposed to in-house training only tangentially related to their assignment, which diminishes their role and stymies civic learning advances.

As schools search for civic learning opportunities for their students, the surrounding community is an excellent resource to reinforce classroom teaching and supplement a starving field. Guest speakers should be invited regularly, and technology permits remote access previously unavailable due to time and travel constraints.

Likewise, community service opportunities for students build ties with the surrounding social fabric. While hours requirements are commendable and reflective of schools' commitments to students' civic development, I recommend transitioning to project completion as the measure of success. Moreover, schools must better tie students' ample community service opportunities to the formal curriculum. Moving beyond charity, students should explore the broader social issues at play and how they can be a source of change.

During these resource-challenged times, it's too much to recommend that all schools hire an individual solely responsible for cultivating community relationships. Unfortunately, it seems like a luxury for the privileged few, but this community liaison responsibility must not fall through the cracks. In fact, it may work best if the responsibility is shared so long as there's a conscious pursuit of these partnerships and accountability for their success or lack thereof.

The civic dimensions of school climate cannot be ignored. Simply stated, classroom lessons about democracy are undermined if a school is governed autocratically and staff members are not civic role models. New faculty and staff should be trained in a school's mission through formal induction and ongoing mentoring programs.

Teachers must make conscious decisions about how to portray their own civic commitments to students. Those who are completely candid must make space for students to come to their own conclusions. At the other extreme, teachers should not sanitize politics from civic engagement. It's okay to withhold one's own personal beliefs, but the prevailing political and social issues of the day deserve a thorough hearing in teachers' classrooms.

Schools' civic-oriented mission statements should be prominently displayed throughout the building, as should student work reflective of their civic engagement. While schools are right to tout students' academic excellence and athletic achievements, their contributions to the civic health of the surrounding community must also be celebrated.

For example, Eisner (2004) recommends schools, public officials and parents champion a young person's first vote. This may include schools announcing the names of first-time voters over the loudspeaker or during a school assembly. Public officials could write rookie voters congratulatory letters, and families can celebrate the achievement with a book or another token of remembrance.

To further understanding of the civic mission of schools, the political socialization field would benefit from better and more abundant measures of their performance, and that of students, in this space. The NAEP Civics assessment must not be abandoned on account of budget cuts or in place of another subject area. In fact, its administration should be broadened to allow disaggregation of data by state. This would allow tests on the implications of various state policies that prescribe or ignore civic learning.

For example, Democracy Prep, a New York-based network of civic-oriented charter schools, requires graduating seniors to pass both the NAEP Civics and U.S. Citizenship tests, proof that nothing prohibits local adoption of national civic knowledge instruments (Andrew, 2011, p. 107).

NAEP Civics admittedly has many limitations beyond its limited national sample. It mostly tests students' civic knowledge, and even here fails to incorporate current issues or events. It measures their skills and dispositions to a lesser extent. There is a virtual consensus in the field that all three legs of this proverbial stool of civic development are vital, yet even the small sample of states (eight) with civic-oriented standardized tests rely exclusively on multiple-choice options, which once more yield only declarative knowledge measurements (Godsay et al., 2012).

Schools, districts, and states are advised to explore more authentic forms of civic assessment, including project-based and portfolio assessments, and even digital badges (Sullivan, 2013). The implementation of Tennessee's portfolio-based assessments detailed in Chapter Two should be tracked closely, as should Chicago's recent foray into digital badges through summer enrichment programs (Chicago Public Schools, 2013).

Beyond assessment, state and local education policies are ripe for review given gaps in both the quality and quantity of civic learning evident in this study. Gimpel et al. (2013) argue, "Several of the factors affecting good citizenship are directly manipulatable by education policymakers, including aspects of school climate and the social studies curriculum and its instructional methodology" (p. 202).

Nowadays, national education policies have dramatic effects on local schools. The advent of No Child Left Behind more than a decade ago has further marginalized civic learning. I second Bridgeland's (2011) suggestion for "…policymakers [to] take advantage of the law's reauthorization process to reform it accordingly. Specifically, they should attempt to foster civic

learning across the curriculum, enabling students to develop civic skills not only in history and government classes, but [in multiple subject areas]" (pp. 47-48).

Returning to NAEP, future iterations should include student-reported civic learning experiences like lecture among traditional practices, and more precise measures of service-learning, civic-oriented extracurricular activities, and student voice in school governance among innovative practices.

Moreover, given the findings of Hypothesis Four, NAEP should also add school-reported questions that measure their overall commitment to civic learning and shared leadership in its pursuit. Teachers' autonomy to experiment and innovate must also enter the mix, along with internal and external professional development opportunities with a civic focus.

While NAEP does employ a number of questions to gauge school-parent relationships, it would be wise to broaden these measures to include community partners. Finally, NAEP's school climate measures focus primarily on aberrant student behavior. Future iterations should also incorporate civic-oriented school climate measures like the display of school mission statements and student work reflective of civic engagement, along with the extent to which faculty serve as civic role models, and ultimately, if students graduate with the civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions necessary for informed, effective, and lifelong engagement in our democracy.

This dissertation benefits immensely from access to data from the 2013 Illinois Five Essentials survey. It was employed to answer each of the component parts of Hypothesis Four, which explores the common elements necessary for sustained, systemic school-based approached to civic learning. However, given the survey's roots in predicting student achievement in reading and math, or more elementary, their capacity to improve their daily educational mission, civic learning is at best peripheral. I supplemented this information with structured interview questions, and the rich data they yielded makes a case for their inclusion in future iterations of the Five Essentials survey instruments.

11.3. Study Limitations/ Recommendations for Future Research

Several of the limitations of this dissertation are tied to the dearth of available data to measure students' civic development and schools' effectiveness towards these ends. The NAEP Civics exam remains the "gold standard" of assessment in this field and many others despite its many limitations.

My first three hypotheses measure the impact of various civic content and instructional practices on general and segmented student populations. Traditional practices are well accounted for with the exception of teacher lecture. Innovative civic learning practices, on the other hand, are measured precisely only in the cases of structured engagement with current and controversial issues and simulations of democratic processes. Service-learning, extracurricular activities, and student voice in school governance are addressed only tangentially, forcing cautious conclusions about the impact (or lack thereof) of these practices.

As alluded to in the previous section, standardized instruments like the NAEP Civics assessment yield only limited measures of students' civic development. While NAEP is arguably a sound measure of students' civic knowledge sans current events, it is less effective in gleaning their skills and dispositions. Alternative forms of assessment might make a stronger case for the impact of exposure to a civics or government course, specific civic content, or project-based learning.

Moreover, while many variables are tested across the last three iterations of NAEP Civics (1998, 2006, and 2010), some school and student-reported questions changed, limiting my analysis to a single year or two in many cases, or forcing me to qualify conclusions given different response options to identical or similar questions.

Also problematic is my limited access to the NAEP data set. One must have their PhD to gain permission in order to have complete access. I was thus left to use the NAEP Data Explorer, an effective research tool, but it prohibits advanced regression analysis. It did permit limited multivariate analysis, but my conclusions must once more be qualified given the use of this less sophisticated statistical tool. Future research efforts should replicate my tests of Hypotheses One, Two, and Three using all-encompassing multivariate analysis.

The 2013 Illinois Five Essentials survey was employed to measure facets of the five common elements that sustain and institutionalize school-based civic learning in Hypothesis Four. As referenced above, it was not designed for this intent, so its questions largely lack a civic learning dimension. Structured interviews of administrators and teachers at selected Illinois

Democracy Schools filled these gaps, but unlike the Five Essentials data, do not permit comparison with similarly-situated schools not recognized for their deep commitments to civic learning. The research design is thus only quasi-experimental, limiting the strength of my conclusions once more. Future research should seek structured interviews at comparison schools, too.

Moreover, Illinois Democracy Schools were used as proxies for high schools with sustained, systemic commitments to civic learning. While comparison schools may not have completed the strenuous Democracy Schools assessment, application, and recognition process, this does not mean that they lack strong civic learning programs. A full experimental study like that described in the previous paragraph might deepen this distinction, or alternatively, make it meaningless.

For feasibility sake, this study focused on only six of the 22 current Illinois Democracy Schools. The open access to each school's Five Essentials data allows a composite analysis of the entire population of Democracy Schools on the five common elements. Not only should future research leverage this data, it should be utilized for prospective Democracy Schools, too.

Additionally, new survey instruments designed in partnership with the Center for Information Research on Civic Learning and Engagement, and currently in use by prospective 2014 Democracy Schools, will yield quantitative data on the five common elements, allow comparisons among cohorts, and even measure progress at individual schools over time.

The findings of this dissertation only tap the surface with the Democracy Schools sample. This growing network remains fertile for ongoing research on the impact of sustained, systemic school-wide commitments to high-quality civic learning.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Independent Variables, Control Variables, and Data Sources

Independent Variables

H1: Traditional methodologies: NAEP Civics (1998, 2006, and 2010)

- In what grade(s) have you studied civics or government? 9, 10, 11, or 12
  ID: P811401, P811402, P811403, P811404
  Values: Yes, No
- During this school year, have you studied Congress? (student-reported)
  ID: P804402
  Values: Yes, No, I don't know
- During this school year, have you studied how laws are made? (student-reported)
  ID: P804404
  Values: Yes, No, I don't know
- During this school year, have you studied political parties, elections, and voting? (student-reported)
  ID: P804406
  Values: Yes, No, I don't know
- During this school year, have you studied the President and the Cabinet? (student-reported)
  ID: P804403
  Values: Yes, No, I don't know
- During this school year, have you studied state and local government? (student-reported)
  ID: P804407
  Values: Yes, No, I don't know
- During this school year, have you studied the court system? (student-reported)
  ID: P804405
  Values: Yes, No, I don't know
- During this school year, have you studied the United States Constitution? (student-reported)
  ID: P804401
  Values: Yes, No, I don't know
- Do you do any of the following when you study social studies? Fill out worksheets (student-reported)
  ID: P803704
  Values: Yes, No, I don't know

- Do you do any of the following when you study social studies? Memorize material you have read (student-reported)
  ID: P803702
  Values: Yes, No, I don't know
- Indicate how often you do each of the following when you study social studies or civics or government in school-Read material from a textbook (student-reported)
  ID: P803701
  Values: Yes, No, I don't know

H2: Innovative, interactive, and experiential school-based civic learning practices: NAEP Civics (1998, 2006, and 2010)

- Indicate how often you do each of the following when you study social studies or civics or government in school-Discuss current events (student-reported)
  ID: P811113
  Values: Never, A few times a year, Once or twice a month, Once or twice a week, Almost every day
- Indicate how often you do each of the following when you study social studies or civics or government in school-Take part in debates or panel discussions (student-reported)
  ID: P811114
  Values: Never, A few times a year, Once or twice a month, Once or twice a week, Almost every day
- Indicate how often you do each of the following when you study social studies or civics or government in school-Work on a group project (student-reported)
  ID: P811106
  Values: Never, A few times a year, Once or twice a month, Once or twice a week, Almost every day
- Indicate how often you do each of the following when you study social studies or civics or government in school-Write a letter to give your opinion or help solve a community problem (student-reported)
  ID: P811112
  Values: Never, A few times a year, Once or twice a month, Once or twice a week, Almost every day
- Do you do any of the following when you study social studies? Take part in role-playing, mock trials, or dramas (student-reported)
  ID: P803710
  Values: Yes, No, I don't know
- Did you do volunteer work in your community this year? (student-reported)
  ID: B014301
  Values: Did work with my school, Did work on my own, No

- Do you have a classroom government? (student-reported)
  ID: P803901
  Values: Yes, No, I don't know

H3: Demographic Control Variables: NAEP Civics (1998, 2006, and 2010)

- Race/ ethnicity: School-reported race/ethnicity (supplemented in some cases by student self-reported data) used in NAEP reports since 2002; in 2011, the "unclassified" category was relabeled "two or more races" to be consistent with OMB guidelines.
  ID: SDRACE
  Values: White, Black, Hispanic, Asian/Pacific Islander, American Indian/Alaska Native, Two or more races
- National school lunch program availability: Student eligibility for National School Lunch Program based on school records.
  ID: SLUNCH3
  Values: Eligible, Not eligible, Information not available
- Mother's highest level of educational attainment: How far in school did your mother go? (student-reported)
  ID: B003501
  Values: Did not finish high school, Graduated high school, Some education after high school, Graduated college, I don't know
- Parental education: Highest level achieved by either parent
  ID: PARED2
  Values: Did not finish high school, Graduated high school, Some education after high school, Graduated college, Unknown
- English language learners: Student classified by school as either English Language Learner or not
  ID: LEP
  Values: ELL, Not ELL

H4a: Curriculum

1. Diverse array of civic learning opportunities
   - Indicator: Schools use combinations of all six promising approaches to civic learning and address civics and citizenship from multiple angles
     - Comprehensive (All six)
     - Extensive (Four to five)
     - Average (Two to three)
     - Minimal (One)
     - Altogether missing (None)

● Data sources:
-Selected Democracy School applications
-Illinois 5Essentials Survey, Teacher Question 20: "To what extent do the following characteristics describe discussions that occur in your target class?" ("Never," "Rarely," "Sometimes," or "Almost Always")

- 20.1: "Students build on each other's ideas during discussion"
- 20.2: "Students use data and text references to support their ideas"
- 20.3: "Students show each other respect"
- 20.4: "Students provide constructive feedback to their peers/ teachers"
- 20.5: "Most students participate in the discussion at some point"
- 20.6: "Students draw on relevant knowledge learned outside of class"
- 20.7: "Students get off the subject being discussed in class"
- 20.8: "A few students dominate the discussion"
- 20.9: "Students generate topics for the discussion"

2. A thoughtful, strategic design for civic learning

● Indicator: Civic learning intentionally built into students' experience all four years
● Data sources:
-Selected Democracy School applications and interview transcripts

- Comprehensive (Civic learning present in the social studies and in multiple disciplines)
- Extensive (Civic learning present in the social studies and at least once other academic discipline)
- Average (Civic learning present in social studies courses only)
- Minimal (Civic learning confined to a single course)
- Altogether missing (No civic learning opportunities)

-Illinois 5Essentials Survey, Teacher Question 24.4: "To what extent do you agree with the following? Curriculum, instruction, and learning materials are well coordinated across the different grade levels of the school" ("Strongly Disagree," "Disagree," "Agree," or "Strongly Agree")

3. Home-grown civic learning practices as well as outside programs

● Indicator: Schools develop civic learning practices organically and supplement their original work with resources from outside providers
●Data sources:
- Selected Democracy School applications (Organic and outside providers, Organic only, Outside providers only, Neither)
- Interviews with administrators and faculty at selected Illinois high schools (Appendix B, Questions 2 and 3)

4. Possibility to meet standards requirements and to do innovative things

● Indicator: Standard curriculum and assessments complimented with civic learning

● Data sources:

- Selected Democracy School applications (Curriculum and assessments, Curriculum only, Assessments only, Neither)

- Interviews with administrators and faculty at selected Illinois high schools (Appendix B, Question 4)

H4b: Vision and leadership--Innovative, supportive school leadership really matters

1. A commitment to civic learning across the board

● Indicator: Civic learning articulated in school mission and/ or vision statements

● Data source: School mission and/ or vision statements from selected Democracy Schools

- Overtly
- Implicitly
- Missing

2. A common understanding of how the school will reach its civic goals

● Indicator: Civic learning goals in schools' expectations of students' academic performance, behavior, and personal development

● Data source: Student handbook and school policies from selected Democracy Schools

- Overtly
- Implicitly
- Missing

3. Creative teachers who show initiative and feel confident that they can take risks

● Indicator: Teacher autonomy, responsibility, and leeway to introduce thought-provoking, civic topics in the classroom

● Data sources:

-Illinois 5Essentials Survey, Teacher Question 13: "To what extent do you feel respected by the principal?" ("Not at all," "A little," "Some," or "To a great extent")

-Illinois 5Essentials Survey, Teacher Question 14.1: "The principal has confidence in the expertise of teachers" ("Strongly Disagree," "Disagree," "Agree," or "Strongly Agree")

-Illinois 5Essentials Survey, Teacher Question 16.4: "Teachers at this school respect those colleagues who are experts in their craft" ("Strongly Disagree," "Disagree," "Agree," or "Strongly Agree")

-Illinois 5Essentials Survey, Teacher Question 23: "How much influence do teachers have over school policy in each of the areas below?" ("Not at all," "A little," "Some," or "To a great extent")

- 23.3: "Determining books and other instructional materials used in classrooms"
- 23.4: "Establishing the curriculum and instructional program"

-Interviews with faculty at selected Democracy Schools (Appendix B, Question 1)

4. An administration that does not sacrifice the long-term benefits of civic learning for short-term testing goals

● Indicator: Commitment to civic learning as part of school mission

● Data sources:

-Illinois 5Essentials Survey, Teaching Question 22.2: "The principal at this school communications a clear vision for our school." ("Strongly Disagree," "Disagree," "Agree," or "Strongly Agree")

-Interviews with school administrators at selected Democracy Schools (Appendix B, Question 13)

5. Superintendents who exert positive leadership

● Indicator: District administrator leverages policies, resources, and political capital to create opportunities for students' civic growth

● Data source: Interviews with school administrators at selected Democracy Schools (Appendix B, Question 14)

H4c: Staff development

1. An expectation during the hiring process and teacher evaluations that civic learning be a priority

● Indicator: School hires mission-driven staff and trains staff members consistently

● Data sources:

-Illinois 5Essentials Survey, Teacher Question 4.3: "Experienced teachers invite new teachers into their rooms to observe, give feedback, etc." ("Strongly Disagree," "Disagree," "Agree," or "Strongly Agree")

-Illinois 5Essentials Survey, Teacher Question 14.4: "The principal takes a personal interest in the professional development of teachers" ("Strongly Disagree," "Disagree," "Agree," or "Strongly Agree")

-Illinois 5Essentials Survey, Teacher Question 23.1: "How much influence do teachers have over school policy in…hiring new professional personnel?" ("Not at all," "A little," "Some," or "To a great extent")

-Interviews with school administrators at selected Democracy Schools (Appendix B, Question 15)

2. Regular opportunities for teachers to strengthen their understanding of civic learning, especially for teachers working across the curriculum

- Indicator: Teachers take advantage of civic learning programs and school-developed models to improve their civic content knowledge and instruction
- Data sources:

-Illinois 5Essentials Survey, Teacher Question 25: "Overall, my professional development experiences this year have: ("Strongly Disagree," "Disagree," "Agree," or "Strongly Agree")

  - 25.1: "Been sustained and coherently focused, rather than short-term and unrelated"
  - 25.2: "Included enough time to think carefully about, try, and evaluate new ideas"
  - 25.3: "Been closely connected to my school's improvement plan"
  - 25.4: "Included opportunities to work productively with colleagues in my school"
  - 25.5: "Included opportunities to work productively with teachers from other schools"

-Interviews with social studies department chairs at selected Democracy Schools (Appendix B, Question 19)

3. Peer-to-peer learning that allows for innovation within the required framework

- Indicator: Teachers report learning from one another
- Data source:

- Illinois 5Essentials Survey, Teacher Question 5: This school year, how often have you had conversations with colleagues about: ("Less than once a month," "2 or 3 times per month," "1 or 2 times per week," or "Almost daily")

  - 5.1: "What helps students learn best"
  - 5.2: "Development of new curriculum"

- Illinois 5Essentials Survey, Teacher Question 6: This school year, how often have you: ("Never," "Once or twice," "3-9 times," or "10 or more times")

  - 6.1: "Observed another's teacher's classroom to offer feedback"
  - 6.2: "Observed another teacher's classroom to get ideas for your own instruction"

-Interviews with faculty at selected Democracy Schools (Appendix B, Question 20)

4. Structures for support and continuous improvement

● Indicator: Time set aside for ongoing democratic reflection and opportunities to make changes

● Data sources:

- Illinois 5Essentials Survey, Teacher Question 6: This school year, how often have you: ("Never," "Once or twice," "3-9 times," or "10 or more times")
    - 6.3: "Gone over student assessment data with other teachers to make instructional decisions"
    - 6.4: "Worked with other teachers to develop materials or activities for particular classes"
    - 6.5: "Worked on instructional strategies with other teachers"

-Interviews with social studies department chairs at selected Democracy Schools (Appendix B, Question 19)

H4d: School-community partnerships

1. An expectation of mutual benefit: Exemplar schools and their communities are a resource for each other

● Indicator: Schools invite speakers from the community and draw upon public services, and community members call on schools to request student involvement in a service or public project

● Data source:

-Selected Democracy School applications

- Interviews with administrators and faculty at selected Democracy Schools (Appendix B, Questions 5 and 6)

2. Protocols so everyone's voice is heard

● Indicator: Schools rely on standardized practices to make sure stakeholders are part of the schools' program

● Data sources:

- Illinois 5Essentials Survey, Teacher Question 11: Please mark the extent to which you disagree or agree with each of the following: ("Strongly Disagree," "Disagree," "Agree," or "Strongly Agree")
    - 11.1: "Teachers and parents think of each other as partners in educating children"

      11.2: "Staff at this school work hard to build trusting relationships with parents"

-Illinois 5Essentials Survey, Teacher Question 21: ("Strongly Disagree," "Disagree," "Agree," or "Strongly Agree")
    - 21.1: "Parents are invited to visit classrooms to observe the instructional program"
    - 21.2: "The principal pushes teachers to communicate regularly with parents"

- 21.3: “We encourage feedback from parents and the community”
- 21.7: “We work at communicating to parents about support needed to advance the school mission”

-Illinois 5Essentials Survey, Parent Influence: “How much do you agree with the following statements about your child’s school:” (“Not at all,” “A Little,” “Mostly,” or “Completely”)

- “The school invites me to meetings and special school events”
- “I know what the important issues are in the school”
- “I have opportunities to participate in making decisions that affect the whole school community”

-Interviews with school administrators at selected Democracy Schools (Appendix B, Question 16)

3. A dedicated staff member to connect the school and the community

● Indicator: Partnerships an explicit part of someone’s job

● Data sources:

-Selected Democracy School applications

-Interviews with school administrators and social studies department chairs at selected Democracy Schools (Appendix B, Questions 17 and 18)

H4e: School climate

1. A clean, welcoming environment with visual reminders of the school’s civic mission

● Indicator: Displayed copies of mission statement and classrooms and hallways decorated with work reflective of teachers’ and students’ civic engagement

● Data source: Interviews with administrators and faculty at selected Democracy Schools (Appendix B, Questions 7 and 8)

2. Teachers and administration who serve as role models of civically engaged citizens

● Indicator: Principals and teachers interact positively with students and are candid about their own civic engagement

● Data sources:

-Illinois 5Essentials Survey, Student Question 4: How much do you agree with the following: (“Strongly Disagree,” “Disagree,” “Agree,” or “Strongly Agree”)

- 4.2: “I feel safe and comfortable with my teachers at this school”
- 4.3: “My teacher always keeps his/ her promises”
- 4.4: “My teachers will always listen to students’ ideas”
- 4.5: “My teachers treat me with respect”

-Interviews with administrators and faculty at selected Democracy Schools (Appendix B, Questions 9 and 10)

3. Students who have the skills, opportunities, and confidence to make a difference in their schools and communities

- Indicator: Students express a sense of responsibility and efficacy
- Data sources:

-Illinois 5Essentials Survey, Student Question 17: How much do you agree with the following: ("Strongly Disagree," "Disagree," "Agree," or "Strongly Agree")

  - 17.2: "My classes give me useful preparation for what I plan to do in life"
  - 17.3: "High school teaches me valuable skills"
  - 17.5: "What we learn in class is necessary for success in the future"

-Interviews with administrators and faculty at selected Democracy Schools (Appendix B, Question 11)

4. Policies, practices, and infrastructure to support a set of civic norms and values

- Indicator: Continuous education in the mission to new staff
- Data sources:

-Illinois 5Essentials Survey, Teacher Question 4.4: "A conscious effort is made by faculty to make new teachers feel welcome here." ("Strongly Disagree," "Disagree," "Agree," or "Strongly Agree")

-Interviews with administrators and faculty at selected Democracy Schools (Appendix B, Question 12)

APPENDIX B

Structured Interview Questions for Administrators and Faculty at Select Illinois Democracy Schools (Response codes, percentages, and school breakdowns included)

All Members: N=25

1. Are teachers at your school required to offer civic learning opportunities in their classrooms?

- Required: 52%
- Encouraged: 32%
- Not required or encouraged (No)
- Don't know (DK): 16%

Table B1: Classroom-Based Civic Learning Requirements

School	Required	Encouraged	Not required or encouraged	Don't know
Urban Prep (U)	2	1		
Coal City (D)	2			2
Sheepside (S1)	2	2		
Eisenhower (S2)	3	1		
Pony Peak (S3)	2	1		2
Whitman (S4)	2	3		

If so, how much autonomy and flexibility do they have in developing this curriculum?

- A great deal (Great): 32%
- Some: 56%
- A little (Little): 4%
- None
- Don't know (DK): 8%

Table B1.1: Teacher Autonomy in Developing Civic Learning Curriculum

School	A great deal	Some	A little	None	Don't Know
Urban Prep (U)		3			
Coal City (D)	1	2			1
Sheepside (S1)	1	2	1		
Eisenhower (S2)	1	3			
Pony Peak (S3)	2	2			1
Whitman (S4)	3	2			

2. What civic learning practices at your school were developed by your own faculty and staff?

- Two or more examples cited (2+): 76%
- One example cited (1): 16%
- No examples cited (0)
- Don't know (DK): 8%

Table B2: Civic Learning Practices at Schools Developed by Faculty and Staff

School	Two or more	One	None	Don't know
Urban Prep (U)	2	1		
Coal City (D)	2			2
Sheepside (S1)	3	1		
Eisenhower (S2)	4			
Pony Peak (S3)	3	2		
Whitman (S4)	5			

3. Does your school supplement its home-grown civic learning practices with resources from outside providers? If so, how?

- Two or more examples cited (2+): 76%
- One example cited (1): 12%
- No examples cited (0)
- Don't know (DK): 12%

Table B3: Home-Grown Civic Learning Practices and Resources from Outside Providers

School	Two or more	One	None	Don't know
Urban Prep (U)	3			
Coal City (D)	2			2
Sheepside (S1)	4			
Eisenhower (S2)	4			
Pony Peak (S3)	3	1		1
Whitman (S4)	4	1		

4. Given testing pressures and a mandated standard curriculum, how does your school find time to offer students civic learning opportunities, too?

- Civic learning predominates (CL): 12%
- Balance between civic learning and standard curriculum (Balance): 72%
- Standard curriculum predominates (SC): 4%
- Don't know (DK): 12%

Table B4: Testing Pressures and a Mandated Standard Curriculum versus Civic Learning Opportunities

School	Civic learning	Balance	Standard curriculum	Don't know
Urban Prep (U)		3		
Coal City (D)	1	1		2
Sheepside (S1)		3	1	
Eisenhower (S2)	2	2		
Pony Peak (S3)		4		1
Whitman (S4)		5		

5. Describe the frequency and manner by which your school invites speakers from the community

- More than 3 times per year (Often): 68%
- Two to three times per year (Sometimes): 20%
- At least once per year (Rarely)
- Never
- Don't know (DK): 12%

Table B5: The Frequency by which Schools Invite Speakers from the Community

School	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	Don't know
Urban Prep (U)	2	1			
Coal City (D)	2				2
Sheepside (S1)	2	2			
Eisenhower (S2)	2	2			
Pony Peak (S3)	4				1
Whitman (S4)	5				

6. Reciprocally, how frequently do community members call on your school to request students' involvement in a service or public project? Please provide an example.

- More than 3 times per year (Often): 72%
- Two to three times per year (Sometimes): 12%
- At least once per year (Rarely): 4%
- Never
- Don't know (DK): 12%

Table B6: Frequency by which Community Members Call on Schools to Request Students' Involvement in a Service or Public Project

School	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	Don't know
Urban Prep (U)	2	1			
Coal City (D)	2				2
Sheepside (S1)	2	2			
Eisenhower (S2)	3		1		
Pony Peak (S3)	4				1
Whitman (S4)	5				

7. Is your school's mission statement displayed in classrooms and hallways? If yes, please provide an example.

- Hallways: 72%
- Classrooms: 44%
- Other (web site, letterhead): 16%
- Not displayed (No)
- Don't know (DK): 12%

Table B7: Where School Mission Statements Are Displayed

School	Hallways	Classrooms	Other	Not displayed	Don't know
Urban Prep (U)	3	2			
Coal City (D)	1				3
Sheepside (S1)	4		3		
Eisenhower (S2)	4	3	1		
Pony Peak (S3)	5	5			
Whitman (S4)	4	1			

8. Is work reflective of teachers' and students' civic engagement displayed in classrooms and hallways? If yes, please provide an example.

- Hallways: 52%
- Classrooms: 52%
- Other (newsletters, web sites): 16%
- Not displayed (No)
- Don't know (DK): 16%

Table B8: Display of Student Work Reflective of their Civic Engagement

School	Hallways	Classrooms	Other	Not displayed	Don't know
Urban Prep (U)	2	3			
Coal City (D)	2	1			2
Sheepside (S1)	3	1	2		
Eisenhower (S2)	3	4	1		
Pony Peak (S3)	2	1			2
Whitman (S4)	2	3	3		

9. Describe the daily interactions between staff and students at your school.

- Positive (+): 84%
- Somewhat positive (+/-)
- Somewhat negative (-/+)
- Negative (-)
- Don't know (DK): 16%

Table B9: Daily Interactions between Students and Staff

School	Positive	Somewhat positive	Somewhat negative	Negative	Don't know
Urban Prep (U)	3				
Coal City (D)	2				2
Sheepside (S1)	4				
Eisenhower (S2)	4				
Pony Peak (S3)	3				2
Whitman (S4)	4				

10. How candid are school staff members with students about their own civic engagement?

- Very candid (Very): 12%
- Somewhat candid (Somewhat): 80%
- Not candid (Not)
- Don't know (DK): 8%

Table 10: Staff Candidness about Civic Engagement

School	Very candid	Somewhat candid	Not candid	Don't know
Urban Prep (U)	2	1		
Coal City (D)		3		1
Sheepside (S1)		4		
Eisenhower (S2)	1	3		
Pony Peak (S3)		4		1
Whitman (S4)		5		

11. By your assessment, to what extent do students at your school graduate with the knowledge, skills, opportunities, and confidence to make a difference in their schools and communities?

- To a great extent (Great): 20%
- Above average (Better): 36%
- Average: 20%
- Minimal
- Altogether lacking (Lacking)
- Don't know (DK): 24%

Table B11: Students' Civic Preparedness

School	Great extent	Above average	Average	Minimal	Lacking	Don't know
Urban Prep (U)		3				
Coal City (D)		1	1			2
Sheepside (S1)			4			
Eisenhower (S2)	2	2				
Pony Peak (S3)		1				4
Whitman (S4)	3	2				

12. In what ways do you educate new staff members in the school's mission?
- Comprehensive: 60%
- Adequate: 12%
- Minimal: 8%
- Altogether missing (Missing): 4%
- Don't know (DK): 16%

Table B12: Education of New Staff Members in Schools' Missions

School	Comprehensive	Adequate	Minimal	Missing	Don't know
Urban Prep (U)	2	1			
Coal City (D)		1		1	1
Sheepside (S1)	1	1	2		
Eisenhower (S2)	4				
Pony Peak (S3)	3				2
Whitman (S4)	5				

School administrator: N=6

13. How important is civic learning to you as part of your living school's mission?
- Very important (Very): 83%
- Important: 17%
- Somewhat important (Somewhat)
- Not important (Not)

Table B13: Importance of Civic Learning in Living Schools' Civic Missions

School	U	D	S1	S2	S3	S4
Civic learning's importance	Very	Important	Very	Very	Very	Very

14. What kinds of policies, resources, and political capital does your school's leadership (school board and superintendent included) provide to create opportunities for students' civic growth?

- Strong support (Strong): 33%
- Adequate support (Adequate): 50%
- Minimal support (Minimal): 17%
- Altogether lacking (None)

Table B14: School Leadership's Support for Students' Civic Growth

School	U	D	S1	S2	S3	S4
Policies, resources, political capital	Minimal	Adequate	Adequate	Strong	Adequate	Strong

15. Is civic learning a priority as you hire and evaluate teachers in your building? If yes, how so?

- High priority (High): 50%
- Among many priorities (Among many): 17%
- Low priority (Low): 33%

Table B15: Prioritization of Civic Learning in Hiring and Evaluation of Teachers

School	U	D	S1	S2	S3	S4
Hiring for civic learning	Low	Among many	High	Low	High	High

16. What standardized practices does your school rely upon to make sure stakeholders' voices, including faculty, parents, and students, are considered in school governance

- Strong practices (Strong): 67%
- Adequate practices (Adequate): 33%
- Weak practices (Weak)
- Practices altogether missing (None)

Table B16: Standardized Practices for Stakeholders' Voices in School Governance

School	U	D	S1	S2	S3	S4
Stakeholder voice practices	Adequate	Strong	Adequate	Strong	Strong	Strong

17. Does your school have a dedicated staff member responsible for building partnerships between the school and the community? If so, who?

- Yes: 42%
- No, but responsibility is shared among faculty and staff (Shared): 58%
- No

Table B17: Dedicated Staff Member for Building School-Community Partnerships

School	**U**	**D**	**S1**	**S2**	**S3**	**S4**
Staff for partnerships	Yes/ Shared	Yes	Shared	Yes	Shared	Shared

Please note that responses from questions 17 and 18 were combined given the identical question posed to school administrators and social studies department chairs.

Social studies department chair: N=6

18. Does your school have a dedicated staff member responsible for building partnerships between the school and the community? If so, who?

- Yes
- No, but responsibility is shared among faculty and staff (Shared)
- No

19. In reference to teacher professional development, to what extent do members of your department take advantage of the following to improve their civic content knowledge and instruction?

A. Outside civic learning programs

- To a great extent (Great):67%
- Average: 17%
- Minimal: 17%
- Altogether lacking (Lacking)

Table B18: Teacher Professional Development: Outside Programs

School	**U**	**D**	**S1**	**S2**	**S3**	**S4**
PD from outside providers	Great	Great	Minimal	Great	Average	Great

B. School-developed models

- To a great extent (Great): 33%
- Average: 50%
- Minimal: 17%
- Altogether lacking (Lacking)

Table B18.1: Teacher Professional Development: School-Developed Models

School	U	D	S1	S2	S3	S4
PD from outside providers	Great	Minimal	Average	Great	Average	Average

20. How frequently does your school set aside time for members of your department to engage with one another in ongoing democratic reflection and provide opportunities to make changes?

- 10 or more times annually (10+): 83%
- 3-9 times annually (3-9)
- Once or twice annually (1-2): 17%
- Never

Table B19: Time for Democratic Reflection Among Teachers

School	U	D	S1	S2	S3	S4
Frequency for reflection	10+	1-2	10+	10+	10+	10+

<u>Teachers only</u>:

21. In what ways do teachers at your school learn from one another?

- Multiple examples (Multiple): 79%
- At least one example (1): 16%
- No examples (None)
- Don’t know (DK): 5%

Table B20: Ways Teachers Learn from One Another

School	U	D	S1	S2	S3	S4
Peer-to-peer learning	Multiple-one	Multiple-one	Multiple	Multiple	Multiple	Multiple-one

APPENDIX C

Statistical Analysis of Select NAEP Civics Data from 1998, 2006, and 2010 in response to Hypotheses One, Two, and Three

H1: Traditional methodologies:

- **In what grade(s) have you studied civics or government? 9, 10, 11, or 12**

  ID: P811401, P811402, P811403, P811404

  Values: Yes, No

Table C1: Grades Studied Civics or Government: 2010

	9th grade		10th grade		11th grade		12th grade	
	Yes	**No**	**Yes**	**No**	**Yes**	**No**	**Yes**	**No**
Avg. Score	150* (1.0)	150* (0.9)	149* (0.8)	150* (1.0)	151 (0.9)	147 (0.9)	150* (0.9)	148* (1.2)
%	51* (1.6)	49* (1.6)	57 (1.3)	43 (1.3)	66 (1.2)	34 (1.2)	76 (1.6)	24 (1.6)

* Differences not statistically significant

Table C1.1: Grades Studied Civics or Government: 2006

	9th grade		10th grade		11th grade		12th grade	
	Yes	**No**	**Yes**	**No**	**Yes**	**No**	**Yes**	**No**
Avg. Score	154 (1.1)	149 (0.9)	154 (1.1)	149 (1.0)	154 (1.1)	147 (1.0)	153 (1.0)	147 (1.3)
%	37 (1.3)	63 (1.3)	39 (1.3)	61 (1.3)	49* (1.3)	51* (1.3)	67 (1.7)	33 (1.7)

* Differences not statistically significant

Table C1.2: Grades Studied Civics or Government: 1998

	9th grade		10th grade		11th grade		12th grade	
	Yes	**No**	**Yes**	**No**	**Yes**	**No**	**Yes**	**No**
Avg. Score	152 (1.1)	149 (0.8)	153 (1.0)	148 (0.9)	155 (0.9)	144 (1.0)	153 (0.8)	144 (1.4)
%	44 (1.3)	56 (1.3)	42 (1.3)	58 (1.3)	53 (1.1)	47 (1.1)	68 (2.1)	32 (2.1)

- **During this school year, have you studied Congress? (student-reported)**
  ID: P804402
  Values: Yes, No, I don't know

Table C2: Studied Congress

	1998			2006			2010		
	Yes	**No**	**DK**	**Yes**	**No**	**DK**	**Yes**	**No**	**DK**
Avg. Score	151[!] (0.9)	154[@] (1.3)	114 (3.7)	151 (1.0)	154 (1.2)	121 (3.5)	148 (0.9)	152 (1.1)	114 (3.4)
%	71 (1.5)	27 (1.4)	2 (0.2)	69 (1.3)	28 (1.3)	3 (0.2)	66 (1.8)	31 (1.8)	2 (0.2)

! Difference not statistically significant from "No" @ Difference not statistically significant from "Yes"

- **During this school year, have you studied how laws are made? (student-reported)**
  ID: P804404
  Values: Yes, No, I don't know

Table C3: Studied How Laws Are Made

	1998			2006			2010		
	Yes	**No**	**DK**	**Yes**	**No**	**DK**	**Yes**	**No**	**DK**
Avg. Score	150 (1.0)	155 (1.1)	126 (3.6)	151 (1.0)	156 (1.2)	122 (2.2)	147 (1.0)	153 (1.0)	121 (2.3)
%	64 (1.5)	32 (1.4)	4 (0.3)	64 (1.2)	32 (1.2)	4 (0.2)	61 (1.8)	36 (1.8)	4 (0.2)

- **During this school year, have you studied political parties, elections, and voting? (student-reported)**
  ID: P80440
  Values: Yes, No, I don't know

Table C4: Studied Political Parties, Elections, and Voting

	1998			2006			2010		
	Yes	**No**	**DK**	**Yes**	**No**	**DK**	**Yes**	**No**	**DK**
Avg. Score	150 (0.8)	155 (1.1)	123 (3.5)	151 (1.0)	155 (1.2)	118 (3.2)	148 (0.9)	152 (1.1)	115 (2.6)
%	70 (1.4)	27 (1.4)	3 (0.3)	70 (1.2)	27 (1.2)	3 (0.2)	68 (1.6)	29 (1.6)	3 (0.2)

- **During this school year, have you studied the President and the Cabinet? (student-reported)**
  ID: P804403
  Values: Yes, No, I don't know

Table C5: Studied the President and the Cabinet

	1998			2006			2010		
	Yes	**No**	**DK**	**Yes**	**No**	**DK**	**Yes**	**No**	**DK**
Avg. Score	152[!] (0.9)	152[@] (1.1)	122 (2.9)	153[!] (1.0)	153[@] (1.1)	121 (2.1)	150[!] (0.9)	150[@] (1.0)	116 (2.3)
%	63 (1.5)	32 (1.4)	4 (0.3)	61 (1.2)	34 (1.2)	5 (0.3)	59 (1.5)	37 (1.5)	5 (0.2)

! Difference not statistically significant from "No"
@ Difference not statistically significant from "Yes"

- **During this school year, have you studied state and local government? (student-reported)**
  ID: P804407
  Values: Yes, No, I don't know

Table C6: Studied State and Local Government

	1998			2006			2010		
	Yes	**No**	**DK**	**Yes**	**No**	**DK**	**Yes**	**No**	**DK**
Avg. Score	150 (0.8)	156 (1.3)	122 (3.4)	151 (0.9)	155 (1.2)	122 (3.0)	148 (0.9)	154 (1.0)	118 (3.2)
%	69 (1.4)	28 (1.4)	3 (0.3)	69 (1.2)	27 (1.1)	4 (0.2)	68 (1.6)	29 (1.6)	3 (0.2)

- **During this school year, have you studied the court system? (student-reported)**
  ID: P804405
  Values: Yes, No, I don't know

Table C7: Studied the Court System

	1998			2006			2010		
	Yes	**No**	**DK**	**Yes**	**No**	**DK**	**Yes**	**No**	**DK**
Avg. Score	150 (0.9)	155 (1.1)	123 (3.6)	151 (0.9)	155 (1.2)	125 (2.2)	148 (0.9)	153 (1.0)	121 (2.7)
%	64 (1.4)	32 (1.3)	4 (0.3)	69 (1.2)	27 (1.1)	5 (0.2)	61 (1.6)	36 (1.6)	4 (0.2)

- **During this school year, have you studied the United States Constitution? (student-reported)**
  ID: P804401
  Values: Yes, No, I don't know

Table C8: Studied the United States Constitution

	1998			2006			2010		
	Yes	**No**	**DK**	**Yes**	**No**	**DK**	**Yes**	**No**	**DK**
Avg. Score	151 (0.9)	154 (1.3)	112 (4.4)	151 (0.9)	155 (1.3)	112 (4.1)	148 (0.9)	152 (1.1)	109 (2.6)
%	71 (1.6)	27 (1.5)	2 (0.2)	72 (1.3)	26 (1.3)	2 (0.2)	67 (1.8)	31 (1.7)	3 (0.2)

- **Do you do any of the following when you study social studies? Fill out worksheets (student-reported)**
  ID: P803704
  Values: Yes, No, I don't know

Table C9: Fill Out Worksheets

	1998			2006		
	Yes	**No**	**DK**	**Yes**	**No**	**DK**
Avg. Score	151 (0.7)	156 (1.8)	119 (4.8)	151 (1.0)	157 (1.7)	131 (4.3)
Percentage	86 (0.6)	13 (0.6)	2 (0.2)	86 (0.5)	12 (0.5)	2 (0.2)

- **Do you do any of the following when you study social studies? Memorize material you have read (student-reported)**
  ID: P803702
  Values: Yes, No, I don't know

C10: Memorize Material

	1998			2006		
	Yes	**No**	**DK**	**Yes**	**No**	**DK**
Avg. Score	153 (0.7)	147 (1.2)	127 (3.9)	154 (0.9)	146 (1.3)	132 (3.0)
Percentage	71 (0.8)	26 (0.7)	3 (0.3)	71 (0.7)	26 (0.7)	4 (0.3)

- **Indicate how often you do each of the following when you study social studies or civics or government in school-Read material from a textbook (student-reported)**
  ID: P811101
  Values: Never, A few times a year, Once or twice a month, Once or twice a week, Almost every day

Table C11: Read Material from Textbook, 2010

	Never	Few Times	Monthly	Weekly	Daily
Avg. Score	135 (1.9)	139 (1.3)	148 (1.4)	153 (1.0)	151 (1.0)
Percentage	8 (0.4)	13 (0.5)	15 (0.4)	38 (0.6)	27 (0.7)

- **Indicate how often you do each of the following when you study social studies or civics or government in school-Read material from a textbook (student-reported)**
  ID: P803701
  Values: Yes, No, I don't know

Table C12: Read Material from Textbook, 1998 and 2006

	1998			2006		
	Yes	**No**	**DK**	**Yes**	**No**	**DK**
Avg. Score	152 (0.7)	144 (1.8)	118 (5.0)	152 (0.9)	147 (1.7)	121 (3.9)
Percentage	86 (0.8)	12 (0.7)	2 (0.3)	86 (0.6)	12 (0.6)	2 (0.2)

H2: Innovative, interactive, and experiential school-based civic learning practices:

- **Indicate how often you do each of the following when you study social studies or civics or government in school-Discuss current events (student-reported)**
  ID: P811113
  Values: Never, A few times a year, Once or twice a month, Once or twice a week, Almost every day

Table C13: Discuss Current Events, 2010

	Never	Few Times	Monthly	Weekly	Daily
Avg. Score	126 (1.9)	134 (1.6)	147 (1.2)	153 (1.0)	155 (0.9)
Percentage	8 (0.3)	10 (0.3)	19 (0.5)	32 (0.6)	31 (0.7)

Do you do any of the following when you study social studies? Discuss current events (student-reported)

ID: P803706

Values: Yes, No, I don't know

Table C14: Discuss Current Events, 2006

	Yes	No	DK
Avg. Score	154 (0.9)	135 (1.8)	128 (3.4)
Percentage	87 (0.5)	10 (0.5)	2 (0.2)

Table C15: Discuss Current Events, 1998

	Yes	No	DK
Avg. Score	153 (0.6)	135 (2.1)	115 (4.2)
Percentage	88 (0.6)	9 (0.5)	12 (0.3)

- **Indicate how often you do each of the following when you study social studies or civics or government in school-Take part in debates or panel discussions (student-reported)**

  ID: P811114

  Values: Never, A few times a year, Once or twice a month, Once or twice a week, Almost every day

Table C16: Take Part in Debates or Panel Discussions, 2010

	Never	Few Times	Monthly	Weekly	Daily
Avg. Score	140 (1.0)	152 (1.2)	152 (1.3)	152 (1.2)	151 (1.4)
Percentage	31 (0.7)	22 (0.5)	23 (0.5)	16 (0.5)	8 (0.3)

- **Do you do any of the following when you study social studies? Take part in debates or panel discussions (student-reported)**

  ID: P803709

  Values: Yes, No, I don't know

Table C17: Take Part in Debates or Panel Discussions, 2006

	Yes	No	DK
Avg. Score	155 (1.0)	148 (1.1)	132 (2.4)
Percentage	57 (1.0)	38 (1.0)	5 (0.3)

Table C18: Take Part in Debates or Panel Discussions, 1998

	Yes	No	DK
Avg. Score	155 (0.8)	147 (0.9)	127 (2.7)
Percentage	56 (1.0)	40 (1.0)	4 (0.3)

- **Indicate how often you do each of the following when you study social studies or civics or government in school-Work on a group project (student-reported)**

  ID: P811106

  Values: Never, A few times a year, Once or twice a month, Once or twice a week, Almost every day

Table C19: Work on a Group Project, 2010

	Never	Few Times	Monthly	Weekly	Daily
Avg. Score	147	156	150	138	126
Percentage	11	31	38	16	4

- **Indicate how often you do each of the following when you study social studies or civics or government in school-Write a letter to give your opinion or help solve a community problem (student-reported)**

  ID: P811112

  Values: Never, A few times a year, Once or twice a month, Once or twice a week, Almost every day

Table C20: Write a Letter to Give Your Opinion or Help Solve a Community Problem, 2010

	Never	Few Times	Monthly	Weekly	Daily
Avg. Score	152 (0.8)	148 (1.3)	133 (1.5)	114 (3.0)	111 (4.9)
Percentage	70 (0.6)	20 (0.5)	7 (0.3)	3 (0.2)	1 (0.1)

- **Do you do any of the following when you study social studies? Write a letter to give your opinion or help solve a community problem (student-reported)**

  ID: P803711

  Values: Yes, No, I don't know

Table C21: Write a Letter to Give Your Opinion or Help Solve a Community Problem, 2006

	Yes	No	DK
Avg. Score	147 (1.5)	153 (0.9)	135 (2.2)
Percentage	25 (0.9)	71 (0.9)	4 (0.3)

Table C22: Write a Letter to Give Your Opinion or Help Solve a Community Problem, 1998

	Yes	No	DK
Avg. Score	149 (1.1)	153 (0.8)	127 (4.0)
Percentage	24 (0.9)	73 (0.9)	4 (0.3)

- **Indicate how often you do each of the following when you study social studies or civics or government in school-Take part in role-playing, mock trials, or dramas (student-reported)**

  ID: P811115

  Values: Never, A few times a year, Once or twice a month, Once or twice a week, Almost every day

Table C23: Take Part in Role-Playing, Mock Trials, or Dramas, 2010

	Never	Few Times	Monthly	Weekly	Daily
Avg. Score	147 (0.8)	156 (1.3)	148 (1.6)	136 (2.3)	130 (2.6)
Percentage	56 (1.0)	26 (0.7)	12 (0.4)	4 (0.2)	3 (0.2)

- **Do you do any of the following when you study social studies? Take part in role-playing, mock trials, or dramas (student-reported)**

  ID: P803710

  Values: Yes, No, I don't know

Table C24: Take Part in Role-Playing, Mock Trials, or Dramas, 1998 and 2006

	1998			2006		
	Yes	**No**	**DK**	**Yes**	**No**	**DK**
Avg. Score	155 (1.0)	150 (0.8)	125 (3.9)	155 (1.2)	150 (0.9)	134 (2.3)
Percentage	34 (0.9)	63 (0.9)	4 (0.3)	34 (1.1)	62 (1.1)	4 (0.2)

- **Did you do volunteer work in your community this year? (student-reported)**

  ID: B014301

  Values: Did work with my school, Did work on my own, No

Table C25: Did Volunteer Work, 1998

	School	Own	No
Avg. Score	159[!] (1.0)	158[@] (1.0)	141 (0.9)
Percentage	27 (0.8)	31 (0.8)	43 (0.9)

! Difference not statistically significant from “Own”

@ Difference not statistically significant from “School”

- **Do you have a classroom government? (student-reported)**
  ID: P803901
  Values: Yes, No, I don't know

Table C26: Have Classroom Government, 1998

	Yes	No	DK
Avg. Score	149[#] (1.0)	154 (1.2)	148[@] (1.3)
Percentage	39[!] (1.2)	42[@] (1.1)	19 (0.5)

Difference not statistically significant from "DK"
@ Difference not statistically significant from "Yes"
! Difference not statistically significant from "No"

H3: Demographic Control Variables:

- **Race/ ethnicity**: School-reported race/ethnicity (supplemented in some cases by student self-reported data) used in NAEP reports since 2002; in 2011, the "unclassified" category was relabeled "two or more races" to be consistent with OMB guidelines.
  ID: SDRACE
  Values: White, Black, Hispanic, Asian/Pacific Islander, American Indian/Alaska Native, Two or more races

Table C27: School-Reported Race/Ethnicity, 2010

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score	156	127	137	153[!@#]	134*	159[!@$]
Percentage	62	14[^]	16[&]	6	1[#]	1[@]

Table C28: School-Reported Race/Ethnicity, 2006

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score	158[$#]	131[^@#]	134[&@#]	155[!#]	131[&^#]	145*
Percentage	66	13[^]	13[&]	6	1[#]	1[@]

Table C29: School-Reported Race/Ethnicity, 1998

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score	157[$]	130[^]	132[&]	149[!]	†	†
Percentage	72	14	10	4	#[#]	#[@]

† Reporting standards not met; # Rounds to zero

Table C30: Study Civics or Government in 9th Grade by Race/ Ethnicity, 2010

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Yes)	156[!√β] (1.1)	128[$] (1.8)	138[^] (2.1)	153[*!β] (4.4)	†	†
Percentage (Yes)	69 (1.4)	13[$%] (1.1)	12[€$] (1.0)	4 (0.5)	1[+?Ω] (0.4)	1[&+Ω] (0.2)
Avg. Score (No)	157[*√β] (0.9)	129[€] (2.1)	139[%] (1.5)	154[*!√] (3.5)	†	†
Percentage (No)	59 (1.8)	13[€%] (0.9)	19 (1.4)	8 (0.9)	1[&?Ω] (0.5)	1[&+?] (0.2)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C31: Study Civics or Government in 9th Grade by Race/ Ethnicity, 2006

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Yes)	158[! √β] (1.2)	134[$%^] (2.0)	138[€^] (2.6)	162[*!β] (3.8)	†	†
Percentage (Yes)	75 (1.5)	11[$] (0.9)	7[β] (0.9)	4 (0.7)	1[+?Ω] (0.6)	1[&+Ω] (0.2)
Avg. Score (No)	158[*√β] (1.1)	129[€^] (1.8)	133[€$%] (1.1)	153[*!√] (3.5)	†	†
Percentage (No)	61 (1.7)	13[€^] (1.0)	17 (1.7)	7[%] (0.8)	1[&?Ω] (0.6)	1[&+?] (0.2)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C32: Study Civics or Government in 9th Grade by Race/ Ethnicity, 1998

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Yes)	157[! √β] (1.3)	132[$^] (2.0)	139[√β] (2.3)	153[*!%β] (6.2)	†	†
Percentage (Yes)	74 (1.1)	15 (0.8)	6 (0.5)	3[β] (0.8)	1[+?Ω] (0.2)	#
Avg. Score (No)	156[*√β] (1.0)	128[€^β] (2.1)	129[€$β] (1.4)	146[*!€$%^√] (5.8)	†	†
Percentage (No)	70 (0.9)	13[^] (0.5)	12[$] (0.8)	4[√] (0.3)	#	#

† Reporting standards not met; # Rounds to zero

Table C33: Study Civics or Government in 10th Grade by Race/ Ethnicity, 2010

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Yes)	156 (0.9)	129 (2.0)	138 (1.7)	151 (2.8)	†	†
Percentage (Yes)	66 (1.5)	14 (1.1)	13 (1.1)	5 (0.5)	1 (0.5)	1 (0.1)
Avg. Score (No)	157 (1.1)	128 (2.1)	139 (1.8)	155 (3.6)	†	†
Percentage (No)	61 (1.7)	12 (0.9)	18 (1.3)	7 (0.8)	1 (0.4)	1 (0.2)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C34: Study Civics or Government in 10th Grade by Race/ Ethnicity, 2006

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Yes)	160 (1.1)	131 (1.8)	135 (2.1)	158 (4.1)	†	†
Percentage (Yes)	73 (1.5)	11 (0.8)	9 (1.0)	5 (0.7)	1 (0.5)	1 (0.2)
Avg. Score (No)	157 (1.1)	130 (1.7)	134 (1.4)	154 (3.5)	130 (4.0)	†
Percentage (No)	62 (1.7)	14 (1.1)	16 (1.8)	7 (0.8)	1 (0.6)	1 (0.2)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C35: Study Civics or Government in 10th Grade by Race/ Ethnicity 1998

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Yes)	158 (1.2)	132 (2.1)	137 (2.7)	151 (6.6)	†	†
Percentage (Yes)	76 (1.1)	13 (0.8)	7 (0.6)	4 (1.1)	#	#
Avg. Score (No)	155 (1.1)	128 (2.0)	129 (1.2)	147 (5.3)	†	†
Percentage (No)	69 (0.9)	14 (0.4)	12 (0.7)	4 (0.2)	#	#

† Reporting standards not met; # Rounds to zero

Table C36: Study Civics or Government in 11th Grade by Race/ Ethnicity, 2010

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Yes)	157 (0.9)	130 (1.6)	140 (1.8)	157 (3.1)	†	161 (5.0)
Percentage (Yes)	65 (1.5)	12 (0.9)	15 (1.2)	6 (0.6)	1 (0.5)	1 (0.2)
Avg. Score (No)	154 (1.1)	126 (2.3)	136 (1.7)	149 (3.4)	†	†
Percentage (No)	62 (1.7)	14 (1.2)	16 (1.1)	6 (0.7)	1 (0.3)	1 (0.2)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C37: Study Civics or Government in 11th Grade by Race/ Ethnicity, 2006

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Yes)	160 (1.2)	136 (1.4)	138 (1.7)	156 (4.2)	†	†
Percentage (Yes)	70 (1.6)	11 (0.8)	11 (1.1)	6 (0.8)	1 (0.3)	1 (0.2)
Avg. Score (No)	156 (1.1)	126 (2.0)	132 (1.4)	155 (3.7)	131 (4.7)	†
Percentage (No)	62 (1.8)	14 (1.2)	15 (1.8)	6 (0.7)	2 (0.8)	1 (0.2)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C38: Study Civics or Government in 11th Grade by Race/ Ethnicity, 1998

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Yes)	160 (1.1)	134 (1.8)	136 (2.3)	157 (4.8)	†	†
Percentage (Yes)	75 (0.9)	11 (0.7)	8 (0.8)	4 (0.5)	1 (0.2)	#
Avg. Score (No)	152 (1.1)	126 (2.1)	128 (1.8)	140 (6.5)	†	†
Percentage (No)	68 (1.2)	17 (0.8)	11 (0.8)	4 (0.3)	#	#

† Reporting standards not met; # Rounds to zero

Table C39: Study Civics or Government in 12th Grade by Race/ Ethnicity, 2010

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Yes)	157 (1.0)	129 (1.7)	139 (1.6)	153 (2.6)	134 (18.0)	161 (5.4)
Percentage (Yes)	61 (1.7)	12 (1.0)	18 (1.4)	6 (0.7)	1 (0.4)	1 (0.1)
Avg. Score (No)	154 (1.4)	127 (3.0)	131 (2.8)	154 (4.9)	†	†
Percentage (No)	68 (2.1)	14 (1.5)	11 (1.2)	6 (0.8)	1 (0.4)	1 (0.1)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C40: Study Civics or Government in 12th Grade by Race/ Ethnicity, 2006

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Yes)	160 (1.0)	133 (1.5)	137 (1.5)	159 (3.1)	132 (4.0)	†
Percentage (Yes)	65 (1.9)	12 (1.0)	15 (1.9)	6 (0.6)	1 (0.6)	1 (0.1)
Avg. Score (No)	154 (1.4)	127 (2.3)	126 (2.3)	149 (5.9)	†	†
Percentage (No)	68 (2.0)	13 (1.2)	10 (1.1)	6 (1.2)	1 (0.6)	1 (0.3)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C41: Study Civics or Government in 12th Grade by Race/ Ethnicity, 1998

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Yes)	159 (1.0)	132 (2.0)	134 (1.1)	153 (3.7)	†	†
Percentage (Yes)	73 (1.0)	12 (0.6)	11 (0.9)	4 (0.3)	1 (0.2)	#
Avg. Score (No)	151 (1.6)	127 (1.9)	125 (3.5)	140 (6.6)	†	†
Percentage (No)	69 (2.0)	19 (1.5)	7 (0.8)	4 (1.5)	#	#

† Reporting standards not met

Rounds to zero

Table C42: Studied Congress by Race/ Ethnicity, 2010

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Yes)	156 (1.0)	127 (1.5)	138 (1.6)	153 (2.6)	133 (15.4)	158 (5.2)
Percentage (Yes)	58 (1.8)	14 (1.1)	19 (1.4)	7 (0.7)	1 (0.5)	1 (0.2)
Avg. Score (No)	157 (1.2)	131 (2.8)	137 (2.4)	159 (3.9)	†	†
Percentage (No)	71 (1.7)	13 (1.3)	9 (0.9)	5 (0.7)	1 (0.3)	1 (0.2)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C43: Studied Congress by Race/ Ethnicity, 2006

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Yes)	159 (1.1)	131 (1.4)	136 (1.2)	157 (3.2)	131 (4.9)	†
Percentage (Yes)	63 (1.9)	14 (1.0)	15 (1.8)	6 (0.7)	1 (0.6)	1 (0.2)
Avg. Score (No)	160 (1.2)	134 (2.6)	131 (2.9)	158 (4.2)	†	†
Percentage (No)	73 (1.7)	10 (1.0)	9 (1.0)	5 (0.8)	1 (0.3)	1 (0.2)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C44: Studied Congress by Race/ Ethnicity, 1998

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Yes)	158 (1.1)	129 (1.7)	133 (1.3)	149 (6.6)	†	†
Percentage (Yes)	71 (0.9)	14 (0.4)	11 (0.9)	4 (0.3)	1 (0.1)	#
Avg. Score (No)	160 (1.5)	135 (2.3)	134 (3.0)	151 (3.9)	†	†
Percentage (No)	74 (1.6)	15 (1.1)	6 (0.8)	5 (1.1)	#	#

† Reporting standards not met
# Rounds to zero

Table C45: Studied How Laws Are Made by Race/ Ethnicity, 2010

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Yes)	155 (1.1)	126 (1.6)	138 (1.5)	153 (2.6)	132 (16.9)	162 (5.5)
Percentage (Yes)	58 (1.9)	14 (1.2)	19 (1.5)	7 (0.7)	1 (0.5)	1 (0.2)
Avg. Score (No)	159 (1.1)	132 (2.7)	141 (2.2)	157 (3.7)	†	†
Percentage (No)	71 (1.6)	12 (1.1)	10 (0.9)	5 (0.6)	1 (0.3)	1 (0.2)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C46: Studied How Laws Are Made by Race/ Ethnicity, 2006

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Yes)	158 (1.1)	130 (1.4)	135 (1.1)	156 (3.2)	132 (4.8)	†
Percentage (Yes)	63 (1.9)	13 (1.1)	15 (1.8)	6 (0.7)	1 (0.6)	1 (0.2)
Avg. Score (No)	161 (1.2)	135 (2.6)	137 (2.6)	160 (4.5)	†	†
Percentage (No)	73 (1.7)	11 (0.9)	8 (1.0)	6 (0.9)	1 (0.3)	1 (0.2)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C47: Studied How Laws Are Made by Race/ Ethnicity, 1998

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Yes)	157 (1.1)	128 (1.9)	133 (1.3)	149 (7.0)	†	†
Percentage (Yes)	71 (1.0)	14 (0.5)	11 (0.9)	4 (0.3)	#	#
Avg. Score (No)	160 (1.3)	136 (2.2)	136 (2.7)	152 (3.9)	†	†
Percentage (No)	75 (1.3)	14 (0.9)	6 (0.6)	4 (0.9)	#	#

† Reporting standards not met

Rounds to zero

Table C48: Studied Parties, Elections, and Voting by Race/ Ethnicity, 2010

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Yes)	156 (1.0)	126 (1.6)	137 (1.6)	153 (2.0)	133 (14.4)	160 (5.3)
Percentage (Yes)	59 (1.7)	14 (1.1)	19 (1.4)	6 (0.6)	1 (0.5)	1 (0.1)
Avg. Score (No)	157 (1.1)	132 (2.8)	140 (2.2)	158 (5.2)	†	†
Percentage (No)	71 (1.7)	13 (1.4)	10 (0.9)	5 (0.7)	1 (0.3)	1 (0.2)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C49: Studied Parties, Elections, and Voting by Race/ Ethnicity, 2006

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Yes)	159 (1.1)	131 (1.5)	136 (1.1)	156 (3.1)	133 (4.6)	†
Percentage (Yes)	64 (1.8)	13 (1.0)	15 (1.7)	6 (0.7)	1 (0.6)	1 (0.2)
Avg. Score (No)	160 (1.2)	135 (2.3)	133 (3.0)	158 (5.1)	†	†
Percentage (No)	73 (1.6)	11 (1.0)	9 (1.1)	5 (0.8)	1 (0.5)	1 (0.2)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C50: Studied Parties, Elections, and Voting by Race/ Ethnicity, 1998

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Yes)	157 (1.1)	129 (1.7)	133 (1.5)	149 (6.4)	†	†
Percentage (Yes)	71 (0.9)	14 (0.4)	11 (0.9)	4 (0.3)	1 (0.1)	#
Avg. Score (No)	160 (1.2)	136 (2.4)	135 (2.8)	153 (4.4)	†	†
Percentage (No)	74 (1.5)	14 (0.9)	6 (0.6)	5 (1.1)	#	#

† Reporting standards not met

Rounds to zero

Table C51: Studied President and Cabinet by Race/ Ethnicity, 2010

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Yes)	158 (1.1)	129 (1.7)	140 (1.4)	154 (2.5)	139 (13.7)	157 (4.9)
Percentage (Yes)	60 (1.7)	13 (1.0)	18 (1.4)	7 (0.6)	1 (0.4)	1 (0.1)
Avg. Score (No)	156 (1.1)	130 (2.5)	134 (2.1)	157 3.8)	†	†
Percentage (No)	68 (1.7)	13 (1.2)	12 (1.0)	5 (0.6)	1 (0.4)	1 (0.2)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C52: Studied President and Cabinet by Race/ Ethnicity, 2006

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Yes)	160 (1.1)	133 (1.4)	138 (1.3)	159 (3.3)	†	†
Percentage (Yes)	64 (1.9)	13 (1.1)	14 (1.7)	6 (0.7)	1 (0.6)	1 (0.2)
Avg. Score (No)	160 (1.1)	132 (2.4)	132 (2.6)	157 (3.9)	†	†
Percentage (No)	71 (1.7)	11 (1.0)	10 (1.2)	6 (0.8)	1 (0.5)	1 (0.2)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C53: Studied President and Cabinet by Race/ Ethnicity, 1998

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Yes)	159 (1.1)	130 (1.7)	135 (1.6)	149 (6.3)	†	†
Percentage (Yes)	72 (1.0)	13 (0.5)	10 (0.9)	4 (0.3)	1 (0.1)	#
Avg. Score (No)	158 (1.2)	134 (2.4)	131 (2.4)	151 (5.0)	†	†
Percentage (No)	72 (1.4)	15 (1.1)	8 (0.7)	4 (0.9)	#	#

† Reporting standards not met

Rounds to zero

Table C54: Studied State and Local Government by Race/ Ethnicity, 2010

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Yes)	156 (1.0)	127 (1.7)	137 (1.6)	153 (2.4)	134 (19.4)	159 (5.5)
Percentage (Yes)	59 (1.7)	14 (1.1)	18 (1.3)	7 (0.6)	1 (0.5)	1 (0.1)
Avg. Score (No)	159 (1.2)	132 (2.9)	140 (2.5)	160 (4.6)	†	†
Percentage (No)	71 (1.8)	12 (1.2)	10 (1.1)	5 (0.7)	1 (0.3)	1 (0.2)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C55: Studied State and Local Government by Race/ Ethnicity, 2006

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Yes)	159 (1.0)	132 (1.4)	136 (1.1)	155 (3.3)	133 (4.1)	†
Percentage (Yes)	64 (1.8)	13 (1.0)	15 (1.8)	6 (0.7)	1 (0.6)	1 (0.2)
Avg. Score (No)	161 (1.2)	133 (2.7)	134 (3.0)	162 (5.0)	†	†
Percentage (No)	73 (1.7)	11 (1.0)	9 (1.0)	5 (0.8)	1 (0.4)	1 (0.2)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C56: Studied State and Local Government by Race/ Ethnicity, 1998

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Yes)	157 (1.0)	129 (1.7)	133 (1.3)	148 (6.1)	†	†
Percentage (Yes)	71 (0.9)	14 (0.4)	10 (0.9)	4 (0.3)	#	#
Avg. Score (No)	161 (1.5)	136 (2.4)	136 (2.8)	156 (5.9)	†	†
Percentage (No)	75 (1.4)	14 (1.1)	6 (0.5)	5 (0.7)	#	#

† Reporting standards not met

Rounds to zero

Table C57: Studied court system by race/ ethnicity, 2010

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Yes)	156 (1.1)	126 (1.6)	137 (1.5)	153 (2.1)	132 (17.7)	158 (5.6)
Percentage (Yes)	58 (1.8)	14 (1.1)	19 (1.5)	6 (0.6)	1 (0.5)	1 (0.2)
Avg. Score (No)	158 (1.0)	132 (2.5)	140 (2.2)	158 (4.5)	†	†
Percentage (No)	70 (1.6)	13 (1.2)	10 (0.8)	5 (0.7)	1 (0.2)	1 (0.1)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C58: Studied court system by race/ ethnicity, 2006

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Yes)	159 (1.0)	131 (1.6)	137 (1.2)	156 (3.4)	131 (5.0)	†
Percentage (Yes)	63 (1.8)	14 (1.1)	15 (1.7)	6 (0.7)	1 (0.6)	1 (0.2)
Avg. Score (No)	160 (1.2)	134 (2.5)	135 (3.0)	158 (4.4)	†	†
Percentage (No)	72 (1.6)	11 (0.9)	9 (1.1)	6 (0.9)	1 (0.5)	1 (0.2)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C59: Studied Court System by Race/ Ethnicity, 1998

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Yes)	157 (1.1)	129 (1.8)	133 (1.5)	148 (6.3)	†	†
Percentage (Yes)	71 (0.9)	14 (0.4)	11 (0.9)	3 (0.3)	#	#
Avg. Score (No)	160 (1.3)	136 (2.2)	136 (2.3)	155 (4.9)	†	†
Percentage (No)	74 (1.2)	14 (0.8)	6 (0.5)	5 (0.8)	#	#

† Reporting standards not met
# Rounds to zero

Table C60: Studied U.S. Constitution by Race/ Ethnicity, 2010

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Yes)	156 (1.0)	127 (1.5)	138 (1.5)	153 (2.5)	134 (16.7)	162 (5.4)
Percentage (Yes)	59 (1.7)	14 (1.1)	19 (1.4)	7 (0.7)	1 (0.5)	1 (0.1)
Avg. Score (No)	157 (1.1)	131 (3.0)	140 (2.2)	160 (4.1)	†	†
Percentage (No)	71 (1.7)	13 (1.2)	10 (0.9)	5 (0.6)	1 (0.4)	1 (0.2)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C61: Studied U.S. Constitution by Race/ Ethnicity, 2006

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Yes)	159 (1.1)	127 (1.5)	136 (1.2)	156 (3.3)	133 (4.4)	†
Percentage (Yes)	59 (1.7)	14 (1.1)	15 (1.8)	6 (0.7)	1 (0.6)	1 (0.2)
Avg. Score (No)	160 (1.3)	135 (2.4)	132 (2.9)	157 (4.5)	†	†
Percentage (No)	74 (1.8)	11 (1.0)	8 (1.0)	5 (0.9)	1 (0.5)	1 (0.2)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C62: Studied U.S. Constitution by Race/ Ethnicity, 1998

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Yes)	158 (1.1)	128 (1.7)	134 (1.3)	149 (5.8)	†	†
Percentage (Yes)	71 (1.0)	14 (0.4)	11 (0.9)	4 (0.2)	#	#
Avg. Score (No)	159 (1.4)	137 (2.1)	132 (2.5)	151 (5.2)	†	†
Percentage (No)	75 (1.7)	14 (1.2)	6 (0.7)	5 (1.2)	#	#

† Reporting standards not met
# Rounds to zero

Table C63: Fill Out Worksheets by Race/ Ethnicity, 2006

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Yes)	158 (1.0)	131 (1.3)	134 (1.2)	154 (2.9)	131 (4.0)	144 (6.1)
Percentage (Yes)	66 (1.6)	13 (0.9)	13 (1.5)	6 (0.7)	1 (0.6)	1 (0.2)
Avg. Score (No)	164 (2.0)	131 (4.1)	140 (2.7)	163 (6.0)	†	†
Percentage (No)	68 (2.3)	11 (1.2)	12 (1.5)	7 (1.3)	1 (0.5)	1 (0.2)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C64: Fill Out Worksheets by Race/ Ethnicity, 1998

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Yes)	158 (0.9)	130 (1.7)	133 (1.3)	148 (5.6)	†	†
Percentage (Yes)	72 (0.7)	14 (0.4)	10 (0.7)	4 (0.5)	#	#
Avg. Score (No)	161 (1.9)	134 (4.1)	134 (4.0)	159 (5.6)	†	†
Percentage (No)	74 (1.6)	12 (1.0)	8 (0.8)	5 (0.5)	#	#

† Reporting standards not met
# Rounds to zero

Table C65: Memorize Reading Materials by Race/ Ethnicity, 2006

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Yes)	161 (1.0)	134 (1.4)	137 (1.2)	159 (3.1)	135 (4.4)	†
Percentage (Yes)	65 (1.6)	13 (1.0)	13 (1.5)	6 (0.7)	1 (0.7)	1 (0.2)
Avg. Score (No)	154 (1.4)	125 (2.7)	129 (2.5)	149 (4.1)	†	†
Percentage (No)	68 (1.7)	11 (0.8)	14 (1.4)	5 (0.8)	1 (0.4)	1 (0.3)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C66: Memorize Reading Materials by Race/ Ethnicity, 1998

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Yes)	160 (0.8)	132 (1.6)	135 (1.4)	154 (5.0)	†	†
Percentage (Yes)	71 (0.8)	15 (0.4)	9 (0.8)	4 (0.3)	1 (0.1)	#
Avg. Score (No)	153 (1.4)	128 (2.4)	127 (2.3)	142 (6.5)	†	†
Percentage (No)	75 (1.1)	11 (0.8)	10 (0.5)	4 (0.8)	#	#

† Reporting standards not met
# Rounds to zero

Table C67: Read from Textbook by Race/ Ethnicity, 2010

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Daily)	159 (1.1)	131 (2.5)	141 (1.9)	157 (4.1)	†	†
Percentage (Daily)	57 (2.0)	16 (1.5)	17 (1.6)	7 (0.8)	2 (0.8)	1 (0.3)
Avg. Score (Weekly)	160 (1.0)	131 (2.1)	141 (1.8)	158 (3.1)	†	†
Percentage (Weekly)	63 (1.6)	12 (0.9)	17 (1.2)	7 (0.6)	1 (0.4)	1 (0.1)
Avg. Score (Monthly)	157 (1.4)	126 (3.4)	130 (3.1)	147 (3.9)	†	†
Percentage (Monthly)	64 (1.9)	12 (1.1)	16 (1.4)	6 (0.8)	1 (0.5)	1 (0.3)
Avg. Score (Few times)	147 (1.6)	118 (2.4)	130 (2.6)	132 (6.3)	†	†
Percentage (Few Times)	65 (1.9)	15 (1.3)	14 (1.4)	4 (0.6)	#	1 (0.3)
Avg. Score (Never)	142 (2.4)	114 (4.0)	115 (4.6)	†	†	†
Percentage (Never)	70 (2.5)	14 (1.7)	12 (1.1)	4 (0.8)	1 (0.4)	#

† Reporting standards not met
# Rounds to zero

Table C68: Read from Textbook by Race/ Ethnicity, 2006

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Yes)	160 (1.0)	132 (1.4)	136 (1.1)	155 (3.2)	133 (4.3)	148 (7.0)
Percentage (Yes)	65 (1.6)	13 (0.9)	14 (1.6)	6 (0.7)	1 (0.6)	1 (0.2)
Avg. Score (No)	153 (1.9)	125 (4.2)	126 (3.8)	†	†	†
Percentage (No)	73 (2.0)	11 (1.3)	10 (1.2)	4 (0.8)	1 (0.5)	1 (0.2)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C69: Read from Textbook by Race/ Ethnicity, 1998

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Yes)	160 (0.9)	131 (1.6)	133 (1.3)	150 (5.2)	†	†
Percentage (Yes)	71 (0.7)	14 (0.4)	10 (0.7)	4 (0.4)	1 (0.5)	#
Avg. Score (No)	148 (2.1)	126 (4.4)	128 (3.4)	†	†	†
Percentage (No)	79 (1.5)	10 (1.3)	8 (0.7)	2 (0.6)	#	#

† Reporting standards not met
# Rounds to zero

Table C70: Discuss Current Events by Race/ Ethnicity, 2010

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Daily)	161 (1.0)	135 (2.0)	144 (2.1)	163 (3.4)	†	†
Percentage (Daily)	64 (1.6)	14 (1.1)	14 (1.3)	5 (0.5)	1 (0.4)	1 (0.3)
Avg. Score (Weekly)	160 (1.1)	131 (2.0)	141 (1.9)	157 (2.8)	†	†
Percentage (Weekly)	63 (1.6)	12 (1.0)	16 (1.2)	7 (0.7)	1 (0.4)	1 (0.1)
Avg. Score (Monthly)	155 (1.3)	124 (2.4)	134 (2.4)	149 (4.1)	†	†
Percentage (Monthly)	64 (1.9)	12 (1.0)	16 (1.2)	6 (0.8)	2 (0.9)	1 (0.2)
Avg. Score (Few times)	140 (2.4)	114 (3.4)	130 (2.2)	136 (5.7)	†	†
Percentage (Few Times)	58 (2.3)	14 (1.3)	20 (1.7)	6 (1.2)	1 (0.6)	1 (0.3)
Avg. Score (Never)	134 (2.3)	110 (3.9)	117 (3.3)	117 (3.3)	†	†
Percentage (Never)	54 (2.6)	18 (1.9)	21 (1.9)	21 (1.9)	1 (0.4)	#

† Reporting standards not met
# Rounds to zero

Table C71: Discuss Current Events by Race/ Ethnicity, 2006

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Yes)	161 (1.0)	133 (1.1)	138 (1.1)	158 (2.9)	135 (4.2)	147 (7.0)
Percentage (Yes)	67 (1.6)	13 (0.9)	13 (1.4)	6 (0.6)	1 (0.5)	1 (0.2)
Avg. Score (No)	145 (2.3)	114 (4.5)	118 (2.4)	145 (6.0)	†	†
Percentage (No)	58 (2.5)	15 (1.5)	18 (2.1)	7 (1.3)	1 (0.9)	1 (0.3)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C72: Discuss Current Events by Race/ Ethnicity, 1998

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Yes)	160 (0.8)	133 (1.6)	136 (1.4)	153 (6.8)	†	†
Percentage (Yes)	73 (0.6)	13 (0.4)	9 (0.7)	4 (0.5)	#	#
Avg. Score (No)	144 (2.6)	117 (3.9)	115 (3.3)	†	†	†
Percentage (No)	65 (2.1)	14 (1.4)	13 (1.1)	4 (0.6)	1 (0.5)	#

† Reporting standards not met

Table C73: Take Part in Debates or Panel Discussions by Race/ Ethnicity, 2010

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Daily)	159 (1.5)	132 (3.0)	145 (4.3)	†	†	†
Percentage (Daily)	60 (2.2)	21 (1.9)	12 (1.8)	4 (0.9)	1 (0.6)	1 (0.3)
Avg. Score (Weekly)	160 (1.5)	131 (2.8)	135 (2.1)	158 (3.7)	†	†
Percentage (Weekly)	64 (1.7)	14 (1.0)	14 (1.1)	6 (1.0)	1 (0.4)	1 (0.3)
Avg. Score (Monthly)	159 (1.2)	129 (3.0)	140 (2.2)	157 (3.3)	†	†
Percentage (Monthly)	65 (1.7)	11 (0.9)	15 (1.3)	7 (0.7)	1 (0.5)	1 (0.2)
Avg. Score (Few times)	159 (1.5)	127 (2.4)	141 (2.3)	155 (4.9)	†	†
Percentage (Few Times)	66 (1.8)	11 (1.1)	15 (1.3)	6 (0.7)	1 (0.4)	1 (0.3)
Avg. Score (Never)	147 (1.0)	123 (2.1)	132 (2.0)	145 (3.8)	†	†
Percentage (Never)	58 (1.9)	15 (1.3)	19 (1.5)	6 (0.8)	1 (0.6)	1 (0.2)

† Reporting standards not met
# Rounds to zero

Table C74: Take Part in Debates or Panel Discussions by Race/ Ethnicity, 2006

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Yes)	161 (1.1)	137 (1.4)	138 (1.5)	160 (3.2)	†	†
Percentage (Yes)	67 (1.5)	13 (0.9)	12 (1.2)	6 (0.6)	1 (0.5)	1 (0.2)
Avg. Score (No)	156 (1.1)	124 (2.3)	131 (1.8)	154 (3.9)	†	†
Percentage (No)	64 (1.9)	12 (1.0)	15 (1.9)	6 (0.8)	2 (0.8)	1 (0.2)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C75: Take Part in Debates or Panel Discussions by Race/ Ethnicity 1998

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Yes)	161 (1.0)	134 (1.9)	138 (1.6)	158 (6.8)	†	†
Percentage (Yes)	73 (0.7)	13 (0.5)	9 (0.6)	4 (0.5)	#	#
Avg. Score (No)	155 (1.0)	128 (2.0)	128 (2.0)	140 (5.1)	†	†
Percentage (No)	71 (1.1)	14 (0.8)	10 (0.9)	3 (0.4)	1 (0.2)	#

† Reporting standards not met

Table C76: Work on a Group Project by Race/ Ethnicity, 2010

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Daily)	135 (3.1)	112 (3.6)	119 (6.1)	†	†	†
Percentage (Daily)	52 (3.2)	24 (3.0)	19 (3.3)	3 (0.9)	1 (0.4)	1 (0.4)
Avg. Score (Weekly)	148 (1.5)	122 (2.6)	127 (2.1)	135 (3.9)	†	†
Percentage (Weekly)	64 (1.5)	17 (1.5)	19 (1.5)	5 (0.5)	1 (0.6)	#
Avg. Score (Monthly)	157 (0.9)	131 (1.9)	137 (2.0)	152 (3.1)	†	†
Percentage (Monthly)	64 (1.5)	12 (0.9)	15 (1.0)	7 (0.7)	1 (0.4)	1 (0.2)
Avg. Score (Few times)	162 (1.1)	132 (2.3)	144 (1.9)	164 (3.1)	†	†
Percentage (Few Times)	65 (1.7)	11 (1.0)	16 (1.4)	7 (0.7)	1 (0.4)	1 (0.2)
Avg. Score (Never)	152 (1.8)	126 (3.3)	141 (3.3)	154 (4.9)	†	†
Percentage (Never)	62 (2.3)	13 (1.4)	17 (1.7)	5 (0.8)	1 (0.8)	1 (0.4)

† Reporting standards not met
# Rounds to zero

Table C77: Write a Letter or Help Solve a Community Problem by Race/ Ethnicity, 2010

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Daily)	†	†	†	†	†	†
Percentage (Daily)	50 (5.9)	32 (5.0)	13 (3.8)	2 (1.5)	#	3 (1.4)
Avg. Score (Weekly)	126 (4.2)	100 (5.5)	100 (3.4)	†	†	†
Percentage (Weekly)	45 (4.0)	25 (3.4)	24 (3.0)	5 (1.2)	1 (0.6)	1 (0.5)
Avg. Score (Monthly)	139 (1.8)	124 (2.9)	124 (4.1)	†	†	†
Percentage (Monthly)	52 (2.3)	19 (1.7)	20 (2.1)	6 (0.9)	2 (1.3)	1 (0.2)
Avg. Score (Few times)	155 (1.7)	125 (2.5)	138 (2.2)	146 (4.0)	†	†
Percentage (Few Times)	62 (1.5)	13 (1.0)	16 (1.4)	6 (0.8)	1 (0.4)	1 (0.3)
Avg. Score (Never)	158 (0.8)	131 (1.7)	141 (1.5)	158 (2.7)	134 (14.1)	164 (5.4)
Percentage (Never)	64 (1.5)	12 (0.9)	15 (1.1)	6 (0.6)	1 (0.4)	1 (0.1)

† Reporting standards not met
# Rounds to zero

Table C78: Write a Letter or Help Solve a Community Problem by Race/ Ethnicity, 2006

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Yes)	156 (1.5)	129 (1.9)	128 (2.2)	146 (5.7)	†	†
Percentage (Yes)	63 (2.2)	15 (1.2)	13 (1.5)	6 (0.8)	2 (0.6)	1 (0.3)
Avg. Score (No)	160 (1.0)	133 (1.5)	137 (1.4)	160 (2.9)	133 (3.9)	†
Percentage (No)	67 (1.5)	12 (0.9)	13 (1.5)	6 (0.7)	1 (0.5)	1 (0.2)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C79: Write a Letter or Help Solve a Community Problem by Race/ Ethnicity, 1998

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Yes)	157 (1.3)	128 (2.3)	130 (2.3)	149 (4.9)	†	†
Percentage (Yes)	67 (1.4)	17 (1.2)	12 (1.1)	4 (0.6)	#	#
Avg. Score (No)	158 (0.9)	132 (1.8)	134 (1.5)	151 (6.1)	†	†
Percentage (No)	74 (0.7)	13 (0.5)	9 (0.5)	4 (0.4)	#	#

† Reporting standards not met

Table C80: Take Part in Role Playing, Mock Trials, and Dramas by Race/ Ethnicity, 2010

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Daily)	137 (4.0)	119 (3.9)	†	†	†	†
Percentage (Daily)	55 (3.3)	30 (3.3)	8 (1.7)	4 (0.9)	1 (0.8)	1 (0.7)
Avg. Score (Weekly)	147 (2.8)	116 (4.6)	124 (5.4)	†	†	†
Percentage (Weekly)	52 (3.0)	22 (2.7)	17 (2.7)	6 (1.1)	2 (1.1)	1 (0.5)
Avg. Score (Monthly)	156 (1.8)	125 (3.5)	134 (2.9)	153 (5.5)	†	†
Percentage (Monthly)	60 (1.8)	15 (1.6)	15 (1.4)	8 (1.1)	1 (0.3)	1 (0.4)
Avg. Score (Few times)	162 (1.4)	133 (2.2)	143 (2.6)	158 (3.5)	†	†
Percentage (Few Times)	67 (1.5)	11 (0.9)	13 (1.0)	6 (0.5)	1 (0.3)	1 (0.2)
Avg. Score (Never)	154 (0.8)	128 (1.8)	136 (1.6)	153 (3.0)	†	†
Percentage (Never)	62 (1.6)	13 (0.9)	18 (1.3)	6 (0.7)	1 (0.5)	1 (0.1)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C81: Take Part in Role Playing, Mock Trials, and Dramas by Race/ Ethnicity, 2006

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Yes)	162 (1.2)	134 (1.8)	136 (2.8)	158 (4.5)	†	†
Percentage (Yes)	68 (1.7)	13 (0.9)	11 (1.3)	7 (0.8)	1 (0.4)	1 (0.3)
Avg. Score (No)	157 (1.0)	130 (1.7)	135 (1.4)	156 (2.9)	135 (3.6)	†
Percentage (No)	65 (1.7)	13 (1.1)	15 (1.6)	6 (0.7)	1 (0.7)	1 (0.2)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C82: Take Part in Role Playing, Mock Trials, and Dramas by Race/ Ethnicity, 1998

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Yes)	161 (1.1)	134 (2.0)	135 (2.8)	160 (5.8)	†	†
Percentage (Yes)	73 (1.2)	14 (0.7)	8 (0.8)	4 (0.4)	#	#
Avg. Score (No)	157 (1.0)	130 (1.9)	133 (1.3)	146 (5.8)	†	†
Percentage (No)	72 (0.9)	14 (0.5)	10 (0.7)	3 (0.5)	1 (0.2)	#

† Reporting standards not met

Table C83: Volunteer Work in Community by Race/ Ethnicity, 1998

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (School)	165 (1.1)	139 (2.8)	142 (2.0)	156 (3.9)	†	†
Percentage (School)	74 (1.2)	12 (0.7)	9 (0.8)	4 (0.4)	#	#
Avg. Score (Own)	163 (1.2)	136 (2.3)	139 (2.7)	157 (6.3)	†	†
Percentage (Own)	75 (1.1)	12 (0.6)	8 (0.8)	4 (0.6)	1 (0.2)	#
Avg. Score (No)	147 (1.1)	125 (2.3)	126 (1.9)	141 (6.8)	†	†
Percentage (No)	70 (1.2)	16 (0.9)	10 (0.7)	4 (0.6)	1 (0.2)	#

† Reporting standards not met

Table C84: Classroom Government by Race/ Ethnicity, 1998

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/ PI	American Indian/ AN	2 or More
Avg. Score (Yes)	156 (1.1)	129 (2.4)	131 (1.6)	148 (4.4)	†	†
Percentage (Yes)	71 (1.5)	12 (0.8)	12 (1.3)	4 (0.4)	#	#
Avg. Score (No)	161 (1.2)	133 (2.3)	135 (2.3)	154 (9.6)	†	†
Percentage (No)	72 (1.1)	16 (1.0)	8 (0.6)	4 (0.7)	#	#

† Reporting standards not met

- **National school lunch program availability**: Student eligibility for National School Lunch Program based on school records.

  ID: SLUNCH3

  Values: Eligible, Not eligible, Information not available

Table C85: National School Lunch Eligibility, 2010

	Eligible	Not Eligible	NA
Avg. Score	132	155!	159@
Percentage	31	62	7

! Difference not statistically significant from "NA"

@ Difference not statistically significant from "Not eligible"

Table C86: National School Lunch Eligibility, 2006

	Eligible	Not Eligible	NA
Avg. Score	133	156[!]	160[@]
Percentage	23	67	10

! Difference not statistically significant from "NA"
@ Difference not statistically significant from "Not eligible"

Table C87: National School Lunch Eligibility, 1998

	Eligible	Not Eligible	NA
Avg. Score	130	153[!]	153[@]
Percentage	14	66	20

! Difference not statistically significant from "NA"
@ Difference not statistically significant from "Not eligible"

Table C88: Study Civics or Government in 9th Grade by National School Lunch Program Eligibility

	2010		2006		1998	
	Eligible	Not Eligible	Eligible	Not Eligible	Eligible	Not Eligible
Avg. Score (Yes)	132 (1.2)	155 (1.0)	137 (1.6)	157 (1.3)	133 (1.9)	154 (1.3)
Percentage (Yes)	26 (1.2)	67 (1.5)	20 (1.2)	70 (1.5)	12 (0.8)	68 (2.1)
Avg. Score (No)	134 (1.2)	157 (1.1)	132 (1.2)	155 (1.1)	128 (1.7)	152 (1.1)
Percentage (No)	33 (1.4)	59 (1.6)	25 (1.2)	65 (1.6)	15 (1.1)	64 (2.4)

Table C89: Study Civics or Government in 10th Grade by National School Lunch Program Eligibility

	2010		2006		1998	
	Eligible	Not Eligible	Eligible	Not Eligible	Eligible	Not Eligible
Avg. Score (Yes)	132 (1.3)	155 (0.9)	136 (1.7)	158 (1.2)	133 (2.1)	156 (1.3)
Percentage (Yes)	28 (1.2)	65 (1.4)	21 (1.2)	71 (1.6)	12 (1.0)	68 (2.9)
Avg. Score (No)	135 (1.4)	157 (1.3)	132 (1.3)	154 (1.0)	128 (1.7)	151 (1.1)
Percentage (No)	32 (1.2)	60 (1.5)	24 (1.2)	64 (1.7)	15 (0.9)	64 (1.7)

Table C90: Study Civics or Government in 11th Grade by National School Lunch Program Eligibility

	2010		2006		1998	
	Eligible	Not Eligible	Eligible	Not Eligible	Eligible	Not Eligible
Avg. Score (Yes)	135 (1.3)	157 (1.0)	138 (1.3)	158 (1.2)	135 (1.9)	158 (1.1)
Percentage (Yes)	28 (1.1)	64 (1.4)	21 (1.1)	68 (1.7)	13 (0.9)	67 (2.2)
Avg. Score (No)	132 (1.5)	154 (1.0)	130 (1.3)	153 (1.2)	125 (2.0)	148 (1.3)
Percentage (No)	32 (1.2)	62 (1.5)	25 (1.3)	65 (1.6)	16 (1.0)	65 (2.3)

Table C91: Study Civics or Government in 12th Grade by National School Lunch Program Eligibility

	2010		2006		1998	
	Eligible	Not Eligible	Eligible	Not Eligible	Eligible	Not Eligible
Avg. Score (Yes)	133 (1.2)	157 (0.9)	135 (1.3)	158 (1.1)	133 (1.5)	156 (1.1)
Percentage (Yes)	31 (1.2)	62 (1.5)	23 (1.4)	67 (1.9)	14 (1.0)	67 (1.8)
Avg. Score (No)	130 (2.0)	154 (1.3)	129 (1.5)	152 (1.4)	123 (2.5)	147 (1.6)
Percentage (No)	27 (1.4)	65 (1.9)	23 (1.4)	67 (1.8)	13 (1.0)	63 (3.8)

Table C92: Studied Congress by National School Lunch Program Eligibility

	2010		2006		1998	
	Eligible	Not Eligible	Eligible	Not Eligible	Eligible	Not Eligible
Avg. Score (Yes)	132 (1.1)	156 (0.9)	134 (1.1)	156 (1.1)	130 (1.5)	154 (1.1)
Percentage (Yes)	33 (1.2)	60 (1.5)	24 (1.3)	66 (1.7)	15 (1.1)	66 (1.8)
Avg. Score (No)	135 (1.7)	157 (1.2)	136 (2.0)	158 (1.3)	135 (2.7)	156 (1.6)
Percentage (No)	24 (1.3)	69 (1.8)	20 (1.3)	69 (1.9)	11 (1.0)	65 (3.3)

Table C93: Studied How Laws Are Made by National School Lunch Program Eligibility

	2010		2006		1998	
	Eligible	Not Eligible	Eligible	Not Eligible	Eligible	Not Eligible
Avg. Score (Yes)	132 (1.3)	155 (0.9)	133 (1.3)	156 (1.1)	129 (1.4)	154 (1.2)
Percentage (Yes)	34 (1.3)	60 (1.5)	24 (1.3)	66 (1.7)	15 (1.1)	66 (1.8)
Avg. Score (No)	137 (1.6)	158 (1.1)	137 (1.9)	160 (1.3)	138 (2.6)	157 (1.4)
Percentage (No)	24 (1.1)	69 (1.8)	20 (1.3)	69 (1.8)	12 (0.9)	65 (3.2)

Table C94: Studied Parties, Elections, and Voting by National School Lunch Program Eligibility

	2010		2006		1998	
	Eligible	Not Eligible	Eligible	Not Eligible	Eligible	Not Eligible
Avg. Score (Yes)	131 (1.1)	156 (1.0)	134 (1.2)	156 (1.1)	129 (1.6)	154 (1.1)
Percentage (Yes)	32 (1.2)	60 (1.5)	24 (1.2)	66 (1.6)	15 (1.0)	66 (1.8)
Avg. Score (No)	137 (1.7)	157 (1.2)	136 (1.9)	159 (1.2)	137 (2.4)	157 (1.4)
Percentage (No)	24 (1.2)	69 (1.8)	20 (1.5)	69 (1.8)	12 (1.0)	65 (3.2)

Table C95: Studied President and Cabinet by National School Lunch Program Eligibility

	2010		2006		1998	
	Eligible	Not Eligible	Eligible	Not Eligible	Eligible	Not Eligible
Avg. Score (Yes)	135 (1.1)	157 (1.0)	136 (1.4)	157 (1.1)	132 (1.5)	155 (1.1)
Percentage (Yes)	31 (1.2)	61 (1.5)	23 (1.3)	67 (1.8)	14 (1.0)	67 (1.9)
Avg. Score (No)	131 (1.5)	156 (1.1)	134 (1.6)	158 (1.3)	132 (2.4)	154 (1.4)
Percentage (No)	27 (1.2)	67 (1.6)	22 (1.3)	67 (1.6)	13 (1.0)	65 (2.9)

Table C96: Studied State and Local Government by National School Lunch Program Eligibility

	2010		2006		1998	
	Eligible	Not Eligible	Eligible	Not Eligible	Eligible	Not Eligible
Avg. Score (Yes)	132 (1.1)	155 (1.0)	134 (1.2)	156 (1.0)	130 (1.3)	154 (1.1)
Percentage (Yes)	33 (1.2)	60 (1.4)	24 (1.3)	66 (1.6)	14 (1.0)	67 (1.8)
Avg. Score (No)	137 (1.7)	158 (1.2)	136 (2.1)	159 (1.3)	136 (3.0)	159 (1.7)
Percentage (No)	23 (1.2)	69 (1.9)	20 (1.3)	69 (1.9)	12 (1.0)	65 (3.3)

Table C97: Studied Court System by National School Lunch Program Eligibility

	2010		2006		1998	
	Eligible	Not Eligible	Eligible	Not Eligible	Eligible	Not Eligible
Avg. Score (Yes)	132 (1.2)	155 (0.9)	134 (1.3)	156 (1.0)	130 (1.6)	154 (1.2)
Percentage (Yes)	33 (1.3)	60 (1.5)	24 (1.3)	66 (1.6)	14 (1.1)	66 (1.8)
Avg. Score (No)	135 (1.6)	158 (1.1)	136 (1.5)	159 (1.3)	135 (2.3)	158 (1.4)
Percentage (No)	24 (1.2)	69 (1.8)	20 (1.2)	68 (1.8)	12 (0.9)	66 (3.0)

Table C98: Studied U.S. Constitution by National School Lunch Program Eligibility

	2010		2006		1998	
	Eligible	Not Eligible	Eligible	Not Eligible	Eligible	Not Eligible
Avg. Score (Yes)	132 (1.1)	156 (0.9)	133 (1.1)	156 (1.0)	131 (1.5)	154 (1.1)
Percentage (Yes)	33 (1.2)	59 (1.5)	24 (1.3)	66 (1.7)	15 (1.1)	66 (1.8)
Avg. Score (No)	136 (1.8)	156 (1.2)	136 (1.9)	159 (1.4)	134 (2.4)	156 (1.6)
Percentage (No)	23 (1.2)	70 (1.8)	20 (1.4)	68 (1.9)	11 (0.9)	66 (3.4)

Table C99: Fill Out Worksheets by National School Lunch Program Eligibility

	2006		1998	
	Eligible	Not Eligible	Eligible	Not Eligible
Avg. Score (Yes)	133 (1.0)	156 (1.0)	131 (1.4)	154 (1.0)
Percentage (Yes)	24 (1.2)	67 (1.4)	15 (0.9)	66 (2.0)
Avg. Score (No)	135 (2.9)	160 (2.1)	130 (4.2)	158 (2.4)
Percentage (No)	19 (1.6)	62 (2.5)	10 (1.0)	67 (2.8)

Table C100: Memorize Reading Materials by National School Lunch Program Eligibility

	2006		1998	
	Eligible	Not Eligible	Eligible	Not Eligible
Avg. Score (Yes)	135 (1.2)	159 (1.0)	133 (1.4)	157 (1.0)
Percentage (Yes)	22 (1.2)	67 (1.5)	14 (1.0)	65 (2.1)
Avg. Score (No)	130 (1.8)	150 (1.5)	127 (2.7)	150 (1.5)
Percentage (No)	24 (1.3)	68 (2.1)	14 (1.0)	68 (2.1)

Table C101: Read from Textbook by National School Lunch Program Eligibility, 2010

	Eligible	Not Eligible
Avg. Score (Daily)	135 (1.5)	158 (1.3)
Percentage (Daily)	32 (1.6)	59 (1.6)
Avg. Score (Weekly)	136 (1.5)	159 (1.0)
Percentage (Weekly)	29 (1.2)	64 (1.4)
Avg. Score (Monthly)	131 (2.0)	155 (1.4)
Percentage (Monthly)	31 (1.8)	63 (2.0)
Avg. Score (Few times)	121 (2.0)	148 (1.5)
Percentage (Few Times)	32 (1.6)	62 (1.9)
Avg. Score (Never)	117 (3.8)	142 (2.1)
Percentage (Never)	29 (2.4)	65 (2.8)

Table C102: Read from Textbook by National School Lunch Program Eligibility, 1998 and 2006

	2006		**1998**	
	Eligible	**Not Eligible**	**Eligible**	**Not Eligible**
Avg. Score (Yes)	134 (1.1)	157 (1.0)	132 (1.3)	156 (0.9)
Percentage (Yes)	24 (1.1)	66 (1.4)	14 (0.9)	65 (2.1)
Avg. Score (No)	129 (2.7)	146 (2.2)	127 (4.3)	146 (2.2)
Percentage (No)	20 (1.6)	72 (2.0)	11 (0.9)	72 (2.0)

Table C103: Discuss current events by National School Lunch Program eligibility, 2010

	Eligible	Not Eligible
Avg. Score (Daily)	138 (1.3)	160 (1.0)
Percentage (Daily)	27 (1.3)	65 (1.5)
Avg. Score (Weekly)	137 (1.4)	159 (1.2)
Percentage (Weekly)	29 (1.4)	64 (1.6)
Avg. Score (Monthly)	133 (2.0)	153 (1.3)
Percentage (Monthly)	30 (1.3)	64 (1.5)
Avg. Score (Few times)	122 (2.1)	142 (1.8)
Percentage (Few Times)	39 (2.1)	56 (2.1)
Avg. Score (Never)	112 (2.6)	136 (2.1)
Percentage (Never)	43 (2.1)	50 (2.4)

Table C104: Discuss current events by National School Lunch Program eligibility, 1998 and 2006

	2006		**1998**	
	Eligible	**Not Eligible**	**Eligible**	**Not Eligible**
Avg. Score (Daily)	136 (1.1)	158 (0.9)	133 (1.4)	156 (0.9)
Percentage (Daily)	22 (1.1)	67 (1.4)	13 (0.9)	66 (2.0)
Avg. Score (Weekly)	121 (2.1)	140 (2.1)	119 (3.5)	139 (2.8)
Percentage (Weekly)	30 (1.9)	60 (2.4)	19 (1.6)	61 (2.5)

Table C105: Take Part in Debates or Panel Discussions by National School Lunch Program Eligibility, 2010

	Eligible	Not Eligible
Avg. Score (Daily)	134 (2.2)	159 (1.8)
Percentage (Daily)	30 (1.8)	62 (2.1)
Avg. Score (Weekly)	134 (1.7)	159 (1.5)
Percentage (Weekly)	27 (1.6)	65 (1.8)
Avg. Score (Monthly)	136 (1.9)	158 (1.3)
Percentage (Monthly)	28 (1.3)	65 (1.6)
Avg. Score (Few times)	133 (1.7)	159 (1.3)
Percentage (Few Times)	28 (1.4)	62 (1.7)
Avg. Score (Never)	127 (1.4)	147 (1.1)
Percentage (Never)	36 (2.1)	58 (1.5)

Table C106: Take Part in Debates or Panel Discussions by National School Lunch Program Eligibility, 1998 and 2006

	2006		**1998**	
	Eligible	**Not Eligible**	**Eligible**	**Not Eligible**
Avg. Score (Daily)	136 (1.3)	159 (1.1)	134 (1.4)	158 (1.0)
Percentage (Daily)	21 (1.1)	69 (1.6)	12 (0.8)	67 (2.2)
Avg. Score (Weekly)	132 (1.2)	153 (1.1)	129 (2.3)	151 (1.1)
Percentage (Weekly)	26 (1.4)	63 (1.5)	17 (1.2)	64 (2.1)

Table C107: Write a Letter to Give an Opinion or Help Solve a Community Problem by National School Lunch Program Eligibility, 2010

	Eligible	Not Eligible
Avg. Score (Daily)	†	†
Percentage (Daily)	49 (5.2)	47 (5.4)
Avg. Score (Weekly)	99 (3.6)	128 (4.2)
Percentage (Weekly)	47 (3.7)	49 (3.6)
Avg. Score (Monthly)	121 (2.5)	139 (1.8)
Percentage (Monthly)	38 (2.2)	56 (2.2)
Avg. Score (Few times)	131 (1.6)	154 (1.5)
Percentage (Few Times)	32 (1.5)	61 (1.7)
Avg. Score (Never)	136 (1.2)	158 (0.8)
Percentage (Never)	29 (1.0)	54 (1.3)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C108: Write a Letter to Give an Opinion or Help Solve a Community Problem by National School Lunch Program Eligibility, 1998 and 2006

	2006		1998	
	Eligible	Not Eligible	Eligible	Not Eligible
Avg. Score (Daily)	131 (1.9)	153 (1.6)	129 (1.9)	153 (1.6)
Percentage (Daily)	25 (1.4)	66 (1.9)	15 (1.5)	62 (2.6)
Avg. Score (Weekly)	135 (1.0)	158 (1.0)	133 (1.7)	156 (1.0)
Percentage (Weekly)	22 (1.1)	66 (1.4)	14 (0.8)	67 (2.0)

Table C109: Work on a Group Project by National School Lunch Program Eligibility

2010

	Eligible	Not Eligible
Avg. Score (Daily)	113 (3.2)	136 (2.6)
Percentage (Daily)	44 (3.2)	53 (3.2)
Avg. Score (Weekly)	124 (1.7)	146 (1.6)
Percentage (Weekly)	36 (1.7)	60 (1.8)
Avg. Score (Monthly)	135 (1.5)	157 (1.0)
Percentage (Monthly)	29 (1.2)	64 (1.5)
Avg. Score (Few times)	139 (1.6)	161 (1.2)
Percentage (Few Times)	27 (1.2)	64 (1.6)
Avg. Score (Never)	131 (2.5)	153 (1.5)
Percentage (Never)	30 (1.8)	61 (2.2)

Table C110: Take part in role playing, mock trials, and dramas by National School Lunch Program eligibility, 2010

	Eligible	Not Eligible
Avg. Score (Daily)	115 (3.1)	139 (4.4)
Percentage (Daily)	39 (3.4)	55 (3.4)
Avg. Score (Weekly)	119 (3.1)	145 (3.1)
Percentage (Weekly)	37 (2.9)	57 (2.9)
Avg. Score (Monthly)	130 (2.3)	154 (1.8)
Percentage (Monthly)	29 (1.7)	64 (1.9)
Avg. Score (Few times)	138 (1.9)	162 (1.3)
Percentage (Few Times)	25 (1.2)	66 (1.6)
Avg. Score (Never)	132 (1.2)	154 (0.9)
Percentage (Never)	32 (1.2)	61 (1.4)

Table C111: Take part in role playing, mock trials, and dramas by National School Lunch Program eligibility, 1998 and 2006

	2006		**1998**	
	Eligible	**Not Eligible**	**Eligible**	**Not Eligible**
Avg. Score (Daily)	136 (2.2)	160 (1.2)	132 (2.5)	158 (1.2)
Percentage (Daily)	20 (1.2)	70 (1.8)	12 (1.1)	68 (2.5)
Avg. Score (Weekly)	133 (1.1)	155 (1.0)	132 (1.8)	153 (1.0)
Percentage (Weekly)	24 (1.2)	65 (1.4)	15 (1.0)	65 (2.1)

Table C112: Volunteer Work in Community by National School Lunch Program Eligibility

1998

	Eligible	**Not Eligible**
Avg. Score (School)	139 (3.1)	162 (1.2)
Percentage (School)	10 (1.2)	66 (2.3)
Avg. Score (Own)	138 (2.6)	160 (1.3)
Percentage (Own)	12 (0.9)	68 (2.1)
Avg. Score (No)	126 (1.6)	145 (1.2)
Percentage (No)	17 (1.1)	66 (2.3)

Table C113: Classroom government by National School Lunch Program eligibility

1998

	Eligible	**Not Eligible**
Avg. Score (Yes)	130 (1.8)	152 (1.2)
Percentage (Yes)	15 (1.3)	64 (2.5)
Avg. Score (No)	132 (2.8)	157 (1.3)
Percentage (No)	13 (1.0)	67 (2.1)

- **Mother's highest level of educational attainment**: How far in school did your mother go? (student-reported)

  ID: B003501

  Values: Did not finish high school, Graduated high school, Some education after high school, Graduated college, I don't know

Table C114: Mother's Educational Attainment, 2010

	<HS	HS	HS+	College	DK
Avg. Score	132	141	150	160	120
Percentage	12	23	23	38	4

Table C115: Mother's Educational Attainment, 2006

	<HS	HS	HS+	College	DK
Avg. Score	130	144	155	163	123
Percentage	12	24	23	37	4

C116: Study Civics or Government in 9th Grade by Mother's Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 2010

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Yes)	128 (3.1)	141 (1.6)	153 (1.5)	163 (1.3)
Percentage (Yes)	6 (0.5)	19 (0.9)	23 (0.8)	50 (1.6)
Avg. Score (No)	124 (2.0)	136 (1.3)	148 (1.1)	161 (1.2)
Percentage (No)	8 (0.5)	19 (0.8)	22 (0.6)	49 (1.2)

† Reporting standards not met

C117: Study Civics or Government in 9th Grade by Mother's Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 2006

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Yes)	128 (3.1)	141 (1.6)	153 (1.5)	163 (1.3)
Percentage (Yes)	6 (0.5)	19 (0.9)	23 (0.8)	50 (1.6)
Avg. Score (No)	124 (2.0)	136 (1.3)	148 (1.1)	161 (1.2)
Percentage (No)	8 (0.5)	19 (0.8)	22 (0.6)	49 (1.2)

C118: Study Civics or Government in 10th Grade by Mother's Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 2010

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Yes)	130 (1.9)	138 (1.5)	147 (1.2)	158 (1.0)
Percentage (Yes)	7 (0.4)	17 (0.7)	23 (0.7)	50 (1.2)
Avg. Score (No)	132 (1.8)	138 (1.7)	150 (1.6)	160 (1.1)
Percentage (No)	9 (0.5)	18 (0.8)	23 (0.9)	48 (1.2)

C119: Study Civics or Government in 10th Grade by Mother's Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 2006

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Yes)	126 (2.4)	141 (1.5)	149 (3.0)	164 (1.2)
Percentage (Yes)	6 (0.5)	18 (1.0)	21 (2.3)	50 (1.6)
Avg. Score (No)	125 (2.0)	136 (1.2)	150 (1.0)	161 (1.3)
Percentage (No)	8 (0.5)	19 (0.8)	22 (0.7)	49 (1.2)

C120: Study Civics or Government in 11th Grade by Mother's Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 2010

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Yes)	132 (2.1)	139 (1.5)	149 (1.3)	161 (1.0)
Percentage (Yes)	7 (0.4)	17 (0.7)	22 (0.7)	51 (1.2)
Avg. Score (No)	129 (2.0)	135 (2.0)	148 (1.4)	157 (1.3)
Percentage (No)	9 (0.6)	18 (0.9)	24 (0.8)	47 (1.1)

C121: Study Civics or Government in 11th Grade by Mother's Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 2006

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Yes)	129 (2.1)	142 (1.3)	153 (1.2)	164 (1.2)
Percentage (Yes)	7 (0.5)	19 (0.9)	23 (0.7)	50 (1.5)
Avg. Score (No)	122 (2.2)	134 (1.3)	147 (1.2)	159 (1.3)
Percentage (No)	8 (0.6)	19 (0.8)	22 (0.8)	49 (1.3)

C122: Study Civics or Government in 12th Grade by Mother's Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 2010

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Yes)	130 (1.8)	137 (1.4)	149 (1.2)	160 (0.9)
Percentage (Yes)	8 (0.4)	18 (0.6)	23 (0.7)	48 (1.1)
Avg. Score (No)	125 (2.8)	135 (2.5)	146 (1.5)	158 (1.6)
Percentage (No)	8 (0.6)	16 (0.9)	21 (1.0)	53 (1.4)

C123: Study Civics or Government in 12th Grade by Mother's Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 2006

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Yes)	129 (2.3)	139 (1.1)	152 (1.0)	164 (1.1)
Percentage (Yes)	7 (0.5)	18 (0.8)	22 (0.6)	50 (1.4)
Avg. Score (No)	119 (3.0)	136 (1.8)	147 (1.6)	158 (1.7)
Percentage (No)	7 (0.7)	20 (1.0)	23 (0.9)	46 (1.5)

Table C124: Studied Congress by Mother's Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 2010

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Yes)	129 (1.5)	136 (1.3)	148 (1.3)	158 (1.0)
Percentage (Yes)	9 (0.4)	19 (0.7)	23 (0.6)	47 (1.1)
Avg. Score (No)	130 (2.7)	141 (1.8)	148 (1.6)	161 (1.3)
Percentage (No)	6 (0.5)	15 (0.9)	22 (0.9)	53 (1.6)

Table C125: Studied Congress by Mother's Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 2006

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Yes)	127 (2.1)	137 (1.0)	150 (1.1)	162 (1.1)
Percentage (No)	8 (0.5)	19 (0.8)	22 (0.6)	50 (1.4)
Avg. Score (No)	125 (3.3)	144 (1.8)	153 (1.3)	164 (1.7)
Percentage (No)	6 (0.6)	19 (0.9)	24 (1.1)	49 (1.6)

Table C126: Studied How Laws Are Made by Mother's Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 2010

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Yes)	129 (1.6)	135 (1.5)	147 (1.3)	157 (1.0)
Percentage (Yes)	9 (0.4)	19 (0.7)	23 (0.7)	47 (1.2)
Avg. Score (No)	132 (2.4)	144 (1.6)	150 (1.5)	161 (1.1)
Percentage (No)	7 (0.5)	15 (0.8)	22 (0.9)	54 (1.5)

Table C127: Studied How Laws Are Made by Mother's Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 2006

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Yes)	127 (2.1)	136 (1.1)	150 (1.1)	161 (1.1)
Percentage (No)	8 (0.6)	19 (0.8)	22 (0.7)	49 (1.4)
Avg. Score (No)	127 (3.4)	145 (1.7)	153 (1.5)	165 (1.6)
Percentage (No)	5 (0.5)	19 (0.9)	24 (1.0)	51 (1.6)

Table C128: Studied Parties, Elections, and Voting by Mother's Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 2010

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Yes)	129 (1.6)	136 (1.5)	148 (1.3)	158 (1.0)
Percentage (Yes)	9 (0.4)	18 (0.7)	23 (0.6)	48 (1.1)
Avg. Score (No)	132 (2.3)	143 (2.0)	149 (1.6)	160 (1.2)
Percentage (No)	6 (0.5)	15 (0.7)	22 (0.9)	54 (1.4)

Table C129: Studied Parties, Elections, and Voting by Mother's Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 2006

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Yes)	128 (1.9)	137 (1.0)	150 (1.1)	162 (1.2)
Percentage (No)	8 (0.5)	19 (0.8)	21 (0.6)	50 (1.3)
Avg. Score (No)	125 (3.9)	145 (1.7)	153 (1.4)	164 (1.6)
Percentage (No)	6 (0.6)	18 (0.9)	25 (1.1)	50 (1.7)

C130: Studied President and Cabinet by Mother's Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 2010

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Yes)	131 (1.8)	139 (1.3)	149 (1.3)	160 (1.0)
Percentage (Yes)	8 (0.4)	18 (0.6)	23 (0.7)	49 (1.1)
Avg. Score (No)	130 (2.3)	137 (1.9)	148 (1.5)	159 (1.1)
Percentage (No)	7 (0.5)	17 (0.7)	23 (0.9)	52 (1.4)

C131: Studied President and Cabinet by Mother's Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 2006

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Yes)	130 (2.3)	139 (1.1)	151 (1.1)	163 (1.2)
Percentage (No)	7 (0.5)	18 (0.8)	22 (0.7)	50 (1.4)
Avg. Score (No)	126 (3.1)	142 (1.5)	152 (1.4)	162 (1.5)
Percentage (No)	6 (0.6)	19 (0.8)	24 (1.0)	50 (1.4)

Table C132: Studied State and Local Government by Mother's Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 2010

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Yes)	129 (1.7)	135 (1.4)	148 (1.2)	158 (1.0)
Percentage (Yes)	9 (0.4)	19 (0.6)	23 (0.7)	47 (1.1)
Avg. Score (No)	133 (2.4)	144 (1.6)	149 (1.8)	161 (1.2)
Percentage (No)	6 (0.4)	15 (0.9)	22 (1.0)	55 (1.3)

Table C133: Studied State and Local Government by Mother's Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 2006

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Yes)	127 (2.1)	138 (0.9)	150 (1.0)	162 (1.0)
Percentage (No)	8 (0.5)	19 (0.8)	22 (0.6)	49 (1.3)
Avg. Score (No)	126 (3.9)	144 (1.8)	153 (1.5)	164 (1.7)
Percentage (No)	5 (0.6)	18 (0.9)	24 (1.2)	51 (1.8)

Table C134: Studied Court System by Mother's Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 2010

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Yes)	129 (1.6)	135 (1.5)	147 (1.3)	158 (1.0)
Percentage (Yes)	9 (0.4)	19 (0.7)	22 (0.7)	48 (1.1)
Avg. Score (No)	130 (2.4)	142 (1.9)	149 (1.5)	162 (1.1)
Percentage (No)	7 (0.4)	15 (0.8)	23 (0.9)	53 (1.5)

Table C135: Studied Court System by Mother's Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 2006

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Yes)	128 (2.2)	138 (1.1)	150 (1.2)	162 (1.0)
Percentage (No)	8 (0.5)	18 (0.8)	22 (0.7)	49 (1.4)
Avg. Score (No)	127 (3.2)	143 (1.7)	153 (1.3)	164 (1.7)
Percentage (No)	6 (0.5)	18 (0.9)	24 (1.0)	51 (1.5)

Table C136: Studied U.S. Constitution by Mother's Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 2010

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Yes)	129 (1.5)	136 (1.4)	148 (1.3)	159 (1.0)
Percentage (Yes)	9 (0.4)	18 (0.7)	23 (0.6)	48 (1.0)
Avg. Score (No)	132 (3.0)	142 (2.0)	148 (1.6)	160 (1.2)
Percentage (No)	6 (0.5)	15 (0.9)	23 (0.9)	54 (1.6)

Table C137: Studied U.S. Constitution by Mother's Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 2006

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Yes)	127 (2.1)	137 (1.1)	150 (1.0)	162 (1.1)
Percentage (No)	8 (0.5)	19 (0.8)	22 (0.6)	49 (1.3)
Avg. Score (No)	127 (3.8)	145 (1.8)	152 (1.5)	164 (1.8)
Percentage (No)	6 (0.6)	18 (1.1)	25 (1.1)	50 (1.7)

Table C138: Fill Out Worksheets by Mother's Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 2006

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Yes)	125 (1.8)	139 (1.1)	151 (0.9)	161 (1.1)
Percentage (No)	8 (0.5)	19 (0.7)	23 (0.5)	48 (1.3)
Avg. Score (No)	†	138 (2.6)	151 (2.8)	169 (2.2)
Percentage (No)	5 (0.7)	18 (1.1)	20 (1.4)	56 (2.1)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C139: Memorize Reading Materials by Mother's Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 2006

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Yes)	130 (1.9)	141 (1.1)	153 (1.0)	164 (1.1)
Percentage (No)	7 (0.4)	18 (0.7)	22 (0.7)	51 (1.3)
Avg. Score (No)	120 (2.8)	134 (1.7)	146 (1.8)	158 (1.6)
Percentage (No)	8 (0.7)	20 (1.1)	23 (1.0)	47 (1.4)

Table C140: Read from Textbook by Mother's Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 2010

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Daily)	134 (2.3)	139 (2.0)	149 (1.9)	160 (1.2)
Percentage (Daily)	9 (0.6)	17 (0.9)	22 (0.9)	50 (1.3)
Avg. Score (Weekly)	131 (2.5)	140 (1.8)	151 (1.2)	162 (1.1)
Percentage (Weekly)	7 (0.5)	17 (0.8)	24 (0.9)	50 (1.3)
Avg. Score (Monthly)	124 (4.1)	137 (2.5)	148 (2.2)	157 (1.5)
Percentage (Monthly)	9 (0.8)	18 (1.1)	23 (1.5)	49 (1.7)
Avg. Score (Annually)	121 (3.6)	131 (2.8)	138 (2.3)	150 (2.0)
Percentage (Annually)	9 (0.8)	21 (1.3)	21 (1.6)	46 (2.0)
Avg. Score (Never)	118 (6.2)	126 (4.0)	137 (3.7)	145 (2.3)
Percentage (Never)	10 (1.2)	18 (1.5)	21 (1.8)	46 (2.1)

Table C141: Read from Textbook by Mother's Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 2006

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Yes)	126 (1.8)	139 (1.0)	151 (0.9)	163 (1.1)
Percentage (Yes)	8 (0.5)	19 (0.7)	22 (0.6)	49 (1.3)
Avg. Score (No)	121 (5.1)	135 (2.9)	146 (2.6)	157 (1.9)
Percentage (No)	6 (0.8)	19 (1.5)	23 (1.4)	50 (1.9)

Table C142: Discuss Current Events by Mother's Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 2010

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Daily)	136 (2.1)	142 (2.0)	153 (1.6)	163 (1.1)
Percentage (Daily)	7 (0.5)	16 (0.8)	23 (1.1)	52 (1.4)
Avg. Score (Weekly)	132 (2.6)	142 (1.7)	150 (1.3)	162 (1.2)
Percentage (Weekly)	7 (0.5)	17 (0.7)	23 (0.9)	51 (1.3)
Avg. Score (Monthly)	132 (3.2)	138 (2.0)	147 (2.1)	155 (1.4)
Percentage (Monthly)	8 (0.7)	20 (1.1)	20 (1.1)	49 (1.4)
Avg. Score (Annually)	118 (3.8)	123 (3.0)	135 (2.1)	145 (2.3)
Percentage (Annually)	12 (0.9)	19 (1.3)	24 (1.6)	42 (1.8)
Avg. Score (Never)	112 (4.2)	119 (3.4)	128 (3.3)	139 (2.4)
Percentage (Never)	14 (1.3)	21 (1.5)	22 (1.4)	36 (1.8)

Table C143: Discuss Current Events by Mother's Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 2006

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Yes)	129 (1.7)	141 (1.0)	152 (0.9)	164 (1.0)
Percentage (No)	7 (0.4)	18 (0.7)	23 (0.6)	50 (1.2)
Avg. Score (No)	111 (3.2)	123 (2.8)	137 (2.9)	148 (2.4)
Percentage (No)	12 (1.4)	23 (1.8)	20 (1.3)	43 (1.9)

Table C144: Take Part in Debates or Panel Discussions by Mother's Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 2010

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Daily)	†	141 (3.4)	150 (2.5)	159 (1.9)
Percentage (Daily)	7 (1.0)	15 (1.3)	23 (1.6)	52 (2.1)
Avg. Score (Weekly)	133 (3.5)	138 (2.3)	150 (1.7)	162 (1.7)
Percentage (Weekly)	7 (0.8)	15 (0.9)	24 (1.2)	52 (1.4)
Avg. Score (Monthly)	131 (4.1)	138 (2.3)	150 (1.9)	162 (1.2)
Percentage (Monthly)	7 (0.6)	15 (0.8)	22 (0.9)	53 (1.4)
Avg. Score (Annually)	132 (2.8)	141 (2.1)	150 (1.6)	161 (1.4)
Percentage (Annually)	7 (0.6)	18 (1.0)	21 (0.9)	52 (1.4)
Avg. Score (Never)	122 (2.0)	132 (1.8)	142 (1.7)	151 (1.2)
Percentage (Never)	10 (0.7)	21 (1.0)	23 (0.9)	42 (1.2)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C145: Take Part in Debates or Panel Discussions by Mother's Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 2006

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Yes)	130 (2.3)	141 (1.2)	153 (1.2)	164 (1.1)
Percentage (No)	6 (0.4)	17 (0.7)	22 (0.6)	53 (1.3)
Avg. Score (No)	123 (2.2)	136 (1.6)	148 (1.4)	160 (1.4)
Percentage (No)	9 (0.8)	20 (1.0)	24 (0.9)	44 (1.4)

Table C146: Write a Letter or Help Solve a Community Problem by Mother's Educational Attainment, 2010

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Daily)	†	†	†	†
Percentage (Daily)	10 (3.3)	16 (3.4)	12 (4.5)	54 (5.3)
Avg. Score (Weekly)	†	110 (6.1)	†	126 (4.9)
Percentage (Weekly)	14 (2.0)	24 (3.1)	21 (2.4)	34 (2.9)
Avg. Score (Monthly)	117 (4.5)	125 (3.3)	128 (3.1)	145 (2.3)
Percentage (Monthly)	11 (1.3)	19 (1.8)	22 (1.7)	43 (1.9)
Avg. Score (Annually)	127 (3.2)	134 (2.2)	148 (2.0)	158 (1.5)
Percentage (Annually)	8 (0.7)	17 (1.0)	23 (1.0)	49 (1.4)
Avg. Score (Never)	133 (1.5)	141 (1.4)	151 (1.1)	161 (0.8)
Percentage (Never)	8 (0.4)	17 (0.6)	23 (0.7)	50 (1.0)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C147: Write a Letter or Help Solve a Community Problem by Mother's Educational Attainment, 2006

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Yes)	123 (3.4)	133 (2.1)	148 (1.8)	157 (1.7)
Percentage (No)	8 (0.7)	18 (0.9)	21 (0.9)	50 (1.3)
Avg. Score (No)	129 (2.0)	140 (1.1)	152 (1.1)	164 (1.0)
Percentage (No)	7 (0.5)	19 (0.7)	23 (0.6)	49 (1.3)

Table C148: Work on a Group Project by Mother's Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 2010

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Daily)	†	117 (4.8)	131 (4.9)	137 (3.5)
Percentage (Daily)	14 (2.1)	19 (1.9)	19 (2.1)	42 (3.2)
Avg. Score (Weekly)	118 (3.3)	128 (2.3)	140 (2.1)	148 (1.8)
Percentage (Weekly)	10 (0.8)	20 (1.2)	22 (1.1)	45 (1.4)
Avg. Score (Monthly)	133 (2.2)	139 (1.8)	148 (1.2)	160 (1.0)
Percentage (Monthly)	8 (0.4)	17 (0.7)	22 (0.9)	51 (1.2)
Avg. Score (Annually)	132 (2.8)	143 (1.7)	155 (1.5)	165 (1.3)
Percentage (Annually)	7 (0.5)	17 (0.8)	23 (0.8)	52 (1.2)
Avg. Score (Never)	132 (4.1)	134 (2.8)	145 (2.8)	158 (1.7)
Percentage (Never)	9 (1.0)	19 (1.4)	24 (1.3)	46 (1.8)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C149: Take Part in Role Playing, Mock Trials, and Dramas by Mother's Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 2010

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Daily)	†	†	†	138 (4.7)
Percentage (Daily)	7 (1.8)	18 (2.7)	22 (2.8)	48 (3.9)
Avg. Score (Weekly)	†	121 (5.8)	137 (4.6)	145 (2.7)
Percentage (Weekly)	9 (1.2)	19 (2.2)	21 (2.0)	48 (2.7)
Avg. Score (Monthly)	119 (4.7)	133 (2.8)	148 (2.4)	159 (1.9)
Percentage (Monthly)	7 (0.7)	16 (1.2)	26 (1.3)	49 (1.8)
Avg. Score (Annually)	132 (2.7)	143 (2.1)	152 (1.9)	165 (1.4)
Percentage (Annually)	7 (0.5)	15 (0.7)	21 (1.0)	56 (1.4)
Avg. Score (Never)	130 (1.6)	137 (1.6)	147 (1.2)	157 (0.9)
Percentage (Never)	9 (0.5)	19 (0.7)	23 (0.8)	46 (1.2)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C150: Take Part in Role Playing, Mock Trials, and Dramas by Mother's Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 2006

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Yes)	127 (3.3)	142 (1.5)	153 (1.6)	164 (1.3)
Percentage (No)	6 (0.5)	17 (0.9)	22 (0.8)	54 (1.5)
Avg. Score (No)	127 (2.0)	138 (1.3)	149 (1.1)	162 (1.1)
Percentage (No)	8 (0.6)	20 (0.9)	23 (0.6)	47 (1.3)

- **Parental education: Highest level achieved by either parent**

  ID: PARED2

  Values: Did not finish high school, Graduated high school, Some education after high school, Graduated college, Unknown

Table C151: Parental Educational Attainment, 1998

	<HS	HS	HS+	College	DK
Avg. Score	124	140	145	160	102
Percentage	6	14	27	52	1

Table C152: Study Civics or Government in 9th Grade by Parents' Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 1998

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Yes)	130 (3.3)	141 (1.7)	146 (1.6)	160 (1.0)
Percentage (Yes)	4 (0.4)	14 (0.7)	27 (1.0)	53 (1.4)
Avg. Score (No)	121 (2.6)	140 (1.8)	144 (1.2)	159 (1.0)
Percentage (No)	7 (0.4)	14 (0.6)	27 (0.9)	51 (1.2)

Table C153: Study Civics or Government in 10th Grade by Parents' Highest Level of Educational Attainment. 1998

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Yes)	132 (3.6)	142 (1.6)	147 (1.5)	162 (1.3)
Percentage (Yes)	4 (0.4)	15 (0.8)	27 (1.0)	53 (1.5)
Avg. Score (No)	120 (2.3)	139 (1.7)	144 (1.2)	158 (1.0)
Percentage (No)	7 (0.4)	14 (0.6)	27 (0.9)	51 (1.2)

Table C154: Study Civics or Government in 11th Grade by Parents' Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 1998

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Yes)	129 (3.0)	143 (1.5)	150 (1.4)	164 (1.0)
Percentage (Yes)	5 (0.4)	14 (0.6)	27 (0.8)	53 (1.2)
Avg. Score (No)	119 (2.8)	137 (2.1)	139 (1.6)	155 (1.2)
Percentage (No)	6 (0.4)	15 (0.7)	27 (1.0)	51 (1.3)

Table C155: Study Civics or Government in 12th Grade by Parents' Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 1998

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Yes)	127 (2.0)	143 (1.5)	147 (1.2)	162 (0.9)
Percentage (Yes)	6 (0.3)	14 (0.6)	27 (0.9)	52 (1.2)
Avg. Score (No)	115 (4.5)	134 (2.2)	139 (2.0)	155 (1.5)
Percentage (No)	5 (0.6)	15 (0.9)	26 (1.5)	52 (2.1)

Table C156: Studied Congress by Parents' Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 1998

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Yes)	126 (2.1)	141 (1.4)	145 (1.3)	160 (1.0)
Percentage (Yes)	6 (0.4)	15 (0.6)	27 (0.8)	52 (1.1)
Avg. Score (No)	129 (3.4)	141 (2.6)	148 (1.6)	162 (1.5)
Percentage (No)	4 (0.5)	13 (1.0)	27 (1.6)	56 (2.2)

Table C157: Studied How Laws Are Made by Parents' Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 1998

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Yes)	126 (2.2)	140 (1.6)	145 (1.4)	159 (1.1)
Percentage (Yes)	6 (0.4)	15 (0.6)	27 (0.8)	51 (1.2)
Avg. Score (No)	128 (3.2)	144 (1.9)	148 (1.7)	163 (1.3)
Percentage (No)	4 (0.4)	13 (0.8)	26 (1.5)	56 (1.9)

Table C158: Studied Parties, Elections, and Voting by Parents' Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 1998

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Yes)	124 (2.3)	141 (1.3)	145 (1.3)	159 (1.0)
Percentage (Yes)	6 (0.3)	15 (0.6)	27 (0.8)	52 (1.1)
Avg. Score (No)	132 (3.4)	142 (2.7)	149 (1.5)	163 (1.4)
Percentage (No)	4 (0.5)	13 (1.0)	27 (1.7)	54 (2.0)

Table C159: Studied President and Cabinet by Parents' Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 1998

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Yes)	129 (2.6)	142 (1.5)	146 (1.4)	161 (1.0)
Percentage (Yes)	5 (0.4)	14 (0.7)	27 (0.9)	53 (1.3)
Avg. Score (No)	124 (2.6)	140 (2.1)	147 (1.5)	160 (1.3)
Percentage (No)	6 (0.6)	14 (0.8)	26 (1.6)	54 (1.9)

Table C160: Studied State and Local Government by Parents' Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 1998

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Yes)	127 (2.1)	141 (1.3)	145 (1.2)	159 (1.0)
Percentage (Yes)	6 (0.4)	15 (0.6)	28 (0.8)	51 (1.1)
Avg. Score (No)	126 (3.9)	143 (2.5)	149 (1.8)	165 (1.5)
Percentage (No)	4 (0.4)	13 (0.9)	25 (1.6)	57 (2.0)

Table C161: Studied Court System by Parents' Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 1998

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Yes)	126 (2.2)	141 (1.4)	145 (1.2)	159 (1.0)
Percentage (Yes)	6 (0.4)	14 (0.5)	27 (0.8)	52 (1.1)
Avg. Score (No)	129 (2.9)	143 (2.1)	148 (1.9)	164 (1.3)
Percentage (No)	4 (0.4)	15 (0.9)	26 (1.4)	55 (1.9)

Table C162: Studied U.S. Constitution by Parents' Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 1998

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Yes)	126 (2.2)	141 (1.3)	145 (1.3)	160 (1.0)
Percentage (Yes)	6 (0.4)	15 (0.6)	27 (0.8)	52 (1.2)
Avg. Score (No)	129 (3.3)	143 (2.3)	148 (1.7)	162 (1.5)
Percentage (No)	4 (0.4)	13 (1.0)	27 (1.4)	56 (2.0)

Table C163: Fill Out Worksheets by Parents' Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 1998

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Yes)	127 (2.0)	141 (1.3)	145 (1.1)	160 (0.9)
Percentage (No)	5 (0.3)	14 (0.6)	28 (0.7)	52 (1.1)
Avg. Score (No)	124 (2.9)	146 (4.4)	147 (2.9)	166 (1.9)
Percentage (No)	5 (0.9)	14 (1.3)	24 (1.6)	55 (2.0)

Table C164: Memorize Reading Materials by Parents' Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 1998

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Yes)	130 (2.4)	142 (1.3)	147 (1.1)	162 (0.9)
Percentage (No)	5 (0.3)	14 (0.6)	27 (0.8)	54 (1.2)
Avg. Score (No)	120 (2.8)	139 (2.2)	142 (2.0)	157 (1.4)
Percentage (No)	7 (0.6)	16 (1.0)	27 (1.4)	50 (1.6)

Table C165: Read from Textbook by Parents' Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 1998

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Yes)	128 (1.9)	141 (1.2)	147 (1.1)	162 (0.9)
Percentage (No)	5 (0.3)	14 (0.6)	27 (0.7)	53 (1.1)
Avg. Score (No)	†	146 (3.8)	137 (3.6)	152 (2.1)
Percentage (No)	5 (0.7)	14 (1.6)	28 (1.8)	51 (1.8)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C166: Discuss Current Events by Parents' Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 1998

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Yes)	130 (2.0)	143 (1.2)	147 (1.1)	162 (0.8)
Percentage (No)	5 (0.3)	14 (0.5)	27 (0.7)	53 (1.1)
Avg. Score (No)	111 (4.1)	130 (3.9)	134 (3.3)	144 (3.1)
Percentage (No)	9 (1.0)	16 (1.2)	27 (1.9)	46 (2.2)

Table C167: Take Part in Debates or Panel Discussions by Parents' Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 1998

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Yes)	131 (2.7)	144 (1.6)	148 (1.4)	163 (0.9)
Percentage (No)	4 (0.3)	13 (0.6)	26 (0.9)	56 (1.3)
Avg. Score (No)	123 (2.6)	139 (1.8)	143 (1.7)	157 (1.2)
Percentage (No)	7 (0.5)	17 (0.8)	28 (0.8)	48 (1.3)

Table C168: Write a Letter to Help Solve a Community Problem by Parents' Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 1998

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Yes)	117 (3.5)	137 (2.9)	143 (2.2)	158 (1.4)
Percentage (No)	6 (0.5)	13 (1.1)	25 (1.3)	55 (1.5)
Avg. Score (No)	130 (2.0)	143 (1.3)	147 (1.3)	161 (0.9)
Percentage (No)	5 (0.3)	15 (0.5)	27 (0.9)	52 (1.2)

Table C169: Take Part in Role Playing, Mock Trials, and Dramas by Parents' Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 1998

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Yes)	126 (3.9)	146 (1.9)	147 (1.6)	163 (1.2)
Percentage (No)	4 (0.5)	11 (0.9)	25 (1.1)	59 (1.6)
Avg. Score (No)	128 (2.0)	140 (1.4)	145 (1.4)	159 (1.0)
Percentage (No)	6 (0.3)	16 (0.6)	28 (0.8)	49 (1.1)

Table C170: Volunteer Work in Community by Parents' Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 1998

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (School)	133 (2.7)	149 (2.2)	150 (1.8)	167 (1.2)
Percentage (School)	3 (0.5)	13 (0.9)	24 (1.4)	59 (1.8)
Avg. Score (Own)	132 (3.8)	145 (2.4)	151 (1.5)	164 (1.2)
Percentage (Own)	4 (0.4)	10 (0.9)	25 (1.2)	61 (1.4)
Avg. Score (No)	121 (2.4)	137 (1.7)	140 (1.7)	149 (1.1)
Percentage (No)	8 (0.6)	19 (0.7)	30 (1.1)	43 (1.2)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C171: Classroom Government by Parents' Highest Level of Educational Attainment, 1998

	<HS	HS	HS+	College
Avg. Score (Yes)	125 (2.6)	140 (1.7)	145 (1.3)	157 (1.1)
Percentage (Yes)	45 (3.1)	39 (2.3)	37 (1.5)	41 (1.3)
Avg. Score (No)	125 (2.9)	144 (1.9)	146 (1.6)	164 (1.3)
Percentage (No)	37 (2.6)	41 (2.6)	44 (1.5)	42 (1.1)

- **English language learners:** Student classified by school as either English Language Learner or not

  ID: LEP

  Values: ELL, Not ELL

Table C172: English Language Learners, 2010

	ELL	Not ELL
Avg. Score	99	150
Percentage	4	96

Table C173: English Language Learners, 2006

	ELL	Not ELL
Avg. Score	110	152
Percentage	3	97

Table C174: English Language Learners, 1998

	ELL	Not ELL
Avg. Score	105	151
Percentage	2	98

Table C175: Study Civics or Government in 9th Grade by English Language Learner

	2010		2006		1998	
	ELL	**Not ELL**	**ELL**	**Not ELL**	**ELL**	**Not ELL**
Avg. Score (Yes)	103 (3.4)	151 (1.0)	†	154 (1.1)	†	152 (1.1)
Percentage (Yes)	3 (0.3)	97 (0.3)	1 (0.3)	99 (0.3)	1 (0.2)	99 (0.2)
Avg. Score (No)	101 (3.4)	152 (0.9)	110 (2.3)	151 (0.9)	103 (3.0)	150 (0.9)
Percentage (No)	4 (0.5)	96 (0.5)	4 (0.7)	96 (0.7)	3 (0.4)	97 (0.4)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C176: Study Civics or Government in 10th Grade by English Language Learner

	2010		2006		1998	
	ELL	**Not ELL**	**ELL**	**Not ELL**	**ELL**	**Not ELL**
Avg. Score (Yes)	103 (3.5)	151 (0.8)	114 (6.3)	155 (1.1)	†	153 (1.0)
Percentage (Yes)	3 (0.4)	97 (0.4)	2 (0.3)	98 (0.3)	1 (0.2)	99 (0.2)
Avg. Score (No)	102 (3.7)	152 (1.0)	109 (1.9)	151 (0.9)	103 (3.2)	149 (0.9)
Percentage (No)	4 (0.4)	96 (0.4)	4 (0.7)	96 (0.7)	3 (0.4)	97 (0.4)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C177: Study Civics or Government in 11th Grade by English Language Learner

	2010		2006		1998	
	ELL	**Not ELL**	**ELL**	**Not ELL**	**ELL**	**Not ELL**
Avg. Score (Yes)	101 (3.0)	153 (0.8)	117 (4.3)	155 (1.1)	113 (5.3)	156 (0.9)
Percentage (Yes)	3 (0.4)	97 (0.4)	2 (0.3)	98 (0.3)	1 (0.2)	99 (0.2)
Avg. Score (No)	103 (3.8)	149 (1.0)	106 (2.9)	149 (1.0)	101 (3.7)	146 (1.0)
Percentage (No)	4 (0.4)	96 (0.4)	4 (0.7)	96 (0.7)	3 (0.3)	97 (0.3)

Table C178: Study Civics or Government in 12th Grade by English Language Learner

	2010		2006		1998	
	ELL	**Not ELL**	**ELL**	**Not ELL**	**ELL**	**Not ELL**
Avg. Score (Yes)	100 (2.8)	152 (0.9)	114 (2.5)	154 (0.9)	108 (3.3)	154 (0.8)
Percentage (Yes)	4 (0.5)	96 (0.5)	3 (0.8)	97 (0.8)	2 (0.3)	98 (0.3)
Avg. Score (No)	100 (4.8)	149 (1.2)	101 (3.4)	148 (1.3)	†	145 (1.4)
Percentage (No)	3 (0.4)	97 (0.4)	3 (0.5)	97 (0.5)	2 (0.3)	98 (0.3)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C179: Studied Congress by English Language Learner

	2010		2006		1998	
	ELL	**Not ELL**	**ELL**	**Not ELL**	**ELL**	**Not ELL**
Avg. Score (Yes)	101 (2.8)	150 (0.9)	113 (2.4)	152 (1.0)	108 (3.3)	152 (0.9)
Percentage (Yes)	4 (0.4)	96 (0.4)	4 (0.7)	96 (0.7)	2 (0.2)	98 (0.2)
Avg. Score (No)	99 (4.3)	154 (1.1)	103 (3.9)	155 (1.2)	†	154 (1.3)
Percentage (No)	3 (0.4)	97 (0.4)	3 (0.4)	97 (0.4)	1 (0.2)	99 (0.2)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C180: Studied How Laws Are Made by English Language Learner

	2010		2006		1998	
	ELL	**Not ELL**	**ELL**	**Not ELL**	**ELL**	**Not ELL**
Avg. Score (Yes)	102 (3.1)	149 (0.9)	115 (2.8)	152 (0.9)	109 (3.5)	151 (1.0)
Percentage (Yes)	4 (0.4)	96 (0.4)	4 (0.7)	96 (0.7)	3 (0.3)	98 (0.3)
Avg. Score (No)	99 (4.2)	155 (1.0)	106 (4.2)	157 (1.2)	†	155 (1.1)
Percentage (No)	2 (0.3)	98 (0.3)	2 (0.3)	98 (0.3)	1 (0.3)	99 (0.3)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C181: Studied Parties, Elections, and Voting by English Language Learner

	2010		2006		1998	
	ELL	**Not ELL**	**ELL**	**Not ELL**	**ELL**	**Not ELL**
Avg. Score (Yes)	100 (2.9)	150 (0.9)	113 (3.0)	152 (0.9)	107 (3.8)	151 (0.9)
Percentage (Yes)	4 (0.4)	96 (0.4)	3 (0.5)	97 (0.5)	2 (0.2)	98 (0.2)
Avg. Score (No)	101 (4.3)	154 (1.1)	105 (4.4)	156 (1.2)	†	155 (1.1)
Percentage (No)	2 (0.4)	98 (0.4)	2 (0.4)	98 (0.4)	1 (0.2)	99 (0.2)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C182: Studied President and Cabinet by English Language Learner

	2010		2006		1998	
	ELL	**Not ELL**	**ELL**	**Not ELL**	**ELL**	**Not ELL**
Avg. Score (Yes)	103 (3.1)	152 (0.9)	117 (2.9)	154 (1.0)	111 (3.6)	153 (0.9)
Percentage (Yes)	3 (0.4)	97 (0.4)	3 (0.7)	97 (0.7)	2 (0.2)	98 (0.2)
Avg. Score (No)	98 (3.5)	152 (1.0)	105 (3.6)	155 (1.1)	†	152 (1.1)
Percentage (No)	3 (0.4)	97 (0.4)	3 (0.4)	97 (0.4)	1 (0.3)	99 (0.3)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C183: Studied State and Local Government by English Language Learner

	2010		2006		1998	
	ELL	**Not ELL**	**ELL**	**Not ELL**	**ELL**	**Not ELL**
Avg. Score (Yes)	100 (2.8)	150 (0.9)	113 (2.9)	152 (0.8)	106 (3.6)	151 (0.9)
Percentage (Yes)	4 (0.4)	96 (0.4)	3 (0.6)	97 (0.6)	2 (0.2)	98 (0.2)
Avg. Score (No)	105 (4.1)	155 (1.1)	109 (4.3)	156 (1.3)	†	156 (1.3)
Percentage (No)	2 (0.4)	98 (0.4)	2 (0.4)	98 (0.4)	1 (0.2)	99 (0.2)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C184: Studied Court System by English Language Learner

	2010		2006		1998	
	ELL	**Not ELL**	**ELL**	**Not ELL**	**ELL**	**Not ELL**
Avg. Score (Yes)	102 (2.9)	149 (0.9)	115 (2.9)	152 (0.9)	107 (4.1)	151 (0.9)
Percentage (Yes)	4 (0.4)	96 (0.4)	4 (0.6)	96 (0.6)	2 (0.2)	98 (0.2)
Avg. Score (No)	101 (3.9)	154 (1.0)	106 (4.2)	156 (1.2)	†	155 (1.1)
Percentage (No)	3 (0.4)	97 (0.4)	3 (0.4)	97 (0.4)	1 (0.2)	99 (0.2)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C185: Studied U.S. Constitution by English Language Learner

	2010		2006		1998	
	ELL	**Not ELL**	**ELL**	**Not ELL**	**ELL**	**Not ELL**
Avg. Score (Yes)	101 (2.6)	150 (0.9)	113 (2.6)	152 (0.9)	108 (3.5)	152 (0.9)
Percentage (Yes)	4 (0.4)	96 (0.4)	4 (0.7)	96 (0.7)	2 (0.3)	98 (0.3)
Avg. Score (No)	101 (4.8)	153 (1.1)	†	156 (1.3)	†	154 (1.3)
Percentage (No)	2 (0.3)	98 (0.3)	2 (0.4)	98 (0.4)	1 (0.2)	99 (0.2)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C186: Fill Out Worksheets by English Language Learner

	2006		1998	
	ELL	**Not ELL**	**ELL**	**Not ELL**
Avg. Score (Yes)	110 (2.4)	152 (0.9)	106 (4.1)	152 (0.8)
Percentage (Yes)	3 (0.6)	97 (0.6)	2 (0.2)	96 (0.2)
Avg. Score (No)	†	158 (1.7)	†	157 (1.8)
Percentage (No)	3 (0.5)	97 (0.5)	3 (0.6)	97 (0.6)

† Reporting standards not met

C187: Memorize Reading Materials by English Language Learner

	2006		1998	
	ELL	**Not ELL**	**ELL**	**Not ELL**
Avg. Score (Yes)	111 (3.1)	155 (0.9)	111 (3.5)	154 (0.7)
Percentage (Yes)	3 (0.5)	97 (0.5)	2 (0.2)	98 (0.2)
Avg. Score (No)	110 (3.2)	148 (1.2)	99 (6.7)	148 (1.2)
Percentage (No)	4 (0.6)	96 (0.6)	3 (0.6)	96 (0.6)

Table C188: Read from Textbook by English Language Learner, 2010

	ELL	Not ELL
Avg. Score (Daily)	101 (4.9)	152 (1.0)
Percentage (Daily)	3 (0.5)	97 (0.5)
Avg. Score (Weekly)	104 (3.5)	155 (0.9)
Percentage (Weekly)	3 (0.5)	97 (0.5)
Avg. Score (Monthly)	99 (4.3)	150 (1.3)
Percentage (Monthly)	5 (0.5)	95 (0.5)
Avg. Score (Few times)	†	141 (1.3)
Percentage (Few Times)	4 (0.6)	96 (0.6)
Avg. Score (Never)	†	136 (2.0)
Percentage (Never)	3 (0.6)	97 (0.6)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C189: Read from Textbook by English Language Learner, 1998 and 2006

	2006		1998	
	ELL	Not ELL	ELL	Not ELL
Avg. Score (Yes)	111 (2.4)	154 (0.9)	107 (3.5)	153 (0.7)
Percentage (Yes)	3 (0.6)	97 (0.6)	2 (0.2)	98 (0.2)
Avg. Score (No)	†	148 (1.8)	†	145 (1.8)
Percentage (No)	2 (0.4)	98 (0.4)	1 (0.4)	99 (0.4)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C190: Discuss Current Events by English Language Learner, 2010

	ELL	Not ELL
Avg. Score (Daily)	109 (3.9)	156 (0.9)
Percentage (Daily)	2 (0.4)	98 (0.4)
Avg. Score (Weekly)	101 (3.9)	155 (1.0)
Percentage (Weekly)	3 (0.4)	97 (0.4)
Avg. Score (Monthly)	101 (4.3)	149 (1.2)
Percentage (Monthly)	4 (0.6)	96 (0.6)
Avg. Score (Few times)	96 (4.0)	137 (1.7)
Percentage (Few Times)	6 (0.7)	94 (0.7)
Avg. Score (Never)	89 (5.9)	129 (1.7)
Percentage (Never)	8 (1.2)	92 (1.2)

Table C191: Discuss Current Events by English Language Learner, 1998 and 2006

	2006		1998	
	ELL	Not ELL	ELL	Not ELL
Avg. Score (Yes)	115 (2.2)	155 (0.9)	110 (3.2)	154 (0.7)
Percentage (Yes)	3 (0.4)	97 (0.4)	2 (0.2)	98 (0.2)
Avg. Score (No)	96 (5.1)	138 (1.8)	†	137 (2.2)
Percentage (No)	7 (1.2)	93 (1.2)	5 (0.7)	95 (0.7)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C192: Take Part in Debates or Panel Discussions by English Language Learner, 2010

	ELL	Not ELL
Avg. Score (Daily)	†	152 (1.5)
Percentage (Daily)	2 (0.5)	98 (0.5)
Avg. Score (Weekly)	†	154 (1.2)
Percentage (Weekly)	3 (0.5)	97 (0.5)
Avg. Score (Monthly)	98 (4.7)	154 (1.2)
Percentage (Monthly)	3 (0.5)	97 (0.5)
Avg. Score (Few times)	103 (4.1)	154 (1.2)
Percentage (Few Times)	4 (0.5)	96 (0.5)
Avg. Score (Never)	98 (3.0)	142 (1.0)
Percentage (Never)	4 (0.5)	96 (0.5)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C193: Take Part in Debates or Panel Discussions by English Language Learner, 1998 and 2006

	2006		1998	
	ELL	Not ELL	ELL	Not ELL
Avg. Score (Yes)	116 (3.6)	156 (1.0)	119 (4.4)	156 (0.8)
Percentage (Yes)	2 (0.3)	98 (0.3)	1 (0.2)	99 (0.2)
Avg. Score (No)	108 (3.4)	150 (1.0)	99 (4.4)	149 (0.9)
Percentage (No)	4 (0.9)	96 (0.9)	3 (0.4)	97 (0.4)

Table C194: Write a Letter to Help Solve a Community Problem by English Language Learner, 2010

	ELL	Not ELL
Avg. Score (Daily)	†	112 (5.0)
Percentage (Daily)	4 (1.6)	96 (1.6)
Avg. Score (Weekly)	†	120 (3.0)
Percentage (Weekly)	14 (2.6)	86 (2.6)
Avg. Score (Monthly)	†	136 (1.5)
Percentage (Monthly)	8 (1.1)	92 (1.1)
Avg. Score (Few times)	103 (3.6)	150 (1.3)
Percentage (Few Times)	5 (0.6)	95 (0.6)
Avg. Score (Never)	103 (3.1)	153 (0.8)
Percentage (Never)	3 (0.3)	97 (0.3)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C195: Write a Letter to Help Solve a Community Problem by English Language Learner, 1998 and 2006

	2006		1998	
	ELL	Not ELL	ELL	Not ELL
Avg. Score (Yes)	103 (3.7)	149 (1.4)	108 (6.4)	150 (1.1)
Percentage (Yes)	5 (0.8)	95 (0.8)	3 (0.4)	97 (0.4)
Avg. Score (No)	116 (2.7)	155 (0.9)	106 (3.9)	153 (0.8)
Percentage (No)	3 (0.5)	97 (0.5)	2 (0.2)	98 (0.2)

Table C196: Work on a Group Project by English Language Learner, 2010

	ELL	Not ELL
Avg. Score (Daily)	†	129 (2.2)
Percentage (Daily)	6 (1.2)	94 (1.2)
Avg. Score (Weekly)	93 (4.1)	141 (1.2)
Percentage (Weekly)	6 (0.8)	94 (0.8)
Avg. Score (Monthly)	105 (2.9)	152 (0.8)
Percentage (Monthly)	4 (0.4)	96 (0.4)
Avg. Score (Few times)	105 (3.9)	157 (1.0)
Percentage (Few Times)	2 (0.3)	98 (0.3)
Avg. Score (Never)	†	148 (1.5)
Percentage (Never)	2 (0.5)	98 (0.5)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C197: Take Part in Role Playing, Mock Trials, and Dramas by English Language Learner, 2010

	ELL	Not ELL
Avg. Score (Daily)	†	131 (2.7)
Percentage (Daily)	3 (1.1)	97 (1.1)
Avg. Score (Weekly)	†	139 (2.2)
Percentage (Weekly)	6 (1.5)	94 (1.5)
Avg. Score (Monthly)	†	150 (1.6)
Percentage (Monthly)	4 (0.7)	96 (0.7)
Avg. Score (Few times)	100 (4.0)	158 (1.3)
Percentage (Few Times)	3 (0.3)	97 (0.3)
Avg. Score (Never)	103 (3.2)	149 (0.8)
Percentage (Never)	4 (0.4)	96 (0.4)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C198: Take Part in Role Playing, Mock Trials, and Dramas by English Language Learner, 1998 and 2006

	2006		1998	
	ELL	Not ELL	ELL	Not ELL
Avg. Score (Yes)	113 (4.5)	156 (1.1)	†	156 (1.0)
Percentage (Yes)	3 (0.4)	97 (0.4)	2 (0.3)	98 (0.3)
Avg. Score (No)	111 (3.4)	152 (0.9)	105 (3.7)	151 (0.8)
Percentage (No)	3 (0.6)	97 (0.6)	2 (0.2)	98 (0.2)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C199: Volunteer Work in Community by English Language Learner, 1998

	ELL	Not ELL
Avg. Score (School)	†	160 (0.9)
Percentage (School)	1 (0.2)	99 (0.2)
Avg. Score (Own)	†	158 (1.0)
Percentage (Own)	1 (0.3)	99 (0.3)
Avg. Score (No)	103 (4.0)	142 (1.0)
Percentage (No)	3 (0.5)	97 (0.5)

† Reporting standards not met

Table C200: Classroom Government by English Language Learner

1998

	ELL	Not ELL
Avg. Score (Yes)	108 (4.3)	151 (1.0)
Percentage (Yes)	3 (0.5)	97 (0.5)
Avg. Score (No)	103 (5.6)	155 (1.2)
Percentage (No)	2 (0.1)	98 (0.1)

APPENDIX D

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
AT CHICAGO

Office for the Protection of Research Subjects (OPRS)
Office of the Vice Chancellor for Research (MC 672)
203 Administrative Office Building
1737 West Polk Street
Chicago, Illinois 60612-7227

Approval Notice
Initial Review (Response To Modifications)

October 15, 2013

Shawn Healy, MA
Political Science
205 N Michigan Ave, Ste 4300
Chicago, IL 60601
Phone: (312) 445-5174 / Fax: (312) 445-5074

RE: **Protocol # 2013-0678**
"Essential School Supports for Civic Learning"

Dear Mr. Healy:

Your Initial Review application (Response To Modifications) was reviewed and approved by the Expedited review process on October 4, 2013. You may now begin your research.

Please note the following information about your approved research protocol:

Please remember to submit a letter of support from the McCormick Foundation and each non-UIC site prior to accessing/analyzing identifiable information and/or recruiting/enrolling subjects at those sites. Letters of support must be accompanied by an Amendment form and should be on site letterhead, briefly outline the research activities which the site agrees to, and be signed by an authorized executive at the site.

Protocol Approval Period: October 4, 2013 - October 4, 2014
Approved Subject Enrollment #: 30
Additional Determinations for Research Involving Minors: These determinations have not been made for this study since it has not been approved for enrollment of minors.
Performance Site: UIC
Sponsor: None
Research Protocol:
a) Research Protocol Essential School Supports for Civic Learning; Version 1; 06/24/2013
Recruitment Material:
a) Interview Request Email; Version 3; 09/30/2013

Informed Consent:

a) Interview Consent Form; Version 3; 09/30/2013
b) A waiver of informed consent has been granted for recruitment purposes only under 45 CFR 46.116(d) (minimal risk; access to contact information for potential subjects which is not publicly available; contact information for potential subjects who are ineligible and/or decline to participate that will not be retained for research purposes)

Your research meets the criteria for expedited review as defined in 45 CFR 46.110(b)(1) under the following specific categories:

(5) Research involving materials (data, documents, records, or specimens) that have been collected, or will be collected solely for non-research purposes (such as medical treatment or diagnosis),
(6) Collection of data from voice, video, digital, or image recordings made for research purposes., (7) Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including but not limited to research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies.

Please note the Review History of this submission:

Receipt Date	Submission Type	Review Process	Review Date	Review Action
07/02/2013	Initial Review	Expedited	07/05/2013	Modifications Required
09/16/2013	Response To Modifications	Expedited	09/19/2013	Modifications Required
10/03/2013	Response To Modifications	Expedited	10/04/2013	Approved

Please remember to:

→ Use your **research protocol number** (2013-0678) on any documents or correspondence with the IRB concerning your research protocol.

→ Review and comply with all requirements on the enclosure,
"UIC Investigator Responsibilities, Protection of Human Research Subjects"
(http://tigger.uic.edu/depts/ovcr/research/protocolreview/irb/policies/0924.pdf)

Please note that the UIC IRB has the prerogative and authority to ask further questions, seek additional information, require further modifications, or monitor the conduct of your research and the consent process.

Please be aware that if the scope of work in the grant/project changes, the protocol must be amended and approved by the UIC IRB before the initiation of the change.

We wish you the best as you conduct your research. If you have any questions or need further help, please contact OPRS at (312) 996-1711 or me at (312) 996-2014. Please send any correspondence about this protocol to OPRS at 203 AOB, M/C 672.

Sincerely,

Sandra Costello
Assistant Director, IRB # 2
Office for the Protection of Research Subjects

Enclosures:

1. **UIC Investigator Responsibilities, Protection of Human Research Subjects**
2. **Informed Consent Document:**
   a) Interview Consent Form; Version 3; 09/30/2013
3. **Recruiting Materials:**
   a) Interview Request Email; Version 3; 09/30/2013

cc: Dick W. Simpson (faculty advisor), Political Science, M/C 276

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
AT CHICAGO

Office for the Protection of Research Subjects (OPRS)
Office of the Vice Chancellor for Research (MC 672)
203 Administrative Office Building
1737 West Polk Street
Chicago, Illinois 60612-7227

Approval Notice
Amendment to Research Protocol and/or Consent Document – Expedited Review
UIC Amendment # 2

April 9, 2014

Shawn Healy, MA
Political Science
205 N Michigan Ave, Ste 4300
Chicago, IL 60601
Phone: (312) 445-5174 / Fax: (312) 445-5074

RE: **Protocol # 2013-0678**
"Essential School Supports for Civic Learning"

Dear Mr. Healy:

Members of Institutional Review Board (IRB) #2 have reviewed this amendment to your research under expedited procedures for minor changes to previously approved research allowed by Federal regulations [45 CFR 46.110(b)(2)]. The amendment to your research was determined to be acceptable and may now be implemented.

Please note the following information about your approved amendment:

Amendment Approval Date: April 4, 2014
Amendment:
Summary: UIC Amendment #2, dated 26 March 2014 and submitted to OPRS 3 April 2014, is an investigator-initiated amendment adding John Hancock College Preparatory High School as a research site (Chicago Public Schools Research Review Board, 3/25/2014; letter of support, 11/15/2013).
Approved Subject Enrollment #: 30
Performance Sites: UIC, Glenbard East High School, John Hancock High School, Chicago Public Schools (CPS), Robert McCormick Foundation, Carbondale Community High School, Metea Valley High School, Carl Sandburg High School, Adlai E. Stevenson High School
Sponsor: None

Please note the Review History of this submission:

Receipt Date	Submission Type	Review Process	Review Date	Review Action
04/03/2014	Amendment	Expedited	04/04/2014	Approved

Please be sure to:

→ Use your research protocol number (2013-0678) on any documents or correspondence with the IRB concerning your research protocol.

→ Review and comply with all requirements on the enclosure,
"UIC Investigator Responsibilities, Protection of Human Research Subjects"
(http://tigger.uic.edu/depts/ovcr/research/protocolreview/irb/policies/0924.pdf)

Please note that the UIC IRB #2 has the right to seek additional information, or monitor the conduct of your research and the consent process.

Please be aware that if the scope of work in the grant/project changes, the protocol must be amended and approved by the UIC IRB before the initiation of the change.

We wish you the best as you conduct your research. If you have any questions or need further help, please contact the OPRS at (312) 996-1711 or me at (312) 355-2764. Please send any correspondence about this protocol to OPRS at 203 AOB, M/C 672.

Sincerely,

Betty Mayberry, B.S.
IRB Coordinator, IRB # 2
Office for the Protection of Research Subjects

Enclosure: None

cc: Dick Simpson, Faculty Sponsor, Political Science, M/C 276
Dennis R. Judd, Political Science, M/C 276

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
AT CHICAGO

Office for the Protection of Research Subjects (OPRS)
Office of the Vice Chancellor for Research (MC 672)
203 Administrative Office Building
1737 West Polk Street
Chicago, Illinois 60612-7227

Approval Notice
Final Report

October 3, 2014

Shawn Healy, MA
Political Science
205 N Michigan Ave, Ste. 4300
Chicago, IL 60601
Phone: (312) 445-5174 / Fax: (312) 445-5074

RE: **Protocol # 2013-0678**
"Essential School Supports for Civic Learning"

Dear Mr. Healy:

Your Final Report was reviewed and approved by the Expedited review process on October 2, 2014.

We would like to thank you for submitting a final report to keep UIC's Human Subject Protection Program informed about your research.

If you have any questions or need further help, please contact the OPRS office at (312) 996-1711 or me at (312) 355-2764. Please send any correspondence about this protocol to OPRS at 203 AOB, M/C 672.

Sincerely,

Betty Mayberry, B.S.
IRB Coordinator, IRB # 2
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cc: Dennis R. Judd, Political Science, M/C 276
Dick Simpson, Faculty Sponsor, Political Science, M/C 276

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