VOTING YOUNG: AN ANALYSIS OF HOW STATE STANDARDS FOR HIGH SCHOOL CIVICS IMPACTS YOUTH VOTING RATES

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On average, youth voting rates in America have been declining since the 1960s. Scholars

find the decline to correlate with the decline in the number and quality of civic classes in

American high schools. Through collaborative efforts, the civic education industry has come up

with the Ten Proven Practices, which include in-classroom and school-wide practices to ensure

an effective civic education. The Ten Proven Practices' goal is to help students graduate with

the knowledge, skills, and desire to participate in civic life, including voting. This research paper

examines how well six state Department of Education policies implement the Ten Proven

Practices to see if including more of the Practices correlates with higher voting rates. While

further research is recommended, this study's results suggest better implementation of the Ten

Proven Practices may positively affect voting rates.

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Dedication

To my husband Matthew Parsons- thank you for all your love, patience, and sacrifice

 $\quad \text{and} \quad$

to Emily, Clara, and William- thank you for patiently waiting "just one more minute."

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Introduction

"Each person knocking down those doors once sat in a classroom." --Sixth-grade teacher, Christie Nold in response to January 6,2021, U.S. Capital insurgency¹

On January 6, 2021, hundreds of Americans stormed the Capital under the false guise of a stolen election. It was an event unlike any other in American history. The average age of the arrestees from the capital riot was 40; most were well educated and had successful jobs or small businesses.² However, "well educated" does not mean "well educated" in the Constitution, democratic principles, news media literacy, or civic understanding. What people learn about civics is both relevant and crucial to the kinds of citizens people become and how it will affect our collective democracy.³ The question many asked in the days following was, "How did we get here?" If you were to ask someone who teaches or researches high school civic education, you might very well learn the answer. Sputnik.

Of course, that is an oversimplification of the issue, but it was a defining moment in American educational history that has had long-lasting adverse effects on Americans' civic understanding. Before Sputnik, high school students were required to take three courses in civic education.⁴ The October 4, 1957 launching of the Soviet satellite changed all that. The federal Department of Education went on a full-scale redirection on the purpose of American education. Congress passed the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) in 1958 in response to

¹ Sarah Garland, "Can we teach our way out of political polarization?" The Hechinger Report, January 25, 2021

² Robert A. Pape and Keven Ruby, "The Capitol Rioters Aren't Like Other Extremists," The Atlantic, February 2, 2021 https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2021/02/the-capitol-rioters-arent-like-other-extremists/617895/

³ Sarah Garland, "Can we teach our way out of political polarization?" The Hechinger Report, January 25, 2021

⁴ Amanda Litvinov, "Forgotten Purpose: Civics Education in Public Schools," neaToday: National Education Association, March 16, 2017

the Soviet launch with the purpose of creating future citizens who would be able to compete scientifically and technically in a globally competitive world.⁵ The focus of school became math, science, and language arts curriculums. States stepped up to meet the new requirements, and civic education was pushed out. Since then, scholars have noticed a concerning decline over the last sixty years in youth voting, youth civic involvement and understanding, and interest in political affairs.⁶

It also did not help that the 1960s and 70s were a time of increased student protests. The political Right did not like this display against authority, and the Left was suspicious of civic education becoming less about education and more about indoctrination. Civics and history classes of the late 50s and early 60s taught students "that the United States was the wealthiest, most productive; most classless society known to man, and this was what made America distinctive and great." Student activism aimed to highlight the issues being left out of their civic classes, women's rights, African Americans' fight for equality, and the Vietnam War, among other social issues. It was this culmination of factors that made the transition away from civics as the focus of public education to a more math and science one an easy decision for schools to make. But as we have seen, it has not been without consequences for the republic.

⁵ U.S. Department of Education, About ED: The Federal Role in Education https://www2.ed.gov/about/overview/fed/role.html

⁶ Peter Levine and Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg, "The Republic is (Still) at Risk-and Civics is Part of the Solution," Medford, MA: Jonathan M. Tisch College of Civic Life, Tufts University, 2017

⁷ Christopher Allen Huff, "Student Movements of the 1960s" History and Archeology, 7/13/2020 https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/student-movements-1960s

⁸ David J. Feith, Teaching America: The Case for Civic Education, Lanham: R&L Education, 2011

⁹ Christopher Allen Huff, "Student Movements of the 1960s" History and Archeology, 7/13/2020 https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/student-movements-1960s

A Case for Civic Education

This paper is not about the rioters. It is about the need and method for bringing civic education back into focus in all of America's high schools. It is about correcting a misdirection and refocusing the American institutions of Education back to supporting and promoting a healthy democracy, civic understanding, *civil* civic and political involvement, and giving them as much attention as STEM and writing curriculums. This research paper examines how effectively the state Department of Education's civic education requirements and school wide ethos affect youth voting rates in their state. Through case studies, this paper looks at how effectively six states integrate the Ten Proven Practices (10 PP), an industry-wide standard, for a proper civics education. Does effective inclusion of the 10 PP contribute to their state's youth voting rates?

Until the 1960s, high school students were required to take three courses in civics. The first two classes covered "civics" and "problems of democracy." Students were encouraged to discuss current events and become acquainted with what it means to be a good citizen. The third class covered "civics and government," a more abstract view of government, which according to David Faith in *Teaching America*, resembles today's government courses. In 1966, almost 60 percent of incoming college students believed it was important to keep abreast of political affairs; by 2012, that number fell to just one-third. By 2016 only 26 percent of Americans could name all three branches of government.

¹⁰ David J. Feith, Teaching America: The Case for Civic Education, Lanham: R&L Education, 2011

¹¹ David J. Feith, Teaching America: The Case for Civic Education, Lanham: R&L Education, 2011

¹²Andianna Kezar, Matthew Hartley, and Daniel Maxey, "Practicing What We Preach: Cultivating Democracy" Liberal Education. Summer 2012.

¹³ Sarah Shapiro and Catherine Brown, "The State of Civic Education," *Center for American Progress*, February 21,2018.

Overall, youth voting rates for the 18 -24-year-olds'age group has typically had the lowest level of voting engagement but with a noticeable decrease over time. Voting rates dropped from 50.9 percent in 1964 to a 40-year low at 19.9 percent in 2014, but with an increase to 39.9 percent in the 2016 presidential election.¹⁴,¹⁵

The 2020 presidential election brought with it historically higher turnout rates for all age groups. According to the Pew Research Center, two-thirds of all eligible voters voted in the 2020 election. Fig. 18 – 29 age group saw an 11-point increase from 2016. Turnout for the 18-19 age group was also particularly high at 46 percent. The Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement at Tufts University (CIRCLE) "estimate[d] that 52 to 55 percent of youth voted in 2020. Young voters' impact—especially youth of color's overwhelming support for progressive platforms—was decisive in key races across the country." CIRCLE is quick to point out that outside of race competitiveness and state voting laws, there are numerous factors that contribute to youth electoral participation. The state's civic education policies, state's civics culture, demographic composition of youth population, and how often campaigns and organizations reach out to young people are all interconnected factors that can affect youth voter turnout. States that automatically mailed ballots to voters

¹⁴ CIRLCE, "2014 Youth Turnout and Registration Rates Lowest Ever Recorded," CIRCLE, July 21, 2015

¹⁵Data from "Voting in America: A look at the 2016 Presidential Election" census.gov

¹⁶Drew Desilver, "Turnout soared in 2020 as nearly two-thirds of eligible U.S. voters cast ballots for president," Pew Research Center, January 28, 2021

¹⁷ CIRLCE staff, "Half of Youth Voted in 2020, An 11-Point increase from 2016," CIRCLE April 29, 2021 https://circle.tufts.edu/latest-research/half-youth-voted-2020-11-point-increase-2016

¹⁸ CIRLCE staff, "Half of Youth Voted in 2020, An 11-Point increase from 2016," CIRCLE April 29, 2021 https://circle.tufts.edu/latest-research/half-youth-voted-2020-11-point-increase-2016

¹⁹ Center for American Progress, "The 2020 Youth Vote" December 16, 2020,

https://www.americanprogress.org/events/2020/12/09/493611/2020-youth-vote/

²⁰CIRLCE staff, "Half of Youth Voted in 2020, An 11-Point increase from 2016," CIRCLE April 29, 2021

that typically had lower youth voter turnout saw the largest increases over 2016.²¹It is too early to tell if this small trend from 2016 through 2020 will be permanent. States may discontinue voter and registration policies they put in place because of COVID-19.²²

While state voter policies do play an important part in increasing youth voting, it is just one of the aspects that affect youth voter participation. Education in general, and civic education in particular, still affect youth voting rates and future civic engagement.²³

There is a causal relationship between compulsory education laws and their relationship to civic and political engagement, such as voter turnout, group memberships, tolerance, and political media literacy.²⁴ More specifically, how and what schools choose to teach matters in a student's future willingness to vote and participate in civic life.²⁵It is with this basis of understanding that this paper looks at how well state education standards create the impetus needed for young voters to participate.

As Justice Sandra Day O'Connor said, "Knowledge of our system of governance and our rights and responsibilities as citizens is not passed along through the gene pool. Each generation of Americans must be taught these basics." Democracy must be taught, and

 $^{^{21}}$ CIRLCE staff, "Half of Youth Voted in 2020, An 11-Point increase from 2016," CIRCLE April 29, 2021

²² Drew Desilver, "Turnout soared in 2020 as nearly two-thirds of eligible U.S. voters cast ballots for president," Pew Research Center, January 28, 2021, https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2021/01/28/turnout-soared-in-2020-as-nearly-two-thirds-of-eligible-u-s-voters-cast-ballots-for-president/

 ²³David E. Campbell, "3. What is education's impact on civic and social engagement?", Measuring the effects of education on health and civic engagement: proceedings of the Copenhagen symposium- OECD 2006 p 82
 ²⁴David E. Campbell, "3. What is education's impact on civic and social engagement?", Measuring the effects of education on health and civic engagement: proceedings of the Copenhagen symposium- OECD 2006 p 27
 ²⁵David E. Campbell, "3. What is education's impact on civic and social engagement?", Measuring the effects of education on health and civic engagement: proceedings of the Copenhagen symposium- OECD 2006 p 103
 ²⁶ Jonathan Gould, "Guardians of Democracy: The Civic Mission of Schools" Leonore Annenberg Institute for Civics of the Annenberg Public Policy Center at the University of Pennsylvania, 2011

American schools have been missing the mark. O'Connell is not the first to think so. At the nation's inception, the founders extolled the virtues and necessity of having a civicallyeducated citizenry. Thomas Jefferson argued for public education and civic education as a way to preserve self-governance: "Experience hath shewn, that even under the best forms [of government] those entrusted with power have, in time...perverted it into tyranny; and it is believed that the most effectual means of preserving this would be, to illuminate...the minds of the people at large..."27 John Adams shared a similar view, "Liberty cannot be preserved without the general knowledge among the people who have a right...and a desire to know; but besides this, they have a right, an indisputable, unalienable, indefeasible, divine right to that most dreaded and envied kind of knowledge, I mean of the characters and conduct of their rulers.."²⁸ Benjamin Rush believed the public needed to understand the nature of treaties, ambassadors, and the obligations of the states and individuals.²⁹ Noah Webster believed bad legislative decisions were not made of bad intentions but rather "generally proceed from ignorance either in the [legislators] themselves, or in their constituents."30 The founders believed that only a general knowledge among the people would protect and strengthen the republic.

Demographics, Socioeconomic Status, Race, and Culture

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²⁷ David J. Feith, Teaching America: The Case for Civic Education, Lanham: R&L Education, 2011

²⁸ Oxford Essential Quotes, "John Adams", Oxford Reference,

https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780191826719.001.0001/q-oro-ed4-00000046

²⁹ David J. Feith, Teaching America: The Case for Civic Education, Lanham: R&L Education, 2011

³⁰ David J. Feith, Teaching America: The Case for Civic Education, Lanham: R&L Education, 2011

It is well documented that there are outside factors that affect a student's likelihood to become a voter. Students whose families discuss politics at home are more likely to vote than students that do not.³¹,³² Youths are more likely to vote when they live with parents who vote or are of a higher socioeconomic status.³³Educational attainment of parents is also a strong predictor of their children's level of later political participation.³⁴Race is another factor. White, academically advanced, and those who have parents of a higher SES receive more classroombased civic education opportunities than their African-American, Hispanic, and Asian counterparts.³⁵It is no wonder then that youth from low-income families, families with less educated, and citizens of color are under-represented in the political process.³⁶

The good news is, when youth of parents who do not speak English, do not vote, or are of lower SES, civic education has benefited in changing a portion of these students minds about voting and civic participation.³⁷Multiple studies show civic education does affect a student's likelihood of voting, but that currently, the effects are distributed unequally.³⁸An effective civic education helps close the gap between those who might already participate and marginalized

³¹ M. Kent Jennings, "Political Socialization," The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior, Aug. 2007.

³² Spiro Kiousis and Michael McDevitt, "Agenda Setting in Civic Development: Effects of Curricula and Issue Importance on Youth Voter Turnout," Communication Research, Vol. 35, No. 4, Aug 2008

³³ M. Kent Jennings, "Political Socialization," The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior, Aug. 2007

³⁴ M. Kent Jennings, "Political Socialization," The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior, Aug. 2007

³⁵ Joseph Kahne and Ellen Middaugh, "Democracy for Some: The Civic Opportunity Gap in High School," CIRCLE Working paper 59, Feb. 2008

³⁶ Joseph Kahne and Ellen Middaugh, "Democracy for Some: The Civic Opportunity Gap in High School," CIRCLE Working paper 59, Feb. 2008

³⁷Hugh McIntosh, Sheldon Berman and James Youniss, "A Five-year Evaluation of a Comprehensive High School Civic Engagement Initiative," *CIRLCE Working Paper #70*, Tufts University, March 2010

³⁸ Diana E. Hess and Paula McAvoy, The Political Classroom: Evidence and Ethics in Democratic Education, Routledge, New York, 2015, p 59

or disenfranchised students who would not participate.³⁹ Civic education, particularly when students participate in civic action, can help bring voices to the political table that would not be heard otherwise.⁴⁰

The Resurgence of Civic Education

Multiple civic educational institutions, organizations, and researchers work at the state and local school district levels to help teachers, administrators, and state education departments bring back civic education in the most effective way possible. During a recent Educating for American Democracy civic reform forum, Jane Kamensky, Professor of History at Harvard University, stated the US currently spends roughly \$50 per student per year on STEM but only \$0.05 per student per year on civics. ⁴¹ Even if a small portion of that money would be redirected to civics it would be an improvement for civics. Students who have received effective civic learning are more likely to vote and discuss politics at home, four times more likely to volunteer and address community issues, and are more confident to speak publicly and with their elected representatives. ⁴²

Background on the Civic Reports used in this study

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³⁹Hugh McIntosh, Sheldon Berman and James Youniss, "A Five-year Evaluation of a Comprehensive High School Civic Engagement Initiative," *CIRLCE Working Paper #70*, Tufts University, March 2010

⁴⁰ Alexander Pope, Laurel Stolte, and Alison K. Cohen, "Closing the Civic Engagement Gap: The Potential of Action Civics," *Social Education* 75(5), 2011, pp 265 - 268

⁴¹ Educating for American Democracy Forum Livestream, March 2, 2021

https://www.educatingforamericandemocracy.org/livestreameadjtje46/

⁴² Jonathan Gould, "Guardians of Democracy: The Civic Mission of Schools" Leonore Annenberg Institute for Civics of the Annenberg Public Policy Center at the University of Pennsylvania, 2011

The Jonathan M. Tisch College of Civic Life at Tufts University is home to the Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE), one of the nation's most respected leaders in researching youth voting, civic participation, and education. In 2002, CIRCLE and Carnegie Corporation of New York, in consultation with the Corporation for National and Community Service⁴³, hosted a series of meeting with fifty-six esteemed scholars and practitioners representing diverse political views, a variety of disciplines, and approaches, with the goal of creating an effective and feasible civic education program. At The end result was the 2003 report, *Civic Mission of Schools* which unveiled the "Six Promising Approaches to Civic Education." These "Promising Practices" encompassed in-class and school wide practices, which work together in a symbiotic relationship where students practice what they learn in the classroom in the school community or in the local community at large. In 2015, the National Council for the Social Studies partnered with a major coalition of forty institutions, organizations, and school systems and educators, to create The Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools, with the purpose of promoting the report with schools and policy makers.

By 2011, a new report building and expanding on the findings of the *Civic Mission of Schools*, was produced by the Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools in partnership with the Leonore Annenberg Institute for Civics of the Annenberg Public Policy Center at the University of Pennsylvania, the National Conference on Citizenship, CIRCLE, and the American Bar

⁴³ The Corporation for National and Community Service, also known as AmeriCorps, is an independent agency of the United States government, whose mission is to "improve lives, strengthen communities, and foster civic engagement through service and volunteering." https://americorps.gov/about

⁴⁴ Carnegie Corporation of New York, CIRCLE. Publication: The Civic Mission of Schools https://www.carnegie.org/publications/the-civic-mission-of-schools/

⁴⁵ Social Education Staff, "The Civic Mission of Schools," *Social Education*, 69(7), National Council for the Social Studies, 2005, p 414-416

Association Division for Public Education. This report, *Guardian of Democracy: The Civic Mission of Schools*, used extensive research to confirm that the promising practices of the 2003 *Civic Mission of Schools* report, are now the Six Proven Practices.

Four practices were added in a follow up document, *The Republic is (Still) at Risk- and Civics is Part of the Solution* in 2017. This document was published by the Jonathan M. Tisch College of Civic Life at Tufts University, with sponsorship and support of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, the Robert R. McCormick Foundation, iCivics, the Lou Frey Institute of the University of Central Florida, and the Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools. ⁴⁶ The four practices added contemporary practices, such as news media literacy education to help students distinguish fake news from reliable news as well as school wide practices that can affect how students shape their identities and handle their social and emotional well-being. ⁴⁷

Ultimately it was the 2018 *Brown Report that* compiled all the practices together from the two reports, *Guardian of Democracy: The Civic Mission of Schools* and *The Republic is (Still)* at *Risk- and Civics is Part of the Solution* into the 10 Proven Practice.⁴⁸ The Report looks at all 50 states and checks off how many of five of the classroom-related 10 PPs the states meet.⁴⁹ The report does not include information on the four non-civic specific practices, nor Action Civics

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⁴⁶Peter Levine and Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg, "The Republic is (Still) at Risk-and Civics is Part of the Solution," Medford, MA: Jonathan M. Tisch College of Civic Life, Tufts University, 2017

⁴⁷Peter Levine and Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg, "The Republic is (Still) at Risk-and Civics is Part of the Solution," Medford, MA: Jonathan M. Tisch College of Civic Life, Tufts University, 2017

⁴⁸Hanse, Michael Hanse, et al. "The 2018 Brown Center Report on American Education: How Well Are American Students Learning?" *Brown Center on Education Policy at Brookings*. June 2018

⁴⁹Hanse, Michael Hanse, et al. "The 2018 Brown Center Report on American Education: How Well Are American Students Learning?" *Brown Center on Education Policy at Brookings*. June 2018

stating it was too difficult to estimate at the state level how widespread and how often students participate in those practices.⁵⁰

Research conducted in this study found that the Department of Education (DOE) websites tend to have some guidelines on those areas that could prove useful in creating a more well-rounded picture of how each State is outlining and meeting all the standards. While the DOE cannot say how many, how often, or how well the local schools are including these practices, if they are available on the DOE websites, it shows the state found these practices important enough to make them part of the state's education guidelines.

The Brown Center on Education Policy at the Brookings Institute is considered a left of center educational organization. Other neutral organizations such as the Education Commission on the States and the National Archives, while not calling them the 10 Proven Practices, have resources on their websites promoting the same goals: to increase civic content knowledge, intellectual civic skills, participatory civic skills, and civic dispositions. ⁵¹However, other than action civics, there is little the right of center disagree with when it comes to concerns about how poorly American students are taught civics.

⁵⁰Action Civics is a new method of involving students in community issues where students research problems in their local community, problem solve, and act in ways to effect change. This can mean meeting with local leaders in their communities, letter writing campaigns, organizing a local organization, among other solutions. Much of this work is done in class under the instruction of a teacher or teacher's aide who has been trained in teaching Action Civics. While the research on the benefits of including Action Civics in a civics education have been quite positive, due to its relative newness and need for effective teacher training, it is not widely instituted in local school districts, let alone part of entire state requirements. For this reason, this study will look for indications of language in state Department of Education websites that may constitute an openness to Action Civics, but this report is not focusing or expecting the practice to have a state-wide impact on voting.

⁵¹ Jan Brennan and Hunter Railey, "The Civics Education Initiative 2015-17" Education Trends, Education Commission of the States, September 2017, https://www.ecs.org/wp-content/uploads/The-Civics-Education-Initiative-2015-2017.pdf

The RAND Corporation has a list of recommendations for schools similar to that of the 10 Proven Practices, such as reducing inequalities in civic learning opportunities to serve the more vulnerable populations, addressing media savvy, and supporting more opportunities for students to practice civics. ⁵²Even the American Enterprise Institute agrees that more needs to be done to effectively teach students civics including more avenues to participate in civics, but, like the National Review, it has concerns over action civics as "leftist-political indoctrination." ⁵³ However, like any tool, the power is in the hands of who uses it. The idea that only teachers on the left of center will use this tool to teach students how to interact with their community and local leaders may be without warrant. Overall, civic education is a concern of both major political ideologies in America.

Thesis Overview

This thesis argues that when schools engage holistically in effective civic education using the 10 Proven Practices, their youth voting rates are generally higher than in states where they do not effectively implement the 10 PP. Each chapter utilizes the same research method comparing states with similar lengths of time required for civic education and comparing their state department of education materials against the 10 Proven Practices to see if the State Department of Education requirements can make a difference in positively affecting youth political efficacy and voting rates. This study supports the current research conducted on the principles of the 10 Proven Practices (10 PP). It shows that when the DOE makes civics a priority

⁵² Laura S. Hamilton, Julia H. Kaufman, Lynn Hu, "Preparing Children and Youth for Civic Life in the Era of truth Decay," RAND Corporation, https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RRA112-6.html

⁵³ Stanley Kurtez, "GOP Suicide by Civics," National Review, March 2, 2021,

https://www.nationalreview.com/corner/gop-suicide-by-civics/

and conforms to evidence-based practices, proper implementation can improve youth voting rates. From this study, states can learn what to do and what not to do when it comes to outlining their civic requirements and supporting practices for more effective results.

State Level Education

The state-level was chosen because states are the institutions that are chiefly responsible for public schools' maintenance and operation.⁵⁴ The state is heavily involved in establishing, selecting, and regulating curriculums, teaching methods, and the instructional material used in public schools.⁵⁵ It also sets the tone for the supporting skills students are expected to learn. Social and Emotional Learning (SEL) helps students learn to manage their emotions in a healthy manner. Extracurriculars let students practice communication, cooperation, and other team-building skills, an important measure for future community involvement. School climate determines the general school ethos. Does the school foster a sense of community and democracy or send an authoritarian message? Does the school support or encourage student involvement in school governance?⁵⁶Those are the kinds of questions answered by the school ethos.

A state's Department of Education (DOE) website reflects what the state considers most crucial for student development and the necessary proficiency level for particular requirements. While the federal Department of Education can and does make educational

⁵⁴ FindLaw's team, "The Roles of Federal and State Governments in Education," FindLaw, last updated March 21,

⁵⁵ FindLaw's team, "The Roles of Federal and State Governments in Education," FindLaw, last updated March 21,

⁵⁶ Peter Levine and Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg, "The Republic is (Still) at Risk-and Civics is Part of the Solution," Medford, MA: Jonathan M. Tisch College of Civic Life, Tufts University, 2017

recommendations, the decision ultimately belongs to the states, which is why this research focuses on the state level. To date, the Federal DOE has not mandated civics requirements.

Voting as Proxy

Youth voting rates for the 18 – 24 age group are used as a proxy for how well the state DOE prepares students to become engaged citizens. Two large-scale independent studies conducted in the United States and the United Kingdom show that compulsory education laws have a causal relationship to multiple forms of engagement, including voter turnout, community group membership, tolerance, and political media consumption. ⁵⁷ Voter turnout is used as a general rule of thumb as it is seen as agood measure of the health of a democracy. In general, voter turnout is lower in non-presidential years compared to those with presidential elections. ⁵⁸ This study looks at two recent years, 2016, a presidential year, and 2018, a non-presidential election.

Another reason voting is used as a proxy for the effectiveness of the state's civic education standards is that one of the most significant predictors of a person's future civic engagement is their past participation.⁵⁹ If schools can help students make that jump from inertia, as in inactive voter, into an active voter, it is much easier for those students to become

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David E. Campbell, "3. What is education's impact on civic and social engagement?", Measuring the effects of education on health and civic engagement: proceedings of the Copenhagen symposium- OECD 2006 p 27
 MIT Election Data & Science Lab, "Voter Turnout," MIT Election Lab, electionlab.mit.edu/research/voter-turnout

⁵⁹ Jeffrey S. Dill, "Preparing for Public Life: School Sector and the Educational Context of Lasting Citizen Formation," *Social Forces* 87 (3). The University of North Carolina Press, March 2009

habitual voters starting at a younger age.⁶⁰ When schools have effectively prepared students for civic engagement through education and practice, they have the confidence and knowledge to participate.

The Research

Each chapter looks at two states with similar length requirements for civics education and, using their DOE website and the 10 Proven Practice, compares their implementations of each Practice with one another. Six practices happen in the classroom: classroom instruction, discussing current events, simulations of democratic practices such as mock trials and model UN, news media literacy, then service learning and action civics which can happen in and out of the classroom but under a teacher's guidance. The four remaining practices have to do with the overall climate or ethos of the school, extracurricular activities, student voices in school governance, and social and emotional learning (SEL helps students learn to manage their emotions and how to disagree respectfully). Successful citizenship happens when an individual has political efficacy, empowerment, and the belief that they can alter political and economic decisions through their votes and political activity. ⁶¹ Those four practices help create the holistic environment in which students can practice self-efficacy and be emersed in democratic practices and principles to practice being good citizens.

⁶⁰ Eric Pultzer, "Becoming a Habitual Voter: Inertia, Resources, and Growth in Young Adulthood," *American Political Science Review*. Vol. 96, No. 1, March 2002.

⁶¹ James A. Banks, Failed Citizenship, Civic Engagement, and Education: Kappa Delta Pi Record, 51:151-154, 2015

Table 1: The 10 Proven Practices Chart

10 Proven Practices for Civic Education*	Description
PP #1: Classroom Instruction	Instruction that includes: civics, government, history, law, economics, and geography. Together these topics fall under the umbrella of "Social Studies."
P.P. #2: Discussion of Current Events and Controversial Issues	Classroom discussions of modern political discourse and controversial topics, engaging students in healthy communication practices.
P.P. #3: Service-Learning	Service-learning practices help tie academic learning to civic-minded community challenges during school hours. High-quality service-learning incorporates analytical and problemsolving skills.
P.P. #4: Extracurricular Activities	After school activities focusing on civics, such as mock trials, model congress, speech and debate, Model U.N., and community volunteering
P.P. #5: Student Participation in School Governance	This includes student government as well as school wide democratic deliberation on school and community issues
P.P. #6: Simulations of Democratic Processes	Simulation of democratic processes in civic classes, using games and role-playing in mock trials, model congress in class.
7 – 10 P.P.s added from 2017 Report**	Description
P.P. #7: News Media Literacy	Students learn the skills necessary to distinguish fake news from reliable news
P.P. #8: Action Civics	Students build citizen identities (with rights and responsibilities) while teachers guide them in actively influencing institutional policies to address community problems
P.P. #9: Social-emotional learning (SEL)	These are school standards that help students develop the skills needed to understand and manage their emotions, set goals, and learn how to have positive relationships, helping students become more ethical and active citizens.
P.P. #10: School climate reform	These are school policies that promote restorative justice and alternatives to the "school-to-prison pipeline," which has shown to depress young people's civic engagement.

^{*} The first 6 Proven Practices are the result of a 2011 Report, "Guardian of Democracy: The Civic Mission of Schools," (The Leonore Annenberg Institute for Civics of the Annenberg Public Policy Center at the University of Pennsylvania and the Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools, 2011)

^{**} The last four Proven Practices are the result of Peter Levine and Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg's report, The Republic is (Still) at Risk- and Civics is Part of the Solution" (Medford, MA: Jonathan M. Tisch College of Civic Life, Tufts University, 2017)

State Department of Education Websites

This study utilized a rudimentary method regarding grading website usability. Usability, in the context of web design, relates to how easy the average person can use or navigate a website to achieve a specific goal.⁶² It was included in this study to see if states with better website access and materials also had higher youth voting rates. If civic education is important to the Department of Education, do the materials and ease of use to get those materials reflect their importance? If the materials couldn't be found easily, how can they be used? It was with this goal in mind that the website was also graded.

Case Studies

A growing body of research suggests that school ethos and engagement in civics have the most positive effect on students' youth voting rates. ⁶³ Schools, not family or peers, are the "central, salient, and dominant force" in young people's political socialization. ⁶⁴ The three research sections of this paper compare states with similar lengths of civic requirements but with varying levels of youth voting rates. Does the quality of the civic documentation effect how well the students learn civics? Does the state DOE websites give the impression that civics is an important and prominent aspect of their curriculum? Are there ample resources to support civic learning inside and outside the classroom? Does the state support the habits and attitudes

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⁶² Thomas Churm, "An Introduction to Website Usability Testing," Usability Geek https://usabilitygeek.com/an-introduction-to-website-usability-testing/

⁶³Patricia K. Kuybos and Mark B. Kinney, "Fostering Democracy in Middle School Classrooms: Insights from a Democratic Institute in Hungary." The Social Studies November/December 2000. p 265

⁶⁴Ellen Geboers, et al, "Review of the effects of citizenship education," Educational Research Review, 9 (06.01): 158, 2013

needed for students to practice democracy within the school system? These are the questions this thesis looked to answer.

Each chapter uses the same grading system and methods to keep the results uniform. For the first chapter, Hawaii and Virginia were chosen because both required one year of civic education but with very different voter outcomes. Chapter Two looks at two states with no separate civic class requirements. Instead, civic instruction is part of their social studies curriculums. Chapter Three examines two states that require a half year of civics during their senior year of high school and focuses on the four non-classroom practices to see if a clear directive on the holistic practice of supporting and allowing students to participate in the democratic process at the school level would help affect their youth voting rates.

Each chapter has something to offer in terms of exploring the myriad ofways students can become engaged in civic learning in and out of the classroom but within the school system. The literature reviews also explore the other avenues that might affect a student's future involvement in civic engagement and voting, as well as, a more in-depth discussion of the 10 Proven Practices.⁶⁵

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⁶⁵The College, Career, and Civic Life (C3) Framework for Social Studies Standards, unlike the PPs, is not a set of practices for schools to enact, but rather a framework to help states revise their state civic and social study standards. T is a framework published by the National Council for the Social Studies, a collaboration of fifteen professional organizations, and encourages civic knowledge and active participation. Only the state of Hawaii relied heavily on the C3 Framework for its civic class. It is important to note that the C3 Framework document is 114 pages but the section on civics is just three pages long. https://www.socialstudies.org/standards/c3

Chapter I: One year of Civics: A Comparative Study of Hawaii's and Virginia's High School Civics Standards

Thomas Jefferson considered the surest deterrence of tyranny was "to illuminate, as far as practicable, the minds of the people at large" through education. ⁶⁶Without proper civic education, which includes a working knowledge of the structure of government, citizens' rights, and responsibilities, and practice participating, students are not prepared to be informed and engaged citizens. ⁶⁷ Helen Haste, in "Constructing the Citizen," defines an active citizen as someone who can think for themselves and then is willing and skillful enough to influence public life. ⁶⁸Currently, only one-third of Americans can name all three branches of government, while another third cannot name any. ⁶⁹ Trust in both fellow citizens, and the government also has been declining over the last 45 years. ⁷⁰As education plays an important role in socializing students for effective civic participation, it is important to utilize the time in secondary school wisely. ⁷¹

⁶⁶ Anna Berkes, "A Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge," Thomas Jefferson Encyclopedia, 2009, As each generations' knowledge of civics decreases, the chances for the consequences to the Constitutional Republic the founders warned about increases.

⁶⁸ Helen Haste, "Constructing the Citizen" Political Psychology, Vol. 25, No. 3, Special Issue (part two): Prospect Theory (Jun. 2004), pp 413-439, p 427

⁶⁹ Kathleen Hall Jamieson, Ph.D., "Guardian of Democracy: The Civic Mission of Schools" Leonore Annenberg Institute for Civics of the Annenberg Public Policy Center at the University of Pennsylvania. (Carnegie Corporation of New York, 2011.) p 4. https://www.carnegie.org/media/filer_public/ab/dd/abdda62e-6e84-47a4-a043-348d2f2085ae/ccny_grantee_2011_guardian.pdf

⁷⁰ Peter Levine and Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg, The Republic is (Still) at Risk- and Civics is Part of the Solution" (Medford, MA: Jonathan M. Tisch College of Civic Life, Tufts University, 2017). P 1

⁷¹ Jeffrey S. Dill, "Preparing for Public Life: School Sector and the Educational Context of Lasting Citizen Formation." Social Forces 87(3). The University of North Carolina Press. March 2009

Federal educational programs that focus on math and reading have pushed civics out of K-12 education. Pecause of the lack of federally mandated civics requirements for secondary school students, each state's Department of Education (DOE) must decide how much time will be devoted to civics and may or may not also create classroom requirements to help schools meet their standards. The lack of federally mandated time and resources dedicated to civics learning puts pressure on states and educators to find time for civics without much support. Leaving civic education standards in the hands of the state or district level produces uneven standards across the country and adds another layer of variables that can contribute to a state's success or failure in producing students equipped to participate in civic life upon graduation.

As Shapiro mentions in *The State of Civic Education*," this unevenness is a concern given the sentiment among civic education experts that a high-quality civics education is incomplete without teaching students what civic participation looks like in practice and how citizens can engage in their communities." According to the Center for American Progress, only 40 states have any high school civics requirements. Out of 50 states, only ten states require one year of civic education, leaving 30 states with only half a year's requirement, and ten states with no requirements at all. To date, states require 0, 0.5, or 1 year of civic courses. Some also require

⁷²Democracy left behind: NCLB and civic education 2007., ed. Robert Gliner Films Media Group.

⁷³ Sarah Shapiro and Catherine Brown, "The State of Civics Education," Center for American Progress. Feb. 21, 2018. P 21

⁷⁴Sarah Shapiro and Catherine Brown, "The State of Civics Education," Center for American Progress. Feb. 21, 2018. P 21

⁷⁵ Sarah Shapiro and Catherine Brown, "The State of Civics Education," The Center for American Progress, 2/21/2018

community service or provides credit for those who participate in community service or require students to pass the U.S. Citizenship exam in order to graduate.⁷⁶

Virginia and Hawaii are two such states that require one year of civics. This study proposes that it is not the length of the course that increases a state's youth voting rate, but rather how well the civic curriculum and supporting school environment meets the civic education's industry standards for what constitutes an effective civic education." Both Department of Education websites and civic education documentation for secondary school curriculums are used to see if the differences in how they present their civic material can help explain the differences in their student participation rates as young voters. This study analyzes the ease of use for each website and rates their curriculum documents against the industry's accepted best practices for teaching civics, the 10 Proven Practices. The results show that there are vast differences in the ease of access to the state's requirements and the number of quality materials available on each site. Thus, the states' DOE website and curriculum materials help set the tone for the quality of the state's civic education programs.

Much of the current research spends relatively little time on the state's DOE influence on the whole picture. The research looks at different aspects of student life concerning civic education, such as the amount of time spent on civics, student demographics, environmental factors, school administration, and the type of teaching utilized. None of them combine a detailed look at each state's DOE web resources and civic curriculum frameworks.

⁷⁶Sarah Shapiro and Catherine Brown, "The State of Civics Education," The Center for American Progress, 2/21/2018

Prevailing Literature

Determining the effects of civic education amongst the other varying factors in a child's life is a difficult task and scholars' agreement on the effects of each ones influence varies as widely. This literature review focuses the available research into four categories: One:

Pedagogical Climate and Curriculum; Two: Outside Curriculum and Afterschool Activities; Three: State Initiatives and Influences; and Four: Postsecondary Educational Effects. Studying each of these areas helps us build a more well-rounded picture of a student's life and how each can contribute or be a detriment to their civic education.

Pedagogical Climate and Curriculum

How a school approaches civic learning impacts the effectiveness of the students' educations. "An open and democratic classroom climate in which discussion and dialogue takes place appears to effectively promote the development of citizenship among secondary schools." The Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning & Engagement (CIRCLE), in a working paper, *State Standards of Learning about Political Parties and Ideology*, echoes the concerns of the Center for American Progress about the lack of quality and quantity of civic education. Not one state met its standards needed for informed engagement by students upon graduation. Both organizations propose more stringent state requirements and active student participation in the classroom to become adept and involved young civic participants. While

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⁷⁷ Geboers, Ellen, FemkeGeijsel, Wilfried Admiraal, and Geert ten Dam. 2013. Review of the effects of citizenship education. *Educational Research Review* 9 (06/01): 158.

⁷⁸ Paula McAvoy, et al. "State Standards Scratch the Surface of Learning about Political Parties and Ideology," The Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning & Engagement, Working Paper #81, www.civicyouth.org

there are limited amounts of data available on a curriculum's effect on students' citizenship attitudes and attitudes on acting democratically, what is available shows how the pedagogical climate has the most substantial effect concerning student knowledge of civics and attitudes towards political efficacy.⁷⁹ Schools that implemented "Best Practice Discussion" classes (classrooms that promoted open discussion on critical democratic and controversial issues), had students report they were able to listen to opposing views before making a decision, enjoyed talking to their peers about politics, and saw community problems as a personal responsibility.⁸⁰ In "Best Practices," teachers act more as facilitators, structuring activities requiring student preparation, and help students learn how to talk to one another when they disagree. Students in typical lecture-style classroom atmospheres report being "less likely to say they were able to listen to many sides of an argument before making a decision."81 They were more likely to report feeling apathetic towards politics and did not see community issues as a personal responsibility. 82 When schools, as opposed to family or peers, are the "central, salient, and dominant force in the political socialization of the young child," it is vital for schools to get civic education right.83

Because schools are relevant to a student's political socialization, research on classroom demographics continues to illustrate the importance of having a supportive administration for

Paula McAvoy, et al. "State Standards Scratch the Surface of Learning about Political Parties and Ideology," The Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning & Engagement, Working Paper #81, www.civicyouth.org
 Paula McAvoy, et al. "State Standards Scratch the Surface of Learning about Political Parties and Ideology," The Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning & Engagement, Working Paper #81, www.civicyouth.org
 Diana Hess and Paula McAvoy, The Political Classroom: Evidence and Ethics in Democratic Education. New York, Routledge, 2015. p 66

⁸² Ibid

⁸³ Patricia K. Kuybos and Mark B. Kinney, "Fostering Democracy in Middle School Classrooms: Insights from a Democratic Institute in Hungary." The Social Studies November/December 2000. p 265

creating a classroom environment that is open to discussion, especially when a school is racially diverse. ⁸⁴ In highly racially diverse classes, there are less democratic and open discussions. ⁸⁵ Whether this is because students feel less comfortable opening up or whether it is the teachers or a combination of both, becomes less of an issue when properly trained teachers take the initiative. ⁸⁶ In order for students to actively gain skills, teachers and administrators need to welcome open discussion with racially diverse students while also helping students navigate their emotions, and communicational skills when talking about sensitive topics. ⁸⁷

Zinger and Moore, in an adult study, found voting rates for African-American and White voters varied depending on the integration or segregation level of African-Americans and Whites in a given community.⁸⁸ Where integration was lowest, white turnout was highest among Whites in predominantly white precincts, and African-American turnout is highest where they represent the majority, and segregation levels are low.⁸⁹ Perhaps early intervention by schools to help facilitate integration could affect these patterns.

Outside Curriculum and After School Activities

⁸⁴ David E. Campbell, "Sticking Together; Classroom Diversity and Civic Education," American Politics Research, V 35 No 1, sage Publications, January 2007.

⁸⁵ David E. Campbell, "Sticking Together; Classroom Diversity and Civic Education," American Politics Research, V 35 No 1, sage Publications, January 2007.

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⁸⁷ Celia Oyler, Actions Speak Louder than Words- Community Activism as Curriculum. New York, Routledge, 2012.

⁸⁸ Joshua N. Zingher and Eric M. Moore, "The Power of Place? Testing the Geographic Determinants of African-American and White Voter Turnout" Social Science Quarterly, V 100 No 4, June 2019. Southwestern Social Science Association

⁸⁹ Joshua N. Zingher and Eric M. Moore, "The Power of Place? Testing the Geographic Determinants of African-American and White Voter Turnout" Social Science Quarterly, V 100 No 4, June 2019. Southwestern Social Science Association.

Classroom learning does not happen in a vacuum. Outside influences also affect students' willingness and ability to participate in civic life after graduation. Poverty and wealth, family and peers, volunteering, social media, and general community attitudes towards civic participation all play roles in the likelihood of a student's future participation.⁹⁰

Social media is a tool educators are lacking in utilizing when it comes to reaching out to students on their terms. ⁹¹Studies on the role of social media and digital tools as a way to effectively engage students is a current research topic as students can spend up to 40 hours a week. ⁹²

Students' outside activities also play a significant role in shaping their ability to interact with non-family and non-school adults by building "bonding social capital," a skill needed for future participation. After school jobs and volunteering build "bonding social capital" as students interact and work with non-family and non-school related adults. 94

A student's parents likewise play a meaningful role in shaping a student's civic life.

Student-parent conversations around politics increase the likelihood a student will develop

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⁹⁰ Jeffrey S. Dill, "Preparing for Public Life: School Sector and the Educational Context of Lasting Citizen Formation." Social Forces 87(3). The University of North Carolina Press. March 2009

⁹¹ Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg, "Harry, Hermione, Ron, and Neville- Portraits of American Teenagers' Extracurricular Involvement, and Implications for Educational Interventions," Circle Working Paper #80, The Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning & Engagement. March 2014, p 6

⁹² Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg, "Harry, Hermione, Ron, and Neville- Portraits of American Teenagers' Extracurricular Involvement, and Implications for Educational Interventions," Circle Working Paper #80, The Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning & Engagement. March 2014, p 6

⁹³ Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg, "Harry, Hermione, Ron, and Neville- Portraits of American Teenagers' Extracurricular Involvement, and Implications for Educational Interventions," Circle Working Paper #80, The Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning & Engagement. March 2014, p 2

⁹⁴ Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg, "Harry, Hermione, Ron, and Neville- Portraits of American Teenagers' Extracurricular Involvement, and Implications for Educational Interventions," Circle Working Paper #80, The Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning & Engagement. March 2014, p 6

habitual political news consumption or participate in political activity. Higher socio-economic status (SES) and educational attainment of parents are also reliable indicators of whether or not children will be politically active, as they have more opportunities within and outside the home to practice participation. Lower SES was "associated with lower levels of social trust, political efficacy, poor performance on standardized national tests of political knowledge and understanding, and fewer intentions of electoral participation." These discrepancies in SES can distort a student's view of the government, as either responsive or unresponsive, which can shape how they will interact with government in the future. Rhanging this distortion is where quality civic education in school, which combines simulations, discussions of hard topics, and student-led projects, could potentially help fill in these gaps. Having school focus on the logistics of voting and encouraging preregistration in applicable states can also increase youth voter turnout for those who will not attend college.

State Initiatives and Influences

State voter initiatives such as online voter registration and preregistration for 16- and 17- year-olds have minor, but positive correlations with youth voting rates, whereas strict voter I.D. laws have a negative correlation on voters between the ages of 18 – 29, and more so with

⁹⁵ Spiro Kiousis and Michael McDevitt, "Agenda Setting in Civic Development: Effects of Curricula and Issue Importance on Youth Voter Turnout," Communication Research 2008; 35; 481 originally published online May 19, 2008. P 495

⁹⁶ M. Kent Jennings, "Political Socialization" The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior. Edited by Russell J. Dalton and Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Aug 2007. P 10

 ⁹⁷Muna Osman, Dave Miranda, and Cédric Jourde, "Youth Political Engagement in Adolescence," Canadian
 Psychology/Psychologie Canadienne. Advances online publication. Online First Publication, April 18, 2019, p 8.
 ⁹⁸ James G. Gimpel, J. Celest Lay, and Jason E. Schuknecht. *Cultivating Democracy: Civic Environments and Political*

Socialization in America. Washington D.C. Brookings Institute Press, 2003.

⁹⁹ James G. Gimpel, J. Celest Lay, and Jason E. Schuknecht. *Cultivating Democracy: Civic Environments and Political Socialization in America*. Washington D.C. Brookings Institute Press, 2003.

the youth of color.¹⁰⁰ Automatic voter registration has the most substantial effect on voters 18-29, and same-day registration and vote at home programs can also slightly increase voter turnout.¹⁰¹

Political parties typically reach out to previous donors or at least college campuses. They are less likely to reach out to students who do not go on to college. Political parties do not typically contact young people for these reasons and miss an opportunity to activate a younger voter base.

Another varying factor in youth participation is how contested the election is in the state. While there is a small uptick in votes by youths in contested races, this is not always the case as states without systematic supports, as mentioned above, do not see these increases, nor do states without systems in place when there have not been historically competitive races. 103

Post-Secondary Educational Effects

As the number of students who go on to postsecondary school increases, so has its effect on youth political participation. Campuses generally make it easy for students to register to vote and participate in civic life. Nevertheless, this increase has its limits. While going to college may strengthen an individual's desire to participate in civic life, a larger pool of

¹⁰⁰ CIRCLE, "Voter Turnout of Youth Aged 18-19 Shows States Having Varies Success at Growing Voters: September 9, 2019, CIRLCE.org

¹⁰¹ Nonprofit VOTE and U.S. Elections Project, "America Goes to the Polls 2018: Voter Turnout and Election Policy in the 50 States" nonprofitvote.org report downloaded 10/1/2019

¹⁰² CIRCLE, "Growing voters: Engaging Youth Before They Reach Voting Age to Strengthen Democracy," CIRCLE civicyouth.org downloaded 10/1/19

¹⁰³ CIRCLE, "Voter Turnout of Youth Aged 18-19 Shows States Having Varies Success at Growing Voters," civicyouth.org, downloaded 9/25/19

individuals competing for the same social resources makes it harder for each individual with a college degree to participate.¹⁰⁴ Likewise, each additional year of college produces a nominal increase in the probability of a student voting.¹⁰⁵ But by the last year of education, voting and volunteering behaviors do not increase.¹⁰⁶ Students who only attend a 2-year college have similar rates of participation as those who complete four years of postsecondary school.¹⁰⁷

For those whose paths do not lead to postsecondary school, Andrea Finlay et al., found national service programs help close the civic engagement gap between those who attend college and those who do not.¹⁰⁸ They highlight the importance of finding alternative ways to engage youth who would otherwise not participate in civic life.¹⁰⁹

Theory

Though there are multiple varying influences on the effectiveness of civic education in preparing students for civic life, the consensus highlights the critical role secondary schools play in a student's future civic involvement. Since not every student goes on to tertiary education nor national service programs, secondary school is where those students may have their only

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¹⁰⁴ Jonathan Horowitz, "Doing Less with More: Cohorts, Education, and Civic Participation in America," Social Forces Vol 94 (2) p747-774, December 2015, Oxford University Press, 2015

¹⁰⁵ Bryony Hoskins, Beatrice D'Hombres, and Joann Campbell. 2008. Does formal education have an impact on active citizenship behaviour? *European Educational Research Journal* 7 (3) (01/01): 386.

¹⁰⁶ William R. Doyle and Benjamin T. Skinner, "Does Postsecondary Education Result in Civic Benefits?" The Journal of Higher Education, Vol 88, NO. 6, 863-893, 2007, p 888.

¹⁰⁷ William R. Doyle and Benjamin T. Skinner, "Does Postsecondary Education Result in Civic Benefits?" The Journal of Higher Education, Vol 88, NO. 6, 863-893, 2007, p 888.

¹⁰⁸ Andrea K Finlay, Constance Flanagan, and Laura Wray-Lake, "Civic Engagement Patterns and Transitions Over 8 Years: The AmeriCorps National Study," American Psychological Associations, 2001 Vol. 47, No. 6, 1728-1743

¹⁰⁹ Andrea K Finlay, Constance Flanagan, and Laura Wray-Lake, "Civic Engagement Patterns and Transitions Over 8 Years: The AmeriCorps National Study," American Psychological Associations, 2001 Vol. 47, No. 6, 1728-1743

opportunity for civic exposure and practice. Those students are the ones most in need of interactive classroom discussions and simulations to help them practice real-life skills.

Passive learning, i.e., lectures, has been shown to only relay information not help students build the confidence and skills needed for later active participation. In contrast, student-led projects have a positive effect on a student's desire to participate civically after graduation. Active participation or simulations of participation, participating in afterschool activities, including community service, or working a part-time job, are a better indicator of later participation than results from passive learning practices.

Using data collected by each state's Department of Education (DOE) and the U.S. Census Bureau, the authors of a Center for American Progress working paper were able to share each state's civic and community service requirements and compare it to those state's voter participation rates for the ages 18-24. One would assume a longer civics requirement would lead to higher voter turnout, yet when looking at the data that is not the case. Some states require 1 year of civics to graduate and have above average youth voter turnout rates compared to other states which also require one year of civics but fall well below the national average for the 18-24 age voter group.

Virginia and Hawaii are two such states. While both states require the same amount of civics, their participation rates could not be more different. Why is that? Based on the previous research, this study suggests the difference is the quality of their state-sponsored civics

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¹¹⁰ Diana Hess and Paula McAvoy, The Political Classroom: Evidence and Ethics in Democratic Education. New York, Routledge, 2015.

programs where active participation and simulations will play more of a leading role in the Virginia civic requirements. This section explores each state's website and civics curriculum. If we can see what each state is doing well, other states can use this framework to address their DOE resources.

Method

When it comes to education, identifying what constitutes the "Best Practices" for teaching civics can be tricky. 111 What makes for a quality civics education? Quantity or quality? Moreover, what does either of those ideas mean in terms of results? To this end, the Brown Center on Education Policy at Brookings 2018 report on American Education, with a "consensus view from experts," compiled the 10 Proven Practices (10 PP) framework. 112 It is a combination of the Six Proven Practices for Effective Civic Learning Framework from the 2011 Guardian of Democracy Report with four additional points added in a proceeding report, The Republic is (Still) at Risk- and Civics is Part of the Solution. 113 This section is an in-depth analysis of each state's DOE website and civic standards requirements and compare each to the 10 PP, to decipher where each state is excelling or lacking in a well-rounded civics education program. 114

 [&]quot;Best Practices" refers to "Best Practices in Education," which educators use to describe "what works" in a particular learning environment. It is a set of standards relying on research-based or scientifically-based practices. https://www.cloud.edu/Assets/pdfs/assessment/inst.%20strategy_best%20practices%20in%20education.pdf
 Michael Hanse, Elizabeth Levesque, Jon Valant, Diana Quintero. "The 2018 Brown Center Report on American Education: How Well Are American Students Learning?" Brown Center on Education Policy at Brookings. June 2018
 Kathleen Hall Jamieson, Ph.D., "Guardian of Democracy: The Civic Mission of Schools" Leonore Annenberg Institute for Civics of the Annenberg Public Policy Center at the University of Pennsylvania. (Carnegie Corporation of New York, 2011.) p 4. https://www.carnegie.org/media/filer_public/ab/dd/abdda62e-6e84-47a4-a043-348d2f2085ae/ccny_grantee_2011_guardian.pdf

¹¹⁴This paper does not address the College, Career, and Civic Life (C3) framework for Social Studies state standards in its analysis.

Successful Civics Framework

Civic standards matter a great deal in how successful each state's programs are in creating attitudes, skills, and knowledge for future civic participation. While each school may have its own methods of teaching civics, our goal is to look at what the official state documents offer in terms of a framework for all the schools to follow. State documents explain the requirements of what to teach, when, and how, which helps us analyze the states' overall attitudes towards civic learning. This chapter will examine where each state is thriving and where they may need improvement. This information may explain why Virginia has a higher young person participation rate in civics upon graduation.

Table 2: The Original Six Proven Practices and the Four Additional Practices Added

6 Proven Practices (PP)*	Description
PP #1: Classroom Instruction	Instruction that includes: civics, government, history, law, economics, and geography. Together these topics fall under the umbrella of "Social Studies."
PP #2: Discussion of Current Events and Controversial Issues	Classroom discussions of timely political discourse and controversial topics, engaging students in healthy communication practices.
PP #3: Service-Learning	Service-learning practices help tie academic learning to civic-minded community challenges during school hours. High-quality service-learning incorporates analytical and problemsolving skills.
PP #4: Extracurricular Activities	After school activities focusing on civics, such as mock trials, model congress, speech and debate, Model U.N., and community volunteering
PP #5: Student Participation in School Governance	This includes student government as well as schoolwide democratic deliberation on school and community issues
PP #6: Simulations of Democratic Processes	Simulation of democratic processes in civic classes, using games and roleplaying in mock trials, model congress in class.

^{*} Summary of Proven Practices from Kathleen Hall Jamieson, Ph.D., "Guardian of Democracy: The Civic Mission of Schools" Leonore Annenberg Institute for Civics of the Annenberg Public Policy Center at the University of Pennsylvania. (Carnegie Corporation of New York, 2011.) p 4. https://www.carnegie.org/media/filer_public/ab/dd/abdda62e-6e84-47a4-a043-348d2f2085ae/ccny_grantee_2011_guardian.pdf

4 PPs added from 2017 Report*	Description
PP #7: News Media Literacy	Students learn the skills necessary to distinguish fake news from reliable news
PP #8: Action Civics	Students build citizen identities (with rights and responsibilities) while teachers guide them in actively influencing institutional policies to address community problems
PP #9: Social-emotional learning (SEL)	These are school standards that help students develop the skills needed to understand and manage their emotions, set goals, and learn how to have positive relationships, helping students become more ethical and active citizens.
PP #10: School climate reform	These are school policies that promote restorative justice and alternatives to the "school-to-prison pipeline," which has shown to depress young people's civic engagement.

^{*}summary of 4 PP from The Republic is (Still) at Risk. Peter Levin and Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg, The Republic is (Still) at Risk- and Civics is Part of the Solution" (Medford, MA: Jonathan M. Tisch College of Civic Life, Tufts University, 2017). P 5

Choosing States

The two states chosen for this research were selected from the Center for American Progress's report, "The State of Civics Education" which listed each state's Department of Education civic education requirements needed for graduation along with each state's corresponding voter participation rates for ages 18-24 in the 2016 election. After comparing the state requirements and the voter turnout, Virginia was chosen for having one full year of civics required for graduation with an above national average voter participation rate, and Hawaii for having one year of required civics but with a below-average voter participation rate.

Table 3: 2016 and 2018 Comparison of Virginia and Hawaii's Voter Participation Rates

State	Length of civics requirements *	Voter Participation rate (ages 18- 24) 2016 election by	Voter Participation rate national average (ages 18-24) 2016 **	Voter Participation rate (18-24) 2018 election by state	Voter Participation rate national average (ages 18-24)
VA	1 year	state* 54.6	39.4	35.9	2018 ** 30.1
HI	1 year	20.4	39.4	21.7	30.1

^{*} Data from "The State of Civics Education" Center for American Progress¹¹⁶

^{**} Data from "Voting in America: A look at the 2016 Presidential Election" census.gov¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ Sarah Shapiro and Catherine Brown, "The State of Civics Education," Center for American Progress. Feb. 21, 2018

¹¹⁶ Ibid

¹¹⁷ "Voting in America: A Look at the 2016 Presidential Election" https://www.census.gov/newsroom/blogs/random-samplings/2017/05/voting_in_america.html

Grading System

We will go through each state's civics requirements and school ethos and look for patterns and variables and compare our findings with that of the 10 PP to see how each state's requirements or lack thereof could potentially reflect in voter turnout. Aside from the specific civic documents for each state, we will also look at the DOE website itself for updates, resolutions, and ancillary information.

Each category is scored between 0-2. A score of zero means the DOE standards, supporting documents, nor website meet the requirement. A score between 0 and 1 means the standards et al. meet some of the requirement, but not all, and a score of 1 means they meet the requirement. A score of 2 is for categories that are interactive and require school-wide or classroom-wide student participation, and when the standards meet that requirement. This higher score reflects the importance of interactive simulations, student-led projects, and community action as they have a more significant effect on learning than passive learning. If they meet some of the requirements, but not all, they can receive a score of less than 2.

Analyses

Virginia

According to the Virginia Department of Education (VDOE) website and civic standard's document, "History and Social Science Standards of Learning Curriculum Framework 2008:

¹¹⁸ Sarah Shapiro and Catherine Brown, "The State of Civics Education," Center for American Progress. Feb. 21, 2018. P 21

Civics and Economics," Virginia requires 2 credits/1 year of Civics and Economics for graduation. 119

Website Use Score: 1 out of 1

Accessing Virginia's DOE (VDOE) website and finding the civic education requirements was a reasonably straightforward task. Using search terms such as "civics" or "civics requirements" provided multiple relevant answers. I also used the VDOE website to answer questions about the 10 PP, which are not directly listed in the Framework documents as the areas of interest are not Framework specific but rather part of the overall VDOE school requirements. These supporting documents were also easily located.

PP #1: Classroom Instruction

Meets PP Standard: 1 out of 1

Teachers help students demonstrate knowledge about the Bill of Rights, American constitutional governance, the Declaration of Independence, Articles of Confederation, the Constitution of the United States, and Virginia's founding documents. In each one of these areas, students are expected to have a working knowledge of each and be able to read and interpret primary and secondary sources. Students are also required to understand the "duties of citizens" including obey laws, pay taxes, serve in the armed forces if called to duty, serve on a

¹¹⁹ Board of Education, Commonwealth of Virginia, "History and Social Science Standards of Learning: Curriculum Framework 2008: Civics and Economics." While the DOE adopted a newer version of the Civic Standards in 2015, they did not enact the new standards until the fall of 2016.

jury or as a witness when summoned. 120 This is a clear indication that Virginia's requirements

meet the PP1 for classroom instruction.

PP #2: Discussion of Current Events and Controversial Issues

Meets PP Standard: 2 out of 2

Under Standard CE.3c, students must demonstrate knowledge of citizenship, rights, and

duties. The essential skill they need to learn is how to analyze political cartoons, political

advertisements, pictures, and other graphic media. Standard CE.5a also requires students to

understand the function of political parties, campaign issues, and ask students to monitor the

actions of officeholders. Both standards require students to identify a problem, weigh the

expected costs and benefits and possible consequences of the proposed solutions, and

recommend solutions using decision-making models. 121 Asking students to monitor

officeholders requires action in real-time. Discussing current legislative initiatives means they

are required to discuss current events.

PP #3: Service-Learning

Meets PP Standard: 2 out of 2

Standards CE.4a, b,c,d,e,f,g, requires students to practice the personal attributes which

contribute to civic life such as trustworthiness, respect for others, responsibility and

¹²⁰ Board of Education, Commonwealth of Virginia, "History and Social Science Standards of Learning: Curriculum Framework 2008: Civics and Economics." While the DOE approved a newer version of the Civic Standards in 2015, the new standards took effect in the fall of 2016. P 8

¹²¹ Board of Education, Commonwealth of Virginia, "History and Social Science Standards of Learning: Curriculum Framework 2008: Civics and Economics." While the DOE approved a newer version of the Civic Standards in 2015, the new standards took effect in the fall of 2016. P 10, 12

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accountability, respect for the law, practicing patriotism, decision making, and service to the school or local community. The state standards clearly say students must practice "service to the school and/or local community." Documentation on how they expect the schools to handle service learning is available on their civics resource page.

PP #4: Extracurricular Activities

Meets PP Standard: 2 out of 2

As of 2003, the BOE adopted criteria for the BOE Diploma Seal for Excellence in Civics Education (HB 1503). It requires students to satisfy the Standard Diploma or Advanced Studies Diploma, complete Virginia and Unites States History and Virginia and Unites States

Government course with a "B" grade or higher, good attendance. Students must complete 50 hours of voluntary participation in specific community service or extracurricular activities related to these topics:

- "a) Volunteering for a charitable or religious organization that provides services to the poor, sick or less fortunate;
 - b) Participating in Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts or similar youth organizations;
 - c) Participating in JROTC;
- d) Participating in political campaigns or government internships, or Boys State, Girls State, or Model General Assembly;
- e) Participating in school-sponsored extracurricular activities that have a civics focus." ¹²³

PP #5: Student Participation in School Governance

¹²² Board of Education, Commonwealth of Virginia, "History and Social Science Standards of Learning: Curriculum Framework 2008: Civics and Economics." While the DOE approved a newer version of the Civic Standards in 2015, the new standards took effect in the fall of 2016. p 11

¹²³ Adopting Criteria for the Diploma Seal for Civics Education. Virginia Department of Education website. http://www.doe.virginia.gov/boe/resolutions/2003/2003-26.shtml downloaded 11/16/19

Meets PP Standard: 1 out of 2

An almost yearly memo from the Assistant Superintendent of the DOE was found during a search for "student government." The memos request students who participate in student government to apply for a chance to participate in the Youth Senate program and receive a \$5000 scholarship. This was the only reference to student governance on the VDOE website. Therefore, while individual schools may promote student participation in school-wide governance, there is no mention of this level of participation in school governance on the VDOE website as a statewide practice.

PP #6: Simulations of Democratic Processes

Meets PP Standard: 2 out of 2

When studying the political process at the local, state, and national levels, students are asked to participate directly in campaigns and/or simulations in class and online¹²⁵. Standard CE.5g speaks directly to students by asking them how they can participate in the democratic process under the age of 18. Students are also required to learn about the legislative process through "direct involvement and/or simulations." ¹²⁶

PP #7: News Media Literacy

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 $^{^{124}}$ VDOE website search for "student government" https://www.doe.virginia.gov/home_files/search_results/vdoe-search.shtml?cx=000783915327965917031%3Aydjbl4xbjqo&cof=FORID%3A10&ie=UTF-8&a=student+government&sa=Search

¹²⁵ Board of Education, Commonwealth of Virginia, "History and Social Science Standards of Learning: Curriculum Framework 2008: Civics and Economics." While the DOE approved a newer version of the Civic Standards in 2015, the new standards took effect in the fall of 2016. 18

¹²⁶ Board of Education, Commonwealth of Virginia, "History and Social Science Standards of Learning: Curriculum Framework 2008: Civics and Economics." While the DOE approved a newer version of the Civic Standards in 2015, the new standards took effect in the fall of 2016. p 21

Meets PP Standard: 1 out of 1

Throughout the civic curriculum framework, it refers teachers to the essential skills

students are expected to learn: Standard CE.c: analyze political cartoons, political

advertisements, pictures, and other graphic media; CE.d: distinguish between relevant and

irrelevant information, and CE.e: review information for accuracy, separating fact from

opinion. 127CE.c is referenced 17 times throughout the framework, CE.d 10 times, and CE.e, 17

times. Virginia students are expected to examine news materials critically.

PP #8: Action Civics

Meets PP Standard: 2 out of 2

Students are expected to participate in campaigning, formulate a carefully reasoned

opinion on community issues, and practice the legislative process through "Direct involvement"

and/or simulations. 128 While the Framework does leave the option open for students to

participate through simulations rather than direct involvement, it suggests direct participation

as the first option.

PP #9: Social-emotional learning (SEL)

Meets PP Standard: .5 out of 1

¹²⁷ Board of Education, Commonwealth of Virginia, "History and Social Science Standards of Learning: Curriculum Framework 2008: Civics and Economics." While the DOE approved a newer version of the Civic Standards in 2015, the new standards took effect in the fall of 2016. p 1

¹²⁸ Board of Education, Commonwealth of Virginia, "History and Social Science Standards of Learning: Curriculum Framework 2008: Civics and Economics." While the DOE approved a newer version of the Civic Standards in 2015, the new standards took effect in the fall of 2016. p 1, 21

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While the Standards do not specifically use the language "social-emotional learning," their service-learning standards (CE.4a, b, c, d, e, f, g) requires students to practice courtesy and respect for the rights of others, accountability, self-reliance, trustworthiness, and honesty.

PP #10: School climate reform

Meets PP Standard: 0 out of 1

The 2015-2016, and 2016-2017 School Climate Reports do not include language that promotes or requires restorative justice or other alternatives to disciplinary actions and sanctions against students. 129

Hawaii

Hawaii's graduation guidelines require two courses in civics and government. 1.0 credit in US History and Government and .5 credit in Participation in a Democracy. The HDOE Standards for United States History and Government and "Participation in a Democracy" documents and Hawaii's Department of Education (HDOE) website are used to answer questions about the 10 PP.

Website Use Score: 0 out of 1

Hawaii's Department of Education (HDOE) website is much less user-friendly compared to Virginia's. A search for their civics programs using the terms "civics" or "civics requirements" produced no related results nor did "social studies," which is a term used in the Hawaii graduation guidelines. Patient searching resulted in finding a brief outline of their civic

¹²⁹ Virginia Department of Education School Climate Report for School Year 2016-2017, published August 2018, and Virginia Department of Education School Climate Report for School Years 2015-2016, published June 2017 http://www.doe.virginia.gov/statistics_reports/school_climate/index.shtml

standards, *Participation in a Democracy (PID)*, in their Subject matter standards the "Teaching & Learning: Curriculum, Instruction, & Testing" page. The HDOE relies heavily on the C3

Framework and has a very brief Grades 9-12 Standards chart for its Participation in Democracy class.

PP #1: Classroom Instruction

Meets PP Standard: 1 out of 1

The PID Content standard SS.PID.2.6.1 requires teachers to cover the American Constitution, separation of powers, the rule of law, checks, and balances, and limited government. The C3 Framework expects students to distinguish between "the powers and responsibilities of local, state, tribal, national, and international civic and political institutions" through classroom learning. The C3 Framework expects students to distinguish between "the powers and responsibilities of local, state, tribal, national, and international civic and political institutions"

PP #2: Discussion of Current Events and Controversial Issues

Meets PP Standard: 2 out of 2

The PID standards SS.9-12.4.2 and S.S. 9-12.5.1 requires students to present arguments through speeches, and debates, on local, regional and/or global problems or issues. The C3 Framework addresses the need to have students analyze contemporary issues pertaining to changes in society, protecting rights, and promoting the common good. The common good of the common good of the common good.

 130 Hawaii Department of Education, *Participation in a Democracy.* P 4

http://www.hawaiipublicschools.org/DOE%20Forms/Social%20Studies/HCSSSdemocracy.pdf

¹³¹ College, Career & Civic Life C3 Framework for Social Studies State Standards: Guidance for Enhancing the Rigor of K-12Civics, Economics, Geography, and History. (National Council for the Social Studies, MD) 2007

¹³² Hawaii Department of Education, *Participation in a Democracy*. P 1

⁴http://www.hawaiipublicschools.org/DOE%20Forms/Social%20Studies/HCSSSdemocracy.pdf

¹³³ College, Career & Civic Life C3 Framework for Social Studies State Standards: Guidance for Enhancing the Rigor of K-12Civics, Economics, Geography, and History. (National Council for the Social Studies, MD) 2007. p 34

PP #3: Service-Learning

Meets PP Standard: 0 out of 2

The HDOE website, the PID documents, nor the C3 Framework make any mention of

service-learning.

PP #4: Extracurricular Activities

Meets PP Standard: 1 out of 2

While the HDOE highlights the success of one high school's participation in the "We the

People: Citizen and the Constitution Program," a nationwide program to promote civic

competence and responsibility, it is not part of a more extensive statewide program to promote

excellence in civic education. Whereas in Virginia, the VDOE adopted criteria for the BOE

Diploma Seal for Excellence in Civics Education (HB 1503), which requires civic-minded

volunteering to receive a civic seal of excellence on their diploma.

PP #5: Student Participation in School Governance

Meets PP Standard: 1.5 out of 2

The PP #5 requires three key elements. One is for a large number of students to engage

in school or community service activities. Two, students should have a forum to voice their

concerns and ideas, which can impact their school and learning environments, and three, the

student school government should promote financial and environmental literacy. 134

¹³⁴ Kathleen Hall Jamieson, Ph.D., "Guardian of Democracy: The Civic Mission of Schools" Leonore Annenberg Institute for Civics of the Annenberg Public Policy Center at the University of Pennsylvania. (Carnegie Corporation of New York, 2011.) p 4. https://www.carnegie.org/media/filer_public/ab/dd/abdda62e-6e84-47a4-a043-

348d2f2085ae/ccny_grantee_2011_guardian.pdf

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HDOE hit on two of these points, but its efforts do not appear to be on-going nor in each school. In 2016, there was a collaboration program between Adult Friends for Youth, Oceanit, the HDOE, and 100 middle and high school students from different schools, chosen by their teachers for their particular school experiences from struggling to excelling, to allow them to give input in redesigning their school experience. This meets the requirements for having a forum for students to voice their opinions about how to govern their school experience and utilized students from multiple schools. However, this is not something the HDOE required of

each school to do, but rather a program promoted by the HDOE on its timetable and does not

PP #6: Simulations of Democratic Processes

Meets PP Standard: 0 out of 2

yet appear to be ongoing.

There is no mention of students being required to participate in simulations on the HDOE website, in the C3 Framework, nor the Participation in Democracy Standards document. Although, on the introduction page for Civics in the C3 Framework, it states students will not only study how others participate but "practice participation and taking informed action themselves." Other than this one mention on the intro page, there is no mention of it on the following instructional pages nor any suggestions on how to implement it (such as mock trial and model congress).

PP #7: News Media Literacy

¹³⁵ College, Career & Civic Life C3 Framework for Social Studies State Standards: Guidance for Enhancing the Rigor of K-12Civics, Economics, Geography, and History. (National Council for the Social Studies, MD) 2007. p 31

Meets PP Standard: 1 out of 1

PID Anchor Standard #2- Gathering and Evaluating Sources requires students to exam

the credibility of sources through investigating the source's origin, author, context, content, and

corroborative value. 136

PP #8: Action Civics

Meets PP Standard: 1 out of 2

Under Civic Engagement in the PID, students are asked to plan and demonstrate some

ways in which an active citizen can effect change. Sample Content/ Concepts of citizen

engagement include: forming a club, peaceful protests, volunteering, voting, writing letters to

policymakers, providing public testimony, and running for office. However, since some of these

suggestions are designed for older participants, it is hard to justify giving them the full 2 points

for this, as there is no language such as "direct involvement," or "students are expected to

participate," but instead uses language, such as "plan and demonstrate," which is less clear as a

directive.

PP #9: Social-emotional learning (SEL)

Meets PP Standard: .5 out of 1

¹³⁶ Participating in a Democracy,

http://www.hawaiipublicschools.org/DOE%20Forms/Social%20Studies/HCSSSdemocracy.pdf p 1

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The PID does not mention how students are expected to talk to others. The C3

Framework does mention what civic virtues are supposed to teach, such as "honesty, mutual respect, cooperation, and attentiveness to multiple perspectives." 137

PP #10: School climate reform

Meets PP Standard: 0 out of 1

The HDOE website, nor its school climate documents make any mention of reforming their discipline techniques in favor of restorative justice alternatives.

Results

Table 4: Results of Virginia and Hawaii's DOE Resources

	Website	1 P.P.: Classroom Instruction	2PP: Current events	3PP: Service learning	4PP: Extracurriculars	5PP: Student Governance	6PP: Simulations	7PP: News Literacy	8PP: Action Civic	9PP: SEL	10PP: School climate	Overall Total of 10 PP only	Civic Specific	Non-Civic PP
Possible Score	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	1	1	16	10	6
VA	1	1	2	2	2	1	2	1	2	.5	0	13.5	10	3.5
Н	0	1	2	0	1	1.5	0	1	1	.5	0	8	5	3

Website

¹³⁷ C3 Framework, p 33

The first noticeable difference between Virginia's and Hawaii's DOE websites was the sizable amount of civic resources listed on the VDOE website and the ease of finding these resources. Finding course requirements for civics on the Hawaii DOE site was comparably more difficult when using the same search words, such as "civics," "civic education," and "civic standards." Virginia's website listed at least ten relatable topics on the first page alone with the word "civics" in the title compared to none for Hawaii.

Another significant difference was the sheer volume of civic information available for educators on the Virginia website. "Civic exams," "Blueprints for learning civics," modules, standards, and information about the civic diploma seal are all readily available for BOE, administrators, teachers, and parents to find and utilize. There are no surprises about what students can expect, and the tools necessary to help schools reach these goals are clear, detailed, and plentiful. The VDOE website also offered links to agenda items pertaining to civics. One, in particular, was a report on Civic Education Policy, which reviewed and graded their civic standards for K -12.¹³⁸ Hawaii's DOE website not only made it difficult to find any material related to civics without strategic and patient searching, but it also did not provide tools or documents to help administrators, teachers, or parents understand or implement the C3 or state requirements.

10 Proven Practices Virginia and Hawaii Assessment

¹³⁸Christonya Brown, "Report on Civic Education Policy," Virginia Board of Education Agenda Item, June 28, 2018. www.doe.virginia.gov/boe/meetings/2018/06-jun/item-k.docx downloaded 11/19/2019

As for the 10 Proven Practices, Virginia covered almost all the proven practices using precise language, such as "practice thoughtful decision making," "practice service to the school and/or community," and "recommend solutions." 139 As the literature review and resulting study shows, Virginia also hit the most critical factors, simulations, community activity, and extracurricular activities, all of which help students practice the skills needed to create an active civic life. Hawaii's standards were less clear and less directive in addressing student participation. There was no mention of simulations of any kind, an activity that has been shown to increase civic skills¹⁴⁰. There was a stark contrast in the clarity, amount, and directness between Virginia's and Hawaii's DOE civic standards. This paper looked to explore why the outcomes of Virginia and Hawaii were so different when they both require the same amount of civics to graduate. These results indicate Virginia's emphasis on active or simulative participation seems to be a factor in increased youth voting rates. While this was just one comparative study of two states, the research holds promise in shedding light on how the states' DOE layout and curriculum can potentially shape better student outcomes across the nation.

Limitations of this study

The study presented here did not look at the outside factors which could have contributed to each state's variation in voting rates in the 2016 election, such as demographics,

¹³⁹ Board of Education, Commonwealth of Virginia, "History and Social Science Standards of Learning: Curriculum Framework 2008: Civics and Economics." While a newer version of the Civic Standards was approved in 2015, the new standards were not enacted until the fall of 2016. P 13

¹⁴⁰. Diana Hess and Paula McAvoy, The Political Classroom: Evidence and Ethics in Democratic Education. New York, Routledge, 2015. p 66

SES, state initiatives, nor whether or not 2016 was a contested or tight race. Nor was this a longitudinal study of young person voter participation rates to find patterns in previous years, which could have shown a smaller difference in voter participation rates. Another aspect that cannot be overlooked is the proximity of Virginia to the nation's capital. As discussed in the literature, this regional proximity might affect students, as parents and other adults in their lives may be employed in Washington, D.C., creating an environment for more ample opportunities to participate. However, focusing on one aspect of Virginia's and Hawaii's DOE standards allowed us to concentrate on one element: the state's standards and explore a focused view of how this particular aspect could affect a state's student body's readiness to participate in future civic activity.

Conclusion

The results of this section are promising. Hawaii could spend some time revamping its website to make civic education more readily available to educators and the community alike. Both Virginia and Hawaii could benefit from strengthening their DOE's schoolwide practices that support student voices within the school system. Within their civic documentation, they can focus efforts on using language that focuses more on the "doing" of civics.

¹⁴¹ M. Kent Jennings, "Political Socialization" The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior. Edited by Russell J. Dalton and Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Aug 2007. P 10

Chapter II: No Civics Requirement: A Comparative Study of Oregon's and New Jersey's Social Studies Standards

"The better educated our citizens are, the better equipped they will be to preserve the system of government we have. And we have to start with the education of our nation's young people. Knowledge about our government is not handed down through the gene pool. Every generation has to learn it, and we have some work to do." – Justice Sandra Day O'Connor

Successful citizenship occurs when an individual has political efficacy, empowerment, and belief that they can effectively alter political and economic decisions through their votes and political activity. While American youth voting rates have fluctuated from one presidential election to another, youth voter turnout for the 18- 24 age group has consistently been lower than that of the 25 and older groups since 1964, with a move towards less engagement over time. Youth voting rates decreased from 50.9 percent in 1964 to 38.0 percent in 2012. Hassed on the American Current Population Supplement's November 2014 voting survey, the Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE) estimated only 19.9 percent of 18-29 years old voted in the 2014 midterm election, the lowest voting rates ever recorded by the Census for that age group. However, and the survey is the

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¹⁴² James A. Banks, *Failed Citizenship, Civic Engagement, and Education: Kappa Delta Pi Record, 51: 151-154, 2015*

¹⁴³ Thom File, "Young-Adult Voting: An Analysis of Presidential Elections, 1964-2012: Population Characteristics," United States Census Bureau. April 2014, P20-573, p 1

¹⁴⁴ File, Ibid p 2

¹⁴⁵ CIRCLE, Ibid

foundational bedrock for America's democratic structure, then the overall trend of decreased youth voter turnout is worrying. 146

While there are multiple hypotheses about why youth voter turnout continues to decline, one explanation has to do with the lack of quality civic education in America's secondary schools. Many scholars have found that increased civic education in the classroom has led to students obtaining more positive attitudes towards becoming involved in civics outside the classroom and increased their belief in their ability to affect change through the voting process. Many scholars have found that increased their belief in their ability to affect change through the

The Center for American Progress mapped each state's secondary school civic requirements as of 2018 and their voter participation rates for the 18-24 age group. State requirements vary from a full year of civics to a half year, with or without community service requirements or credits, to no civic requirements, with or without community service

¹⁴⁶ Joshua A. Douglas, *The Foundational Importance of Voting: A Response to Professor Flanders,* 66 Okla. L. Rev. 81 (2013). P 81

¹⁴⁷ Other theories include more individualistic or societal explanations. For example, James Gimpel, et al's study on economically different school environments found that students of working class and impoverished schools saw government as an entity that did things to them, as opposed to students from wealthier schools, who saw government as an entity that did things for them. Gimpel's study showed how kids from higher income areas are socialized in and outside the school environment expecting government to be responsive to their needs while lower income students become disenfranchised and less likely to think their vote matters. M. Kent Jennings' study focused on the effect the student's family has as their main source of socialization both politically and economically. The parents' level of education can directly affect a student's future political participation. Students whose parents have less than a bachelors are less likely to vote than students of parents with a bachelors or higher. Logistical problems are also a factor. Some young voters do not have transportation available to get to their polling station. Others are not aware of where their polling stations are. James Gimpel et al, *Cultivating democracy: Civic environments and political socialization in America.* Washington, D.C. Brookings Institute Press, 2003

¹⁴⁸ David E. Campbell, "What is education's impact on civic and social engagement?" Measuring the effects of education on health and civic engagement: proceedings of the Copenhagen symposium- OECD 2006 http://www.oecd.org/education/innovation-education/37425694.pdf

requirements or credit.¹⁴⁹ When comparing voter rates against the quantity of civic education received, the results vary as widely as the requirements. One would suspect more civics requirements would lead to increased youth voters. However, that is not always the case.

Hawaii has the same quantity of civics requirements as Virginia, but their voting rates are starkly different. ¹⁵⁰ When comparing the states' requirements against the civic education industry's Ten Proven Practices for Civic Education, Virginia's state civics requirements meet more of the ten practices than Hawaii's. ¹⁵¹ In contrast, neither Oregon nor New Jersey requires any separate civic classes or requirements to graduate, yet Oregon's youth voter participation rate is above the national average and New Jersey's, well below. ¹⁵² Why is that? To answer that question, this report first reviews the civic education literature, making the case that the standards for what constitutes a proper civic education are well established but that implementation and the tools for assessment are not. I argue that the quality and clarity of the civic materials, standards, and instructional resources, as well as, clear guidelines on extracurricular activities, social and emotional learning, and school climate reform provided by each state's Department of Education make a difference in promoting a student's future civic participation.

Because schools are where most children practice the skills they will need later in life to succeed and start building the foundations of their future civic habits, the DOE has a

¹⁴⁹ Sarah Shapiro and Catherine Brown, "The State of Civic Education," Center for American Progress February 21, 2018

¹⁵⁰ Sarah Shapiro and Catherine Brown, "The State of Civic Education," Center for American Progress February 21, 2018

¹⁵¹See Chapter I, p 36

¹⁵² Sarah Shapiro and Catherine Brown, "The State of Civic Education," Center for American Progress February 21, 2018

commanding statewide influence on shaping future voters. Civics education, when done correctly, can "equip students with the knowledge, skills, and disposition necessary to become informed and engaged citizens." Some states' DOEs have done more to help focus the state's standards on specific civic classes and requirements more than others. Other DOE's have rolled civic education into their social studies program requirements.

This study proposes the quality and clarity of a state's DOE website, civic materials, and ancillary state-wide school guidelines, lays a better foundation for schools to create environments conducive to affecting youth voter turnout. This analysis compares in-depth what two states, Oregon and New Jersey, are doing differently in terms of providing students with a civic education without specific civics class state standards. The states' Department of Education websites, social studies documentation, and educational resources are compared to the nationally recognized Ten Proven Practices for quality civic education. The results show Oregon has more successfully weaved the Ten Best Practices on civic education into their social studies programs state documentation, whereas New Jersey has not. This information helps researchers and educators critically analyze the DOE's role in shaping and instituting quality civic requirements, statewide standards on social and emotional learning (SEL), and school climate reform. This paper highlights the important role the DOE plays in shaping civic learning and potential youth voting participation. Educators, researchers, and administrators can work together to improve the DOE's statewide resources to incorporate the Ten Proven Practices of

¹⁵³ Sarah Shapiro and Catherine Brown, "The State of Civic Education," Center for American Progress February 21, 2018

civic education and school wide reforms that are conducive to creating a safe and positive learning environment.

Most studies conducted on civic education are done at the local district or classroom level. The literature review in Chapter I focused mainly on the different aspects of a student's life, which also influence future civic involvement, such as their family's socio-economic status, demographics, and parental education. While those variables play essential roles, the available data has shown that a school's influence on student attitudes and behaviors has the most substantial effect on students' civic knowledge and attitudes towards political efficacy. This review lays out what the leading researchers and scholars agree to be the best methods for achieving the goal of creating more informed and better engaged young citizens, based on the results of many individual studies. While most agree on the methods, implementation is often precarious, and researchers and educators are sometimes at odds about how to evaluate what constitutes success.

Prevailing Literature

The most significant predictor of a person's future civic participation is their past participation, and educators are becoming keenly aware of the need to help students practice political participation before they leave school. ¹⁵⁵ In other words, voters are creatures of habit. ¹⁵⁶ When the cost of moving from inertia, as an inactive voter, is low enough to break the

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¹⁵⁴ Sarah Shapiro and Catherine Brown, "The State of Civic Education," Center for American Progress February 21, 2018

¹⁵⁵ Jeffrey S. Dill, "Preparing for Public Life: School Sector and the Educational Context of Lasting Citizen Formation." Social Forces 87(3). The University of North Carolina Press. March 2009

¹⁵⁶ Eric Plutzer, "Becoming a Habitual Voter: Inertia, Resources, and Growth in Young Adulthood," *American Political Science Review*. Vol. 96, No. 1, March 2002

cost barrier into becoming an active voter, citizens can make the leap to habitual voters more quickly. 157 Civic educational scholars are using this information to help them design civics programs that not only teach the students through traditional lecture styles but also help them practice participating and using the tools necessary to become future habitual voters. Knowing civic participation habits, skills, and attitudes formed in adolescence persist through adulthood, researchers and educators have created guidelines towards helping students leave school with good habits. 158

In 2003, the first of four main educational reports on the current state of civic education in America shed light on the need, the why, and the how of improving civic education in middle and secondary schools. Through meetings and workshops with the country's most respected scholars and practitioners, *The Civic Mission of Schools*, a report from the Carnegie Corporation of New York and CIRCLE: The Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement, laid out the six "promising practices" to achieve civic proficiency. These practices were the result of the many minds in the field honing in on what their experience and research have shown them to be effective in engaging students in a civic education.

After eight years of studies using the 6 "promising practices," the 2011 follow up report, the *Guardian of Democracy: The Civic Mission of Schools*, reaffirmed through extensive research that the six "promising practices," provided by the original 2003 report are now the "six proven

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¹⁵⁷ Eric Plutzer, "Becoming a Habitual Voter: Inertia, Resources, and Growth in Young Adulthood," *American Political Science Review*. Vol. 96, No. 1, March 2002

¹⁵⁸ Jeffrey S. Dill, "Preparing for Public Life: School Sector and the Educational Context of Lasting Citizen Formation." Social Forces 87(3). The University of North Carolina Press. March 2009

practices."¹⁵⁹ By 2017, an additional report, *The Republic is (Still) at Risk- and Civics is Part of the Solution,* added four more complementary practices. Together these 10 Proven Practices make up the essential components of a well-rounded civics education. However, implementation and varying factors can disturb their effectiveness. Here we look at the practices and some of the corresponding issues with implementation and evaluation.

The original "six proven practices" focus on **(1)** courses on civics, government, law, and related topics: through building a foundation of understanding on the rule of law, how government works, and the role of the three branches. This is how the majority of students learn about civics. This basis creates room to expand the students understanding through **(2)** deliberations of current, controversial issues: discussions on current events and controversial topics either in class or in extracurricular groups. ¹⁶⁰ Open discussions in classrooms provide students with the vital practice of learning to argue respectfully and think about current events in a broader historical context. However, further research has shown that when there is diversity in the classroom, there tends to be less political discussion, not more. Reasons can include the teacher's race, the teacher's training, and the lack of administrative support. ¹⁶¹ If

¹⁵⁹ Kathleen Hall Jamieson, Ph.D., "Guardian of Democracy: The Civic Mission of Schools" Leonore Annenberg Institute for Civics of the Annenberg Public Policy Center at the University of Pennsylvania. (Carnegie Corporation of New York, 2011.) p 26. https://www.carnegie.org/media/filer_public/ab/dd/abdda62e-6e84-47a4-a043-348d2f2085ae/ccny grantee 2011 guardian.pdf

¹⁶⁰Peter Levine and Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg, The Republic is (Still) at Risk- and Civics is Part of the Solution" (Medford, MA: Jonathan M. Tisch College of Civic Life, Tufts University, 2017). P 4

¹⁶¹ David E. Campbell, "Sticking together: classroom racial diversity and civic education in the U.S." *American Politics Research* 35 (1) (01/01):57.

the classroom climate must be open and democratic to promote citizenship effectively, more support needs to be provided for students and teachers alike in classes with racial diversity.¹⁶²

Students who have the opportunity to participate in **(3)** service-learning, which are typically student-led projects that combine "community service and academic study," tend to have better attitudes towards civic participation and their own ability to contribute to society. However, the types and lengths of service-learning projects matter in creating substantial variations in outcomes. One study suggests service-learning practices are no more effective than traditional social studies classes when the program conditions are not optimal, such as when the teacher is inexperienced, or the program is too long or too short. Ho none study, students who participated in semester-long programs gained slightly more benefits than from year-long programs.

(4) Student-led voluntary associations help students start forming the habits of participation through taking the "initiative" and "agency" on student-led projects in extracurricular activities. 166 These associations require students to interact with other age groups, usually older adults, which helps strengthen their community bonds and helps them practice listening and understanding other viewpoints. 167 After-school jobs have also been

¹⁶² Ellen Geboers, et al., "Review of the effects of citizenship education," *Educational Research Review* 9 (06/01): 158. 2013.

¹⁶³ Peter Levine and Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg, The Republic is (Still) at Risk- and Civics is Part of the Solution" (Medford, MA: Jonathan M. Tisch College of Civic Life, Tufts University, 2017). P 4

¹⁶⁴ Shelly Billig, Sue Root, and Dan Jesse, "The Impact of Participation in Service-Learning on High School Students' Civic Engagement." CIRCLE Working Paper 33, May 2005. P 1

Shelly Billig, Sue Root, and Dan Jesse, "The Impact of Participation in Service-Learning on High School Students'
 Civic Engagement." CIRCLE Working Paper 33, May 2005. P 1
 Levine, Ibid p 4

¹⁶⁷ Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg, "Harry, Hermione, Ron, and Neville- Portraits of American Teenagers' Extracurricular Involvement, and Implications for Educational Interventions," CIRCLE: Working Paper #80, March 2014

found to increase students' interaction with adults they are not related to and provide the same effect. Social class and family financial resources also play a role in whether or not students participate in extracurriculars, work after school, or participate in the community at all.

(5) Student "voices" in schools can occur through student government or as a more student-body-wide democratization of decision making in areas within the school that affect them through administrative support of their inclusion. Allowing students to have a voice in how their school functions, positively impacted the students' commitment to deliberative democracy and their sense of self-efficacy. ¹⁷⁰ It is harder for public schools to include student voices in school decisions due to the structure and size of most public schools, but not impossible. ¹⁷¹

(6) Simulations of adult civic roles such as model U.N., mock Congress, and online games and simulations help students role-play using games "to simulate how government works, engaging students in such processes such as national elections that they could not otherwise experience." Under most circumstances, simulations help students practice civic

¹⁶⁸ Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg, "Harry, Hermione, Ron, and Neville- Portraits of American Teenagers' Extracurricular Involvement, and Implications for Educational Interventions," CIRCLE: Working Paper #80, March 2014

¹⁶⁹ Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg, "Harry, Hermione, Ron, and Neville- Portraits of American Teenagers' Extracurricular Involvement, and Implications for Educational Interventions," CIRCLE: Working Paper #80, March 2014

¹⁷⁰ Peter Levine, The Future of Democracy: Developing the Next generation of American Citizens, Medford, Tufts University Press, 2007. P 129

¹⁷¹ Peter Levine, The Future of Democracy: Developing the Next generation of American Citizens, Medford, Tufts University Press, 2007. P 128

¹⁷² Peter Levine and Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg, The Republic is (Still) at Risk- and Civics is Part of the Solution" (Medford, MA: Jonathan M. Tisch College of Civic Life, Tufts University, 2017). p 4

roles, but scholars also argue that when students have a real opportunity to participate in civic life, that should trump simulations. 173

Those six practices were a good start but were found to be incomplete when taking into account the changing nature of cultural and societal norms, as well as the school experience as a whole in which civic learning happens. With the rise of "fake news," educators saw the need to intertwine news media literacy education into school curriculums. Studies showed young people performed poorly at recognizing fake news. ¹⁷⁴(7) News Media Literacy education aims to help students decipher reliable sources from unreliable ones, helping them to think critically about where and how they digest the news. ¹⁷⁵

Another area found lacking was in how often students participated in activities that create the habit of civic participation. (8) Action civics has gained incredible speed over the last decade as educators and researchers find that students who participate in action civics are "not taught *about* civics, but rather, they are taught to 'do civics and behave as citizens.'"¹⁷⁶Meira Levinson, in her pivotal book, No Citizen Left Behind, calls action civics the gold standard in "guided experimental civic education" as it requires the students to research, and take

¹⁷³ Peter Levine, The Future of Democracy: Developing the Next generation of American Citizens, Medford, Tufts University Press, 2007. P 143

¹⁷⁴ Peter Levine and Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg, The Republic is (Still) at Risk- and Civics is Part of the Solution" (Medford, MA: Jonathan M. Tisch College of Civic Life, Tufts University, 2017). p 5

¹⁷⁵ Peter Levine and Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg, The Republic is (Still) at Risk- and Civics is Part of the Solution" (Medford, MA: Jonathan M. Tisch College of Civic Life, Tufts University, 2017). p 5

¹⁷⁶ Jessica Gingold, "Building an Evidence-Based Practice of Action Civics: The current state of assessments and recommendations for the future" CIRCLE: Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning & Engagement. Aug. 2013

educated and empowered action on an issue important to them.¹⁷⁷Action civics is the culmination of the previous seven practices in action.

Action civics methods and research is only a decade old but quickly rising to star child status in the civic educational field. However, as researchers continue to study action civics, they are finding mixed results on their impact on student learning. A few reports have shown action civics to have no more significant effect on learning civics than traditional teaching methods, but those reports did emphasize that students' attitudes towards civics improved. The reasons for variations in effectiveness share the same issues found in service-learning practices. Teacher experience, length, difficulty, and focus of the program all affect student outcomes.

The last two practices focus more on the student's social and emotional growth as well as the school climate in which the students are learning. (9) Social & Emotional Learning (SEL) was seen by Levine and others as necessary for helping students manage their current and future emotional lives. According to the Collaborative for Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning (CASEL), incorporating SEL helps students "set and achieve positive goals, feel and

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¹⁷⁷Meira Levinson. No Citizen Left Behind. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2012. P 224

¹⁷⁸Parissa J. Ballard, et. al. Action civics for promoting civic development: Main effects of program participation and differences by project characteristics. *American Journal of Community Psychology* 58 (3) (12/01): 377. 2016

¹⁷⁹Parissa J. Ballard, et. al. Action civics for promoting civic development: Main effects of program participation and differences by project characteristics. *American Journal of Community Psychology* 58 (3) (12/01): 377. 2016

¹⁸⁰ Blevins, Brooke, LeCompte, Karon, and Wells, Sunny. 2016. Innovations in Civic Education; Developing Civic Agency Through Action Civics. *Theory & Research in Social Education*, 44:3, 344-384, DOI: 10.1080/00933104.2016.1203853

¹⁸¹ Diana E. Hess and Paula McAvoy, *The Political Classroom: Evidence and Ethics in Democratic Education.* New York: Routledge, 2015 p 247

show empathy for others, establish and maintain positive relationships and make responsible decisions." All of which are attributes needed to be a contributing member of society.

Along the same lines is the last practice, which looks at the health of the school climate itself, **(10)** school climate reform. School reform attempts to end the "school-to-prison pipeline" by using alternative approaches to school suspensions and arrests, which research shows "decreases young people's voting and volunteering rates for decades to come." Zerotolerance policies, which require schools to expel students from school for fighting, are now giving way to more effective school policies that are in line with creating a welcoming and inclusive school environment.

These Ten Proven Practices have become the cornerstone of what scholars, researchers, and educators in the field believe is needed for a student to receive a proper civic education. In 2018, another large study on the state of America's educational system was compiled by the Brown Center on Education Policy at Brookings: *The 2018 Brown Center Report on American Education: How Well Are American Students Learning?* This report was the first to put all 10 Proven Practices (P.P.s) together and study them as a unit.¹⁸⁵

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¹⁸² Peter Levine and Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg, The Republic is (Still) at Risk- and Civics is Part of the Solution" (Medford, MA: Jonathan M. Tisch College of Civic Life, Tufts University, 2017), p 5

¹⁸³ Peter Levine and Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg, The Republic is (Still) at Risk- and Civics is Part of the Solution" (Medford, MA: Jonathan M. Tisch College of Civic Life, Tufts University, 2017), p 5

¹⁸⁴ Gerardo Moreno and Michael Scaletta, "Moving Away from Zero Tolerance Policies: Examination of Illinois Educator Preparedness in Addressing Student Behavior," International Journal of Emotional Education, v10 n2 p93-110 Nov 2018 https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ1198052.pdf

¹⁸⁵ Michael Hanse, Elizabeth Levesque, Jon Valant, Diana Quintero. "The 2018 Brown Center Report on American Education: How Well Are American Students Learning?" Brown Center on Education Policy at Brookings. June 2018 p 25

While "what works" in teaching civics is a seen as straightforward, there is disagreement about how to measure success. Seventeen states have adopted the policy solution that requires high school students to pass the U.S. citizenship exam before graduation. States like New Jersey are considering such measures after a Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation report found only Vermonters could pass the multiple-choice test. Critics of this approach believe the test does nothing to prepare students for active citizenship and adds another hurdle for young people to graduate. The 100 question citizens exam focuses on facts, such as how many seats are there in the Senate, but that information does nothing to help students learn how to think critically or deeply about civic and political issues. The test cannot assess the skills necessary for future participation. Advocates of the test believe it is an excellent first step in moving states closer to addressing the need for better civic standards.

Another aspect of civic evaluation deals with action civics. Evaluation tools available to assess the civic skills necessary for active citizen engagement are not standardized and differ based on what attributes of civic education are being evaluated and by whom. Jessica Gingold, in her study on action civics' assessment challenges, believes there needs to be a common agreement on what the purpose of a civic assessment should be, a standardized assessment

¹⁸⁶ Sarah Shapiro and Catherine Brown, "The State of Civic Education," Center for American Progress, February 21, 2018

¹⁸⁷ Press Release: "When it comes to American History Knowledge, Woodrow Wilson Foundation Finds Only One State Can Pass U.S. Citizenship Exam," The Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, February 15, 2019. ¹⁸⁸ Joseph Kahne, "Why are We teaching democracy Like a Game Show?" Education Week, April 21, 2015. https://www.edweek.org/ew/articles/2015/04/22/why-are-we-teaching-democracy-like-a.html ¹⁸⁹Kahne, Ibid

¹⁹⁰ Catherine Gewertz, "Could Testing Wreck Civics Education?" Education Week, September 17, 2019.

toolkit, and a digital data-center where teachers and researchers can share their findings.¹⁹¹
Professor Carlos Hipolito-Delgado believes there also needs to be a way to gauge hard-tomeasure skills, such as leadership or empathy.¹⁹² To this end, he has developed an evaluation protocol called MYPA, Measures of Youth Policy Arguments, which aims to measure such skills through evaluation on the "doing of civics, not just the learning of it," and also includes the students' voices and experiences.¹⁹³School tests and action-civic evaluations are in-school assessments. Regardless of evaluation techniques, if students leave school ready to participate, we should see higher levels of youth voting

Research Design

Method

The design of this study is to carefully analyze each state's DOE standards as its guidelines are the foundation for how each district is supposed to meet the state standards and highlights the state's overall attitudes towards civic learning.

¹⁹¹ Jessica Gingold, "CIRCLE Working Paper #78: Building an Evidence-Based Practice of Action Civics; The current state of assessments and recommendations for the future," CIRCLE: The Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning & Engagement, August 2013.

¹⁹² Catherine Gewertz, "Could Testing Wreck Civics Education?" Education Week, September 17, 2019.

¹⁹³ Catherine Gewertz, "Could Testing Wreck Civics Education?" Education Week, September 17, 2019

Table 5: 10 Proven Practices for Civic Education chart

10 Proven Practices for Civic Education*	Description
PP #1: Classroom Instruction	Instruction that includes: civics, government, history, law, economics, and geography. Together these topics fall under the umbrella of "Social Studies."
P.P. #2: Discussion of Current Events and Controversial Issues	Classroom discussions of modern political discourse and controversial topics, engaging students in healthy communication practices.
P.P. #3: Service-Learning	Service-learning practices help tie academic learning to civic-minded community challenges during school hours. High-quality service-learning incorporates analytical and problemsolving skills.
P.P. #4: Extracurricular Activities	After school activities focusing on civics, such as mock trials, model congress, speech and debate, Model U.N., and community volunteering
P.P. #5: Student Participation in School Governance	This includes student government as well as schoolwide democratic deliberation on school and community issues
P.P. #6: Simulations of Democratic Processes	Simulation of democratic processes in civic classes, using games and roleplaying in mock trials, model congress in class.
7 – 10 PPs added from 2017 Report**	Description
P.P. #7: News Media Literacy	Students learn the skills necessary to distinguish fake news from reliable news
P.P. #8: Action Civics	Students build citizen identities (with rights and responsibilities) while teachers guide them in actively influencing institutional policies to address community problems
P.P. #9: Social-emotional learning (SEL)	These are school standards that help students develop the skills needed to understand and manage their emotions, set goals, and learn how to have positive relationships, helping students become more ethical and active citizens.
P.P. #10: School climate reform	These are school policies that promote restorative justice and alternatives to the "school-to-prison pipeline," which has shown to depress young people's civic engagement.

^{*} The first 6 Proven Practices are the result of a 2011 Report, "Guardian of Democracy: The Civic Mission of Schools," (The Leonore Annenberg Institute for Civics of the Annenberg Public Policy Center at the University of Pennsylvania and the Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools, 2011)

^{**} The last four Proven Practices are the result of Peter Levine and Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg's report, The Republic is (Still) at Risk- and Civics is Part of the Solution" (Medford, MA: Jonathan M. Tisch College of Civic Life, Tufts University, 2017)

Choosing States

The states selected for this study, Oregon and New Jersey, were chosen because neither require separate civics classes or credits to graduate and both offer community service credit, although community service is not required. Analyzing states with the same "standards" allows us to focus on the documentation within these standards to look for similarities and variations.

Over the last two years, Oregon youth has consistently voted in higher numbers than the national average, whereas New Jersey, consistently below. This study looks to see if variations in their DOE standards could potentially be the reason why.

Table 6: Oregon and New Jersey Length of Civics Requirements and Voting Data for 2016 and 2018

State	Length of civics requirements *	State: Voter Participation (ages 18-24) 2016 Presidential election*	National average: Voter Participation (ages 18-24) 2016 Presidential	State: Voter Participation (ages 18-24) 2018 midterm election ***	National average: Voter Participation (ages 18-24) 2018 midterm ***
OR	0	45.2 %	election** 39 %	38.2 %	30.1 %
NJ	0	35.9 %	39 %	29.2 %	30.1 %

^{*} Data from "The State of Civics Education" Center for American Progress 194

^{**} Data from "Voting in America: A look at the 2016 Presidential Election" census.gov¹⁹⁵

^{***} Data from 2018 Census table 4c and table 5 https://www.census.gov/data/tables/time-series/demo/voting-and-registration/p20-583.html

¹⁹⁴ Ibid

¹⁹⁵ "Voting in America: A Look at the 2016 Presidential Election" https://www.census.gov/newsroom/blogs/random-samplings/2017/05/voting_in_america.html

Grading System

To keep the analysis in line with Chapter I, the same grading system is used. Each state's civics standards will be compared to the Brown Center report's 10 PP to see how each state's requirements or lack thereof could potentially reflect in voter turnout. Aside from the specific civic documents for each state, we will also look at the DOE website itself for updates, resolutions, and ancillary information. Ease of use and organization of the material on the website makes it easier for school districts, administrators, and teachers to utilize the materials.

Each category is scored between 0-2. A score of zero means the DOE standards, supporting documents, nor website meet the requirement. A score between 0 and 1 means the standards et al. meet some of the requirements, but not all, and a score of 1 means they meet the requirement. A score of 2 is for categories that are interactive and require schoolwide or classroom-wide student participation, and when the standards meet that requirement. This higher score reflects the importance of interactive simulations, student-led projects, and community activities as they typically have a more significant effect on learning than passive methods under the right circumstances. ¹⁹⁶ If they meet some of the requirements, but not all, they can receive a score of less than 2. While the Brown Center report was not able to include extracurriculars or student governance into their analysis, my previous research on Virginia and Hawaii's DOE websites did allow me to find some state-level information about how the state

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¹⁹⁶ Sarah Shapiro and Catherine Brown, "The State of Civics Education," Center for American Progress. February 21, 2018. P 21

handles extracurricular and student governance involvement. Therefore, grading those topics

will be part of my research.

Data

Oregon

Oregon does not have a state requirement for separate civics classes. Standards for civic

learning can be found in their social science standards: Oregon's Social Sciences Academic

Content Standards (SSACS), Oregon High School – Social Sciences Crosswalk for Civics and

Government (SSC), and the Civic Framework for the 2006 National Assessment of Educational

Progress: NAEP Civics Project from the National Assessment Governing Board of the U.S.

Department of Education (NAEP). 197 These are the primary documents the Oregon Department

of Education (ODE) uses to define the standards of the social sciences for Oregon.

DOE Website

Website Use Score: 1 out of 1

The ODE website was easy to navigate, and searching for documentation using search

terms such as "civics," "civics standards," "social studies," or "social sciences" yielded relevant

materials.

PP #1: Classroom Instruction

¹⁹⁷ The National Assessment of Educational Progress assesses what U.S. students know in various subjects, including civics. It is a federally mandated project administered by the National Center for Education Statistics within the U.S. Department of Education and the Institute of Education Sciences.

https://nces.ed.gov/nationsreportcard/about/

Meets PP Standard: 1 out of 1

Both the SSACS and SSC fully address the topics of discussions teachers need to lecture

about: civics, economics, government, history, and geography.

P.P. #2: Discussion of Current Events and Controversial Issues

Meets PP Standard: 2 out of 2

SSC HS.30 asks students to analyze interest groups and mass media and how they affect

the beliefs and behaviors of constituencies. SSC HS33 asks students to explain the role of

government in various current events. 198 The NAEP does discuss the importance for students to

be able to defend ideas, support arguments, and challenge illogical arguments, but the

document does not explicitly address the need to discuss current events and controversial

issues.

P.P. #3: Service-Learning

Meets PP Standard: 1 out of 2

While Oregon has adopted the National Youth Leadership Council standards for service-

learning for K – 12 and provides credit for students who participate in service-learning, there

are no standards in their social sciences programs explicitly geared towards civic service

learning. The NAEP does discuss ways students can get involved, such as participating in

voluntary associations or interest groups, perform school or community service. However, none

of it is a mandatory, nor a civically focused part of the ODE program standards.

P.P. #4: Extracurricular Activities

¹⁹⁸ Oregon HS-Social Sciences Crosswalk, 2011: Civics and Government:

Meets PP Standard: 2 out of 2

Oregon adopted the use of *Moving Towards Success: Framework for After-School Programs*, a working document crafted from a 2003 Washington D.C. summit of researchers, evaluators, program and policy experts, educators, and government officials, to create ways to "improve and measure the quality and effectiveness of after-school programs." The document focused on the many ways after-school programs can positively affect student academics, social and emotional learning, promote health and safety, and engage students in the community.

P.P. #5: Student Participation in School Governance

Meets PP Standard: 2 out of 2

There are multiple resources on the ODE website, which indicate a strong student voice in school governance. One resource, the Student Investment Account Engagement Toolkit, is a collaboration between schools, their facility, students, families, and the community to create a way for all to communicate what they believe will help best serve each school district. There is also a non-profit, Oregon Student Voice, which is run by students for students across Oregon, to give them a voice in engaging educators, fellow students, and the community on a multitude of issues, including civic issues. Color of the community of the community

P.P. #6: Simulations of Democratic Processes

¹⁹⁹ C.S. Mott Foundation Committee on After-School Research and Practice. Moving Towards Success: Framework for After-School Programs. Washington, DC: Collaborative Communications Group, 2005

²⁰⁰ Student Success Act, "Engagement Toolkit and Tools," Oregon Department of Education,

https://www.oregon.gov/ode/StudentSuccess/Pages/Engagement-Toolkit-and-Tools.aspx

²⁰¹ Oregon Student Voice https://www.oregon.gov/ode/StudentSuccess/Pages/Engagement-Toolkit-and-Tools.aspx

Meets PP Standard: 1 out of 2

The SSC and the SSACS standards do not include requirements to have students

participate in classroom simulations. However, the ODE website does give access to resources,

which include simulations, under the Civic Educator resources, leaving it to the individual

districts or teachers to decide whether or not to use the simulation resources.

P.P. #7: News Media Literacy

Meets PP Standard: 1 out of 1

HS.30 of the SSC specifically asks students to analyze the roles and activities of mass

media and how it affects beliefs and behaviors.²⁰² The NAEP also discusses how students should

be able to determine the reliability of sources.

P.P. #8: Action Civics

Meets PP Standard: 0 out of 2

None of the documents include action civics in their standards. While there are

opportunities for students to be involved in action civics through after-school activities,

participation is not required, nor is it part of the social studies standard's curriculum.

P.P. #9: Social-emotional learning (SEL)

Meets PP Standard: 1 out of 1

This is another area that falls outside the specific social science standards. The ODE

website has a Social and Emotional (SEL) Resources page dedicated to providing educators and

²⁰² Oregon HS-Social Sciences Crosswalk, 2011: Civics and Government

students with the tools and guidance needed to help students feel respected, valued, efficacious, and engaged.²⁰³ The ODE resources hit on all the essential aspects of SEL learning: social belonging, growth mindset, and self-regulation.²⁰⁴

P.P. #10: School climate reform

Meets PP Standard: 1 out of 1

The ODE adopted the Effective Behavioral & Instructional Support System (EBISS), which is a tiered system of interventions for academic and behavioral issues, with a focus on developing positive behavior interventions, which have shown to reduce misbehavior and promotes a positive school climate.²⁰⁵

New Jersey

New Jersey also does not require separate civics classes and incorporates civic learning into their social studies curriculum. Using the New Jersey Department of Education (NJDOE) website and resources, this study compares the New Jersey Core Curriculum Content Standards for Social Studies (CCCS) and supporting documents against the 10 PP. The CCCS is broken into three sections 6.1 U.S. History: America in the World, 6.2 World History: Global Studies, and 6.3

²⁰³ Social and Emotional Learning (SEL) Resources, Oregon Department of Education https://www.oregon.gov/ode/educator-resources/assessment/Pages/Social-and-Emotional-Learning-

²⁰⁴ Social and Emotional Learning (SEL) Resources, Oregon Department of Education https://www.oregon.gov/ode/educator-resources/assessment/Pages/Social-and-Emotional-Learning-

²⁰⁵ Oregon Department of Education, "School Safety Guidance "A holistic Perspective," Jan. 2016, https://www.oregon.gov/ode/students-and-family/healthsafety/Documents/schoolsafetyguidance.pdf

Active Citizenship in the 21st Century and outlined for grades four, eight, and twelve. All three sections include a "Civic, Government, and Human rights" strand for discussion.

Website Use Score: .5 out of 1

The NJDOE website was not user friendly. Search words, such as "civics," "civics programs," "civics education," and "social sciences" did not produce any relevant results. Only the term "social studies" brought me to any relevant standards and materials.

PP #1: Classroom Instruction

Meets PP Standard: 1 out of 1

The CCCS provides ample examples of classroom instruction pertaining to civics, the role of government, laws, history, and geography.

P.P. #2: Discussion of Current Events and Controversial Issues

Meets PP Standard: 2 out of 2

6.3.12.A.2 requires the students to "compare current case studies involving slavery, child labor, or other unfair labor practices in the United States" to those of other nations, and evaluate the extent of the problems internationally. Students are asked to analyze current laws involving "individual rights and national security" and apply that information to a current situation where an individual's constitutional rights are being violated. They are also asked to "responsibly address controversial issues." 206

P.P. #3: Service-Learning

²⁰⁶ NJCCCS p 55

Meets PP Standard: 1 out of 2

Section 6.3.12.A.1 requires students to develop a plan for public accountability and then

share the plan with the appropriate government officials. However, there are few supporting

documents on how to accomplish this task. Most of the supplementary resources on the NJDOE

pertain to teaching history, not civics. New Jersey offers credit for community service, but

participation is not mandatory nor focused on civic community challenges.

P.P. #4: Extracurricular Activities

Meets PP Standard: 0 out of 2

This is a topic area that would fall outside the social studies requirements. No

documents discussing extracurricular activities or after school activities were found on the

NJDOE website.

P.P. #5: Student Participation in School Governance

Meets PP Standard: 0 out of 2

There are no documents found on the NJDOE website that include any discussion of

student participation in school governance.

P.P. #6: Simulations of Democratic Processes

Meets PP Standard: 2 out of 2

In Sections 6.3.12.A.1, 6.3.12.B1, and 6.3.12.C.1, students are asked to develop plans

for public accountability and transparency in government relating to a particular issue,

collaborate with students from other countries to develop solutions to issues of environmental

justice, and participate in real or simulated hearing about social issues. 207

P.P. #7: News Media Literacy

Meets PP Standard: 1 out of 1

The content statement of Active Citizenship in the 21st Century requires students to be

able to determine the credibility and value of information and analyze sources for prejudice and

discrimination.²⁰⁸

P.P. #8: Action Civics

Meets PP Standard: .5 out of 2

The CCCS states that students should "take actions that result in a more just and

equitable society" and also "collaboratively evaluate possible solutions to problems and

conflicts that arise in an interconnected world." However, the documentation does not give any

guidance on how to accomplish this, nor is it clear these are actions that must be taken in class

or just what they are expected to be able to do upon graduation without having to have

actively participated in any way prior.

P.P. #9: Social-emotional learning (SEL)

Meets PP Standard: 1 out of 1

²⁰⁷ NJCCCS p 55

²⁰⁸ NJCCCS p 55

NJDOE promotes SEL learning at all age levels through multiple interdisciplinary modules, lesson plans, activities, and continuing education resources for educators, students, and families.²⁰⁹ The NJDOE also participates in the New Jersey Alliance for Social, Emotional, and Character Development.²¹⁰

P.P. #10: School climate reform

Meets PP Standard: 1 out of 1

The NJDOE also promotes a positive school climate and culture by supporting school efforts to "assess, develop and maintain" school environments that promote student learning and growth in a safe space. ²¹¹

Results

Table 7: Results of Oregon and New Jersey's ODE Resources

	Website	1 P.P.: Classroom Instruction	2PP: Current events	3PP: Service learning	4PP: Extracurriculars	5PP: Student Governance	6PP: Simulations	7PP: News Literacy	8PP: Action Civic	9PP: SEL	10PP: School climate	Overall Total 10 PP Only	Civic Specific	Non-Civic PP
Possible Score	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	1	1	16	10	6
OR	1	1	2	1	2	2	1	1	0	1	1	12	6	6
NJ	.5	1	2	1	0	0	2	1	.5	1	1	9.5	7.5	2

²⁰⁹ New Jersey Department of Education: Keeping our Kids Safe, Healthy &n In School: Social and Emotional (SEL) Learning https://www.state.nj.us/education/students/safety/sandp/sel/
²¹⁰ SEL. Ibid

²¹¹ New Jersey Department of Education: Keeping our Kids Safe, healthy & In School: School Climate and Culture

Analysis

Out of a possible score of sixteen, Oregon came the closest with a score of twelve.

Overall, Oregon was better able to intertwine more of the 10 PP into the students' academic experience, provided more easily accessible resources on their ODE website, and included statewide standards for extracurricular activities, SEL learning, and school climate reform.

However, when it came to civic-specific standards, such as simulations or action civics, where students are actively involved in classroom simulations of real-world problems or student-led community problem solving, Oregon's social studies standards fell short. As the research in the literature review suggested, simulations and action civics are two attributes of civic learning where students are actively practicing civic participation, which helps them gain not just the skills, but the attitudes needed to participate in civic life. In that regard, New Jersey was slightly better able to include standards and language conducive to active learning.

The ODE shined when it came to providing statewide resources for extracurricular activities and student participation in school governance. The state provided toolkits used language meant to empower students to be involved in their school and the local community, two attributes found to increase future civic involvement.

Philosopher Joseph Schwab once said, "a curriculum is not complete which does not move the Eros, as well as the mind of the young, from where it is to where it might better be." His perspective, when viewed to encompass a student's whole school experience, could

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²¹²Diana E. Hess and Paula McAvoy, *The Political Classroom: Evidence and Ethics in Democratic Education,* Routledge, New York. 2015. P 13

help explain why Oregon students were more likely to vote than those from New Jersey even though Oregon's civic specific standards weren't as high. Perhaps when the state guidelines include detailed instructions on what attributes students are expected to gain from extracurricular activities, how to gently handle troubled students, and provides resources to help teach Social and Emotional learning, students are immersed in a school climate that is conducive to shaping students to be more community involved and empathetic towards others issues.

Limitations of this study

The DOE websites do not reflect the individuality of schools, especially when it comes to extracurricular activities, budgets, and resources. The state standards do not give a timeline, take account of how much time is spent on civics in the social studies program, nor can the standards tell us "how" the teachers are using the guidelines and materials provided. Teachers' skill levels in using action civics, simulations, and overall command of the material also affect student learning, which has not been analyzed here. ²¹³ This snapshot only provides us with the state level standards, while district adherence and standards may vary.

This paper also did not look at other varying factors such as the SES, environmental factors, or the overall community involvement in politics, all of which have varying effects on young people's voting rates.²¹⁴ Teacher skills, types of simulations, and varying classroom

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²¹³ Shelly Billig, et. al. The Impact of Participation in Service-Learning on High School Students' Civic Engagement. Circle: The Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning & Engagement. Circle Working Paper 33. 2005 ²¹⁴Gimpel, James G. et. al. *Cultivating democracy: Civic environments and political socialization in America*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press. 2003.

factors also affect whether or not students leave their classes and projects with a positive attitude towards civic participation or not.

Another limitation is the lack of information on the classroom racial diversity within each state. Studies have shown there is a negative effect on the quantity of political discussions within a classroom as racial diversity increases. ²¹⁵ Information on classroom diversity could provide useful when comparing data by state. If either Oregon or New Jersey have seen changes in their high school classroom demographics, it could potentially have an effect on the state's youth voter turnout.

Conclusion

The role of the DOE matters when it comes to shaping and integrating the 10 P.P. in a statewide manner. When social studies programs include civic lessons, it is harder to see how civic learning fits into the whole of the social studies program. Nevertheless, successfully integrating civic standards within a social studies program is not impossible, nor is making the states' intentions clear through their DOE websites. Educators, researchers, and school administrators, along with community input, can strengthen the ability of their DOE to provide clear and directive civic and school standards following the 10 PP, knowing that these overall changes can positively affect the students' civic participation upon graduation and throughout their lives.

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²¹⁵David E. Campbell, "Sticking together: Classroom racial diversity and civic education in the U.S." *American Politics Research* 35 (1)(01/01):57.

While more research needs to be done, the results of this study are promising. Oregon's holistic approach *could* be why students in Oregon leave school more prepared to be active citizens and this avenue needs to be explored. It begs the question, how effective are civic specific standards in the absence of a positive school environment? A follow up study to compare civic specific standards alongside school governing standards and look for patterns could prove useful as educators look to strengthen their students' civic participation.

Further research can include longitudinal studies of states where changes to the DOE civic and school standards' documentation have been made to include the 10 PP and compare previous voting rates to rates after these changes have been implemented. Another enlightening study would take a more extensive look at nationwide trends between the relationship of the DOE to the 10 P.P. for states integrating civics into their social study standards and those who have civic class requirements and then compare them to the national youth voting rate average.

Finally, a more extensive nation-wide study on the effects of simulations and action civics on voting rates in the absence of a holistic DOE approach to civic education could be a useful follow-up study. These studies could emphasize the importance of focusing educational reform efforts towards better state standards, which can, therefore, help schools meet the standards needed to support student development in the habits necessary for civic involvement, and improve the overall voting and civic participation rate of America's youth.

Chapter III: Half Year of Civics: A Comparative Study of Texas's and South Carolina's High School Civic Standards

"Tell me, and I forget. Teach me, and I remember. Involve me, and I learn." Benjamin Franklin
"Compulsory K-12 schooling itself makes up the most intensive interaction the average
American will have with a civic institution". 216 Steven Sawchuk

The Ten Proven Practices for Civic Education (10 PP), the agreed-upon standard for a proper civic education, includes both classroom and non-classroom related practices to help students gain civic knowledge and political efficacy. Secondary schools play an essential role in helping students gain the skills, efficacy, and interest in civic and political endeavors needed to help them become socially responsible citizens upon graduation. Much research has been done on the effects of inertia on voting and the importance of helping students overcome the initial hurdle of civic involvement at a younger age. Many believe basic civic activities should start in K-8 and mature through their 9-12 grade education.

In the Brown Center on Education Policy at Brookings 2018 Report on American Education, civic learning ranked high in needing more attention and intervention. Their report suggested states incorporate the Ten Practices more fully into their accountability frameworks to ensure a future with more informed and active citizens, seeing as no state had successfully integrated all the practices. Evidence shows that the more practices that are incorporated, the more likely students will become young voters.

However, their report found that many students still learn mostly through lecture rather than through participation. More than 50 percent of students surveyed in the 2010 NAEP civic

²¹⁶ Stephen Sawchuk, "Schools Teach Civics. Do They Model It?" EdWeek, May 7, 2019

student survey reported, "never participating in role-playing/mock trials/dramas, writing a letter to give an opinion or help solve a problem, or going on field trips/having outside speakers during the school year." Active learning through participation and discussions of civic issues creates the environment needed for students to become well-rounded, engaged, and informed citizens. The best way to teach students about civic duty is to involve and immerse them.

Current research suggests this happens when schools take a holistic view of civic education by incorporating civics into students' daily lives, not just in the practices of one class taken for one year or half a year.

The civic education industry has identified four practices they see as crucial for helping students practice civic life participation outside of the classroom. The four focus areas that can affect a student's likelihood to vote young, which take place outside the classroom, are student-let associations, student voice in schools, social and emotional learning, and school climate.

Current research into these practices has shown positive correlations between their usage and youth attitudes towards voting and political participation. These practices have become a focus of research that emphasizes engaged democratic participation through repeating and fostering civic values, habits, and practices throughout the school experience, not just in the classroom. The four focus areas that can affect a student's likelihood to vote young, which take place outside the classroom. The four focus areas that can affect a student's likelihood to vote young, which take place outside the classroom, are student-let associations, and school climate.

²¹⁷ Michael Hansen, Elizabeth Levesque, Jon Valant, Diana Quitero, "The 2018 Brown Center Report on American Education: How Well are American Students Learning?" *Brown Center on Education Policy at Brookings*, June 2018. p 24

²¹⁸Peter Levine and Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg, "The Republic is (Still) at Risk- and Civics is Part of the Solution" Medford, MA: Jonathan M. Tisch College of Civic Life, Tufts University, 2017. p 6

²¹⁹ Aaron Kupchik and Thomas J. Catlaw, "Discipline and Participation; The Long-Term Effects of Suspension and School Security on the Political and Civic Engagement of Youth," *Youth & Society*, Vol 47(1) 95-124, 2015, p 95

Using the previous methods of researching at the state level, this study suggests that better implementation of the four non-classroom specific requirements of the Ten Proven Practices explain the better youth voting rates of South Carolina over Texas. While South Carolina performed better than Texas's, SC's inclusion of the non-civic classroom-specific practices is still weak overall. Therefore, this study would benefit from further research to correlate the results more conclusively.

Prevailing Literature

School Climate (#10)

While the concept of school climate has been around for the last 100 years, it has only gained momentum as a serious avenue of study beginning in the 1950s. ²²⁰ The term school climate is an all-encompassing term used to describe a school's institutional relationship to the students' attitudes and the community at large. School climate refers to the "patterns of people's school life experiences and reflects norms, goals, values, interpersonal relationships, teaching and learning practices, and organizational structure... A sustainable, positive school climate fosters youth development and learning necessary for a productive, contributive, and satisfying life in a democratic society." ²²¹ Schools can train students in the social norms we expect of knowledgeable and engaged citizens through actively engaging students throughout their school careers. The perception alone of a school's willingness to involve students in

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²²⁰ Jonathan Cohen, Elizabeth M. McCabe, Nicolas M. Michelli, and Terry Pickeral, School Climate: Research, Policy, Practice, and Teacher Education" *Teachers College Record*, Vol. 111, January 2009p 181

²²¹ Jonathan Cohen, Elizabeth M. McCabe, Nicolas M. Michelli, and Terry Pickeral, School Climate: Research, Policy, Practice, and Teacher Education" *Teachers College Record*, Vol. 111, January 2009, pp 180-213.

governance positively impacts future civic engagement.²²² However, studies have also shown that while school climate has a positive effect on students' future social, civic, and voting engagement, it can have a negative effect on their political engagement. The former engagement requires cooperation and fosters community, whereas the latter invites conflict and competition.²²³ Regardless, the consensus research shows the positive effects of a democratic and supportive school ethos outweigh the smaller negative effect on political engagement.

More recently, school climate research has turned to the "school-to-prison" pipeline,
"zero-tolerance" policy, mandatory arrests, long-term suspensions, and school security policies'
harmful effects on future voting rates. The predominant concern is that overly severe discipline
teaches students to be docile and obedient to authority figures; the exact opposite dispositions
students need to embody to be civically and politically engaged. Policies concerning
punishment and disciple can create a lifelong narrative that can destructively impact students'
chances of voting and civic participation later in life.²²⁴

Aaron Kupchik and Thomas J. Catlaw, in their study using National Longitudinal Survey of Adolescent Health data, found long-term negative effects on youth participation in democratic society from schools' uses of long-term suspension. Rather than fostering the skills and capacities needed to participate in a democratic society, such as behavioral correction and

²²² David E. Campbell, "3. What is education's impact on civic and social engagement?", Measuring the effects of education on health and civic engagement: proceedings of the Copenhagen symposium- OECD 2006 p 104 ²²³ Ibid, Campbell, p104

²²⁴ Peter Levine and Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg, "The Republic is (Still) at Risk- and Civics is Part of the Solution" Medford, MA: Jonathan M. Tisch College of Civic Life, Tufts University, 2017. p 5

collaborative problem solving, those students are excluded and physically removed from their school environment.²²⁵ Severe punishments and school security have also been shown to increase racial inequality, handicap students' academic achievements, and disproportionally impact urban youth of color.²²⁶,²²⁷

approaches to discipline, which studies show enhance students' civic outcomes. Student participation in school decision-making tends to inhabit the crux of most remedies. When schools engage students in school-related planning, decision making, problem-solving, and other activities, there is a positive effect on future political and civic engagement. The benefits of adopting inclusive and participatory school climates are well documented. However, overall, improvement efforts are shown to be uneven, briefly implemented, or not appropriately aligned with research-based guidelines. Currently, some states and districts are working to include school climate improvement efforts into their policy guidelines. Worryingly, research-based guidelines are not readily included in their policies or practice guidelines. Social and Emotional Learning (#9)

²²⁵ Aaron Kupchik and Thomas J. Catlaw, "Discipline and Participation; The Long-Term Effects of Suspension and School Security on the Political and Civic Engagement of Youth," *Youth & Society*, Vol 47(1) 95-124, 2015, p 95 lbid, Kupchik, p 96

²²⁷ Shawn Ginwright, Julio Cammarota, and Pedro Noguera, "Youth, Social Justice, and Communities: Toward a Theory of Urban Youth Policy," *Social Justice* Vol. 32, No. 3, 2005, p 24

²²⁸ Ibid, Levine, et al, p 5

²²⁹ Ibid, Kupchik, p 100

²³⁰ Jonathan Cohen, Elizabeth M. McCabe, Nicolas M. Michelli, and Terry Pickeral, School Climate: Research, Policy, Practice, and Teacher Education" *Teachers College Record*, Vol. 111, January 2009, pp 180-213.

²³¹ Jonathan Cohen, Elizabeth M. McCabe, Nicolas M. Michelli, and Terry Pickeral, School Climate: Research, Policy, Practice, and Teacher Education" *Teachers College Record*, Vol. 111, January 2009, pp 180-213. P 200

Social and emotional learning (SEL) also includes ethical competencies. It is the practice of providing students a crucial foundation for loving, working, and participating in life-long learning.²³² The Collaborative for Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning, CASEL, one of the leading authorities and researchers on the topic, defines SEL as "the process through which all young people and adults acquire and apply knowledge, skills, and attitudes to develop healthy identities, manage emotions and achieve personal and collective goals, feel and show empathy for others, establish and maintain supportive relationships, and make responsible and caring decisions."²³³ In other words, SEL is a critical part of education and human development. From this fundamental groundwork, teachers can further help students develop the essential academic and social skills and dispositions that support active involvement in a democracy.²³⁴ Undoubtedly, these skills can and should be taught in the classroom throughout a student's K – 12 academic career. However, SEL also needs to take place at the school level through school culture, practices, policies, and the community at large.²³⁵

The recent interest in SEL has created many theoretical differences and perspectives on the broad array of topics within the field and skepticism about whether it should be taught explicitly as part of a more extensive integrated system or not at all. While multiple studies show positive gains such as academic achievement and later in life success, other studies have

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 ²³² Jonathan Cohen, "Social, Emotional, Ethical, and Academic education: Creating a Climate for learning,
 Participation in Democracy, and Well-Being," *Harvard Educational Review* Vol. 76, No. 2, Summer 2006, p 201
 ²³³ CASEL's "SEL Framework: What are the Core Competence Areas and Where Are They Promoted?"
 casel.org/what-is-SEL

 ²³⁴ Jonathan Cohen, "Social, Emotional, Ethical, and Academic education: Creating a Climate for learning,
 Participation in Democracy, and Well-Being," *Harvard Educational Review* Vol. 76, No. 2, Summer 2006, p 202
 ²³⁵ CASEL's "SEL Framework: What are the Core Competence Areas and Where Are They Promoted?"
 casel.org/what-is-SEL

shown that the effects are not equal among students, with some students benefiting more than others.²³⁶

Previous educational attainment was a predictor in one study as to whether students benefited from SEL learning. Low-achieving students were more likely to gain fewer benefits from SEL learning than their higher-achieving peers. The researchers attributed this to the culmination effect of previous achievement. Students with better prior education tend to have better educational experiences and therefore are more motivated to learn. ²³⁷ In other words, SEL is not a panacea for all students if previous academic experiences were not positive.

Nevertheless, through decades' worth of research, the consensus suggests that SEL, rather than academic skills and rote knowledge, strongly influences success in school and beyond. ²³⁸

Schools and states are starting to take notice of the benefits of including SEL in their school culture. However, like school climate's fate, research suggests a wide gap between evidence-based guidelines for SEL and what is being adopted at the state and local level and what is taught in schools of education.²³⁹

Student voice in school and School governance (#5)

The main criticism of limiting civic education to the classroom focuses on the lack of application to the real world in a real-life setting, mainly the school itself. Compulsory K-12

²³⁶ Stephanie M. Jones and Emily J. Doolittle, "Social and Emotional Learning: Introducing the Issue," *The Future of Children,* Vol. 27, No. 1, Spring 2017.

²³⁷ Yi-Lung Kuo, PhD, Alex Casillas, PhD, and Jeff Allen, PhD, "Examining Moderating Effects of Social Emotional Learning Factors on Achievement Gains," *ACT Research & Policy, Technical Brief*, June 2019.

²³⁸ Stephanie M. Jones and Emily J. Doolittle, "Social and Emotional Learning: Introducing the Issue," *The Future of Children*, Vol. 27, No. 1, Spring 2017, p 5

²³⁹ Jonathan Cohen, "Social, Emotional, Ethical, and Academic education: Creating a Climate for learning, Participation in Democracy, and Well-Being," *Harvard Educational Review* Vol. 76, No. 2, Summer 2006, p 201

education is "the most intensive interaction the average American will have with a civic institution."²⁴⁰ It is hard to get students to believe in, let alone understand and become accustomed to democratic principles from a single semester of civics. When the school environment, for upwards of thirteen years, continues to make decisions for students from a top-down authority model it teaches students more through emersion than a civics class could ever do.

The current high-stakes testing environment of most K-8 schooling requires more focus on math and literacy than civics. ²⁴¹ That is eight years of missed opportunities to help students practice civics before stepping foot in a high school. Over a century ago, John Dewy argued schools needed to serve as a training ground for democratic practices. "...a government resting upon popular suffrage cannot be successful unless those who elect and who obey their governors are educated. Since a democratic society repudiates the principle of external authority, it must find a substitute in voluntary disposition and interest; these can be created only by education." ²⁴² Unfortunately, Dewey was ahead of his time, and only now research confirms what he knew all along. When students partake in student governance, they are more likely to engage in future civic action and address critical issues. ²⁴³

The CIRCLE group conducted a school wide governance experiment at the Hudson High School in Hudson, MA. Students met for one hour a week to discuss governance and other

²⁴⁰Stephen Sawchuk, "Schools Teach Civics. Do They Model It?" EdWeek, May 7, 2019

²⁴¹ Marc Brasof and Anne Spector, "Teach students about civics through schoolwide governance," *Kappan Magazine*, Sage Publications, April 2016

²⁴² Frank Reichert and Murray Print, "Civic Participation of High School Students" The Effects of Civic Learning in School," *Educational Review* Vol 70, No 3, 2018, p 318-41.

²⁴³ Frank Reichert and Murray Print, "Civic Participation of High School Students" The Effects of Civic Learning in School," *Educational Review* Vol 70, No 3, 2018, p 318-41.

school-related issues through both school wide governance and smaller clusters. After the five-year study, all students benefited from the experience. Those that were in marginal groups (uninterested, minority, and students of lower SES) were the ones that gained the most from the experience. That is a noteworthy finding. Students from higher SES and those most likely to continue their education are already more likely to be involved in the political process and voted earlier as adults. Including students in the democratic process at school has the intended consequence Dewey hoped for, that all students would *practice* democracy, including those who may have otherwise been left behind.

In-class voting and civic fieldwork engage and empower students. Yet, it is informal school-based participation that is a better predictor of future political and civic engagement.²⁴⁶ Even while the research backs up the need and benefit for students to be involved in the school governance system, inexperienced, unresponsive, or worst, hostile school administrators and logistics can contribute to a school's unwillingness or inability to find a way to incorporate student voices.²⁴⁷ Others have found that schools may stick with inclusive student governance for a short while then abandon it for the ways things were.²⁴⁸

Extracurriculars (#4)

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School," Educational Review Vol 70, No 3, 2018, p 318-41.

²⁴⁴ Hugh McIntosh, Sheldon Berman and James Youniss, "A Five-year Evaluation of a Comprehensive High School Civic Engagement Initiative," *CIRLCE Working Paper #70*, Tufts University, March 2010

²⁴⁵Joseph Kahne and Ellen Middgaugh, "Democracy for Some; The Civic Opportunity Gap in High School," CIRCLE: The Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning & Engagement. CIRCLE Working Paper 59, Feb. 2008
²⁴⁶ Frank Reichert and Murray Print, "Civic Participation of High School Students" The Effects of Civic Learning in

²⁴⁷ Stephen Sawchuk, "Schools Teach Civics. Do They Model It?" EdWeek, May 7, 2019

²⁴⁸Marc Brasof and Anne Spector, "Teach students about civics through school wide governance," *Kappan Magazine*, Sage Publications, April 2016

Long-term studies show adults were more likely to be civically engaged than their contemporaries if they participated in high school extracurricular activities. ²⁴⁹Extracurriculars are best describe as informal learning students participate in after school that "provide opportunities to acquire and practice skills that may be useful in a wide variety of settings [...to] help students to develop a sense of agency as a member of one's community; to belong to a socially recognized and valued group, to develop support networks of peers and adults...." ²⁵⁰ These can be student-led associations, where students work on a project together over time, or afterschool jobs, where students develop the habits of participation that can last for decades. ²⁵¹, ²⁵² Research suggests that high school extracurriculars occur at a crucial time in a person's life when young people are entering adulthood, but shortly before coming of voting age. ²⁵³ Joining these activities is a crucial step in creating a life-long habit of participation. ²⁵⁴

Research has found that for extracurricular activities to have long-term positive effects on continued civic participation, it needs to meet three criteria, and luckily, most already contain these elements. One, the student must voluntarily select the activity. Two, it needs to

²⁴⁹ Jonathan Gould, Kathleen Hall Jamieson, Peter Levine, Ted McConnell, and David B. Smith, eds. *Guardian of Democracy: The Civic Mission of Schools*. Rep. Philadelphia: Leonore Annenberg Institute for Civics of the Annenberg Public Policy Center at the University of, 2011. Print.

²⁵⁰ Jonathan Gould, Kathleen Hall Jamieson, Peter Levine, Ted McConnell, and David B. Smith, eds. *Guardian of Democracy: The Civic Mission of Schools*. Rep. Philadelphia: Leonore Annenberg Institute for Civics of the Annenberg Public Policy Center at the University of, 2011. Print.

²⁵¹ Peter Levine and Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg, "The Republic is (Still) at Risk- and Civics is Part of the Solution" Medford, MA: Jonathan M. Tisch College of Civic Life, Tufts University, 2017. p 4

²⁵²Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg, "Harry, Hermione, Ron, and Neville- Portraits of American Teenagers' Extracurricular Involvement, and Implications for Educational Interventions," Circle Working Paper #80, The Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning & Engagement. March 2014, p 6

²⁵³ Reuben J. Thomas and Daniel A. McFarland, "Joining Young, Voting Young, The Effects of Youth Voluntary Associations on Early Adult Voting," *CIRCLE Working Paper #73*, Tufts University, August 2010

²⁵⁴ Reuben J. Thomas and Daniel A. McFarland, "Joining Young, Voting Young, The Effects of Youth Voluntary Associations on Early Adult Voting," *CIRCLE Working Paper #73*, Tufts University, August 2010

be structured, organized, regularly scheduled, and led by an adult.²⁵⁵Lastly, the activity must require students to participate actively.²⁵⁶ A CIRCLE paper found extracurricular activities significantly affect a young person's transition into political adulthood, especially when a young person's parents are non-voters.²⁵⁷

Americans are already becoming less engaged in voluntary associations, with negative consequences on American democracy.²⁵⁸ Fewer voices reach the government, and many concerns go unheard.²⁵⁹ This growing concern extends to the threats to extracurriculars.²⁶⁰ School policies and funding issues are exacerbating this nationwide problem. Some state standards or school districts require low-performing students to be tutored after school or stop participating in extracurriculars until their grades improve, causing them to miss out on this vital element of development.²⁶¹ Funding issues are also causing districts to continue to cut funding for many afterschool activities.²⁶²

²⁵⁵ Jonathan Gould, Kathleen Hall Jamieson, Peter Levine, Ted McConnell, and David B. Smith, eds. *Guardian of Democracy: The Civic Mission of Schools*. Rep. Philadelphia: Leonore Annenberg Institute for Civics of the Annenberg Public Policy Center at the University of, 2011. Print. p 33

²⁵⁶ Jonathan Gould, Kathleen Hall Jamieson, Peter Levine, Ted McConnell, and David B. Smith, eds. *Guardian of Democracy: The Civic Mission of Schools*. Rep. Philadelphia: Leonore Annenberg Institute for Civics of the Annenberg Public Policy Center at the University of, 2011. Print. p 33

²⁵⁷ Reuben J. Thomas and Daniel A. McFarland, "Joining Young, Voting Young, The Effects of Youth Voluntary Associations on Early Adult Voting," *CIRCLE Working Paper #73*, Tufts University, August 2010

²⁵⁸ Daniel A. McFarland and Reuben J. Thomas, "Bowling Young: How Youth Voluntary Associations Influence Adult Political Participation," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 71, June p 401-5425, 2006

²⁵⁹ Reuben J. Thomas and Daniel A. McFarland, "Joining Young, Voting Young, The Effects of Youth Voluntary Associations on Early Adult Voting," *CIRCLE Working Paper #73*, Tufts University, August 2010

²⁶⁰ Jonathan Gould, Kathleen Hall Jamieson, Peter Levine, Ted McConnell, and David B. Smith, eds. *Guardian of Democracy: The Civic Mission of Schools*. Rep. Philadelphia: Leonore Annenberg Institute for Civics of the Annenberg Public Policy Center at the University of, 2011. Print. p 33

²⁶¹Reuben J. Thomas and Daniel A. McFarland, "Joining Young, Voting Young, The Effects of Youth Voluntary Associations on Early Adult Voting," *CIRCLE Working Paper #73*, Tufts University, August 2010

²⁶²Reuben J. Thomas and Daniel A. McFarland, "Joining Young, Voting Young, The Effects of Youth Voluntary Associations on Early Adult Voting," *CIRCLE Working Paper #73*, Tufts University, August 2010

Research Design

Table 8: 10 Proven Practices of Civic Education Chart

10 Proven Practices for Civic Education*	Description
PP #1: Classroom Instruction	Instruction that includes: civics, government, history, law, economics, and geography. Together these topics fall under the umbrella of "Social Studies."
P.P. #2: Discussion of Current Events and Controversial Issues	Classroom discussions of modern political discourse and controversial topics, engaging students in healthy communication practices.
P.P. #3: Service-Learning	Service-learning practices help tie academic learning to civic-minded community challenges during school hours. High-quality service-learning incorporates analytical and problemsolving skills.
P.P. #4: Extracurricular Activities	After school activities focusing on civics, such as mock trials, model congress, speech and debate, Model U.N., and community volunteering
P.P. #5: Student Participation in School Governance	This includes student government as well as schoolwide democratic deliberation on school and community issues
P.P. #6: Simulations of Democratic Processes	Simulation of democratic processes in civic classes, using games and roleplaying in mock trials, model congress in class.
7 – 10 PPs added from 2017 Report**	Description
P.P. #7: News Media Literacy	Students learn the skills necessary to distinguish fake news from reliable news
P.P. #8: Action Civics	Students build citizen identities (with rights and responsibilities) while teachers guide them in actively influencing institutional policies to address community problems
P.P. #9: Social-emotional learning (SEL)	These are school standards that help students develop the skills needed to understand and manage their emotions, set goals, and learn how to have positive relationships, helping students become more ethical and active citizens.
P.P. #10: School climate reform	These are school policies that promote restorative justice and alternatives to the "school-to-prison pipeline," which has shown to depress young people's civic engagement.

^{*} The first 6 Proven Practices are the result of a 2011 Report, "Guardian of Democracy: The Civic Mission of Schools," (The Leonore Annenberg Institute for Civics of the Annenberg Public Policy Center at the University of Pennsylvania and the Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools, 2011)

^{**} The last four Proven Practices are the result of Peter Levine and Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg's report, The Republic is (Still) at Risk- and Civics is Part of the Solution" (Medford, MA: Jonathan M. Tisch College of Civic Life, Tufts University, 2017)

Method

This study's design is to carefully analyze each State's DOE standards related to the Ten Proven Practices (10 PP), but with a particular focus on extracurriculars, student participation in governance, social and emotional learning, and school climate.

Choosing States

The states selected for this study, South Carolina, and Texas, were chosen because both require .5 credits (one semester in their senior year) in government/civics to graduate. Neither offer community service for credit. Analyzing states with the same quantity of "standards" allows us to focus on the documentation within these standards to look for similarities and variations within their civics requirements. School climate, extracurricular, and SEL topics will be reviewed from the DOE websites.

Over the last two years, South Carolina youth has voted at or above the national average, whereas Texas, consistently below. This study looks to see if variations in their DOE standards could potentially be the reason why.

Table 9: South Carolina and Texas Length of Civic Requirements and Voting Data for 2016 and 2018

State	Length of civics requirements *	State: Voter Participation (ages 18-24) 2016 Presidential election*	National average: Voter Participation (ages 18-24) 2016 Presidential election**	State: Voter Participation (ages 18-24) 2018 midterm election ***	National average: Voter Participation (ages 18-24) 2018 midterm ***
SC	.5 years	42.7 %	39 %	30.1 %	30.1 %
TX	.5 years	27.3 %	39 %	25 %	30.1 %

^{*} Data from "The State of Civics Education" Center for American Progress²⁶³

Grading System

To keep the analysis in line with Chapters I and II, the same grading system is used. Each State's civics standards will be compared to the Brown Center report's 10 PP to see how each State's requirements or lack thereof could reflect youth voter turnout. Aside from the specific civic documents for each State, we will also look at the DOE website itself for updates, resolutions, and ancillary information, particularly for social and emotional learning, school climate, extracurriculars, and school governance. The ease of use and organization of the material on the website will also be analyzed. Its composition makes it easier for school districts, administrators, and teachers to access and utilize the materials.

^{**} Data from "Voting in America: A look at the 2016 Presidential Election" census.gov²⁶⁴

^{***} Data from 2018 Census table 4c and table 5 https://www.census.gov/data/tables/time-series/demo/voting-and-registration/p20-583.html

²⁶³ Ibid

²⁶⁴ "Voting in America: A Look at the 2016 Presidential Election" https://www.census.gov/newsroom/blogs/random-samplings/2017/05/voting_in_america.html

Each category is scored between 0 - 2. A score of zero means the DOE standards, supporting documents, nor website meet the requirement. A score between 0 and 1 means the standards et al. meet some of the requirements, but not all, and a score of 1 means they meet the requirement. A score of 2 is reserved for interactive categories and requires schoolwide or classroom-wide student participation and when the standards meet that requirement. This higher score reflects the importance of interactive simulations, student-led projects, and community activities. They typically have a more significant effect on learning than passive methods under the right circumstances.²⁶⁵ If they meet some of the requirements, but not all, they can receive a score of less than 2. While the Brown Center report could not include school climate, SEL, extracurricular, and student governance in their analysis, this study's previous research on Virginia, Hawaii, Oregon, and New Jersey's DOE websites found some state-level information about how States handle these practices.

Data

South Carolina

South Carolina's Social Studies Academic Standards (SCSSAS) requires a half year or .5 credits of United States Government (USG) in the senior year of high school.²⁶⁶ The SCSSAS was adopted in 2011 and provided the framework for the K- 12 social studies program for the State. There are supporting documents in the Support Documents and Resources tab for Social Studies that give more details and resources for teaching social studies at all grade levels, including

²⁶⁵ Sarah Shapiro and Catherine Brown, "The State of Civics Education," Center for American Progress. February 21,

²⁶⁶ South Carolina Department of Education, South Carolina Academic Standards, State Board Approved Document, August 18, 2011

USG. These are the resources used when grading their civic requirements. While the SCSSAS

standards were updated in 2019 for the 2020 school year, those documents will not be used as

they were not in standard practice for the dates used in this study. The DOE website is used to

grade the other non-civic-specific practices.

DOE Website

Website Use Score: .75 out of 1

The SCDOE website, while chock full of resources, did not produce any results when

using the search bar feature when using search words such as "civics," "civics requirements," or

even "social studies." Ample resources came up when searching for extracurriculars, school

climate, SEL, but less relevant sources for "student governance" or "student government."

Information was more forthcoming when using the available drop-down menus than using the

search bar.²⁶⁷

PP #1: Classroom Instruction

Meets PP Standard: 1 out of 1

The SCSSAS standards meet the requirement of lecturing and utilizing the students'

literary skills to examine the fundamental political theories and governmental systems in

America.²⁶⁸

PP #2: Discussion of Current Events and Controversial Issues

Meets PP Standard: 2 out of 2

²⁶⁷ South Carolina Department of Education Website https://ed.sc.gov/ accessed February 14, 2021

²⁶⁸ Ibid, p 120

The Standards USG-4.1 – 4.6 requires students to explain contemporary patterns, their

relationship to the state, national, and international communities and demonstrate an

understanding of the importance of an informed and participatory citizenry by asking students

to examine the relationship of the present to the past and use the knowledge of the past to

make informed decisions about the present and the future.²⁶⁹

PP #3: Service-Learning

Meets PP Standard: 0 out of 2

There is no mention anywhere in the USG requirements, supporting social studies

documents, or any mention on the SCDOE website concerning service-learning.

PP #4: Extracurricular Activities

Meets PP Standard: 2 out of 2

There are multiple resources available on the SCDOE website about extracurriculars. The

resources meet the three criteria for effective long-term engagement.²⁷⁰ The SCDOE has the SC

Afterschool Quality Standards document, a nine-page resource outlining the importance of

quality standards for all afterschool programs, focusing on inclusiveness, leadership,

measurable outcomes, and community engagement under the care and support of a faculty

member.²⁷¹

PP #5: Student Participation in School Governance

²⁶⁹ Ibid, p 125

²⁷⁰ Jonathan Gould, Kathleen Hall Jamieson, Peter Levine, Ted McConnell, and David B. Smith, eds. *Guardian of*

Democracy: The Civic Mission of Schools. Rep. Philadelphia: Leonore Annenberg Institute for Civics of the

Annenberg Public Policy Center at the University of, 2011. Print.

²⁷¹ South Carolina Afterschool Quality Standards, updated June 1, 2018, p 4

Meets PP Standard: 0 out of 2

No mention of student voices or student participation in school governance or school

improvement was found on the website.

PP #6: Simulations of Democratic Processes

Meets PP Standard: 0 out of 2

There are no resources or information about civic simulations in the USG standards,

supplements, or website resources.

P.P. #7: News Media Literacy

Meets PP Standard: 0 out of 1

There is no discussion in the USG or USG supplement, which discusses the importance of

including and evaluating current events based on media sources' reliability. There is no

discussion about discerning fake news from real news or any media literacy skills.

PP #8: Action Civics

Meets PP Standard: 0 out of 2

There is no discussion in the USG, USG supplements, or website which discusses or

provides resources for actively participating in Action Civics.

PP #9: Social-emotional learning (SEL)

Meets PP Standard: 1 out of 1

The SCDOE has a robust resource center focusing on SEL resources for educators,

families, and communities from pre-K through twelfth grade. They have access to a separate

website which acts as a full-stop resource center pulling from the field leaders such as CASEL and the Education Development Center.

PP #10: School climate reform

Meets PP Standard: .5 out of 1

The SCDOE has quite a bit of information pertaining to school climate and discipline, beginning with their main document, Best Practices for Supporting Educators with Discipline. Expulsion or suspension is required under state law for first-time offenses for certain violations related to violence against themselves, others, and/or property, selling drugs, and bringing weapons into school. The types of weapons were not discussed. However, there is a threetiered system for intervention and prevention programs to help students work through their issue before it becomes a larger problem for other offenses. 272 There was also information on each High School's climate scores and the reasons for the scores.²⁷³ These reasons fell into three categories, Engagement, Safety, and Environment.

Texas

Texas also requires a half year/.5 credit of United States Government in their senior year of high school as part of their Social Studies Texas Essential Knowledge and Skills (TEKS) Crosswalk program of study²⁷⁴. Using the Texas Education Agency (TEA) website and resources,

²⁷² South Carolina Department of Education, Best Practices for Supporting Educators with Discipline,

²⁷³ South Carolina's Safe and Supportive Schools, *School Climate Scores*

https://ed.sc.gov/scdoe/assets/file/programs-services/191/documents/SC ClimateScoreExplanation.pdf

²⁷⁴ Crosswalks Curriculum refers to a system of incorporating knowledge and skills in a process that aligns learning outcomes with local, state, or federal standards.

this study compares the TEKS for USG Crosswalk located in Section 113.44 of the framework

and supporting documents against the 10 PP.

Website Use Score: .75 out of 1

The TEA website did not produce any results when using the search bar feature when

using search words such as "civics" or "civics requirements," but did return useful results with

"social studies." When it came to non-civic practices, it was a mixed bag of results depending on

the topic.

PP #1: Classroom Instruction

Meets PP Standard: 1 out of 1

Teachers are asked to support their civics lessons with the use of primary and secondary

source materials as well as other alternative media. ²⁷⁵

PP #2: Discussion of Current Events and Controversial Issues

Meets PP Standard: 2 out of 2

Students are asked to analyze and defend a point of view on a current political issue,

evaluate the validity of the information, and counter-arguments using primary and secondary

sources in written, oral, and visual presentations.²⁷⁶

PP #3: Service-Learning

Meets PP Standard: 1 out of 2

In the USG Crosswalk, students are asked to problem-solve and use decision-making

skills while working independently or with others in various settings to figure out a list of

²⁷⁵ Texas Education Agency, Social Studies, United States Government Crosswalks 2010, Section 113.44 (2)

²⁷⁶ Texas Education Agency, *United States Government, Crosswalk from 2010 TEKS to 2018 Streamlined TEKS*, p 13

possibilities to solve a problem and implement one then evaluate the solution.²⁷⁷ It also says to "identify opportunities for citizens to participate" in state, local, or federal political activities.²⁷⁸ However, there is no explicit directive to the teachers about how to expedite this. Is this done in the community? The classroom? Nor is it listed in the supporting document, section 113.44.

PP #4: Extracurricular Activities

Meets PP Standard: 0 out of 2

There were no resources available on the TEA website to discuss the importance of extracurriculars. However, while researching school climate, one document did discuss requiring students to be suspended from afterschool activities if they receive a grade of 70 or lower during the last given grade evaluation period, in what is known as "No Pass, No Play." 279

PP #5: Student Participation in School Governance

Meets PP Standard: 0 out of 2

There is no mention on the website about student participation in school governance.

However, buried deep in a handbook for how to support foster students is one sentence,

"Provide youth with choices and include them in decision making: Children and youth in foster care may experience a sense of loss and powerlessness. Educators and supportive adults can use positive youth development practices that provide choices and include youth in decision-

²⁷⁷ Ibid, TEA, p 14

²⁷⁸ Ibid, TEA, p 14

²⁷⁹ Texas Education Agency, "A Report on Exemption of Courses Related to Eligibility for Extracurricular Activities," A Report to the 86th Texas Legislature from the Texas Education Agency, January 1, 2019.

making processes."280This hardly affects all students and nothing with this language is used to

discuss the student body at large.

PP #6: Simulations of Democratic Processes

Meets PP Standard: 0 out of 2

There is no mention in the literature or on the website pertaining to either civic

simulations or discernable access to resources on the topic.

PP #7: News Media Literacy

Meets PP Standard: 0 out of 1

The USG documentation does not address news media literacy. The website does not

address it or provide resources about it.

PP #8: Action Civics

Meets PP Standard: 0 out of 2

The USG documentation does not address Action Civics. The website does not address

Action Civics or provide resources on the topic.

PP #9: Social-emotional learning (SEL)

Meets PP Standard: 1 out of 1

Under the Mental Health and Behavioral Health umbrella, dozens of approved

programs, training, and interventions are available to help students and teachers navigate

²⁸⁰ "School Experience: Providing Student Support, Implementing Academic Supports and Interventions, & Promoting High School Completion," Foster Care & Student Success, Chapter 11 p 81

https://tea.texas.gov/sites/default/files/fcss_rg-ch11.pdf

social and emotional learning throughout their school careers.²⁸¹ There are programs for all age groups and different resources based on the need, suicide prevention, anxiety management, Community building, emotional and empathy building, and relationship building. The SEL webpage discusses the importance of SEL to academic and relationship success. There is program coordinators' information listed with the programs suggesting this is an area where they want people actively engaged.

PP #10: School climate reform

Meets PP Standard: .75 out of 1

In 2015 Texas began using Restorative Discipline Practices in ten of their twenty education service centers and school districts, focusing on districts with a higher number of expulsions. 282 They define restorative discipline as "a relational approach to building school climate and addressing student behavior. The approach fosters belonging over exclusion, social engagement over control, and meaningful accountability over punishment." Lesson plans and additional resources are available to promote better school climates. In working with the Institute for Restorative Justice and Restorative Dialogue at the University of Texas at Austin School of Social Work, the plan is to incorporate these practices into all the schools. 283

Results

²⁸¹ Texas Education Agency, "Building Skills Related to Managing Emotions, Establishing and Maintaining Positive Relationships, and Responsible Decision-Making," https://tea.texas.gov/about-tea/other-services/mentalhealth/building-skills-related-to-managing-emotions-establishing-and-maintaining-positive-relationships-andresponsible-decision-making

²⁸² TEA, "Restorative Discipline Practices in Texas," Health, Safety, & Discipline https://tea.texas.gov/texasschools/health-safety-discipline/restorative-discipline-practices-in-texas

²⁸³ TEA, "Health, Safety, & Discipline," Texas Schools. https://tea.texas.gov/texas-schools/health-safety-discipline

Table 10: South Carolina and Texas 10 PP Results

	Website	1 P.P.: Classroom Instruction	2PP: Current events	3PP: Service learning	4PP: Extracurriculars	5PP: Student Governance	6PP: Simulations	7PP: News Literacy	8PP: Action Civic	9PP: SEL	10PP: School climate	Overall Total 10 PP Only	Civic Specific	Non-Civic PP
Possible Score	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	1	1	16	10	6
SC	.75	1	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	.5	6.5	3	3.5
TX	.75	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	.75	5.75	4	1.75

Analysis

Overall, neither state impressed with their civic practices. The guidelines presented in both states were too vague and did not provide clear and specific directions for a multitude of Proven Practices. Neither state specifically required students to practice news media literacy, an essential skill when deciphering a media piece's intent. Neither state discussed or provided resources for simulations or Action Civics, two practices, when done right, increase students' sense of efficacy, civic proficiency, and allow for democratic practice in and out of the classroom.²⁸⁴

²⁸⁴Peter Levine and Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg, "The Republic is (Still) at Risk-and Civics is Part of the Solution," Medford, MA: Jonathan M. Tisch College of Civic Life, Tufts University, 2017

Their scores for non-civic skills were not much better. While both provided SEL resources and had strengths in other areas, neither provided vital resources, focus, or overall state commitment to the other essential aspects of a student's personal and civic development.

South Carolina

In the civic-specific requirements, it was disappointing to see how often students were asked to evaluate a citizen's role, using examples of the past, rather than being asked to behave like one, role play situations, or asked to problem solve a current event. All the learning material was explanation-based rather than activity-based. Documentation language was heavy on "Students should be able to explain..." rather than asking them to do something to demonstrate their knowledge actively. The twelfth-grade USG one-semester class is three sections long on the history and role of government, followed by one section on civic understanding. Moreover, the sections are cumulative, leaving the section on civics to the very end. How much time in this one-semester class is dedicated to civic literacy? Also distressing are the indications in the text that the students have not had any exposure to what it means to be a good citizen in the American political process, including civic responsibilities and interactions between the citizens and government, until the last section, of the last class they will take before leaving high school.²⁸⁵ Under the section header *Previous and Future* Knowledge, there is information about how many times the student will have been exposed to this kind of material starting in Kindergarten. Under this header for civic rights and liberties, it states, "Students have had no significant instruction associated with the content of this

²⁸⁵ South Carolina Department of Education, *United States Government Standards*, USG Section 4.1, June 15, 2012.

indicator."²⁸⁶ This lack of exposure coupled with no information about simulations, news media literacy, or Action Civics, all important practices, is concerning.

As for the non-civic class-specific practices, while there was a lack of information and standards on service learning and student government, there were quite a few resources on extracurricular activities and the important role they play in a student's interpersonal relationship development, sense of efficacy, and positive attitudes towards community involvement. There is a robust resource center for SEL programs and initiatives. As the literature shows, extracurriculars and SEL skills are important for students to become citizens with the relevant skills, habits, and virtues needed to participate in voluntary community associations, which is important to a healthy democracy. ²⁸⁷The state did not mandate or require districts to choose a program.

When it came to school climate reform, South Carolina relied on expulsion or suspension for first-time offenses for certain violations. Moreover, while there were resources available on school climate, there was more focus on discipline and less focus on using school climate to create a socially, emotionally, and physically safe space. Of course, how each district handles creating a positive school environment and sense of community would be unique to each one. However, a state focus on this aspect of a school's health would benefit all districts regarding what and how they can better create an environment conducive to building a sense of community for all students and how best to involve students in their own discipline.

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²⁸⁶ South Carolina Department of Education, *United States Government Standards*, USG Section 4.1, June 15, 2012.

²⁸⁷ Peter Levine, *The Future of Democracy: Developing the Next Generation of American Citizens,* (Medford, University Press of New England, 2007) p 17

Texas

Texas' Crosswalk civic class requirements did not meet the expectation of a robust and activity-based student learning experience. It did ask students to analyze current events and asked students to problem-solve a current state, local or federal issue. However, there were no clear directives on whether this was just a classroom exercise or actual community activities students were expected to do. Along these same lines' students were not asked to participate in simulations, Action Civics, or practice news media literacy.

Like South Carolina, Texas had multiple SEL programs the districts could choose from, but no mandate or state requirement to choose any of them. Some of the programs were shorter programs on keeping away from drugs which had to be administered by a licensed substance abuse professional. The state did not have any resources for extracurricular activities nor discussed its importance in creating civically minded young participants. Texas further extrapolates the problem by punishing students who are not performing academically by barring them from extracurricular activities. Extracurriculars help students develop a set of skills different from academic ones. To withhold the opportunity for lower academic performing students from extracurriculars only further impacts their overall development.

Texas had a much better handle on reforming its school climate at the state level. While only half the districts are currently utilizing Restorative Discipline Practices, it plans to roll the program out to all districts. It also shows a focus on the importance of engaging rather than excluding troubled students, a philosophy shown to have a long-lasting effect on those students' future voting and civic participation rates.

Limitations of this study

A clear limitation of this study stems from the broad overview of the whole State's adherence to the 10 PPs. In contrast, a more nuanced study of each district would produce different results based on the districts' resources, community involvement, demographics, race, and overall socioeconomic status. Another limitation of the study is the unavailability of the teacher and administrative resources they may be receiving on a district level and missing data on teacher and administrative training.

Chapter Conclusion

Current research demonstrates the long-term benefits to students when schools cultivate the school environment's non-civic specific aspects. Proper implementation of SEL, extracurriculars, school climate, and student involvement in school governance all help increase youth civic engagement and increase the likelihood of creating early voting habits. When looking at South Carolina and Texas, we can see where the states have done well in including such practices and where there is room for improvement. South Carolina was better able to include more non-civic classroom-specific practices in their state guidelines, whereas Texas, more of the classroom ones. The results of this study do not conclusively answer the initial question as to whether focusing on non-civic specific requirements can bolster youth voting rates. However, as shown in this study and the supporting literature, there are many reasons why students choose to become voters. More research is needed to confirm these results.

Both states can benefit from instituting the 10 Proven Practices into their civic and non-civic requirements more precisely. As the literature suggested, many research-based practices are not in use in most states and districts. That was most evident in Texas's handling of their response to withhold extracurriculars from students who are not performing well academically and in South Carolina's school climate policies that did not include any restorative justice practices.

As for the DOE websites, Texas has many resources about Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (STEM) programs and learning opportunities but no information about civic engagement, community service, or civic simulations or learning programs. This focus on STEM over civics is very emblematic of the larger issue of declining youth voting rates and civic engagement. When state educational programs do not focus time, energy, and resources into youth civic competencies, those skills atrophy or are never developed in the first place, right at a crucial moment in their development when learning these skills could set them on the road to habitual voting and civic participation right out of high school.

The Department of State Education Programs could benefit from more straightforward, more research-based practices to improve civic and non-civic aspects of the high school experience. More action-oriented language and more focus on the "doing" of civics through simulations, community services, and engaging more clearly in current events and news media literacy would help the civics aspects of SC and TX high school USG curriculums. Clearer, more direct mandates on school climate, SEL, student governance, and extracurricular activities would be a first step in helping local districts focus more needed attention on building student

democratic efficacy. Including them in school decision making, expanding rather than restricting extracurriculars, and fostering a school community of restorative justice, rather than punishment is a start. Of course, as the literature and this study show, the steps need to be in line with current research-backed practices.

Conclusion

As explored in the three case studies of this thesis, the 10 Proven Practices encompasses many different aspects of a student's educational career that can affect their future voting rates and civic participation. All aspects of their civic education are essential, with each acting as a building block for the others in creating a well-rounded civic education. Throughout this study, a pattern of three basic dimensions of the 10 Proven Practices emerged.

The first important and most basic dimension includes rote learning of government facts and civic ideas in a more lecture-style classroom setting. Students also learn how to decipher real news from fake news and discuss current events. As this study pointed out, discussing current events is not something every classroom does. A teacher's experience, classroom demographics, or a combination of both can affect how often students engage in discussing recent events and the implications of those events to their lives. For students to actively gain the skills needed to be involved, teachers and administrators need to welcome open discussions while helping them navigate their emotions and communication skills when discussing sensitive topics. 289

The second includes simulating or actively engaging in civic activities in the classroom under a trained teacher's guide to help them practice the habits, attitudes, and actions needed to become and stay engaged citizens. Students, who engage in civic activity within the classroom or with a teacher's help after school gain skills in navigating complex relationships,

²⁸⁸ David E. Campbell, "Sticking Together; Classroom Diversity and Civic Education," *American Politics Research*, V 35 No 1, sage publications, January 2007

²⁸⁹ Celia Oyler, *Actions Speak Louder Than Words- Community Activism as Curriculum*, New York, Routledge, 2012.

learn how to identify a local problem, create potential solutions, and then execute them within a group context.²⁹⁰ These simulations and civic engagement activities help to change student attitudes towards involvement positively. In low-income school districts, students learn that they can effectively change their environment. Proper civic education empowers the groups and individuals who would typically not have a voice in the political process.²⁹¹

The third dimension includes how the school environment itself allows students to continue practicing the habits of engagement within the school and the community. How well schools integrate Social and Emotional Learning into students' education affects students' ability to handle their emotions during hard discussions and community involvement. 292 Students get to practice these skills during afterschool programs while participating in student government and in the classroom during current event discussions. School administrators and teachers can model empathy and understanding when involving students in student governance, supporting afterschool activities, and issues of discipline. After school activities allow students to interact with the larger community, leading to future civic and community engagement through practicing adult to peer relationships. 293 The school climate can shape a student's perception of governmental institutions for better or for worse.

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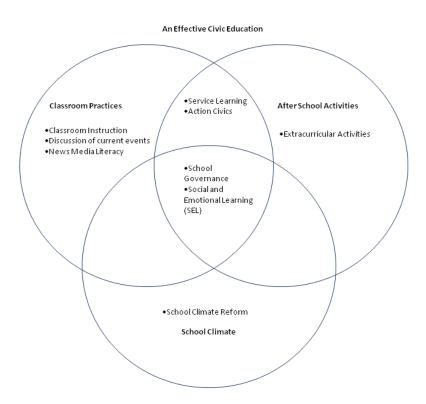
²⁹⁰ M. Kent Jennings, "Political Socialization," *The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior*. Edited by Russell J. Dalton and Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Aug 2007.

²⁹¹Muna Osman, Dave Miranda, and Cédric Jourde, "Youth Political Engagement in Adolescence," *Canadian Psychology/Psychologie Canadienne*. Advances online publication. Online first publication, April 18, 2019 ²⁹² CASEL "SEL Framework: What are the Core Competence Areas and Where Are They Promoted?" casel.org/what-is-SEL

²⁹³ Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg, "Harry, Hermione, Ron, and Neville-Portraits of American Teenagers' Extracurricular Involvement and Implications for Educational Interventions," Circle Working Paper #80, The Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning & Engagement. March 2014

These different dimensions of the 10 Proven Practices each play a role in developing student growth and their potential civic involvement. The following discussion of the three case studies will consider how well each state-integrated each aspect of the 10 PP and then provide recommendations based on the findings. Below is a diagram of how the 10 PP work together to create a holistic and effective civic education when incorporated into all aspects of a student's high school experience.

Table 11: An Effective Civic Education



Chapter I:

One Year of Civics: A Comparative Study of Hawaii and Virginia's High School Civics Standards

Table 12: Virginia and Hawaii's Website and 10 Proven Practice Results

	Website	1 PP: Classroom Instruction	2PP: Current events	3PP: Service learning	4PP: Extracurriculars	5PP: Student Governance	6PP: Simulations	7PP: News Literacy	8PP: Action Civic	9PP: SEL	10PP: School climate	Overall Total: 10 PP Only	Civic Specific	Non-Civic PP
Possible Score	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	1	1	16	10	6
VA	1	1	2	2	2	1	2	1	2	.5	0	13.5	10	3.5
HI	0	1	2	0	1	1.5	0	1	1	.5	0	8	5	3

Table 13: Virginia and Hawaii's Length of Civic Requirements and Voter Participation Rates for 2016 and 2018

State	Length of civics requirements *	Voter Participation rate (ages 18- 24) 2016 election by state*	Voter Participation rate national average (ages 18-24) 2016 **	Voter Participation rate (18-24) 2018 election by state	Voter Participation rate national average (ages 18-24) 2018 ***
VA	1 year	54.6	39.4	35.9	30.1
HI	1 year	20.4	39.4	21.7	30.1

^{*} Data from "The State of Civics Education" Center for American Progress²⁹⁴

https://www.census.gov/newsroom/blogs/random-samplings/2017/05/voting_in_america.html

^{**} Data from "Voting in America: A look at the 2016 Presidential Election" census.gov²⁹⁵

^{***} Data from 2018 Census table 4c and table 5 https://www.census.gov/data/tables/time-series/demo/voting-and-registration/p20-583.html

²⁹⁴Data from "The State of Civics Education" Center for American Progress

²⁹⁵ "Voting in America: A Look at the 2016 Presidential Election"

Virginia has youth voting rates well above the national average and Hawaii well below.

Of course, there are other reasons students might choose to vote young, which are discussed at length in the literature review. Virginia is close to Washington DC, where many parents may work in jobs surrounding politics. This exposure can translate into more time talking about politics at home. Parents with higher educational attainment levels and higher socioeconomic status can affect a student's likelihood to vote young. State initiatives, such as online voter registration and pre-registration, can also have a minor but positive correlation with youth voting rates.

The results of this chapter were promising. Each state was graded on how well the DOE website provided civic materials and supporting resources and how well each state addressed each of the 10 PP. Out of a total score of sixteen, Virginia totaled 13.5 points, and Hawaii only eight.

Across the board, VA met more of the 10 PP standards, and their website was much easier to navigate. Finding relevant material for civic standards, teaching civics resources, and information needed to support a holistic civics education was easy enough to do with the search bar and through manual navigation of the drop-down menus. The plethora of civic educational materials available to teachers cannot be overstated. There are dozens of listings under specific headers such as Documents of American History, General Civics Organizations, Leadership Development Curriculum, Civic Surveys & Data, Law Related Education, Voting &

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²⁹⁶ M. Kent Jennings, "Political Socialization," The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior, Edited by Russell J. Dalton and Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Aug 2007, p 10.

²⁹⁷ CIRCLE, "Voter Turnout of Youth Aged 18-19 Shows States Having Various Success at Growing Voters," September 9, 2019. CIRCLE.org

Mock Elections, Service-Learning Sites, Government Sites for Virginia and the United States, plus Additional Resources for Instruction, ²⁹⁸ to support teachers in activities such as mock trials and model UN. In contrast, finding relevant information on the Hawaii DOE website was not possible through simple means of using the search option or even using the drop-down menus. Finding relevant civic material was only possible with patient searching. There were no tools or documents available to help administrators, teachers, or parents understand the state requirements or resources for teaching civics.

In civic classroom practices, Virginia's documentation was more explicit and focused on active participation. It hit on all the essential topics, such as discussing current events and teaching news media literacy. Hawaii did not perform as well. However, one place Hawaii shone was in its support of student voices in school governance. A 2016 collaboration program between Adult Friends for Youth, Oceanit, and the Hawaii DOE, included 100 students from different middle schools and high schools from around the state. Each student was chosen by their teachers for their school experience, from struggling to excel—all of them gave input in redesigning their school experience. Having student voices in governance is one of the leading indicators of a good, well-rounded democratic education. ²⁹⁹ When students spend upwards of thirteen years from K – 12 being talked down to by the primary institution they are involved in, it sends a somewhat different message than "your voice matters in a democracy." It enforces the idea of top-down authority. Scholars have found that when students can voice their

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²⁹⁸ Virginia Department of Education, History & Social Science: Everyday Civics: Teachers Resources https://www.doe.virginia.gov/instruction/history/everyday-civics/teacher-resources/index.shtml ²⁹⁹Peter Levine and Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg, "The Republic is (Still) at Risk-and Civics is Part of the Solution," Medford, MA: Jonathan M. Tisch College of Civic Life, Tufts University, 2017

opinions and help make decisions about their school environment, it increases their sense of self-efficacy and inclination to vote.³⁰⁰ This topic is discussed in greater detail in Chapter three. Overall, the results show that VA was better able to communicate and provide documentation supporting the 10 PP.

Chapter II:

No Civics Required: A Comparative Study of Oregon and New Jersey's Social Studies Standards

Table 14: Oregon and New Jersey's Website and 10 Proven Practice Results

	Website	1 PP: Classroom Instruction	2PP: Current events	3PP: Service learning	4PP: Extracurriculars	5PP : Student Governance	6PP: Simulations	7PP: News Literacy	8PP: Action Civic	9PP: SEL	10PP: School climate	Overall Total: 10 PP Only	Civic Specific	Non-Civic PP
Possible Score	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	1	1	16	10	6
OR	1	1	2	1	2	2	1	1	0	1	1	12	6	6
NJ	.5	1	2	1	0	0	2	1	.5	1	1	9.5	7.5	2

³⁰⁰ Kathleen Hall Jamieson, Ph.D., "Guardian of Democracy: The Civic Mission of Schools," Leonore Annenberg Institute for Civics of the Annenberg Public Policy Center at the University of Pennsylvania. Carnegie Corporation of New York, 2011, p 4

Table 15: Oregon and New Jersey Length of Civics Requirements and Voter Participation Rates for 2016 and 2018

State	Length of civics requirements *	State: Voter Participation (ages 18-24) 2016 Presidential election*	National average: Voter Participation (ages 18-24) 2016 Presidential election**	State: Voter Participation (ages 18-24) 2018 midterm election ***	National average: Voter Participation (ages 18-24) 2018 midterm ***
OR	0	45.2 %	39 %	38.2 %	30.1 %
NJ	0	35.9 %	39 %	29.2 %	30.1 %

^{*} Data from "The State of Civics Education" Center for American Progress³⁰¹

Overall, Oregon had higher youth voting rates compared to New Jersey. Oregon's DOE website was easy to navigate using both the search bar and the menus. It provided enough supporting documents and resources for in-class and out-of-class learning to give teachers suggestions on teaching certain civics topics and incorporating simulations and activities. New Jersey's website was not as user-friendly. Once the web links were found that covered social studies and supporting materials, fewer resources were available specifically for student simulations and activities.

The results of this chapter show that while Oregon did not integrate as many classroom practices as New Jersey did, Oregon proved much better at supporting statewide standards on extracurriculars, SEL, school climate, and student voices in government. New Jersey was able to

^{**} Data from "Voting in America: A look at the 2016 Presidential Election" census.gov³⁰²

^{***} Data from 2018 Census table 4c and table 5 https://www.census.gov/data/tables/time-series/demo/votingand-registration/p20-583.html

³⁰¹ Ihid

^{302 &}quot;Voting in America: A Look at the 2016 Presidential Election" https://www.census.gov/newsroom/blogs/random-samplings/2017/05/voting_in_america.html

include more specific active language to ensure students actively participate in the classroom. Oregon clearly defined and supported the role and benefit of extracurriculars, school climate reforms (to make them less punitive and more correctional), and actively promoted student voice in the classroom on their DOE website. The website language empowers students to be involved in their school and their community, two attributes found to increase future civic involvement. These findings suggest that clear and specific standards pertaining to the 10 PP show a strong correlation towards increased youth voting.

Chapter III:

Half Year of Civics: A Comparative Study of Texas and South Carolina's Civics Standards

Table 16: South Carolina and Texas Website and 10 Proven Practices Results

	Website	1 PP: Classroom Instruction	2PP: Current events	3PP: Service learning	4PP: Extracurriculars	5PP: Student Governance	6PP: Simulations	7PP: News Literacy	8PP: Action Civic	9PP: SEL	10PP: School climate	Overall Total 10 PP Only	Civic Specific	Non-Civic PP
Possible Score	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	1	1	16	10	6
SC	.75	1	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	.5	6.5	3	3.5
TX	.75	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	.75	5.75	4	1.75

Table 17: South Carolina and Texas Length of Civics Requirements and Voter Participation Rates for 2016 and 2018

State	Length of civics requirements *	State: Voter Participation (ages 18-24) 2016 Presidential election*	National average: Voter Participation (ages 18-24) 2016 Presidential election**	State: Voter Participation (ages 18-24) 2018 midterm election ***	National average: Voter Participation (ages 18-24) 2018 midterm ***
SC	.5 years	42.7 %	39 %	30.1 %	30.1 %
TX	.5 years	27.3 %	39 %	25 %	30.1 %

^{*} Data from "The State of Civics Education" Center for American Progress³⁰³

Overall, neither state effectively integrated the 10 PP. Between the two states, South Carolina nor Texas, South Carolina was better able to integrate the non-classroom-specific learning opportunities into their DOE state website and resources. South Carolina's youth voting rates were at or slightly above the national average, while Texas's was consistently lower. Neither state did well with using clear directives or action words in their civic documents.

Texas did a better job of focusing on Restorative Discipline Practices as part of their school climate reform, which helps administrators engage students in addressing their behavior rather than expel them. These reforms are consistent with the current research showing overly severe discipline teaches students to be docile and obedient to authority, creating a lifelong

^{**} Data from "Voting in America: A look at the 2016 Presidential Election" census.gov³⁰⁴

^{***} Data from 2018 Census table 4c and table 5 https://www.census.gov/data/tables/time-series/demo/votingand-registration/p20-583.html

^{304 &}quot;Voting in America: A Look at the 2016 Presidential Election" https://www.census.gov/newsroom/blogs/random-samplings/2017/05/voting_in_america.html

narrative that negatively impacts these students' chances to participate in civic life and voting as adults. Research shows that many states or districts will institute school climate policies that are not in line with research-based guidelines or will start them, only to stop them again shortly after. 406

However, when it came to extracurricular activities, Texas's policies are not congruent with current research. Long-term studies show that students who participated in extracurriculars were more active in the community and civically engaged as adults. Texas uses a "Pay to Play" policy where students who receive a grade of seventy or less cannot participate in extracurriculars until they improve their grades. Research shows that extracurriculars are essential to all students. These activities help students feel connected to their community and feel valued as part of a network of peers and adults. Extracurriculars are part of that crucial role high schools play in moving students from inertia to a life-long habit of participation. Classroom documents lacked action words and clear directives to involve the students in civically-minded activities. While South Carolina performed better over Texas, neither state performed quite as well as some of the other states in this study.

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³⁰⁵Peter Levine and Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg, "The Republic is (Still) at Risk-and Civics is Part of the Solution," Medford, MA: Jonathan M. Tisch College of Civic Life, Tufts University, 2017, p 5

³⁰⁶ Jonathan Cohen, Elizabeth M. McCabe, Nicolas M. Michelli, and Terry Pickeral, "School Climate: Research, Policy, Practice, and Teacher Education," Teachers College Record, Vol. 111, January 2009, pp 180-213, p 200 ³⁰⁷³⁰⁷ Peter Levine and Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg, "The Republic is (Still) at Risk-and Civics is Part of the Solution," Medford, MA: Jonathan M. Tisch College of Civic Life, Tufts University, 2017,

³⁰⁸ Kathleen Hall Jamieson, Ph.D., "Guardian of Democracy: The Civic Mission of Schools," Leonore Annenberg Institute for Civics of the Annenberg Public Policy Center at the University of Pennsylvania. Carnegie Corporation of New York, 2011

³⁰⁹ Reuben J. Thomas and Daniel A. McFarland, "Joining Young, Voting Young, The Effects of Youth Voluntary Associates on Early Adult Voting," CIRCLE Working Paper #73, Tufts University, August 2010

One potential reason South Carolina did well in youth voting rates despite the state's lackluster 10 PP results could be because South Carolina is the "First in the South" during primary season. SC receives extra media attention during the primary season. H. Gibbs Knotts and Jordan M. Ragusa, in their book, *First in the South*, argue that it is not lowa or New Hampshire, but rather SC that often predicts the presidential nominees for both parties. As the literature view in chapter one discusses, community attitudes towards participation in political activities and voting and play a role in student's future participation. This special attention paid to SC during the primary season is worth exploring in further research.

³¹⁰ H. Gibbs Knotts and Jordan M. Ragusa. *First in the South: Why South Carolina's Presidential Primary Matters*. Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 2020. Accessed March 28, 2021

³¹¹ H. Gibbs Knotts and Jordan M. Ragusa. *First in the South: Why South Carolina's Presidential Primary Matters*. Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 2020. Accessed March 28, 2021. doi:10.2307/j.ctvgs0bd2.

³¹² Jeffrey S. Dill, "Preparing for Public Life: School Sector and the Educational Context of Lasting Citizen Formation," *Social Forces* 8793). The University of North Carolina Press. March 2009.

Case Study States: Sorted by 10 PP Totals

Table 18: All States Sorted by 10 Proven Practice Score Totals and Voter Participation Rates in 2016 and 2018

	Overall Total: 10 PP only	Civic Specific	Non-Civic PP	2016 voting rate	2018 voting rate
Possible Score	16	10	6	39.4%	30.1%
VA	13.5	10	3.5	54.6	35.8
OR	12	6	6	45.2	38.2
NJ	9.5	7.5	2	35.9	29.2
НІ	8	5	3	20.4	21.7
SC	6.5	3	3.5	42.7	30.1
TX	5.75	4	1.75	27.3	25

Overall, the states that included more of the 10 Proven Practices had higher youth voting rates, except Hawaii, which had slightly higher scores than SC and TX, but whose voting rates were much lower. Typically, Hawaii has lower voting rates than the rest of the country. These low voting rates could be why Hawaii spends more time trying to integrate the 10 PP.

313 Special Report, "States with the highest (and Lowest) Voter Turnout" Huffington Post, Oct. 26, 2016, https://www.huffpost.com/entry/states-with-the-highest-and-lowest-voter-

turnout_b_5813a3c5e4b096e87069653a

Their efforts to create habitual voters at a younger age may be a newer effort to improve the state's overall voting rates.

Course Length

Table 19: All States Length of Civic Courses with 10 PP Results and Voter Participation Rates for 2016 and 2018

	Length of course	Overall Total	Civic Specific	Non-Civic PP	2016 voting rate	2018 voting rate
Possible Score		16	10	6	39.4%	30.1%
VA	1 yr	13.5	10	3.5	54.6	35.8
OR	No	12	6	6	45.2	38.2
NJ	No	9.5	7.5	2	35.9	29.2
н	1 yr	8	5	3	20.4	21.7
SC	.5 yr	6.5	3	3.5	42.7	30.1
TX	.5 yr	5.75	4	1.75	27.3	25

Here longer course lengths did not correlate to higher youth voting rates. The results are promising for states that do not have the flexibility to spend more *time* on civic-specific classes. States with limited time resources may benefit simply from changing the way they currently teach civics. As mentioned throughout this study, simulations, actively engaging students, and a strong student-involved school ethos do not require more classroom time but rather a change

in focus within the class or school environment. Of course, this idea would benefit from more research.

Website

Table 20: All States' Website Scores and Voter Participation Rates for 2016 and 2018

	Website	2016 voting rate	2018 voting rate
Possible Score	1	39.4 %	30.1 %
VA	1	54.6	35.8
OR	1	45.2	38.2
SC	.75	42.7	30.1
NJ	.5	35.9	29.2
TX	.75	27.3	25
Н	0	20.4	21.7

As shown in this chart, except for New Jersey, the website's usability, the number of resources, and efficiency in which materials were found correlated with the states' youth voting rates. If schools tend to reflect what society values, as David Feith suggests in his book, *Teach for America: The case for civic education*, the state DOE reflects what the state deems essential in terms of education. For example, until recently, the Texas TEA website's front page prominently displayed its STEM program. Currently, each website in this study conspicuously

displays information about in-school reopening protocols, where to receive COVID-19 vaccines and mental health services. Not one site has any mention of civic education on their home page nor did they before COVID-19. As with the other aspects of this study, more research is needed to find a more significant pattern between the state's Department of Education's website and youth voting rates.

States by Race, Average Income, Youth Voting Rate sand 10 PP

Table 21: States by Race, Adult Average Income, Youth Voting Rates and 10 PP

State	White	Black	Native	Asian	Islander	Other	Multiple	Average Income 2018 in US Dollars	2016 voting rate	2018 voting rate	10 PP
VA	67.63	19.18	.28	6.4	.07	2.65	3.79	72,577	54.6	35.8	13.5
OR	84.29	1.91	1.16	4.37	.4	3.07	4.80	63,426	45.2	38.2	12
SC	67.16	26.77	.35	1.57	.08	1.76	2.31	52,306	42.7	30.1	6.5
NJ	67.78	13.46	.22	9.46	.04	6.29	2.74	81,740	35.9	29.2	9.5
TX	73.97	12.14	.50	4.8	.09	5.82	2.69	60,629	27.3	25	5.75
HI	24.95	1.83	.26	37.79	10.06	1.23	23.89	80,212	20.4	21.7	8

^{*}U.S. Census Bureau 2018

While this paper's main research was focused on how well each state included the 10 PP and its relation to youth voting rates, this chart is included based on information discussed in the limitation section of Chapters I and II. Studies have shown there is a negative effect on the quantity of political discussions within a classroom as racial diversity increases. 314 As seen in this

³¹⁴David E. Campbell, "Sticking together: Classroom racial diversity and civic education in the U.S." *American Politics Research* 35 (1)(01/01):57.

chart, it is difficult to parse out the effect of differentiating racial population rates and voting rates. Texas has a less diverse population than both New Jersey and South Carolina but still has much lower voting rates. When it comes to income levels, on average Hawaii and New Jersey had higher incomes but that did not reflect in higher participation of youth voting. There are no definitive conclusions to be drawn based on these six states. However, as stated in the introduction, previous research finds effective civic education can help close the gap between those who are already predisposed to vote and those who are marginalized or disenfranchised. Same Day Registration, Mail in Voting, and Other State Initiatives

As discussed briefly in previous chapters, ways in which the state can help boost voting rates such as automatic registration, pre-registration, same day registration, and mail in voting can have a positive effect on voting rates. ³¹⁵, ³¹⁶It is often difficult to disentangle the impact of these voting initiatives from other factors such as the state's historical turn out, the competitiveness of the elections, wage, age, and education averages, as well as the state's media coverage. ³¹⁷Oregon, while the least demographically diverse of the states, implemented automatic registration in 2012 and found that by the 2016 election, voting in communities of color increased 26 percent. ³¹⁸It is also the only state that until the 2020 election used an all-

³¹⁵ Nonprofit VOTE and U.S. Elections Project, "America Goes to the Polls 2018: Voter Turnout and Election Policy in the 50 States" nonprofitvote.org report downloaded 10/1/2019

³¹⁶CIRCLE, "Growing voters: Engaging Youth Before They Reach Voting Age to Strengthen Democracy," CIRCLE civicyouth.org downloaded 10/1/19

³¹⁷ Peter Levine, *The Future of Democracy: Developing the next generation of American Citizens*, Tufts University Press, Hanover, 2007, p 207.

³¹⁸ Henry Kraemer, "Fact sheet: automatic voter registration transforms Oregon youth voter registration and turn out rates," Alliance For Your Organizing, April 21, 2017 https://allianceforyouthorganizing.org/fact-sheet-automatic-voter-registration-transforms-oregon-youth-registration-turnout-rates/

mail-in voting system so it is difficult to compare it to other states.³¹⁹Texas law allows schools to offer pre-registration but studies have shown that implementation has been uneven and sporadic.³²⁰A separate study on voter initiatives could help clarify their effects on youth voting rates by state.

Community Service Requirements to Graduate

Table 22: Community Service Requirements by State and Voting Rates

State	Requires	2016	2018
	Community		
	Service to		
	Graduate		
VA	No	54.6	35.8
OR	Yes	45.2	38.2
SC	No	42.7	30.1
NJ	Yes	35.9	29.2
TX	Yes	27.3	25
HI	Yes	20.4	21.7

Both voluntary and school-required community service in high school were found to be strong predictors of adult voting and volunteering according to a 2007 study.³²¹ Community service help students start forming the habits of participation through taking the "initiative" and "agency" on student-led projects in extracurricular activities.³²² These associations require students to interact with other age groups, usually older adults, which helps strengthen their

³¹⁹ Peter Levine, *The Future of Democracy: Developing the next generation of American Citizens*, Tufts University Press, Hanover, 2007, p 208

³²⁰James Russell, "Texas' High School Voter Registration Law Fails to Live up to Ideals," Next City, July 2, 2020 https://nextcity.org/daily/entry/texass-high-school-voter-registration-law-fails-to-live-up-to-ideals

³²¹ Daniel Hart, Thomas M. Donnelly, James Youniss, and Robert Atkins. "High School Community Service as a Predictor of Adult Voting and Volunteering." *American Educational Research Journal* 44, no. 1 (2007): 197-219. Accessed April 29, 2021. http://www.jstor.org/stable/30069475.

³²² Levine, Ibid p 4

community bonds and helps them practice listening and understanding other viewpoints.³²³

After-school jobs have also been found to increase students' interaction with adults they are not related to and provide the same effect.³²⁴ As this study did not focus on community service, there is not enough data based on these six cases to see what effect it had on their voting rates.

Limitations

There are of course limitations to this study. As mentioned in the Introduction and subsequent chapters, this study did not include detailed information on demographic, cultural and economic factors, race competitiveness, state civic culture, or state voting policies. All these factors can either negatively or positively contribute to attitudes and practices on voting and civic participation to varying degrees.³²⁵

Recommendations

A future longitudinal study that extends this examination to all fifty states and includes information on demographics, state voting practices, SES, and school spending is recommended to see how well each state effectively integrates the 10 Proven Practices into their DOE resources and whether their integration has a causal effect on youth voting rates.

State DOE websites reflect what the state deems important. If the state DOE values civic education, they can create a civic-minded focus on their homepage and organize their websites for more straightforward navigation and usability. Adding additional civic resources, activities,

³²³ Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg, "Harry, Hermione, Ron, and Neville- Portraits of American Teenagers' Extracurricular Involvement, and Implications for Educational Interventions," CIRCLE: Working Paper #80, March 2014

325 CIRCLE staff, "Half of Youth Voted in 2020, An 11- Point Increase from 2016" CIRCLE, April 29, 2021

³²⁴ Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg, "Harry, Hermione, Ron, and Neville- Portraits of American Teenagers' Extracurricular Involvement, and Implications for Educational Interventions," CIRCLE: Working Paper #80, March 2014

and simulations may also help teachers, administrators, and the communities utilize these materials in class and after school.

When the State Department of Education has clear civic education documentation using action words to specify the need for students to participate in classroom activities actively, as well as having clear and supportive, research-backed practices for the non-classroom aspects of a proper immersive civically-minded school experience, students can leave high school with a better chance of becoming habitual voters at a younger age and valued, productive members of their communities; the very attributes needed for a healthy democracy. State DOEs, with the support of their school districts, administrators, teachers, and national researchers, can revamp existing documentation to require teachers to include simulations or civic projects within the classroom and provide teachers with research-backed resources for effective civic instruction. They can also work with national organizations that focus on the school climate, SEL, and extracurricular activities which promote effective civic participation.

More teacher training is recommended to help them effectively integrate the 10 Proven Practices into the classroom when it comes to handling discussions of controversial issues and integrating simulations or service work. Student diversity need not be a barrier to having discussions on current or controversial topics. Social and Emotional Learning skills are going to be more important than ever in an increasingly divided electorate. Increased teachers and administrator training on incorporating these skills into a student's academic career is also recommended. Administrators could also benefit from understanding the benefits of the 10

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³²⁶ Diana Hess and Paula McAvoy, *The Political Classroom: Evidence and Ethics in Democratic Education*. New York, Routledge, 2015.

Proven Practices when they are properly integrated into their school ethos and use researchbased practices to adjust existing polices.

As suggested throughout this study, research-backed practices in and out of the classroom, clearly delivered and accessible at the state level, is obtainable and necessary. This is good news. When state education departments focus on instituting researched-based practices, the results can lead to generations of citizens equipped to handle the challenges of a healthy democracy. As John Adams said, "Liberty cannot be preserved without general knowledge among the people." If states properly institute the 10 Proven Practices, students can join the American citizenry with civic efficacy, news media savvy, and confidence in their ability to effect change because they have already had the chance to practice it.

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EDUCATION

Johns Hopkins University

Masters of Arts in Government, Cum Laude, May 2021

Cornell University

School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Bachelor of Science, Cum Laude, Dean's List, May 2004

Suffolk Community College

AA Liberal Arts with Honors, Dean's List, May 2001

SKILLS

- Data Analysis
- Grant writing
- Public speaking
- Fundraising
- Research

AWARDS

- National Dean's List
- SCCC Dean's List
- Phi Theta Kappa
- ILR Dean's List
- Schwartz-Miller Scholarship

WORK EXPERIENCE

Sales and Marketing Director

Landis Refining Company

July 09-Present Hampton Bays, NY

Designed and implemented shipping changes to reduce costs, updated sales and marketing materials, curating social media outreach, oversee eight employees

Archetype Solutions

March 09-June 09

Business to Business Sales Executive

Melville, NY

Closed numerous cold call sales daily, gained useful management and sales insights, recruited and trained sales associates,

Riverhead Foundation for Marine Research & Preservation July 07-June 08

Special Events Coordinator/Marketing Manager Riverhead, NY

Raised \$7,000 in new sponsorships for annual 5K, implemented creative strategy

Raised \$7,000 in new sponsorships for annual 5K, implemented creative strategy to gain \$3,000 in donations from local electronic company, gained NYS raffle certification for large item raffle prizes, designed and created new sponsorship brochure, budgeted for more efficient fundraising

We the People Foundation for Constitutional Education

Project Manager

Nov 05-Jun 07 Queensbury, NY

Organized two complex national educational and fundraising tours including a live three-day conference in Washington DC with 24 guest speakers and 150 guests, coordinated travel, guest speakers, accommodations, negotiated hotel arrangements, budgeted thousands of dollars in tour expenses, produced live web-cast productions, coordinated local volunteers, co-hosted live Constitutional web-casts, created organizational handbook

American English School

Dec 04-Apr 05

English Instructor/Educational Reform Consultant ~ TEFL Certified China Taught adult level and 5th grade English classes, created class curriculum

VOLUNTEER EXPERIENCE

East Quogue Elementary School Organic Garden

Jan 17 – Jun 17

Led community campaign to build an edible school garden, designed budget and garden layout, wrote grant and secured \$1,700, and raised additional \$1,400 in donations, coordinated volunteers before and during construction

La Leche League

Dec 13- April 17

Assisted mothers in navigating their mother/child relationship through breastfeeding, offered emotion and educational support through monthly meetings, phone calls and social media

Public, Education, Government, Leased Access Television Movement Sep 99-Jan 08 Educated community, Town Boards, County and State Legislators on importance of Public, Education, and Government Access Channels through multiple grass root initiatives: public speaking, letter writing, petitioning