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Resolution 06A-102

Approved by ABA House of Delegates

AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION
COMMISSION ON CIVIC EDUCATION AND SEPARATION OF POWERS

RECOMMENDATION

RESOLVED, That the American Bar Association encourages all lawyers and judges to be personally and actively engaged in civic education in their communities and schools.

RESOLVED, That the American Bar Association urges all lawyers and judges to work to increase Americans’ understanding of the role of separation of powers in our constitutional democracy.

FURTHER RESOLVED, That the American Bar Association urges policymakers at all levels of government to ensure that: all students experience high quality civic learning—including study of law, government, and history; students’ civic learning is regularly and appropriately assessed; and civic learning is accorded national educational priority on a par with reading and mathematics.

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REPORT

Overview

The survival of our constitutional democracy depends on an informed and engaged public. Our system of government cannot be preserved without civic learning, which must include an understanding of the role of the separation of powers in our constitutional democracy.

Preserving the civic mission of schools is vital to the continued success of American constitutional democracy. There are clear signs of a growing lack of knowledge and understanding of how our government works and, in particular the role that the judiciary plays. A climate of hostility to the judiciary has developed in recent years as evidenced by an increase in attacks—both physical and political—on courts and judges. At the same time, recent surveys have shown an alarming lack of understanding by Americans of fundamental constitutional concepts, such as the separation of powers. These developments may very well have a common cause: the diminishing resources and attention paid to civic learning in our schools.

The civic mission of schools is under an immediate and significant threat from a phenomenon known as “narrowing the curriculum.” This phenomenon, in which certain subjects are emphasized to the detriment or outright exclusion of others, is occurring as a result of the increased use of high-stakes testing in schools. As this report details, educators and leaders of the bar and bench are concerned that this “narrowing of the curriculum” is causing subject matter that fosters civic learning to lose class time and commitment. If civic learning is to remain a national priority in the nation’s schools, on a par with reading and mathematics, we must participate in organized efforts of advocacy and support. In recent years, numerous educational, judicial, and legal groups have joined in these efforts. It is critical that the American Bar Association exerts its leadership and support to urge policymakers to ensure that all students experience high quality civic learning.

Urgent Need to Support Civic Learning

Just two years ago the ABA passed a policy resolution designed to advance support for the fundamental civic mission of schools. Specifically, the policy “urges the legal profession to seek support of policymakers, educators, the media, and the general public to ensure that subject matter to advance the civic mission of schools, including study of law, is included in the core K-12 curriculum and reflected in all standards, instruction, professional development, school funding decisions, and evaluation.”

When the ABA policy urging support for the civic mission of schools was adopted in 2004, there was growing optimism about a resurgence of national interest in and attention to civic education. Numerous factors were cited as reasons for this revival, including the impact of the events of September 11, 2001 and subsequent developments as generating renewed attention to civic affairs and interest in the important role of civic education for the nation. National advocacy efforts for civic education have increased since that time, with the continued work of groups such as the Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools and the Alliance for Representative Democracy.¹ But concerns about the place for civic learning in schools have only deepened, due in large part to the growing influence of policy mandates and testing on what is taught in schools and how. Today, in fact, there is an even greater sense of urgency, if not crisis, about the need for

immediate attention and action, if civic education is to be an essential part of all students' learning.

A number of recent events suggest that there is a disturbing lack of knowledge and understanding of the role that each branch of government plays in our constitutional system and, in particular, of the need for independent courts. In July 2005, the American Bar Association commissioned a Harris Interactive poll to assess public understanding of key constitutional concepts like the separation of powers. The results were stunning. Fewer than one-half (45%) of Americans could correctly identify the meaning of separation of powers and only slightly more (48%) could correctly identify the role of the federal judiciary.²

We have witnessed a recent rise in threats to courts of every form from direct physical attacks on judges to calls for impeachment for politically unpopular decisions to attempts by some members of Congress to strip the courts of jurisdiction for certain cases. This climate of hostility to courts and judges suggests that the growing lack of understanding of key constitutional concepts, such as the separation of powers, is having a direct effect on the continued viability of our system of government.

To combat this destructive trend, it is now necessary to mobilize the bar and bench to become actively engaged in civic education and, moreover, to urge policymakers to ensure that high quality civic learning takes place in all of the nation's schools and is—and remains—a national educational priority.

Civic Learning is a Professional Concern of Bar and Bench

Fostering civic learning should be a professional concern of lawyers and judges. In 2000, the Association adopted as policy a position that “encourages every lawyer to consider it part of his or her fundamental professional responsibility to further the public’s understanding of and confidence in the rule of law and the American system of justice.” Encouraging civic learning—whether through direct engagement in classrooms or via advocacy for educational policy—is not just a professional responsibility of the legal profession, but also a matter of fundamental professional interest. This point is made clearly in the Preamble to the Model Rules of Professional Conduct. In setting out a lawyer’s responsibilities, the Preamble states that a lawyer, in addition to being a representative of clients and an officer of the legal system is also a “public citizen having special responsibility for the quality of justice.” In this capacity, a lawyer “should further the public’s understanding of and confidence in the rule of law and the justice system because legal institutions in a constitutional democracy depend on popular participation and support to maintain their authority.”³

High-Stakes Testing and No Child Left Behind Are Having Profound Effects

In the 1990s, national education reform efforts led to the establishment of national education standards. Standards, national and state, were developed for such subject-matter and curricular areas as civics, government, American history, and social studies. Following the development of subject-matter standards, many states and school districts began to develop standardized assessments of school and student performance. In many cases, these tests have been used to make significant educational decisions about students, in such matters as tracking, promotion, and graduation. Such testing has been characterized as “high stakes.”

In 2001, the landmark No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act, a reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, was enacted.⁴ This legislation prioritizes federal funding for efforts to improve student performance in reading and mathematics. As a result, high stakes testing has increasingly focused on a limited set of subjects, like reading and mathematics that are considered fundamental to student success in the workplace.

Since the late 1990s, many civic educators have become increasingly concerned that high-stakes testing and its typical focus on these “fundamental” subjects has severely diminished the resources available for subject matter that fosters civic learning. This concern was succinctly expressed in an important 1999 study on the civic education of American youth: “What is assessed receives the time, attention, and funding; consequently, testing other subjects but not testing civics ensures that civics content will be marginalized and virtually ignored by many school administrators and teachers.”⁵

In 2004, the Academy for Educational Development produced a follow-up report to the 1999 study. The report, *Advancing the Civic Mission of Schools: What Schools, Districts, and State and Federal Leaders Can Do*, warns that “In an educational climate characterized by high-stakes tests, if civic learning is not part of a school assessment and accountability system, states are unlikely to create incentives for civic education and continue to give it short shrift.”⁶

In 2005 a group of the nation’s leading advocates for school reform and education policy, including TheodoreSizer, John Goodlad and Linda Darling-Hammond, launched a new project of the Forum for Education and Democracy, “Beyond NCLB: Policy Options for 2007.” To inform policymakers and the general public about the reauthorization of NCLB, scheduled for 2007, the project includes policy research and writing, educational meetings, and policy briefings in Washington, DC. The goal is to advocate for federal legislation that “can help nurture strong public schools for a strong democratic society.”⁷ Articulating this vision, Forum Director George Wood has argued, “An education system, a system of public schools, must not narrow itself to the lowest common denominator of improving test scores in the so-called basics if it is to be worthy of the democracy it serves. Rather, it must cultivate in all of our children the habits of heart and mind that make democratic life possible. Anything less is a betrayal of our commitment to be a nation of, for, and by the people.”⁸

Narrowing the Curriculum to Exclude Untested Subjects

Evidence is mounting that the increasing focus of high stakes testing on a few limited subjects is squeezing out civic education. In March 2006, the Center on Education Policy, an independent advocate for public education, released the most recent of its annual reports on the implementation of NCLB, *From the Capital to the Classroom: Year 4 of the No Child Left Behind Act*.⁹ The Center’s report focuses on NCLB implementation in elementary schools. Among its significant findings is that 71% of school districts surveyed reported “reduced instructional time in at least one other subject to make more time for reading and mathematics, the topics tested for NCLB purposes.” Social Studies leads the way among curricular areas in which districts cut time—33% of those surveyed reported reducing social studies “to a great extent or somewhat” to increase time for reading and mathematics. Especially affected, the report emphasizes, are urban districts—in some elementary schools, instruction consists of five periods of reading and math and one for physical education. A recent *New York Times* article

summarized the damaging effects of this “narrowing of the curriculum” documented by the Center’s report: “The intense focus on the two basic skills is a sea change in American instructional practice, with many schools that once offered rich curriculums now systematically trimming courses like social studies, science, and art....The changes appear to principally affect schools and students who test below grade level.” Moreover, according to Center president Jack Jennings, “Narrowing the curriculum has clearly become a nationwide pattern.”¹⁰

The 2006 report by the Center on Education Policy confirms many of the findings from a 2004 study by the Council for Basic Education, *Academic Atrophy: The Condition of the Liberal Arts in America’s Public Schools*. This was the first significant study of the impact of the No Child Left Behind Act and state assessments on the academic curriculum. Findings indicated that “school curricula have undergone profound changes since 2000—some encouraging, others worrisome [for the liberal arts].” In particular, the survey found that elementary social studies, along with foreign languages and the arts, are on the decline and that this is particularly true for high-minority schools. While noting encouraging trends in higher grades, the authors cautioned that “weakness in other state accountability areas may threaten schools’ ability to sustain this tendency over the long term....Despite some promising recent trends, the strength of social studies, civics, and geography in American middle and high schools is by no means secure.”¹¹

Too Many States Lack Adequate Civic Education Mandates

According to data from the National Center for Learning and Citizenship, based at the Education Commission of the States, (“State Citizenship Education Policies,” *ECS State Notes*, Education Commission of the States National Center for Learning and Citizenship, April 2004), 41 states have statutory requirements that “specifically provide for the teaching of government, civics and/or citizenship.” However, only 23 states have testing or assessment systems that include knowledge of civics or government. Moreover, only 14 of those states also “include performance on civics/government or social studies assessments within their accountability systems [such as publicly released “report cards”].”¹² The most recent state to include a state assessment is Washington. In March 2006, Governor Christine Gregoire signed a statute requiring elementary, middle, and secondary students in Washington State to complete a classroom-based assessment in civics.¹³

Other data on state mandates for civic education comes from a 1999 study conducted by the Policy Research Project on Civic Education Policies and Practices. According to the study, more than a quarter of all state constitutions offer a civic rationale for education, that a “system of public instruction is required because an informed and capable citizenry is vital to the preservation of a free and democratic government.”¹⁴ According to the National Alliance for Civic Education (NACE), 43 states and the District of Columbia have now articulated relevant standards for civics, either separately or explicitly within social studies standards (26), or integrated into social studies or other subject-matter standards (18).¹⁵ The Policy Research Project found that many of the state social studies standards overemphasize lower-order thinking: “Civic statements requiring students to evaluate, test, and defend positions—the highest-order level of thinking—are the least prevalent in most state standards.”¹⁶

Assessments of Civic Learning Are Too Limited

What do students know about subject matter that promotes civic learning? The National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), known as the nation's report card, is administered by the National Center for Education Statistics, a federal agency within the U. S. Department of Education.¹⁷ The most recent national data on what students actually know about civics comes from the NAEP assessment conducted in 1998. The civics test was administered to students in grades 4, 8, and 12. It found that about two-thirds of students at each grade performed at or above the "basic" level. However, only 25% of students at each grade level performed at or above the "proficient" level, a level that signifies competence in higher-order thinking. To attain the "proficient" level, 8th grade-students, for instance, are able to "explain the importance of the rule of law and the separation of the legislative, executive, and judicial powers." Summarizing its findings, the NAEP civics test concludes, "While most students have a basic knowledge of civics, it is apparent that their understanding of civics could be strengthened."¹⁸

In terms of frequency and scope, how is civic learning being assessed? Under No Child Left Behind, NAEP conducts national and state assessments at least once every two years in reading and mathematics in grades 4 and 8. "To the extent that time and money allows," NAEP may be conducted in grades 4, 8, and 12 in additional subjects, including history, geography, and civics.¹⁹ The most recent NAEP assessments in civics and U.S. history were conducted in early 2006, with results expected to be released in early 2007. The civics assessment had originally been scheduled for 2003. Before this, as noted above, the most recent NAEP civics assessment was conducted in 1998. The prior NAEP report in U.S. history was conducted in 2001. As a result of efforts by advocates for civics and American history, however, henceforth the NAEP tests will be administered to students every four years.²⁰

Advocates for civic learning point to a number of limitations of the current NAEP report for civics. First, NAEP assesses civic knowledge, but not civic skills and civic dispositions. Summarizing the arguments for the importance of also assessing civic skills and dispositions, as well as knowledge, researchers Judith Torney-Purta and Susan Vermeer point to three sets of "competencies" for civic education. Each of these competencies is as important as the other and each depends upon the other two for effectiveness. Effective civic learning is more than just knowledge. It also requires the acquisition of cognitive and participatory skills, as well as civic "dispositions," which includes such learned behavior as voting and obeying the law and values and attitudes, such as commitments to principles of the rule of law, justice and equality. "These three strands of citizenship should be seen as approximately equal in importance and connected with one another."²¹

Similarly, the Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools has also advocated for policy changes that "[expand] the NAEP framework to include civic thinking and participation skills." NAEP reports for reading and math enable comparison and analysis of findings on a state-by-state basis. This is not the case for the civics or U.S. history assessments. The Campaign also has argued for "[administering] NAEP to appropriate samples so it is possible to analyze and compare students' civic learning state-by-state." Finally, although the NAEP civics report is now scheduled to be conducted every four years, this is still less frequently than the math and reading components, which are conducted every two years.²²

National Advocacy for Civic Learning Is Increasing But Needs Support

The 2003 release of *The Civic Mission of Schools* report, commissioned by the Carnegie Corporation and the Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning & Engagement (CIRCLE) at the University of Maryland, had a galvanizing effect, ushering in an ongoing period of concerted national advocacy for civic learning. The authors offered evidence for “why this is an important time for schools to focus on civic education” and specifically referred to the increased interest in policymakers in civic education.²³

A number of recent civic education initiatives have coincided with that study. President Bush convened a 2003 White House Conference on the Teaching of History, Civics, and Service at the Smithsonian Museum of American History. More than 350 delegates from throughout the country have participated in annual Congressional Conferences on Civic Education, first held in 2003 in Washington, DC. The conferences are coordinated by the Alliance for Representative Democracy. The leaders of the Senate and House of Representatives from both parties serve as hosts. The Alliance for Representative Democracy is composed of the National Conference of State Legislatures, the Center for Civic Education, and the Center on Congress at Indiana University.²⁴ And, finally, the Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools was formed to implement the recommendations of the study.

Managed by the Council for Excellence in Government, under the leadership of David Skaggs, and the Academy for Educational Development, the Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools includes both a national and a state advocacy track to guide its “long-term effort to renew and elevate civic learning in our nation’s schools.” As part of its state advocacy efforts, the Campaign has funded 18 state coalitions to advance new policies and practices to improve civic learning. Each state has a campaign team with a project leader or lead organization, several of which are based at state bars, including Arizona, Louisiana, Nebraska, and New York. Through its national track, the Campaign “brings national attention to the importance of improving civic learning.”²⁵

Retired Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O’Connor—who serves as honorary co-chair of the ABA’s Commission on Civic Education and Separation of Powers—and former Colorado Governor Roy Romer, now superintendent of the Los Angeles school system, are serving as national spokesmen for the Campaign. In March 2006, they jointly authored an op-ed in *The Washington Post*, “Not by Math Alone.” Acknowledging the importance of the recent push to improve math and science education, they make the case that this push “should also be the occasion for a broader commitment, and that means restoring education for democracy to its central place in school. We need more students proficient in math, science and engineering. We also need them to be prepared for their role as citizens. Only then can self-government work. Only then will we not only be more competitive but also remain the beacon of liberty in a tumultuous world.”²⁶ More recently, Justice O’Connor repeated her call for renewed support for civic education, noting that, “This knowledge about how we function in a democracy is not handed down through the gene pool. We have to teach it.”²⁷

The Study of Law and the Constitution Is Essential to Civic Learning

Subject-matter instruction in law and the American constitutional system of government, including the principles of separation of powers and checks and balances, is widely recognized as essential to civic education in the United States. First among the six promising approaches identified in the *Civic Mission of Schools* report is to “provide instruction in government, history, law, and democracy.”²⁸ The *Essentials of Law-Related Education* underscores the civic purpose of study of the law in schools: “Law-related educators strive to develop the active citizens our society requires: those who can understand, live in, and contribute positively to the civic communities to which they belong.”²⁹

The ABA Has a Long Record of Supporting Civic Education

The American Bar Association has a long history of support, in policy and programming, for law-related civic education. In the 1970s and 1980s, the House of Delegates urged support for law-related citizenship education and including understanding of the U.S. Constitution as a secondary school graduation requirement.

In the 1990s, ABA policy positions urged Association support for citizenship education, including constitutional studies, in elementary and secondary schools; called on judges and courts to support and actively participate in public education programs about the law and justice system; urged bar support for public education about the Constitution and the rights and responsibilities of citizenship through implementation of the national education goals and standards for civics education; and called on the Association to take the lead in developing long-term educational programs to improve public understanding of our system of justice.

In 2000, the ABA approved a policy encouraging lawyers to further public understanding of and confidence in the rule of law and the American system of justice, as a matter of professional responsibility. And, most recently, in 2004, the Association adopted policy urging the legal profession to seek the support of policymakers, educators, the media, and the general public to ensure that subject matter to advance the civic mission of schools, including study of law, is included in the core K-12 curriculum and reflected in all standards, instruction, professional development, school funding decisions, and evaluation.

Over the years, the Association, especially through its Division for Public Education, has engaged in comprehensive programmatic efforts to implement these positions. In particular, the Division for Public Education has exerted national leadership in the areas of law-related civic education research and curricular policy, from a Ford Foundation-funded review of state mandates for civic education in the mid-1970s to an initiative to define essentials of law-related education in the mid-1990s, as a companion to the development of national subject-matter standards. The latter effort resulted in the publication of “Essentials of Law-Related Education (LRE): A Guide for Practitioners and Policymakers” (American Bar Association, 1995/2003). Building on these efforts, the Division for Public Education is currently conducting a review of the treatment of law-related content in secondary American history, civics and government textbooks.

ABA Presidential Commission on Civic Education and the Separation of Powers

Commenting on the July 2005 ABA/Harris Interactive Poll results, ABA President Michael Greco noted, “If youngsters don’t get grounding in civic education, it’s much harder for them to be informed citizens when they do become adults...Many Americans do not know even the basics of how their government works, and that is a long-term threat to our democracy....”³⁰

In 2005 President Greco established a high-profile Commission on Civic Education and the Separation of Powers. In doing this, he was motivated by concerns that the poll findings raised and sought to renew and strengthen the Association’s leadership in efforts to support civic learning,. The Commission has worked to mobilize the bar and bench as advocates for civic education and to serve as catalysts to improve public understanding of the separation of powers and other basic principles of our constitutional system of government. Justice Sandra Day O’Connor and Senator Bill Bradley are serving as honorary co-chairs of the Commission. Robert Rawson serves as chair. Commission members include Catherine Crier, Senior Anchor and Managing Editor, Court TV; Judge Abner Mikva; former Section of Litigation Chair Patricia Lee Refo; Thomas Ridge, former governor of Pennsylvania; Richard W. Riley, former U.S. Secretary of Education; Judge William S. Sessions; Kathleen Hall Jamieson, Director, Annenberg Public Policy Center at the University of Pennsylvania; Antonia Cortese, Executive Vice President, American Federation of Teachers; Jeff Passe, President, National Council for the Social Studies; Reg Weaver, President of the National Education Association. Also serving *ex officio* are Alan Kopit, Chair, ABA Standing Committee on Public Education and Peter Kalis, National Law Day Chair.

To fulfill its mission, the Commission is engaged in several ambitious and ongoing efforts. In partnership with Court TV and The Constitution Project, the Commission sponsored a May 11, 2006 event at George Washington University, to be edited for broadcast on Court TV as part of the network’s “In Pursuit of Justice” initiative. The one-hour program examines recent threats to judicial independence and possible solutions to conflicts among the branches of government. Hosted by Catherine Crier, the program features conversations with Justice Sandra Day O’Connor; Leroy Hassell, Sr., Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Virginia; Michael Greco, ABA President; Senator Bill Bradley; Judge William Sessions; and Professor Charles Geyh, an expert on judicial independence.

The Commission is also producing a toolkit for state and local bar associations to encourage civic education advocacy and action. The toolkit will include communication strategies for key audiences, sample talking points for speeches and public programs, a sample op-ed, and a sample “president’s page” column for publication in state and local bar journals. It will offer recommendations for advocacy on civic education curriculum enhancements and model educational materials on the doctrine of separation of powers and the independence of the judiciary, including video produced from the Court TV initiative, “In Pursuit of Justice.”

In an effort to raise attention to the need for civic education, the Commission is planning in the coming year a series of model civic education programs in select states. These model programs will include meetings with state policymakers to discuss the need to support civic learning and demonstrations of a new Dialogue on Separation of Powers, which the Division of Public Education has developed. These demonstrations will be conducted by leaders in the legal and political communities with high school students.

Finally, the Commission is encouraging interbranch dialogue between members of the judiciary and the legislative and executive branches of government at both the state and federal level.

A number of state and local bar associations are also reaffirming their commitment to civic education. In January 2006 the Florida Bar commissioned Harris to conduct a statewide poll similar to that of the ABA's national poll, resulting in similar findings. Echoing the message of ABA President Michael Greco and the work of the ABA's Commission on Civic Education, Florida Bar President Alan B. Bookman observed, "Although civic education has historically been a primary mission of American public education, it appears that this commitment is fading...America's enduring strength flows from our Constitution and its mandate that there be three separate but equal branches of government."³¹

The ABA Should Renew and Strengthen Its Commitment to Civic Education

As this report noted at the outset, we live in a climate of growing hostility to courts and judges that is evident in both physical and political attacks on the judiciary. The American Bar Association has admirably responded to defend the judiciary from these attacks as they arise. But these attacks are symptoms of a larger and much more serious disease: the growing lack of understanding on the part of citizens and policymakers alike of fundamental aspects of our constitutional democracy, such as the separation of powers. To address this larger problem and help eliminate the underlying cause of this hostility, it is imperative that the American Bar Association assume a leadership role in the national effort to promote high quality civic learning for all of the nation's students.

By renewing and strengthening the American Bar Association's longstanding support for civic education, the Association can play a critical role in this national effort. Assuming a leadership role will allow the Association to join broad-based organizational coalitions to advocate for civic learning and to advocate for federal legislation for regular and appropriate national assessments of civics and history; funding for programs, curriculum, instruction, and professional development in civic education; and the development of programs that enable and encourage members of the bar and bench to become personally engaged in civic education in their schools and communities.

The ABA will also be better able to assess the necessity and wisdom of advocating for changes in the NCLB reauthorization and other legislation to ensure that civic learning enjoys equal prominence with reading and mathematics, if high stakes testing and national and state legislation like NCLB continue to drive a narrowing of the curriculum.

Finally, the Association can provide leadership to help mobilize the support of the organized bar and bench to engage the support of policymakers, educators, the media, and the general public to ensure that subject matter that fosters civic learning, including the separation of powers and other key principles of constitutional democracy, are included in the core K-12 curriculum.

As John Dewey famously observed, “Democracy needs to be reborn in every generation and education is its midwife.” American education is at a crucial crossroads with profound implications for civic learning in our nation’s schools and correspondingly for the ability of our constitutional democracy to continue to function. The proposed policy resolution renews and strengthens the American Bar Association’s long-standing support for civic education at a critical time and will permit the Association to take a leading role in ensuring that high quality civic learning remains a fundamental aspect of our children’s education.

Respectfully submitted,

Robert H. Rawson, Jr., Chair
Commission on Civic Education and Separation of Powers

August 2006

End Notes

- ¹ See websites of the Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools at www.civicmissionofschools.org and the Alliance for Representative Democracy at www.representativedemocracy.org.
- ² “Civics Education” national public opinion poll conducted by Harris Interactive on behalf of the American Bar Association, July 2005, www.abanews.org/docs/divisionofpowers_705.pdf.
- ³ ABA Model Rules of Professional Conduct: Preamble and Scope, referenced online at www.abanet.org/cpr/mrpc/preamble.html.
- ⁴ The U.S. Department of Education website for No Child Left Behind is at www.ed.gov/nclb.
- ⁵ *The Civic Education of American Youth: From State Policies to School District Practices*, Policy Research Project on Civic Education Policies and Practices, Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs, University of Texas at Austin, Kenneth W. Tolo, project director, 1999. www.civiced.org/ceay_campaign_tolo.html.
- ⁶ *Advancing the Civic Mission of Schools: What Schools, Districts, and State and Federal Leaders Can Do*, Developed by the Academy for Educational Development for the Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools, November 2004.
- ⁷ Referenced on the website of the Forum for Education and Democracy, www.forumforeducation.org/policy.
- ⁸ “Quote of the Week,” PEN Weekly NewsBlast, April 7, 2006.
- ⁹ *From the Capital to the Classroom: Year 4 of the No Child Left Behind Act*, Center on Education Policy, March 2006.
- ¹⁰ “Schools Cut Back Subjects to Push Reading and Math,” by Sam Dillon, *The New York Times*, March 26, 2006.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 20.
- ¹² “State Citizenship Education Policies,” *ECS State Notes*, Education Commission of the States National Center for Learning and Citizenship, April 2004. Updated information in “Citizenship Matters,” Education Commission of the States, April-May 2006.
- ¹³ “Citizenship Matters,” Education Commission of the States, April-May 2006.
- ¹⁴ *The Civic Education of American Youth*, Executive Summary, p. 2.
- ¹⁵ Referenced on the website of the National Alliance for Civic Education, www.cived.net.
- ¹⁶ *The Civic Education of American Youth*, Executive Summary, p. 2.
- ¹⁷ The NAEP website, administered by the National Center for Education Statistics, is at nces.ed.gov/nationsreportcard.
- ¹⁸ “New National Assessment Reveals Majority of Students Have Basic Knowledge of Civics,” November 1999, National Center for Education Statistics website at http://nces.ed.gov/Pressrelease/rel1999?11_18_99.asp.
- ¹⁹ NAEP website, nces.ed.gov/nationsreportcard.
- ²⁰ Referenced in “Saving Democracy, Pupil by Pupil” by David S. Broder, *The Washington Post*, April 23, 2006.
- ²¹ “Developing Citizenship Competencies from Kindergarten Through Grade 12: A Background Paper for Policymakers and Educators,” Judith Torney-Purta and Susan Vermeer, National Center for Learning and Citizenship, April 2004.
- ²² *Advancing the Civic Mission of Schools: What Schools, Districts, and State and Federal Leaders Can Do*, pp. 7-8.
- ²³ *The Civic Mission of Schools*, p.16.
- ²⁴ Alliance for Representative Democracy website, www.representativedemocracy.org.
- ²⁵ Referenced on the website of the Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools, www.civicmissionofschools.org.
- ²⁶ “Not by Math Alone,” Sandra Day O’Connor and Roy Romer, *The Washington Post*, March 25, 2006.
- ²⁷ “Retired Justice Stumps for Civics,” *Education Week*, April 26, 2006.
- ²⁸ *The Civic Mission of Schools*, p. 6.
- ²⁹ *Essentials of Law-Related Education: A Guide for Practitioners and Policymakers*, American Bar Association Standing Committee on Public Education, 1995/2003, p. 2.
- ³⁰ Quoted in “The Third American Revolution” by Nat Hentoff, *The Village Voice*, April 30, 2006.
- ³¹ “Poll Shows Need for More Civic Education for Florida Adults,” January 11, 2006. Available online at www.floridabar.org, “News Releases.”