# The Republic is (Still) at Risk—and Civics is Part of the Solution

A Briefing Paper for the Democracy at a Crossroads National Summit

September 21, 2017

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)









## SPONSORED BY









# The Republic is (Still) at Risk—and Civics is Part of the Solution

#### AMERICANS GIVE THE POLITICAL SYSTEM A FAILING GRADE. JUST ONE IN FIVE

Americans is willing to trust the government in Washington even "most of the time," near the lowest proportion ever recorded.¹ Deep distrust in the federal government has persisted across several presidential administrations and resembles declines in trust for organized religion, public schools, banks, organized labor, big business, and the media—all as measured by Gallup since 1973.²

Americans have also lost trust in their fellow citizens and are increasingly likely to doubt that other people are capable of governing the republic. Just one in three Americans say that they have at least a "good deal of confidence in the wisdom of the American people when it comes to making political decisions," down from 57% in 2007 and 64% in 1997.³ An increasing proportion of Americans "dislike, even loathe" people who support a political party different from their own.⁴ Among citizens, polarization does not take the form of diverging opinions about issues as much as increased dislike for people who disagree.

When distrust for major institutions combines with distrust for other citizens, the result is declining support for democracy itself. Young adults are no exception: in January 2017, 35% of Millennials said they were losing faith in American democracy, and just 25% were confident in the democratic system.<sup>5</sup>

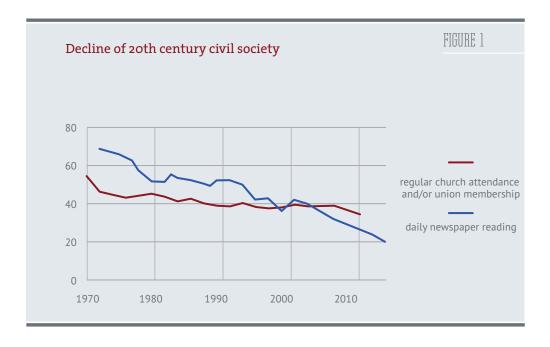
One reason that Americans trust each other less may be that they no longer engage in the large, connected civic associations that predominated in the twentieth century. Religious congregations and unions were two of the biggest components of civil society; together they drew an outright majority of American adults as recently as 1970. By 2012, they reached just one in three adults. Newspapers also played an integrating role, but their audience has fallen dramatically. See fig. 1 for the decline of these major components of 20th century civic life.<sup>6</sup>

In January 2017, 35% of Millennials said they were losing faith in American democracy, and just 25% were confident in the democratic system.

To be sure, new forms of communication and association have developed, but they tend to have narrower agendas and more homogeneous memberships than the mainstays of the 20th century. <sup>7</sup>

Alexis de Tocqueville explained the success of American democracy as a result of Americans' habit of forming and joining associations. He observed, "The most democratic country on earth is found to be, above all, the one where men in our day have most perfected the art of pursuing the object of their common desires in common and have applied this new science to the most objects." He thought that Americans learned the "mother science" of association, upon which democracy depended, from experience, by participating in associations. But opportunities to pursue goals in common have weakened.

The decline in associational life is felt unequally. Workingclass American adults are much less engaged than they were a half century ago.8 CIRCLE (the Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning & Engagement, at Tufts University's Tisch College) finds that 60% of rural young people now live in "civic deserts," places where they perceive few to no opportunities to meet, discuss issues,



or address problems.<sup>9</sup> About 30% of urban and suburban residents also see themselves living in civic deserts, and low-income youth of all backgrounds are widely disconnected from civic life.

This is a caustic environment in which to come of age as a citizen, and the results are evident in young people's civic engagement. The 2014 election set the record for the lowest youth turnout in American history. <sup>10</sup> Roberto Stefan Foa and Yascha Mounk found that "In 2011, 24%

of U.S. millennials (then in their late teens or early twenties) considered democracy to be a 'bad' or 'very bad' way of running the country." This proportion has substantially increased since 1995."

Civic learning is an essential part of the solution. In a society characterized by weak civic institutions, balkanized public discourse, and profoundly unequal civic engagement, schools

can offer all young people opportunities to learn fundamental facts and skills, engage with each other and with their communities, and develop dispositions and values supportive of a republican form of government.

Civic learning, when done properly, is the best vehicle to train young people to sustain our democracy. Evidence shows that it raises young people's knowledge, skills, and dispositions and puts them on trajectories to be active citizens as adults. Over time, investing in civic learning can ensure we train the future generations of citizens to safeguard our democracy.

But reaching that goal will require significant new investments in innovation as well as changes in federal, state, and district policies. Civic learning has been an afterthought during the era of school reform inaugurated by *A Nation at Risk*. That 1983 report warned:

Individuals in our society who do not possess the levels of skill, literacy, and training essential to this new era will be effectively disenfranchised, not simply from the material rewards that accompany competent performance, but also from the chance to participate fully in our national life. A high level of shared education is essential to a free, democratic society and to the fostering of a common culture, especially in a country that prides itself on pluralism and individual freedom.<sup>12</sup>

But despite the explicit concern with civic outcomes in that landmark report, subsequent federal and state policy reforms have been virtually silent about civic learning.

## What Works?

STUDENTS WHO
TAKE COURSES
ON CIVICS,
GOVERNMENT,
LAW, AND RELATED
TOPICS ARE
BETTER INFORMED
AND MORE LIKELY
TO VOTE.

## SINCE 2003, THERE HAS BEEN A CONSENSUS IN THE FIELD OF CIVIC LEARNING

that "six promising practices"<sup>13</sup>—later renamed "six proven practices"<sup>14</sup>—are effective when done well. These are:

## Courses on civics, government, law, and related topics.

Students who take such courses are better informed and more likely to vote, so long as the courses use recommended pedagogies.<sup>15</sup> A course also creates time for some of the other six practices, such as deliberation and simulation, and encourages schools to employ teachers who are specifically charged with civic learning.

## Deliberations of current, controversial issues.

A large body of research finds that facilitated, planned discussions teach deliberative skills and increase students' knowledge and interest. 16 Such discussions should take place in civics or government courses as well as in other courses and extracurricular groups. Perhaps the most evident deficit in American civic life today is the lack of discussion across political and social differences, but that habit can be taught.

# | Service-learning.

Service learning refers to the combination of community service and academic study of the issues addressed by the students' service. The most consistent outcomes of service-learning are habits and values of engagement. Service-learning has positive effects when it includes discussion of the underlying causes of social problems.<sup>17</sup>

# 

These are the main venues in which students learn de Tocqueville's arts and sciences of association. In student-led groups that work on shared projects over time, members learn "initiative" and "agency" <sup>18</sup> and develop habits of participation that persist for decades.

## 5 Student voice in schools.

Young people develop into more effective, skilled, and knowledgeable citizens when they feel that students influence the climate and policies of their schools and that all students' voices are respected and valued.

## 

Simulations are as traditional as mock trials and Model UN programs, but today online games and simulations add powerful, modern components. iCivics—the most widely used civic learning program in the country—uses role-playing games to simulate how government works, engaging students in such processes such as national elections that they could not otherwise experience. Walter Parker and colleagues have worked with instructors to teach the Advanced Placement American Government course entirely through five, month-long simulations, with very positive effects.<sup>19</sup>

To these six practices, we can add several complementary streams of research and practice:

- » News media literacy education: The news industry and social media are changing rapidly, with profound implications for youth participation in our democracy and civic life. For example, 30% fewer people are employed as journalists than ten years ago due to the economic crisis in the industry, but social media platforms give access to an enormous variety of sources and perspectives. Some changes are beneficial: young people are increasingly empowered to influence the topics and stories that are widely shared. At the same time, they are deluged with unreliable information and actual propaganda, and research shows that most young people perform poorly at distinguishing fake news from reliable news.20 This skill can be taught effectively in schools, and students can learn to be effective producers of news.<sup>21</sup> Given these recent developments, the need for news media literacy education is acute.
- » Action Civics: There is a long tradition of encouraging students to choose and define problems in their community, develop and implement plans to address those problems, and reflect on their actions. That description would apply to service-learning, one of the six practices described on page 4, and to project-based learning in any discipline, including science. However, a set of organizations and authors are now using the phrase "Action Civics" 22 to refer to this approach when students are encouraged to develop identities as citizens

- (with rights and responsibilities) and when they are encouraged to consider influencing institutional policies along with other options for addressing problems. Evidence is accumulating that Action Civics enhances skills, knowledge, and efficacy.<sup>23</sup>
- in life and contribute to society, students must learn "to understand and manage emotions, set and achieve positive goals, feel and show empathy for others, establish and maintain positive relationships, and make responsible decisions—which is how the Collaborative for Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning (CASEL) defines "social and emotional learning." Amny states and districts have adopted standards or other policies for SEL. Students with better socioemotional skills are likely to be more ethical and effective citizens, and experiences with civic learning can boost SEL outcomes.
- » School climate reform: School suspension and arrests are known to depress young people's voting and volunteering rates for decades to come. <sup>25</sup> Racial disparities in how often suspension and arrest are used for the same infractions have been well documented, including by civically engaged youth who are challenging the "school-to-prison pipeline."

  Restorative justice and other alternative approaches show promise for enhancing schools' civic outcomes. <sup>26</sup>

When effective, all of these practices and approaches share similar necessary conditions:

**Time:** Space is reserved in the curriculum for civic learning in dedicated social studies courses and in other academic disciplines and extracurricular activities.

The result of a significant improvement in civic education will be a more prosperous, equitable, responsible, and engaged democratic society.

**Responsibility:** Teachers and other adults see civic learning as a major component of their job descriptions.

**Emphasis and accountability:** A high priority is set on civic learning and engagement, which implies that these outcomes are somehow measured, assessed, and reported.

**Support:** Teacher preparation and learning tools are provided in the form of curricula, professional development, and assessments.

**Excitement:** Students develop an appetite for civic engagement and an identity as effective and engaged citizens. Civic action rarely brings immediate material rewards.

Therefore, even if students learn civic knowledge in schools, they will not update, expand, and employ their knowledge as adults unless they *want* to do so. More than with subjects that bring immediate economic benefits, civics requires motivation.

**Equity:** Civic educators strive to create truly inclusive environments for learning. They value all students' backgrounds and encourage all to participate. Their teaching is grounded in the belief that every student brings assets to the classroom and that all can succeed.

Effective civic education is known to raise the rate of informed voting once students reach voting age.<sup>27</sup> Voting is also known to be habitual: once people vote, they are more likely to vote again.<sup>28</sup> Therefore, effective civic education will raise the rates of informed voting for decades to come. If it is provided equitably, it should also reduce severe disparities in political voice and influence. Meanwhile, civic skills are workplace skills, so students who learn to work together to define and address problems should be more employable and productive. The result of a significant improvement in civic education will be a more prosperous, equitable, responsible, and engaged democratic society.

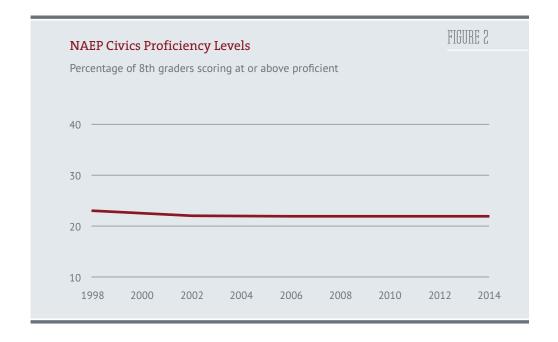
# **Combating Inequality**

## DATA SHOW PROFOUND DISPARITIES IN CIVIC

knowledge and participation among our young people. For example, performance on the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) in civics is poor, with only 23% of seniors reaching the "proficient" level in 2014 (see fig. 2).

But those flat and low results mask substantial gaps in NAEP scores. As fig. 3 demonstrates, 8th-graders whose parents had completed college and whose families had enough income not to qualify for free or reduced price lunch were more than five times more likely to score "proficient" on the 8th-grade NAEP as those whose parents did not hold a high school diploma and who met the criteria for free or reduced-priced lunch. In 2014, no students in the latter category scored at the "advanced" level on the 8th grade NAEP.<sup>29</sup>

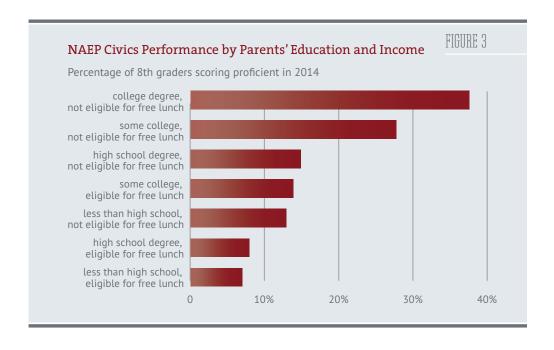
Data show profound disparities in civic knowledge and participation among our young people.



National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) in civics is poor, with only 23% of seniors reaching the "proficient" level in 2014.

The same disparities are also evident in rates of civic engagement. For example, in 2016, young adults who had attended college were 20 percentage points more likely to vote than those who had not attended college. These performance disparities are largely driven by economic disparities, and relatively little by race; an African American student from an affluent family is about as likely to achieve the "proficient" level as a White student from a similar economic background. However, students of color are far more likely to come from low-income families, attend schools in under-resourced neighborhoods, and face numerous systemic challenges that are related to their race inside and outside of school.

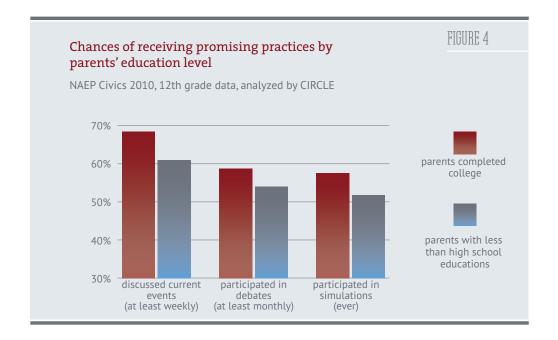
Differences in outcomes relate to gaps in opportunities to learn as well as circumstances beyond the school. Students who are bound for college and who attend schools where most students are college-bound get many more of the promising practices than their peers who are less advantaged. Analysis of the NAEP shows that "White students and students from higher socioeconomic backgrounds received more of the promising practices" for civics than other students.<sup>31</sup> Fig. 4 shows these disparities by parents' education.



Unequal opportunities and unequal outcomes are pervasive in American education and are by no means limited to civics. However, any overview of civics must acknowledge inequalities in opportunities and outcomes as an important dimension of the problem.

Civic education has a particular connection to equality. Unless people with diverse backgrounds and experiences become decision-makers, we cannot have just or wise policies. An original impetus for universal free education was to equip all citizens with the knowledge and skills they would need to count equally in elections, on juries, and in public meetings. Horace Mann, the great

proponent of universal free education, saw every citizen as an "inheritor of a portion of the sovereignty of this great republic" who needed sufficient education to discharge "civil and social duties," including voting in "municipal and in national affairs." <sup>32</sup> Such arguments motivated states to add universal education requirements to their state constitutions. Failing to provide all citizens with the skills and knowledge they would need to count equally in the democracy would be an unacceptable outcome.



## What We Need

# INNOVATION

Whether the amount of time devoted to civics and the number of students who study civics have declined is a matter of debate. As fig. 5 shows, the average number of hours devoted to social studies in grades 1-4 has declined, but the number of high school credits obtained in social studies has risen.<sup>33</sup>

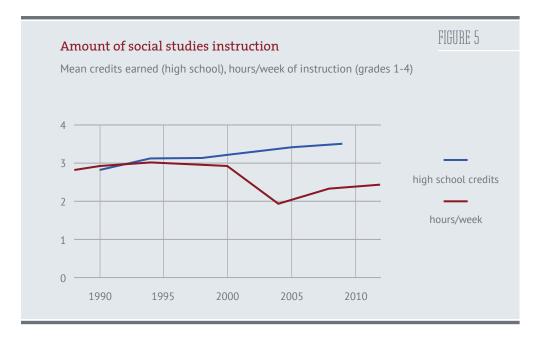
What is not in doubt is that civics must be different in the 21st century. It must:

- Prepare students for a world of social media instead of printed local newspapers.
- Equip them to navigate a polarized society that faces complex social and environmental challenges.
- Engage a generation that is far more diverse in terms of race, religion, ethnicity, and national origin. This rich diversity of cultural backgrounds is an asset that requires responsive teaching.

- Empower all students for effective civic engagement, countering the unequal resources and opportunities in their schools and communities.
- Start early and be a priority from grades k-12.

Civics must also take advantage of rapid advances in the science of learning and technological innovations, such as games. Assessment must be innovative too—not just measuring individual students' ability to answer multiple-choice questions but also obtaining insights into their ability to understand and influence others.

Many teachers, districts, and nonprofits have developed innovations, but the lack of federal, state, and philanthropic investment in civics has left civics behind other disciplines, such as STEM and English/language arts.



# POLICY CHANGE

## The evidence is clear that high-quality civic learning works:

it promotes civic skills, knowledge, and dispositions. However, it is unlikely that by merely requiring a course or a test, a state can cause civic education to become more widespread or effective.<sup>34</sup> Policies must go beyond mandates and:

- support professional development,
- attend to the quality of curricula and assessments, and
- use data and evidence for continuous improvement.

The precise recipe will and should differ depending on how a given state addresses education policies in general (e.g., whether it centralizes decisions or favors local control, and how pervasively it uses standardized tests), but the common theme must be attention to the *quality of implementation*, which requires resources. Florida and Illinois provide current examples.

#### What is not in doubt is that civics must be different in the 21st century. IT MUST: **ENGAGE A GENERATION THAT IS EOUIP THEM** FAR MORE DIVERSE IN TERMS OF RACE, RELIGION. PREPARE STUDENTS TO NAVIGATE ETHNICITY, NATIONAL ORIGIN, AND ECONOMIC START EARLY FOR A WORLD OF A POLARIZED SOCIETY CIRCUMSTANCES THAN ANY SINCE WORLD WAR II. AND BE A SOCIAL MEDIA THAT FACES THEIR RICH DIVERSITY OF **PRIORITY INSTEAD OF COMPLEX SOCIAL CULTURAL BACKGROUNDS IS AN ASSET** FROM PRINTED LOCAL THAT REQUIRES RESPONSIVE TEACHING, AND FNVIRONMENTAL GRADES K-12. **NEWSPAPERS CHALLENGES** WHILE THEIR INEQUALITY OF CIRCUMSTANCES IS A CHALLENGE THAT REQUIRES NEW SOLUTIONS. 21st CENTURY



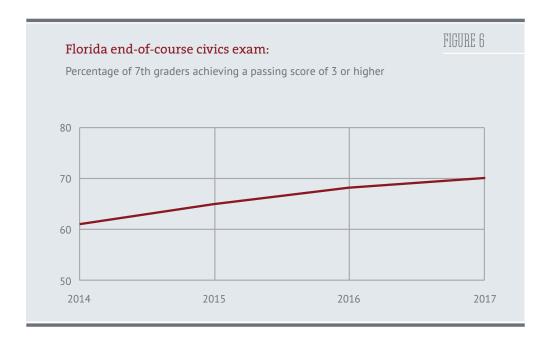
### THE STATE OF FLORIDA HAS LONG RANKED VERY LOW ON MEASURES OF

adult civic engagement.<sup>35</sup> Partly in response to that situation, the state passed the Sandra Day O'Connor Civic Education Act in 2010. The Act mandated a middle school course and high-stakes test in civics (the test determines 30% of students' course grades and affects teachers' evaluations and school assessments) and requires introducing civic content in the elementary grades. Importantly, the state has appropriated funds in each subsequent year for a mix of curriculum-development, analysis of the test data, and professional development, most of it conducted by the Florida Joint Center on Citizenship.

In this paper, we present original results from the Florida experiment:

**Test scores are rising:** The proportion of 7th-graders who pass the demanding state exam has risen steadily from 61% when it was first required in 2014 to 70% in 2017 (see fig. 6). The proportion who score in the lowest category has fallen from 19% to just 13%.

At first, scores could be predicted quite accurately on the basis of students' English/language arts scores and demographics. By 2015-16, however, the students in a substantial proportion of civics classrooms were pulling ahead of their predicted scores.





Professional development works: Many Florida teachers get online professional development and instructional materials support from the Florida Joint Center for Citizenship, a unit of the Lou Frey Institute at the University of Central Florida, and usually also from iCivics. Those who access those materials see higher pass rates on the 7th grade state exam than those who do not. Teachers who have had accounts with the Lou Frey Institute for four years have pass rates 14 points higher than those who have never registered.

Some schools shine: A Research-Practice Partnership (RPP) comprised of practitioners, researchers, and policymakers called the Partnership for civic Learning, has identified schools where students' success on the 7th grade End of Course Exam substantially exceeds the scores that would be predicted based on demographics ("positive outliers"). Site visits, interviews, observations, and review of materials reveal that these schools share the following characteristics:

- High expectations for all.
- Positive, respectful relationships among students, teachers, and administrators.
- Strong school leadership.

The Partnership has also identified specific schools where scores have fallen by unusual amounts, as well as geographical clusters of underperforming schools. The Partnership is able to target resources at those needs. This is an example of using data for continuous improvement, not just as a carrot-and-stick.

The six practices work: The Florida policy directly supports the first of six promising practices. Because civic skills and dispositions are not easily assessed through testing, there is variation in whether Florida students also experience other recommended practices even though they are explicitly included in state-mandated instructional benchmarks. Data from a 2016 survey of Florida civics teachers show that over 90% of teachers report that they discuss current events—three-quarters said that they did so weekly—and 84% say that they incorporate debate or discussion of controversial issues in class. Similarly, the use of simulations is widespread in Florida civics classes. Over 75% report that their students experience civics computer games—almost exclusively iCivics—at least once or twice per month and over 60% of teachers report having students participate in mock trials once or twice a year. Implementing service-learning projects is not as widespread as other practices, with about 30% of teachers reporting that they had their students participate in a project. Teacher reports of classroom practices are consistent with student reports of their classroom experiences.



Florida students who experience recommended practices score better on measures of knowledge and dispositions. In a large sample of Florida 7th graders surveyed after the full implementation of the O'Connor Act, substantial majorities say that they are involved in civic life and plan to be in the future. Two-thirds of these 7th graders volunteer in their

communities, 89% say that they discuss what they study in civics at home, and three-quarters want to help make their city or state a better place to live. The more of the six proven practices students report experiencing, the more engaged they are in their communities. Playing civics games, discussing current events,

Florida passed the Sandra Day O'Connor Civic Education Act in 2010, mandating a middle school course and high-stakes test in civics.

experiencing debates, mock trials, or visits from community members, and participating in community service are each significantly associated with higher levels of civic engagement among Florida's 7th graders.

If every state enacted a policy like Florida's—and consistently supported that legislation with funds for professional development, materials, assessment, and other interventions—America's young people would be on course for more active and informed civic engagement throughout their adulthood as well. That means that pronounced civic deficits in Florida to date—low levels of voter turnout, membership in groups, trust, and volunteering—will begin to improve, and civil society will be stronger.



### ILLINOIS GOVERNOR BRUCE RAUNER SIGNED HOUSE BILL (HB) 4025 INTO LAW

on August 21, 2015 requiring that future Illinois high school students complete a semester-long civics course. Course content would center on government institutions and include current and controversial issues discussions, service-learning, and simulations of democratic processes. The purpose of the legislation was to help "young people acquire and learn to use the skills, knowledge, and attitudes that [would] prepare them to be competent and responsible citizens throughout their lives" (HB4025).

Illinois also adopted new social studies standards influenced by the *College, Career and Civic Life (C3) Framework*. The C3 Framework, also discussed on page 17, encourages states

to organize their standards in an "instructional arc" that begins with "developing questions" and culminates in "taking informed action."

The legislation did not mandate a test or other accountability system.
Instead, support for teachers in the form of professional development and resources and deep partnerships with regional stakeholders were

The legislation did not mandate a test or accountability system. Instead, support for teachers in the form of professional development and resources and deep partnerships with regional stakeholders were central to the strategy.

central to the strategy. Corporations and foundations in the state have created a new public-private partnership committing at least \$1 million annually for a three-year implementation period. This private-public partnership is coordinated by the Robert R. McCormick Foundation with support from other interested philanthropies and civic organizations. Colleges, universities, and offices of education have served as hosts for professional development workshops. Chicago-based non-profit organizations that specialize in the content specified in the new course requirement have provided expertise and resources. CIRCLE has helped to assess the impact of professional development on teachers and the fidelity with which teachers, schools, and districts are implementing the law.



In year one of the implementation, the McCormick Foundation and its Illinois civics team convened a cadre of teacher mentors. Part role models, part coaches, part resources, and part advocates, these mentors represent diverse parts of the state. As respected experts on the subject matter and local circumstances, they have been consistently helpful to the other teachers in their regions and have helped to maintain the fidelity of newly introduced practices. The mentors received an intensive four-day professional development training in the summer of 2016 as well as follow-on support throughout the 2016-2017 school year. Surveys of participating mentors show growth in attitudes, confidence, and support for the strategy. Mentors were charged with reaching out and supporting teachers in their assigned state regions as they looked to tackle and comply with the new civic education legislation. In many cases, they supported regional professional development trainings offered in the summer of 2016 to other teachers.

McCormick is meanwhile collecting key curricular resources via a web portal (www.illinoiscivics.org) with the intention that this site will also serve as a virtual hub for dialogue and connection between teachers, peer mentors, and civic education nonprofits.

# **Changes in State Standards**

#### ONE WAY THAT STATES AFFECT CIVIC EDUCATION

is by enacting *state standards*, official documents that explain what must be taught at each grade (or gradespan) and sometimes also require specific sequences and methods of instruction. Standards documents

ideally work in concert with course requirements, assessments, and support for professional development to create the conditions for better civics for all.

We are beginning to see momentum toward better standards, although much remains to be done.

losing coherence.

All 50 states have standards for social studies, which is a broad category that includes civics, American government, American history, and other subjects considered especially relevant to learning to be an effective and responsible citizen.<sup>37</sup> Most observers believe that almost all state standards documents are packed with miscellaneous topics—too many to be covered in the allotted time—without coherence, without an explicit account of their overall purposes, and without a distinction between core and peripheral concepts. State legislatures and boards or departments of education frequently identify new topics that they consider important to the public and add those to the

social studies standards, which grow in length while

The College, Career, and Citizenship (C3) Framework does not substitute for state standards but can guide any state in revising its standards in light of its own traditions and goals. The C3 organizes civic learning into an "arc" with four major dimensions:

- 1. Developing questions and planning inquiries.
- 2. Applying disciplinary concepts and tools.
- 3. Evaluating sources and using evidence.
- 4. Communicating conclusions and taking informed action.

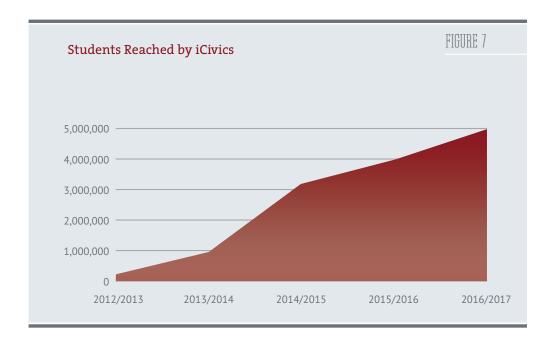
"Taking Informed Action" provides space and encouragement for Action Civics, the approach to civic education discussed earlier.

The detailed information, methods, and concepts that are essential to the disciplines of history, civics, government, and economics remain central in the *C3 Framework*, but they are selected and organized to fit into the arc that begins with forming questions about the social world and culminates in the civic acts of "communicating conclusions and taking informed action." <sup>38</sup> Twenty states have used the *C3 Framework* as they revise their standards of learning and frameworks. (see appendix A.)

## Conclusion

#### DESPITE A GENERAL LACK OF ATTENTION TO CIVIC LEARNING, WE SEE

grounds for optimism. A strong group of nonprofit organizations and experts are generating innovation and experimentation. Public interest in the topic is clearly rising: for example, iCivics games drew five million students in 2016, a dramatic increase (see fig. 7). In addition, several states have recently beefed up or are considering strengthening their civic learning standards (e.g., California, Washington, and Massachusetts). Evidence is accumulating for the positive impact of civic learning, and particularly for approaches that previously lacked extensive research, such as Action Civics, news media literacy education, game-based learning, and socio-emotional learning. Some states are intentionally strengthening their civics policies.



The next phase of the movement for civic learning will require investments in innovation and policy reforms that are customized for the state and district. The American experiment in republican self-government depends on the success of this effort.

The republic's founders provide still-timely inspiration. For example, Benjamin Rush, the physician, reformer, friend of Adams and Jefferson, and signer of the Declaration of Independence, wrote, "There is but one method of... rendering a republican form of government durable, and that is by disseminating the seeds of virtue and knowledge through every part of the state, by means of proper places and modes of education, and this can be done effectively only by the aid of the legislature." <sup>39</sup>

Recent presidents have frequently reinforced the Framers' concern for civic learning. In a radio address near the end of his presidency, Ronald Reagan said, "Since the founding of this Nation, education and democracy have gone hand in hand... The Founders believed a nation that governs itself, like ours, must rely upon an informed and engaged electorate. Their purpose was not only to teach all Americans how to read and write but to instill the self-evident truths that are the anchors of our political system." <sup>40</sup> And in his first inaugural address, George W. Bush said, "We are bound by ideals that move us

beyond our backgrounds, lift us above our interests, and teach us what it means to be citizens. Every child must be taught these principles. Every citizen must uphold them... I ask you to be citizens: Citizens, not spectators; citizens, not subjects; responsible citizens building communities of service and a nation of character."41

Those words should inspire younger Americans as they grow into active citizens. Meanwhile, adults—educators, policymakers, and everyone concerned with the next generation—must help make our schools into sites for civic learning, so that the republic can endure.

"The practice of democracy is not passed down through the gene pool. It must be taught and learned anew by each generation of citizens."

— Justice Sandra Day O'Connor

## Sources

- Ballard, P. J., Cohen, A. K. & Littenberg-Tobias, J. (2016). Action civics for promoting civic development: Main effects of program participation and differences by project characteristics. *Am J Community Psychol*, 58: 377–390.
- Bishop, B. (2017, March 3). Americans have lost faith in institutions. That's not because of Trump or 'fake news'. The Washington Post.
- Campbell, D.E. & Niemi, R.G. (2017). Testing civics: State-level civic education requirements and political knowledge." *The American Political Science Review* 110(3). 495-511.
- CASEL (The Collaborative for Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning). (n.d.). *Core SEL competencies* Retrieved from http://www.casel.org/core-competencies/
- CIRCLE (Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning & Engagement). (2015). 2014 Youth turnout and youth registration rates lowest ever recorded; changes essential in 2016. Retrieved from civicyouth.org
- CIRCLE. (2017). Millennials deeply uncertain about democracy post-election, but few believe it is in peril. Retrieved from civicyouth.org
- Commission on Youth Voting and Civic Knowledge. (2014). All together now: Collaboration and innovation for youth engagement. *CIRCLE*. Retrieved from civicyouth.org
- De Tocqueville, A. (2000). Democracy in America. H. C. Mansfield & D. Winthrop (Ed., Trans.). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press
- Foa, R.S. & Mounk, Y. (2016). The democratic disconnect. Journal of Democracy, 27(3): 5-17.
- Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement. (2003). *The civic mission of schools.* C. Gibson & P. Levine.
- Gingold, J. (2013). Building an evidence-based practice of action civics: The current state of assessments and recommendation for the future. *CIRCLE Working Paper*, No. 78. Retrieved from civicyouth.org
- Ginwright, S., Cammarota J. & Noguera, P. (2005). Youth, social justice, and communities: Toward a theory of urban youth policy, *Social Justice*, 32(3), 24-40.
- Godsay, S., Henderson, W., Levine, P. & Littenberg-Tobias, J. (2012). State civic education requirements. *CIRCLE Fact Sheet*. Retrieved from civicyouth.org
- Gould, J. Jamieson, K.H., Levine, P., McConnell, T & Smith, D.B. eds. (2011). Guardian of democracy: The civic mission of Schools. Philadelphia: Leonore Annenberg Institute for Civics of the Annenberg Public Policy Center at the University of Pennsylvania.
- Iyengar, S., Sood, G., & Lelkes, Y. (2012). Affect, not ideology: A social identity perspective on polarization. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 76(3), 405-431.
- Hess, D.E. & McAvoy, P. (2014). The political classroom: Evidence and ethics in democratic education. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Kahne, J & Bowyer, B, (2016). Educating for democracy in a partisan age. American Educational Research Journal, 54(1), 3-34.
- Kahne, J. & Middaugh, E. (2008). Democracy for some: The civic opportunity gap in high school. *CIRCLE Working Paper* No. 59. Retrieved from civicyouth.org
- Kawashima-Ginsberg, K. (2013). Do discussion, debate, and simulations boost NAEP civics performance? *CIRCLE Fact Sheet*. Retrieved from civicyouth.org
- Kawashima-Ginsberg, K. & Levine, P. (2013). Policy effects on informed political engagement. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 58(5), 665 688.
- Kawashima-Ginsberg, K. & Sullivan, F. (2017). Study: 60 percent of rural millennials lack access to a political life. The Conversation.

- Florida Joint Center for Citizenship, the Lou Frey Institute of Politics and Government at the University of Central Florida, the Bob Graham Center for Public Service at the University of Florida and the National Conference on Citizenship. (2011). *The 2011 Florida civic health index*. J. Knuckey & T. Collie.
- Kupchik, A. & Catlaw, T.J. (2015). Discipline and participation. Youth & Society 47(1), 95-124.
- Larson, R.W. (2000). Toward a psychology of positive youth development. American Psychologist, 55(1), 170-183.
- Levine, P. (2013). We are the ones we have been waiting for: The promise of civic renewal in America. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Levinson, M. (2012). No citizen left behind. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Mann, Horace. (1846). The ground of the free school system. From his Tenth Annual Report as Secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Education. Retreived from https://archive.org/stream/groundoffreeschooomann/groundoffreeschooomann\_djvu.txt
- National Commission on Excellence in Education. (1983). A nation at risk: The imperative for educational reform.

  A Report to the Nation and the Secretary of Education, United States Department of Education. Washington, D.C.
- National Center for Education Statistics. (2011). *The nation's report card: civics 2010* (NCES 2011–466). Institute of Education Sciences, U.S. Department of Education, Washington, D.C.
- National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS). (2013). The College, Career, and Civic Life (C3) Framework for social studies state standards: Guidance for enhancing the rigor of K-12 civics, economics, geography, and history. Silver Spring, MD: National Council for the Social Studies
- Nord, C., Roey, S., Perkins, R., Lyons, M., Lemanski, N., Brown, J., & Schuknecht, J. (2011). *The nation's report card: America's high school graduates* (NCES 2011-462). U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Parker, W. C. & Lo, J. C. (2016). Reinventing the high school government course: Rigor, simulations, and learning from text. *Democracy and Education*, 24 (1), Article 6.
- Pew Research Center. (2015). *Beyond Distrust: How Americans view their government*. Retrieved from http://www.people-press.org/2015/11/23/beyond-distrust-how-americans-view-their-government/
- Pew Research Center. (2017, May 3). *Public trust in government: 1958-2017*. Retreived from http://www.people-press.org/2017/05/03/public-trust-in-government-1958-2017/
- Plutzer, E. (2002). Becoming a habitual voter: Inertia, resources, and growth in young adulthood. *American Political Science Review*, 96(1), 41-56.
- Skocpol T. (2003). Diminished democracy: From membership to management in American civic life. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.
- U.S. Department of Education. (n.d.). Average number of hours and percentage of the student school week that regular full-time public school teachers of first- through fourth-grade, self-contained classrooms spent on each of four subjects, total instruction hours per week on four subjects, total time spent delivering all instruction per week, and average length of student school week: Selected years 1987–88 through 2011–12. National Center for Education Statistics, Schools and Staffing Survey (SASS), "Public Teacher Data File." Retreived from https://nces.ed.gov/surveys/sass/tables/sass1112 20161012001 tin.asp
- Wineburg, S., McGrew, S., Breakstone, J. & Ortega, T. (2016). *Evaluating information: The cornerstone of civic online reasoning*. Retrieved from http://purl.stanford.edu/fv751yt5934

- <sup>1.</sup> Pew Research Center 2017
- <sup>2.</sup> Bishop 2017
- 3. Pew Research Center 2015
- 4. Iyengar, Sood & Lelkes 2012
- 5. CIRCLE 2017
- <sup>6.</sup> General Social Survey and National Election Study data analyzed by Peter Levine
- 7. Skocpol 2003
- 8. Levine 2013, pp. 96-100
- 9. Kawashima-Ginsberg & Sullivan 2017
- <sup>10.</sup> CIRCLE 2015
- <sup>11.</sup> Foa & Mounck 2016 p. 8.
- 12. National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983
- <sup>13.</sup> Gibson & Levine 2003.
- <sup>14.</sup> Gould et al 2011.
- 15. Kawashima-Ginsberg & Levine, 2013
- <sup>16.</sup> Hess & McAvoy 2014
- <sup>17.</sup> Commission on Youth Voting and Civic Knowledge. 2014.
- <sup>18.</sup> Larson 2000
- <sup>19.</sup> Parker & Lo 2016
- <sup>20.</sup> Wineburg, McGrew, Breakstone & Ortega 2016
- <sup>21.</sup> Kahne & Bowyer 2016
- <sup>22.</sup> Gingold 2013
- <sup>23.</sup> Ballard, Cohen, & Littenberg-Tobias 2016
- <sup>24.</sup> CASEL, not dated.
- <sup>25.</sup> Kupchik & Catlaw 2015.
- <sup>26.</sup> Ginwright, Cammarota & Noguera 2005
- <sup>27.</sup> Commission on Youth Voting and Civic Knowledge. 2014
- <sup>28.</sup> Plutzer, 2002
- <sup>29.</sup> National Center for Education Statistics 2014 NAEP 8th Grade data tabulation by CIRCLE https://nces.ed.gov/nationsreportcard/naepdata/report.aspx
- <sup>30.</sup> Kahne & Ellen Middaugh 2008; Levinson, 2012.
- <sup>31.</sup> Kawashima-Ginsberg 2013
- <sup>32.</sup> Mann 1846
- <sup>33.</sup> U.S. Department of Education, not dated; Nord et al. 2011
- <sup>34.</sup> Kawashima-Ginsberg & Levine 2013 find no impact from these policies, on their own. Campbell & Niemi 2016 find that a course plus a high-stakes test (together) may raise knowledge, especially for Latino students.
- 35. Knuckey & Collie 2011
- <sup>36.</sup> National Council for the Social Studies, 2013
- <sup>37.</sup> Godsay, Henderson, Levine, Littenberg-Tobias 2012
- 38. National Council for the Social Studies 2013
- <sup>39.</sup> Rush 1786 p. 40
- <sup>40.</sup> Reagan 1988 p. 1152
- <sup>41.</sup> Bush 2001

# Key State Civic Learning Policies as of September 2017

### THIS CHART SUMMARIZES THE KEY CIVIC LEARNING POLICIES IN EACH STATE.

**Standards**: Every state has Standards of Learning in the social studies, spelling out what material students should master by grade span or grade level. Many states also produce a 'Framework' or 'Scope & Sequence' that provide more detail on the material for students to master by grade. This chart provides the date of the last and next revision of the state's social studies standards and whether the 'College, Career and Civic Life Framework was used in updating the standards/framework.

**Testing:** In many states, social studies/civic learning are part of the state's system of testing or assessment. This chart provides information on which states test and at what grade level. A companion chart lists the specifics of state testing policies.

'New Citizen's Test': Some states have passed legislation requiring students to take and pass the Immigration Service's 'New Citizen' Exam for promotion to the next grade or graduation.

**ESSA Plan:** Under the 2015 Federal 'Every Student Succeeds' Act, every state must submit a plan on how it will use increased flexibility provided by the law to provide attention and resources to subjects such as civics. This chart shows the state's that have or are planning to mention working on civics or social studies in their state ESSA plan.

**Needs/Conditions:** Social studies/civics leaders in each state were asked what are the top needs for civics in their state. This column also shows significant efforts to restore the civic mission of schools in a number of states.

			<b>✓</b> = Yes	X = No			
STATE	YEAR STANDARDS ADOPTED (C3 USED?)	YEAR STANDARDS TO BE REVISED (C3 IF BEING USED)	HAS A FRAMEWORK FOR SOCIAL STUDIES/CIVICS (C3 IF USED)	STATE REQUIRED TESTING IN SOCIAL STUDIES/ CIVICS	PASSED 'NEW CITIZEN'S TEST' TESTING REQUIREMENT	SOCIAL STUDIES/ CIVICS INCLUDED IN STATE ESSA PLAN	GREATEST NEEDS AND NOTES ON CONDITIONS IN STATE
Alabama	2016	2019	<b>2</b> 016	×	×	•	Prof. develop., more resources
Alaska	2012	Not scheduled	×	×	~	×	Prof. develop. Has a State Commission
Arizona	2004	2017 (C3)	×	×	<b>~</b>	×	More resources Note: Has Democracy School Program
Arkansas	2014 (C3)	2020	<b>√</b> 2014 (C3)	×	<b>~</b>	×	Prof. develop.
California	1999	Not scheduled	2016 (C3)	social studies grades 4/5, 7/8. 11/12 test not specified by state	×	×	Very active state campaign under Chief Justice. Legis. provided \$\$ for prof. develop. 2017; has Democracy School Program
Colorado	2010	2017 (C3)	2010	grades 4 & 7 – social studies, not civics specific	×	~	Prof. develop.

STATE	YEAR STANDARDS ADOPTED (C3 USED?)	YEAR STANDARDS TO BE REVISED (C3 IF BEING USED)	HAS A FRAMEWORK FOR SOCIAL STUDIES/CIVICS (C3 IF USED)	STATE REQUIRED TESTING IN SOCIAL STUDIES/ CIVICS	Passed 'New Citizen's Test' testing requirement	SOCIAL STUDIES/ CIVICS INCLUDED IN STATE ESSA PLAN	GREATEST NEEDS AND NOTES ON CONDITIONS IN STATE
Connecticut	2014 (C3)	2019	Same document (C3)	×	×	<b>~</b>	Prof. develop.; has Democracy School (Red, White & Blue) Program
Delaware	2016 (C3)	Not scheduled	<b>2</b> 016 (C3)	- social studies 4,7,11	×	~	Accountability/ assessment
District of Columbia	2006	Not scheduled	2006	<ul><li>✓</li><li>– gen. social</li><li>studies grades</li><li>6-9</li></ul>	×	×	Resources, prof. develop.
Florida	2013	Not scheduled	×	- civics in middle school	×	×	Very active state effort; passed middle school course & test requirement
Georgia	2016	2020	2017 (C3)	social studies but not civics	×	Unkn	Prof. develop. & resources
Hawaii	2005	2018	2017 (C3)	×	×	×	Prof. develop. resources
Idaho	2009	2017	×	×	✓	×	Resources
Illinois	2016 (C3)	Not scheduled	×	×	×	×	Very active campaign led by McCormick Fdn, successfully passed course mandate, providing prof. develop. Has Democracy School Program
Indiana	2014	2020	<b>✓</b> 2014	history starting in 2018	×	~	More funding
Iowa	2017 (C3)	Not scheduled	(C <sub>3</sub> )	×	×	×	More resources, more Prof. develop.
Kansas	2013 (C3)	2020	(C <sub>3</sub> )	general social studies, not civics specific	<b>X</b>	•	Has adopted a plan for the creation of an award and a collaborative network (Civic Advocacy Network) for schools that create, promote, and support civic engagement opportunities for their students.

STATE	YEAR STANDARDS ADOPTED (C3 USED?)	YEAR STANDARDS TO BE REVISED (C3 IF BEING USED)	HAS A FRAMEWORK FOR SOCIAL STUDIES/CIVICS (C3 IF USED)	STATE REQUIRED TESTING IN SOCIAL STUDIES/ CIVICS	PASSED 'NEW CITIZEN'S TEST' TESTING REQUIREMENT	SOCIAL STUDIES/ CIVICS INCLUDED IN STATE ESSA PLAN	GREATEST NEEDS AND NOTES ON CONDITIONS IN STATE
Kentucky	2013 (C3)	2018	<b>✓</b> (C <sub>3</sub> )	<ul><li>✓ egeneral</li><li>social studies</li></ul>	~	×	Prof. develop.
Louisiana	2010	Not scheduled	2010	<ul><li>social studies, not civics specific</li></ul>	~	~	More resources. Had active state commissionon civics 2005-2012
Maine	2007	Scheduled for 2015, has not occurred	<b>~</b> 2007	×	×	×	Prof. develop. funding
Maryland	2015 (C3)	2023	2017 (C <sub>3</sub> )	<ul><li>✓</li><li>high school</li><li>government</li></ul>	×	×	Prof. develop., better assessments
Massachusetts	2008	2017 (C3)	2017 (C <sub>3</sub> )	<ul><li>history,</li><li>general social</li><li>studies only</li></ul>	×	~	Active legislation 2017; active State Commish 2010-2013
Michigan	2007	2017	•	<ul><li>✓</li><li>– social studies grades 5,8,11</li></ul>	•	×	Need more Prof. develop.
Minnesota	2011	2020	<b>√</b> 2011	×	<b>~</b>	Unclear at this time	More resources
Mississippi	2011	2018	2011	<ul><li>history not civics</li></ul>	×	×	Prof. develop.
Missouri	2016 (C3)	Not scheduled	×	✓ - 11/12 government	<b>✓</b> (modified)	×	Bar Assn leads state effort, Prof. develop. & resources
Montana	2010	2018	✓	×	×	×	Prof. develop.
Nebraska	2012	2019	×	×	×	×	Prof. develop.; held State Summit 2/17
Nevada	2008	2018	<b>✓</b> 2008	×	~	×	Funding
New Hampshire	2006	2018	×	- locally developed social studies tests	•	×	Helpful legislation passed in 2017. NH Bar & Historical Society run efforts

STATE	YEAR STANDARDS ADOPTED (C3 USED?)	YEAR STANDARDS TO BE REVISED (C3 IF BEING USED)	HAS A FRAMEWORK FOR SOCIAL STUDIES/CIVICS (C3 IF USED)	STATE REQUIRED TESTING IN SOCIAL STUDIES/ CIVICS	PASSED 'NEW CITIZEN'S TEST' TESTING REQUIREMENT	SOCIAL STUDIES/ CIVICS INCLUDED IN STATE ESSA PLAN	GREATEST NEEDS AND NOTES ON CONDITIONS IN STATE
New Jersey	2014 (C3)	2019	<b>√</b> 2014	×	×	×	Funding & Prof. develop.
New Mexico	2009	Not scheduled	<b>√</b> 2009	<ul><li>✓</li><li>High school test on gov't structure</li></ul>	×	×	Prof. develop.
New York	2015 (C3)	Not scheduled	<b>√</b> 2014 (C3)	✓ - 11th grade Govn't	×	Unclear – general reference to civics in plan.	Prof. develop.
North Carolina	2010	Not scheduled	×	×	×	×	Funding and prof. develop.
North Dakota	2007	Not scheduled	×	×	Yes	×	Prof. develop.
Ohio	2010	2018	×	<b>√</b> – high school gov't	×	×	Funding & prof. develop.
Oklahoma	2012	Not scheduled	2012	✓ - history	<b>✓</b>	✓	Prof. develop.
Oregon	2011	2018 (C3)	×	<b>~</b>	×	×	Legislature provides \$200K for Civics prof. develop.
Pennsylvania	2012	2018	2012	×	×	Unknown at this time	Increased funding, prof. develop.
Rhode Island	2012	Not scheduled	2012	×	×	<b>✓</b>	Prof. develop.
South Carolina	2011	2018	2011	<b>✓</b> – Elem	<b>~</b>	×	Funding & prof. develop.
South Dakota	2015	Not scheduled	2015	Optional end of course	<b>~</b>	×	Prof. develop.
Tennessee	2014 (C3)	2019	2014 (C3)	includes Portfolio Based Assessment	<b>~</b>	×	Funding
Texas	2011	Not scheduled	2011	×	×	×	Class-time, prof. develop.
Utah	2017 HS (C3) 2008 Elem	Not scheduled	2017 (C3)	×	✓	×	Resources, prof. develop.
Vermont	2014	Not scheduled	2014	×	×	×	Prof. develop.

STATE	YEAR STANDARDS ADOPTED (C3 USED?)	YEAR STANDARDS TO BE REVISED (C3 IF BEING USED)	HAS A FRAMEWORK FOR SOCIAL STUDIES/CIVICS (C3 IF USED)	STATE REQUIRED TESTING IN SOCIAL STUDIES/ CIVICS	PASSED 'NEW CITIZEN'S TEST' TESTING REQUIREMENT	SOCIAL STUDIES/ CIVICS INCLUDED IN STATE ESSA PLAN	GREATEST NEEDS AND NOTES ON CONDITIONS IN STATE
Virginia	2015 (C3)	2022	2015 (C3)	<b>√</b> – elem	~	×	Prof. develop., funding Note: VA has active State Commission on Civics
Washington	2013	2017 (C3)	2013	includes Classroom Based Assessment	×	×	Very active state campaign-led by Judiciary. Summit held '17 another in '18
West Virginia	2016 (C3)	Not scheduled	2016 (C3)	×	Yes (modified)	×	Prof. develop.
Wisconsin	1998	2017	×	<ul><li>✓</li><li>general social studies grades</li><li>4.8.10</li></ul>	<b>~</b>	×	Funding, prof. develop.
Wyoming	2014	2017	×	×	×	×	

**Source:** Survey of state social studies leaders conducted July-August 2017 by the Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools, with assistance from the National Center for Learning and Civic Engagement at the Education Commission of the States.

A note on the "College, Career and Civic Life Framework for Social Studies state standards" (C3). The C3 was developed by a voluntary compact of 21 states and the leading content organizations in Civics, History, Economics and Geography. It is the recommended guide to developing effective, student-centered state standards in Civics and the social studies. Please see: https://www.socialstudies.org/sites/default/files/c3/C3-Framework-for-Social-Studies.pdf

# State Social Studies/Civics Assessment and Testing Requirements

# A COMPANION TO A 'CHART OF KEY STATE CIVIC LEARNING POLICIES,' PROVIDING THE SPECIFICS OF EACH STATE'S ASSESSMENT AND TESTING IN CIVICS/SOCIAL STUDIES

STATE	ASSESSMENT/TESTING REQUIRED	LAW/CODE CITE
Alabama	Among the requirements for receiving an Alabama high school diploma is passing the social studies subject-area test of the Alabama High School Graduation Exam.	Ala. Admin. Code r. 290-4-202
Alaska	None	Statewide Assessment System: 4 AAC 06.710, 4 AAC 06.737
Arizona	In order to graduate from high school, "a pupil must correctly answer at least sixty of the one hundred questions listed on a test that is identical to the civics portion of the naturalization test used by the United States citizenship and immigration services."	ARS §15-701.01
Arkansas	The Department shall develop and implement criterion-referenced assessments to include social studies as funds are available and approved by the State Board of Education.  For all grades, "Science, civics, and government shall be measured on a schedule as determined by the state board."	005 19 CARR 006 AR ADC 005.01.17.5.02.1 ACA § 6-15-433 ACA § 6-15-404
California	The standards-based achievement tests include assessments in history/social science.	60642.5
Colorado	The department of education, in collaboration local education providers, shall administer state assessments in social studies to a representative sample of students enrolled in public elementary, middle and high schools each year.	22-7-1006.3 State Assessments– administration–rules
Connecticut	None	10-14n and http://www. sde.ct.gov/sde/cwp/view. asp?a=2748&Q=334726
Delaware	The Department shall administer both accountability and growth assessments of student achievement in grades 3-8 and additional grades as determined by the department. Science and social studies shall be assessed for students at least once in the elementary grades, at least once in the middle grades and at least once in high school.  The Delaware System of Student Assessments (DeSSA) may include general assessments for science and social studies	14 Del. C. §151 DE ADC 14-101
District of Columbia	None	§ 38-1800.02, §38-771.01
Florida	End of course assessments in civics shall be administered to students enrolled in such courses as specified in the course code directory.	§1008.22 (3)(b)

Georgia	Each local school system may elect to administer, with state funding, nationally norm-referenced instruments in reading, mathematics, science, or social studies in grade three, four, or five and in grade six, seven, or eight. The State Board of Education shall review, revise, and upgrade the quality core curriculum. Following the adoption of this revised curriculum, the State Board of Education shall contract for development of criterion-referenced competency tests to measure the quality core curriculum. Such tests in English and language arts, mathematics, and reading shall be administered annually to students in grades one through eight, and such tests in science and social studies shall be administered annually to students in grades three through eight.	O.C.G.A. § 20-2-281 Ga. Comp. R. & Regs. r. 160-4-213
	As part of the comprehensive summative assessment program, end-of-grade assessments in social studies shall be administered annually to students in grades five and eight.	
	End-of-course assessments are required in grades 9-12 for all core subjects, as determined by the state board. Those core subjects include social studies, including civic competence.	
Hawaii	The Educational Accountability System requires an annual statewide assessment program that provides a report card containing trend data on several key areas, including performance indicators related to civic responsibility.	HRS §302A-1004
Idaho	Students "must show they have met the state civics and government standards for such instruction through the successful completion of the civics test or alternate path established by the local school district or charter school that shows the student has met the standards." The civics test is the 100 questions used for the United States citizenship and immigration exam.	Id. Stat. Ann. 33-1602(7)
Illinois	None	State goals and assessment: 5/2-3.64a-5
Indiana	Indiana Statewide Testing for Educational Progress (ISTEP) program shall be administered in social studies in grade levels to be determined by the state board.  A school that participates in the ISTEP program shall administer the social studies test in grades 5 and 7.	Title 511, Article 6.2 School Performance and Growth: Accountability IC 20-32-5-2 511 IAC 5-2-3
Iowa	None	
Kansas	The state board shall provide for statewide assessments in the core academic areas of mathematics, science, reading, writing and social studies. Such assessments shall be administered at three grade levels, as determined by the board.	KSA § 72-6479
Kentucky	The state student assessments may include formative and summative tests that measure individual student achievement in the academic core content areas of language, reading, English, mathematics, science and social studies at designated grades.  The state student assessments to be implemented in the 2011-2012 academic year include a criterion-referenced test in science and social studies to be administered once in elementary, middle and high school.	KRS 158:6453 KRS 158:6453 http://education.ky.gov/ AA/Assessments/Docu- ments/Kentucky%20State- Level%20Assessments%20 2016-17.pdf

Louisiana	Given at grade 11, the Graduation Exit Examination is defined as "criterion-referenced tests in English Language Arts, Mathematics, Science, and Social Studies assess student performance relative to specific benchmarks established in the state's content standards and provide data for evaluating student, school, and district performance. These high-stakes tests require high school students to meet established achievement levels to be eligible to receive a high school diploma."	GEE 21 LAC 28:CXI.107 La. R.S. 17:24.4
	(LEAP 21) assesses social studies skills at grades 4 and 8, based on the standards.	
	Standards-based assessments in English language arts, mathematics, science, and social studies based on state content standards and rigorous student achievement standards shall be implemented by the State Board of Elementary and Secondary Education. Such tests shall be administered, at a minimum, in grades three through eleven.	
Maine	None	20-A M.R.S.A. § 6202
Maryland	The State Board and the State Superintendent shall implement assessment programs in reading, language, mathematics, science, and social studies that include written responses. The following assessments are administered annually: At the middle school level, a statewide, comprehensive, grade band assessment program that measures the learning gains of each public school student towards achieving mastery of the standards set forth in the Common Core curricula or the State's adopted curricula for the core content areas of reading, language, mathematics, science, and social studies. At the high school level, a statewide, standardized, end-of- course assessment that is aligned with and that measures each public school student's skills and knowledge of the State's adopted curricula for the core content areas of reading, language, mathematics, science, and social studies;	Md. Code Ann. Educ. §§ 5-401, 7-203
Massachusetts	Social science and history are included in the areas of student achievement that are to be assessed.	M.G.L.A. 69 § 1I
Michigan	The Michigan educational assessment program and the Michigan merit examination are based on the state recommended model core curriculum content standards. The recommended model core academic curriculum content standards shall set forth learning objectives in math, science, reading, history, geography, economics, American government, and writing for all children at each stage of schooling.	MCL 380.1278
Minnesota	All high school students must take a basic civics test. The test is based on 50 of 100 questions found in the United States Citizenship and Immigration Services exam. The civics exam is a graduation required task, but will not prevent a student from earning a diploma.	M.S.A. § 120B.02
Mississippi	Civic competencies are assessed through the Subject Area Testing Program (SATP) in the "U.S. history from 1877" end-of-course assessment.	SATP Miss. Admin. Code 7-109
	Students "must pass all required Subject Area Tests in U.S. History from 1877."	
	U.S. History end of course assessments are required for graduation, per the Subject Area Test Program	

Missouri	Any student attending a public, charter, or private school must pass a civics exam in order to graduate high school. The test draws questions from the United States citizenship and immigration exam. Questions included in this exam may be included in other examinations on topics such as American history, the United States Constitution, or American institutions in addition to others.	Mo. Rev. Stat. s. 170.345
Montana	None	Mont. Admin. R. 10.56.101
Nebraska	None	79-760.03
Nevada	None	390.105
New Hampshire	All students must pass, "a locally developed competency assessment of United States government and civics that includes, but is not limited to, the nature, purpose, structure, function, and history of the United States government, the rights and responsibilities of citizens, and noteworthy government and civic leaders, shall be administered to students as part of the high school course in history and government of the United States and New Hampshire." The United States Citizenship and Immigration Services naturalization exam may satisfy this requirement.	NH Rev. Stat. s. 189.11
New Jersey	None	18A:7C-1
New Mexico	Beginning with the 2010-2011 school year, a student shall not receive a New Mexico diploma of excellence if the student has not demonstrated competence in the subject areas of mathematics, reading and language arts, writing, social studies and science, including a section on the constitution of the United States and the constitution of New Mexico, based on a standards-based assessment or assessments or a portfolio of standards-based indicators established by the department by rule."	N.M. State. Ann. §22.13.1.1 L
22-13-1.1N		
New York	Social studies is tested in the 5th and 8th grades as well as in high school.  Achievement of the state learning standards in each of the seven general curriculum areas (including social studies) is assessed.	8 NYCRR § 100.1
North Carolina	The State Board of Education shall require that any high school level curriculum-based tests developed and administered statewide beginning with academic year 1990-91 include questions related to the Declaration of Independence, the United States Constitution and its amendments, and the most important of the Federalist papers.	16 N.C.A.C. 6D.0503.e.2B NCGSA 115C-81 115C-174.11
North Dakota	If a student is enrolled in the twelfth grade during the 2016-2017 school year, that student must, as a condition of receiving a high school diploma, correctly answer at least sixty percent of the questions on the United States citizenship and immigration services 'civics test.'	15.1-21-27 High school graduation requirement – civics test

Ohio	The state board of education, the superintendent of public instruction, and the chancellor of the Ohio board of regents shall develop a system of college and work ready assessments to assess whether each student upon graduating from high school is ready to enter college or the workforce. Such college and work ready assessments shall include a series of end-of-course examinations in the areas of science, mathematics, English language arts, American history, and American government selected jointly by the state superintendent and the chancellor in consultation with faculty in the appropriate subject areas at institutions of higher education of the university system of Ohio.	§ 3301.0712
	Not later than July 1, 2013, each school district board of education shall adopt interim end-of-course examinations to assess mastery of American history and American government standards. Each high school in the district shall use the interim examinations until the state superintendent and chancellor select such end-of-course examinations in American history and American government.	
	Not later than July 1, 2014, the state superintendent and the chancellor shall select the end-of-course examinations in American history and American government. The end-of-course examinations in American history and American government shall require demonstration of mastery of the American history and American government content for social studies standards.	
Oklahoma	Criterion-referenced tests for third through eighth grade include grade five: "social studies, which shall consist of the history, Constitution and government of the United States, and geography," and grade eight "social studies, which shall consist of the history, Constitution, and government of the United States."	1210.508
	For the 2016-2017 school year, the Board shall administer assessments in United States History at least once between grades 9 and 12.  Beginning with the 2017-2018 school year, the statewide student assessment system shall include assessments in United States History at least once between grades 9 and 12.	
Oregon	The Department of Education shall develop the statewide assessment system for all students that shall includehistory, geography, economics and civics. In addition, school districts and public charter schools may implement the statewide assessment system in history, geography, economics and civics.	329.485
Pennsylvania	None	
Rhode Island	None	16-97-8
South Carolina	Standards based assessment of social studies must be administered to all public school students in grades three through eight.	§ 59-18-320.B
South Dakota	Students are assessed in social studies through the Stanford 10 Abbreviated test in grades 3-8 and 11.	

Tennessee	"Beginning with the 2012-2013 school year, in conjunction with the social studies curriculum, all school districts shall implement a project-based assessment in civics at least once in grades four through eight and at least once in grades nine through twelve. The assessments shall be developed by the school district and designed to measure the civics learning objectives contained in the social studies curriculum and to demonstrate understanding and relevance of public policy, the structure of federal, state and local governments and both the Tennessee and the United States constitutions."  The student evaluation program for grades kindergarten through grade 8 includes "A norm-referenced test in grades 3 through 8 in reading, language, mathematics, science, and social studies."  Additionally, high school students, "shall be given a United States civics test composed of questions from the one hundred (100) questions that are set forth within the civics test administered by the United States citizenship and immigration services to persons seeking to become naturalized citizens."	Tenn. Code Ann. § 49-6-1028, Tenn. Admin. Code R. 0520-01-0303, Tenn. Code Ann. s. 49-6-408
Texas	Students in grade 8 are required to show competency in social studies.	TEC § 39.022
Utah	State law requires any student must pass a basic civics test in order to graduate from high school. Test must include 50 of 100 questions drawn from the United States Citizenship and Immigration Services exam.	Utah Rev. Stat. s. 53A-13-109.5
Vermont	None	
Virginia	Students are required to take Standards of Learning assessments in grades K-8, which include history and social sciences. However, State Board of Education recommends students failing assessments in these subject areas not be held back in grades K-8.  Students promoted from eighth grade to high school should have attained basic mastery in the areas of history and social science.	8VAC20-131-30
Washington	Districts are required to have in place assessments or other strategies, including classroom-based assessments, to assure that students have an opportunity to learn the essential academic learning requirements in social studies. "Districts must require that students in the 7th or 8th grade and the 11th or 12th grade complete at least one classroom-based assessment in civics, a requirement which will apply to students in the 4th or 5th grades beginning with the 2010-11 school year.	Rev. Code Wash. §28A.230.095
West Virginia	None	
Wisconsin	Forward Exam tests students in social studies at grades 4, 8 and 10. Test content focuses on content from the five social studies content standards.	Forward Exam http://dpi.wi.gov/ assessment/forward
Wyoming	Students in schools and colleges supported by public funds must pass an examination on the principles of the United States constitution and the constitution of the state of Wyoming.	WYO. STAT. ANN. § 21-9-102

**Source:** National Center for Learning and Civic Engagement at the Education Commission of the States, 'State Policy Scan Update.' December 2016

Survey of state social studies leaders and state Departments of Education (or Public Instruction) August 2017, Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools