

**REPORT OF THE
JOINT LEGISLATIVE AD HOC
COMMITTEE ON CIVIC EDUCATION**

DECEMBER 2005

COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP

Senator Tim Bee, Co-Chair
Representative Jennifer Burns, Co-Chair
Senator Linda Aguirre
Senator Linda Gray
Senator Toni Hellon
Senator Harry Mitchell
Representative Mark Anderson
Representative Andy Biggs
Representative Martha Garcia
Representative David Lujan

Report of the Joint Legislative Ad Hoc Committee on Civic Education

INTRODUCTION

This report summarizes the efforts of the Joint Legislative Ad Hoc Committee on Civic Education. As required by the committee charge, this report is being submitted to the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Governor for their review and consideration.

PURPOSE

The Joint Legislative Ad Hoc Committee on Civic Education, established jointly by the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, was charged with the following:

- 1) Study the importance of educating students about citizen involvement in our government;
- 2) Promote communication and collaboration among organizations in the State that conduct civic education programs;
- 3) Establish a state commission on civic education;
- 4) The Committee shall make a final report of its findings and recommendations to the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Governor by December 31, 2005, and shall provide a copy of this report to the Secretary of State and the Director of the Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

The Committee is repealed from and after December 31, 2005.

MEMBERSHIP

Senate Five members of the Senate, not more than three from the same political party and one designated as Co-Chair, appointed by the President of the Senate:

Bee (Co-Chair), Aguirre, Gray, Hellon, Mitchell

House Five members of the House of Representatives, not more than three from the same political party and one designated as Co-Chair, appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives:

Burns (Co-Chair), Anderson, Biggs, Garcia, Lujan

ACTIVITIES

The Committee held two meetings during the past year. The following provides a summary of each meeting, but please see the attached minutes and handouts for the Committee discussion and testimony.

November 8, 2005

The first meeting of the Committee began with introductions and a review of the committee charge and concluded with committee discussion and a tentative date for the next meeting. There were three presentations given to the Committee:

- Overview on historical perspective on civic education – Lynda Rando, President, Cross Continent Consulting.
- Overview of the National Campaign to Promote Education – Ted McConnell, Director, National Campaign to Promote Civic Education.
- Overview of data and current events – Jeff Schrade, Arizona Foundation for Legal Services and Education.

The following attachments were distributed during this meeting:

- How the American Public Views Congress – A Report Based on the Center on Congress at Indiana University's 2004 Public Opinion Survey (2004)
- The Civic Mission of Schools (2003)
- Democracy vs. Republic (2003)

December 6, 2005

The second meeting of the Committee began with opening remarks and concluded with the adoption of recommendations.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The Joint Legislative Ad Hoc Committee on Civic Education adopted a recommendation on December 6, 2005, for the establishment of a Commission on Civic Education whose mission is to promote the goal of informed, responsible participation in political life by competent citizens committed to the fundamental values and principles of the American system. The Commission will have a focus on civic education and civic engagement, a focus to include children, youth, college students and adults, a ten year life, the ability to make recommendations to all levels of government on ideas that will promote and enhance civic education and civic engagement and the authority to establish working groups and subcommittees to complete the Commission's duties.

The 13-member Commission will include initial appointments that will set a precedent that former statesmen, with no future political aspirations, serve on the Commission. Membership will include three members appointed by the Governor, one member appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, one member appointed by the President of the Senate, one member appointed by the Chief Justice of the Arizona

Supreme Court, one member appointed by the Secretary of State, one member appointed by the Attorney General, one member appointed by the Superintendent of Public Instruction, two member of the House of Representatives appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, from different political parties and two members of the Senate, appointed by the President of the Senate, from different political parties.

ARIZONA STATE LEGISLATURE

INTERIM MEETING NOTICE OPEN TO THE PUBLIC

JOINT LEGISLATIVE AD HOC COMMITTEE ON CIVIC EDUCATION

Date: Tuesday, November 8, 2005

Time: 9:00 a.m.

Place: SHR1

AGENDA

1. Introduction of Committee Members
2. Charge of the Committee
3. Historical Perspective - Lynda Rando
4. National Campaign to Promote Civic Education - Ted McConnell, Director
5. Data and Current Events - Jeff Schrade
6. Public Testimony
7. Committee Discussion
8. Schedule Next Meeting
9. Adjourn

Members:

Senator Tim Bee, CoChair
Senator Linda Aguirre
Senator Linda Gray
Senator Toni Hellon
Senator Harry Mitchell

Representative Jennifer Burns, CoChair
Representative Mark Anderson
Representative Andy Biggs
Representative Martha Garcia
Representative David Lujan

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ARIZONA STATE LEGISLATURE

JOINT LEGISLATIVE AD HOC COMMITTEE ON CIVIC EDUCATION

Minutes of the Meeting
Tuesday, November 8, 2005
9:00 a.m., Senate Hearing Room 1

Members Present:

Senator Tim Bee, CoChair
Senator Linda Aguirre
Senator Linda Gray
Senator Harry Mitchell

Representative Jennifer Burns, CoChair
Representative Mark Anderson
Representative Andy Biggs
Representative Martha Garcia
Representative David Lujan

Members Absent:

Senator Toni Hellon

Staff:

Dallas Gold, Senate Education Committee Analyst
Brian Lockery, House Education Committee Analyst

Co-chairman Bee called the meeting to order at 9:05 a.m. and attendance was noted.

INTRODUCTION OF COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Senator Bee introduced the Committee members from the Senate and Representative Burns introduced the Committee members from the House of Representatives.

CHARGE OF THE COMMITTEE

Dallas Gold, Senate Education Committee Analyst, explained the charge of the Committee being the following points:

- Study the importance of educating students about citizen involvement in our government.
- Promote communication and collaboration among organizations in the State that conduct civic education programs.
- Establish a State commission on civic education.
- The Committee shall make a final report of its findings and recommendations to the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Governor by December 31, 2005, and shall provide a copy of this report to the Secretary of State and the Director of the Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records.

Senator Bee explained that he, Representative Burns, Representative Anderson, and Senator Gray, along with several other non-legislative members have been working on this issue for about three years as part of the Congressional Conference on Civic Education. He stated that the Ad Hoc Committee is part of the plan for Arizona to move forward in this area. He said that information was provided by some outstanding national speakers, in addition to information on the historical perspective.

PRESENTATIONS

Historical Perspective

Lynda Rando, President, Cross Continent Consulting, distributed a handout, *How the American Public Views Congress* (Attachment A) and explained the statistics found therein. She also referenced the 1918 report published by the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education of the National Education Association. The report came to be known as the "Seven Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education." The principles that were set forth by this commission were health, worthy home membership, command of the fundamental processes, vocation, civic education, worthy use of leisure and ethical character. Ms. Rando stated that Horace Mann, known as the Father of American Education, had an idea of what an educated citizen was about. He wrote that an educated citizen is one who is not only knowledgeable about the subject, but informed, skilled, and has actually internalized the meaning of participation and actively engages in the social and political life of their neighborhood, community, state, nation, and world affairs. The Congressional Conference on Civic Education brought together hundreds of policy makers, educational leaders, researchers and stake holders from all 50 states to explore, discuss, debate and adopt a series of conference statements that address the urgency of what must and should be done to insure that civic education is adequately taught in American schools. Ms. Rando stated that as the statistics show in the booklet she handed out, that the public generally disapproves of how Congress does their job, largely avoids the political process, and does not communicate with their representatives in Washington. The results suggest that civic education programs designed to provide useful information about the role of democratic institutions such as Congress can foster better-informed citizens. She stated that the Arizona delegation to the Conference has accomplished over the last two years the following:

- Expanded its reach to encourage more policy makers, teachers, and community leaders to work together to raise a level of public awareness of the importance of teaching civic education and encouraging civic engagement of students in Kindergarten through 12th grade (K-12).
- Met and gained the support of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, the Chief Justice of the Arizona Supreme Court, the Governor's office, and the Secretary of State's office.
- Expressed support for stronger academic standards for social studies and civics.
- Endorsed the establishment of a Civic's Coalition to develop and administer a survey instrument to schools and collect data on civic education in our state.

Representative Burns explained that this is the third of five years for the Congressional Conference and that Congress has placed a high level of importance on civic education. She said that Senator Bee and she have been reaching out to the different levels to make them a part and aware of what they are doing and the whole idea is getting everybody to be a part of it. There are things already going on, but the idea is to bring everybody together and move forward to make it a big statewide and national effort.

National Campaign to Promote Civic Education

Ted McConnell, Director, National Campaign to Promote Civic Education, stressed the importance of civic education in Arizona schools. He explained that the goal of civic education is informed, responsible participation in civic life by competent citizens committed to the fundamental values and principles of the American Constitutional Democracy. To be effective, a citizen must acquire not only a body of knowledge and skills, but also certain dispositions, such as a willingness to listen to the point of view of others and a willingness to participate at all levels.

Mr. McConnell stated those who founded our free universal system of public education in this country understood that each generation must be taught the rights and responsibilities of American Citizenship. Democratic behavior must be taught anew to each generation. This is the essential civic mission of our schools. It seems today that we have lost sight of preparing our students for citizenship in favor of preparing them just to be members of the work force. The government course that remains common today describes and analyzes government in a more distant way often with little explicit discussion of a citizen's role. Students do not usually have a government class until twelfth grade and then often only during the last semester. That is too little too late, especially when it misses an entire population that is growing in our nation, the dropouts.

Mr. McConnell said that every state but one has standards that address civic education, however, all too often these standards contain far more content than the classroom teacher can cover in the time allowed that subject. Far too many standards stress just the book knowledge and leave out the instruction necessary to impact students' dispositions and civic attitudes. Civic education can also be taught through other courses. It has been said that all emphasis is on math, science, and reading, but if a person does not vote or participate, the country is in a heck of a fix. The deficiencies cited are usually a result of actions of policy makers at all levels. Action must be taken now to engage policy makers and persuade them to provide the time and resources necessary to restore the civic mission of our schools. *The Civic Mission of Schools* is a report that has become the civic service and character education community's consensus document on how to reverse the slide of civics and how to provide the high quality civic education to all students. The report identifies six promising approaches to civic education that research has determined and shown to be effective (Attachment B).

Mr. McConnell informed the committee that a very positive development that has already been mentioned is the advent of the Congressional Conferences on Civic Education, which is co-hosted by the four leaders of the United States Congress. The theory behind the Conferences is to bring together policy makers, legislators, State Board of Education members, Chief State School Officers, local Board of Education members, with front line educators and Civic Learning professionals and point out the dangerously low level of civic engagement in our nation and the positive effect civic education has on civic engagement.

Mr. Connell stated that every delegation that left the Conference has developed a plan of action and is busy implementing those plans. Mr. McConnell explained that there is abundant evidence from both research and everyday observations that good civic learning produces desirable results when students receive sustained and systemic education, they become more knowledgeable, more interested, and more motivated to participate in improving the system. There is also abundant evidence that knowledgeable, skilled and dedicated teachers are the most important factor in providing a sound civic education for our students. Teachers need adequate preparation and support to give adequate attention to civic education. Civic education should be considered a course subject on a level with others such as history, math and science. Mr. McConnell suggested everyone consider the consequences of not acting to restore the civic mission of our schools. It would be increased disengagement and feelings of apathy or alienation on the part of citizens towards the institution of governess. Mr. McConnell concluded with stating whether a republic or representative democracy can be called healthy if its citizens are alienated and disengaged.

Senator Gray distributed a handout, *Democracy vs. Republic* (Attachment C). She stated that she thinks it should be made clear whether the United States is a republic or a democracy so there would be no confusion.

Mr. McConnell said that what is most important is that we restore the civic mission of our schools.

Senator Mitchell explained that all the progress the United States has made in expanding and including more people into the governmental process should weigh in on the debate between what is a republic and what is a democracy. However, he stated that what is important is how many people participate and how to get people to participate.

Senator Bee stated that the Committee had two very clear perspectives on this and the Committee is not about defining republic or representative democracy, it is about civic education.

Representative Biggs stated that civic education is one of the most important functions, however, instead the schools are weighed down with the teaching of fluff that is extraneous to what good public education should be. He stated that it is critical in

education to properly label and properly use names to teach children what is important and vital.

Mr. McConnell said that in classroom instruction it is absolutely essential to teach the correct facts of history as well as the participatory skills and the disposition and propensity to participate. He said that the problem is that the schools for a variety of reasons do not have the time or resources available to provide a robust civic education.

Representative Biggs stated that while working with a professor at Arizona State University (ASU) on a survey of political science students at the university level, he was shocked at the low level of political awareness. He stated that for all of the lowering of barriers of civic education and voting, the voter turn out has dropped considerably.

Senator Mitchell said that with 57% of the public disapproving of the way Congress is doing their work, it is hardly surprising that the public feels alienated and does not engage in politics. He said that one key is to provide support, materials, and all kinds of programs to the classroom teacher. He also said that extracurricular activities and engaging student participation is vital. He said that people no longer belong to civic organizations that supported ball clubs, summer programs, and other programs, which was one way people received some civic education. Senator Mitchell suggested that to do something about civic education, not only the curriculum, but lesson plans need to be considered. He said that there is a need for people who are enthusiastic about coming to the Capitol to think they can make a difference.

Representative Burns explained that what the committee needs to do is look at where the state is at this point and how to move forward. She said that there is a lot of spillover from getting kids involved because they then put pressure on their parents to get involved. She said that a way needs to be found to engage the over eighteen age group who are old enough to vote but are not doing so.

Data and Current Events

Jeff Schrade, Arizona Foundation for Legal Services and Education, explained his background growing up in Arizona. He explained that his organization is reaching out to anyone and everyone to join the collaborative effort to strengthen civic education and the civic mission of schools in Arizona. He said he is also involved with the Arizona Civics Coalition that is committed to helping young Arizonans to acquire and learn the skills, knowledge, and attitudes that will prepare them to be competent and responsible citizens throughout their adult lives. He said that his organization has been gathering data to define the state of civic education in Arizona. It is well established that our youth of today do not possess the political awareness and knowledge of basic concepts. Mr. Schrade said that the student survey in Arizona will aim to uncover the "why", why civic knowledge is so low. Another survey will be done to gauge public perception towards civic education and the general civic engagement of Arizona citizens. He said that the data should be complete in early 2006 and will be online publicly at www.azcivics.org. His organization is also conducting separate surveys and focus groups of district

administrators and school principals. He explained that so far it is known that civics is most heavily covered in eighth and twelfth grades. There is virtually no civics taught in the other grades. He stated that only 38% of the districts surveyed have service learning programs linked to civics instruction. He stated that 39% of the districts surveyed say that classroom instruction time devoted to civics, government and citizenship has been reduced because of standardized exams. Mr. Schrade explained that there is a great need for more in-service training on civics education. Mr. Schrade explained that when the data gathering is complete, his organization will plan and convene a series of community forums across the state where community leaders can consider the data and develop effective local strategies to improve civic education and engagement. Mr. Schrade explained that the public policy of strengthening civic education will have to be supported and implemented by Arizona's 211 school districts, 500 plus Arizona Charter schools and the 200 plus private and parochial schools. He added that parents and grandparents must be counted as the most influential people on a person's development as a citizen. Arizona students have shown tremendous enthusiasm for interesting and interactive civic education programs repeatedly putting Arizona schools at the top of nationwide academic competitions. Mr. Schrade said that Arizona's potential as a platform to create exceptional civic programs is excellent.

COMMITTEE DISCUSSION

Senator Gray stated that it has been found that if a student is not participating in extracurricular activities that they are most likely to drop out of school. Teachers were asked to give two personal things about each of their students, they pointed out the troublemakers and the highly academic. The rest of the students were left out. She explained that a problem that adds to that is the large populations in the high schools. When you have a large population competing for a small amount of activities, a number of students will not be able to connect with extracurricular activities.

Representative Anderson explained that these are the same struggles and challenges that have been dealt with for several hundred years and the only problem will be to stop dealing with them, so it is very exciting that these things are being addressed. He said that one of the most important responsibilities of a citizen is to transfer the information and history of our country to the next generation.

Representative Burns said that she had heard the saying that "The only title in our democracy superior to that of President is the title of Citizen." She stressed that the focus of this is not just civic education but also civic engagement. She said it is really going to take all of us to step up to this and move forward and do it all in a non-partisan way. Representative Burns said that it is really a matter of getting anybody and everybody out there to focus on civic education and civic engagement. That means everyone has to put aside his or her personal agendas to find a way of how to do this and then move forward to reach as many as possible. She said that she and Senator Bee would be contacting everyone to get opinions and possible next steps.

SCHEDULE NEXT MEETING

Senator Bee said that a tentative date of December 6 is being considered for the next meeting.

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned at 10:27 a.m.

Respectfully submitted,



Shelley Ponce
Committee Secretary

(Tapes and attachments on file in the Secretary of the Senate's Office/Resource Center, Room 115.)

How the American Public Views Congress

A Report Based on the Center on Congress at Indiana University's 2004 Public Opinion Survey



Attachment A

How the American Public Views Congress:

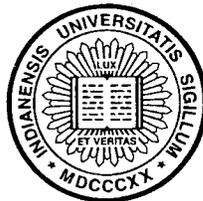
*A Report Based on the Center on Congress at Indiana University's
2004 Public Opinion Survey*



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THE CENTER ON CONGRESS AT INDIANA UNIVERSITY

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September 2005

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The results of the Center on Congress at Indiana University's 2004 public opinion survey provide new evidence that citizens have a decidedly negative view of Congress; have a high sense of civic duty, but low levels of civic engagement; and rely mainly on television for their information about Congress. Citizens prefer that Congress and the president share responsibility for handling the nation's problems, with Congress taking a more central role in domestic policy, but not on foreign policy. This report also provides evidence that education influences what people know and think about Congress, where they get their political information, and whether they support the political process.

This report is based on the first of an annual series of national public opinion surveys sponsored by the Center on Congress at Indiana University that are designed to provide an understanding of "Congress in the public mind." More than 1,400 telephone interviews were conducted by the Survey Research Center, at the University of California, Berkeley during the period from November 2004 to January 2005. The key findings regarding public approval of Congress are:

- A solid majority, 57 percent of the public, disapproves of the way Congress is doing its job.
- Only 49 percent of citizens think their congressional representatives have their constituents' interests in mind when voting on policies while more than 63 percent of the public think their representatives have special interests in mind when casting roll call votes.
- While 54 percent of younger Americans between the ages of 18 and 34 approve of the way Congress is doing its job, only 38 percent of Americans 35 and older approve of Congress' performance.

In the areas of civic duty and civic engagement:

- While over 90 percent of Americans believe it is their duty to communicate with their representatives in Congress, only one-fifth of them have actually contacted their House member or one of their Senators.
- About 20 percent of the public gives money to candidates, political parties, or ballot initiatives with most gifts in the amounts of less than \$100.
- Over half of the public tries to persuade others how to vote.

Regarding where citizens learn about Congress:

- More Americans get their news about Congress from television than from any other source.
- While 64 percent of Americans trust the national network news, approximately the same percentage trust cable television's Fox News.
- Both younger and older people are more likely to use television news as their main source of information about Congress.

On public preferences concerning congressional responsibility:

- The public prefers that Congress and the president share equal responsibility for handling the nation's problems.
- The public prefers that the president take the lead on foreign policy issues such as the situation in post-war Iraq and the war on terrorism, and that Congress assumes more responsibility for domestic issues such as education.

INTRODUCTION

In his award-winning book *How Congress Works and Why You Should Care*, former Congressman and Director of the Center on Congress at Indiana University Lee H. Hamilton wrote that “when people are upset about Congress, it undermines public confidence in government and fosters cynicism and disengagement.” The findings of the Center on Congress survey of public attitudes about Congress and citizen engagement reveal a public that generally disapproves of how Congress handles its job; believes House and Senate members are more likely to have special interests, and not constituent interests, in mind when lawmaking; and, as Hamilton predicted, largely avoids engaging in the political process.

The survey reveals that a strong majority of citizens do not communicate with their representatives in Washington, do not volunteer to work for political parties, and get most of their congressional news from the television set. These results are not likely to warm the hearts of those who believe that an informed, engaged citizenry is necessary for the American experiment to flourish.

On the other hand, the survey also suggests conditions under which citizens show a greater understanding of what Congress does and increase their civic participation. The survey shows that in nearly all cases, the more educated people are, regardless of age, the more likely they are to vote in elections and communicate about politics—both with their representatives and their friends. The results also suggest that civic education programs designed to provide useful information about the role of democratic institutions such as Congress can foster better-informed citizens.

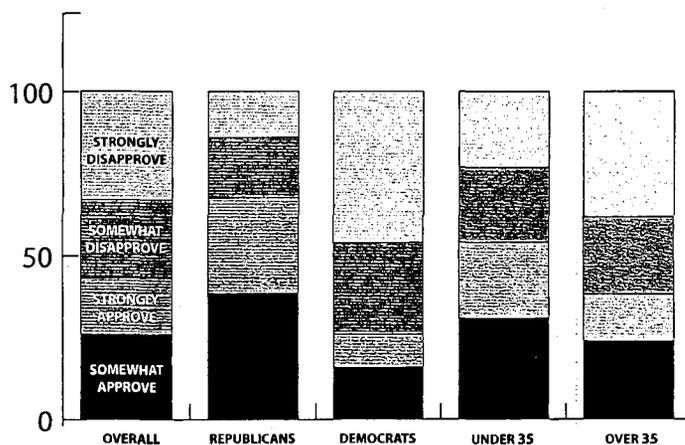
This report summarizes the results of the Congress survey that focus on the following topics: congressional approval, citizens’ understanding of civic duty, civic engagement,

where people get their information about Congress, and public preferences regarding how Congress should handle various contemporary issues. The survey chronicles the public’s evaluations of Congress, and also aims to improve our understanding of the components that make up “Congress in the public mind.”

CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL AND GOVERNMENT SATISFACTION

Not surprisingly, Chart 1 shows that 57 percent of the Center on Congress survey respondents answered the question “Do you approve or disapprove of the way Congress is handling its job?” by indicating that they disapprove of the way the legislative branch is carrying out its duties. As has long been known, Americans tend to hate Congress but love their own congressperson.

Chart 1:
CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL



What is startling, however, is that one-third of the survey’s respondents *strongly* disapprove of Congress, while only 17 percent of the public strongly approve of the House and Senate’s handling of the nation’s business.

Looking at congressional approval by party affiliation, the survey shows that Americans register more support for Congress when their party is in control of the institution. Sixty-seven percent of Republicans approve of Congress,

which has a Republican majority in both houses, while 26 percent of Democrats approve. Thirty-three percent of Republicans disapprove of the legislative branch while 73 percent of Democrats express disapproval.

Meanwhile younger people seem to approve of Congress more than older people do. Fifty-four percent of those under 35 approve of the way Congress operates, while 38 percent of those 35 and older approve of the way Congress does its job.

Even though a substantial majority of the public disapproves of how Congress handles its work, only one-fifth of the survey respondents said that they thought their lives were "just about always" affected by congressional decisions. However, 36 percent of the public believes that their lives were affected by the decisions of Congress "most of the time" and 39 percent said that they feel the effect of Congress' work "some of the time."

When it comes to congressional members' motivations when casting a vote, the public has a seemingly cynical view of the nation's lawmakers. While almost half of the respondents said that members of Congress have their constituents' interests in mind either "most of the time" or "just about always," 64 percent of the survey respondents said that citizens' representatives have "special interests" in mind when making decisions.

CIVIC DUTY AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

Turning our attention to how citizens behave as well as how they think people living in a democracy *should* behave, we find that more than 80 percent of the survey respondents say that they voted in the 2004 election. Clearly, many of our respondents either have faulty memories or are embarrassed about failing to cast

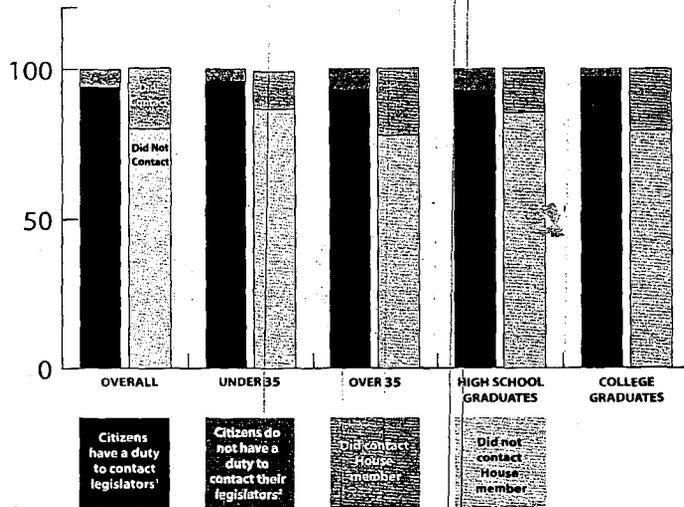
a ballot in 2004 since just over 70 percent of them claim that they are registered to vote in the first (and, of course, not all of those registered to vote actually did!). Regardless, it is impressive that over four-fifths of the public either voted or at least they *should have voted*.

Besides simply voting, there are many other ways citizens can participate in the political process. Despite citizens' generally negative view of Congress, an extraordinarily high majority of the public believe they should keep in touch with their elected officials. However, the public less frequently acts in accordance with their civic views. As Chart 2 shows, 94 percent of survey respondents either strongly or somewhat agree with the statement that "citizens in a democracy have a responsibility to communicate with their elected congressional members." But barely one-fifth of respondents contacted their House member, less than one-third contacted one of their senators, and less than 10 percent have ever volunteered to work for a candidate, political party, or ballot initiative.

Both age and education affect the likelihood of contacting their representatives. Twenty-four percent of people over the age of 35 have contacted their representative in the previous year while only 10 percent of those between the ages of 18 and 34 have contacted their representative. Similarly, 21 percent of college graduates report contacting their representative, but only 14 percent of those with only a high school education report having done so.

When it comes to monetary contributions, only 10 percent of the public report giving money to a candidate, campaign, political party, or political action committee in 2004. Of those, 8 percent were Democrats and 92 percent were Republicans. Just over 50 percent of the contributors reported giving 100 dollars or less, and 25 percent of contributors reported giving exactly 1,000 dollars.

**Chart 2:
DO CITIZENS CONTACT THEIR CONGRESSIONAL LAWMAKERS?**



Note: ¹Includes respondents who "somewhat" and "strongly" agree; ²Includes those who "somewhat" and "strongly" disagree.

percent of Republican contributors report giving more than 1,000 dollars, while 33 percent of Democratic contributors report giving more than 1,000 dollars.

Even though citizens do not contact their representatives or give money to political causes in high numbers, a majority of the public do participate in the political process through their own social networks. Fifty-six percent of the survey respondents spent time during the 2004 campaign trying to convince people they knew to vote for particular candidates or parties.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT CONGRESS

Where do people's evaluations of Congress come from? One place to look for the foundations of public opinion about Congress is to examine the sources of information people use to learn about Congress.

Television news is far and away the most prominent source used by the public to get information about the legislative branch of government. While 47 percent of the public turn to television for congressional news, only

23 percent use newspapers as their main source of information about Congress. More than 11 percent of citizens use the Internet as their primary information source to catch up with Congress and 8 percent listen to the radio. Fewer citizens talk to others (7 percent) or read news magazines (2 percent) to get their Congress fix.

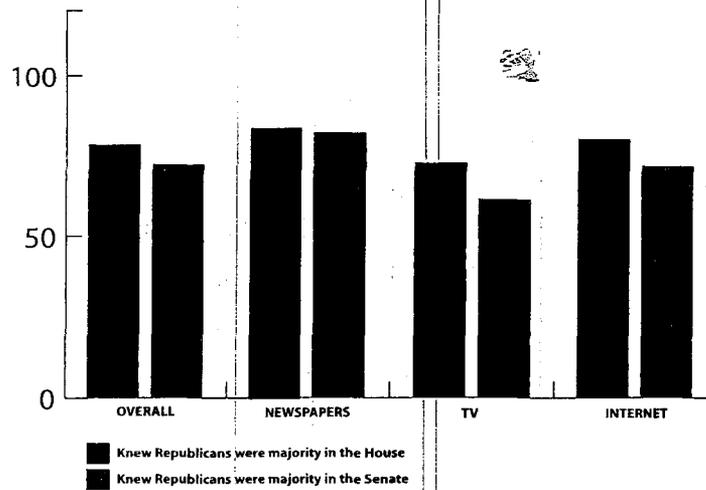
Education appears to influence the public's choice of information, with 55 percent of those with only a high school education relying on television for their information about Congress, and 21 percent using newspapers for their information. This contrasts with 44 percent of college graduates obtaining their information about Congress from the television while 23 percent say that they get most of their information about Congress from newspapers.

Of course, getting information and believing information are two different things. Of those who named television as their primary source of information about Congress, 29 percent regularly watch Fox News on cable television. Of those who watch Fox News regularly, 86 percent either "completely" or "somewhat" trust the information they receive from this cable network. But only 56 percent of these Fox News viewers trust the national network news. For those whose primary source of information about Congress is a newspaper, 63 percent either "completely" or "somewhat" trust what they see in print each morning.

How do those sources influence what people know about Congress? As Chart 3 indicates, more than 78 percent of the public knew that Republicans would be in the majority in the House and 70 percent were aware that Republicans would be in the majority in the Senate after the 2004 elections. Of those who report that the newspaper is their main source of information about Congress, 82 percent knew that Republicans held the majority in the Senate and 85 percent were clear on the Republican majority in the House after the 2004 elections. As for those who

report that television is their primary source of information about Congress, 76 percent knew that Republicans were in the majority in the House, and 66 percent were aware of the

THE INFLUENCE OF CITIZENS' MAIN SOURCE OF INFORMATION ABOUT CONGRESS ON CITIZENS' KNOWLEDGE ABOUT CONGRESS



Note: Respondents who answered "don't know," "the Democrats," or "both parties will be equally represented" when asked which party would be in the majority following the 2004 elections were coded as answering incorrectly.

Republican majority in the Senate. Members of the public who rely on the Internet for their news of Congress fell somewhere in the middle, with 75 percent reporting knowledge of the Republican majority in the Senate, and 80 percent in the House.

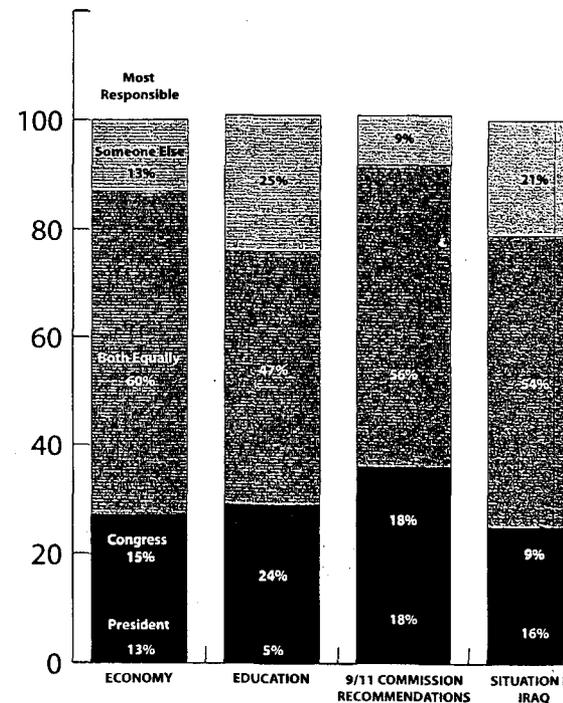
PUBLIC PREFERENCES OF CONGRESSIONAL RESPONSIBILITY

So we have an idea of what the public thinks of Congress, how engaged the public is civically, and where the public gets their information. But what exactly does the public want Congress to do? The Center on Congress survey in 2004 asked respondents about who they believed was "most responsible for handling" the post-war situation in Iraq, the war on terrorism, the economy, education, and implementing the recommendations from the 9/11 Commission. The results are shown in Chart 4.

In general, the public seems to prefer that the president and Congress take equal responsibility for dealing with the

nation's major problems and issues. However, on policy issues, such as the international effort in Iraq, 67 percent of the public prefers an equal responsibility between the executive and legislative branches, but 16 percent favors presidential responsibility for the terror fight while only 7 percent gave primary responsibility to Congress. Regarding the post-war situation in Iraq, 54 percent of survey respondents preferred equal handling of the situation from the president and Congress, 16 percent put the president in the driver's seat, and 21 percent place Congress upfront. It is interesting that 16 percent of the public wanted "someone else" responsible for dealing with Iraq.

Chart 4: PUBLIC PREFERENCES REGARDING WHO IS MOST RESPONSIBLE FOR HANDLING MAJOR PROBLEMS FACING THE U.S.



Note: The numbers on charts 1-4 may not add up to 100%, due to rounding.

On domestic issues, the public prefers that Congress take a more central role. Regarding education, nearly 50 percent of the public wants Congress in charge while only 5 percent give the president primary responsibility. About 47 percent prefer that the president and Congress share equal responsibility for dealing with the economy, and the rest of the public (25 percent) would rather let "someone else" handle it. When it comes to the economy, 16 percent gave equal responsibility to the president and

As for who should lead the way in implementing the recommendations of the 9/11 commission, the public was ambivalent. Eighteen percent of survey respondents put the president first, 18 percent had Congress up front, and 56 percent placed equal responsibility on both.

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

The findings of this public opinion survey suggest that despite the founding fathers' intention that Congress would provide the most direct representation of the citizenry, today Americans register a very different view of how Congress operates and how well it works. Well over half of the respondents in this survey disapprove of Congress, with more than a third *strongly* disapproving of its performance. This fact alone may not astound many political observers, but underlying this decidedly negative view of Congress lies a strong current of civic responsibility. Indeed, more than 90 percent of our respondents believe that citizens have a responsibility to vote and a duty to contact their legislators. These lofty sentiments are in stark contrast with the fact that barely 60 percent of the eligible voters typically turn out to vote in presidential contests, only 20 percent of the respondents surveyed reported contacting their representative in the House, and only 15 percent contacted one of their senators. What explains this disconnect?

The findings presented here point to several potential answers. Partisan affiliation appears to affect the public's willingness to give Congress a thumbs up or a thumbs down, indicating that Americans muster more support for Congress when their party is in control of the institution. Clearly, the public's evaluation of Congress is part of the larger polarization that characterizes contemporary American politics.

Education and age also appear to influence the public's evaluations. Younger people, those under the age of 35, show more approval for Congress than those over the age of 35. Respondents with a four-year college degree are more likely to register support for citizen participation in a representative democracy, as well as actively participate by contributing their time and money to political causes. What do these differences mean? Will these findings hold over time? If not, what explains changes in the public's assessment of Congress?

In his book *How Congress Works and Why You Should Care*, Lee H. Hamilton wrote that "in a representative democracy like ours, in which Congress must reflect the views and interests of the American people as it frames the basic laws of the land, it really does matter what people think about Congress." Because the public's preferences lie at the very heart of our representative democracy, it is crucial that we not only understand what is at the core of the public's cynicism and disapproval of Congress, but that we understand how to combat these sentiments.

The findings discussed here represent the first installment of what will be an annual survey sponsored by the Center on Congress at Indiana University examining the public's attitudes toward Congress. The Center on Congress believes that a regular assessment of the public's attitudes toward Congress will fill a gap in our general understanding of the public's perceptions of Congress and allow us to measure changes in citizens' understanding and evaluation of Congress across time. In doing so, the Center on Congress endeavors to provide the public, Congress, the media, and congressional scholars with an in-depth assessment of the public's perceptions, as well as possible solutions to combat the public's cynicism and disapproval of Congress.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Edward G. Carmines is Warren O. Chapman Professor and Rudy Professor of Political Science at Indiana University. He is also the research director at the Center on Congress at Indiana University. Among his many publications are *Issue Evolution: Race and the Transformation of American Politics* and *Reaching Beyond Race*, both of which won the Kammerer Award as the best book in American politics from the American Political Science Association.

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THE CENTER ON CONGRESS AT INDIANA UNIVERSITY



CENTER FOR CIVIC EDUCATION



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

BACKGROUND

For more than 250 years, Americans have shared a vision of a democracy in which all citizens understand, appreciate, and engage actively in civic and political life. In recent decades, however, increasing numbers of Americans have disengaged from civic and political institutions such as voluntary associations, religious congregations, community-based organizations, and political and electoral activities such as voting and being informed about public issues. Young people reflect these trends: they are less likely to vote and are less interested in political discussion and public issues than either their older counterparts or young people of past decades. As a result, many young Americans may not be prepared to participate fully in our democracy now and when they become adults.

Recognizing that individuals do not automatically become free and responsible citizens but must be educated for citizenship, scholars; teachers; civic leaders; local, state, and federal policymakers; and federal judges, have with the encouragement of the president of the United States, called for new strategies that can capitalize on young people's idealism and their commitment to service and voluntarism while addressing their disengagement from political and civic institutions. One of the most promising approaches to increase young people's informed engagement is school-based civic education.

In late 2002, the Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE) and Carnegie Corporation of New York, in consultation with the Corporation for National and Community Service, convened a series of meetings involving some of the nation's most distinguished and respected scholars and practitioners in this area to determine, based on solid data and evidence, the components of effective and feasible civic education programs. Representing a diversity of political views, a variety of disciplines, and various approaches, these individuals disagree about some aspects of how civic education should be conducted, but nevertheless share a common vision of a richer, more comprehensive approach to civic education in the United States. This report is a powerful statement of their vision.

GOALS OF CIVIC EDUCATION

Civic education should help young people acquire and learn to use the skills, knowledge, and attitudes that will prepare them to be competent and responsible citizens throughout their lives. Competent and responsible citizens:

- 1 are informed and thoughtful; have a grasp and an appreciation of history and the fundamental processes of American democracy; have an understanding and awareness of public and community issues; and have the ability to obtain information, think critically, and enter into dialogue among others with different perspectives.
- 2 participate in their communities through membership in or contributions to organizations working to address an array of cultural, social, political, and religious interests and beliefs.
- 3 act politically by having the skills, knowledge, and commitment needed to accomplish public purposes, such as group problem solving, public speaking, petitioning and protesting, and voting.
- 4 have moral and civic virtues such as concern for the rights and welfare of others, social responsibility, tolerance and respect, and belief in the capacity to make a difference.

WHY SCHOOLS ARE IMPORTANT VENUES FOR CIVIC EDUCATION

- It is crucial for the future health of our democracy that all young people, including those who are usually marginalized, be knowledgeable, engaged in their communities and in politics, and committed to the public good.
- Encouraging the development of civic skills and attitudes among young people has been an important goal of education and was the primary impetus for originally establishing public schools.
- Schools are the only institutions with the capacity and mandate to reach virtually every young person in the country. Of all institutions, schools are the most systematically and directly responsible for imparting citizen norms.
- Schools are best equipped to address the cognitive aspects of good citizenship — civic and political knowledge and related skills such as critical thinking and deliberation.
- Schools are communities in which young people learn to interact, argue, and work together with others; an important foundation for future citizenship.
- Many non-school institutions that used to provide venues for young people to participate in civic and political affairs (such as political parties, unions, nonprofit associations, and activist religious denominations) have lost the capacity or will to engage young people. Schools, as major community institutions, can help reverse this trend and have an impact on other institutions (political, economic, religious, and family), by providing quality education that improves young people's civic knowledge, skills, and intentions to vote and volunteer.
- Forty state constitutions mention the importance of civic literacy among citizens, and 13 of them state that a central purpose of their educational system is to promote good citizenship, democracy and free government.

WHY THIS IS AN IMPORTANT TIME FOR SCHOOLS TO FOCUS ON CIVIC EDUCATION

- Schools can capitalize on **several positive trends related to youth civic engagement**, including an increase in the number of young people involved in community service and volunteering and in the percentage of young people who are tolerant and committed to free speech.
- Schools can help address **disturbing trends related to youth civic engagement**, including a decrease in young people's interest in political discussion and public issues; their tendency to be more cynical and alienated from formal politics, more materialistic, and less trusting; and a decline in their voter participation rates.
- **School-based civic education is in decline.** Most formal civic education today comprises only a single semester course on government — compared to as many as three courses in democracy, civics, and government that were common until the 1960s.
- **Numerous factors work against even the best intentions educators may have to promote civic engagement among young people.** These obstacles include fear of criticism and litigation if educators address topics that may be considered controversial or political in nature; pressures to meet the goals of high-stakes testing, which now measures reading and mathematics skills (civic education is rarely included); and budget cutbacks in extracurricular programs that help children gain civic skills and attitudes.

SIX PROMISING APPROACHES TO CIVIC EDUCATION

Research shows that schools can help to develop competent and responsible citizens when they:

- 1 **Provide instruction in government, history, law, and democracy.** Formal instruction in U.S. government, history, and democracy increases civic knowledge. This is a valuable goal in itself and may also contribute to young people's tendency to engage in civic and political activities over the long term. However, schools should avoid teaching only rote facts about dry procedures, which is unlikely to benefit students and may actually alienate them from politics.
- 2 **Incorporate discussion of current local, national, and international issues and events into the classroom, particularly those that young people view as important to their lives.** When young people have opportunities to discuss current issues in a classroom setting, they tend to have greater interest in politics, improved critical thinking and communications skills, more civic knowledge, and more interest in discussing public affairs out of school. Conversations, however, should be carefully moderated so that students feel welcome to speak from a variety of perspectives. Teachers need support in broaching controversial issues in classrooms since they may risk criticism or sanctions if they do so.
- 3 **Design and implement programs that provide students with the opportunity to apply what they learn through performing community service that is linked to the formal curriculum and classroom instruction.** Service programs are now common in K-12 schools. The ones that best develop engaged citizens are linked to the curriculum; consciously pursue civic outcomes, rather than seek only to improve academic performance or to promote higher self-esteem; allow students to engage in meaningful work on serious public issues; give students a role in choosing and designing their projects; provide students with opportunities to reflect on the service work; allow students—especially older ones—to pursue political responses to problems consistent with laws that require public schools to be nonpartisan; and see service-learning as part of a broader philosophy toward education, not just a program that is adopted for a finite period in a particular course.
- 4 **Offer extracurricular activities that provide opportunities for young people to get involved in their schools or communities.** Long term studies of Americans show that those who participate in extracurricular activities in high school remain more civically engaged than their contemporaries even decades later. Thus, everyone should have opportunities to join high school groups, and such participation should be valued.
- 5 **Encourage student participation in school governance.** A long tradition of research suggests that giving students more opportunities to participate in the management of their own classrooms and schools builds their civic skills and attitudes. Thus, giving students a voice in school governance is a promising way to encourage all young people to engage civically.
- 6 **Encourage students' participation in simulations of democratic processes and procedures.** Recent evidence indicates that simulations of voting, trials, legislative deliberation, and diplomacy in schools can lead to heightened political knowledge and interest. The data are not conclusive, but these approaches show promise and should be considered when developing programs and curriculum.

RECOMMENDATIONS

This report concludes with numerous recommendations for schools and school systems, state and national policymakers, colleges and universities, researchers, and private funders. Following are some major recommendations in brief form:

- 1 **Schools** should work with state education departments and local school district officials to develop and establish civic education curricula based on combinations of the six promising approaches noted above. These curricula should be parts of every student's school experience at every grade level.
- 2 **School administrators** should allow and encourage educators to facilitate discussions of complex and/or controversial current events and issues in the classroom.
- 3 **The federal government** should increase the amount of federal funding available to states for civic education. The government should further consider establishing a new federal entity with responsibility for civic education, perhaps a "National Civic Education Foundation," which would commission research on civic education, encourage the development of model programs, help design and implement curricula, and serve as a national clearinghouse on civic education for teachers and schools across the country.
- 4 **Standards should be implemented for civic education.** This can be done by 1) more frequently offering the National Assessment of Educational Progress's (NAEP) Civics Assessment, in states as well as nationally, and/or 2) reexamining existing state social studies and civic education standards with a goal of ensuring that the promising approaches and goals of civic education outlined in this report are realized by the establishment of supportive standards and curricular policies.
- 5 **Schools of education** should strengthen the civic dimensions of pre-service and in-service education for teachers and administrators. Those who are already working in schools should also be offered the opportunity to acquire continuing education credits related to civic education so that they can become more skilled at inculcating the civic knowledge, skills, and attitudes students need to become responsible and engaged citizens.
- 6 **Researchers** should develop and implement more rigorous studies (including longitudinal research) about effective service-learning and other civic education approaches. Researchers should also develop indicators for civic knowledge, skills, and attitudes at each phase of K-12 schooling.
- 7 **Funders** should support efforts to build national and state coalitions of educators, policymakers, parents, young people, and community leaders to advocate for better and more civic education in schools.

This report provides a framework for creating more effective civic education programs in our schools and represents, for the first time, consensus about this issue among the nation's leading scholars and practitioners. We hope that the concrete recommendations provided in this report will help us move from rhetorical expressions of concern about youth civic engagement to implementing richer and more comprehensive civic education programs that will not only help schools fulfill their civic missions, but also ensure that young Americans have the tools they need to participate fully in the political and civic processes that are the hallmark of U.S. democracy.

Democracy vs

by David Barton

*"We have given to you
a Republic—
If you can keep it!"*

—Benjamin Franklin

Americans have grown accustomed to hearing that this nation is a democracy, which was never the intention of the Founders. They entrusted us with a republic, not a democracy.¹

The Founders had an opportunity to establish a democracy in America and they did not. More important, the Founders made clear that the United States was not, and was never to become, a democracy:

[D]emocracies have ever been spectacles of turbulence and contention; have ever been incompatible with personal security, the rights of property; and, in general, been as short in their duration as they have been violent in their deaths.² James Madison, fourth president of the United States of America.

Remember, democracy never lasts long. It wastes, exhausts, and murders itself. There never was a democracy yet that did not commit suicide.³ John Adams, second president, and second president of the United States of America.

Democracy is a volcano which conceals the materials of its own destruction. It will produce an eruption of anarchy in their way.⁴... The human propensity of a democracy to license [excessive license] which the ambitious call, and ignorant believe to be liberty.⁵ Fisher Ames, author of the House Language for the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States of America.

... the tumult of democracy [it has] every-thing of a despotism. ... and wild. Thou shalt bring down the virtue of the people to thy level of folly and vice. Gouverneur Morris, signer and drafter of the Constitution.

[T]he experience of all former governments, democracy was the most stable, fluctuating and short-lived. John Quincy Adams, sixth president of the United States of America.

A simple democracy... is one of the greatest of evils.⁶ Benjamin Rush of the Declaration of Independence.

In democracy... there are continual tumults and disorders. ... The pure democracy is generally a very bad government. It is often the most corrupt government on earth.⁷ Noah Webster.

Pure democracy cannot subsist nor be carried far into the recesses of state; it is very susceptible of caprice and the madness of rage.⁸ John Witherspoon, signer of the Declaration of Independence.

It may generally be remarked that the more a government resembles a democracy the more they abound in disorder and confusion.⁹ Zephaniah Swift, author of pioneering American texts; US Representative; Chief Justice of the Connecticut Supreme Court.

Many Americans today seem unable to define the difference between the two, but the big difference between a democracy and a republic. That difference rests in the source of authority.

A pure democracy operates by the majority vote of the people. If an issue is to be decided, the entire population votes on it; the majority rules.

In a republic, the general people elects representatives who govern the nation.



¹An example of this is demonstrated in the anecdote about Ben Franklin. As he was working on the Constitution, he sat to rest on a public bench outside Independence Hall in Philadelphia. A woman approached him and said, "Well, Dr. Franklin, what have you done for us?" Franklin quickly responded, "I have given to you a republic — if you can keep it." Quoted in "America's Bill of Rights at 200 Years," by Chief Justice Warren in *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Vol. XXI, No. 3, Summer 1991: 457. This anecdote has been repeated by numerous other authors.

²Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, James Madison, *The Federalist on the New Constitution* (Philadelphia: Benjamin Warner, 1820), 53, ¶10, James Madison.

³Letter from John Adams to John Taylor, April 15, 1814. *The Works of John Adams, Second President of the United States*, Charles Francis Adams, editor, Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1850; Vol. VI, 484.

⁴Speech on Biennial Elections, delivered January 1788. *Works of Fisher Ames* (Boston: T. B. Wall & Co., 1809), 24.

⁵Speech, "The Dangers of American Liberty," delivered February 1805. Ames, *ibid.*, 384.

⁶Gouverneur Morris, *An Oration Delivered on Wednesday, June 29, 1814, at the Request of a Number of Citizens of New York, in Celebration of the Recent Deliverance* and Wiley, 1814; 10, 22.

⁷John Quincy Adams, *The Jubilee of the Constitution. A Discourse Delivered at the Request of the New York Historical Society, in the City of New York on Tuesday, the 30th of April, 1789*. New York: Samuel Colman, 1839; 53.

⁸Letter from Benjamin Rush to John Adams on July 21, 1789. *The Letters of Benjamin Rush*, L. H. Butterfield, editor. Princeton: Princeton University Press for the American Philosophical Society, 1964; 103-104.

⁹Noah Webster, *The American Spelling Book: Containing an Easy Standard of Pronunciation: Being the First Part of a Grammatical Institute of the English Language*, Federal Catechism. Boston: Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Andrews, 1801; 103-104.

¹⁰"Lecture 12 on Civil Society." John Witherspoon, *The Works of John Witherspoon*. Edinburgh: J. Ogle, 1815; Vol. VII, 101.

Attachment

Republic

A democracy is the rule by majority feeling (what the Founders described as a "mobocracy"¹²); a republic is rule by law. If the source of law for a democracy is the popular feeling of the people, then what is the source of law for the American republic?

According to Founder Noah Webster: [O]ur citizens should early understand that the genuine source of correct republican principles is the Bible, particularly the New Testament, or the Christian religion.¹³

The transcendent values of Biblical natural law were the foundation of the American republic. Consider the stability this provides: in our republic, murder will always be a crime, for it is always a crime according to the Word of God. In a democracy, however, if the majority of the people decide that murder is no longer a crime, murder would no longer be a crime.

America's immutable principles of right and wrong were not based on the rapidly fluctuating feelings and emotions of the people, but rather on what Montesquieu identified as the "principles that do not change."¹⁴ Benjamin Rush similarly observed: [W]here there is no law, there is no liberty; and nothing deserves the name of law but that which is certain and universal in its operation upon all the members of the community.¹⁵

In the American republic, the "principles which did not change" and which were "certain and universal in their operation upon all the members of the community" were the principles of Biblical natural law. In fact, so firmly were these principles ensconced in the American republic that early law books taught that government was free to set

its own policy only if God's revealed will had not made itself known. For example, *Blackstone's Commentaries* explained: [For] instance in the case of murder: this is expressly forbidden by the Divine. ... If any human law should allow or enjoin us to commit it we are bound to transgress that human law. ... But, with regard to matters that are... not commanded or forbidden by those superior laws such, for instance, as exporting of wool into foreign countries; here the... legislature has scope and opportunity to interpose.¹⁶

The Founders echoed that theme:

All [laws], however, may be arranged in two different classes. 1) Divine. 2) Human. ... But it should always be remembered that this law, natural or revealed, made for men or for nations, flows from the same Divine source: it is the law of God. ... Human law must rest its authority ultimately upon the authority of that law which is Divine.¹⁷ James Wilson, one of only six Founders who signed both the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution; U. S. Supreme Court Justice.

[T]he law... dictated by God Himself is, of course, superior in obligation to any other. It is binding over all the globe, in all countries, and at all times. No human laws are of any validity if contrary to this.¹⁸ Alexander Hamilton, signer of the Constitution, first Secretary of the Treasury.

[T]he... law established by the Creator... extends over the whole globe, is everywhere and at all times binding upon mankind. ... [This] is the law of God by which He makes His way known to man and is paramount to all human control.¹⁹ Rufus King, signer of the Constitution.

The Founders understood that Biblical values formed the basis of the republic and that the republic would be destroyed if the people's knowledge of those values should ever be lost.

A republic is the highest form of government devised by man, but it also requires the greatest amount of human care and maintenance. If neglected, it can deteriorate into a variety of lesser forms, including a democracy (a government conducted by popular feeling); anarchy (a system in which each person determines his own rules and standards); oligarchy (a government run by a small council or a group of elite individuals); or dictatorship (a government run by a single individual).

As John Adams explained: [D]emocracy will soon degenerate into an anarchy; such an anarchy that every man will do what is right in his own eyes and no man's life or property or reputation or liberty will be secure, and every one of these will soon mould itself into a system of subordination of all the moral virtues and intellectual abilities, all the powers of wealth, beauty, wit, and science, to the wanton pleasures, the capricious will, and the execrable [abominable] cruelty of one or a very few.²⁰

Only by understanding the nature of the American republic's foundation can citizens begin to effectively protect it. RJM



David Barton is the Founder and President of WallBuilders, a national pro-family organization which distributes historical, legal, and statistical information. WallBuilders seeks to energize the grassroots today to rebuild that which makes America strong—its constitutional, moral, and religious foundations.

¹²Zephaniah Swift, *A System of the Laws of the State of Connecticut*, Windham: John Byrne, 1795; Vol. I, 19.

¹³See, for example, Benjamin Rush, *Letters*, Vol. I, p. 498, to John Adams on January 22, 1789.

¹⁴Noah Webster, *History of the United States* New Haven: Durrie & Peck, 1837: 6.

¹⁵Quoted in George Bancroft, *History of the United States from the Discovery of the American Continent*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1859; Vol. V, 24. Montesquieu (1689-1755) was a philosopher and jurist born in Bordeaux whose theories, chiefly the separation of powers, inspired portions of the Declaration and the Constitution. See Baron Charles Secondat de Montesquieu, *The Spirit of Laws* (originally published in France in 1748), Philadelphia: Isaiah Thomas, 1802; Vol. I, pp. 17-23, and *passim*.

¹⁶Letter to David Ramsay, March or April 1788. Rush, *Letters*, Vol. I, 454.

¹⁷Sir William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England* Philadelphia: Robert Bell, 1771; Vol. I, 42-43.

¹⁸"Of the General Principles of Law and Obligation." James Wilson, *The Works of the Honorable James Wilson*, Bird Wilson, editor. Philadelphia: Lorenzo Press, 1804; Vol. I, 103-105.

¹⁹Alexander Hamilton, *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, Harold C. Syrett, editor. New York: Columbia University Press, 1961; Vol. I, 87. February 23, 1775, citing Blackstone, *Commentaries*, op. cit., Vol. I, 41.

²⁰Letter to C. Gore, February 17, 1820. Rufus King, *The Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*, Charles R. King, editor. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1900; Vol. VI, 276.

²¹From "An Essay on Man's Lust for Power, with the Author's Comment in 1807," written on August 29, 1763, but first published in 1807. *The Papers of John Adams*, Robert J. Taylor, editor. Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1977. Vol. I, 83.

ARIZONA STATE LEGISLATURE

INTERIM MEETING NOTICE OPEN TO THE PUBLIC

JOINT LEGISLATIVE AD HOC COMMITTEE ON CIVIC EDUCATION

Date: Tuesday, December 6, 2005

Time: 10:00 a.m.

Place: Senate Hearing Room 1

AGENDA

1. Co-Chair Opening Remarks and Roll Call
2. Review of November 8, 2005 Meeting
3. Discussion of Draft Recommendations
4. Public Testimony
5. Adoption of Draft Recommendations
6. Adjourn

Members:

Senator Tim Bee, CoChair
Senator Linda Aguirre
Senator Linda Gray
Senator Toni Hellon
Senator Harry Mitchell

Representative Jennifer Burns, CoChair
Representative Mark Anderson
Representative Andy Biggs
Representative Martha Garcia
Representative David Lujan

12/1/05
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ARIZONA STATE LEGISLATURE
Forty-seventh Legislature – First Regular Session

JOINT LEGISLATIVE AD HOC COMMITTEE ON CIVIC EDUCATION

Minutes of Meeting
Tuesday, December 6, 2005
Senate Hearing Room 1 -- 10:00 a.m.

Chairman Bee called the meeting to order at 10:10 a.m. and attendance was noted by the secretary.

Members Present

Senator Gray
Senator Mitchell
Senator Bee, Cochair

Representative Anderson
Representative Garcia
Representative Lujan
Representative Burns, Cochair

Members Absent

Senator Aguirre
Senator Hellon

Representative Biggs

Speakers Present

Lynda Rando, Educational Consultant, representing self
Beth Hebert, Senior Program Director, Young Men's Christian Association Youth and Government
Jeffery Schrade, Program Director, Civics Coalition
Janice Palmer, Governmental Relations Analyst, Arizona School Boards Association
Dr. Kevin Good, Arizona Foundation for Legal Services and Education

PUBLIC TESTIMONY

Lynda Rando, Educational Consultant, representing self, conveyed that she researched the different structures of what is called a civics commission in states involved in rejuvenating the civic mission of schools. The following legislation was passed and enacted:

Commonwealth of Kentucky: The Commonwealth of Kentucky created a committee whose goal is to determine strategies for enhancing long-term civic engagement and literacy within the Commonwealth and recommend a plan for improving civic engagement and literacy before the full Assembly. The committee is comprised of a diverse range of students, teachers, administrators from the K-16 system through the education media, civic organizations, and other elected officials. The Committee is

charged with providing a report with its findings and recommendations for future action to the Secretary of State.

Louisiana: The State of Louisiana established a 22-member Commission on Civic Education whose purpose includes educating students on the importance of citizen involvement in a representative democracy and promoting communication and collaboration among organizations in the state that conduct civic education programs. The structure is as follows:

- Governor or designee
- Lieutenant Governor or designee
- State Attorney General or designee
- Secretary of State or designee
- President of the Senate or designee
- Speaker of the House of Representatives or designee
- Chairman of the Senate Committee on Education or designee
- Chairman of the House Committee on Education or designee
- State Superintendent of Education or designee
- President of the State Board of Elementary and Secondary Education or designee
- One State Coordinator of the Louisiana Legislator's Back to School Program to represent the Senate appointed by the President of the Senate
- One State Coordinator of the Louisiana Legislator's Back to School Program to represent the House of Representatives appointed by the Speaker of the House
- State Coordinator of Project Citizen
- Executive Director of the Public Affairs Research Council
- Executive Director of the Council for a Better Louisiana
- One member to represent the Louisiana Public Broadcasting System appointed by the Executive Director of the Public Broadcasting Corporation
- One member to represent the League of Women Voters appointed by the League of Women Voters of Louisiana
- One member to represent Louisiana Press Association and the Association Broadcasters appointed by the President of each association acting jointly
- One member to represent the Louisiana Center for Law and Civic Education appointed by the President of its Board of Directors
- One member to represent the Louisiana Association of Nonprofit Organizations appointed by the Chairman of the Louisiana Association of Nonprofit Organizations
- One member to represent the Louisiana Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People appointed by the President of the Louisiana Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
- Chairman of the Louisiana Serve Commission or designee

The members of the Commission must elect a Chairman, Vice Chairman, and other officers that will be determined to carry out its functions. No compensation will be provided to the members for services, but members may be reimbursed for reasonable necessary travel and expenses. The commission is to hold at least two meetings per year and may hold other meetings upon the call of the Chair or the majority of the members.

The initial meeting shall be called by the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives acting jointly. Staff and facilities needed by the commission to accomplish its purpose shall be provided by the Legislature from existing resources. The commission shall be charged with the following:

- Develop and coordinate outreach programs in collaboration with schools to educate students in the importance of understanding that representative democracy is a process dependent on reasoned debate, good faith, negotiation and compromise, individual involvement is a critical factor in community success, and consideration and respect for others must be shown when deliberating, negotiating, and advocating positions on public concerns.
- Identify civic education projects in Louisiana and provide technical assistance as may be needed.
- Build a network of education professionals to share information and strength in partnerships.
- Develop consultation with entities having representatives on the commission and others as determined by the commission.
- Develop a clearinghouse which shall be available on the Internet to include but not be limited to a database of civic education resources, lesson plans, and other programs of best practices in civic education, a bulletin board to promote discussion on and exchange of ideas relative to civic education, an events calendar, and links to civic education research.
- Value and support successful education programs in the state and encourage expansion of those efforts.
- Prepare and provide an annual report of activities to the Governor and Legislature.

The commission may seek, accept and expend monies from any source including donations, state appropriations, and federal grants and may seek, accept and use services from individuals, corporations and government entities.

Ms. Rando indicated to Senator Bee that instructions in the Kentucky legislation are very general and an appropriation was not included, whereas the Louisiana legislation is fairly detailed and provides for an appropriation and outside sources of funding.

Rhode Island: The State of Rhode Island established a 17-member commission including legislators from both parties, teachers, and designees from the Superintendent of Education and a variety of associations and nonprofits, such as the Historical Society. The commission will be studying the areas of concern in Rhode Island, furnish advice and information, and must provide a report of the findings and recommendations to the Speaker of the House, the Senate Majority Leader, and the Commission of Elementary and Secondary Education. The commission will meet four times per year and there is no language preventing an appropriation.

Virginia: The State of Virginia established a commission composed of 23 members, 6 legislative, 11 non-legislative, and 6 ex-officio. The members can receive compensation and necessary expenses, and funding is derived from the Department of Education. The commission is empowered to develop and coordinate outreach plans of

collaboration, identify civic education programs in the state, and build a network of professionals. The commission expires on July 1, 2008.

Ms. Rando stated that she did not find a sunset law for the commissions established in Kentucky, Louisiana, and Rhode Island. She understands the State of Massachusetts has a bill that is expected to pass in the next few days with a 10-year run for the commission and an appropriation.

Discussion of Draft Recommendations

Cochairman Burns reviewed a handout stating that the mission of the Commission on Civic Education is to promote the goal of informed, responsible participation in political life by competent citizens committed to the fundamental values and principles of the American system. The commission would focus on civic education and civic engagement to include children, youth, college and adults. The life of the commission would be 10 years. The commission may make recommendations to all levels of government on ideas that will promote and enhance civic education and civic engagement. Four options for establishing a commission are as follows:

Option 1: Fourteen-member commission composed of current elected officials and designated lay members.

- Governor
- Chief Justice of the Arizona Supreme Court
- Secretary of State
- Attorney General
- Superintendent of Public Instruction
- Three members of the House of Representatives appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, not more than two shall be from the same political party
- Three members of the Senate appointed by the President of the Senate, not more than two shall be from the same political party
- Three members from other groups to be determined by the Ad Hoc Committee

Ms. Burns commented that it could be difficult to get all of these people together since they are in office.

Option 2: Same as Option 1, except elected officials could appoint a designee.

Ms. Burns noted that this would address the problem of getting everyone together, but there would not be as much media attention, focus, or high-profile people.

Option 3: Nine-member commission, initial appointments will set precedent that former statesmen with no future political aspirations serve on the commission.

- Three members appointed by the Governor
- Three members appointed by the Speaker
- Three members appointed by the President

Ms. Burns said there would still be high-profile people who have the time and commitment. Very basic and general guidelines would be provided so there is flexibility, but the first time

around, appointments would be lined up by the time the legislation passes. The idea is to have people not necessarily interested in politics and without an agenda, except the commitment to focus on civic education and civic engagement, who also know a lot about Arizona politics and have contacts with current elected officials, so there would be some media attention and focus.

Option 4: Ten-member commission, initial appointments will set precedent that former statesmen with no future political aspirations serve on the commission.

- Two members appointed by the Governor
- Two members appointed by the Speaker
- Two members appointed by the President
- One member appointed by the Chief Justice of the Arizona Supreme Court
- One member appointed by the Secretary of State
- One member appointed by the Attorney General
- One member appointed by the Superintendent of Public Instruction

Ms. Burns said with this option, the members could be former Governors or Teacher of the Year. The idea is not to require a certain number of members from either political party so people can be chosen who have the time and willingness to serve.

Regarding the mission, Ms. Burns related that instead of including as much detail as the Louisiana legislation, the proposed legislation would be fairly general so the commission would have the latitude to make recommendations and suggestions. That is why recommendations could be made to all levels of government, such as the city council or the Arizona Department of Education. Focusing on children, youth, college, and adults covers the entire spectrum. The commission could be reconstituted and continued after 10 years, but 10 years provides a certain amount of time. The commission could have different ideas every year, some short term and some long term.

Discussion followed among the Members regarding the options, after which the Members indicated agreement to recommend establishment of a Commission on Civic Education.

Public Testimony (continued)

Beth Hebert, Senior Program Director, Young Men's Christian Association Youth and Government, stated that Youth and Government is a civics education and leadership development program for high school students. Civics is part of everyday life and young children need to be taught how to become informed and engaged citizens. Youth and Government has a dynamic program that is recreational, experiential, and opens students up to learning more about how governmental processes work in the state. Participants participate in local weekly meetings and learn issue development, critical thinking skills, how to research the Arizona Revised Statutes, public speaking techniques, the processes of parliamentary procedure, and how a bill becomes law. One weekend each year students from throughout Arizona convene at the State Capitol and conduct a three-day simulation of Arizona government. The students elect their own Governor, Attorney General, Speaker of the House, President of the Senate, Secretary of State, Supreme Court Chief Justice, chief lobbyist, and various other committee leaders and legislative officers. The students discuss subjects such as taxes, education, crime,

public health and annexation. The most important thing the students learn in the program is how to advocate for themselves or their community.

Senator Bee commented that there are many outstanding groups with great programs. The intent is to create a network of communication amongst these organizations and education in order to establish a strong program in Arizona.

Jeffery Schrade, Program Director, Arizona Civics Coalition, testified that he had an opportunity to talk a lot about civic education at the Congressional Conference on Civic Education, which was partly the genesis of ideas for the commission. He cited the names of organizations involved in the Arizona Civics Coalition:

- Arizona Community Foundation
- Kids Voting Arizona
- State Bar of Arizona
- Arizona State University West School of Education
- Arizona State University Walter Cronkite School of Journalism
- Arizona Council for Social Studies
- Administrative Office of the Courts
- Humanities Council
- State Library and Archives
- City of Phoenix Youth Town Hall
- Maricopa County Community College Center for Civic Participation
- Hugh O'Brien Youth Leadership
- Military Order of the World Wars Arizona Youth Leadership Conference
- Community Initiatives YMCA
- Close Up Foundation
- Arizona School Boards Association
- Arizona Historical Society
- Arizona League of Women Voters

Mr. Schrade said these organizations are similar to organizations in other states on civic education commissions. It is important for the commission members to hear from people on the ground who are actively involved and impassioned about this change in strengthening civic education.

Ms. Burns remarked that the commission members would be the idea people, but teachers and everyone on the ground would actually do the work and make it happen. This could be a great partnership in moving forward.

Mr. Anderson asked if it would be better to have two people from the Civics Coalition on the commission. Mr. Schrade responded that it would be good to have two or three people or some mechanism for representation or communication to avoid the possibility of being disjointed.

Mr. Anderson wondered if the Coalition could hold a meeting to select two delegates to the commission. Ms. Burns stated that the Attorney General does not have to appoint a former

Attorney General, but could appoint the State Bar President, for example. Senator Gray remarked that since the Teacher of the Year is probably very busy during that year, perhaps someone from the Arizona Council of Social Studies could be considered.

Ms. Burns asked if the Members wish to delineate membership more clearly or allow some flexibility. The plan is to develop a list of people so that before the bill passes a precedent is set the first time around for who is on the commission. Senator Mitchell said he would like to leave it open, with suggestions as to the kinds of people the Members believe are important to be represented.

Mr. Anderson suggested adding a general clause for appointment of two people from the Civics Coalition selected by the Civics Coalition, opining that it is key to have the group represented since it has done most of the legwork.

Ms. Burns said there could be a separation of powers problem if the Governor only appointed one member and the Speaker and President appointed three, so the number of appointments by the Executive Branch may have to be increased.

Chairman Bee suggested that another option could be to have the Governor appoint three members, two of which should be selected from the Arizona Coalition, for example.

Janice Palmer, Governmental Relations Analyst, Arizona School Boards Association (ASBA), stated that the ASBA is very committed to civic education as far as being the foundation of public schools and wants to be as helpful as possible. If the commission is going to be an overreaching public relations-type group with high-status people to focus on civic education, there could be a subcommittee as far as people to actually implement some of the suggestions. If the Members are considering more of an action-oriented team, some organizations should at least be considered, such as the State Board of Education since it is the policy-setting body for social studies standards in which civic education is embedded.

Senator Bee responded that there was a vision of having a high-level high-visibility commission that would work in conjunction with groups like the Civic Coalition and ASBA. Ms. Palmer said that makes a huge difference as far as appointments.

Ms. Burns added that the commission of high-profile people could create work groups to focus on different aspects. She added that she was advised by staff that the legislation cannot specifically delineate the Arizona Civics Coalition, but would have to be more generic and state an organization interested in civic education, etc.

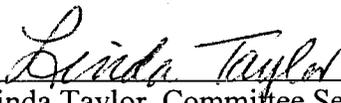
Dr. Kevin Good, Arizona Foundation for Legal Services and Education, advised that commissions he served on in the past were composed of high-power people, but there were also people who were not members of the commission, but regularly attended meetings and presented reports as the commission members did not have the time. The Arizona Civics Coalition would be worker bees. The organization wants somebody who can provide a voice and help put things in a broader perspective. It is important to make sure both groups hear one another and there is a built-in structure that is tied.

Ms. Burns stated that the proposed legislation will give the commission the authority to establish subcommittees.

Adoption of Draft Recommendations

Ms. Burns moved that the Joint Legislative Ad Hoc Committee on Civic Education adopt a recommendation for establishment of a Commission on Civic Education whose mission is to promote the goal of informed responsible participation in political life by competent citizens committed to the fundamental values and principles of the American system. It will focus on civic education and civic engagement. The focus is to include children, youth, college students, and adults. There will be a 10-year life of the commission. The commission may make recommendations to all levels of government on ideas that will promote and enhance civic education and engagement. The commission will have the authority to establish working groups or subcommittees to complete the commission's duties. The commission will be a 13-member commission. The initial appointments will set the precedent that former statesmen with no future political aspirations serve on the commission. There will be three members appointed by the Governor and three appointed by the Speaker, two of those Members shall be legislators, one from each party. There will be three members appointed by the President, two of such being senators, one from each party. There will be one member appointed by the Chief Justice of the Arizona Supreme Court, one member appointed by the Secretary of State, one member appointed by the Attorney General, and one member appointed by the Superintendent of Public Instruction. The motion carried.

Without objection, the meeting adjourned at 11:03 a.m.



Linda Taylor, Committee Secretary
December 16, 2005

(Original minutes, attachments, and tape are on file in the Office of the Chief Clerk.)

Commission on Civic Education

Commission on Civic Education whose mission is to promote the goal of informed, responsible participation in political life by competent citizens committed to the fundamental values and principles of the American system

- Focus on civic education and civic engagement.
- Focus to include children, youth, college and adults.
- Ten year life of Commission.
- The Commission may make recommendations to all levels of government on ideas that will promote and enhance civic education and civic engagement.

Option 1

Fourteen member Commission – composed of current elected officials and designated lay members.

- Governor.
- Chief Justice of the Arizona Supreme Court.
- Secretary of State.
- Attorney General.
- Superintendent of Public Instruction.
- Three members of the House of Representatives, appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, not more than two shall be from the same political party.
- Three members of the Senate, appointed by the President of the Senate not more than two shall be from the same political party.
- Three members from other groups to be determined by Ad Hoc Committee.

Option 2

Fourteen member Commission – composed of current elected officials or their designees and designated lay members.

- Governor or designee.
- Chief Justice of the Arizona Supreme Court or designee.
- Secretary of State or designee.
- Attorney General or designee.
- Superintendent of Public Instruction or designee.
- Three members of the House of Representatives, appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, not more than two shall be from the same political party.
- Three members of the Senate, appointed by the President of the Senate not more than two shall be from the same political party.
- Three members from other groups to be determined by Ad Hoc Committee.

Option 3

Nine member Commission – initial appointments will set precedent that former Statesmen, with no future political aspirations, serve on the Commission.

- Three appointed by the governor.
- Three appointed by the speaker.
- Three appointed by the president.

Option 4

Ten member Commission – initial appointments will set precedent that former Statesmen, with no future political aspirations, serve on the Commission.

- Two appointed by the governor.
- Two appointed by the speaker.
- Two appointed by the president.
- One appointed by the Chief Justice of the Arizona Supreme Court.
- One appointed by the Secretary of State.
- One appointed by the Attorney General.
- One appointed by the Superintendent of Public Instruction.

**Recommendation of the
Joint Legislative Ad Hoc Committee on Civic Education**

The Joint Legislative Ad Hoc Committee on Civic Education adopted a recommendation on December 6, 2005, for the establishment of a Commission on Civic Education whose mission is to promote the goal of informed, responsible participation in political life by competent citizens committed to the fundamental values and principles of the American system. The Commission will have a focus on civic education and civic engagement, a focus to include children, youth, college students and adults, a ten year life, the ability to make recommendations to all levels of government on ideas that will promote and enhance civic education and civic engagement and the authority to establish working groups and subcommittees to complete the Commission's duties.

The 13-member Commission will include initial appointments that will set a precedent that former statesmen, with no future political aspirations, serve on the Commission. Membership will include three members appointed by the Governor, one member appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, one member appointed by the President of the Senate, one member appointed by the Chief Justice of the Arizona Supreme Court, one member appointed by the Secretary of State, one member appointed by the Attorney General, one member appointed by the Superintendent of Public Instruction, two members of the House of Representatives, appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, from different political parties and two members of the Senate, appointed by the President of the Senate, from different political parties.