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Educating Democracy

State Standards To Ensure a Civic Core

By Paul Gagnon

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The Albert Shanker Institute, endowed by the American Federation of Teachers and named in honor of its late president, is a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization dedicated to three themes—children's education, unions as advocates for quality, and freedom of association in the public life of democracies. Its mission is to generate ideas, foster candid exchanges, and promote constructive policy proposals related to these issues.

The institute commissions original analyses, organizes seminars, sponsors publications and subsidizes selected projects. Its independent Board of Directors is composed of educators, business representatives, labor leaders, academics, and public policy analysts.

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As students, parents, and grandparents, many Americans have thought about quality public schools in personal terms—and rightly so. The realities of modern society and an uncertain economy dictate that we urge our youngsters to pursue learning as their best avenue to the American dream, self-fulfillment, and economic prosperity.

And yet, we cannot afford to forget that Americans' educational interests are not just an important private benefit, but about a vital public good—the reason that we, as citizens, are called upon to help provide a quality education to the children of strangers, not just our own. As Paul Gagnon reminds us in these pages and Thomas Jefferson argued so persuasively, free access to education and the health of our democracy are inextricably linked. It is a link we break only at our peril.

The youngsters our schools educate today are not just "other people's children" and someone else's concern.They are also the fellow citizens who will help shape the future and the nation that our own children will inherit. We must do all we can to provide them with the knowledge, the foresight, the vocabulary, and the analytic skills that responsible citizenship demand.

That is what this study is about. Over the past fifteen years, our nation started down the long and difficult road of creating a standards-based education system—our best hope of making progress toward the dual (and often dueling) goals of equity and excellence. The fact that Dr. Gagnon was able to find and evaluate 48 state (standards in the social studies including civics, history, geography, and economics) is itself a testament to how far we have come.

Now that these standards have been written, and states have begun to make steps toward implementation, Dr. Gagnon was asked to evaluate their strength with regard to preparing an informed citizenry. As the first such effort ever undertaken, a finding of mixed results is only to be expected. Interestingly, most states expressed gratitude to receive their state reviews, with many indicating that this analysis would be used to inform future revisions.

We should also be clear:This study says nothing about how many teachers, schools, and school systems around the country are already doing an excellent job of educating citizens for our democracy—or how many are struggling and would like some extra help.

What it does is tell us whether the standards documents that states have created are a useful tool for teachers and schools as they endeavor to fulfill this vital mission.

The events of September 11, 2001 and the intervening months are a painful reminder that we cannot afford to take the survival of democracy and democratic values for granted. And as the inhumanity of terrorism demonstrates, these values do not come naturally. As it has been said, devotion to human dignity and freedom, to social and economic justice, to self-restraint and the rule of law, to civility and truth, to diversity and civic responsibility—all these must be taught and learned and practiced.

Our educators deserve every assistance in the teaching of democracy and the values that sustain it.

—SANDRA FELDMAN,
President, American Federation of Teachers
and Albert Shanker Institute

Introduction:

Why this study and why a civic core?

Since our nation's birth, the prime reason for free public education in a common school has been to nurture politically perceptive, committed citizens. Thomas Jefferson argued that each of us should be equipped to make our own decisions on what would "secure or endanger" our freedom. A generation later, Alexis de Tocqueville thought the spread of democracy—with all its possibilities and challenges—was inevitable. The power of ideas, he argued—both good and bad—would henceforth govern every sphere of a democratic nation's life.Thus he declared political education to be democracy's first need and first duty.

Why this study?

Like Jefferson and de Tocqueville, most citizens want to know that children are being prepared to assume the responsibilities of citizenship. For this, they need to know whether their state's official standards for social studies—history, civics, geography, and economics—serve to help, hinder, or do nothing in the education of young citizens. Well before the horror of September 11th, Americans were told that such education was in trouble. Tests and polls were saying what they have for fifty years: that secondary and college students, and indeed most of the rest of us, have only a feeble grasp of politics and a vague awareness of the history—especially the political history—of the United States and the world.

It was news, but not new, when a federal assessment of student achievement—the 2001 National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP)—found that only 17 percent of eighth graders scored at proficient or advanced levels in U.S. history. Less than half knew the Supreme Court could decide a law's constitutionality. Worse, the percentage of high-schoolers scoring at the proficient or advanced level dropped to 11 percent. Only a third knew what the Progressive Era was and most were not sure whom we fought in World War II.

Other bad signs accumulate.The young vote less and less, and do not read of politics or become involved in electoral campaigns. Many loudly mimic adult cynicism about "politics." Higher education promises little help. Not long ago, 81 percent of seniors at 55 leading colleges and universities earned an F or D when quizzed on twenty high school American history questions. Asked about Reconstruction, 60 percent thought it referred to repairing physical damage from the Civil War. Editorials raged.The Senate and House jointly told university leaders to rethink their curricula, despite the fact that most had long ago dropped history and

government as a requirement for the "general education" of students.

Perhaps worse for democracy than low scores and the public distrust of politics, however, is the low view of the people's intelligence held by many leaders in politics, business and the media. That negative view forces candidates and office-holders to mask the truth, hiding difficulties they know are there in favor of popular, but facile answers. History shows how dangerous it is for democracy when leaders fear to say anything new, complex or difficult, lest demagogues unseat them with cheap, one-dimensional rhetoric.

Since before the nation's birth, we have been told that only an educated people can let public debate rise above sea level. Now as ever, at stake is democracy's gamble that enough of us have—and can show that we have—sufficient grasp of public issues to liberate those leaders who would speak the truth and deter others from feeding us pabulum. What, then, must we know? This study examines how forty-eight states (plus the District of Columbia and the Department of Defense schools) chose to answer this question through their standards for social studies content in the secondary grades.

That 50 state and district teams labored long and hard to set common content standards is much to their credit. It also shows how far we have come since the 1984 publication of *A Nation at Risk* and the 1989 national education summit, where the idea of common academic standards for all students was advocated as America's best hope to raise the quality and equality of its schools. For this study, we examined all published "standards" documents (some are referred to by other names) from forty-eight states (Iowa and Rhode Island do not have them statewide), D.C. and the DOD schools. They list the knowledge and skills students should have by the end of high school from their pre-college social studies subjects: history, civics, geography, and economics. Many also set an order of courses from kindergarten through high school to convey content across the grades and set grade levels for state tests.

This study deals only with what states say should be taught and learned. It does not evaluate teaching practices, or teacher preparation, school resources, or assessments of student achievement. Statewide standards are still new to the nation and their implementation has only begun. Thus, what follows tries to answer one question only: *If implemented*, would the standards be likely to improve students' political education, or not?

What we found varies widely. Much good work has been done in many states. Some standards could surely help to broaden and deepen student understanding. More would do so if modestly revised. Others, unless wholly rewritten, would make things worse by dragging teachers away from the good work they already do. The worst could also happen, of course, even with the best standards, if tests are not aligned with those standards (still the case in some states), or if districts fail to prepare teachers to teach the new content the standards call for, or if state and district authorities fail to provide the proper resources and working conditions for a standards-based system to succeed.

Why a common core in a diverse society?

The work of setting standards—deciding what is most important and what is less-important or not important—is crucial. So is bringing what is most important into a common "core" of civic/political studies, ensuring equal opportunity to learn—a primary aim of standards-based reform. From proposed national standards drafted by experts in each subject down to those of the states, the most common failure is in not deciding on priorities. This arises from the contentious nature of

social studies, especially history's mountains of content, much of it controversial.

Rather than battle over what to put in and leave out, writers put in everything, either in the form of endless specifics or vast headings that could "cover" any and all unnamed essentials.

Still, the battles go on. And, since no school can teach everything in a limited amount of time, standards are often attacked and revised—wrenched in this direction or that, ignored or narrowly interpreted by local interests. Schools are left adrift, at the mercy of shifting views. All this also imposes impossible demands on the teachers and test-writers, who are charged with tailoring instruction and assessments to the standards.

The common civic core offers two remedies. The "civic" part allows educators to focus on history/social studies topics that best nourish citizens' political judgment.The "core," properly designed, frees generous portions of instructional time and allows districts, local schools, and teachers to select other topics for themselves. State tests can then give priority to predictable political topics, broadly defined, to meet what the social studies establishment has always called its prime responsibility: preparing a competent citizenry.

To fulfill its purpose, a civic core must be required of all students and be uniform in its main focus, though not in detail or methods.The same learning for everyone? The usual objections "Whose culture is it? Who is to say?" should not apply to civic education. Nobody would ask the same of the other two purposes of education: preparing us for work and for private, personal fulfillment. The answer is that citizens of whatever class, race, age, gender, religion or cultural taste need a common body of knowledge that gives them the power to talk to each other as equals on their society's priorities, each others' experiences in it, and the political choices it confronts. Together, they need to grasp what speakers and newspapers say, and what they do not say but could.

The past repeatedly proves that no sort of diversity is safe, or has a chance at equality, except among people with common democratic ideas of politics, who also know and have learned to worry about the dangers to democracy and what it has always cost to keep it alive. This is a matter of rights and survival. A democracy has a right to ask every student to master a civic core, and students have the right as citizens not to be allowed to avoid it, because democracy's survival depends upon our opening to each new generation the political vision of liberty and equality that unites us as Americans.The values that sustain democracy are not natural habits; we are not born with them. Devotion to human equality and freedom, to social and economic justice, to truth and rule of law, to acceptance of diversity and mutual aid, to personal self-restraint and self-respect—all these need teaching, learning, and practice.They are not just options the society can do without.

As noted above, a common core of learning is often challenged as unsuitable in a society as diverse as ours in race, ethnicity, religion and culture. An effective civic core will not emerge, and would not work if it did emerge, unless teachers, scholars, citizens/parents and policymakers can answer this challenge, directly and honestly, to the satisfaction of most Americans. The answer has several aspects.

First, modern democratic schools must work at three distinct kinds of education because in each of us are three different "persons": a worker, a citizen, and a private individual with, we hope, a meaningful inner life that fortifies both work and citizenship. The Declaration of Independence touches upon these three aims in citing Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness. Work sustains life, citizenship safeguards liberty, and personal cultivation enables the pursuit of happiness, however defined.

Second, saying that America is so fragmented that it is oppressive to teach any particular history or tradition ignores the very different needs of education's three aims. True, what students need to prepare for work and for private life can, and very often should, vary widely.

What follows tries to answer one question only. If implemented, would the standards be likely to improve students' political education, or not?

But education for citizenship is special. It is precisely our common political heritage that frees us to differ from one another, yet live together in relative peace and liberty. This heritage is also what impels us to respect and defend the rights of those we see as different from ourselves.

Third, without admitting it (often without knowing it), American school reformers are finally copying what Europeans did a generation ago in the name of civic equality: providing all students, regardless of likely employment or social status, with a common core of academic studies into the secondary grades. This was not only to prepare young Europeans for work in the new postwar economies, but to produce competent and committed citizens. In reaction to Nazi occupation and their own collaboration in resistance, many liberals and conservatives saw a self-evident necessity of democracy—that all citizens must be educated well beyond the narrow confines of their jobs, whether they be unskilled laborers or highly qualified professionals.

In his 1965 book, *The Genius of American Education*, Lawrence Cremin issued the same challenge to Americans:

> On the basis of prudence alone, no modern industrial nation can fail to afford every one of its citizens a maximum opportunity for intellectual and moral development. And beyond prudence, there is justice. No society that calls itself democratic can settle for an education that does not encourage universal acquaintance with the best that has been thought and said.... Any lesser goal,it seems to me, is narrow and unlovely, and ultimately destructive of democracy.†

Finally, a civic core as political education of citizens is not indoctrination, but a challenge to the very notion of conformity. Its main lines were set forth in the 1987 booklet *Education for Democracy: A Statement of Principles*. (See Appendix D for the full text.) The late Albert Shanker was the force behind this publication, which was co-sponsored by the American Federation of Teachers, Freedom House, and the Education Excellence Network. It was signed by 150 American leaders across the political, professional, and educational spectrum, including Presidents Ford and Carter, Senators Hatch and Kennedy, Lynne Cheney and Marian Wright Edelman, E. D. Hirsch, Jr. and Theodore Sizer, Norman Lear and Norman Podhoretz, Barbara Jordan, Bayard Rustin and Elie Wiesel. What was needed, it said, was not indoctrination, but "a fullness of knowledge, an objective and balanced picture of world realities, historical and contemporary."

> We do not ask for propaganda,or for crash courses in the right attitudes,nor for knee-jerk patriotic drill. We do not want to capsulize democracy's argument into slogans, or pious texts,or bright debaters'points. The history and nature and needs of democracy are much too serious and subtle for that.

The first part of this report suggests the desirable subject matter content for a civic core of learning in the secondary grades, and offers five criteria by which state standards documents may be evaluated. Next appears a review of the general difficulties encountered by writers of standards and frameworks, with emphasis on the needed study of political ideas and institutions, of United States and world history, and of Western and non-Western studies.

Part One ends by comparing the state documents according to the five criteria. Part Two contains separate descriptions and evaluations of standards for each state. Appendix A offers one of many possible versions of what a civic core for the secondary grades could look like. Appendix B offers suggestions on how to use teaching time and still leave time for other history/social studies topics. Appendix C contains state responses to the evaluations of standards. In cases where the findings were changed, based on new information that the state provided, the relevant points are highlighted. Appendix D is a reprint of 1987's *Education for Democracy: A Statement of Principles.*

† Cremin, Lawrence A. (1965).The Genius of American Education. Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press.

Part One:

How to educate democracy?

As he worried about French and American politics in the mid-1830s, de Tocqueville declared in the opening pages of *Democracy in America* that the "first of the duties that are at this time imposed upon those who direct our affairs is to educate democracy." But how to do it? Despite our electronic age and the supposed "transformation" of life and learning that makes yesterday's knowledge obsolete, today's answers are the same as his. Citizens, he said, have to learn three things: One, how the political system works, by going out and working at it. Two, how well or badly political ideas and action turned out in the past, by reading history. Three, what virtues a free society cannot do without, by reflecting on religion, ethics, law, biography, and again history. Moreover, the three must be kept in one's head at the same time, since none prevails by itself. Political cunning alone can be short-sighted, self-promoting, corruptible. Desk-bound erudition is barren. And against the power of fanatics and special interests, virtue alone has no defense. Shifting from quill pen to computer does not transform these fundamentals.

Educating democracy, then, runs deeper than the conventional civics training pressed by those who want to cure political apathy in the young. They are right, of course, to insist on more and livelier civic instruction in school and more community service outside of it. We all need to know how government is supposed to work and how to be adroit, not only well-intentioned, in helping others. But citizens need much more: the critical judgment gained from knowing past and present politics and the fortitude to act bravely in hard times when turning away is easier and often more profitable.

Lest straw men arise, let us be clear. In asking how well state standards can help ready people for democratic politics, we do not dream that schools have the power to do that alone. We thankfully recognize that citizens are nurtured outside classrooms by family, church, civic associations, community work, candid journalism, and the better acts of government. And we know how limited is schooling's power to free students from the "virtual reality" and data glut brought by the information age. Schools are also in daily battle with the folly and distractions of popular culture, such as the new technological toys and mass entertainments that turn youngsters' attention away from healthy play and learning.

What should be in a civic core?

The essential ingredients for a political education were briefly summarized in *Education for Democracy: A Statement of Principles*. The issues it posed in 1987 are still with us:

> Are the ideas and institutions—and above all the worth—of democracy adequately conveyed in American schools? Do our graduates come out of school possessing the mature political judgment Jefferson hoped for, an ability to decide for themselves "what will secure or endanger" their freedom? Do they know of democracy's short, troubled tenure in human history? Do they comprehend its vulnerability?

What should citizens know? *Education for Democracy* offered a concrete answer to the question educators usually answer in the abstract. It recommended specifics that students should be offered in school. They should know the fundamentals of civics—the principles and workings of federal, state, and local government, of the law and court systems, the rights and duties of citizens, and how the United States Constitution and its resulting institutions and practices are like and unlike those of other societies. As a guide to writing standards and local curricula, the *National Standards for Civics and Government* published by the Center for Civic Education (Calabasas, CA, 1994) are clear and balanced. Most of their content is teachable in the time schools have. The *Standards* offer central themes and questions on free, constitutional government to be posed across the grades. In addition, a senior capstone course in civics should once more be required in all school districts. (See Appendix B for one idea of how secondary schools can find the time to teach a civic core and still allow time for other teaching in the social studies.)

Political education, however, requires more than mastery of civics itself. To sustain the principles, institutions, and practices of democracy, citizens need to understand why and how they came into being, the conditions that allowed them to be established, as well as the ideas

and forces that have been supportive or destructive of them over time. What, then, should citizens know of United States and world history? *Education for Democracy* answered plainly, proposing common curricular content along three lines.

First, the sources of our eighteenth-century founders' political vision, that "patriotism of principles" holding us together as one people of diverse origins, cultures, and personal beliefs. Good civics standards ask students to know basic political documents and practices: the Mayflower Compact, colonial town meetings and assemblies, protests invoking English principles violated by English rule, the Declaration of Independence, state constitutions, the U. S. Constitution, Federalist and anti-Federalist arguments, the Bill of Rights, free speech, press, assembly, and religion. But to comprehend the founders' vision fully and reflect on its condition today, students must also know much of what the founders knew: the faith, learning, experience, and memories behind their debates and decisions.

When did their ideas first arise, where and in whose minds? What conditions of life led earlier generations, elsewhere in the world, to think of them? How did earlier people see human nature, its possibilities and its limits? What notions of good and evil, honor and shame, justice and oppression, did they hold? American students cannot seriously debate today's questions in ignorance of the mixed, highly contentious legacy left by the ancient Greeks, Romans, Jews, Christians, and Muslims, by the very diverse history of the Middle Ages, by thinkers and doers of the Renaissance and Reformation, the English Revolution (ancestor to ours), the Scientific Revolution, the Enlightenment, and the French Revolution (cousin to ours). These studies bring students to the end of the eighteenth century.

Second, they need to remember true stories of how people here and across the world have fought to turn democratic ideas into practice, from the eighteenth century to now. Through out, it is essential that students examine vital, continuing themes and questions that should be carried across the grades and repeatedly posed for different times and people. What anti-democratic ideas and impulses had to be overcome to build freer, more just societies? What old practices had to be ended? What new institutions put in place? Who defended them and how? Who tried to destroy them and why? What conditions of people's lives—economic, social, religious, military, educational—helped democracy take root and survive? What conditions undermined it? And, in turn, what political decisions made things better or worse? Repeated study of these overarching themes and questions brings students up to yesterday.

Third, citizens need a "worried awareness" of today's economic and social conditions, of political ideas and forces across the world. The above themes and questions still apply. Which ideas and forces threaten democracy and the conditions favoring it, here and elsewhere? They need to know their own society's inner workings, the balances of power behind the headlines. To see their own lives sensibly, they need to know other societies, those free and prosperous—some of them ahead of us in social and educational matters—and those where the many live and die in misery and deadly oppression. Put together with studies of geography, history, and biography—and, we hope, arts and literature—global awareness opens grown-up perspectives that ward off envy, self-pity, self-glorification, and other low obsessions bad for any society and death for democracy.

A proper civic core is a tall order: a study of American society and politics, and other people's ideas and lives, past and present, from kindergarten through high school. Not easy, it asks for greater intensity of study than American schools have up to now expected of the mass of students. Teachers of history/social studies should no longer think themselves failures if all students do not take to it, any more than all of them will take to the tough—but, in fact,

Citizens need a "worried awareness" of today's economic and social conditions, of political ideas and forces across the world.

less difficult—work of learning chemistry or calculus. A civic core asks students to recall and even to understand a very great deal of human reality. There are no memorizable formulas, which is why it is easier to train a doctor or engineer than to educate a citizen. And there is no way to tell ahead of time which students will take to what subject, at what age, or under what circumstances. Democratic educators bear the responsibility to offer equal substance to all of them.

A civic core for the secondary grades: Vital topics

Essential topics fall into two categories: those revealing dangers to democracy, and those teaching its foundations and sources of support. Neither can be taught in general, but should draw upon well-selected, true stories of men and women caught up in the suspense-filled, unending drama of democracy's adventure. To engage students, the core should highlight the episodes that capture unforgettably the conditions, impulses, and actions that have proven toxic to democracy, (or to any society seeking a measure of decency). Among them are plutocracy and poverty, with their ensuing class fears and hatreds; slavery of any degree; exploitation, corruption, or the evasion of public service and taxes by the privileged; inflation or depression, both ruinous to the "middle" classes; ethnic, racial, and religious fanaticism; militarism and the appetite for empire; secret government; the malign effects of both victory and defeat in war; waste of resources; mass escapism in hard times; prominent evidence of cultural or moral decay; ill-prepared and impulsive leaders; imbalance of power groups within society; a subdued press; rigged elections; demagoguery and the political illiteracy it feeds upon. Some of these are found in all eras, places, and peoples—unhappy signs of human equality.

Among such topics would be the self-imposed ruin and disappearance of Athenian democracy and the Roman Republic; the corruption and decline of the Roman Empire; Cromwell's dictatorship in seventeenth-century England; the failure of French liberal regimes in the 1790s and 1848; the United States' civil war in the 1860s; the crushing of Russia's reformist provisional government by the Bolsheviks in 1917; the Weimar Republic's collapse under Nazi assault in 1933, opening the way to World War II and the Holocaust; the failure of semi-paralyzed Western democracies to build collective security to halt aggression in the 1930s.These and other episodes are stories Americans need. Each has its own mix of toxins. But students should also see that, except for 1917 Russia, all happened in societies advanced

for their time, not so hobbled as are new nations now struggling for democracy. Of them, England, France, and the United States had high literacy rates, ample resources, political and administrative experience, and relative security from outside enemies. Yet the average delay between the onset of revolution and final settlement was nearly 90 years: in England, 1603 to 1689; in France, 1789 to 1875; and in the U.S., 1775 to 1865, after a civil war bloodier than all of Europe's nineteenth-century revolutions put together.

On the other hand, and constantly interspersed, must be the ideas, people, conditions, and actions that nourished democracy and won its survival. First among them are the teachings of the major world religions and ethical systems: human dignity and equality; free will and responsibility of the individual; fair dealing; charity; fortitude; the obligation to ameliorate earthly life now and for posterity. Then they must learn the origins and evolution of political democracy: the political ideas and innovations of Athenian democracy and Roman republicanism; the feudal balance of armed power among king, nobles, and clergy necessary to contracts such as the Magna Carta and to parliaments limiting royal power; the much-ignored reformist side of Machiavelli, in his plea for competent leaders for the Florentine Republic; the forces of geography, economics, personality, and tradition behind Parliament's victory in England's seventeenth-century revolution.

From the eighteenth century, there is the rarely cited mixture of religious principles and Enlightenment reason that animated American and French revolutionary leaders; the personalities and favorable conditions that helped the American colonies to win their war for independence and allowed the new federal government to establish itself on the basis of the Constitution. In the nineteenth century, the early achievements of several British and European reform movements in adapting Enlightenment ideas to the surging economic and social changes of the Industrial Revolution; the emergence in several Western societies of the three countervailing powers of business, labor, and representative government; the advances in science, technology, medicine and surgery, sanitation, housing and diet, and free public education that stirred optimism in the Western world before 1914. In the twentieth century, the resources and leadership that helped Western democracies to overcome the corrosive effects of the Great Depression and to beat back totalitarian assaults. Overall the civic core needs to make clear that democracy's birth, growth, and survival have demanded great patience, vision, courage, sacrifice, brainwork, and some luck.

The samples of a detailed civic core and its timing and articulation across the grades that appear in Appendices A and B are, of course, only one of many possible patterns a core could take. It centers on narrative history courses about the United States and the world that bring together and give life to the concepts and influence of geography, economics, and politics. Across the middle and high school grades, it treats three eras in order: the origins of democratic ideas and institutions to 1800, that is, through the establishment of the Republic; democracy's advances and setbacks across the world, c.1800 to 1945; and the United States and the rest of the world since World War II.

To engage students, the core should highlight the episodes that capture unforgettably the conditions, impulses, and actions that have proven toxic to democracy.

Origins of democratic ideas and institutions to c.1800, after the American and French Revolutions

Here, as in the two following eras, are many topics critical to American political education. Other themes should and can appear in history/geography courses on the United States and the world. But since preparing citizens is the proclaimed purpose of the social studies, politi-

cal topics ought to enjoy a clear priority. As they study this period, students need to be reminded that the ideas, events, turning-points, and personalities of ancient, medieval, and early modern history were known to all literate people in the eighteenth century and nourished the political thought of America's founders. Regardless of their own religious practices, they knew well the principles of Judaism and Christianity that were applicable to political, economic, and social life.They were steeped in the thought of ancient Greece and Rome and their fates, in the medieval origins of constitutional (i.e., contractual) government, in Renaissance humanism, in the Protestant revolution of the sixteenth century and the English revolution of the seventeenth. For them, the discoveries and political implications of the Scientific Revolution were as fresh and contentious as are the Internet and globalization today. They took part in the Enlightenment and lived through the American and French Revolutions and their early effects on the rest of the world.

The founders' political vision was shaped by their historical perspective, focused by their lives as American colonists. Teachers will find that the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and Bill of Rights, and the Federalist and anti-Federalist writings are indispensable primary sources from which students may grasp the basic principles of our government and why they emerged as they did at the time. They may add the Northwest Ordinance, excerpts from state constitutions, court decisions, and civil rights laws. From all these, students will understand the main principles: popular sovereignty, the people's ultimate authority over government, and the necessity for democracy of limited constitutional, representative government in the hands of elected executive and legislative branches, which together shape a federal judiciary, making a three-way separation of powers for checks and balances. More important than the separation of powers at the center, they should understand that a balance of power within the society at large is the only guarantor of free and meaningful elections and of political and personal rights.They will see that the main features of the Constitution itself—the overriding American "contract"—grew out of the balance of power among the states represented in Philadelphia. Later, they will see that the constitutions of Napoleon I and the Soviet Union included elections, assemblies, the separation of powers, separate courts, etc. But only one real power roamed each land—Napoleon's army and police in France and the Communist party apparatus in the Soviet Union. Admirable words meant nothing, proving only that the American and French revolutions had forced tyrants to adopt a new vocabulary. Behind the window dressing there were no rights to a fair trial in defense of one's life, liberty, or property, no freedom of the press, speech, religion, assembly, or even travel about the country—all things that we and other citizens of democracies take for granted.

Democracy's advances and setbacks, c.1800-1945, world revolutions to the end of World War II

Topics for this era should begin with the lasting global effects of the American and French Revolutions. They told the world that three great transformations were not only possible but "natural," inevitable: One, national revolution, to win each people's right to an equal, independent place among nations. Two, political revolution, for free self-government, civil rights and civic equality under law made by honestly elected representatives. Three, social revolution, to advance economic and social justice for all classes. Nothing since has halted this triple revolution. How each people pursued it—what revolution they put first, and with what result—is at the heart of American and world history to this day. Instances where nationalism

is divorced from individual rights and the rule of law, where "social justice" is said to exist in the absence of civil rights and citizen self-rule—these are stories that are played out daily in international news coverage. Standards should make students acutely aware of the three revolutionary drives. Whether we like their aims or means does not lessen their force or our need to deal with them, here and abroad. If any one of them is frustrated for long, masses of otherwise well-meaning people can turn to fury, self-pity, and a search for scapegoats, Caesars, and violent solutions.

In United States history, the prior era, from the first colonies to the "peaceful revolution" of Jefferson's election over John Adams in 1800, culminated in the American Revolution and Constitution. The nineteenth century begins on precedents set by Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Hamilton, Marshall, and Monroe as shapers of the executive branch, federal initiatives, the judiciary and foreign policy. Main topics then move onto pre-Civil War reform attempts, the promises and realities of Jacksonian democracy, slave life and abolitionism, the Civil War and the failure of its sacrifices and of Reconstruction to make a Union lawful to ex-slaves.Then industrialization, waves of immigration, urbanization, the battles between labor and business in the Gilded Age, the origins of American imperialism, the Progressive era, the Great Depression and the two World Wars.

In world history from 1800 to 1945 are many topics vital to the political sophistication of citizens, from the failure of Latin American revolutions to reach even quasi-democracy, to the effect of the Industrial Revolution on social classes and ideas, and from nineteenth-century European revolutions and reforms (including the emancipation of Russian serfs making a lively contrast to ours), to Europe's imperial drive and the responses of the Africans, Arabs, Indians, Japanese, and Chinese. Western societies celebrated 1900 with lofty hopes for the new century. But the Great War of 1914-1918 drew a black curtain across the scene, and its effects darkened the rest of the 20th century: Bolshevik, Fascist, and Nazi revolutions, the Great Depression, the Second World War, the Cold War, and the spread of ever more destructive weaponry.

Overall the civic core needs to make clear that democracy's birth, growth, and survival have demanded great patience, vision, courage, sacrifice, brainwork, and some luck.

The United States and the world since 1945

However subjects are taught across the grades, students, citizens, and teachers are more easily engaged by what they hear of today. Standards and their accompanying curricula must bring history up to date, lest students see it as over and done with, rather than what it is: a force flowing into their lives, both opening and limiting their choices and those of their society. High school United States and world history courses must get to today well before the year ends. To leave time for that, and for teaching some topics in depth, the standards must not be overstuffed. One imperative here is that states abandon one-year surveys of national and world history, futilities avoided in other nations' schools.

Of the three eras, the post-World War II years most need to focus on democracy's gains and retreats—and, too often, its destruction by murderous dictatorships. Otherwise, ceaseless global change in all spheres of life and the glut of news about it are disorienting, and it can be hard to discern recent history's main lines. Students need to grasp the cold war's effects and the significance of its end as the context for many countries' moves toward or away from liberty and stability. Where was ethnic conflict, corruption, and tyranny unleashed? Where did democracy, equality, justice, and the rule of law take hold and why? And what are the prospects for the further amelioration of human suffering as expressed in the United Nations

Universal Declaration of Human Rights (a basic document for the civic core, along with our Bill of Rights and the French Rights of Man and the Citizen)?

Identifying strong standards: Five criteria

At education summits of governors and CEO's, standards-based school reform has mainly been promoted as vital to American economic survival in a competitive world. But what gives it life for teachers, parents, and many citizens is summed up in Lawrence Cremin's words from a generation ago: Anything less than a common core of learning is "ultimately destructive of democracy." Proponents hope that studies of the best from each school subject will finally provide every child with an equal chance to learn—thus ending our century-long acceptance of vacuous, undemanding (and usually under-funded) school programs that have left masses of children at a personal, social, and economic disadvantage, a triage often along lines of race, class, neighborhood and native language.

What are "standards" or "essentials" and what are not? In civics, economics, geography, and history, they are specific topics. They are the ideas, forces or conditions, persons or places, stories, institutions, or turning-points that are significant to—and explanations of—larger, continuing themes. They are not textbook chapter headings, abstract concepts, or wholesome attitudes to be memorized. Nor do they fall to small detail. An "essential" may ask students to grasp the causes of World War II, with an eye to Axis aggression, to its leaders, to the political, geographical, economic, and ideological forces bringing them to power, together with Western passivity and the memories and conditions behind it. On one hand, they do not ask

Examples of strong and weak standards

Strong standards

- Examine the differing conditions behind the differing outcomes of the American and French Revolutions.
- How did the Great Depression bring about new government agencies?

Weak standards

- Explain the historical development of forms of government.
- Describe how governments and their institutions change.

students to "analyze the character of twentieth-century conflict." On the other, they do not ask them to recall every episode or player—though teachers may use such detail to open an essential topic with lively stories. Writers of standards (and tests—and they probably should be the same people) must ask themselves the question teachers, students, and parents will ask: "So what?" When a standard cannot be explained to the young, to teachers, or to an educated public, it is either too vague or too mired in detail.

For this report, we reviewed official state standards and framework documents listing the middle and high school topics and skills to be studied in social studies, civics, economics, geography, and history. All documents were evaluated according to the five criteria below.

Writers of standards must ask themselves the question teachers, students, and parents will ask: "So what?" When a standard cannot be explained, it is either too vague or too mired in detail.

Criterion #1:
Do the standards contain the topics essential to a common core of learning for the political education of citizens? Do they feature the content from United States and world history, civics, geography, and economics that could help raise students' comprehension of democracy's complexity? Are the topics specific and written in clear English, not general or merely implied by broad headings? Viewed as a whole, do the standards embody a common core of learning that equips citizens to make informed decisions—a core worthy of teacher and student effort, meeting the prime purpose of standards-based reform: equal opportunity to learn? Standards writers should have decided what is most important for citizens of all backgrounds to know and think about. This is step one, the "input" without which very little useful "output" can occur.

Criterion #2:
Are the required topics teachable in flexible and imaginative ways across the secondary grades, including a selected number in depth, within the limits of time that teachers actually have? There are roughly 180 school days per year, many of which are used for purposes other than instruction—i.e., testing and exams, discussion of students' writing assignments, back-to-school orientation periods, etc. In many districts, each daily class period is no longer than 45 minutes, of which the first and last five are rarely on the subject. Here, state standards can fail in one of two ways. One is by listing an encyclopedic array of specific topics, without priorities. The other is by offering an array of general headings, "themes," or "concepts" that could not be taught or understood without an equally encyclopedic list of topics that go unmentioned.

Criterion #3:
Do the standards documents mandate or suggest an orderly sequence of courses that articulate the essential content across the grades, avoiding needless repetition but also making time for the review of vital learning from earlier grades? Such articulation can be designed effectively only by seasoned teachers of the subject and scholars wise in the ways of schools, working as equals across the K-12 spectrum. To do this requires mending the jagged disconnections between schools and universities and among elementary, middle, and high school teachers—and even teachers in the same building.

Criterion #4:
Are the courses that carry the essential content of civic/political education actually required of all students regardless of school "track"? If not, equal opportunity to learn is betrayed; schools

are allowed to retreat to the old habit of giving substance to some and only seat time to the rest—as though real preparation for citizenship could ever be "separate but equal." All citizens need the ability to work at public issues on an equal footing with others.

Criterion #5:
Are the vital ideas, insights, and topics of civics, economics, and geography presented, whenever appropriate, in the context of the historical narrative of people in real times and places? Students need to see the forces flowing into each era from the several spheres of human life and history: the scientific, technological, economic, social, cultural, religious and philosophical, geographic, political. They must grasp the political debate around a given event—not just the fact of the event itself. No war or peace, no era of upheaval or stability, no story of repression or liberation will be understandable or hold students' interest without the dramatic interactions of specific individuals in specific times and conditions. Standards often fail here, isolating each subject in its own "strand," as though the others did not exist. In many states, strand teams work apart, not relating their content or adding up the time their separate lists of topics would consume.

General problems in state standards and frameworks

Most of *Educating Democracy's* terms and related topics appear in detailed state standards, but are often buried in long unprioritized lists of topics, subtopics, and skills. Documents show that writers fail to distinguish the important from the unimportant. If they try specifics, they seem unable to stem the flow of endless topics. If they avoid specifics, they turn to sweeping questions whose answers would need at least as many topics. In each case, they propose more than can be taught in the time teachers have. Writers forget a few simple numbers that limit teachers' work: fewer than 180 days a year for instruction; the three purposes of schooling; the eight or so subjects the three purposes require (arts, civics, English language, math, literature, geography, history, and science—other nations add foreign language). All subjects take time, but many standards writers do not stop to ask each other whether all their items, taken together, could possibly be stuffed into the school hours available.

The resulting state standards are rarely "coverable," much less teachable in ways the standards documents themselves declare as ideal: that is, in both breadth and depth, with much writing, inquiry and "active learning," group projects, simulations, debates, seminars, and exhibits. It follows that neither student nor teacher potential is measurable by standardized

tests as now composed. Problems are at their worst in history and social studies, where standards-setting can be highly contentious, but are often overlooked by education leaders, testers, and policy makers who work in worlds different from the classroom.

If a civic core is to work, two things need doing. Mountains of fact and concept in social studies must somehow be cut to a teachable number of priorities widely agreed upon across states and districts. And state tests must allow choice, especially in essay questions. As yet, no state has fully accomplished either one. Rather than rely on nonaligned standardized tests, states may well have to mobilize teams of their own teachers and scholars to design statewide assessments and to evaluate student performance on them, as in the Advanced Placement program. Otherwise, tests external to the schools will distort and narrow what is taught and how it is taught, and will not come close to measuring the deeper understandings citizenship calls for.

This unresolved dilemma is destructive. States shrink from setting firm priorities or addressing controversial topics in social studies, which limits the possibility of designing meaningful assessments. Yet state tests with high stakes (student graduation; public rankings of districts, schools, even classrooms; local realty values) have become the rule. What to do? Many state boards, supported by business and public officials, have decided to limit state assessments to the subjects they think essential to the workplace: math and English skills. Put aside are citizenship and personal development, as though these are not also important to conscientious work and the larger economy. As those on the front line—principals and teachers—are pressured to teach to what is tested, the social studies and humanities lose time and resources, diminishing the already limited potential of vague state standards to raise the quality of education and of civic life.

No war or peace, no era of upheaval or stability, no story of repression or liberation will be understandable or hold students' interest without the dramatic interactions of specific individuals in specific times and conditions.

The place of world history

The greatest weakness of state standards is in world history. Civics and U.S. history fare better. Both have long been required, and taught by most social studies teachers; they are familiar to teachers and administrators from their own years in school. Newspapers and television often allude to American history and politics. Civics courses stress well-known documents, the workings of government, and public issues. United States history is the story of half a continent over only 500 years and all states give it at least two years of study, some three.

World history, including Western civilization, is different. It was not much required until recently. Before 1990, probably no more than a third of middle and high school students studied it. Two-thirds of social studies teachers had not taught it, and most had taken little of it in college. Like the rest of us, teachers and school officials hear few allusions to it in daily

life. Media coverage of world events tends to be spasmodic, hopping from crisis to crisis with little background or context. And world history ranges over millennia and all the continents. Many standards writers—commonly not teachers or scholars of world history—are unequipped to be selective and lose themselves in numberless topics.

Another difficulty for world history is that understanding democracy's struggles requires that political history take center stage.That is, political history taught with economic, social, and intellectual history, as good teachers have always done, but focused on the drama of political choice and its consequences. Unhappily, for thirty years the social studies and historical fields have played down political history, on a notion wildly contrary to democracy: namely, that it concerns only the elite. United States history standards also suffer from this confusion, but the damage is worse in world history, where limited time demands rigorous selection of topics. Political ideas and actions—and their effects—are hard to find amid countless items and abstract concepts in most world history standards.

Writers of world history standards also play down Western civilization in documents already weak on politics. It is an old habit. The College Board's 1985 booklet for teachers of college-bound students, titled *Academic Preparation in the Social Studies*, urged that ancient and Western civilization be left to electives "since only some of the topics treated in them bear the test of worldwide import." Among the topics thus dismissed as lacking import were Judaism, Greco-Roman history and political ideas, Christianity, feudalism, Islam, Renaissance Humanism, the Enlightenment, the English, American, and French Revolutions, liberalism, capitalism old and new, industrialism, democracy, socialism, imperialism, communism, fascism, Nazism, two world wars, modern science, and technology. For the education of young citizens, there are rather few topics of greater import.

If left unaddressed, this view could seriously weaken the College Board's case for promoting its Advanced Placement courses as the "standard of excellence"[§] for high school curriculum across the nation. Indeed, a new AP course in world history limits Western civilization to 30 percent of its content. And that 30 percent is short on Western political, religious, and intellectual history. Close study begins only in 1000 AD, skimming the origins and basic ideas of the major religions and ethical systems and the political ideas and institutions of all ancient civilizations, not only those of the West. It also embodies some 250 required topics. Schools that try to squeeze it into a single year take a long step backward, especially since many states have finally decided to give world history two years of course work—still markedly less than European and East Asian schools do.

§ College Board (February 22, 2002). "Findings in Report by National Academy of Sciences on AP Program Support the College Board's Own Calls for Improvements," press release.

The balance between Western and non-Western studies

Not much of any story can be told in states holding to one-year surveys of the world's past.

Setting the right balance between Western and non-Western studies in the education of American citizens requires more than wearisome assaults on "rootless multiculturism" or "elitist Eurocentrism." At stake here is only a part of learning, a core to prepare students for political democracy, some of which non-Western students study in their own countries. Advocates for "global studies," asking equal time for all world civilizations, forget that the story of democratic institutions—and of their most virulent enemies—until recently has been a largely Western story, and not always pretty or elitist. Advocates for the West alone forget that a great many non-Westerners have treasured and fought for human dignity, freedom, and justice since ancient times. Failing to tell the two stories misprepares Americans of all backgrounds. But how to combine them in the time schools have? Few standards writers, national or state, ask how much of each story needs to be told, can be told, and at what cost to other stories.

To begin with, not much of any story can be told in states holding to one-year surveys of the world's past. But even three years is not enough to teach everything. The case for relative stress on Western history is that America's democratic ideas and practices are rooted in the Judeo-Christian, Greco-Roman, and Anglo-European past. The significance of Western civilization to Americans of any origin is not that it is "ours" and we "see ourselves" in it. In fact, the peasant ancestors of European-Americans were no closer to high Western thought, culture, or politics than their African, Asian, and pre-Columbian counterparts. Nor can Western civilization be honestly taught as treasure alone, a saga of progress, superior in all ways to the legacies of other civilizations. It has given birth to some of the very best and worst in politics, economics, culture, class and race relations. It is the legacy we live with every day, genes of the mind inherited just as the body inherits immunity or vulnerability to certain diseases. The West has never had a single "canon," but rather a ceaseless warfare of ideas and ambitions across ethnic, religious, linguistic, social, and cultural divides and limitless economic and political appetites. We study it to know who we are and what to expect from each other, given such a conflicted heritage.

It is not all we need to know. Global educators rightly warn us to study other peoples. The globe is not yet a village, and soon half of us will have non-European roots. Good standards pay attention to each major civilization. The question for teachers is how much attention. What should Americans of any origin know of "others" abroad and arriving? What should Chinese-Americans, African-Americans, and Franco-Americans know, in common, beyond American society and each other's experiences of it? None needs the detail of ancient Chinese dynasties, or African kingdoms, or Merovingians and Carolingians. But they should know the main ideas and experiences of each other's ancestors.They should have an idea of the beauty each people created as well as the oppression they suffered or imposed on others, and their lasting traditions and memories—in short, what we should want other peoples to know of us. Alongside a civic core, state standards may well include the following topics, and note—as we must do for the Western past—what in them could promote or obstruct democracy.

Alongside a civic core, the better state standards include pre-modern topics such as these:

India's civilization: The beliefs, spiritual and moral teachings of Hinduism and Buddhism; the spread of Buddhism to Southeast Asia, China, Korea, Japan; successive waves of nomadic and Muslim invasion, turmoil, and recovery; art and architecture.

China's civilization: The ethical, social, and political teachings of Confucius; the values of personal integrity, centrality of the family, and the Mandate of Heaven; the complementary ideas of Taoism; Chinese inventions and innovations; Mongol invasion and rule; Ming expeditions and trade; the turn inward.

Byzantine Empire: Constantine's shift of Rome's capital to the East; Justinian's code; the Eastern Orthodox Church and its relations with the Western church; the conversion of the Slavs; the Ottoman Empire conquest.

Islam and Muslim civilization: *B*eliefs and moral teachings; relationship to Judaism and Christianity; Muhammad the Prophet in the line of Moses and Jesus; the Qur'an; personal morality and social justice; Muslim expansionism, from Western Europe to India; arts, science, medicine; the transmittal of Greek works to Europe.

Medieval Russia: The Kievan conversion to Orthodox Christianity; the Mongol conquest ("Tartar Yoke"); the rise and liberation of Muscovy; Moscow as the "Third Rome" after the fall of Constantinople; Russia's tenuous, often hostile, relations with Western Europe.

Pre-Columbian societies in the Americas: *The geographical, economic, cultural, and political* contrasts among the Mayan, Aztec, and Incan civilizations; the first North Americans; significant geographical, economic, social, political, and military contrasts across the continent.

Japan's civilization: The Chinese influence: Buddhism, Confucianism, language and arts; Japanese feudalism compared with Europe's; the "divine wind" (kamikaze) foils the Mongol invasion; national unity under the Tokugawa; Japanese arts and literature.

African city-states, empires, and local societies: The vast geographical variations as bases for economic, political, and social structures; Ghana as the first African empire; the spread of Islamic religion, arts, and learning; the empires of Mali and Songhai; trans-Saharan trade in gold, salt, and slaves.

In the early modern era, the significant turning-points and cultural works of these civilization should not be pushed aside by the "rise of the West," Europe's explorations, conquests and colonizing. The same is true of the nineteenth century's era of "new imperialism" fired by European nationalism and the Industrial Revolution. In both eras, the arts, ideas, and literature of non-Europeans stirred Western artists and scholars to new directions. In turn, the varied patterns of African, Asian, and Middle Eastern adaptation and resistance to Western ideas and power help to raise the political sophistication of American students. Most important, they need acute awareness of today's conditions and anxieties in each others' ancestral lands. Three years of World history and geography can teach much of this. It will not end debate on a "right' 'balance, but it will make room for livable compromise.

All world history cannot be told. For our time, the first lesson to be learned from it is the never-ending struggle of people inside each society to limit greed and aggression, to apply morality and law, to keep peace and render justice. Students can see both the glory and the agony in this struggle and how often it has been lost. And since human evil is real, good intent has never been enough. Against the twin follies of wishful thinking and cynicism, history proves that tragedy is real and that civilization has a high price, but that it, too, is real and has triumphed from time to time. As they select "essentials," standards writers can focus on stories that students cannot help but see are true to life, and worth remembering.

State standards compared: An overview

The fifty standards fall into three categories. First are those that build upon the National Council for the Social Studies' (NCSS) model standards in *Expectations of Excellence* (1994). These are not organized by subject (history, geography, economics, civics), but under ten abstract, overlapping themes. State documents that follow this model are the weakest on specifics and tend not to offer a common core of learning. Contrary to the social studies' announced aim—competent citizenship—they have very little political history and are weak on religious and ethical teachings, as well as on the political, economic, social, and cultural ideas of all world civilizations, including Western.

Second are those that build upon the other "national" standards—those on civics by the Center for Civic Education in *National Standards for Civics and Government* (1994); on geography by the National Council for Geographic Education in *Geogra phy for Life* (1994); on economics by the National Council on Economic Education in *Voluntary Content Standards in Economics* (1997); and on United States and world history by the National Center for History in the Schools in its *National Standards for History* (revised edition, 1996). State standards modeled on these documents are the most specific, but with the partial exception of civics, they are usually over-loaded with topics. In addition, the history, geography, and economics standards that are patterned on the national models tend to be made dull by adopting the overly academic terms of university specialists.

Third, some states try to combine some or all of the social studies themes and language with specific topics chosen from the four disciplinary standards above. These vary widely in the number of topics included, in the care given to their selection, and in their relevance to educating democracy. As already noted, many also separate the subjects from one another in unrelated strands, rather than pulling their content and insights together to engage students through a "thick narrative" of human adventures in real times and places

The criteria and state standards

The following pages briefly sum up the five criteria for judgment set forth earlier and how the states fared. Under each criterion, states are grouped at three levels: Largely Met, Partially Met, and Not Met. Separate individual state reports, detailing strengths and weaknesses of each document are to be found in Part Two of this report, with the titles and dates of the state publications consulted.

Criterion #1, Content for a Civic Core, Specified Clearly: Do they contain the most important topics in specific terms, not merely implied by general headings, from civics, economics, geography, United States and world history to create a common core of learning about democracy for the political education of citizens?

Group One. Largely Met: Thirteen state documents carry all or nearly all critical topics, mostly in clear English and presented as essentials needing to be touched upon, not merely as examples or suggestions. They are from Alabama, Arizona, California, Indiana, Kansas,

Maryland, Massachusetts, Nebraska, New Mexico, New York, Oklahoma, Texas, and Virginia.

Among these, Arizona is typical of many states. Its civics and United States history items are fuller and more specific, and thus more helpful to teachers in designing their courses, than those for world history. The same imbalance is true of most states, including others of the twelve above and states having insufficient, or almost no, specific topics. For all three fields, California's standards are among the best, but only if its two documents are read together, for the *Standards* of 2000 omit critical topics from the *Framework* of 1987. Finally, all state documents in Group One contain more topics than can be taught in the time schools have, those from Massachusetts and New York especially so.

GroupTwo. Partially Met: Thirteen have a fair number of ostensibly required topics, but not enough to build adequate civic cores: Colorado, Delaware, the District of Columbia, Georgia, Maine, Missouri, Nevada, New Hampshire, Ohio, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, and Texas. Some, including Colorado, leave many important topics to lists of optional examples or activities. Others, including Nevada and South Dakota, have numerous civics and United States history topics, but are nearly empty of world history items. A good many, including Delaware and New Hampshire, have general headings much like textbook tables of content or chapter titles, most of them too broad, especially in world history, and lacking chosen particulars to help teachers open their study.

Group Three. Not Met: The remaining 25 documents contain none or nearly none of the needed topics: Alaska, Arkansas, Connecticut, Department of Defense schools, Florida, Hawaii, Idaho, Illinois, Kentucky, Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Montana, New Jersey, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Utah, Vermont, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming. Many, but not all, of these build upon the 1994 standards of the National Council for the Social Studies. Common in them are sweeping topics or "benchmarks" which would require numberless topics and weeks to study. In Wyoming, for example, one of only four benchmarks for 11th-grade history (called "Time, Continuity, and Change") asks students to "explain how history, governments, cultures, and economics have contributed to the interpretation of the past and present, and assist in planning for the future." Minnesota asks students to know "the significance of key people, events, places, concepts, and themes in the historical development of one or more world cultures by: a survey of world history including early civilizations, classical traditions, major empires, institutions; expansions of trade and encounter; intensified hemispheric interactions; the first global age; the age of revolutions; and the twentieth century; or [sic] a comprehensive, in-depth focus on a single culture, nation, movement, or time period."

Most states which "Largely Met" Criterion #1 deserve credit for earnest attempts to include important topics and may be pardoned for going somewhat too far. Their topic lists probably could be pared down quickly by expert teachers working with university scholars who know the school classroom. Most of the standards which "Partially Met" this criterion could be augmented or certain of their examples selectively turned into requirements. But the states in the "Not Met" category have little choice but to start over from the beginning. In general, the standards that are characterized by vast, generalized topic headings are even less teachable than those with over-long topic lists—which teachers can always select from—with the added offense of tempting teachers and students to believe that vague, imprecise understandings are sufficient. Nothing is more contrary to preparing citizens of sound judgment.

Criterion #2, Teachability: Can the required or suggested topics be taught, in effective

ways, within the fewer than 180 days that typically are available for classroom instruction each year?

Not Met: To date, none of the 50 sets of standards reviewed satisfies this criterion. In no detailed document are the topics listed for history, economics, and geography teachable in any but hurried, superficial ways in the school time available. In non-specific documents, as already noted, the many unnamed topics needed to explore their broad questions would also overflow the teaching hours at hand. As in the case of the national standards, civics topics are a partial exception. In state documents they tend to be less pretentious and the least vague. And it helps that many of their salient points can be taught in the context of United States and world history, provided these courses are segmented by era across the grades to allow for sufficient instructional time. One-year surveys will necessarily desiccate all of the four central subjects.

Here again world history is a problem. Even when dividing it across grades, states try to squeeze too much into one year of high school.The Alabama standards, which come closest to satisfying all criteria, begins at c. 1500, as do the documents from Arizona, Delaware, Maryland, Missouri, Pennsylvania, and others. Five-century sweeps do not allow close teaching of topics in world and Western history for a civic core, and they make almost certain that the high school course will not come close to the present. Starting with eighteenth-century Enlightenment ideas and the American and French Revolutions is difficult enough, as Mississippi and California are finding. Worst, of course, are states that claim to cover all of world history since human origins in only one year.

Unrealistic overloading also occurs in American history. In several states, among them Indiana, Massachusetts, Nebraska, New York, and Virginia, courses at the high school level are far too heavy. Massachusetts' main standards for the yearlong course from 1877 to 2002 embody 210 substantial topics. Virginia and New York still try single-year survey courses, the former embracing some 200 separate topics and the latter well over 300.

Overload is worse in states with content segregated into isolated strands for civics, economics, geography, and history, often written by separate teams. Rather than capture the advantages of linking—and the help it offers to teachers—each draws up its own wish list. Kansas is a case in point. Its economics and geography lists are over-heavy with topics drawn from the national standards, which are repeated across the fifth through twelfth grades—even though geography has grade seven to itself and economics is a course for seniors. The imbalance of topics is worse in those "eligible" for state testing. Each writing team was allowed to decide which of its own items to designate as eligible. As a result, fifth-grade U.S. history and sixth-grade world history only have thirteen test-eligible topics together, while economics and geography have 21 each. Eighth grade's nineteenth-century Kansas and U.S. history course has 25 eligible topics against 32 for civics, economics, and geography. None of them are specific to the nineteenth century, though many could have been, enlivening all four subjects. In many "strand" states, economics and geography standards amount to introductory university courses pressed down into middle and high school, complete with the academic vocabulary of the national standards.

Along with Kansas, other states have tried to meet the problem of overload by designating only certain topics as eligible for testing. Among them are Maryland, Missouri, Texas, and Wisconsin. Unsurprisingly, with schools and teachers under pressure to raise scores by emphasizing what is tested, these starred items or separate documents tend to displace the state's originally published standards. This is problematic because, to date, most lists of test-

Overload is worse in states with content segregated into isolated strands for civics, economics, geography, and history, often written by separate teams.

eligible topics reflect neither the general balance of the original standards nor a desirable emphasis on civic, political, and historical content.

As noted above, overstuffing is not limited to detailed standards. Standards that are vague and sweeping are at least as unteachable. Montana asks students to "interpret how selected cultures, historical events, periods, [and] patterns of change influence each other." The standards for Department of Defense schools ask students to "Describe how the perception of time affects culture and society." Illinois asks middle school students to "Explain relationships

Educating Democracy: State standards at a glance

	Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
ALABAMA	★	☆	★	★	★
ALASKA	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆
ARIZONA	★	☆	⯪	☆	☆
ARKANSAS	☆	☆	⯪	☆	☆
CALIFORNIA	★	☆	★	⯪	★
COLORADO	⯪	☆	★	☆	⯪
CONNECTICUT	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆
DELAWARE	⯪	☆	⯪	⯪	☆
D.C.	⯪	☆	★	★	☆
D.O.D.	☆	☆	★	⯪	☆
FLORIDA	☆	☆	⯪	☆	☆
GEORGIA	⯪	☆	★	⯪	⯪
HAWAII	☆	☆	⯪	☆	☆
IDAHO	☆	☆	★	⯪	☆
ILLINOIS	☆	☆	☆	⯪	☆
INDIANA	★	☆	★	⯪	★
IOWA	☆*	☆*	☆*	☆*	☆*
KANSAS	★	☆	★	⯪	☆
KENTUCKY	☆	☆	⯪	⯪	☆
LOUISIANA	☆	☆	⯪	⯪	☆
MAINE	⯪	☆	⯪	☆	☆
MARYLAND	★	☆	⯪	⯪	☆
MASSACHUSETTS	★	☆	★	☆	★
MICHIGAN	☆	☆	☆	⯪	☆
MINNESOTA	☆	☆	⯪	☆	☆
MISSISSIPPI	☆	☆	★	⯪	★

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [⯪]; and standards that have not been developed* or do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆] (with and without an asterisk, respectively).

among the American economy and slavery, immigration, industrialization, labor, and urbanization, 1700 to the present."The loose, repetitive Illinois standards offer no common core of ideas or events, contrary to its introduction's promise of "the same standards for all students" to "provide fair and equitable educational opportunities."

Criterion #3,Scope and Sequence: Do the standards mandate or suggest an order and scope for courses across the middle and high school grades by which to convey a civic core?

Group One Largely Met: Fourteen standards set a specific grade-by-grade sequence:

	Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
MISSOURI	★½	☆	★½	★½	☆
MONTANA	☆	☆	★½	☆	☆
NEBRASKA	★	☆	★½	★½	★
NEVADA	★½	☆	☆	☆	☆
NEW HAMPSHIRE	★½	☆	★½	★½	★½
NEW JERSEY	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆
NEW MEXICO	★	☆	★	★½	★½
NEW YORK	★	☆	★	★½	★
NORTH CAROLINA	☆	☆	★	★½	☆
NORTH DAKOTA	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆
OHIO	★½	☆	★	★½	☆
OKLAHOMA	★	☆	★½	★½	★½
OREGON	☆	☆	☆	★½	☆
PENNSYLVANIA	☆	☆	★½	☆	☆
RHODE ISLAND	☆*	☆*	☆*	☆*	☆*
SOUTH CAROLINA	★½	☆	★	★½	☆
SOUTH DAKOTA	★½	☆	★	★½	★½
TENNESSEE	★½	☆	★	★½	★½
TEXAS	★	☆	★	★½	★
UTAH	☆	☆	★	★½	☆
VERMONT	☆	☆	★½	☆	☆
VIRGINIA	★	☆	★½	★½	★½
WASHINGTON	☆	☆	★½	☆	☆
WEST VIRGINIA	☆	☆	★	★½	★½
WISCONSIN	☆	☆	☆	★½	☆
WYOMING	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [★½]; and standards that have not been developed* or do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆] (with and without an asterisk, respectively).

Alabama, California, Department of Defense schools, District of Columbia, Georgia, Idaho, Kansas, Mississippi, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, South Carolina, Utah, and West Virginia. Seven others do so for middle school (usually grades five through eight) but not for high school: Colorado, Indiana, Massachusetts, New Mexico, South Dakota, Tennessee, and Texas. Of these twenty states and jurisdictions, most test achievement at the end of various grade clusters,though there is a trend toward end-of-course tests, particularly at the high school level where scores may wholly or partly determine students' eligibility for graduation.

GroupTwo. Partially Met: Nineteen states partially suggest a sequence or arrange their topics into grade clusters, such as kindergarten to fourth grade, grades five through eight, and grades nine through twelve.These are Arizona, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Hawaii, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Vermont, Virginia, and Washington.

Group Three, Not Met: Ten states set no clear sequence for teaching the content of standards: Alaska, Connecticut, Illinois, Michigan, New Jersey, Nevada, North Dakota, Oregon, Wisconsin, and Wyoming. Many of these states, however, do indicate that early U.S. history (usually to 1877) and early world history (the end date varies) belong in middle school, with later eras to be taught in high school.

Criterion #4: Courses Required: Are the courses carrying the essential content for a civic core required of all students, ensuring an equal opportunity to learn?

Whether or not their standards include essential content, states are hard to pin down on what is or is not a requirement. Very few plainly say that their schools are required to teach, and students required to study, the specific content listed. Alabama is the most explicit: "Content standards in this document are *minimum* and required." Local districts may add standards "to reflect local philosophies" and decide on methods and activities, but reaffirms common expectations with assessments.The District of Columbia also requires a sequence of courses for middle and high school. The DOD schools offer a list of vague course descriptions, while Indiana requires two high school courses and is planing further common learning, enforced through new statewide tests. More candor is needed. Most states avoid the "requirement" word but already do, or plan to do, statewide testing, while still claiming to honor local control of what is taught. The evasive documents do not help; testing is the only, but far from dependable, guide to what is required. States vary, and often change, policies on testing students in vocational schools, charter schools, or private schools.They vary and waver on whether their tests determine promotion or graduation. Some with respectable standards then leave certain courses optional, or untested, even at the high school level, such as world history in Indiana, Massachusetts, and Texas. On the critical matter of requirements—at the heart of equal opportunity to learn—the picture is almost too fuzzy to apply the terms Largely Met, Partially Met, and Not Met.

In eighteen states, the most that can be said is that statewide tests for history/social studies at the high school level suggest that the content of the published history/social studies standards is, or could be, required of most students—at least a partial fulfillment of the criterion: California, Georgia, Illinois, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Oregon, Texas, Virginia, Wisconsin. As noted above, several of these fail badly on the quality of the standards themselves. Fourteen states use high school tests that are variously aligned with their published standards: Arkansas, Delaware, Idaho, Maine, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, North Dakota, Ohio, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Utah, and West Virginia.

And seventeen states do not yet test high school social studies: Alaska, Arizona, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Hawaii, Indiana, Iowa, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Nevada, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, Washington, and Wyoming. In sum, many states have yet to confront the issue of common requirements head-on.

Criterion #5: Context and Connections: Are the facts, ideas, and significant questions from civics, economics, geography, and history explicitly linked when appropriate, so that students can grasp the many forces affecting political debates and decisions, thus making clear the complexity of human life and politics?

Group One, Largely Met: Only eight state documents consistently connect the four main subjects: Alabama, California, Indiana, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Nebraska, New York, and Texas.

Group Two, Partially Met: Nine other states make explicit connections part of the time: Colorado, Georgia, New Hampshire, New Mexico, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia. Links are usually between civics and history on major political topics: Athens' democracy; Rome's Republic and Empire; the English, American, and French Revolutions; the Civil War and Reconstruction; the New Deal; twentieth-century totalitarianism.

Group Three, Not Met: The rest scatter content into strands or "themes" (under which one might expect, but rarely find, intersubject connections). The strands often repeat each other's topics in different words. Many states waste the sixth and seventh grades by dividing them into all geography and all history, or into historical Eastern and Western hemisphere "cultures" courses. In both cases, the historical narrative is weak—often forcing a yearlong world history course in high school to be overloaded with topics that could be treated in middle school, with two years of integrated history and geography courses divided into two eras.

Problems of overload and disconnect are worsened by state documents that pile needless additional strands onto the basic four. Some cut religion and ethics, racial and ethnic groups, immigration, even rural and urban affairs, away from the four strands basic disciplines, creating separate bundles called "culture" or "culture and diversity" or "individuals and institutions", as though these could be studied apart from the rest of human life and change. Isolation dilutes all subjects. Interactions among the many spheres of life are critical to student engagement. It makes little sense, for example, for a "global connections" strand to be cut apart from history, geography, economics, and politics. Or for Hawaii's "cultural anthropology" strand, with topics and language from a university major's courses, to be imposed on middle or high school students who have little prior knowledge of geography, economics, or social, political, cultural, and intellectual history—not to speak of arts and letters.

Where does the civic core now stand?

The campaign for a common core of challenging studies for all American citizens-to-be had its start in the 1980s from disparate initiatives such as the *Nation at Risk* report in 1984, the AFT's *Education for Democracy: A Statement of Principles* and California's *History-Social Science Framework* in 1987, and the Charlottesville summit of governors in 1989. In spite of the problems described in the preceding pages, the country has made much progress in the intervening years toward democratizing its public schools and wrestling with standards for citizen education. The same process took twenty-five years in Western Europe after World War II. Now, based on common academic standards, but varying local methods, several European and Asian nations graduate a higher percentage of high school students than we do, from more

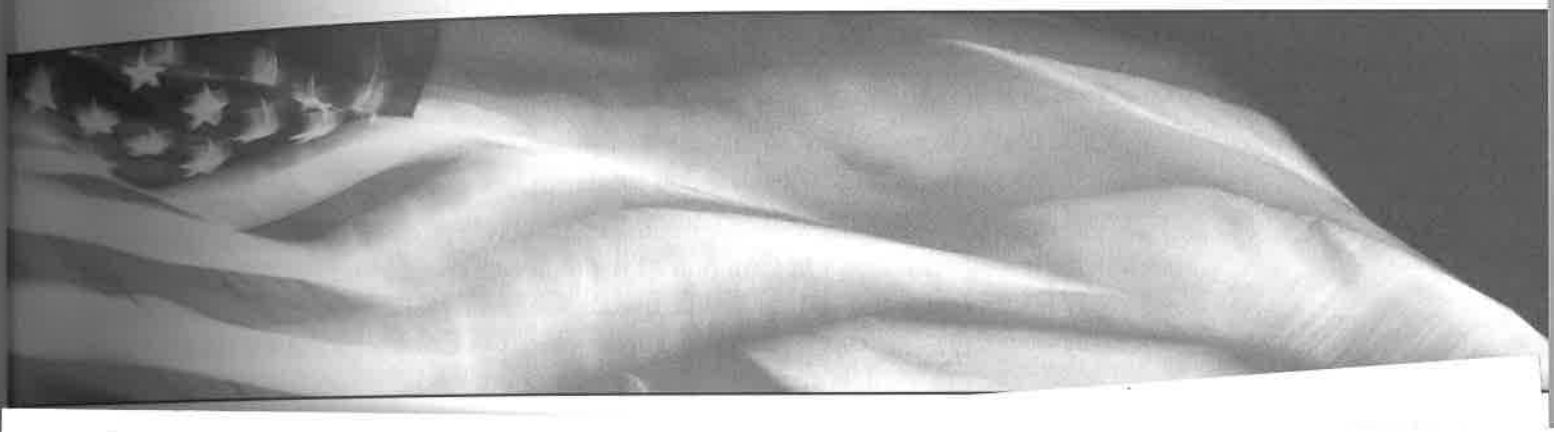
All world history cannot be told. For our time, the first lesson to be learned from it is the never-ending struggle of people inside each society to limit greed and aggression, to apply morality and law, to keep peace and render justice.

demanding academic programs. We have been at work for some fifteen years. We too should hope to succeed in another ten. But to do so we must admit that history and social studies teachers, and their allies—university scholars who know schools and are ready to work with school teachers as equals—still confront many obstacles.

One is that veteran teachers and scholars—entrusted in other countries to decide upon the core curriculum and the tests to go with them—are still denied that role in most U.S. states. Two, as a consequence, most state standards for history/civics/social studies are not teachable, and flawed or premature testing threatens to discredit the move toward common standards. Three, too many states have failed to decide the question of what common learning is required for opportunity and equity, trying to preserve a look of local control, which logically should apply mainly to methods. Four, universities often fail to provide prospective teachers with adequate preparation, both in regard to a strong foundation in the liberal arts and to imparting a deep knowledge of content and effective teaching methods of their specialties. Five, states fail to provide intensive in-service professional development, so that teachers may teach with the confidence and joy that draws student respect and effort.

To overcome these obstacles, those in charge of American schools and universities could learn much by looking at how advanced democracies abroad dealt with similar problems and the time and resources that were required. To date, they have not pursued this avenue. We may expect added progress when they do and when they are able to convince state policymakers of the needed changes yet to be made.

Part Two: Reviews of individual state standards



Alabama

(*Source:* Alabama Course of Study: Social Studies, *Alabama State Department of Education Bulletin 1998*, No. 18)

The five criteria: An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
★	☆	★	★	★

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [✯]; and standards do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

Summary:
The Alabama standards/framework document rates highly on four of the five criteria for identifying strong standards. On Criterion #1, its topics are specific and clearly expressed, with very few sweeping or overly academic headings. From its topics, knowledgeable teachers can easily derive the civic core of learning citizens need. On Criteria #3 and #4, essential for equal opportunity to learn, it mandates a sequence of courses from grades five through twelve, the content of which is to be offered to all students. Under Criterion #5 on integration, the document sets geography and narrative history as central disciplines into which ideas and "core information" from economics, law, and American government are interwoven, helping teachers to design topics, when appropriate, out of several subjects at once, to enliven all. Only on Criterion #2 does Alabama waver. As in most state documents built on specific topics, teachers could not thoughtfully present the numerous items for world and U.S. history in the school time available.

Particulars:
Alabama leaves no doubt that methods and implementation remain in local hands, but unlike most states it also leaves no doubt that course order and required content are state matters. The document's preface is clear: "Content standards in this document are minimum and required." And the standards cleanly distinguish between required items and examples that are not required. It says local districts may add standards "to reflect local philosophies and add implementation guidelines, resources, and/or activities, which, by design, are not contained in this document." This candor is refreshing, in contrast to states imposing statewide testing, but still pretending to honor local control of curricular content.

Alabama requires U.S. history/geography to 1900 in grades five and ten, and from 1900 to the present in grades six and eleven; citizenship and world geography in grade seven, and world history to 1500 in grade eight, followed by world history to the present in grade nine. World history suffers in two ways. First, dividing it at 1500 leaves too little time for the ideas and events of the early modern and modern eras that Americans must study to understand their place in the world and their legacy from Western civilization. Second, too many required topics cut chances to treat engaging political ideas and turning-points in depth. Grade eight

items could have been copied from world history textbooks, with 23 main headings and 139 separate topics, many of the latter quite broad (e.g., analyze the intellectual life of classical Greece). In some cases, details proliferate. Other eighth-grade topics important to civic education appear only as a single word (e.g., Plato, Aristotle, Feudalism), when a detail or two could help teachers decide how to begin topics and where to take them. But at least the basics are present, and a good many eighth-grade topics are superior to most. As examples, students are asked to learn the key tenets of major world religions and philosophies and a wide array of causes for Rome's decline and fall.

The standards for ninth-grade world history have 27 main headings/themes and 179 topics, the latter including such items as effects of the Scientific Revolution on the Enlightenment and the long-term and immediate causes of World War I. Although they need to be pared down, the standards for this course have outstanding political strengths: the ideas of Hobbes, Locke, Montesquieu, and Rousseau; the ideas of capitalism, liberalism, and socialism; the economic views of Smith, Malthus, and Marx; a section on European advances in political democracy and social reform in the nineteenth century (particularly valuable for Americans' political sophistication, but rare in state standards); the effects of World War I on the rise of the Bolsheviks in Russia and the global political, social, and economic consequences of that war; the many causes and effects of the Great Depression; the actual steps of "unanswered aggression" in the 1930s; the multiple causes of the Soviet Union's collapse; and specifics on current "world prospects for political democracy and social justice."

On the history, geography, civics, and economics of the United States, the tenth- and eleventh-grade courses obviously need to review and elaborate upon significant content from grades five and six, but active collaboration between middle and high school teachers could do much to cut needless repetition, provide more efficient reviews, and allow time for chosen studies in depth in all four courses. Overall, Alabama's U.S. history courses include almost every central political topic recommended under Part One's "vital topics" for a civic core. One could ask only for a bit more on the ancient and medieval origins of American political thought, the Magna Carta's critical clause on taxation, the complexity of causes for World War II, and recent effects of economic globalization.

In sum, Alabama's standards and course structure suffer only from the common problem of over-stuffing, but less so than in other states. Most of the essential content for citizens' education—ideas, events, turning-points, and the works of individuals—are present or implied. One quick improvement would be to pare down the state's list of required items. A closer focus on political education would allow Alabama's twelfth-grade courses in American government and economics to be taught at markedly higher levels. As is evident from the following descriptions of other states' standards, Alabama's are among the best in the nation.

Alaska

(*Source:* Social Studies Framework Chapter Three: Content, *Alaska Department of Education and Early Development, July 2000*)

The five criteria: An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
☆	☆	☆	☆	☆

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [✯]; and standards that do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

Summary:
Alaska's standards/framework document satisfies none of the five criteria for identifying strong civic education programs. On Criterion #1, its three clusters of standards, seven on government and citizenship, six on geography, and four on history, together with "key elements" under them, cite almost no specific topics. On Criterion #2, teachers needing to respond to the all-encompassing demands of these standards and elements could not fit them into the teaching time available. On Criterion #3, course order, levels of learning are set not by grade but by age groups: Primary, ages five to seven; Level 1 eight to ten; Level 2, twelve to fourteen; Level 3, sixteen to eighteen. Standards and key elements are the same for all levels. Only the suggested activities differ, but not always appropriately for the age. On Criterion #4, requirement for all students, Alaska is a local-control state. It does not test social studies and presents its documents only as advice to local districts and schools in designing their own curricula. On Criterion #5, the three standards clusters are wholly unrelated, as are their mainly abstract subordinate topics called key elements.

Particulars:
All seventeen main standards are general. One in government/citizenship brushes the specific: "A student should understand the constitutional foundations of the American political system and the democratic ideals of this nation." Of 49 topics ("key elements"), one simply lists the Declaration of Independence, the Alaska and U.S. Constitutions, and the Bill of Rights, with no further comment. Another Government standard is "a student should understand the role of the United States in international affairs." Under it, a key element is "be able to evaluate circumstances in which the United States has politically influenced other nations and how other nations have politically influenced the politics and society of the United States." All geography standards are abstract; the one specific among its 34 key elements is the Statue of Liberty, as an example of "cultural symbols." None of the four history standards has specifics, though one speaks kindly of them: "A student should understand historical themes through factual knowledge of time, places, ideas, institutions, cultures, people, and events." None of its 25 key elements cites an example under these categories. Typical elements are "understand that history is dynamic and composed of key turning points" and "understand that history

relies on the interpretation of evidence."

The activities suggested for each key element give no hint of historical eras or settings assigned to any particular grade. Writers of the activities seem to have assumed that all of civics, geography, and history would be taught at all levels. The items seem to be chosen at random, varying from over-ambitious (e.g. Level 3, "Research the impact of the Renaissance on the development of modern art, science/technology, politics, and ideas") to impossible (e.g. Level 3, "Using different sources, discuss the inevitability of the 100 Years War").

Alaska's check-off list is so abstract as to be of little help to teachers. Worse, it enables school districts to provide a very unequal quality of curriculum to different students.

Arizona

(*Source:* Arizona Standards: Social Studies Standards, *Arizona State Department of Education, May 10, 2000*)

The five criteria: An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
★	☆	½	☆	☆

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [½]; and standards that do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

Summary:
The Arizona document rates well on two of the five criteria for evaluation. On Criterion #1, most topics in history and civics are specific, clearly stated, and largely jargon-free. From them, schools could select a common core of learning for citizenship. But Criterion #2 is not satisfied. Required topics for middle and high school are too numerous and demanding. As in many states, the geography and economics standards attempt to bring introductory college courses down to the secondary level, complete with the academic vocabulary of the national standards booklets for those subjects. Criterion #3 is partly satisfied. Topics are not arranged or articulated grade by grade but under four grade spans (one through three; four through five; six through eight; and nine through twelve). Topics and even details are repeated across grades and spans, as if different writers wrote different levels. On Criterion #4, the document does not say if its content is required of all students, and Arizona has no current plans to assess social studies learning at the state level. Finally, Criterion #5 is not applied, in spite of the point in the standards' introduction that history "integrates the humanities (such as art and literature) and the social sciences (political science, economics, and geography)." Arizona isolates history, civics, geography, and economics into separate strands. Authors of the four strands do not seem to have worked together to avoid overlap and repetition.This weakens the document's usefulness to teachers, to the disadvantage of all four subjects.

Particulars:
History standards for grades four to five imply a course on Arizona and another on American history through the Revolution. Together, the two reflect 32 main topics embodying some 70 subtopics for history, a teachable number for these grades. But civics, geography, and economics add another 34 main topics with 88 items. Nine civics topics, with nineteen items, are on the Constitution.They are separate from history and repetitive, but teachers could easily integrate them if they had time. Of 25 topics with 69 items for geography and economics, two-thirds could also have been integrated with Arizona and U.S. history.

Topic overload is worse in grades six to eight and nine to twelve. Middle school has an average of 50 main topics with 100 separate items each year. High school has an average of 50 main topics, embodying 150 separate items. In addition are "Distinction" or "Honors" top-

ics for each high school subject: six topics with eleven items in history; 39 topics with 68 items in civics; fourteen topics with 28 items in economics; 42 topics with 93 items in geography. Geography adds eight topics with sixteen items under physical geography, taught under Arizona's science standards.

The grades six to eight U.S. history topics to Reconstruction are fairly strong. The long topics list is missing pre-Civil War humanitarian reforms, immigration and nativism, and the early labor movement, all engaging for middle-schoolers and politically instructive. Civil War causes and turning-points are cited, but missing are the hostile interests at stake in Reconstruction, central to its failure in concept and practice. Still, the Klan and Jim Crow laws appear, showing that Lincoln's Second Inaugural prayer was in vain; a lawful union was still a distant hope.

The U.S. history and civics standards for grades nine to twelve are unusually strong, including a list of the forces of rapid economic expansion after the Civil War, helping students see contrasts between our experiences and those of today's developing countries. Although missing in many states, the document includes the violent opposition to labor unions, the farmers' problems behind Populism, President Theodore Roosevelt's conservationism, and the imperialism debate over the Philippines.The causes and course of World War II are absent, as is the cold war. Both are done earlier in world history, but this blurs the reasons for America's reversal of postwar policies, domestic and foreign, from those of post-World War I. The civics standards capture the origins of American political ideas, in Judeo-Christian teachings, Greek democracy, and Roman republican government. History and civics standards together should prove effective, if not swamped by the many, and often abstract, items in geography and economics.

World history, grade spans six-eight and nine-twelve

As in many states, Arizona standards for U.S. history are better for political education than those for the history of the world and the West. In grades six to eight, the ancient world to c. 1500, most standards are general, without detail to help teachers develop them. The demagoguery, factions, and imperialism that felled both Athens and Rome's republic, from which the American founders drew lessons, are missing. Later, the topic "reasons for the fall of Rome" is not helpful without a few details on its decline, some of which concern us today. Feudalism and the Magna Carta are listed but not connected, as they must be for students to see why internal balances of power are indispensable for limited government and meaningful elections.

World history in grades nine to twelve has some of the same needs. All revolutions—English, Scientific, American, French, Latin American—are crowded under one main topic, without events or ideas, even of the Enlightenment or the "laws of nature" applied to society, so much debated by our founders. Missing are nineteenth-century British and European reforms, political and social, the effects of expanded suffrage, legal labor unions, and skilled parliamentary leaders.The crushing of Russian moderates in 1917 is missing, as is that of Weimar moderates, each riveting lessons on conditions dangerous to constitutional government, which led to the Gulags and the Holocaust as surely as Marxist ideas and Nazi racist theories did. Lastly, the world history standards do not deal with current global issues.

Overall Arizona's history and civics standards are better than most, but still lack key topics and are so over-stuffed with others that it is difficult to imagine how they could garner enough instructional time (especially given the unrealistic demands of the geography and economics standards).

Arkansas

(*Source:* Social Studies Curriculum Frameworks, *Arkansas Department of Education, Revised, July 2000*)

The five criteria: An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
☆	☆	★	☆	☆

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [✯]; and standards that do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

Summary:
The Arkansas frameworks document does not fully meet any of the five criteria for adequate civic or political education. On Criterion #1, it does not set out a common core of learning about democracy. It has a total of only six specific items in history, politics, and civics. Criterion #2 cannot be applied, since it is impossible to tell what substance may or may not be studied in teachers' limited instructional time under such indefinite items as "Demonstrate an understanding of continuity and change in the state, nation, and world." Under Criterion #3, Arkansas neither mandates nor suggests a sequence of civics-history instruction across the school years. It does, dowever, arrange topics into grade clusters, putting it the "partially met" category for this criterion. Since there is no "essential content" to be required of students, Criterion #4 also cannot be applied, nor can Criterion #5, on the integration of subject matter.

Particulars:
The framework's introduction admits that teachers may find it "less useful than detailed subject-matter-based standards," and "these were made more general than specific so that teachers could easily fit their respective content into the overall strands and concepts" and that "districts, schools, and teachers have greater flexibility in addressing the rich and varied disciplines within this area of the curriculum." Despite claims to honor local control, Arkansas nonetheless plans state tests for social studies based on the vague generalities in its five "strands," which reflect national social studies themes and language.

One kindergarten to grade four standard is "Use a variety of processes, such as thinking, reading, writing, listening, and speaking, to demonstrate continuity and change." Geography applies the same "processes" to analyze interdependence. Civics adds "role playing, to promote responsible citizenship." Economic adds "graphing, charting, estimating, predicting, and using mental math." No grade, kindergarten to fourth, has specifics or examples. Nor do standards for grades five to eight, except for a civics question listing the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights.

Many items for grades nine through twelve are overwritten (e.g., "Analyze and evaluate diverse contemporary, historical, and geographical perspectives as they relate to important

events, recurring dilemmas, persistent issues.") Alone, civics offers six specifics: "synthesize the principles of United States political heritage" in the Declaration of Independence, Common Sense, the Constitution, Bill of Rights, Civil Disobedience, and Letter from a Birmingham Jail.

Arkansas standards do little for the political education of citizens.They are largely unteachable, overloaded as they are with more than 50 sweeping, complex but abstract "processes" for each grade span. In addition, like those of the National Council of Social Studies (and contrary to the aim of civic competence they both declare), these standards only offer the above six hints in regard to a common core of ideas, writings, personalities, events, and turning-points that might enable citizens from all walks of life to understand and talk with each other coherently about public affairs. As it stands, there is little guidance to prevent Arkansas schools from providing political substance to an elite few and little to the rest.

California

(*Source: History-Social Science Content Standards for California Public Schools: Kindergarten through Grade Twelve, California Department of Education, 2000*)

The five criteria: An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
★	☆	★	⯪	★

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [⯪]; and standards that do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

Summary:
California's document meets (or partially mets) all but one of the five criteria for political education. On Criterion #1, it presents a common core of learning, with specific topics in history and civics, in clear English with few abstractions. Criterion #3 is met by a grade-by-grade sequence of instruction. It is not mandated, but supported by state programs to help teachers convey the standards. Under Criterion #4, standards-based state tests imply that the content is to be required of all, resulting in a "partially met" rating on this criterion. As a history/geography-centered program, it satisfies Criterion #5, with the social sciences taught in the context of people, times, and places, not separately. As with other detailed documents, Criterion #2 is not satisfied. Most grades contain too many substantial topics to be teachable in the usual school year.

Particulars:
The California document has earned top ratings from national surveys of state standards. But as noted above, and like other states lauded for their specifics, California's standards are overloaded. Key political matters could be overlooked among great numbers of other topics. And perhaps to save space, some key topics are treated too briefly. In this regard, the 2000 document is less useful to teachers for citizen education than the *History-Social Science Framework* of 1988, updated in 1997, upon which the current standards are largely built.

United States history, grades eight and eleven
For grade eight, from the framing of the Constitution to c. 1900, there are twelve major headings and 69 standards embodying some 110 topics, many of these important and complex enough to need a week of study. Grade eight begins well on the Anglo-American heritage of political ideas, the Magna Carta, the English Bill of Rights, the Mayflower Compact, the major debates and resolutions of the Constitutional Convention, and the Federalist papers.The rise of abolitionism and the steps to Civil War are complete, and all of Lincoln's great addresses are included. The "connection" between Reconstruction and the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments is sought, but nothing on the forces behind Reconstruction's collapse or the fact that it rendered the amendments toothless. Thus a vital political lesson is lost. The labor movement, collective bargaining, and strikes are included, but not the opposing forces of state and federal government, courts, police, and press, with

the resulting violence and failure of most strikes. The term "Populism" is present, but nothing on farmers' grievances or the Populist platform, both relevant to current economic, social, and political questions.

Grade eleven U.S. history has eleven main headings, 73 standards and 130 topics, approaching the total number of yearly class periods (of 40-50 minutes apiece). A key political topic, Progressivism, has but one topic of the 130, without the muckrakers, income tax, conservation, debates over imperialism, new attitudes toward labor and trusts, and the reform steps taken by the Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson administrations, all of which are cited in the earlier framework documents.

Nearing the present, standards grow more general and less related to people, events, and ideas that could stir student interest in politics. Jazz Age prosperity is here, but not the farm depression noted in the framework.The Great Depression's causes remain general. Also left out are the framework's specifics on its depths and political dangers and on American demagogues on left and right. By adding many nonpolitical topics and avoiding others, writers of the new California standards made them weaker for citizen education.

World history, grades six, seven, and ten

All three grades are heavy on non-Western societies and light on political history and the struggles for limited government and democracy. As in U.S. history, the standards grow more abstract with each grade. Grade seven includes, "Understand [the] influence of new scientific rationalism on the growth of democratic ideas," but the plain term "laws of nature" is left out, as are examples to help students grasp the Enlightenment's far less scientific search for "laws of society," seen again in the descent from Darwin to Social Darwinism.

In grade ten's topics on the Industrial Revolution, the only "isms" listed are utopianism, social democracy, socialism, and communism," when conservatism and liberalism were in fact the main contenders in the nineteenth century and (with reversed meanings) still are in the United States. The omission would have been more obvious had standards included political and social reforms peacefully won by parliamentary governments in England and Western Europe up to the Great War of 1914. These reforms, plus advances in medicine, health, longevity, living standards, public schooling, and labor-saving inventions explain European optimism at the century's turn in 1901 (so unlike ours in 2001) and disillusion after WWI.

Causes of that war are left general, although one terrorist's act in Sarajevo and the failure of diplomats in July 1914 not only offer scenes of high tragedy but also show long-range forces tying the hands of individuals in moments of crisis. Like other states, California omits the political moderates in Russia and Germany falling to Bolsheviks and Nazis. Again, nothing is so critical to students' political sense as instances in which promising forms of government fail to survive. In the main, world history standards are strong on the two wars, their causes and consequences. The post-WWII era is adequate, but missing is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, featured in the framework.

Overall, California standards earn high grades.They are history/geography-centered and avoid both social science jargon and the untethered organizing "concepts" found in many states' standards.Three brief, thoughtful sections on "Historical and Social Science Analysis Skills" precede the topics for grades kindergarten to five, six to eight, and nine to twelve, in welcome contrast to state documents repeating endless lists of "skills" for each grade without regard to student age or the time available for teaching.

But like Alabama and Arizona, with standards that also list specifics, California's document leaves two questions hanging: Why should each teacher be forced to pick and choose among a long lists of topics to decide on what constitutes a civic core for themselves? And how can overloaded standards serve as the basis for a fair statewide assessment?

Colorado

(*Sources: Colorado Model Content Standards for History, 1995; for Geography, 1995; for Civics, 1998; for Economics, 1998; and Suggested Grade Level Expectations for Civics, Geography, and History, 2001, Colorado Department of Education*)

The five criteria: An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
★	☆	★	☆	⯪

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [⯪]; and standards that do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

Summary:
The Colorado standards partly satisfy Criterion #1.They have a number of central, specific topics, but too few of the right topics for a civic core of education. On Criterion #2, teachability, the combined topics and headings for the four subjects cannot be covered even hurriedly in the time schools have. On Criterion #3, Colorado benchmarks imply a grade-by-grade order of courses through grade eight: Colorado history in fourth grade; U.S. history to Reconstruction in fifth; Western hemisphere studies from 2000 BC to the present in sixth; Eastern hemisphere studies, 2000 BC to the present in seventh; U.S. history of the 19th century in eighth. Standards for grades nine to twelve call for full survey courses in both U.S. and world history in those years. On Criterion #4, however, Colorado calls itself a local-control state, and so does not explicitly require these courses. On Criterion #5, despite separate documents for each subject, some connections are made among civics, geography, and history, particularly in middle school, earning a designation of "partially met".

Particulars:
Colorado is an example of topic overload by four different teams writing four separate documents, with too little coordination. In grade eight, "Suggested Grade Level Expectations" for civics, geography, and history add up to 217 topics, needing at least a day or two apiece simply to cover. The 1998 economics standards imply some 40 more. Many general topics could take a week or longer, with a full day just to define (e.g., in geography, "analyze the reasons for divisions and cooperation among peoples, in terms of geography" and "examine various social, political, and economic regions and see how they are different from past to present"). In grade eight, U.S. history from c. 1800 to the present, are such topics as "trace patterns of change and continuity in the history of the United States and compare the laws of various people of various cultures from long ago until 21st Century America" and "describe how the social roles and the characteristics of social organization have both changed and endured in the United States throughout its history."

Standards for grades nine to twelve list all world and U.S. history eras from beginnings to the present. But most topics deal with process rather than specific knowledge, and general

questions abound (e.g., in geography, "compar[e] and contrasting how and why different groups in society view places and regions differently," and in history, "analyz[e] the relationship between economic factors and social and political policies throughout United States history"). The Western and Eastern hemisphere courses in grades six and seven are badly served by geography and civics topics that are ill-aligned with the regions supposedly being studied.

In sum, the raw materials for a civic core of education could be dug out of these documents, including many critical topics that are cited as examples. Colorado's standards and grade level expectations could easily be reordered, integrated, and made teachable by a single new team of teachers and scholars using these documents as first drafts.

Connecticut

(*Source:* Social Studies Curriculum Framework, *Connecticut State Department of Education, May 1998*)

The five criteria: An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
☆	☆	☆	☆	☆

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [✯]; and standards that do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

Summary:
This document fares badly on the five criteria for judging the strength of state standards in education for democracy. Under Criterion #1, it has almost no specific historical, political, or civics content and its headings are general and sweeping. No common core of content could be derived from it. And its "standards" are so vast in scope that Criterion #2 on teachability can not be met. On Criterion #3, Connecticut has local control.The document is said to be intended only to provide guidance to curriculum writers, not to set grade-by-grade objectives that prescribe curriculum. On Criterion #4, social studies is not tested; and there is no sign that particular content is to be offered to all Connecticut students. Under Criterion #5, history, geography, civics, and economics are not integrated but cut apart, their topics scattered among fifteen separate "standards."

Particulars:
There are four standards for history, civics, and geography, three for economics. Of history's four, only #2, "Local, United States and World History" touches on content. Under it appears a list of eleven eras for U.S. history and nine for world history. The other standards are "Historical Thinking," "Historical Themes," and "Applying History." Two items in performance standards for grades five to eight name scattered events: "Demonstrate an in-depth understanding of major events and trends of United States history (e.g., the American Revolution, the Civil War, industrialization, the Great Depression, the cold war)" and "an in-depth understanding of selected events representing major trends of world history (e.g., emergence of new centers of agrarian society in the 3rd and 2nd millennia BCE, the Black Death, the Colombian voyages, the French Revolution, World War II)."

For grades nine to twelve, students are to "demonstrate an understanding of major events and trends in world history, United States history and local history from all historical periods and from all the regions of the world." In standard #3 (themes), the only specifics are "tenets of world religions that have acted as major forces throughout history, including, but not limited to, Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Islam, Judaism, and indigenous popular religions." These are all the specifics in the document, except for the Declaration of Independence and Constitution, under civics standard #5, "locate at least 50 countries" in geography standard

#12, and "gross domestic product" in economics standards #13 and #14.

The Connecticut document, on its own, is not useful for teaching. Dozens of standards amount to abstract exhortations, each of which could take weeks to satisfy—e.g., "Demonstrate an understanding of the ways race, gender, ethnicity and class issues have affected individuals and societies in the past," or "Analyze and evaluate the significance of major U.S. foreign policies and major international events and conditions over time." Some of the skills and analyses are derived from the national standards models for history, geography, and economics, but Connecticut standards writers fail to select essential specifics from among those massive collections. They simply leave most of them out. Between the equally unteachable extremes of too few specifics and too many, they chose the former. The result offers little guidance for classroom instruction.

Delaware

(*Sources:* Social Studies Curriculum Framework, 1995; *updated* in Social Studies Standards, End of Grade Cluster Benchmarks, Performance Indicators, *3 volumes: Grades K–5, 6–8, 9–12, Delaware Department of Education, 2001*)

The five criteria: An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
★	☆	★	★	☆

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [✯]; and standards that do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

Summary:
Delaware's 1995 framework itself partially meets Criterion #3 on course order, and only indirectly under its history standard #4 ("content"), dividing the eras of U.S. and world history between grades six to eight and nine to twelve.The updated standards and benchmarks (called "expectations" in 1995) are as vague and general as the originals and do not fully satisfy Criterion #1. Only sections on "performance indicators" in the updated documents present specifics in the four subjects of civics, economics, geography, and history. But there are so many indicators, especially in history, that they would fail Criterion #2 as unteachable in the school time at hand. Statewide tests at grades three, five, eight, and eleven suggest that state standards are required of all students, partially satisfying Criteria #3 and #4. Criterion #5 on integration is not met; economics and geography indicators are unlinked to the history being covered at the same grade level.

Particulars:
From performance indicators, teachers could find a common core of learning for citizenship, but only (a) if they have local authority to choose and (b) state tests are aligned with the indicators and offer a choice of questions.The Delaware documents confuse the relationship between tests and indicators. On the one hand, they say that historical specifics in performance indicators "will not be measured independently" by the Delaware Student Testing Program (DSTP), which are aligned to standards and benchmarks too vague to help teachers design courses. On the other hand, they say indicators—too many to teach—will "set parameters" for the content assessed and students will "use their knowledge of these time periods and topics" to support and explain their responses to the DSTP.

Depending on the role of performance indicators, Delaware has a social studies program that is either too vague or too overloaded to be teachable or testable in ways that are fair to students and their teachers. On the vague end is history standard #1: "Students will employ chronological concepts in analyzing historical phenomena" with its grade eight benchmark, "Examine historical materials relating to a particular region, society, or theme, analyze change over time, and make logical inferences concerning cause and effect," and its grade eleven

benchmark, "Analyze historical materials to trace the development of an idea or trend across space or over a prolonged period of time in order to explain patterns of historical continuity and change." On the overloaded end are grade eight's 100 main topics (performance indicators) in U.S. history, plus some 40 separate subtopics, following upon some 49 U.S. topics in grade four and 53 in grade five. Grade eleven U.S. history has 131 main topics and grade nine (or ten) world history has 100 separate topics, many of them complex but still missing the events and ideas central to a civic core for the political education of citizens.

As with many other states, Delaware has complicated documents with the roots of teachable, testable standards, but not yet in a form that offers real help to teachers for devloping and teaching their courses. The work of selecting content and setting priorities across the grades still must be done.

Department of Defense

(*Sources:* *Pre-K -12 Social Studies Standards*; *Grade Level Scope and Sequence*; *DoDEA Course Descriptions 2002-03*, *Department of Defense Education Activity*)

The five criteria: An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
☆	☆	★	⯪	☆

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [⯪]; and standards that do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

Summary:
Drafted to be in close alignment with the National Council for the Social Studies' 1994 *Curriculum Standards for Social Studies: Expectations of Excellence*, the DOD's standards suffer all the shortcomings of the NCSS documents.

In regard to Criterion #1, the standards contain no specific, required topics from which a common core of learning could be derived.This lack of specificity as to curriculum content and student understanding means that the standards are also not truly "teachable," as required by Criterion #2. Technically speaking, Criteria #3 and #4 are met and partially met respectively, by a list of grade-by-grade course descriptions. Yet even these are so vague as to be of limited utility at the classroom level. As to Criterion #5, the NCSS's ten "theme" areas (see below) are repeated rigidly across all courses and grade levels. Unfortunately, this does nothing to lessen the documents' overall feeling of incoherence, but only acts to scatter the substance of each subject area, particularly in regard to history and politics.

Particulars:
Without regard to subject or grade level, each of the NCSS's ten themes automatically appears as a subhead for each course and are presumably given equal weight:

SS1. Citizenship
SS2. Culture
SS3. Time, continuity, and change
SS4. Space and place
SS5. Individual development and identity
SS6. Individuals, groups, and institutions
SS7. Production, distribution and consumption
SS8. Power, authority, and governance
SS9. Science, technology, and society
SS10. Global connections

Specific courses of study are described for the middle and high school years:

Grade 5. U.S. History, Pre-Columbian to the Present

Grade 6. Ancient and Medieval Civilizations
Grade 7. World Geography
Grade 8. U.S. History, Pre-Columbian to 1877
Grade 9. World Regions/Cultures
Grade10. World History, Middle Ages to the Present
Grade 11. U.S. History, 1877 to the Present
Grade 12. United States Government and Electives from Anthropology, Economics, Psychology, Sociology, Contemporary Issues and Asian Culture

Because the ten themes govern everything, however, most topics do not relate to course titles. In grade five, teachers are asked to cover the entire sweep of U.S. history, from at least the fifteenth century to today. Under the theme of "time, continuity, and change," four items are listed. Under civics (SS8/power, authority, and government), another four topics are named, making eight out of 39 for the grade. Under history, not a single event, idea, person, or turning-point is listed. For example, item one is "Trace changes over time in the history of the United States and identify reasons for the change." Civics, also without specifics, starts with "Explain how and why laws and governments have changed." The 31 other topics under the other eight themes are all equally abstract (e.g., under citizenship/SS1, "Demonstrate that different situations call for different forms of action;" under culture/SS2,"Compare commonalities and differences among cultures;" under SS6/individuals, groups, and institutions, "Identify how groups and institutions promote the common good;" under global connections/SS10, "Identify factors that contribute to cooperation among societies").

Standards for a grade six course on ancient and medieval civilizations suffers from similar problems. Under the history/SS3 and citizenship/SS1 subheads, there are five items (out of a total the 36 for the course). Again, not one specific appears, nothing on the major religions; on China, India, Greece, Rome; nothing on feudalism, the Magna Carta, or the origins of limited government. One history item is "Analyze social change resulting from social conflict." A citizenship item is "Analyze the qualities needed for successful leadership." Under SS1/citizenship: "Participate in activities with a variety of persons from diverse backgrounds;" SS2/culture: "Explain the interaction between culture and religion;" and SS5: "Describe the conflict between one's personal values and society's values" are all so vague and broad as to be useless for guiding classroom instruction.

Grade seven easily could be a wasted year for exploring issues important to democracy, presenting geography alone, as though the other social studies subjects did not exist. The history theme has one item: "Use key concepts to explain, analyze, and show connections among patterns of change." A civics item is: "Compare how dissent and related forms of citizen actions influence public policy." And SS9/science, technology, and society asks: "Describe the influence of culture on scientific and technological advancements."

The grade eight U.S. history course, pre-Columbus to 1877, lists only five topics under the history theme (out of a total of 40), none specific. There are also five topics listed under civics, with one specific, the Constitution: "Explain how and why the Constitution has been interpreted to exclude certain groups from its protection and rights." Under SS1/citizenship, teachers and students are urged to, "Display tolerance for all cultures."

This jumble of rigidly imposed themes, unrelated to the specific content to be taught, persists through high school. Standards for a ninth grade course on "World Regions/Cultures" provide no historical context for the regions and cultures being studied and, thus, no coher-

ence or perspective to students.

These problems are most troublesome in the two critical high school courses, tenth-grade world history, Middle Ages to the present, and eleventh-grade U.S. history since 1877. The latter is a common grade eleven course which, if content is sensibly selected, can be taught in both depth and breadth. But the former is not teachable with any level of depth at all. In no other advanced society do schools try to squeeze such a broad sweep of ideas, institutions, and human life into a single year.

Unfortunately, the standards offer little to teachers as they try to figure out how best to proceed. Of the 35 topics listed for grade ten, history gets only three items, all vague: (a) "Explain the historical development of forms of governments;" (b) "Describe how the perception of time affects culture and society;" (c) "Trace the evolution and evaluate the historical significance of oppressed groups and minorities." Six quasi-specific topics peep out from under the other themes: under culture/SS2: "Compare the accomplishments of the Renaissance with similar movements in other cultures." Under power, authority, and governance/SS8: "Outline the evolution of power and influence of world organizations (e.g., NATO, UN, OPEC, ANZUS, Warsaw Pact)."

Of the 41 topics to be covered in grade eleven, only four are listed under history: (a) "Explain the cycle of reform philosophies in United States society;" (b) "Trace perceptions of government as they change over time;" (c) "Discuss the increase in awareness of minority problems;" (d) "Show the impact of given historical events on the social fabric of the United States." A few details crop up under civics: "Summarize the impact of domestic and international efforts to promote peace (e.g., Nye Committee, League of Nations, United Nations, and Sovereignty Debate)" and "Describe how position, doctrines, and the alliance systems expanded governmental authority (e.g., Truman Doctrine, Marshall Plan, NATO, SEATO)." And under SS9/science, technology, and society, we find, "Discuss the need for governmental regulation of science and technology (e.g., FAA, AEC, FCC)."

In place of the specific people, ideas, events, crises, debates, and turning-points that teachers are expected to teach and students are expected to know, the standards offer sweeping, general questions that would require weeks of hard study before one could begin to answer them honestly, if they are answerable at all. In grade eleven, under SS2/culture, we find: "Discuss the philosophical move from self-reliance to reliance on the government," and under SS4/space and place: "Discuss the effects of the philosophy of the frontier." Under production, distribution and consumption/SS7, we get: "Examine how economic flux contributes to civil unrest" and under global connections/SS10: "Explain and propose solutions to global problems."

Broad questions of interpretation which promote the critical use of knowledge are indispensable to effective history and civics teaching. But unless standards writers grapple with the difficult job of identifying which people, ideas, and events are most worth students' attention, each teacher is forced to guess what is most important for students to know and interpret. The only thing preventing the students of different teachers from learning a vastly different curriculum is that a single commercial textbook has been approved for each course and grade level. On their own, the Department of Defense's social studies standards offer little help.

District of Columbia

(Source: *Standards for Teaching and Learning: Social Studies*, with *Benchmarks and Performance Standards*, *District of Columbia Public Schools, 2000*)

The five criteria: An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
★	☆	★	★	☆

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [★]; and standards that do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

Summary:
This document is missing several of the critical topics for civic education and, thus, only partly meets Criterion #1. On Criterion #2, the specified topics plus numberless unnamed topics implied by general headings, cannot be taught in the hours available. On Criteria #3 and #4, the District does set a grade-by-grade sequence of required middle and high school courses: U.S. history to 1800 in grade five; "Eastern Hemisphere Geography/World Cultures" and "Western Hemisphere Geography," grades six and seven; U.S. history 1800 to 1900, grade eight; D.C. history and government and world geography in grade nine; world history survey from origins to the present, grade ten; U.S. history 1900 to the present, grade eleven; American government, grade twelve. On Criterion #5, expert teachers could integrate subjects in the history-based courses of grades five, eight, ten, and eleven, but the grades six, seven, and nine geography/culture courses have no links to historical context.

Particulars:
Historical content is weaker for being scattered in seven strands rather than integrated in narrative context. And all subjects are confused by a three-column format: "Performance Standards," "Essential Skills," and "Technology Integration."The last seems only to be tech-industry advertising, endlessly listing the same exercises in all grades with no link to subject matter. The first two headings mean little; at times critical specifics fall under standards and at other times under skills. Geography's half of grade nine is largely wasted, repeating material from grades six and seven. This time would be better used for integrated world history/geography courses—as some states and many countries do to avoid the always unteachable grade ten prehistory-to-now high school survey. Though mixed in columns and out of chronological order, world history topics are fairly complete but often too generally stated. It is all the more important that the grade ten course be preceded by world history/geography up to 1750 or so in middle school, with some time spent for review in high school. Otherwise, modern times will not be reached.

The District's overall sequence for U.S. history in grades five, eight, and eleven is well arranged, allowing time in high school for twentieth-century studies in depth. As in world history, a fair number of crucial topics are to be found, especially under history's seventh

strand in each grade. But they are often out of order or hidden behind broad headings. Others appear in the one-semester grade nine course on District of Columbia history and the one-semester grade twelve course on American government, with its sources of American political thought, from the Magna Carta and the English Bill of Rights onward to the works of Hobbes, Locke, Blackstone, Montesquieu, and Rousseau.

As is the case with documents from many of the states, the District of Columbia's standards contain much of the raw material for a civic core of education in politics and citizenship. A new working group could reconsider topic priorities, cut back its overloaded courses, eliminate the wastage in grades six and seven, and clarify the document's format, chronology, and broad headings.

Florida

(*Sources:* *Social Studies: PreK-12 Sunshine State Standards, 1996*; *Grade Level Expectations: Social Studies K-8, 1999, Florida Department of Education*)

The five criteria: An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
☆	☆	★	☆	☆

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [✯]; and standards that have not been developed* or do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

Summary:
Criterion #1 is not met. Almost all specifics appear as examples or are merely implied by broad headings. Criterion #2 is not met; the number of examples and breadth of general topics, particularly in U.S. and world history, cannot be taught in limited school time. *Grade Level Expectations* partly meets Criterion #3, providing a grade-by-grade scope and sequence for grades kindergarten to eight. But as elsewhere, high school standards appear only for the grade span from nine to twelve, not grade by grade. On Criterion #4, essentials as requirements, the "expectations" are not mandated, only recommended, and Florida has no current plan for social studies tests. On Criterion #5, there is no integration of strands: "Time, Continuity, and Change;" "People, Places, and Environments;" "Government and the Citizen;" "Production, Distribution, and Consumption."

Particulars:
The standards document has two columns, "Benchmarks" and "Sample Performance Descriptions." Only one of 44 civics benchmarks mentions history: "The student understands the history of the rights, liberties, and obligations of citizenship in the United States." No benchmark in economics or geography does so. The only specific topics in the history benchmarks are the "significant ideas and texts of Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Islam, and Judaism;" the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and Bill of Rights (as examples, followed by a general topic, "understands the political events that defined the Constitutional period"), and political causes of World Wars I and II. Benchmarks are mostly general (e.g., for grades six-eight: "knows the political, social, and economic institutions that characterized the significant aspects of Eastern and Western civilizations" and for grades nine-twelve: "understands significant political developments in Europe in the 19th century"). Specifics appear only under sample performance descriptions or as examples in the *Grade Level Expectations* document.

Grades five, eight, and high school U.S. history are three repeated survey courses, from exploration to the present. As usual, they overload each grade and minimize, when not precluding, studies in depth, links between social sciences and the humanities, varied pedagogy, and the study of recent times. The world history benchmarks and performance descriptions

run from ancient Egypt to the present, unteachable in one year. Florida joins other states in turning what were grades six and seven world history courses into amorphous Eastern and Western hemisphere studies. None of the 34 topics for the grade six "expectations" has a specific for civic learning. Relevant examples are limited to Confucius, Buddha, Gandhi, and Mao. In grade seven, which confuses Eastern and Western topics, none has specifics and the only relevant examples are Hammurabi, Moses, and Simon Bolivar. Neither grade list retains the few relevant specifics from the standards' benchmark columns. Ancient religions and Greece disappear; Rome is remembered for its aqueducts. Expectations also dilute the standards by inserting the word "selected" before groups, cultures, civilizations, and "aspects."

In short, the Florida documents need major revision by a team of expert teachers and scholars. At present, they offer no civic core of learning and no real safeguard against the unequal preparation of citizens.

Georgia

(*Source: Georgia's Quality Core Curriculum: Social Studies, 1999,* revised, Georgia *Department of Education*)

The five criteria: An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
★½	☆	★	★½	★½

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [★½]; and standards that that have not been developed or do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

Summary:
These standards partly satisfy Criterion #1, more so in civics and U.S. history than in world history, which has topics that could have been drawn from a general textbook. In middle and high school courses, topics are either too many or too broad to be effectively taught in schools' limited time; thus, Criterion #2 is not met. Criterion #3 is met mostly through a kindergarten to eighth-grade order of courses; but high school courses are not specified. On Criterion #4, Georgia social studies tests in grades three to eight and eleven are said to be partly based on these standards, implying that their content must be offered to all students, although high school world history remains optional. On Criterion #5, there is a fair amount of integration among civics, economics, geography, and history.

Particulars:
Standards are in five strands: civics, economics, geography, history, and core social studies skills. Grades four and five include a two-year study of U.S. history, pre-Columbian to the present, divided at Reconstruction. But a relatively good selection of topics still makes for a heavy load for those ages, with 28 standards embodying some 95 separate items in fourth grade, and 25 standards with 115 items in fifth grade. In addition are 34 skills "standards" in grade four and 46 in grade five, with thirteen on "information processing" alone (e.g., "Analyzes…from multiple types of sources") and nine on civic participation (e.g., "Organizes and participates in…community action"). Skill exercises alone could take a year if applied to content, as they should be.

U.S. history returns in grade eight's Georgia history and politics course, from pre-Columbian peoples to the present in the context of national life. Topic selection is full, with 51 general civics, geography, economics, and history standards covering 110 items, plus 33 skills standards. High school U.S. history is also a survey with 52 standards and 205 listed topics, plus essays and a "comprehensive paper." Again, too many unprioritized specifics in a survey course preclude thoughtful, memorable study, yet some vital standards are left to a single sentence (e.g., "Analyzes the social, political, and economic results of Reconstruction" and "Analyzes the causes and effects of the Great Depression"). Grades nine-twelve civics standards are more selective, highlighting the Old World ideas behind American political principles.

World history is, as usual, markedly weaker than American history. In a backward step, grades six and seven have been turned from integrated world history/geography courses to two years of "Geography and World Cultures." Grade six has only one history standard out of 53: "Outlines the important historical developments of the Americas, Europe and Oceania, and demonstrates how geographic factors influenced events and conditions." Grade seven asks the same for the Middle East, Asia, and Africa.The text is misleading in saying that these courses encourage "in-depth study." High school world history suffers, in turn, from lack of middle school content. Covering material from the "Old Stone Age" to the present, it is hopelessly overloaded with vast standards (e.g., "identifies the characteristics" of classical China, India, Greece, and Rome). Veteran subject-matter teachers and scholars (in a revision process now going on) should strengthen world history and Western civilization offerings and change the U.S. history sequence to avoid the one-year high school survey.

Hawaii

(*Source:* Social Studies Content Standards, *Hawaii Department of Education,1999*)

The five criteria: An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
☆	☆	★	☆	☆

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [★]; and standards that do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

Summary:
This 23-page document does not fully meet any of the criteria for the political education of young people. Under Criterion #1, it prescribes no specific content at any level. Its standards and benchmarks are wholly general, so Criterion #2 on teachability cannot be applied. Criterion #3, is partially met through benchmarks set out by grade clusters of kindergarten to three, four to five, six to eight, and nine to twelve. Unfortunately, it does not say what courses, at what grades, are to deliver the knowledge implied in the general benchmarks. On Criterion #4, it is not clear that content or courses are offered to all students. On Criterion #5, there is no integration among the five strands of history, political science/civics, cultural anthropology, geography, and economics.

Particulars:
Some limited content appears on two pages headed "Suggested Historical Framework for Implementing the Standards," with a warning that "This framework is not [bold and underlined in the original] a checklist of subjects that must be taught" but only "possible topics." The lists read like tables of content for U.S. and world history textbooks.They imply, without course titles or grades, that U.S. history through Reconstruction may be taught in the sixth- to eighth-grade span and history from Reconstruction to the present in the ninth to twelfth grades. All of world history, hunter-gatherer bands through "Contemporary issues," is listed for high school.

History's first standard is "Change, Continuity, and Causality" with a grade four to five benchmark: "Identify change and continuity in historical eras." A grade six to eight benchmark is "Identify possible causal relationships in historical chronology" and in grades nine to twelve, "Identify cause-and-effect relationships and multiple causation of change." History's next standard is "Historical Empathy" with a grades nine-twelve benchmark "Apply knowledge of historical periods to assess present-day issues and decision making." Third is "Historical Inquiry," with "Use appropriate evidence gathered from historical research in written, oral, visual, or dramatic presentations." Last is "Historical Perspectives" with "Analyze and accept multiple perspectives and interpretations to avoid historical linearity and inevitability."

The political science/civics standards are equally amorphous.Their benchmarks, often more specific even in weak standards documents, are meager. In parentheses for grades four

and five are suggested "key documents (Declaration of Independence, Constitution, Bill of Rights)"—a total of three specifics for all the strands. The "Cultural Anthropology" strand amounts to an outline for a college-level introductory course, and would make no sense without prior study of cultural history, in tandem with geography and economic, social, political, and intellectual history, not to mention the arts and literature.

The introduction for teachers says these standards "integrate and encompass character education, democratic values, and civil attitudes and require active participation." Unfortunately for Hawaii's young citizens and the teachers who must educate them, these standards do not fulfill this promise.

Idaho

(*Source:* Idaho Social Studies Achievement Standards, 2000, *Idaho Department of Education*)

The five criteria: An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
☆	☆	★	⯪	☆

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [⯪]; and standards that do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

Summary:
This document fails to meet Criteria #1 and #2. There are few specifics for U.S. history, but many broad standards which would require great numbers of topics and details to meet. "Interdisciplinary World History" [humanities] carries 111 broadly stated items under "Objectives" and "Content Knowledge and Skills," of which few even touch on an aspect of democracy/civics/politics, with no specifics. On Criterion #3, Idaho does suggest a specific sequence of courses: Idaho studies in grade four; U.S. history, grade five; "Western and Eastern Hemisphere Geography and Cultures," grades six and seven; "Social Sciences Exploratory," grade eight; world history [humanities], grade nine; U.S. history, grades ten and eleven; economics and government, grade twelve. On Criterion #4, requirements are apparently on the way, excepting world history. The grades ten to twelve U.S. courses are needed for graduation and will have end-of-course tests. On Criterion #5, very little subject integration is explicit; it is left to teachers to achieve.

Particulars:
The content of most Idaho social studies courses is presented in two columns, "Standard" and "Content Knowledge and Skills." Most grades scatter subject matter into fourteen "themes" such as "Evolution of Democracy"; "Exploration and Expansion"; "Migration and Immigration"; "Response to Industrialization and Technological Innovation"; "International Relations and Conflicts"; "Cultural and Social Development"; "Organization and Formation of the American System of Government"; "Economic Fundamentals"; "Economic Influence"; "Geography"; and "History of Human Civilizations". Column three lists suggested "Samples of Applications," which "represent possible areas of applications."

The artificial themes cut apart topics belonging together and create a jumble of mixed chronology and extraneous items in middle and high school courses that are only nominally about history. In grade five U.S. history, the only specifics in the standards and knowledge/skills columns are Manifest Destiny, the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the U.S. Constitution. No narratives or leaders appear. Typical under "knowledge" are "Explore major effects of the Industrial Revolution" and "Describe some changes that have occurred due to wars and conflicts."The grades ten and eleven courses move only a bit closer to specifics (e.g., "Identify the causes and consequences of the Civil

War and Reconstruction" and "Analyze the rise of the American labor movement").

The grades six and seven geography and culture courses are wholly empty of specifics. Of 26 standards and 94 topics (geography has 54), none mentions any specific events, ideas, even countries or regions. All are abstract (e.g., "Identify the criteria used to define types of regions" and "Recognize that as a society becomes more complex, so does its government" and "Explain how culture influences people's perceptions of places and regions"). Given the amorphous grade nine humanities course, Idaho standards leave out what Americans need to know of world history and Western civilization, past and present. A new writing team of expert teachers and scholars is required to fill in the empty spaces.

Illinois

(*Sources:* *Illinois Learning Standards for Social Studies, 2000* *and* *Social Science Performance Descriptors, Grades 6-12, 2002, Illinois State Board of Education)*

The five criteria: An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
☆	☆	☆	★	☆

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [★]; and standards that do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

Summary:
On Criterion #1, the Learning Standards have almost no specifics and the few that appear are lost in 256 broad "Benchmarks" and 582 "Sample Benchmark Indicators," most of which are very general. The "Social Science Performance Descriptors" for middle and high school include a fair number of specific examples, but these are buried in 54 pages of demanding general "understandings," drawn from six separate subject areas—political science, economics, history, economic history, social history, environmental history, and culture/social systems. Criterion #2 is not met. Indeed, the content needed to meet the benchmarks in the standards and the performance descriptors could not be covered, even superficially, in the limited instructional time available to schools. Criterion #3 also unmet, as neither document suggests a K-12 sequence of courses. The existence of statewide tests implies that some subject matter may be required of all students, resulting in Criterion #4 being partly met. On Criterion #5, neither document integrates the several social studies subjects.

Particulars:
The Learning Standards document fails in its introductory promise to clarify the learning expected, and "take the guesswork out of decisions" on programs and materials. Most of the "Sample Benchmark Indicators" repeat the benchmark itself, phrased in other words. For example, a grade eleven-twelve benchmark: "Analyze the impact of economic growth" is given the indicator: "Analyze the benefits and costs of economic growth." Many indicators do not relate to benchmarks at all. Teachers are offered little in the way of engaging specifics by which they might open their lessons on the benchmarks.This weakness is underscored by the constant repetition of benchmarks and indicators across grade levels, with the result that many are too demanding for the early grades and too easy for the upper grades.

Political history is thin. Of the 256 benchmarks, it has 25. Economic history has 28, added to 64 benchmarks in the economics strand. Environmental history has 20, added to 40 items in the geography strand. As in many states, economic and geography items amount to introductory college courses. Of 582 indicators, economics has 125 (plus 63 in the history strand) to political history's 58. Civics items are even fewer. For example, a grade four or five benchmark on the Constitution and Bill of Rights is one of 50 for the grade level, with a companion indicator that is one of 115.Though more useful than most, civics items are still

weak on specifics.

The Illinois standards are overstuffed, not with particulars but with vast headings. Month-long benchmarks abound (e.g., a middle school benchmark: "Explain relationships among the American economy and slavery, immigration, industrialization, labor, and urbanization, 1700 to the present"). Items are repeated across grades, as though all eras of history are to be taught at all grade levels in equal depth and breadth-exactly the opposite of a well-articulated, teachable kindergarten through twelfth-grade progression of instruction.

The Learning Standards are unteachable and untestable in predictable ways because of their broad generalizations. No common core of events, ideas, personalities, or turning-points can be found here—despite the introduction's promise to "set the same standards for all students," to avoid "different expectations for different groups of students," and "to provide fair and equitable educational opportunities for all students."

The performance descriptors do not help, offering only what appear to be randomly chosen specifics as examples for the 718 expected performances (of which only 85 are on general, political history). Under each learning standard are six "stages" of understanding, from E up to J (A to B are for elementary). Descriptors are said to help districts "develop curriculum to meet standards," but they actually serve to make that task harder, including many vast topics that would far overflow available instructional time available. For example, just one of 164 political items asks students to "Relate historical trends within the United States and the world that have influenced international relations." One of 85 general hstory topics is "Describe major events in the evolution of non-Western political systems throughout world history." One of 55 topics in economic history is "Analyze how trends in the economic history of the United States have affected the country's political, social, and environmental history." And one of 48 topics in social history asks students to "Evaluate the social consequences resulting from the expanding zone of human interaction over time."The economics and geography items are similarly broad and overloaded. All historical eras and detailed examples are jumbled in this document, its subject areas apparently written by separate teams of specialists. As a result, teachers get little help—not in building a coherent narrative or depicting meaningful interplay among the several spheres of human life, nor in allocating learning efficiently across the grades. Much work remains to be done in producing teachable standards for a civic core.

Indiana

(*Source:* Indiana's Academic Standards: Social Studies, 2001, *Indiana Department of Education*)

The five criteria: An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
★	☆	★	⯪	★

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [⯪]; and standards that do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

Summary:
Indiana's standards wholly meet Criterion #1 on critical specifics, but their sheer volume cannot satisfy Criterion #2, on teachability within the limits of instructional time. On Criterion #3, scope and sequence, the Indiana document sets Indiana studies in grade four; U.S. history to c.1800 in grade five; regional studies of Europe and the Americas in grade six; studies of Africa, Asia, and Australia in grade seven; U.S. history from origins to Reconstruction in grade eight. As elsewhere, high school courses are not assigned to grades. U.S. history runs from Reconstruction to the present after a brief review of prior eras. World history, not required, is a survey from human origins. State requirements only partly meet Criterion #4. A year of U.S. history and a term of American government are required of all students; state tests are planned for grade five in 2003, grade seven in 2005, and grade nine in 2007. On Criterion #5, the level of subject matter integration among the kindergarten to eighth-grade strands of civics, economics, geography, and history is unusually high. Grades nine-ten have no separate strands; content is integrated in the U.S. and world history courses.

Particulars:
Indiana standards show evidence of hard and careful work, with more than usual attention to other state, national, and scholarly models. The pitfalls of many social studies standards have been avoided.The kindergarten to eighth grades carry a fifth strand, "Individuals, Society, and Culture," and some of its items could be taught better with civics and history topics. But most are well matched with the times and places of each grade's main course, so that teachers may easily integrate them on their own.

Once high school world history (and thereby Western civilization) is required and strengthened in the grades six and seven regional courses, Indiana social studies will suffer only from the problem of topic overload. It begins in grade five U.S. history, with 58 main headings embodying some 127 separate topics. Grades six and seven ask for 165 and 160, respectively. The grade eight U.S. history course has 76 main headings with 180 topics, more than one a day over the real teaching year, including such broad items as "Analyze different interests and points of view of individuals and groups involved in the abolitionist, feminist, and social reform movements and in sectional conflicts." High school U.S. history has 78 headings with 177 topics. These do not count well-chosen but numberless examples in small

print in both grades.

The high school survey course in world history is inevitably overstuffed with 98 main headings and 180 topics, many very broad yet without vital detail for civic education (e.g., "Explain the concept of 'the Enlightenment' in European history, and describe its impact upon political thought and government in Europe, North America, and other regions of the world").

It is precisely to rescue the strengths embedded in the Indiana standards that they should be refined and pared down, and their priorities established, especially for world history in grades six, seven, and high school, before they lose credibility for teachers who must face statewide assessments of student achievement in the near future.

Kansas

(*Source: The Kansas Curricular Standards for Civics-Government, Economics, Geography, and History, July 1999, Kansas State Board of Education)*

The five criteria: An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
★	☆	★	⯪	☆

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [⯪]; and standards that do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

Summary:
Along with those of Alabama, Arizona, and California, the Kansas standards have been highly rated. On Criterion #1, they are specific for all subjects; the civics-government and history items are written in clear English, but the economics and geography strands use overly specialized vocabularies. On Criterion #2, course content is very overloaded. In an attempt at setting priorities, numbers of items are marked as "Recommended indicators to be assessed by Kansas Social Studies Assessment," but with mixed effects, as noted below. Under Criteria #3, the state suggests a kindergarten to twelfth-grade course order. This reinforced by state testing at grades six, eight, and eleven meeting Criterion #4, at least in part. On Criterion #5 and the issue of integration, the four strands are cut apart. The items under civics/government can easily be coordinated with history topics and eras, as can some geography items. Economics is largely separate and abstract.

Particulars:
Kansas recommends U.S. history to 1800 for grade five, the nineteenth century for grade eight, and the twentieth for grade eleven. World history begins in grade six to c. 1600, too long a span for memorable teaching at any school level. World geography takes up the seventh grade, when a two-year meld of history and geography in grades six and seven would allow better teaching of both subjects. One high school year of world history, in grade nine or ten, runs from early civilizations to the present, an unteachable survey almost sure never to reach recent decades. Indeed, only two extremely general topics are marked as eligible for testing after 1900. Among topics listed but not marked are World Wars I and II, Communism, Fascism, the cold war, the rise of new nations after 1945, the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the world struggle for human rights. Recent Kansas tests are reported to have adhered closely to the priorities set in this document, and the suggested kindergarten to twelfth-grade scope and sequence is being adopted by local districts.

The history and civics topics are full and specific. Almost everything important to democratic education is mentioned, but still can be lost in the forest of topics. When subject writing teams work apart from each other, as in Kansas, the limits of school time can be forgotten. Economics and geography are overloaded with topics drawn from their national standards, which are often repeated throughout grades five to twelve, even though geography has grade seven to itself and economics is a senior elective. For example, in grades five and six, of

113 main topics (most with several substantial subtopics) for the four subjects, economics and geography have 40 main topics, but the fifth-grade U.S. history and sixth-grade world history courses, ostensibly the core subjects of these grades, have but 55. In general, civics topics and priorities are modest in number, fit well with U.S. history items, and are age-appropriate.

U.S. history, grades five, eight and eleven

The Old World backgrounds to the colonial and revolutionary periods do not appear in any U.S. history course. Civics lists the Magna Carta, but not as a priority. The major religions, Greek and Roman political ideas and institutions, feudalism and the Magna Carta, the English Revolution and Bill of Rights do appear as priority items in world history. Grade five U.S. history has but six priority items: importance of leaders (named); causes of the Revolution; the Declaration of Independence; the Articles of Confederation; the Constitution as "fundamental law;" and "key ideas in the Preamble." Items listed without priority include the colonies; the introduction of slavery; "key conflicts" such as "class conflict, rural versus settled;" the key compromises in writing the Constitution (all named); the structure of government; the Bill of Rights; and the importance of Washington's presidency. Students, then, could be taking a substantial course, or a curiously light one, depending on local attitudes toward the tests.

Grade eight Kansas and U.S. history has 25 priority items. Topics without priority include the birth of political parties, with main issues before and after 1800; immigration before and after the Civil War; pre-Civil War reform movements ("abolitionism, transcendentalism, women's suffrage"); the rise of big business and industry; the Spanish-American War and the Philippines debate. Again, the grade eight course could be stronger without the weight of 32 civics/economics/geography priorities, none of which is specific to the nineteenth century. The grade eleven Kansas and U.S. history course has but ten priority items, three for Kansas and seven for U.S. history in the twentieth century, as against fifteen for economics and geography. Among the listed but unprioritized items are the home effects of WWI; the consumer and Jazz Age culture of the 1920s; the U.S. as superpower after WWII; civil rights struggles; the Korean and Vietnam wars; the USSR's fall; and contemporary issues. Seven priorities are far too few for a one-year junior course; they invite seriously inadequate treatment of forces affecting students' lives.

World history in grades six and nine or ten

As noted, grade six world history is too long (prehistory to c. 1600) and its mere seven priority items are squeezed by 21 priorities for economics and geography. Not given priority are "strengths and weaknesses of Greek democracy;" the fall of Rome's republic; the causes for the fall of the Roman Empire; the beliefs of Judaism, Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, and Islam; the Crusades and the Reformation; European colonial empires, mercantilism, and slavery; the effects of the Columbian exchange. World history students are to know "by the end of the eleventh grade," from their grade nine or ten survey course, fourteen items eligible for testing. These fill holes in the grade six course: Greek political ideas (Plato's Republic, Aristotle's six forms of government) and practice (direct democracy, the effects of demagogues); the beliefs of major religions; the medieval origins of limited government. But again, high school world history is much overloaded. History and civics in general are constricted by the failure to integrate the four subjects and by limited numbers of test-eligible items. Their topics, test-eligible and not, rank with the very best in the country for both U.S. and world history. Yet without more classroom time for required studies in world history/ Western civilization, especially since the French and Industrial revolutions, the Kansas standards cannot provide all citizens with equal access to political knowledge.

Kentucky

(*Source: Core Content for Social Studies Assessment, Version 3.0, September 1999,* Kentucky Department of Education)

The five criteria: An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
☆	☆	⯪	⯪	☆

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [⯪]; and standards that do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

Summary:
On Criterion #1, the document has no common core of specific learning, only textbook-like headings with a few scattered specifics in government, civics, and history. Content eligible for statewide assessment is in three columns under elementary, middle, and high school, with testing at grades five, eight, and eleven. Content splits among five separate strands: government and civics; culture and society; economics; geography; and historical perspective.The sweeping topics of the five strands could not be taught in the school time available, so Criterion #2 is not satisfied. Nor is it clear how state tests could be written from so general a base. Criteria #3 is partly met through curriculum organized over grade spans. Criterion #4 is also partly met, as this content is presumably required of all students in preparation for state assessment. On Criterion #5, the content is not integrated, but cut into the five strands.

Particulars:
The least helpful strand, as in other states using it, is culture and society. Unlinked to civics, economics, geography, or history, its topics are abstract, teachable only if reintegrated by well-prepared teachers. As examples, two topics are repeated at every level: "All cultures develop institutions, customs, beliefs, and holidays reflecting their unique histories, situations, and perspectives" and "As cultures emerge and develop, conflict and competition may occur." Here, as in most current standards, national or state, "culture" means everything and therefore nothing.

The only specifics cited in the civics strand (and then not in historical context) are the Declaration of Independence, the U.S. Constitution, the Declaration of the Rights of Man, the Bill of Rights, the UN Charter, and the UN Declaration of Human Rights—no ideas, leaders, or events. In economics and geography, no topics link to the history taught in the same grade spans. Geography brushes history in two high school topics: "Places and regions serve as meaningful symbols for individuals and societies (e.g., Jerusalem, Vietnam Memorial, Ellis Island, Appalachian region)" and "People from different cultures or with different perspectives view regions (e.g., Middle East, Balkans) in different ways, sometimes resulting in conflict."

U.S. history to Reconstruction and world history to 1500 are in the fifth- to eighth-grade

span, and history since then in grades nine to eleven. The only names cited are Columbus and McCarthy. A typical high school topic is "In the 20th century, the United States has assumed a role in the global community to maintain and restore world peace (e.g., League of Nations, United Nations, Cold War politics, Persian Gulf War)". In world history, "An Age of Revolution [no date] brought about changes in science, thought, government, and industry that shaped the modern world." The specific content that is only implied here, but needed for honest teaching of such sweeping topics, could not be covered, much less thought about, in the time teachers have. In short, Kentucky has yet to produce a set of carefully selected, teachable, and testable standards for educating citizens.

Louisiana

(*Source:* *Louisiana Social Studies Content Standards: State Standards for Curriculum Development, May 22, 1997, Louisiana Department of Education*)

The five criteria: An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
☆	☆	★	★	☆

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [★]; and standards that do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

Summary:
The single-sentence content standards and their accompanying benchmarks (main topics) are listed in four separate strands (geography, civics, economics, and history) under three grade spans (kindergarten to grade four, five to eight, and nine to twelve). Criteria #1 and #2 are not met. No common core of learning can be derived from the vastly general topics in the history strand.There are no specifics, and the content needed to explain the general headings would be mountainous. Criterion #3 is partly met; although no grade-by-grade scope and sequence of courses is suggested, it is clear from the topics that U.S. and world history are to be divided by eras between grade levels five to eight and nine to twelve. Criterion #4 is also partly met; statewide testing of social studies at least implies that some content is to be required of all students. The isolation of the four strands is complete, contrary to Criterion #5 on the integration of disciplines.

Particulars:
As often in strand-divided documents, no geography and economics topics relate to the history being studied in the given grade spans. But in this case, it is true even of the civics topics, where the only two specifics are the U.S. and Louisiana Constitutions. A few light brushes with history appear: "identifying and describing the historical experiences and the geographic, social, and economic factors that have helped to shape American political culture" (in grade span five-eight), "analyzing the central ideas and historical origins of American constitutional government and evaluating how this form of government has helped to shape American society," and "analyzing the major foreign policy positions of the United States and evaluating their consequences" (in grade span nine-twelve). But one looks in vain for specifics in the history strand that would enable students to fill out these topics.

The kindergarten to grade four history benchmarks have no specifics, and some are highly problematic (e.g., "identifying the characteristics and historical development of selected societies throughout the world"). Benchmarks for grades five to eight feature general text-like survey questions (e.g., "analyzing the impact of European cultural, political, and economic ideas and institutions on life in the Americas" and, for world history, "tracing expansion of major religions and cultural traditions and examining the impact on civilizations in Europe,

Asia, and Africa)". The grades nine-twleve benchmarks are slightly more specific for U.S. history (e.g., "evaluating the significance of the Progressive movement" and "analyzing the origins, course, and results of World War II"). In world history, vast generalities emerge (e.g., "evaluating the economic, political, and social consequences of the agricultural and industrial revolutions on world societies" and "analyzing the causes and international consequences of World War I, the rise and actions of totalitarian systems, World War II, and other early 20th century conflicts"). One finds no individuals or events, no religious, economic or political ideas. Specifics are left to a massive 247-page *Teachers' Guide to Statewide Assessment,* which fails to identify priorities and offers teachers only a flood of detail.

In short, Louisiana has yet to write teachable, testable civics/history standards.

Maine

(*Sources: Maine's Common Core of Learning, August 1990,* and *Learning Results: Social Studies, July 1997, Maine Department of Education*)

The five criteria: An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
★	☆	★	☆	☆

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [⯪]; and standards that do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

Summary:
Like other states' early common cores, Maine's first effort was a brief gloss envisioning an integrated 21st century education detached from academic subjects into four areas: "Personal and Global Stewardship"; "Communication"; "Reasoning and Problem Solving"; and "The Human Record". An appendix, "The Common Core of Learning Organized by Subject Area," had one page on social studies, listing general knowledge, thinking skills, values, and attitudes. *Learning Results* is a bit more useful, with seventeen pages of four separate strands: civics/government history, geography, and economics. It has clear language and a number of specifics, meeting Criterion #1 in small part. But the specifics are mostly examples and too few for a common core of learning. Criterion #2, is not met; although what is here could perhaps be taught in the school time available, it would not make for well-rounded citizenship education. Criteria #3 is partly met through a sequence of learning in grade spans pre-kindergarten to grade two, three to four, five to eight, and nine to twelve. Criterion #4 is not met since it is unclear that topics are to be offered to all students. Contrary to the promises of its introduction and the idea of a common core, the document also fails to meet Criterion #5. It does not integrate the separate subjects to convey or dramatize the complexity of human experience.

Particulars:
*Learning Results*presents fairly comprehensive topics lists that read like textbook chapter and section headings. Under a very few are well-chosen examples. In grades nine-twleve civics, "Explain the historical foundations of constitutional government in the United States (e.g., Magna Carta, Roman Republic, colonial experience, Declaration of Independence, Articles of Confederation, Constitution of the United States)" and "Explain the reasons for alliances with some nations against others (e.g., with France during the American Revolution, with the Allied Powers in World War II, NATO)." But most general headings lack even examples to give teachers starting points. In grades nine-twelve history, "Identify and analyze major events and people that characterize each of the significant eras in United States and world history" is followed by a skeletal list of thirteen U.S. history periods and six in world history. In grades five-eight, students are asked for causes and effects of main events in U.S. history "including,

but not limited to, Declaration of Independence, Westward Expansion, Civil War, the Constitution, Industrialization." In grades nine-twelve, students are asked to "Demonstrate an understanding of selected major events in ancient and modern world history and their connection to United States history." Most are even more general (e.g., "Explain how different ways of knowing and believing have influenced human history and culture."

No individuals, turning-points, or ideas are selected and named as more important than any others.The vague and comprehensive sweep of Maine's topics offers no guide to the use of limited school time. Yet Maine, like other states with no priorities, issues a thick *Guide to the Maine Educational Assessment, accompanied by sample items and questions, many of which* are highly specific, while others can be answered without particular knowledge by students who are good readers. The work of selecting the most essential content, and writing fair and well-aligned tests, has yet to be done.

Maryland

(*Source:* Maryland Social Studies Standards, May 19, 2000, *Maryland State Department of Education*)

The five criteria: An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
★	☆	⯪	⯪	☆

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [⯪]; and standards that do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

ummary:

On Criterion #1, most of the specific history and civics items that form a core of common learning for democratic citizenship are clearly expressed. But on Criterion #2, the volume of topics overall and lists of demanding, time-consuming skills would bury the essentials and prevent teachers from exploring key topics in depth. Criterion #3 is partly met through Maryland standards and tests that are arranged by grade spans, from pre-kindergarten to grade three, four to five, six to eight, and nine to twelve. U.S. history to 1790 is to be taught by the end of grade five, from then to 1877 by end of grade eight, and since 1877 in grades nine to twelve. There is no world history in pre-kindergarten to grade five; grades six-eight take the subject only to the Middle Ages, with grades nine to twelve covering content up to the present. Criterion #4 is only partially met; although the document is unclear on course requirements, state tests imply they are required of all sudents statewide. On Criterion #5, content has six strands: U.S. history, world history, geography, economics, political systems, and peoples of the nations and world.These are not specifically linked, but are listed in columns headed "in the context" of U.S. and world history.

Particulars:

The Maryland standards have been highly rated in national surveys for their inclusiveness and specificity. A strong political education could be built from them, and leave room for other historical themes, if the Maryland School Performance Assessment Program allowed schools or teachers choice of topics to be done in depth and others more briefly. This does not seem to be the case. Topics in the "Social Studies Content Standards" that are eligible for state testing are set in regular type; and those not to be tested in italics. To the extent that schools are driven to teach to the test, many topics vital to a liberal education for citizens may be categorized as of secondary importance.

Notable differences appear between the middle and high school years. First, the number of topics for all subjects is oddly light in the grade six-eight span, in contrast to those for high school. Major topics marked for testing are only nine for U.S. history (usually taught in grade eight), with some 27 sub-items; eight in world history (grade six or seven), with 22 sub-items; and seven in political systems, with twelve sub-items.This is in contrast to one-year high school courses: U.S. history with 54 testable main topics containing some 120 sub-items, world history with 48 and 115, and political systems with 24 and 59.

Within these numbers, and as in most other states, the selection of topics for civics and U.S. history is decidedly stronger than for world history, especially in middle school. Grade eight items in U.S. history are fairly well centered on the effects of the Revolution, the debates of the Constitutional Convention, sectionalism, the causes and turning-points of the Civil War, and the goals and effects of Reconstruction. Listed, but not for state testing, are pre-Civil War industry, immigration, Jacksonian democracy, the several reform movements, and most surprising, the origins of American slavery and its institutions. In civics/political systems, grade eight is also light, but includes the basic principles of the Constitution.

cultural developments in Mesopotamia, Egypt, India, China, and Kush; the unification of China, Mali, and other African empires; and the Incas, Mayas, and Aztecs. In contrast, there is only one general item on the social and political institutions of Athens and Sparta and one on unification of the Mediterranean basin under Rome. Listed but in italics, thus presumably not to be tested, are Greek culture and philosophy, the Roman Republic, the causes for the decline and fall of Rome, Judaism, Christianity, Confucianism, Taoism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, the medieval Christian church, the Crusades, centralized monarchies, and "developments in constitutional rights and representative institutions (e.g., the Magna Carta)." In other words, the omissions contain much that is essential for the preparation of educated citizens.

In high school, testable topics shift from too light to too heavy. A survey of world history from 1400 to the present cannot be engagingly taught. Most central matters for citizens' education are included, but would be lost or hurried. They rightly include the English Civil War and "Glorious Revolution" (though the English Bill of Rights is in italics); the political ideas of the Enlightenment; a comparison of the causes, character, and consequences of the English, American, and French revolutions and their "enduring effects" on global expectations of self-government and liberty (missing in most state documents); all of the 19th century "isms" still debated in this country and across the world (rarely included by other states); the causes, outcomes, and costs of World War I; the Russian Revolution (singular, not plural, so the experiment of Russian political democracy in 1917 is absent); the causes and consequences of the Depression and a full analysis of World War II's background, including Western appeasement; the effects of war and the Holocaust; and all major world events since 1945, including the global effects of liberal democracy.

Similarly, U.S. history's main, test-eligible topics are full in their coverage, though at times lacking in critical specifics upon which main topics may be built, such as the conditions allowing our rapid post-Civil War industrialization, the 1890s debate over imperialism, the foreign and domestic successes of the Marshall Plan, the leaders and critical court cases in the civil rights movement.

Maryland teachers' main problem will be lack of time, especially in high school, as in such states as Arizona, California, and Virginia, whose standards are also rich, but overloaded. The best choice for each state is to slim down the standards themselves by setting priorities. To list all and mark only some for testing is not a way out. It invites endless lobbying and changes forced by special interests. Another corrective may emerge as states move away from problem-filled grade-span testing to end-of-course assessments. If written by a state's own scholars and teachers, test questions could be better aligned with standards and also allow schools and teachers more choice about which topics to emphasize. Overall, Maryland has substantially improved its standards with the 2000 version, but world history needs more curricular time and the selection of priorities is still incomplete.

Massachusetts

(*Source: History and Social Science Curriculum Framework, October 2002, M*assachusetts Board of Education)

The five criteria: An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
★	☆	★	☆	★

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [✯]; and standards that do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

Summary:
This 130-page document, written under direction from the State Board of Education, replaces the framework of 1997, which ranked among the country's best in two national surveys despite its confusing format.The new version represents a long step backward. Technically, it meets Criterion #1 by including most topics important to the education of citizens. But it fails Criterion #2. As in many detailed frameworks, key topics are buried under numberless required details, "concepts," and skills which cannot be taught, much less mastered, in the time schools have. Criterion #3 is largely met. Grades pre-kindergarten to seven have a mandated course order. Grade three is on Massachusetts history; grade four is on geography and people of the United States today; grade five is U. S. history through the formation of the national government under the Constitution; grade six is world geography; grade seven is world history, from origins to c. 500 AD. For grades eight-twelve, five different "pathways" are set for world history I and II (divided at c. 1750), U. S. history I and II (divided at 1877), and senior electives.The 2002 version does not meet Criterion #4. Its great failure is to have world history explicitly required and tested only through grade seven, to the fall of Rome. Only U. S. history is tested statewide at the high school level. Districts are told they may choose which and how much world history/Western civilization is taught between grades eight and twelve. Contrary to the state's Reform Act of 1993, no common core of knowledge of the world and the West will be offered to all students. Criterion #5 is largely met. Except for grades four and six, and senior electives, the four basic subjects are brought together in a chronological narrative.

Particulars:
Despite this document's overload of items, it nonetheless omits important topics. Grade six geography is an example. It requires sixteen "concepts and skills" embodying 40 separate chores. Its 27 main standards embody 90 required topics, but 47 other topics are left optional. These include ethnic and religious groups, obstacles to economic progress, the European Union, environmental issues, levels of schooling, the status of women, population growth rates, the situations of Korea and Taiwan, the partition of India, and the establishment of Israel. Grade seven world history to c. 500 AD has 43 standards with some 110 topics, each

needing at least one to three days simply to cover.

In grades eight through eleven, the overload is worse for both world and U. S. history. World history I from c.500 through the Enlightenment has 38 main standards with 145 subordinate topics, many highly complex in themselves. World history II, with 48 standards, has 230 separate topics, many demanding substantial time for effective teaching and student comprehension (e.g., the effect of Enlightenment political thought; the ideas of Adam Smith and Karl Marx; liberalism; Africa's interaction with imperialism; the Bolshevik Revolution; the policies and main ideas of Mussolini, Hitler, Lenin, and Stalin; the background, course, and consequences of the Holocaust; the Korean War; the Vietnam War; the computer revolution; the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks). School districts' freedom to teach as much or as little world and Western history as they choose, coupled with the impossibility of doing even half of these topics in the limited instructional time schools have, will mean great disparities in students' access to learning that is vital to them as citizens. The two high school level courses in U. S. history suffer the same problems of overstuffing. Much important learning cannot help but be skipped or diluted. U. S. history I has 40 standards with 190 topics, including such complexities as the compromise on slavery at the Constitutional Convention of 1787; the causes and impact of immigration; the Emancipation Proclamation, and the failure of Reconstruction. U. S. II has 33 main standards with 210 separate topics.

Revision of this document is called for, if only to align it with the promises of its opening pages. Its authors say it is not meant to be "the whole curriculum," and claim that in order to write "Learning Standards that can be reasonably taught in some depth within the time available," they have been "selective about topics for a basic core" of knowledge. They urge teachers to "elaborate" on what is here, to add topics they see as important, as well as to enliven classes with "current events and issues." The oddest feature of the document is, of course, dropping modern world history/Western civilization as required, tested subjects after the events of September 11, 2001, which appear twice in its standards. Ironically, the "Introduction" has adapted excerpts from the 1987 *Education for Democracy* booklet; including its plea for "the facts of modern history, dating back at least to the English Revolution, and forward to our own century's total wars; to the failure of the nascent liberal regimes of Russia, Italy, Germany, Spain, and Japan" and how "citizens in our society need to understand the current conditions of the world, and how it got that way" and "the roots of our present dangers." If this document's required topics were taken seriously, it is doubtful whether teachers of either U. S. or world history courses could possibly do this and still reach recent times.

Michigan

(*Source:* ***Michigan Curriculum Framework,*** Michigan Department of Education*, no date, with pages on social studies, a reformat of* ***Michigan Framework for Social Studies Education: Content Standards***, adopted by the State Board of Education, July 19, 1995)

The five criteria:An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
☆	☆	☆	★	☆

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [✯]; and standards that do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

Summary:
On Criterion #1, Michigan's framework merely lists titles of ten eras of U.S. history (none for the world) and cites no persons, events, ideas, or institutions, and mentions only the Declaration of Independence and Constitution in civics. On Criterion #2, the substance behind its sweeping "benchmarks" could not be covered in the time schools have. On Criterion #3, the only sign of course order is that five U.S. history eras to 1877 are listed. Criterion #4 is classified as partly met since Michigan administers state-developed tests at grades five, eight, and eleven, which are said to have "identified the 'essential content' for all social studies disciplines." On Criterion #5, there is no real integration among the seven separate social studies strands.

Particulars:
A typical benchmark for middle school U.S. history, under history standard #2, says "Use narratives and graphic data to describe the settings of significant events that shaped the development of Michigan as a state and the United States as a nation during the eras prior to Reconstruction." The next is "Identify and explain how individuals in history demonstrated good character and personal virtue." The same two benchmarks appear for high school, with the first revised only to read "since Reconstruction."This first question is repeated under history standard #3, substituting "primary and secondary sources" for "narratives and graphic data."

A benchmark for world history in middle school is "Select conditions in various parts of the world and describe how they have been shaped by events from the past." For high school, a benchmark says only "Identify some of the major eras in world history and describe their defining characteristics." A high school geography benchmark is "Describe how major world issues and events affect various people, societies, places, and cultures in different ways," and another is "Explain how events have causes and consequences in different parts of the world." By its nature, civics does a bit better, especially in middle school. Benchmarks ask for the origins of ideas in the Declaration of Independence, the purposes and provisions of the Constitution and functions of federal institutions. High school benchmarks tend to the abstract (e.g., "Decide what the relationships should be between the United States and inter-

national organizations [none named]" and "Analyze causes of tension between the branches of government").

The Michigan standards provide little guidance to school districts and teachers of where to start, what to select or leave out, and what is crucial or relatively unimportant. It is not clear how meaningful tests could be derived from these materials. And, indeed, it appears that the state's tests—not its standards or curriculum resources—are really driving what is called "a very consistent de facto sequence of instruction."

Minnesota

(*Source:* High Standards, *Minnesota Department of Children, Families, and Learning, August 30, 1999. This alters only the format of Minnesota's 1998* Profile of Learning)

The five criteria: An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
☆	☆	⯪	☆	☆

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [⯪]; and standards that do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

Summary:
Minnesota is reportedly preparing curriculum frameworks to guide local selection of subject matter to meet these standards, which with few exceptions are wholly abstract—a loose brand of "outcomes-based-education" dressed up in "standards" language. *High Standards* does not fully meet any of the criteria for judging strong standards for democratic education. It arranges topics into grade clusters, gaining a "partially met" for scope and sequence, Criterion #3. But it avoids naming any of the disciplines. Its ten "Learning Areas" are (1) read, view, and listen; (2) write and speak; (3) arts and literature; (4) math applications; (5) inquiry; (6) scientific applications; (7) people and cultures; (8) decision making; (9) resource management; (10) world languages (optional). History falls under #5, inquiry, and #7, peoples and cultures. Civics appears only under the latter, as though unsuited to inquiry. Curiously, it is not included in decision making, which lists only personal health, physical fitness, and career preparation. Needless to say, Criteria #4 and #5 are not met.

Particulars:
At the primary (kindergarten to grade three), intermediate (grades four to five), and middle school (grades six to eight) levels, history and civics have no specifics at all. For high school, the inquiry area gives history four of twelve standards, along with math research, issue analysis, research process, social science processes, research and create a business plan, market research, case study, and new product development. History choices, none required, are called history of science (e.g., "gathering information on one scientific breakthrough"); history through culture (e.g., "interpreting ideas from artistic expressions to compare representations of a historical period to selected philosophies, events or conflicts, and people and their contributions"); recorders of history (e.g., "analyzing two or more accounts of the same historical event recorded in different time periods"); and, closest to specifics, world history and culture, in which students are to understand "the significance of key people, events, places, concepts, and themes in the historical development of one or more world cultures by: a survey of world history including early civilizations, classical traditions, major empires, institutions; expansions of exchange and encounter; intensified hemisphere interactions, and the first global age; the age of revolutions; and the twentieth; or a comprehensive, in-depth focus on a single culture,

nation, movement, or time period."

Under learning area #7, peoples and cultures, high school students are required to pick any four "themes related to key events, concepts, and people in the historical development of the United States, including the convergence of people, colonization, settlement, and the American Revolution; expansion, the Civil War and Reconstruction; tribal sovereignty and the relationship between American Indian tribal governments and federal and state government; industrialization, emergence of modern America, and the Great Depression; World War II; and postwar United States to the present." Under the required standard called "United States Citizenship," the only specifics are the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and Bill of Rights.The others are general (e.g., "observing, analyzing, and interacting with an actual or simulated governmental process").

Minnesota's standards were studied in 2000 by Achieve, Inc. and the Council for Basic Education in *Aiming Higher: A Report on Education Standards and Policy for Minnesota.* The report was highly critical of the state's standards in general and of its social studies standards in particular. It saw no possibility for a common core of learning, vital for equal opportunity to learn in a state whose national test scores are high but whose disadvantaged students lag far behind. The standards do nothing, the study said, to further comparability and equity. It found processes over-emphasized, unanchored even in the minimal content provided, and in language too vague to guide teachers as they write courses embracing topics all students should learn in common. Missing from high school civics, the study noted, are the roots of American political principles and institutions, from ancient Greece to John Locke, the Federalist papers, the evolution of the Constitution itself, federalism and even the three branches of government, and no references to politics outside the United States or to our relations with other countries. Missing in the high school history "themes", it pointed out, are Populism and the Progressive movement [in Minnesota!], World War I, the labor movement, immigration and nativism, African-Americans, women, conservation, and wars in Korea and Vietnam.

The Achieve/CBE study offered polite commendation to the standards writers' emphasis on "hands-on" education, on student research, and for specific "mention" of the need to learn proper grammar—yet refrained from pointing out that "constructivism," "applied learning" and "interdisciplinary" studies all require a solid base of knowledge, grounded in the disciplines, if they are to be taught well. This is not offered by these standards, which provide no particular episodes, people, or ideas to engage students by giving some life and import to the extensive list of skills, processes, and attitudes. The Minnesota documents contain nothing that would prevent massive omissions of basic civic/political topics or deadening repetitions of the same "inquiries," grade after grade. As they stand, Minnesota's standards offer little help to the state's schools and teachers who have been charged with the education of young citizens.

Hopefully, the state's new subject-matter frameworks will be crafted by teams of writers made up of practical and seasoned scholars and teachers of civics, economics, geography, and history who have the authority to define an essential core. With a historic reputation for progressive politics, state leaders should want to ensure that all young citizens, regardless of background, have an equal opportunity to learn about and participate in the political system they will inherit—from its distant origins to the clash of ideas, goals, and interests that animate political debate to the present day.

Mississippi

(*Source: Mississippi Social Studies Framework, 1998, Mississippi Department of Education)*

The five criteria: An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
☆	☆	★	⯪	★

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [⯪]; and standards that do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

Summary:
The framework does not meet Criterion #1. It has no core of specifics for history, politics, and civics. Its standards in each grade, called "Competencies," are vague. "Suggested Objectives" under them are general and not mandatory. Each grade has "Suggested Teaching Strategies," but without priorities.They are also far too many and too demanding to fit into the school year, as Criterion #2 requires. On Criterion #3, the document sets a course order: Mississippi studies in fourth grade, U.S. studies in fifth, Western Hemisphere studies in sixth, Eastern Hemisphere in seventh, U.S. history to 1877 in eighth. Required in high school are one term of Mississippi studies, a term of U.S. government, and a year each for world history since 1750 and U.S. history since 1877, the latter subject to a statewide end-of-course test. Since this implies at least some common expectations for all students, Criterion #4 is at least partially met. On Criterion #5, each strand of history, geography, civics, and economics has one or two "Competencies" in each grade, with fairly good linkage among subjects.

Particulars:
Grade five U.S. studies' "Competency" says only "Investigate the causes and nature of various movements of large groups of people into and within the United States, past and present." It has no narrative. Of fifth grade's 24 objectives, history has but five (to geography's nine). They are migration, colonization, immigration, and Westward expansion, but suggested teaching activities run through the twentieth century. Grade eight U.S. history objectives are general (e.g., "Identify causes and effects of" the American Revolution, Industrial Revolution, Civil War, and Reconstruction, etc.). Civics is a bit more specific, focusing on values and principles as found in the nation's founding documents. But neither cites leaders or roots of ideas, crises, or turning-points. Grade eleven U.S. history's competency is "Explain how geography, economics, and politics have influenced the historical development of the United States in the global community." Its objectives are also general and leave out race conflict, forces for industrialization, World War I, the Great Depression, World War II, the cold war, and the war in Vietnam. The 63 teaching activities vary from the childish to a level of complexity that would take weeks to explore honestly.

In grades six and seven, Western and Eastern hemispheric studies represent a long step backward from a prior framework with history courses on the world to 1750. Geography is

the main "framework," with 21 of the 36 total social studies objectives over the two years. By contrast, history has four and civics has six. High school world history since 1750 is said to be "based on prior knowledge of ancient history to the Industrial Revolution," but the skeletal history described in the standards for grades six and seven is far from adequate. The objectives contain nothing on the ideas of the major religions, of the Greeks and Romans on politics, on feudalism, on the Renaissance or Reformation, on the English or Scientific Revolutions. High school world history since 1750 is just as weak; its listed objectives leave out the Enlightenment, the French Revolution, nineteenth century "isms" and reforms, World War I, fascism, communism, Nazism, and World War II. The 83 teaching activities are not prioritized, allowing schools to provide different students with a differing quality of education.

In short, Mississippi has yet to do the work of defining a real civic core that is required of all young citizens.

Missouri

(*Sources: Framework for Curriculum Development in Social Studies, K-12, 1996; and Content Specifications for Statewide Assessment by Standard: Social Studies Grades 4, 8, and 11, 1999, Missouri Department of Elementary and Secondary Education*

The five criteria: An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
★	☆	★	★	☆

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [✯]; and standards that do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

Summary:

The second document above says it "is designed to give social studies item writers and teachers direction with regard to what is 'fair game' for assessment in social studies." It supercedes the 1996 framework, which it says "offers constructive advice" on the purposes of social studies, and on "guiding questions," skills, and activities. As the operative "standards" document, it partly meets Criterion #1, with clearly-stated though general topics from which teachers could draw a common core of learning for citizenship. But on Criterion #2, the large number of general topics under seven "standards" strands (constitutional democracy; American history; world history; governance systems; economic concepts; geography; relationships of individual and groups to institutions and traditions; and tools of social science inquiry) overflow the bounds of time. Criteria #3 is partly met, with lists of benchmarks in three columns for grades four, eight, and eleven, dividing U.S. history between middle and high school at c. 1880 and world history at c. 1450. Criterion #4 is also partly met, since the existence of statewide assessments implies that content is required of all students. Criterion #5 on integration is unmet. Only the civics standards have some links to the U.S. and world history eras being taught.

Particulars:

Missouri deserves credit for admitting that its 253-page framework of 1996 is unteachable and untestable, very much overstuffed with abstractions as in others shaped by the 1994 national social studies standards. It is extremely complex, without priorities. Its "perspectives," "strands," "guiding questions," diagrams of goals and objectives, and sample learning activities may at times help teachers, but only after they choose essential content on which to apply them. Missouri's "fair game" selection represents a good start, but is unevenly done. Each standard's topic list seems written by different authors not in touch with each other and relying too much on the national standards of each discipline—while ignoring the limited time and classroom conditions teachers must work under.

As elsewhere, this is obvious in the economics and geography standards. The grade four economics benchmarks are wholly unrealistic; the grade eight items resemble a typical senior elective in high school; and the grade eleven items are pitched at college level. Geography follows suite. Its items take two full pages, more than any other standard, and impose the academic concepts and vocabulary of national geography standards as early as grades kindergar-

ten to four. Its detailed demands under grades eight and eleven are all but identical, the authors making no effort to help teachers and test writers decide when to teach or test what. Seasoned classroom teachers apparently had too little influence on the design of these two subjects.

For standards #6 and #7, "Relationships of the Individual and Groups to Institutions" and "Traditions, and Tools of Social Science Inquiry," the column headings for grades four, eight, and eleven make plain that the items listed are to be tested "within the context of assessment modules that deal with history, geography, government, and economics."

Missouri sets a good example with this statement. Items under standard #6 are indeed best taught by study of history, biography, the social sciences, and literature. And social studies skills are best honed when applied to specific subject matter content.The problem of selecting what is important, however, is only partly solved by the benchmarks/topics under the five other standards. The two civics standards, "Constitutional Democracy" and "Governance Systems" (largely comparative government), if taught in relation to U.S. and world history, may be conveyed in the school time available.The grade eight benchmarks for the former assume that students have a course in U.S. history heavy on the founding era. And the grade eleven benchmarks ask for study of sources such as the Magna Carta, the Mayflower Compact, Enlightenment ideas (Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Montesquieu), as well as the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, the Constitution, the Federalist papers, and the Bill of Rights.The English Revolution is left out of both the civics and history standards.

The U.S. and world history benchmarks remain general, covering the usual textbook-like chapter and section headings.The next step, selecting the specifics needed to teach the benchmarks, could be taken without serious overloading of the U.S. history courses, presumably in grades eight and eleven. Grade eight has 22 benchmarks, averaging eight days for each in an entire school year of roughly 180 days. Grade eleven has 25 benchmarks (the first five reviewing the pre-1877 period), for an average of six teaching days each. With these numbers, teachers could choose some benchmarks to do in depth and have time to do the others more briefly. The fourth grade's eleven benchmarks are reasonable; all could be done in age-appropriate ways.

By its nature, world history poses more problems. Grade four's column has no benchmarks for it.The grades five-eight column has 26 major topics/benchmarks, more sweeping than those for U.S. history, from the river civilizations to c. 1450. These can be made more specific and teachable, but only if both grades six and seven are devoted to integrated history/geography studies, giving about half of the benchmarks to each. Vital topics need to be added here and could be, without overloading. At present, for example, there is no mention of world religions. "Greek civilization and Roman empire" are a single topic. The "origins of democracy" benchmark stands alone. The ideas and fate of Athenian democracy, the overthrow of the Roman Republic and the fall of Imperial Rome are left out. "Feudalism" is listed twice, in Japan and Europe, but with no word on its significance for limited, constitutional government.

High school world history, presumably a single year, cannot be taught from 1450 to the present in serious, engaging ways, especially as the grade eleven benchmarks begin with a review of the ancient and medieval worlds. The benchmarks are general and vast. Teachers get less guidance than from a textbook's table of contents.This is the most serious flaw in the Missouri document, all but guaranteeing that teachers never reach close to the present day. The obvious steps are to move the starting date to no earlier than 1750 and to add the essential specifics of political history that American citizens need. In sum, Missouri has made progress since 1996, but much still needs to be slimmed and clarified.

Montana

(*Source:* Montana Standards for Social Studies, 2000, M*ontana Office of Public Instruction*)

The five criteria: An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
☆	☆	⯪	☆	☆

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [⯪]; and standards that do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

Summary:
Of its twelve pages, six of Montana's *Standards for Social Studies* are on standards. These do not fully meet any of the criteria for citizenship education. Montana calls itself a local control state and tries to hold to an imaginary line between "standards" and "curriculum." On Criterion #1, the single specific required, not a mere example, is the Constitution. All "standards" are analyses of learning, not learning itself. To meet them honestly would overflow school time, contrary to Criterion #2. The material is arranged by grade span partially satisfying Criterion #3, but there is no way to tell whether the sequence of courses has been thought about seriously. Many specifics needed to deal with these standards would have to be taught at all school levels. In a state with wholly local choice of content (while planning "aligned" statewide testing), Criterion #4 has no meaning. Content cannot be offered to all students until what is essential is decided upon. On Criterion #5, there is no content to be integrated.

Particulars:
Benchmarks to meet the six standards are listed in three columns, for the end of grades four and eight, and "Upon Graduation-End of Grade 12." Standard #1 has students "access, synthesize, and evaluate information to communicate and apply social studies knowledge to real world situations." Presumably any situation deemed real will do, since benchmarks suggest none in particular. This invites schools to intellectual segregation, asking "good" students to learn while ignoring others. A twelfth-grade benchmark under standard #2, civics, asks students to "identify representative political leaders and philosophies from selected historical and contemporary settings." In grade eight geography, students are asked to explain "how movement patterns throughout the world (e.g., people, ideas, diseases, products, food) lead to interdependence and/or conflict." In grade twelve history, they should "interpret how selected cultures, historical events, periods, and patterns of change influence each other." For grade twelve economics, they "compare and contrast how values and beliefs influence economic decisions in different economic systems."

As in other states, vague and overstated expectations in all three grade clusters tempt teachers and students to believe that broad intellectual questions have been explored.This is both misleading and totally contrary to the expressed purpose of this document: "Social Studies addresses political, economic, geographic, and social processes that allow students to

make informed decisions for personal and public good."

On pages eight-eleven, even more impenetrable "Performance Standards" are listed as advanced, proficient, nearing proficiency, and novice, for grades four, eight, and twelve. These are squeezed down, abstract versions of the already abstract benchmarks. The advanced and proficient categories are unreal. Even after thirteen years of schooling, no student, no matter how bright or lucky, could be expected to live up to these wish-lists. Teachers who have looked to the documents for guidance are likely to have concluded that its grand words are not seriously meant, only a needless distraction from the sensible curricula most of them probably offer already.

Nebraska

(*Source: Nebraska K-12 Social Studies Standards, May 8, 1998, Nebraska State Board of Education)*

The five criteria: An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
★	☆	⯪	⯪	★

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [⯪]; and standards that do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

Summary:
Like Montana, Nebraska also calls itself a local control state But in contrast to Montana, its standards are highly specific across grade spans kindergarten to one, two to four, five to eight, and nine to twelve, allowing for local academic content that is "the same, equal to, or exceeding in rigor" the state standards.

This document meets Criterion #1, with clearly-worded specific items in history, politics, and civics for citizen education. An excellent core of common learning could be designed from it, but only by much pruning of the number and scope of topics; which is apparently underway. For now, it does not meet Criterion #2: like other specific listings, it overflows schools' available instructional time.

Criterion #3 is partly met; the document does not recommend or imply a course order, but only end-of-grade-span topic listings. Criterion #4 is also partially met. Whether essential content—if it is chosen—is to be required of all students will depend upon how closely local curricula and tests are aligned with these standards. "Equal to" and "exceeding in rigor" may be defined in several ways, not necessarily "the same as." On Criterion #5, topics in government, economics, and geography are limited to each discipline but are fewer in number than in most strand-organized documents. The topics for U.S. and world history include major aspects of geography, economics, and politics for each era, so there is much integration.

Particulars:
The main problem here is drastic overload of topics, which begins in the kindergarten through fourth grades and becomes progressively worse. The listed topics for the grades five and eight U.S. history courses, which mistakenly try a complete survey from pre-exploration to the present, would require some 180 separate items, plus no fewer than 50 under the civics and economics topics. Grades five-eight world history contains some 105 major topics, and high school world history, trying to cover an unteachable span of time from 1000 A.D. to the present, has no fewer than 135, including, for example, "The social structure, significance of citizenship, and development of democracy in the city-state of Athens" and "The rise, aggression, and human costs of totalitarian regimes in the Soviet Union, Germany, Italy, and Japan." High school U.S. history, yet another survey from pre-exploration to the present, has some

170 topics, such as "The struggle for ratification of the Constitution, the Federalist Papers, and anti-Federalists' arguments" and "The origins of the Cold War and the foreign and domestic consequences" and "Comparing the positions of political parties and interest groups on major issues."

As Nebraska's social studies standards are now being reviewed and revised, a major improvement could be achieved by segmenting both the U.S. and world history courses by eras between upper middle and high school grades.The present surveys, under added pressure from numerous standards for civics, economics, and geography, will not allow the study of selected topics in depth, or for the thoughtful exercise of the skills in historical analysis and presentations emphasized in the present document. And it is doubtful that any of the survey courses could ever reach the present. Almost all necessary content is here, but is needlessly hurried and often repeated.

Nevada

(*Sources: Nevada Social Studies Standards, Economics Standards, Civics Standards, Geography Standards, and History Standards, Nevada Department of Education, March, 2000*)

The five criteria: An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
★	☆	☆	☆	☆

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [★]; and standards that do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

Summary:
The state's standards documents total 288 pages. Each has two sections, "Content Standards" and "Performance Level Descriptors," the latter in four levels (exceeds standards, meets standards, approaches standards, and below standards). Descriptors for the first two performance levels mostly repeat the details of the standards, which are ranged in five columns for grades two, three, five, eight, and twelve. Columns are headed by "Students know and are able to do everything required in earlier grades." These numerous pages do not fully meet any of the criteria for strong standards in citizenship education.They are vastly overloaded and uneven, with far too much detail in many instances, but no mention of vital content in others. The content listed in the grade twelve columns and descriptors is breathtakingly sweeping, more than could reasonably be expected of college majors in economics, geography, or history. Civics, while weak on historical context and ideas, is less unrealistic.

Criterion #1 might possibly be met by expert teachers, pulling out a partial core of essential learning, but only if they use other sources. Meeting Criterion #2, that content be teachable in the time teachers have, is out of the question. So is Criterion #3; the grades eight and twelve columns demand that U.S. and world history be wholly surveyed at both levels. Meeting Criterion #4, that content be required of all students, is also not feasible. This content is too much for any student. Yet, although Nevada leaves actual curriculum selection to localities, there are plans for later statewide testing. Criterion #5, on integration, is also not met.

Particulars:
World history topics are far too many, yet leave huge gaps in the education of American citizens. Topics for grades eight and twelve assume a full world history survey in both middle and high school. The eighth-grade column has 90 topics, yet lacks the ideas and teachings of Judaism, Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, and Confucianism; the Athenian democracy, its ideas and its collapse; the Roman Republic, its institutions and its overthrow; the decline and fall of the Roman Empire; feudalism and the concept of limited government, as illustrated by the Magna Carta; Renaissance political forces and ideas; the Reformation; the English and Scientific Revolutions; the ideas of the Enlightenment; the French Revolution; nineteenth century ideologies and political and economic reforms; nationalism and imperial-

ism; the Russian and Nazi revolutions; and the Great Depression. Grade twelve has 160 world history topics, but also leaves out all of the above, except for the Reformation, nationalism, imperialism, and the Russian Revolution.

Topics for U.S. history also assume survey courses from origins to the present in both middle and high school. These standards have even more topics than world history and fewer omissions. But unless Nevada schools give two full era-divided years to both world and American history, these documents are of little help to teachers. If revisions are planned, those responsible should seek to choose priorities, pare down topics, and optimize instructional time, using the practical advice of seasoned teachers and scholars with some knowledge of how schools work.

New Hampshire

(*Source: K-12 Social Studies Curriculum Framework, August 1995, New Hampshire Department of Education*)

The five criteria: An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
★	☆	★	★	★

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [★]; and standards that do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

Summary:
On Criterion #1, the document could offer a common core of learning to educate citizens, but only with more specifics and priorities. It is clearly written on important themes, but too general in civics and U.S. and world history. On Criterion #2, the content needed to explain the general items overflows teachers' time, especially given the many economics and geography items, taking up eleven of eighteen standards. Criterion #3 is partially met; New Hampshire does not suggest a kindergarten through grade twelve sequence of courses, but standards and topics are listed in two grade spans, kindergarten to six and seven to ten. These imply the ancient world is studied in grade five or six, and the world since then in grade eight, nine, or ten. The U.S. to 1877 is finished in grade eleven (modern U.S. topics are added in "End-of Grade 12"). State assessment of all subjects in grades six and ten imply that content is required of all students, earning a "partially met" on Criterion #4. Under Criterion #5, on integration, of four strands, only civics relates to historical context.

Particulars:
Familiar problems are the absence of priorities and separate strands that appear to have been written by different people who did not collaborate on matters of teaching time and integration. As elsewhere, New Hampshire's standards are overstuffed, likely the result of using the "national" standards as models, with the economics, geography, and history documents each developed by its own academic advocates.The pre-grade seven topics in world history and cultures are typically broad and unselective (e.g., "basic understanding of the origin, development, and distinctive characteristics of major ancient, classical, and agrarian civilizations including Mesopotamian, Ancient Hebrew, Egyptian, Nubian (Kush), Greek, Roman, Gupta Indian, Han Chinese, Islamic, Byzantine, Olmec, Mayan, Aztec, and Incan Civilizations," and "basic understanding of the distinctive characteristics of major contemporary societies and cultures of Africa, the Americas, Asia, Europe, and the Middle East." The world history topics listed under "End-of-Grade Ten" could not be taught in under two full years. They begin with "political, philosophical, and cultural legacies of Greece and Rome" plus "origin, central ideas and worldwide influence" of Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. A single page presents sweeping topics up to the present (e.g., "causes

and worldwide consequences of World War I, the Russian Revolutions, World War II, the Chinese Revolution, the cold war, and post-World War II conflicts"). U.S. history topics are only a bit more specific. A civics standard on "fundamental ideals and principles of American democracy" is better in specifying points vital to citizens.

The main general topics of U.S. and world history put New Hampshire ahead of many states, but with so much time claimed by other topics, it is hard to see how democratic history could be well taught or fairly tested. The two addenda issued in 1998 to aid teachers in preparing students for the state assessments do not help. Neither addresses the real problems. Activities and lesson plans merely demonstrate how much time it could take to teach only one "proficiency," and most do not relate to the vital content of the subjects. Unhappily, too, neither of the local district samples of scope and sequence for kindergarten to twelfth-grade courses is aligned with the standards' content. New Hampshire makes a good start, but its topic selection needs a new look, as do subsequent publications.

New Jersey

(*Sources: Core Curriculum Content Standards: Social Studies, May 1996, and Social Studies Curriculum Framework, March 1999, New Jersey Department of Education*)

The five criteria: An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
☆	☆	☆	☆	☆

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Summary:
New Jersey standards are now being revised. Existing documents, named above, do not meet our education for democracy criteria. On Criterion #1, the standards mention just six specifics: the Declaration of Independence, the U.S. and New Jersey Constitutions, the Bill of Rights, the Pledge of Allegiance, and the Holocaust. On Criterion #2, the content implied in 125 main "indicators," plus required "themes," would be unteachable. On Criteria #3 and #4, New Jersey suggests no course sequence and, lacking a common core, there is no way essential content could be required of all students. The state has not decided what will be tested in social studies. On Criterion #5, content integration, the three strands of civics, history, and geography are entirely separate. The 1999 *Framework's* 500-plus pages are of little help to teachers, offering endless activities, many of them peripheral to vital topics, unaligned to grade level, and requiring far too much time.

Particulars:
The 1996 document has nine social studies standards, of which two are civic, five are called history, and four are geography. Under each are "progress indicators" for the end of grades four, eight, and twelve. Each standard begins "All students will learn" or "acquire," as though all are teachable.The second civics standard is "students will learn democratic citizenship through the humanities, by studying literature, art, history and philosophy, and related fields." A typical indicator is "Compare and contrast examples of artistic and literary expression from different historical and social settings."The four "history" standards are on political history, societal ideas, varying cultures, and economics. All are said to be studied "throughout the history of New Jersey, the United States, and the world." None of the indicators is specific.The history section begins by listing main eras of U.S. and world history, all of which are to be studied by graduation, but districts are to "define the balance among materials for Western, Asian, African, and other world cultures."

An indicator from political history is "Assess positions of proponents and opponents at turning points throughout history" (grade eight). Under "societal ideas" is "Evaluate how individuals, groups, and institutions influence solutions to society's problems" (grade twelve). For varying cultures, we find "Analyze the mutual influences among different cultures throughout

time" (grade twelve). Economics indicators have no historical items. Below each history standard, writers have added "specific themes" from which "a designated number" are to be studied. A few of these are the history of political leadership, social classes and relations, agriculture, religion, literature, the arts, education, popular culture, philosophy, political and social thought, travel and communications, and corporations.

For all its flaws, the 1996 document opened the way to more historical study than did earlier, wholly vague social studies programs. Its frame can now be directly built upon by experienced subject matter teachers and scholars, setting a common kindergarten to twelfth-grade course order and core content, leaving methods and some choices for topic emphases to the localities.

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The five criteria: An overview

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For all its flaws, the 1996 document opened the way to more historical study than did earlier, wholly vague social studies programs. Its frame can now be directly built upon by experienced subject matter teachers and scholars, setting a common kindergarten to twelfth-grade course order and core content, leaving methods and some choices for topic emphases to the localities.

New Mexico

(*Source:* New Mexico Social Studies Content Standards and Benchmarks, *June 22, 2001, New Mexico State Board of Education*)

The five criteria: An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
★	☆	★	⯪	⯪

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [⯪]; and standards that do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

Summary:
New Mexico discarded a prior effort with few specifics and only abstract standards and benchmarks, often unrelated to each other. This newer document meets Criterion #1. A common core of learning can be derived from its civics and history content, and most of it is specific and clearly written. Whether the required knowledge could be taught within school time, Criterion #2, will depend on whether districts can choose among topic emphases. On Criterion #3, New Mexico joins the few states ready to help teachers plan an articulated curriculum with a grade-by-grade progression of studies with specific performance standards, kindergarten to grade eight. On Criterion #4, statewide assessment, with high school tests determining eligibility for graduation, implies that common content must be offered to all. Criterion #5 is partly met. New Mexico is one of the few states aligning certain civics, economics, and geography content with eras taught in history.

Particulars:
The document is arranged by four standards: history, geography, civics and government, and economics. Each has broad benchmarks for the grade spans kindergarten to grade four, five to eight, and nine to twelve (e.g., for the ninth to twelfth grades in history: "Analyze and evaluate the impact of major eras, events, and individuals in United States history since the Civil War and Reconstruction"). Under the benchmarks are detailed "Performance Standards," grade by grade. The content to be presented in each grade is spelled out. Grade four emphasizes New Mexico history; grade five, U.S. history to c. 1800; grade six, world history through the Middle Ages; grade seven, a mix of civics, economics, geography, and New Mexico history and politics; grade eight, U.S. history to Reconstruction. Grades nine-twelve are not differentiated, but include U.S. history from Reconstruction to the present, and world history from the Renaissance, too long a survey for studies in depth—or for getting to the present.

Civics items are consistently linked with historical eras, from Greece and Rome, the English Bill of Rights, and Enlightenment thinkers to modern comparative government, but not so the political implications of major world religions and ethical systems, whose beliefs appear only in grade six ancient history. Nor do U.S. history items clarify religion's influence on American thought and politics. Otherwise, the civic and political content of U.S. history

and civics includes almost everything a citizen ought to know, and a modest paring-down would render it teachable. As always, world history is another matter. Grade six has 55 separate topics (not counting examples) in history alone, several of which need at least a week. Adding 44 topics in civics, economics, and geography makes too many for school time. High school world history has 100 such topics, plus demanding skills to be practiced, presumably squeezed into a single year. Despite its length, a few major items are left out of this survey course (e.g., stages of the French Revolution and the contrasts to ours; nineteenth-century "isms," and the democrats' defeat in Russia and Germany), but most needed ideas and events are present.

Setting priorities and redating world history come next. If carefully done by experienced teachers and scholars, New Mexico's new standards will rank among the best for the political education of citizens.

New York

(*Source: Social Studies Resource Guide with Core Curriculum, June 1999, New York State Education Department*)

The five criteria: An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
★	☆	★	⯪	★

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [⯪]; and standards that do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

Summary:
This 139-page document is among the most encyclopedic in the country. As such, it technically meets Criterion #1. Its topics and subtopics are specific, and from them teachers could draw a common core of learning critical for citizens' education, but only with great effort and some risk, given New York's statewide assessment system. "Test Specifications Guides" are sent out with numbers of multiple-choice items for each era and "themes" on which essay questions will be based. But neither can much reduce teachers' guesswork, and both, if more specific, would merely promote teaching to the test.The document is far from satisfying Criterion #2. At no secondary grade level could the number of topics be taught in the time teachers have. Criteria #3 and #4 are met and partially met, respectively. New York sets a clear grade-by-grade kindergarten to twelfth-grade scope and sequence of courses. Content and state tests given to all students on that material imply that it is required. The document generally satisfies Criterion #5, on the integration of civics, economics, geography, and history.

Particulars:
In regard to the political education of citizens, the main weakness of the New York document is, of course, its overwhelming number of ostensibly required topics. It is difficult to see how teachers could prepare students for statewide assessments, whose results carry high stakes for students, teachers, schools, and districts. More serious are the obstacles to school and teacher choice of topics to stress, whether it is to present a coherent political education or other chosen lines of emphasis. Among the obstacles are the state's published "Test Sampler Drafts" for grades five and eight and for high school courses in global history and geography and U.S. history and government. Sample questions—multiple choice, essay, and document-based—wander in all directions and may spur frantic attempts to "cover" all things and discourage even a few studies in depth. Common to many states, whether their standards are overloaded or amorphous, test items appear more often to reward students' general knowledge and ability to read and memorize than their grasp of subject matter.

The overload of topics and absence of priorities is evident at all levels. In the grade four course on local, state, and U.S. history from origins onward are 55 broad topics (e.g.,"Causes for revolution: social, political, and economic" and "Transportation, inventions, communica-

tions and technology [1800's to present]").The eleven units of grades seven and eight on New York and U.S. history, origins to the present, have over 500 topics, few of them mere examples and many quite sweeping. The content for a two-year, grades nine and ten global history and geography course includes some 470 topics.The one-year grade eleven U.S. history course (origins to the present) has some 500 topics, too heavy even for a two-year course. Segmenting U.S. history by eras would help, but paring down is also needed for student comprehension in general and especially for a meaningful education in democratic history, civics, and politics.

Ideally, the New York document, which can not truly be called a "core" curriculum, could be treated as a penultimate draft, from which a team of experienced teachers and scholars could select a real core of essential learning, capable of being engagingly taught and fairly tested in the requisite amount of time.

North Carolina

(*Source: The North Carolina Social Studies Standard Courses of Study, 2002, North Carolina Department of Public Instruction*)

The five criteria: An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
☆	☆	★	⯪	☆

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [⯪]; and standards that do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

Summary:
This 122-page document, based on both the NCSS standards and national standards for the separate disciplines, does not meet either Criterion #1 or #2. Specific events, persons, and ideas on civics and history are scarce throughout middle and high school, and the implied content of numberless general "objectives" could not be taught in the usual school time. Criterion #3 is met by a kindergarten to grade twelve sequence: in fourth grade, North Carolina geography and history; in fifth, U.S. history, Canada, Mexico, Central America; in sixth, South America and Europe; in seventh, Africa, Asia, and Australia; in eighth, North Carolina history/geography again; in ninth, a world history survey from earliest civilizations to the present; in tenth, civics and economics; in eleventh, U.S. history; in twelfth, social science electives. Criterion #4, on equal requirements, is only partly met by planned end-of-course tests in grade eleven U.S. history and at the ninth grade level in "Economic, Legal and Political Systems" (curiously, a year before the course in civics and economics). On Criterion #5, there is minimal integration among eight social studies strands—individual identity and development; cultures and diversity; government and active citizenship; historic perspectives; geographic relationships; economics and development; global connections; and technological influences and society. Instead, as in other documents following the format of the national social studies standards, they needlessly scatter things better taught together.

Particulars:
State law mandates "specific areas" in the social studies: Americanism, North Carolina and U.S. government, the free enterprise system, the "major principles" of the Declaration of Independence, the U.S. Constitution, its amendments, "the most important of the Federalist Papers," two years of North Carolina history/geography, and "various racial and ethnic groups' contribution to the development and diversity of the state."

The document has such items, but it fails to specify other events, ideas, personalities, and turning-points in U.S. and world history that would meet the NCSS dictum: "the primary purpose of the social studies is to help young people develop the ability to make informed and reasoned decisions." Instead, its writers quote and agree with the NCSS on two clearly incompatible notions: one, "social studies encompasses many more potential goals and content clusters than can be addressed adequately"; and two, "all students, kindergarten to twelve, should have access to the full richness of the social studies curriculum." If "full richness" can-

not be adequately taught, to any or all, selection is imperative for a common core of learning that all have a right to be offered. No selection is evident here.

The grade five course is ostensibly on the history of the U.S., Canada, Mexico, and "selected countries of Central America" from exploration to now. But of 44 "objectives," 36 are on geography, current government, ethnicity, cultures, economics, and technology. Among the eight on history are "Explain when, where, why, and how groups of people settled in different regions of the United States" and "Describe the contributions of people of diverse cultures throughout the history of the United States."

Of 43 "objectives" in grade six, two are in history ("Identify historical events such as invasions, conquests, and migrations and evaluate their relationship to current issues" and "Examine the causes of key historical events in selected areas of South America and Europe and analyze the short and long range effects on political, economic, and social institutions"). Typical of the broad items not under history are: "Examine key ethical ideas and values deriving from religious, artistic, political, economic, and educational traditions, as well as their diffusion over time, and assess their influence on development of selected societies and regions in South America and Europe," and "Examine the major belief systems in selected regions of South America and Europe, and analyze their impact on cultural values, practices, and institutions." Not only are similar questions repeated in the next grade, but so general are the questions that the grade seven course (on Africa, Asia, and Australia) carries the same 43 objectives in identical words, with only the regional names changed.

Despite these problems, the grade nine world history pages claim to build "on the knowledge students have gained in the cultural geographic studies in grades five, six, and seven." Of 47 sweeping objectives, half of them would be more appropriate for doctoral candidates (e.g., "Characterize over time and place the interactions of world cultures"). Embodied in the grade nine objectives are some 170 separate, substantial topics, but without mention of Greek political ideas, of Athenian democracy and its fall (instead, a typically sweeping item: "Identify the roots of Greek civilization and recognize its achievements from the Minoan era through the Hellenistic period"). There is nothing on Rome's Republic, on feudalism, the Magna Carta, the English Bill of Rights, Enlightenment ideas, the "isms" or social and political reforms of the nineteenth century or, later, the Great Depression, fascism, the fall of Weimar Germany and rise of Nazism, or the Holocaust.

Grade eight, on the history of North Carolina in the context of United States history from pre-Columbian times to the present, and grade eleven, on United States history from 1789 to the present, are similarly unrealistic surveys. Only by leaving great gaps in the narrative of ostensibly required content could teachers manage studies in depth, connections to the arts and literature, and time to reflect with students on the significance of historical events, ideas, personalities, and turning-points for American life in recent decades. There is no mention either in the grade ten civics/economics course or in the grade eleven U.S. history course of Old World sources of American political thought, from Judaic-Christian ideas to the Anglo-American political heritage and Enlightenment thought.

North Carolina's document is an earnest effort to combine most of the themes, concepts, and questions of the standards issued by the National Council for the Social Studies, with most of the general demands made by authors of national standards in civics, economics, geography, and history. The result is a set of standards that is not teachable in the time teachers have, yet also fails to include priorities of importance to American students. Thus, North Carolina's new document does not improve on the past. As in many other states, most of the raw material is here, or implied, and could be reworked by expert teachers and scholars into a document that could support a "civic core," as well as other social studies themes.

North Dakota

(*Sources:* Social Studies Standards, 2000, *and* Performance Levels for Social Studies Standards and Benchmarks, 2001, *North Dakota Department of Public Instruction*)

The five criteria: An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
☆	☆	☆	☆	☆

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [✯]; and standards that do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

Summary:
These documents meet none of the five criteria for judging their use in citizenship education. No standards, benchmarks, or "performance levels" carry specific events, individuals, ideas, or institutions. Specifics appear only as non-required examples and "activities." Seven strands are called "standards:" nature of history, political institutions, economic systems, social studies resources, role of the citizen, geography, culture, sociology and psychology, and sovereignty. Their listed benchmarks are general and overarching; the substance needed to satisfy them would far overflow instructional time. There is no kindergarten to twelve grade-by-grade scope and sequence of courses. What, if anything, is to be offered to all students is not clear, yet the state administers commercial tests at grades four, six, eight, and ten. On Criterion #5, there is no integration of content from the seven strands.

Particulars:
The second document merely repeats standards and benchmarks, with four levels of performance in the same words. Under a benchmark "Understand how key events, people, and ideas affected U.S. history," the top level is "Student evaluates how key events, people, and ideas affected U.S. history;" the second level is "Student describes;" the third is "Student partially describes;" etc.

Some suggested examples and activities in the 2000 standards hint at coverage in grade levels. U.S. history examples in grades five to eight stress the pre-Reconstruction era, though some activities reach to the present. High school U.S. history examples imply a survey from exploration to now. The one benchmark on U.S. history is that cited above, "key events, people, and ideas." Grade eleven examples read like textbook chapter headings (revolutionary era, development of Constitution, Progressivism, America's wars, without specifics). And there are specifics under only one of the activities: "Students participate in a simulation to demonstrate understanding of cause and effect relationships, for example [of] World War I or World War II."

World history examples for grades five to eight call for coverage from ancient civilizations to the present, again in general terms (e.g., feudalism, Renaissance, Reformation, world conflicts, globalism). The grades nine to twelve examples also indicate a survey from "Earliest

Human" to today, under two benchmarks: "Understand the development and influence of world civilizations" and "Understand how key events, people, and ideas affected world history." Were history and civics the only strands, such generalities might be taught. But sweeping benchmarks for the seven other strands would require an unteachable mass of information. As in other states, it is only under the strand "Political Institutions" that examples offer a few specifics for civic education: natural rights, the rights of Englishmen, the Declaration of Independence, the Northwest Ordinance, the Constitutional Convention, the Bill of Rights.

North Dakota's standards will hopefully be redesigned with added input from experienced teachers and scholars of the core subjects.

Ohio

(*Source: Academic Content Standards for Social Studies, December 2002, Ohio Department of Education)*

The five criteria: An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
★½	☆	★	★½	☆

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [★½]; and standards that do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

Summary:
This document replaces, and much improves upon, prior versions of Ohio's social studies standards. It partly meets Criterion #1 with a good number of specific, key topics in U.S. studies, but is too light on world and Western civilization topics. It does not meet Criterion #2. Like other states with specific topics, it has many of them and too many expectations scattered among seven standards, given the amount of instructional time schools have at hand. It meets Criterion #3 in a strongly suggested scope and sequence for its upper elementary, middle, and high school courses. That is, in grade four, "Ohio, Its Past, Its Location, Its Government"; grade five, "Regions and People of North America"; grade six, "Regions and People of the World"; grade seven, "World Studies: Ancient Times to 1750"; grade eight, "U.S. Studies to 1877"; grade nine, "World Studies: 1750 to the Present"; grade ten, "U.S. Studies: 1877 to the Present"; grade eleven, "Political and Economic Decisions"; and grade twelve, "Preparing for Citizenship". The document's benchmarks are checkpoints at the end of each grade span (kindergarten to two, three to five, six to eight, nine to ten, and eleven to twelve). On Criterion #4, requirements, the grades five and eight benchmarks will be the bases for new Ohio achievement tests, and grade ten's will be the basis for a new Ohio graduation test. The implication is that a common core of knowledge will be offered to all students, indicating that Criterion #4 is partially met. The document does not meet Criterion #5. The topics under its seven "standards" (or "strands" in many states) are not connected: history, government, people in societies, citizenship rights and responsibilities, geography, economics, social studies skills and methods.

Particulars:
The scope and sequence of courses is not ideal. Once again, geography and history are segregated into separate middle school courses, to the detriment of both. A majority of states begin integrated U.S. history and geography in grade five, demonstrating how they illuminate each other and lightening the load of topics for the grade eight course to 1877. The same is true for grades six and seven. The document says the grade six focus "is geographic rather than historic," but it should not be a question of either/or. The two together strengthen each other, and teaching them in tandem over the two years of grades six and seven permits each course

to cover a much shorter era and increases the chances for both to study topics in some depth. The grade seven span of world history, from its origins to 1750, is too long even for high school. It does not allow for the memorable teaching of ideas, events, turning-points, and personalities from the ancient world to the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, and the eve of the American and French Revolutions. It is not likely to reach that crucial century, putting a burden on the high school world history course, which is supposed to begin in 1750. This, in turn, makes it difficult for ninth-grade teachers to reach the present.

As so often, U.S. history topics are more complete and better chosen than those for world history and Western civilization. Grade seven world studies does not carry the main beliefs and moral teachings of Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Judaism, Christianity, or Islam. It remains too general on Greek political ideas and institutions, and its skips the Roman Republic and the Empire itself. Most curiously, the grade seven standards have no topics after European exploration. World studies to 1750 must include at least the English Revolution contrasted to absolutism in France and Russia, the Scientific Revolution, and ideas of the Enlightenment. Except for "government and rights and responsibilities" (the latter mentions the English Bill of Rights), items under other standards in grades seven and eight remain abstract, but imply the need for a large share of teaching time in courses that are supposed to center on narrative history, government, geography, and economics. Grade nine world studies does pick up on Enlightenment ideas, the American and French Revolutions, and the Industrial Revolution, but leaves out nineteenth-century ideologies of liberalism, conservatism, radical republicanism, social democracy, and socialism (Adam Smith and Karl Marx are mentioned under the economics standard). These are all still debated today and students need to have clear views of them and their varied notions of human nature and possibilities.

In general, however, this new document is a major step forward for Ohio's teachers and students. It provides a good base for later review, revision, addition, and careful selection of priorities by a team of veteran teachers and scholars. It could especially profit from a return to the four central subjects of history, geography, economics, and civics, and relate the scattered topics from people and societies to history, and rights and responsibilities to civics/government, and perhaps begin each grade level with social studies skills and methods.

Oklahoma

(*Source: A Core Curriculum for Our Children's Future: Priority Academic Skills [PASS] Social Studies*, M*ay 2000, Oklahoma State Department of Education*)

The five criteria: An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
★	☆	⯪	⯪	⯪

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [⯪]; and standards that do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

Summary:
With the exception of middle school world history, the Oklahoma document largely meets Criterion #1 with specific, important content from which a common core of learning could be selected. But for most grades, Criterion #2 is not met; the numbers and demands of listed topics are beyond available instructional hours. Criterion #3, on an ordered sequence of civics/history courses is partly met. Grade five centers on U.S. history to 1850. The grade span from six to eight carries courses in world geography; world "cultural history," ancient to contemporary; U.S. history, 1607 to 1877; and civics. High school courses include Oklahoma history; world geography; world history from hunter-gatherers to the present; U.S. history, 1850 to the present; government; and economics. On Criterion #4, it is not clear which courses are required of all students. State tests cover geography and U.S. history at grades five and eight, and there is an end-of-course test in high school U.S. history. World history and civics/government are not mentioned. On Criterion #5, unlike civics, the economics and geography topics are general, academic, and without historical context.

Particulars:
As usual in documents with specific topics, U.S. history includes most of the events, personalities, ideas, and turning-points central to students' understanding of political democracy. The middle school course to 1877 omits the Old World backgrounds of American political thought, only some of which appear in high school world history and government. High school U.S. history since 1850 is overloaded with some 145 substantial topics, missing only the forces behind Reconstruction's failure, the uniquely American context of post-Civil War industrialization, Populism, and the fateful consequences of World War I for American life in the twentieth century.

Middle school world "cultural history" is an incoherent scattering of vast topics. Under "Analyze selected cultures which have affected world history" is "Describe the major social, economic, and political contributions of major historical civilizations (e.g., Egypt, ancient Greece and Rome, China, and Japan)." Under "Identify cultural factors which influence the lives of people today within world regions" is "Describe the development of religion, the arts, science, and literature of major geographic and cultural regions." Even with examples, the

only specifics are colonialism before, between, and after the World Wars, the Arab-Israeli conflict, the UN, Interpol, and the space race. High school world history, a textbook-like compilation of no fewer than 175 topics, is still short on important specifics, such as the forces for the fall of Athens and Rome; the feudal origins of limited government; stages, global effects, and comparisons of the American and French revolutions. As in other states, the failure to segment world history by era into two school years can be fatal to real learning, whether in depth or breadth.

In sum, the Oklahoma document has some strengths and improves upon earlier versions. But to offer effective citizen education it still needs to be thinned out at some points, filled in at others, and clarified through the careful selection of explicit priorities.

Oregon

(*Source:* Oregon Social Sciences Standards, 2001, *Oregon Department of Education*)

The five criteria: An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
☆	☆	☆	★	☆

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [✯]; and standards that do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

Summary:
The document does not meet Criterion #1. Its headings and "eligible content" are stated in general terms. The endless broad matters students are to "understand" have no specifics from which teachers could begin instruction or test writers could craft any but general questions. On Criterion #2, the volume of content needed to understand the vague topics "eligible" for testing would overflow available school time. On Criterion #3, there is no set state sequence of courses, but the content marked "eligible" indicates that U.S. history divides between middle and high school at Reconstruction, and world history at the Renaissance. On Criterion #4, required studies, the standards "define the knowledge and skills that all students in the state must demonstrate" in statewide tests that are, or will be, given at the end of grades five and eight, and in high school for the Certificate of Initial Mastery (CIM). The five "strands" are history, geography, civics, economics and social science analysis. On Criterion #5, none of the last four refers to historical context. All are weakened by their isolation.

Particulars:
Civics benchmarks and topics deal with the content of the U.S. Constitution and the formal structure and functions of federal, state, and local governments, and with the United Nations and its agencies. In U.S. history, grade five goes only through the American Revolution. At middle school, the only item on the Constitution is "Identify and understand the issues and events that were addressed at the Constitutional Convention."There is nothing on the trials and initiatives of a new nation, the presidency, the courts, or political parties.The next items jump to Lewis and Clark, westward migration, and Jacksonian democracy. The items end with westward expansion after Reconstruction. Having skipped the post-Civil War plight of African-Americans, industrial expansion, the Gilded Age, Populism, and imperialism, high school U.S. history starts with Progressivism, without an event, idea, or personality. It then omits World War I entirely, mentions the Great Depression and New Deal, then omits World War II and everything after 1950.

World history fares worse. At the grade eight level, no ideas of world religions and ethical systems appear; only Islam is cited, but without its ideas. There is nothing on Athenian democracy, its ideas or fate; nothing on the decline of Rome; and nothing on the feudal bases for limited government. The items end with "Understand the characteristics and impact of

Renaissance thinking, art, and learning." High school items begin with the Industrial Revolution.There is no Reformation, Absolutism, English Revolution, Scientific Revolution; no Enlightenment; and no American, French, or Latin American revolutions. No social effects of the Industrial Revolution are cited; no liberal, conservative, social democratic, or Marxist ideas; and no nineteenth-century political, economic, or social reforms. After World War II, there is no mention of the United Nations, new nations, the Chinese Revolution, the struggles for democracy over half the world, or technological change and globalization. World history ends with the "impact of the Korean and Vietnam Wars."

Serious revision, with the active participation of experienced teachers and knowledgeable subject-area scholars, could do much to improve this flawed document.

Pennsylvania

(*Source:* Academic Standards for Civics and Government, Standards for Economics, Standards for Geography, and Standards for History, *2001, Pennsylvania Department of Education*)

The five criteria: An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
☆	☆	⯪	☆	☆

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [⯪]; and standards that do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

Summary:
Pennsylvania's standards documents do not meet Criteria #1 and #2. Specific history topics are scattered and the implied content of general headings would overflow teaching time. On Criterion #3, Pennsylvania has no grade-by-grade course sequence, but U.S. history to 1824 is in grade span four-six, from 1787 to 1914 in grades seven to nine, and 1890 to now in grades ten to twelve. World history is skimmed in the grade span from four to six, from origins to 1500 in grades seven to nine, and 1450 to now in grades ten to twelve. On Criterion #4, Pennsylvania does not test in science or social studies, and the content here is too general to turn into a common core of learning required of all. Except for the usual links teachers can make between civics and U.S. history, the four strands are not integrated.

Particulars:
The history document suffers from an overly complex approach to content. In the columns under grade spans kindergarten to three, four to six, seven to nine, and ten to twelve, content is unordered (and appears only as examples) under 20 categories: inhabitants; political leaders; military leaders; cultural and commercial leaders; innovators, reformers; documents, writings, oral traditions; artifacts, architecture, historic places; belief systems and religions; commerce and industry; innovations; politics; transportation, settlement patterns and expansion; social organization; women's movement; domestic instability; ethnic and race relations; immigration and migration; labor relations; and military conflicts.

Under each are three or four disparate examples, many either not fitting the category or narrowed by it (e.g., Washington is a military leader, not a political one; Jane Addams is a cultural/commercial leader, not a reformer, etc.). No example is mentioned twice, so the Declaration of Independence, the U.S. Constitution, and the Bill of Rights are in grade span kindergarten to three and nowhere thereafter, except in the Civics pages, which do include basic documents back to the Magna Carta as required topics, not examples. This odd approach eliminates narrative, multiple causes, and the dramatic interplay of forces, ideas, and people. Moreover, many history examples are chosen less for importance than to demonstrate inclusiveness.

World history examples are even scarcer than those for U.S. history. At all levels, the belief

systems and religions category disappears into a single topic: "Analyze [or Identify or Evaluate] how continuity and change throughout history has impacted belief systems and religion, commerce, industry, innovations, settlement patterns, social organizations, transportation and roles of women before 1500 C.E. [or since 1450]" in Africa, Asia, the Americas, and Europe. No examples cite Greece, Rome, the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, the English and Scientific Revolutions, the Enlightenment, the French Revolution, nineteenth-entury ideologies, nationalism, imperialism, fascism, Nazism, or the cold war.

To fulfill the introduction's promise to "give students throughout Pennsylvania a common cultural literacy," not to speak of civic/political literacy, the history standards would have to be completely revised in both form and content and the four strands linked whenever appropriate.

South Carolina

(*Source:* South Carolina Social Studies Curriculum Standards, March 8, 2000, *South Carolina Department of Education*)

The five criteria: An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
★½	☆	★	★½	☆

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [★½]; and standards that do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

Summary:
This document partially satisfies Criterion #1. It has very few specifics on government and U.S. and world history, not nearly enough on which to build a common civic core of learning. On Criterion #2, its mainly general standards in history cannot be taught within the time teachers have, especially with the many, often repetitive, items in all grades for economics and geography. On Criterion #3, South Carolina does set a kindergarten to twelfth-grade course of studies grade-by-grade for all students. On Criterion #4, statewide testing is planned for grades three through eight, with an end-of-course U.S. history test in high school, implying that there is common content required of all students. Under Criterion #5, on integration of the four main social studies subjects, lists of topics appear in parallel columns on the same page, but apart from the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution under government, there are no specifics on historical periods being taught in the given grade.

Particulars:
The four columns for history, government, geography, and economics seem written by four different teams, none attentive to the overall issue of classroom time.The geography and economics overload begins in kindergarten and runs through high school. The history overload begins in grade five, U.S. studies 1877 to the present (e.g., on 1945 to the present, "recognize how events, people, and various cultures influenced the United States during this period"). Grade eight U.S. and South Carolina studies run from "earliest human settlements" to 1900. Items remain general (e.g., "discuss American industrialization and its impact on the economy, society, culture, and public policy"). U.S. and South Carolina studies return in grade eleven, Reconstruction to the present. In order to meet the demands of the 26 sweeping items in history, teachers would have to treat at least 100 substantial topics, plus exercise the 35 "Process Standards" for the history strand alone. But with some paring down and the selection of vital specifics, with which tests could be aligned, effective middle and high school courses in U.S. history could still be carved from the general headings here.

World history has worse problems. Grade six's "Early Cultures through 1500s" tries to do too much, "the beginning of time" to the Reformation, with vague items (e.g., "Describe and evaluate life in the European Middle Ages"). Grade seven, instead of bridging the years from

feudalism to c. 1750, is wasted on an incoherent "Contemporary World Regions" course. History topics wander from "explain the transformations in Asian, African, and European societies" to "examine the implications of Communism and its effects on world history." Grades nine and ten are called "Global Studies (world geography/world history)." Topics listed seem to divide the two subjects into separate courses, another wasted chance for their mutual reinforcement. In a single year, world history teachers are expected to cover from "beginnings" to the present, an always impossible task exasperating both teachers and students, bound to slight political history and to fall short of the present.

Unlike most states, South Carolina has a clear and common kindergarten to twelfth-grade scope and sequence on which sound curriculum could be built. Unfortunately, its current flaws make it less than useful for the serious education of young citizens for democracy.

South Dakota

(*Source:* South Dakota Social Studies Standards, June 1999, *South Dakota Department of Education and Cultural Affairs)*

The five criteria: An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
★½	☆	★	★½	★½

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [★½]; and standards that do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

Summary:
The document partially meets Criterion #1 for clear and specific civics and U.S. history topics, but apart from ancient civilizations in sixth grade, it has no content in world history or Western Civilization and, thus, no realistic common core of learning for American citizens. On Criterion #2, grade eight U.S. history needs paring down to be teachable in the time schools have. The document meets Criterion #3, listing a kindergarten to eighth-grade course order. For grades nine to twelve, three courses appear: U.S. History, world geography, and civics/government. A "Technical Guide" lets districts set the high school course order and alter course orders within grade spans kindergarten to two, three to five, and six to eight. On Criterion #4, current and planned state tests suggest that standards are required of all students. On Criterion #5, civics and economics, but not geography, are linked to grade five U.S. history. All three are inserted into the grades six and eight history courses.The topic lists for grades nine-twelve imply separate courses.

Particulars:
South Dakota offers an extreme case of the common disparity between the quality of U.S. versus world history standards.The former is not perfect. Many topics in grades five, eight, and eleven are too general; the grade eight course (from Revolution to 1920) is too long a time span to be imaginatively taught and the Jacksonian era, pre-Civil War reform movements, Populism, and Progressive reforms are missing. But even fifth grade's U.S. history course includes the Old World sources of American political ideas, the Magna Carta, the English Bill of Rights, and the Mayflower Compact. Grade eight has Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address and grade eleven examines today's contrasting liberal and conservative economic and political ideologies.

The one world history course is ancient civilizations in sixth grade. Under its general topics, the specifics vital to the education of American citizens could be taught: the political implications of the central ideas of Judaism and Christianity; the forces behind the fall of Athens, Rome's Republic, and the Roman Empire itself. In regard to ideas, the teachings of Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism are specified, but only the "origins and spread" of Judaism and Christianity, without the ideas influencing the American founders.

Topics include the Mayan, Aztec, and Incan societies, through their defeat by the Spanish. It would have fit the chronology to include Islam, the feudal origins of constitutional government, and even the Renaissance as a revival of Greek and Roman arts and learning.

The document ignores all history of Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Middle East from about 400 A.D. to the present. Feudalism, the Renaissance and Reformation, the English and Scientific Revolutions, the Enlightenment, the French (and Latin American) revolutions, nineteenth-century Europe's Industrial Revolution and its social effects, the nineteenth-century "isms" (still at the core of American debate), and reforms based on them are all missing. South Dakota's twentieth-century U.S. standards include certain world events, but only from an American point of view. Without knowledge of the world beyond our shores, students cannot decipher the realities and issues of political life today. This is a major flaw in South Dakota's standards, one that hopefully will be addressed during a process of review and revision scheduled for 2005.

Tennessee

(*Source:* Social Studies Curriculum Standards, September 2001, *Tennessee State Department of Education)*

The five criteria: An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
★	☆	★	★	★

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [★]; and standards that do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

Summary:
This huge 216-page document has two parts. The first is "Standards, Learning Expectations, and Draft Performance Indicators" for grades kindergarten to three and four, five, six, seven, eight, and high school. The second is "Accomplishments," grade by grade, kindergarten through grade eight. Both are arranged into six standards: "Culture; Economics; Geography; Government and Civics; History; and Individuals, Groups, and Interactions." Criteria #1 and #2 are not fully met in either part. Learning expectations are general in content and wording, as are the performance indicators supposedly linked to state tests. "Accomplishments" are too many for a school year, and would need severe pruning to provide a common core of teachable material. Criteria #3, on course order, and #4, on required studies for all students, are met and partly met by the content and state testing listed for grades kindergarten to eight. For high school, the common pattern is said to be world geography in grade nine, world history in grade ten, and U.S. history in grade eleven, with grade twelve shared by government and economics.The state requires the last three for all students. World history is optional. Criterion #5, integration, is partly met; civics and economics topics contain historical content in kindergarten to eighth-grade U.S. history.

Particulars:
This is an over written document. Almost nothing is left out, whether in the general learning expectations or the grade kindergarten to twelve accomplishments. The latter has most of the specifics important for citizen education. But they are lost among crowds of other specific and/or general topics and often loosely worded (e.g., in grade six history, "Compare and contrast feudalism and manorialism," without the origins of limited government, also absent in civics and history in grades four, five, eight, and high school).This item is but one of 116 topics, many sweeping, for grade six (e.g., "Describe the beliefs of the world ['s] major religions" and "Identify cause and effect of events leading to the rise and decline of civilizations." Grade six history rushes from the "beginnings" to 1500 and grade seven is given over to the academic abstractions of world geography. As in other states, both history and geography are hurried and desiccated by dividing them in middle school. Grade ten world history, already only optional, covers seven eras from prehistory to the present. Under 31 broad learning expecta-

tions are 98 performance indicators (only 38 in history), most of them sweeping (e.g., "evaluate the idea that cultures both enhance and impede individuals and groups in societal and global interactions" and "test and critique various economic systems through simulations"). One item asks students to know the causes and effects of the Renaissance, Reformation, Scientific and Industrial Revolutions, the Enlightenment, and later political, commercial, communication, and transportation revolutions. To satisfy grade ten's civics items alone would take the study of 100 separate topics, and for history, no fewer than 140. Grade eleven U.S. history is fully as overloaded; its indicators are abstract and arbitrarily scattered among the other five "standards," so that history itself has only 37 out of a total of 230 topics.

Tennessee's standards display an enormous amount of labor, but are only a first step toward setting clear priorities for a teachable, testable core of civic learning.

Texas

(*Sources: Texas Essential Knowledge and Skills for Kindergarten-Grade 12, Social Studies and Economics (TEKS),* 1997, Texas Ed*ucation Agency,* and *Objectives and TEKS Student Expectations for TAAS II, for statewide assessment in 2003)*

The five criteria: An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
★	☆	★	☆	★

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [☆]; and standards that do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

Summary:
On Criterion #1, the TEKS document does well. Topics are generally clear, specific, and important. From them, a common core of learning for citizenship can be drawn, but only with great effort and, given state testing, great risk. Criterion #2 is far from met; topics in history and civics overflow the available teaching time, and in most grades teachers confront numerous standards and benchmarks from other social studies subjects. On Criterion #3, the documents set a course sequence: U.S. history in grades five, eight, and eleven; grade six studies "peoples and places of the contemporary world" in 13 world regions, of which all of Europe is only one; grade seven, Texas history, repeats the year-long grade four course. World history appears in high school, as do world geography, government, and economics. On Criterion #4, minimum Texas graduation requirements do not include world history; world geography is the option. But in the face of state testing, districts are said to be moving to the "recommended" or "distinguished achievement" tracks, which require both subjects. On Criterion #5, items in economics, geography, and government "strands" in each grade are generally well related to the historical eras under study.

Particulars:
There are four added "strands" at each grade: culture; science, technology, and society; citizenship; and social studies skills.The first two would be better taught with history, and the third with government. Social studies skills are often cumbersome and repeated grade after grade, often without regard for students' ages or the topics at hand. The effect of multiple strands, each with its own standards, benchmarks, and subtopics, is the near-burial of crucial matters in history and government.

In grade five's survey of U.S. history to the present, history itself has only five standards of 27, and sixteen benchmarks of 87. Under its benchmarks are such broad subtopics as "changes in society" in the Industrial Revolution and "world wars." Grade eight U.S. history to 1877 has only nine standards (of 32) and 34 benchmarks (of 108), but some 110 subtopics, including "arguments for and against" ratifying the Constitution.The high school course, since 1877, has only 27 history benchmarks (in a total of 92), but multiple subtopics within broad

benchmarks (e.g., "analyze economic issues such as industrialization, the growth of railroads, the growth of labor unions, farm issues, and the rise of big business", and "evaluate the impact of Progressive Era reforms" and "trace the historical development of the civil rights movement in the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries." To teach these well, plus 65 added benchmarks from six other strands, is simply not possible in a single school year.

Despite many sweeping benchmarks, U.S. history courses leave out such matters as the forces behind Reconstruction's collapse, the ensuing plight of ex-slaves, the factors in our rapid industrialization, Populism and its issues, the debate over imperialism, the work of Theodore Roosevelt, and American isolationism between World Wars I and II.

Even more serious problems lie in world history. High school world history standards and benchmarks rightly include the main ideas, events, and institutions of Western civilization, but world history is still not required for graduation and it appears nowhere in middle school. In ten standards and 26 benchmarks, history alone has at least 150 major subtopics to teach its "overview of the entire history of mankind," approaching one for each day in the school year. This alone is too much for one year, even if the three standards and fifteen benchmarks for social studies skills were ignored, not to mention the fourteen standards and 40 benchmarks in other strands.

Many of the course's 81 benchmarks are extremely broad, embodying many separate topics requiring at least a week's work (e.g., "compare historical origins, central ideas, and the spread of major religious and philosophical traditions, including Buddhism, Christianity, Confucianism, Hinduism, Islam, and Judaism;" "summarize the fundamental ideas and institutions of Western civilization that originated in Greece and Rome;" "identify causes and evaluate effects of major political revolutions since the 17th century, including the English, American, French, and Russian revolutions;" "identify and explain causes and effects of World Wars I and II, including the rise of Nazism/fascism in Germany, Italy, and Japan; rise of communism in the Soviet Union; and Cold War").

Still left out, however, are the fall of Athens, Rome's Republic, and the Roman Empire; the ideas and politics of the Reformation; "natural law" in the Scientific Revolution and the Enlightenment; the central nineteenth-century ideologies and political, economic, and social reforms; the crushing of political moderates by Bolsheviks and Nazis; the roots of 1930s appeasement; the United Nations, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The *Objectives and TEKS Student Expectations* are items chosen from the 1997 TEKS document as eligible for state tests. At first glance, they seem to do what most standards writers do not do: set priorities. But their U.S. history/civics items are too many and world history items are all but absent. For the grade eleven exit-level test for students who have taken world history or world geography, history has but one benchmark of 24. No benchmark cited above is included. The scope and quality of topics chosen for the "eligible" lists, here as in other states, are of course crucial, for they will supercede the original standards documents as teachers are pressed to focus their courses to fit the tests. These selected "objectives" imply that world and Western history are not important for the education of Texas citizens.

Texas standards, then, are both overstuffed and incomplete for civic education, with history and civics squeezed by six other strands. World history, which carries Western civilization with it, is absent from the middle schools. And the high school course itself cannot be covered, much less engagingly taught, in the time schools have. In the 1997 document, the raw material of non-U.S. history is at hand, but some of it must be assigned to a prior grade and all of it prioritized and refined by teachers and scholars who know the subject and the time available to teach it.

Utah

(*Sources:* Social Studies Core Curriculum: Grades 7-12, 1996 *{currently under revision}, and* Social Studies Core Curriculum: Grades K-6, 2000, *Utah State Office of Education)*

The five criteria: An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
☆	☆	★	⯪	☆

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [⯪]; and standards that do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

Summary:
These documents (now being revised) do not currently meet Criterion #1. Specific civics/politics and history topics appear in the middle grades, but are scarce in high school. On Criterion #2, topics required to fill the broad social studies headings would overflow the available teaching time. On Criterion #3, Utah suggests an order of courses: in fourth grade, Utah studies; in fifth, U.S. history from origins to the present; in sixth, a survey of world and European history, from ancient times to the present. In grades seven to twelve, a year of U.S. history, of U.S. government, and of geography for life are required as are semesters of Utah studies and world civilizations. Technically, Criterion #4 on requirements is partially met, however a true common core is out of reach. Among the seven strands—process skills, history, geography, political science, culture (sociology-anthropology-psychology), economics, and life skills—there is too little integration to satisfy Criterion #5.

Particulars:
The grades five and six courses on U.S. and world/European history have a fair number of the topics (though many in too-general terms) for good civic/political education. However, artificial "themes" fragment the narrative, slicing topics into pieces better taught together. In U.S. history, the American Revolution and Constitution are in three themes, separated by topics on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, including the Civil War and World Wars I and II. Exploration is splintered among themes one, four, six, and nine. Seasoned teachers can, of course, figure out how to work around these problems, but standards should make their work easier, not more difficult.

The grades seven to twelve courses are also fragmented among the seven strands. Of 87 topics for the grade eight U.S. history course (not counting "Life Skills"), history itself has but fourteen, all in general terms (e.g., "Analyze and compare the causes and outcomes of various wars involving the United States in the 18th and 19th centuries"). Grade eleven U.S. history has only nine topics of 67, all general (e.g., "Determine how actions of political, economic, educational, social, and cultural movements have influenced the development of the United States with emphasis on the 20th century"). Both courses together have but two specific terms or events, "Manifest Destiny" and the Holocaust, and no named persons.

World history fares worse. The grade six course, like its U.S. history counterpart, is splintered and jumbled by its "themes," but carries fewer important topics. Missing are major religious beliefs, Athens' fall, Rome's Republic, feudal politics, the English and Scientific Revolutions, the Enlightenment, nineteenth-century European "isms," reforms, nationalism, imperialism, and all the world outside Europe. In the grade ten course (a single term on "World Civilizations"), history has only ten topics of 72. None of the items missing above is mentioned, nor do any sixth-grade specifics appear at all. Typical is "Identify and explain major themes in world history; e.g., social, political, cultural, geographical, economic."

In sum, there is nearly no Western or world history. Hopefully, this will be regarded as a promising first draft, to which a team of experienced teachers and scholars could be called upon to add needed substance and direction.

Vermont

(*Source: Vermont's Framework of Standards and Learning Opportunities, Fall 2000, Vermont Department of Education*)

The five criteria: An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
☆	☆	★	☆	☆

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [✯]; and standards that do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

Summary:
The document does not meet Criteria #1 or #2. History items are lists of textbook-like headings, without priority or specific events, ideas, forces, or persons. The overall demands of the history/social sciences standards are also too heavy for the time schools have. Criterion #3 is partly met; as a local-control state, Vermont does not set an order of kindergarten to twelfth-grade courses, but topics indicate that the fifth- to eighth-grade span is to include Vermont history to c. 1860, U.S. history to c. 1890 (while leaving the Civil War and Reconstruction for high school), and world history to c. 1500. On Criterion #4, common learning, the state requires no particular courses, despite the introduction's promise of access to "essential knowledge" for all, and its claim that future statewide testing will be based on this document. On Criterion #5, there is no explicit linkage among the social studies disciplines.

Particulars:
History and the social sciences have eight strands called standards: investigation and critical evaluation; history; geography; citizenship; diversity and unity; economics; conflicts and conflict resolution; and identity and independence. Teachers who read the introduction's stated purpose ("To make explicit what may be included in statewide assessments of student learning") are likely to be disappointed by the document's unrealistic demands. It would be impossible for them to cover all the listed items, even superficially. Should they choose some items to teach in depth and others to incorporate more briefly? If so, will state tests allow choices? Or will the state identify some items as "eligible" for testing, as a few states have chosen to do (albeit with problems)?

Broad history topics have examples that are hardly less broad. In the five to eight grade span, under "Rise of institutions and empires, 500 CE," students are to "analyze governments and religions (e.g., Greece and China)." In grades nine to twelve, in an elective world history course from 1450 to the present, under "Age of Revolution, 1689-1920," students are to "analyze the nature of political, economic, industrial, social revolutions (e.g., Glorious Revolution, American Revolution, French Revolution, Russian Revolution, Industrial Revolution)." Most other items are even less specific. They include, in grades five to eight, "Demonstrate understanding of the relationships among powerful people, important events, and the lives of com-

mon people." Geography's topics follow the inflated demands of national standards models, starting with pre-kindergarten to fourth grade (e.g., "Link the movement of material and non-material culture traits to specific cultural regions"). Economics follows suite. Even civics remains general: Students are to trace the influence of political ideas "from the following traditions: Greco-Roman, European Enlightenment, Eastern traditions, African traditions, Native American traditions."

Topics under "Diversity and Unity", "Conflicts and Conflict Resolution", and "Identity and Interdependence" are wholly vague on issues much better taught in relation to specific times, places, and people. As in many other states, the raw material is here (or implied), but Vermont has yet to take the difficult step of defining what is most essential for its citizens to know, as well what is memorably teachable in the instructional time at hand.

Virginia

(*Source:* History and Social Science Standards of Learning, 2001, *Board of Education, Commonwealth of Virginia*)

The five criteria: An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
★	☆	⯪	⯪	⯪

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [⯪]; and standards that do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

Summary:
This document largely meets Criterion #1 for central political specifics. On Criterion #2, its yearly items are unteachable in the limited instructional time at teachers' disposal. Criterion #3 is partly met, representing a retreat from the 1995 edition of state standards. In the name of local control, its preface says it does "not prescribe the grade level at which the standards must be taught" and abandons the 1995 edition's listing of grades in which standards could "best be achieved." It even omits the sensible 1995 advice to teach history and social science in "close coordination with the English curriculum." But like most straddling states it says "the SOL [Standards of Learning] assessment program, however, requires that all Virginia school divisions prepare students to demonstrate achievement of the standards for elementary and middle school history and social science by the grade levels tested."These are assigned to grades three, five, and eight.The state also will give high school end-of-course tests in "locally-determined sequence." Technically, the content is required of everyone, but since it is not teachable and lacks priorities, Virginia is classified as only partially meeting Criterion #4. On Criterion #5, there is a modest amount of integration.

Particulars:
In its content for political education, Virginia's 2001 standards document is a step backward. Its task force was to have improved age-appropriateness, but once past kindergarten to third grade, the language of topics grows more abstract and impenetrable. In 1995, fifth-graders were asked for the "economic and philosophic differences between North and South," with Webster and Calhoun as examples. The popular, but very imprecise term "cultural" now replaces economics and ideas, and the examples are gone, as though the issue of state-federal balance were beyond eleven-year-olds but not meaningful analysis of "cultural" issues. Sixth-graders are to know the American "leadership role" after World War I, an abstract, misleading term. In grade eleven, students are to analyze "cultural interactions" among European colonists, Africans, and Indians. In current affairs, they are to explain media influence on American "culture" but not, as in 1995, "conservative and liberal economic strategies" or "current patterns of Supreme Court decisions" or "the positions of political parties and interest groups on major issues," a major change that results in the omission of many important political issues.

The standards suffer from a dubious kindergarten to twelfth-grade sequence of courses, now as in 1995. Two years, presumably seven and ten, are given to separate courses in civics,

economics, and geography, whose topics and concepts would be better taught in history's context, reinforcing all of them at once.This would also allow a better order of U.S. and world history courses, shorter eras to be covered in each grade, and more chances for study in depth and interdisciplinary links. Instead, civics topics in grade seven repeat what is already in U.S. history courses or should be; economics topics are abstract, unlinked to people and events. And grade ten regional world geography is partly isolated from, and partly repeats, world history, when the two could enliven each other in a two-year course over grades nine and ten.

Virginia's 1995 standards were overloaded. They still are, despite the task force charge to focus on "quantity of content that can be taught and learned effectively." Only grade five U.S. history to 1877 is a bit lighter on topics. Grade six U.S. history to the present is changed in format; it cuts main topics from 52 to 28, but the items needed to teach them stay the same. Grade eleven's survey of Virginia and U.S. history cuts topics from 188 to 145, but many are so broad that the number of items to be taught is ever higher.

In world history, the new grade eight course, from human origins to 1500, adds 500 years to the 1995 version (which ended in 1000 A.D.), raising the number of required topics from some 165 to 220. But, as ever with surveys from 1500 to the present, it leaves grade nine world history to cover some 200 separate topics. New formats suggest brevity, but fewer headings are followed by broader subheads. For regional civilizations after 1500, one of five is "describing East Asia, including China and the Japanese shogunate," and another is "the growth of European nations." As for world history content, the following are cited, but without events, ideas, or people: the Scientific Revolution, the Age of Absolutism, the Glorious Revolution, the Enlightenment, and the French Revolution. Under the Industrial Revolution, the document cites capitalism, socialism, and communism, but not conservatism, liberalism, social democracy, egalitarian republicanism, the expansion of political democracy, British reform laws, or the union movement (the last three did appear in 1995), all of them relevant to current debates.

In U.S. history, grades five and eleven have no Old World backgrounds to colonial thought, except for John Locke, cited with the Declaration of Independence. The Anglo-American political heritage of the Magna Carta, the Mayflower Compact, and the English Bill of Rights is left to senior year Virginia and U.S. government, as are Hobbes and Montesquieu. The drama of constitution-making is missing, with the balance of power behind compromise at Philadelphia. As in grade five, the topics in grade six (1877 to the present) are general, without stories or personalities to engage students.The preface's promise that the new standards will include names and events "crucial to understanding the concepts identified" is not kept, especially for political concepts. Populism and its grievances do not appear. The Gilded Age alliance of politicians and business, without which Progressive ideas are a puzzle, is not here nor in the hurried grade eleven survey. Missing in both grades are reforms linked to Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson, as is World War I's effect on domestic and foreign policies.

Virginia's standards, then, are both too full and incomplete, lacking clear focus on what is more or less important for American citizens to know. In an apparent attempt to allay teachers' concerns, Virginia also issued a *Curriculum Framework,* listing "Essential Understandings, Essential Questions, Essential Knowledge, and Essential Skills," which numbers 258 pages for kindergarten to eighth grade alone. It is far more over stuffed than the standards themselves and can only add to teachers' frustration with the whole enterprise. As in many states, the raw material is here and spilling over, but has yet to be limited and clarified in such a way as to be truly useful. More work by a team of experienced teachers and scholars, knowledgeable about the time constraints of real classrooms, is called for.

Washington

(*Source: Essential Academic Learning Requirements: Social Studies,1998, Washington State Commission on Student Learning)*

The five criteria: An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
☆	☆	⯪	☆	☆

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [⯪]; and standards that do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

Summary:
This 22-page document does not fully meet any the five criteria for judging the strength of civics/history standards for educating democratic citizens. On Criterion #1, it has almost no specific topics. On Criterion #2, honest answers to limitless general questions would take studies far beyond the time schools have. Criterion #3 is partly met. A "suggested" scope and sequence assigns state history to grade four; U.S. history to c. 1800 to fifth grade; ancient history to sixth; state history again to seventh; and U.S. history, 1800 to 1877, to eighth. Students in grades nine and ten take U.S. history since 1877 and "Modern World History" in either order. In grades eleven to twelve, Advanced Placement or International Baccalaureate courses, a document-based U.S. history/civics course, and a state-required "World Problems" course are offered. Criterion #4 on common requirements is not met. One year of high school U.S. history is required, along with world problems. But all else is optional and it is said that local districts decide the curriculum. Yet Washington is planning statewide testing of social studies by 2008. On Criterion #5, there is no explicit integration of the four strands of general topics under history, geography, civics, and economics.

Particulars:
Unless this document is totally revised or replaced, it is hard to see what a statewide assessment of student achievement could be based upon or could measure, other than general reading ability. It nowhere meets the promise of its introduction that "Essential Academic Learning Requirements in social studies give students the knowledge and skills they need to participate as responsible and effective citizens in an increasingly complex world." All but a few topics are mere wish-lists of "skills" and analyses/evaluations of general themes.

The only specific terms (with no elaboration) here are Puritanism, the Civil War, Catholicism, and Protestantism in history; the Pacific Rim in geography; the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution in civics; and, as examples, the Pacific Rim, NAFTA, the European Union, and APEC in economics. A middle school U.S. history item asks "Identify and explain major issues, movements, people, and events in U.S. history from beginnings to 1877, with particular emphasis on change and continuity, for example, revolution, sectional differences, and the Civil War."The same is asked for high school U.S. history, with "particu-

lar emphasis on growth and conflict, for example, industrialization, the civil rights movement, and the information age." For world history in high school, students are asked to "analyze the historical development of civilizations drawn from different continents with regard to turning points, ideas, people, places, and patterns of life." There is no sign of what world history teachers are expected to teach between ancient history in grade six and "modern" world history in high school.

In short, this document gives little help to teachers in the design or presentation of their courses. Its vastly sweeping generalities may only distract them from whatever important, teachable content most of them probably already offer. However, the state says it is planning to develop grade-level content expectations "linked to assessment items."

West Virginia

(*Source: West Virginia Content Standards and Objectives,2001, West Virginia Department of Education*)

The five criteria: An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
☆	☆	★	⯪	⯪

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [⯪]; and standards that do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

Summary:
West Virginia's lists of general objectives in civics and history are comprehensive, but fail to meet Criterion #1 by neglecting specific topics central to political education. On Criterion #2, as in other states with comprehensive lists, the implied content in these standards could not be covered even superficially within the available school time. A clear kindergarten to twelfth-grade scope and sequence of courses largely satisfies Criterion #3. Narrative history begins in grade four, on U.S. history to the Revolution. U.S. history to the present is surveyed in fifth grade; regional studies of the Americas, Western Europe, and the Middle East in sixth; world geography in seventh; West Virginia from pre-Columbus to the present in eighth; a survey of U.S. history to 1900 in ninth; regional world studies "from the dawn of civilization" to the present in tenth; and twentieth-century America and the world in the eleventh grade. On Criterion #4, the last three courses are state-required and commercial tests are given in grades three to eleven, implyng common expectations for all students. On Criterion #5, there is moderate linkage of civics, economics, and geography topics with relevant historical eras.

Particulars:
Courses ostensibly on history are crowded by the number and scope of topics on civics/government, economics, and geography. For example, grade five is called a history course, trying to cover the impossible span from the Constitution to the present. But it has only 21 history topics ("objectives") of a total of 51. For grade six's world regions, it has 20 of 52, with such items as "identify and evaluate contributions of classical world civilizations and cite reasons for their rise and fall" and "compare and contrast the worth of the individual in different societies over time." Grade seven does not follow up on regions outside those in grade six, but centers on 20 general geography "objectives," unrelated to specific places, people, or events, including "explain cooperation and conflict over control of the world's resources."

Such breadth marks all subjects at all grades, with topics unlinked to the relevant historical era and without specifics (e.g., in grade nine's nineteenth-century U.S. course, a civics item is "analyze how the world is organized politically and describe the role and relationship of the United States to other nations and to world affairs," an item both overbroad and out of place). In economics, we find "compare and contrast various economic systems and analyze

their impact on individual citizens." In geography, students are asked to "explain and analyze the human impact on the environment throughout the American experience." And in history, "explain major conflicts in terms of causes and consequences." Vast surveys of U.S. and world history and affairs in grades ten and eleven are equally vague and sweeping.

As noted, the West Virginia headings are in one sense comprehensive and often repetitive, but real specifics are scarce. Where they exist, they, together with many examples of detail, follow no discernable patterns of relevance or importance. Teachers are not helped by such a document, overloaded even in kindergarten to third grade.These standards need to be pared down and prioritized by a single team of teachers and scholars attending to all the core subjects at once rather than in separate committees.

Wisconsin

(*Sources:* Wisconsin's Model Academic Standards for Social Studies, 1998, *and* Planning Curriculum in Social Studies, May 2001, *Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction*)

The five criteria: An overview

Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?	Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?	Is the essential content required of all students?	Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?
☆	☆	☆	★	☆

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [✯]; and standards that do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

Summary:
Wisconsin's standards do not fully meet any of the five criteria for the political education of citizens. On Criteria #1 and #2, there are few specific items and the broad headings would demand more specifics than there is time to cover during the instructional year. On Criterion #3, Wisconsin has no clear kindergarten to twelfth-grade sequence of courses, with materials that confuse the issue. Under "Historical Eras and Themes," vast topics range from human origins to the present both for U.S. and world history, with a note that they are to be learned by students from the fifth to twelfth grades, with no clue as to when.The history "Performance Standards" give no hint of differentiated courses; everything seems expected to be taught at all grade levels. Criterion #4 is classified as partly met, sinice Wisconsin tests social studies at grades four, eight, and ten, using commercial and state-developed tests. What these tests consist of is unclear, however, as no common body of learning can be derived from the standards. Criterion #5 is not met. Wisconsin has five unrelated strands: geography (people, places, and environments); history (time, continuity, and change); political science and citizenship (power, authority, governance, and responsibility); economics (production, distribution, exchange, consumption); and behavioral science (individuals, institutions, and society). The introduction to the standards tells local districts that "The organization of these standards allows the social studies curriculum to be developed as separate disciplines or in an integrated course."

Particulars:
The introduction section says Wisconsin's standards were written after consulting the national standards in subject areas, by representative teams of educators, parents, board of education members, and business and industry representatives, with drafts reviewed by focus groups, forums, conferences, conventions, workshops, and 90 critiques by state and national organizations. Nevertheless, in its content and language (though not in its format), the Wisconsin document directly reflects the 1994 NCSS standards in *Expectations of Excellence*. The "Overview of Social Studies" has the familiar all-inclusive definition,"the study of the social sciences and humanities." Despite the document's lack of specifics, its introduction says state standards "form a sound basis on which to establish the content of a statewide assessment sys-

tem." Two pages later, it says "Adopting the Wisconsin Model Academic Standards is voluntary, not mandatory." The confusion is not alleviated by an added note that districts are to see state standards as "guides" for writing grade-by-grade curricula.

As examples of sweeping topics, one geography item is "Identify the world's major ecosystems and analyze how different economic, social, political, religious, and cultural systems have adapted to them." Political science and citizenship asks students to "Analyze different theories of how governmental powers might be used to help promote or hinder liberty, equality, and justice, and develop a reasoned conclusion." Economics asks students to "Use basic economic concepts (such as supply and demand; production, distribution, and consumption; labor, wages, and capital; inflation and deflation; market economy and command economy) to compare and contrast local, regional, and national economies across time and at the present time." The behavioral sciences ask them to "Analyze the means by which and the extent to which groups and institutions can influence people, events, and cultures in both historical and contemporary settings." And history asks "Analyze examples of ongoing change within and across cultures, such as development of ancient civilizations, rise of nation-states, and social, economic, and political revolutions" and "Recall, select, and analyze significant historical periods and relationships among them."

Most of the events, ideas, institutions, turning-points, thinkers, and leaders that are central to civic and political literacy, including the ability to understand references in a respectable newspaper, do not appear in these pages. There are a few exceptions to this general absence of specifics. Two individuals are named: Robert LaFollette (in "the Progressive Era," but without particulars) and Martin Luther King, Jr. in regard to his holiday only. Of the 30 history performance standards for middle and high school, two have specifics. One lists the Declaration of Independence, the U.S. Constitution, and the Bill of Rights; the other, "Explain the origins, central ideas, and global influence of religions, such as Buddhism, Islam, Hinduism, Judaism, and Christianity." Political science also names the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights. It asks students to "Explain the United States' relationships to other nations and its role in international organizations, such as the United Nations, North Atlantic Treaty Organization, World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and North American Free Trade Agreement;" it also cites the Holocaust as a form of persecution. Economics mentions the Federal Reserve System three times. Geography and the behavioral sciences have no specifics.

This last strand, behavioral sciences, like Hawaii's "Cultural Anthropology," amounts to a form of academic abstraction brought down to the schools. It contains nothing that could not be better and more memorably learned by studying history, biography, and civics. Like economics and geography, presented in their College 101 styles here and in other states, the social sciences lose their power to engage students when they isolate their main concepts and questions from the lives and adventures of real people.The second document cited above, *Planning Curriculum in the Social Studies*, issued by the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction in May 2001, is a 273-page compilation of social studies methods, in effect an up-to-date textbook for courses in social studies education. Centered on pedagogical strategies, skills, and processes rather than subject matter, it is not designed to add to the clarity or substance of the 1998 *Model Academic Standards.* At most it offers a few lesson plans for random topics (e.g., Pompeii, the Great Depression), though without their larger context or relevance to significant historical/political questions.

Wyoming

(*Source:* Wyoming Social Studies Content and Performance Standards, 1999, *Wyoming Department of Education*)

The five criteria: An overview				
Are the essentials of a civic core specified clearly?	**Are the topics teachable within the allotted timeframe?**	**Do the documents provide a scope and sequence?**	**Is the essential content required of all students?**	**Are the important facts and ideas presented coherently across subjects?**
☆	☆	☆	☆	☆

Standards that largely meet the criteria are designated with a full star [★]; standards that partially meet the criteria are designated with a half star [✯]; and standards that do not meet the criteria are designated with an empty star [☆].

Summary:
This document meets no criterion for the political education of citizens. On Criterion #1, there are but four specifics: the Declaration of Independence, the Wyoming and U.S. Constitutions, and the Bill of Rights. On Criteria #2 and #3, abstract benchmarks at grades four, eight, and eleven give no guidance about the time it would take to fulfill them and none to the scope and sequence of courses. The introductory "Rationale" says "standards do not prescribe curriculum, courses, or instructional methodology," which "will be addressed, assessed, and documented at grade levels and times determined by local districts." On Criterion #4, no common core of skills and knowledge is visible. It is nonetheless claimed that "Students who graduate from a Wyoming public high school in the year 2004 and thereafter must demonstrate mastery of these standards to earn a high school diploma." On Criterion #5, there is no subject matter content to be integrated.

Particulars:
There are seven strands, titled "Standards:" citizenship, government, and democracy; cultural diversity; production, distribution, consumption; time, continuity, and change; people, places, and environments; social studies processes and skills; and technology. Under each strand/standard is a column of "Benchmarks" for grades four, eight, and eleven, and a second column of "Performance Standards Level Descriptors" that are no more specific than the benchmarks. The three levels are "Advanced Performance," "Proficient Performance," and "Partially Proficient Performance."

As elsewhere, civics comes closest to specificity. One benchmark says "explain the historical development of the U.S. Constitution and how it shaped Wyoming and U.S. governmental systems." Advanced performance says "make complex connections between the historical development of the U.S. Constitution and the government systems of Wyoming and the United States." Proficient performance drops "complex." Partially proficient has students "describe, with guidance, the connections."

There are no specific terms under other standards. For an eleventh-grade course in culture and cultural diversity, "Students communicate how personal identity is shaped by and impacts culture, groups, institutions, and world events." The performance descriptor asks "how cultural

influences and diversity have influenced groups, institutions, and world events." History benchmarks mention neither U.S. nor world history. Grade eleven says "explain how history, government, cultures, and economics have contributed to the interpretation of the past and present, and assist in planning for the future." At the grade eight level, students are asked to "identify people, events, problems, conflicts, and ideas and explain their historical significance."

The introduction says thirteen national and state standards were used by many educators and citizens in regional and state meetings to "establish the rigor" of the Wyoming standards. Unfortunately there is little evidence of such consultation here. The final product can at best be described casual, unfocused, and unhelpful for guiding classroom instruction.

Appendix A

One version of a civic core: Key topics and starting points

The following is but one illustrative model among many that could expand upon Part One's question "What is a civic core and what should be in it?" From vast numbers of items that could be taught in the social studies, it selects basic topics for student understanding of civics, geography, economics, and political history and ideas, both Western and non-Western.[1] Under each, it offers a few specifics from which teachers may start to design lessons and assignments. The main topics focus on the adventures of democracy from ancient times, including ideas and ideals from all world civilizations that speak for decency and justice. Suggested content here is followed by Appendix B, which offers suggestions on the use of instructional time to convey this material well, yet still leaving room for the exploration of other themes and topics as well as for reviews of essentials studied in prior grades—such as the making and amending of the Constitution in U.S. history and the teachings and ethical systems of major religions in an introductory world history course.

Teachers should be able to deal with all of these civic core topics, including several in depth, and add other topics of their own choosing. This is especially doable where state standards and frameworks satisfy three conditions: First, when history, civics, geography, and economics are presented together in a chronological narrative, so that each subject enlivens the others. Second, when the narrative is segmented by era and articulated across the grades, leaving time to revisit earlier topics when needed and to make engaging connections to current issues of interest to students. And third, when testing systems leave schools and teachers free to choose which topics to present in depth, and which to cover more briefly or leave to monitored student reading—thus ensuring that all required topics are touched upon to some extent.

In short, it is imperative that schools navigate a middle way between an inch-deep rush across all of history and half-term-long dalliances with favorite topics. States and districts must also take a middle way, between inflexible, standardized tests that are often misaligned with standards and curriculum, and a system that holds schools unaccountable for what they offer to which students and how well it is taught.This is possible when statewide tests use

[1] Sources for the selection of topics are listed in the bibliography at the end of this appendix.

multiple choice items to measure the breadth of student learning, while also encouraging depth through the use of extended-response or essay questions. It is a balance that is found in many teacher-prepared tests in schools and colleges across the country, as well as in the best national exams that are used abroad.

The topics here, especially for U.S. and world history/geography, may be arranged in several different patterns across the grades. But in all cases, they should be followed up by a commonly-required twelfth-grade capstone course in civics and government, including international affairs. This course is most engaging when significant questions about democracy's principles and necessities—such as those recommended in the Center for Civic Education's National Standards for Civics and Government—are repeatedly revisited across the middle and high school years in relation to different eras of U.S. and world history.

I. Origins of democratic ideas and institutions to 1800

A. The world to 1800

1. *Ancient Asian civilizations*. Spiritual and moral teachings of Hinduism and Buddhism in India; the spread of Buddhism to Southeast Asia, China, and Korea; ethical, social, and political teachings of Confucianism; the complementary ideas of Taoism; Buddhism and Confucianism spread to Japan.

2. *Ancient Israel*. The importance to Western civilization of small, turbulent, and vulnerable peoples: ancient Jews and Greeks both reject fatalism, mystery, and individual helplessness; the moral teachings of Judaism; the Commandments; the Prophets; individual responsibility to God and neighbor; duty to ameliorate human life on earth.

3. *Ancient Greece*. The Persian and Peloponnesian Wars as context for Greek political thought; Athenian democracy, its extent and limits; Plato's "philosopher king;" Aristotle's six forms of government, self-rule as needing moderate "middle classes" between plutocrats and the poor; Athens "golden age" ended by its own imperialism; the lessons of hubris.

4. *The Roman Republic*. The constitution; checks and balances; citizens' duty and broad participation, but rising class and factional hatreds let demagogues vilify moderate leaders; as empire spreads, the military dominates politics, the republic falls to autocracy.

5. *Decline and fall of the Roman Empire*. Cautionary tales for the American founders; study of multiple causes/forces from several spheres of life; internal: ideas and morale, religion, ruin of independent farmers, urban poverty, class hatreds, brutal amusements, corruption, militarism, palace revolts, succession of weak emperors; external: migration and invasion, loss of trade and revenue, provincial disorder, military decline, Empire divided between East and West.

6. *Christianity*. Judaic teachings spread to Gentiles; all souls spiritually equal and dignified; free will and individual responsibility to God; the Sermon on the Mount; Christian duties to neighbor and to society; the humble are blessed, as are the disturbers of the peace who advance justice.

7. *Byzantine Empire*. Constantine's shift of Rome's capital to the East; legacy of Roman law and Justinian's code; Eastern Orthodox Church under secular rulers, caesaropapism vs. relative independence of the Western church; Byzantine preservation of ancient learning.

8. Islam and Muslim civilization. Relations to Judaism and Christianity; Muhammad the Prophet in the line of Moses and Jesus; the Qur'an, beliefs and teachings, personal morality, social justice; factors in spread of Muslim power; transmittal of Greek and Indian works to

Christian Europe.

9. *Medieval feudalism, root of constitutions.* Magna Carta of 1215 a feudal contract, reflecting a balance of armed power among king, nobles, and clergy; leads to representative government by its most critical clause, which limits the king's "power of the purse" lest he finance a larger army to upset the balance; the Model Parliament of 1295.

10. *Renaissance Humanism* Revival of Greek and Roman ideas and arts coupled with innovation; the high potential of individual creativity; political and papal leaders support artists and scholars; Machiavelli's *The Prince* and *Discourses* as reformist pleas for leaders' competence, grounded in their historical study and concern for ordinary citizens; perils of flattery, factions, and demogogues.

11. *Protestant Revolution.* Again, study of multiple forces; long- and short-term causes of revolt against the Roman church's economic and political power; religious principles and practices of Lutherans and Calvinists; economic, social, and political motivations of their secular supporters.

12. *The English Revolution.* Stuart kings vs. Parliament, advantages and disadvantages of each side (effects of geography, economics, class rivalries, tradition, personalities); Glorious Revolution of 1688 and Bill of Right 1689; similar conditions in the Dutch Republic and American colonies (inner balances of power preserve limited governments); contrast to French absolutism.

13. *The Enlightenment.* Effects of the Scientific Revolution; faith in reason, science, and "laws of nature" that some saw applicable to economic, social, and political life, even envisioning a perfectible human nature; a "Newtonian" future as peaceful, predictable; but varied views of human nature and "laws" in Hobbes, Locke, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Smith, Malthus.

14. *The American Revolution.* British defeat of France in 1763 frees Americans from threat; protests of British rule invoke "rights of Englishmen" in Magna Carta, Bill of Rights; French monarchy ready for revenge on England; French liberals find models in England and America.

15. *The French Revolution, origins and stages.* Forces and ideas at work, both traditional and "enlightened;" weak monarchy, economic depression, class and religious conflict, role of chance and personalities; moderate constitutional monarchy fails; Jacobin republic, the Terror, war, civil war; Napoleon's Empire; 1815 return to constitutional monarchy.

16. *Advent of modern politics.* Contrasting conditions of the American and French Revolutions; both launch the worldwide "triple revolution" for nationhood, self-government, social justice; the transformation of political vocabulary; Napoleon as the first modern dictator, using "correct" words and constitutional facade for military/police state without balances of power.

B. The United States to 1800

1. *Exploration, conquest, colonization.* Native North Americans and significant geographical, economic, social, and cultural contrasts across the continent; differing treatment of nature and neighbors; the geography, economics, and rival politics of European explorers and settlers.

2. *Politics of the colonial period:* The 13 colonies and their diverse economies, classes, religions; rising differences from England and each other, in views of social mobility, the place of women, family structures, local provision for town and colonial assemblies, for voter qualification, levels of education provided, and the extent and conditions of slavery.

3. *American Revolution, origins and stages.* Colonists protest British taxes and prohibition of

The Essential Characteristics of Democracy

Based on the concept of democracy and its implications along with the attributes shared by individual- and community-centered theories, there are certain indicators that may be used to determine the degree to which a political system is democratic. In any democratic system, these indicators may be evident to a greater or lesser degree and some may be more salient than others. Additional indicators may be used to determine the degree to which a political system emphasizes liberal or non-liberal traits.

Democratic indices. In its way of life and institutions, democracy embodies certain fundamental values and principles. These include:

1. Popular sovereignty: all legitimate power ultimately resides in the people and the consent of the people is necessary for powers of government to be just.Thus, authority flows upward from people to rulers, not downward from a deity or monarch to the people.

2. The common good: the promotion of what is good for the polity as a whole and not the interests of a portion of the polity to the exclusion and at the expense of the rest of society.

3.Constitutionalism: the empowerment and limitation of government by an enforceable written or unwritten constitution. Constitutionalism includes the idea of the rule of law. Many constitutional governments respect the principle that laws are void if they are in conflict with the constitution.

4. Equality: the right to be treated equally to every other person in society as embodied in such rights as equal justice and the equality of individuals under law notwithstanding their gender, ethnicity, race, religion.

5.Majority rule/minority rights: the right of the majority to rule, constrained by the right of individuals in the minority to enjoy the same benefits and share the same burdens as the majority; the majority must live by the same laws as the minority. Nor may a majority strip a minority of its political rights.

6.Justice and fairness: governmental decisions about burdens and benefits should be based on impartial criteria, derived through procedures that reflect "fair play," or basic ideas of fairness.

7. Political rights for citizens: the power of participation and control of government embodied in certain political rights, for example, freedom of speech and the press and the right to vote in open, free, fair, regular elections.

8.Independent judiciary and juries: the judicial system (including juries) makes decisions on an impartial basis in accordance with the law as the supreme criterion of judgment. As such, the judicial system must operate independently of any other agency of government, social organization, or corrupting influence.

9.Civilian control of the military and police: the military and police should be subject to the control of civilian authority and the military's supreme commander should be a civilian because military commanders are not elected by the people and must therefore be under the control of those who are.

10. Supremacy of secular over religious authority: purely secular law and authority, which are subject to the consent of the people, take precedence in secular matters over religious law and authority, which are not subject to popular decision-making and revision.

11. Education of the public. A widespread system of common education including schools and other avenues of instruction that prepare citizens to exercise their rights and fulfill their responsibilities.

—Excerpted from An International Framework for Education in Democracy, *Center for Civic Education, Calabasas CA, January 10, 2003 (Draft)*

trans-Appalachian settlement; rising colonial cohesion; 1775 first battles and Continental army; 1776 Declaration of Independence; Washington's strategy and personal example; factors in British defeat: geography, mediocre political and military leaders; French money, troops and fleet.

4. *Anglo-American political heritage.* Judaic-Christian views of human nature and equality; moral duty to neighbors, society, and posterity; lessons from the fall of Athens, Rome's republic and empire, Magna Carta, parliamentary tradition, common law, the English Revolution and Bill of Rights; colonial political practices, 17th and 18th century ideas; Hobbes, Locke, Montesquieu.

5. *Founding documents, debates.* State constitutions with separation of powers, bills of rights; Articles of Confederation; the Northwest Ordinance, banning slavery in the territories; U.S. Constitution from Philadelphia, 1787; the Federalist and anti-Federalist arguments; U.S. Bill of Rights, 1791, based on models from England, France and the states.

6. *The Constitution.* Balances of power among the states drive the compromises of 1787; separation of powers, bicameral legislature; federalism allocates state and national powers and functions; three-fifths of slave population counted for seats in the House of Representatives; direct taxation; historical change and continuity in amending and interpreting the Constitution.

7. *The early republic.* Washington's stature; his cabinet as a balance of factions; two parties rise, Federalist and Republican; Hamilton vs. Jefferson on the government's role in the economy; Washington's Farewell Address decries factionalism and foreign entanglements; John Adams loses to Jefferson in a bitter 1800 election campaign, but the transition is peaceful.

II. Democracy's advances and setbacks, 1800 to 1945

A. The United States, 1800 to 1945

Expansion, Reform and Sectionalism, 1800-1861

1. *Early Industrial Revolution.* Expanding, diverging economies of North and South raise new political interests, divisive sectional quarrels, as does westward movement and advent of new states; southern slave labor and northern factory/mine labor contribute greatly to national wealth.

2. *Jacksonian democracy as modern politics.* Egalitarian appeals to the "common man" include the spoils system, Indian expulsion, verbal attacks on "elites;" Jackson defends the Union vs. states' rights but weakens federal initiatives for national economic growth.

3. *Pre-Civil War social reforms:* how they prefigure reform campaigns to the present; leave memories of reformers to emulate and causes to pursue; religion inspires activists to improve life in hospitals, asylums, prisons, poorhouses, orphanages, utopian communities; to broaden public schooling, and to win economic and political rights for women and labor.

4. *New immigration.* European sources: famine in Ireland; unrest in central and southern Europe; violent nativist responses; immigrants double the free labor force for mines, factories, railroads, and docks; first labor movement divided, weakened by race, ethnicity, religion and between "natives" and newcomers.

5. *Life in slavery: work, family, religion, and resistance* Plantation labor, docks and fisheries, skilled crafts; sources of cohesion in kinship networks, churches, oral tradition; rising instances of passive resistance and revolt; retaliatory state laws prefigure tactics after the Civil War.

6. *Abolitionism and its leaders* Other reformist causes overshadowed by each failure of

compromise between free and slave states; events stir fear and hatreds pressing Americans to war on each other; the Fugitive Slave Act, Kansas-Nebraska Act, Dred Scott decision; the fury of both sides over the actions and fate of John Brown.

The Civil War and Reconstuction, 1860-1877

7. *Abraham Lincoln.* The importance of character and self-education; views of slavery; the election of 1860; plea for peace in Lincoln's First Inaugural Address; secession and the outbreak of war; the Gettysburg Address; historians on his presidency; his view of U.S. democracy as the "last, best hope of earth."

8. *Civil War stages and turning-points* 620,000 dead (equivalent of over 5 million as a percentage of today's population); early victories mislead Confederates; Gettysburg and Vicksburg; factors in Union victory: geography, trade, resources, production, manpower, morale, civilian and military leaders.

9. *Slavery formally ended* The Emancipation Proclamation, its significance and limits; the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the Constitution; the legacy of moral and political messages in Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address; his assassination leaves Reconstruction leaderless.

10. *Reconstuction's failure*. The Federal government's narrow and conflicting aims (contrast to Czarist emancipation of Russia's serfs in 1861); Congressional and Northern promises of economic and political help to ex-slaves are abandoned; the disputed election of 1876; prewar southern political powers return; a lawful Union fails to emerge from war's sacrifice.

11. *Unfinished emancipation* Black farming limited and precarious; sharecropping grows (akin to Russian serfdom); black schools and voting blocked by force; emergence of the Klan; segregation of "Jim Crow" laws legitimized by Supreme Court in Plessy v. Ferguson 1896; lynch law spreads.

The advent of modern America, 1865-1920

12. *A "developing" country industrializes.* America enjoys broad resources, low labor costs; growing internal market; secure borders; low military expense; tariffs, tax breaks, limits on labor union action, open immigration laws, sale of public lands and federal/state subsidies to railroads and business, heavy foreign investments; compare and contrast to developing nations today.

13. *The new world of business.* The modern corporation, stock exchange; monopolies and combinations; investment banking; "Wall Street" alliances with press and both major parties; selective laissez-faire; the Gilded Age; the Gospel of Wealth and philanthropy.

14. *Labor struggles to organize* Low wages, long hours, and unsafe working conditions in mines, factories, railroads; worker vulnerability to illness, accident, and old age; labor organizers blocked by employer lockouts, blacklists, and retaliation; the press, courts, police, and office-holders usually allied with employers; strikes and violence on both sides.

15. *Immigration, migration, urbanization.* Absorption of 24 million immigrants between 1865 and 1914; heavy inner migration, farms to towns; African-Americans from the South blacks migrate to North and Midwest; growth of big cities; ethnic political bosses and political machines help "their own" and some of the poor.

16. *Farm crises and populism* Mechanized farming raises production and costs; low prices drain farm income; farmers lack power against banks, railroads, processors, commodity speculators; Populists demand income tax, people's banks, government rails and utilities; party split

by racism and ethnicity, lack of support from eastern industrial labor.

17. *U.S. begins its rise to world power.* Victory in Spanish-American War; dominance of the Caribbean region; Americans crush Philippine revolt for independence; Congressional and public debate on imperialism: democratic ideals and American "exceptionalism"(relative to British/European imperialists) vs. desire for expanding trade and a larger share of world power.

18. *Progressive reform movement.* Religious motives plus faith in science, reason, and education; the "muckrakers" on business crime, city squalor, unsafe food, political corruption; aims and accomplishments under Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson; conservation, government regulations, income tax; labor laws; race issues divide the Progressives.

The United States and World Wars I & II, 1914-1945

19. *World War I.* Causes and human toll; reasons for American entry; the economic, military, and political role of the United States; Wilson's "Fourteen Points"; divided Allies at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919; Congressional rejection of the Versailles Treaty and League of Nations; Wilson's promised treaty of alliance with France and Britain not honored.

20. *The war's effects on 20th-century America.* The United States goes from debtor to creditor nation, war suppliers prosper; war's slaughter and chaos open way for communists in Russia, fascists in Italy, Nazis in Germany; aftereffects of war as partial cause of the Great Depression, disarray of Western democracies during the1930s, roots of World War II and cold war.

21. *Women's suffrage.* The 19th Amendment, ratified in 1920, a culmination of the campaign to secure women's right to vote dating back to the 1848 Seneca Falls Declaration; women's national voting rights follow upon prior successes in several recently admitted Western states.

22. *"Roaring" Twenties.* Jazz Age culture of the prosperous; mass production and consumption; the automobile industry a new economic/political power; the social, cultural, and political effects of Prohibition, radio, movies, mass spectator sports, and a society on wheels.

23. *Underside of the `Twenties:* Black migrants to the north left to ghettos, segregated schools; urban race conflicts; the Klan prospers and extends its threat to immigrants, Catholics, Jews, labor organizers; fall of farm prices; rural poverty and foreclosures are first signs of Depression.

24. *The Great Depression and its causes.* Effects of World War I; foreign trade shrinks, low farmer and urban worker incomes limit purchasing power; unregulated speculation sends stock prices beyond value of firms over-producing; 1929 stock market crash ruins investors, large and small.

25. *American democracy in crisis, 1930-1933.* By 1932, 10 million are jobless; savings, homes, and farms are lost; stricken families destabilized; vagrancy, homelessness, malnutrition; religious and private charities overwhelmed; business demands government rescue; Left and Right demagogues declare the death of democracy and predict a triumphal future for communism or fascism.

26. *New Deal.* New Democratic coalition of labor, farmers, urban ethnics, African-Americans, and the elderly; new domestic programs, including Social Security, public works, bank and stock exchange regulation, labor rights, and farm supports; New Deal attacked by Left and Right, but confidence in democracy revives.

27. *Origins of World War II.* WWI allies fail to use League of Nations; Nazi aggression in

Europe; British/French appeasement; American neutrality strained by Japanese atrocities in China, Nazi terrorism; Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor ends American isolationism, 1941.

28. *World War II.* Vast arms production; women and blacks in industry; West coast hysteria, Japanese-Americans interned; Atlantic Charter and Churchill-Roosevelt partnership; Roosevelt's "Four Freedoms;" U.S. military in the Pacific, North Africa, and Europe; atom bombing of Japan.

B. The world,1800-1945

1. *Latin-American revolutions.* Sequels to the American and French Revolutions; nationalism triumphs over colonialism in South America, but dominant military, church, and landed elites block democracy and social reform; abiding class and race inequality, poverty, and autocratic rule.

2. *Industrial Revolution.* Social, geographical, and political factors in England's early lead; sources of capital; changes in family life and work; factories, mines, new cities, and towns; new groups emerge, including industrialists, bankers, merchants, and the mass of urban workers.

3. *Western ideologies of the 19th century.* Eighteenth-century expectations upset by effects of industry; emergence of the "isms" still debated today, including liberalism and conservatism (now reversed in meaning), radical republicanism, social democracy, socialism, Marxism, trade unionism; all based on differing views of human nature and needs, of human potential, and of the future.

4. *Drives to political and social democracy.* Europe moves to universal male suffrage, free primary schools; elected assemblies limit the power of executive rule; limits on work hours and child labor; legalized unions and strikes; social insurance in Germany, England, and Scandinavia.

5. *Western nationalism and imperialism.* Unification of Italy and Germany; nationalist agitation in the Balkans; forces for New Imperialism; concept of a "Darwinian" world view; progress at home contrasts with Europe's ultimately self-destructive adventures abroad (as with earlier Athenian and Roman empires); imperialism's effects on the colonized abroad and the colonizers at home.

6. *Chinese resistance and revolution.* Humiliation of Opium War; anti-foreign Taiping Rebellion; Western interventions discredit Manchu dynasty; Chinese army routed by Japanese in 1895; Sun Yat-sen's campaign for democracy, economic/social reform; 1911 Nationalist revolution; republican government is unable to unite China against the warlords.

7. *Japan's rise to world power.* Shock of Perry's expedition helps patriotic modernizers; Meiji "Restoration"; constitution in autocratic German style, army and navy based on European models; Japanese drive to industrialize and urbanize; government/business corporatism.

8. *Nationalism and resistance in India and Africa.* British law, civil service, schools, railroads result in partial unification of India; demands of the Indian National Congress; African rebellions weakened by tribalism; dominance of European military, except for Ethiopian defeat of Italian invaders in 1896.

9. *1900: Dawn of a new century.* Advances in medicine, longevity, living standards, science, medicine, technology, and public education stir feelings of optimism in Western nations; expectations of further social/political reforms and peace initiatives; at the same time, there are many reasons for pessimism, including abiding poverty, class strife, terrorism, arms races, new weapons of war, national and imperial rivalries, and mutual fears.

10. *1914-18: Origins and outbreak of World War I.* Historians debate causes and "inevitabili-

Civics Framework Components, 1998

National Assessment of Educational Progress

According to the authors of the 1998 NAEP Civics Framework, the extreme importance of effective civic education for the well-being of our constitutional democracy makes it imperative that we have adequate information about what students know and are able to do with regard to civics and government. Thus, the aim of the assessment was to indicate gradually the essential knowledge and skills students should have learned about democratic citizenship and government.

The framework comprised three interrelated components: knowledge, intellectual skills, and civic dispositions. Of these, the knowledge component served as the core of the framework.

Knowledge

The *knowledge* component is embodied in the form of five significant and enduring questions: (1) What are civic life, politics, and government? (2) What are the foundations of the American political system? (3) How does the government established by the Constitution embody the purposes, values, and principles of American democracy? (4) What is the relationship of the United States to other nations and to world affairs? (5) What are the roles of citizens in American democracy?

Intellectual and Participatory Skills

The *intellectual and participatory skills* component involves the use of knowledge to think and act effectively in a constitutional democracy. Intellectual skills enable students to learn and apply civic knowledge in the many and varied roles of citizens. These skills help citizens identify, describe, explain, and analyze information and arguments as well as evaluate, take, and defend positions on public policies. Participatory skills enable citizens to monitor and influence public and civic life by working with others, clearly articulating ideas and interests, building coalitions, seeking consensus, negotiating compromise, and managing conflict.

Civic Dispositions

Civics dispositions refer to the inclination or "habits of the heart," as de Tocqueville called them, that pervade all aspects of citizenship. In a constitutional democracy, these dispositions pertain to the rights and responsibilities of individuals in society and to the advancement of possibilities of individuals in society and to the ideals of the polity. They include the dispositions to become an independent member of society; respect individual worth and responsibilities of a citizen; abide by the "rules of the game," such as accepting the legitimate decisions of the majority while protecting the rights of the minority; participate in civic affairs in an informed, thoughtful, and effective manner; and promote the healthy functioning of American constitutional democracy.

—*From* The NAEP 1998 Technical Report.
U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics.
Allen, Donoghue & Schoeps (2001) Washington, DC: NCES

ty;" ethnic and national pride and resentments; alliances, economic rivalries, military technology and plans; decay of Russian, Ottoman, and Austro-Hungarian empires; the Sarajevo assassination; civilian leaders fail to overcome public and military pressure for war in July-August 1914.

11. *1914–18: The war and the shaping of the century*. Failure of grandiose military plans; stalemate, trench warfare, vast slaughter; assaults on civilians; trauma and rising desperation on home fronts; the demoralizing conditions that feed revolution in Russia; emergence of circumstances that presage the Great Depression, Nazism, World War II, and the cold war.

12. *The Russian Revolutions*. Russian defeats in 1914-17, great military and civilian loss of life, economic chaos discredit Czarism; the democratic, reformist Provisional Government attacked by Czarist and Communist extremists on Right and Left, falls to armed Bolsheviks; freely elected assembly is dispersed by force; Communist dictatorship and system of terror established.

13 . *1919: Paris Peace Conference*. Allies divided in aims, views of the future; French seek border security; British seek high reparations from Germany; Wilson stresses League of Nations; U.S. Congress rejects both Versailles Treaty and League membership; Americans and British repudiate treaty of alliance signed with the French at Paris.

14. *Global Depression:* War's drain on European economies; shrunken consumption and trade; world farm crisis, industrial strife, and lost jobs; varied responses, including America's New Deal, French Popular Front, British retrenchment, and the Scandinavian "Third Way" of a mixed economy.

15. *Totalitarian communism, between the wars*. Based in Leninist-Stalinist, single-party Soviet Union; middle class plundered; labor unions crushed, industry seized, peasant landowners exterminated in collectivization of agriculture; restricted information flows, forced relocations, arbitrary arrest, widespread imprisonment, summary executions, and regional starvation as means of political control; in Europe and America, Communist parties and cells divide and weaken labor unions and social democratic parties.

16. *Totalitarian fascism*. Rises from Depression, nationalism, anti-communism, weak-center regimes; German inflation, depression undermine Weimar Republic; Hitler promises a "new Germany," revenge for Versailles, blames Jews and liberals for defeat and cultural decay; Nazism and Stalinism compared: opposing ideologies but very similar practices.

17. *Liberal democracy in peril.* Faith in democracy shaken in 1930s, as British and French leaders seem less capable than dictatorships at ending the Depression; British and French drift apart, see the United States as aloof, disengaged; many middle and working class Europeans, journalists, and public figures turn to communism or fascism, resigning themselves to the "lesser evil."

18. *Aggression and appeasement.* British and French fail to use the League of Nations; Japan seizes Manchuria, Italy conquers Ethiopia; Hitler's treaty violations and advances unimpeded; the Munich crisis of 1938; the multiple interests, memories, fears, popular notions, and wishful thinking behind Anglo-French appeasement, slow rearmament, and American isolationism.

19. *World War II.* Phase of Axis victories; turning points, including the battles of Britain and the Atlantic, Stalingrad, and Midway; Normandy invaded as Russians march westward; use of atom bomb on Hiroshima, Nagasaki; advantages and disadvantages of each side, in terms of geography, resources, technology, and leaders' choices of their use; the Holocaust, a crime beyond war.

III. Contemporary History

A. The United States since 1945

1. *Reversal of post-World War I isolationism.* European ruin and Soviet aggression spur the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan, NATO guarantees for French and Western Europe, support for the European Union, armed readiness, the United Nations as a new League of Nations.

2. *Reversal of post-World War I domestic policies.* New Deal reforms against laissez-faire of the 1920's kept in place; government regulations continued; public works, the GI Bill, government support for home ownership; Marshall Plan support of export industries.

3. *Cold war effects on American politics.* High defense expenditures in "peacetime;" secret government; Eisenhower's warning about the distortion of American priorities by the "military industrial complex;" debate on foreign policy constricted by war atmosphere and "red scares."

4. *Cuban missile crisis of 1962.* Ends in compromise between United States and Soviet Union and raises three crucial matters for democratic citizens in the contemporary world: nightmare of nuclear war; importance of presidential leadership; and civilian authority over the military.

5. *Wars in Korea and Vietnam.* High American casualties in both; Chinese intervention forces stalemate and divided Korea; the "domino" theory of containment; in Vietnam, the first war lost by the U.S., divides the nation and raises doubt over government honesty and competence.

6. *Civil Rights Movement and its background.* Review of American slavery; the fateful compromise in 1787 Philadelphia; the Civil War's 620,000 dead; Reconstruction's failure; an added century of injustice; 20th-century African-American leaders; racial confrontations of the 1950s and 1960s; Civil Rights and Voting Rights Acts; unfinished business to the present.

7. *Effects of television on democratic politics.* Civil Rights violence and the Vietnam War enter American living rooms; polls show effects on public opinion and political leaders; the costs of television to election campaigns and resulting power of money over candidates; shrinking coverage of political and world events; the distractions of non-stop entertainment.

8. *The American nation in a global technocracy.* Questions debated: How shall free societies sort out good and bad effects of technology? How are nations affected by supranational economic power, sheltered from taxes and regulation and free of organized labor's influence on wages and working conditions? How is national unity preserved in the face of widening income gaps and the balkanization of groups? As new as such matters seem, they have much in common with earlier changes and challenges. Students who know history will see recurring issues, and look back at what was done or not done in the past, and what resulted.

B. The world since 1945

1. *The Soviet Union seizes Eastern Europe.* Political power at the end of World War II, as always, follows the lines of occupying armies; the American "containment" policies, including the Truman Doctrine to guard Greece and Turkey; NATO formed to protect Western Europe, where postwar communist parties threaten destabilization of democratic governments.

2. *The Marshall Plan.* Economic aid for the social stability of European democracies, which are shaken and impoverished by war's destructiveness; use as stimulant for world trade

and American exports; first steps to the European Union, an economic power now interdependent with the United States.

3. *Japan adopts a democratic constitution and demilitarization.* American occupation forces and advisers support fundamental political change and contribute to rebuilding Japan's economy.

4. *New nations arise in former British and European colonies.* War's defeats drain European status and authority in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East; some new nations gain independence by agreement with former rulers (e.g., India, Pakistan); others by armed revolt (e.g., Algeria, Vietnam). Colonial rule replaced by dictatorial rule in many newly independent nations.

5. *Chinese communists take power in 1949.* Maoist regime imposes state terror and massive loss of life, comparable to Stalinist Russia between the wars; future of Chinese politics remains unclear; Chinese economic and military potential poses a challenge to the region and world.

6. *Worldwide open and covert duels between East and West.* In Africa, Asia, Central and South America, moderate/center parties are frequently weakened or overwhelmed by leftwing or rightwing extremists; players on all sides appeal major powers for support.

7. *Collapse of the Soviet Union.* Multiple forces working against the regime from within and without; liberation of East European "satellite" nations; the future of Russia's politics remains unclear as it suffers from deep economic and managerial weakness, plutocracy and corruption.

8. *Post-cold war threats* A "new" world disorder full of old tribal, ethnic, religious, and ideological conflicts that were masked by the cold war and revived at its end (the Balkans, Central Africa, South Asia, Indonesia, the Middle East); rise of terrorism; proliferation of chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons of mass destruction.

9. *Ongoing struggles for political democracy.* Struggle for democracy inextricably mixed and sometimes distracted, as ever, by the other two aspects of the triple revolution since 1800: patriotic fervor and demands for economic and social justice; important and differing ideas, forces, and leaders in Eastern Europe, the former Soviet republics, India and Pakistan, South Africa, and Latin America.

10. *Democracies of Western Europe.* Economic, social, cultural, and educational achievements of U.S. allies in advanced democratic societies—rarely described in textbooks or the media, but useful to examine for better-informed discussion of our own domestic policy issues.

Bibliography

The preceding sample of a civic core, adaptable for courses in grade five to twelve, is a distillation of topics and recommendations appearing in the following publications:

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Appendix B:
Making it teachable

Finding time for the civic core and other themes

All standards documents examined for this report have one flaw in common. Whether over-detailed or over-general, the subject matter content and skills they demand cannot be taught in the limited instructional time teachers have at their disposal. Nor could they be taught even if social studies time were no longer hemmed in by the demands of other education priorities and other subjects' standards.

How, then, can teachers deal imaginatively with all of the topics for the civic core and still have room for other themes and content, ideally chosen by themselves or their own school?

As already suggested, they can do it when (a) history, geography, civics, and economics are taught together, whenever appropriate; (b) courses are segmented by eras, and (c) assessment systems allow local choice of topics to teach in depth.

What follows here is but one among several possible ways to arrange the content of a civic core across middle and high school in courses segmented by historical eras. A common pattern is to offer United States history/geography from origins through Reconstruction (c. 1880) in grades five and eight, followed by the study of the post-Civil War era (reviewing

the Civil War Amendments to the Constitution and Reconstruction) to the present in grades ten or eleven. For world history/geography, an often-used sequence is to offer the ancient, medieval, and early modern periods in the sixth and seventh or seventh and ninth grades, with a close study of the world since 1750 or 1800 to the present in grade ten or eleven. As suggested in Appendix A, all of these should be followed by a required senior capstone course in government, stressing current policy questions (including foreign affairs) and their historical roots.

In middle and high school curricula designed with segmented eras, it is imperative to weave the grades together by returning again and again to a number of dramatic issues and questions that students recognize as significant through all periods of United States and world history. Familiar approaches to history/social studies should also be revisited constantly, such as: exploring multiple causes for important turning-points, good and ill; the interdependence of change and continuity (for example, in the evolution of the United States Constitution); relating economic and social issues to politics; comparing theory or ideology with what really happens to people; using biography, the arts, and literature to nourish empathy for people of the past; and repeated focus on the great consequences of decisions that seemed of little importance in their time.

To convey the main topics in Appendix A, the following is one suggested scope and sequence:

Grade 5. United States History to c. 1800
(7 main topics)

1. Exploration, conquest, colonization
2. Politics of the Colonial Period
3. The American Revolution, origins, stages
4. The Anglo-American political heritage (age-appropriate selected items)
5. Founding documents, debates (age-appropriate selected items)
6. The Constitution
7. The Early Republic

Grade 7. World History to c. 1500
(10 main topics)

1. Ancient Asian Civilizations
2. Ancient Israel
3. Ancient Greece
4. The Roman Republic
5. Decline and fall of the Roman Empire
6. Christianity
7. Byzantine Empire
8. Islam and Muslim civilization
9. Medieval feudalism, root of constitutions
10. Renaissance Humanism

Grade 8. United States History to 1877
(15 main topics,including 4 reviews)

Review:

1. The Anglo-American political heritage
2. Founding documents and debates
3. The Constitution
4. The Early Republic

5. Early Industrial revolution
6. Jacksonian democracy as modern politics
7. Pre-Civil War social reforms
8. New immigration
9. Life in slavery: work, family, religion, resistance
10. Abolitionism and its leaders
11. Abraham Lincoln
12. Civil War stages and turning-points
13. Slavery formally ended
14. Reconstruction's failure
15. Unfinished emancipation

Grade 9. World History, c. 1500 to 1800
(13 main topics,including 7 reviews)

Review:

1. Ancient Asia religion and ethics
2. Judaism
3. Christianity
4. Islam
5. Medieval roots of constitutions

6. Protestant Reformation
7. The English Revolution
8. The Enlightenment
9. The American Revolution

Review:

10. The Anglo-American political heritage
11. The Constitution

12. The French Revolution, origins and stages
13. Advent of modern politics

Grade 10. World History, 1800 to the present
(29 main topics)

The World,1800 to 1945
1. Latin American revolutions
2.The Industrial Revolution
3. Ideologies of the 19th century
4. Drives to political and social democracy
5. Western nationalism and imperialism
6. Chinese resistance and revolution
7. Japan's rise to world power
8. Nationalism and resistance in India and Africa
9. The century turns, 1900
10. Origins and outbreak of 1914-18 World War
11. The War of 1914-18 shapes the century
12. The Russian Revolutions
13. Paris Peace Conference, 1919
14. The World Depression
15. International Communism between wars, Stalinism
16. International Fascism
17. Liberal democracy in peril
18. Aggression and appeasement
19. World War II

The World since 1945
20. The Soviet Union seizes Eastern Europe
21. The Marshall Plan
22. Japan adopts a democratic constitution and demilitarization
23. New nations arise in former Anglo-European colonies
24. Chinese Communists take power in 1949
25. Worldwide open and covert duels between East and West
26. Collapse of Soviet Union
27. Post-Cold War threats
28. Ongoing struggles for political democracy
29. Democracies of Western Europe

Grade 11. U. S. History, 1877 to the present
(27 main topics,including 2 reviews)

Review:
1.The Constitution
2. Unfinished emancipation

The advent of modern America,1865-1920
3. A "developing" country industrializes
4. The new world of business
5. Labor struggles to organize
6. Immigration, migration, urbanization
7. Farm crises and Populism
8. The United States starts rise to world power
9. The Progressive reform movement

The United States and World Wars I & II, 1914-1945
10. World War I
11. The war's effect on 20th century America
12. Women's suffrage
13. The `Twenties
14. Underside of the `Twenties
15. Causes of the Great Depression
16. American democracy in crisis, 1930-33
17. The New Deal
18. Origins of World War II
19. World War II

The United States since 1945
20. Reversal of post-World War I isolationism
21. Reversal of post-World War I domestic policies
22. Cold War effects on American politics
23. Cuban missile crisis of 1962
24. Wars in Korea and Vietnam
25. The Civil Rights movement and its background
26. The effects of television on democratic politics
27. The American nation in a global technocracy

Grade 12. Civics, American Government, and World Affairs *(One Term)*

Recommended:
National Standards for Civics and Government, the closing section on major topics for grades nine through twelve, with general questions, content summaries, and content standards.

Finding the time: Sample scenarios, which easily can be varied

Assuming a minimum of 160 days devoted entirely to classroom instruction each year (as opposed to tests and exams, discussion of writing assignments, field trips, assemblies, etc.):

Fifth grade, with seven main topics, has time for three weeks on each, or 105 instructional days (21 weeks), leaving 55 days (eleven weeks) for instruction in other topics and exercises.

Seventh grade, with ten main topics, could devote two weeks to each, or 100 instructional days (20 weeks), leaving 60 days (twelve weeks) for other topics.

Eighth grade, with fifteen main topics, can choose four on which to spend three weeks each, with one week each on the other eleven, taking 115 instructional days (23 weeks) and leaving 45 days (nine weeks) for other topics. Or, perhaps, ten topics on which to spend two weeks each, or 100 instructional days (20 weeks), leaving 60 days (twelve weeks) for other topics.

Grade nine, with thirteen main topics, can choose three on which to spend three weeks each and two topics on which to spend two weeks each, taking 75 days (fifteen weeks), leaving seventeen weeks (85 days) for the remaining and other topics.

Note: Grades ten and eleven, because of the intensity of changes in all spheres of life affecting American politics over the last 200 years, require tighter schedules. But given the usual pronouncement that social studies' prime purpose is making competent citizens, it follows that the vital subjects of civics and political history deserve priority in courses for the more mature high school student. Even so, there is time for studies in depth and other themes.

Grade ten, with 29 main topics, could give two weeks each to six of them (three per term), taking 60 days (twelve weeks), plus an average of three days each for the other 23, or 69 instructional days, leaving 31 days (six weeks) for other topics.

Grade eleven, with 27 main topics, could give two weeks each to six chosen topics (three per term), taking 60 days (12 weeks), plus an average of three days each for the other 21, taking 63 days (c. thirteen weeks), leaving 37 days (seven weeks) for other topics.

In both these later grades, time can be made for more studies in depth or other themes and topics by leaving certain core topics to student reading, with single days of follow-up.

Students will at least have read and "heard about" topics done hurriedly. Educators and the rest of us must admit that this is how most people learn what they know of history, social sciences and the humanities—some in depth, some more briefly, some just "heard about." School and testing authorities need to face reality about these subjects, whose needed breadth and depth (the two are interdependent; neither can be comprehended without having the other in mind) require focus on certain aspects and less attention to others.

Making use of non-school hours: Student work outside the classroom

It cannot be said often enough that these subjects—civics, economics, geography, history (and the humanities)—depend heavily on student reading outside the classroom. Of many core topics and reviews for middle and high school study of civics, economics, geography, and history, teachers must choose which to do in depth and which more quickly. But whether deeply or lightly studied, the learning of any topic calls for a mixture of classroom and outside work. History and social science cannot be comprehended by classroom exercises alone.

Much is rightly said of student-centered pedagogy, active learning, and collaborative classroom projects. But far too little is said about students' responsibility to work with their minds outside of school hours, and about the importance, the rewards and, as the habit grows, the pleasure of private concentration. Studying history and social science requires that students take the time to read, note, reflect, and write about what they have read and heard, just as in studying literature or philosophy. To pretend otherwise is giving up on any chance to cultivate young minds.

Appendix C: State responses

On November 25, 2002, almost three months before a draft report was first pubished, an initial draft of each sate (or district) review was sent to the corresponding superintendents and deputy superintendents. This was done both as a check for accuracy and as a courtesy to those states whose documents were reviewed. The officials were asked to identify any accuracies in the report and to furnish us with any additional information and/or materials that might alter its findings, so that we could make the necessary corrections. We also offered to publish their responses in our report.

Twenty-eight states, the District of Columbia, and the Department of Defense educational authority sent responses that are published in this section. (Several more states responded, with the request that their responses not be published.)

Notations or brackets in the margins of these pages show which of the states' comments or concerns led to changes in the report. This is done to minimize confusion, in that passages in these documents may refer to text in the review that has been deleted or modified, or to previous omissions that already have been added.

Alabama

Enclosed is Alabama's response to The Albert Shanker Institute's review of content standards for social studies. Overall, the review of content standards is accurate; however, some concerns and/or corrections have been noted. Please find on the enclosed pages comments that we would like to have included in this report.

Thank you for the opportunity to address the findings in your report. We appreciate your efforts concerning the educational opportunities offered to the students of the United States.

—Ed Richardson, State Superintendent of Education

Comments/Concerns

Summary

Dr. Gagnon: ***Criterion #2*** *"The required topics must be teachable, in imaginative ways, within*

the limits of time teachers have, usually no more than 160 days each year, and in many districts as few as 40 minutes a day..."

"As in most state documents built on specific topics, teachers could not thoughtfully present the over many items for World and U.S. history in the school time available."

Response: According to the *Alabama Administrative Code*, Alabama requires secondary schools to schedule each student for 140 clock hours of instruction per subject—Rule 290 3 1.09(a). Additionally, 175 days of instruction are mandated **by law** in the state of Alabama (*Code of Alabama 1975*, §16 13 231). This legal protection of instructional time allows teachers the opportunity to probe and explore subject matter with students. Alabama's Course of Study Committee, composed of teachers, college professors, administrators, and business and professional persons, chose to present both World History and U.S. History as two-year courses. This provides a minimum of 350 days of instruction (280 clock hours) so that each course could be adequately and thoughtfully developed.

Particulars

Paragraph 2

Dr. Gagnon: *"... dividing at 1500 leaves too little time for ideas and events of the early modern and modern eras that Americans must study to understand their place in the world and their legacy from Western civilization."*

Response: Alabama's Course of Study Committee chose to present World History by dividing the course at 1500 A.D., which has been traditionally recognized as an approximate date for the beginning of the Renaissance. The early modern eras and modern eras of World History are taught in Grade 9 in anticipation of the future reinforcement of these pivotal points in history occurring in both the Grade 10 and Grade 11 United States History courses, which must be taken consecutively.

Dr. Gagnon: *"...too many required topics cut chances to treat engaging political ideas and turning points in depth."*

Response: Dr. Gagnon's second point discusses the number of topics to be taught. The Alabama Course of Study for Social Studies very clearly emphasizes the importance of teaching the **"... critical issues and events that encompass historic, geographic, economic, and political literacy"** (*Alabama Course of Study: Social Studies*, p. 98). The Course of Study Committee made a deliberate decision to strengthen both high school courses by presenting World History and U.S. History as two year course sequences. Of particular importance was extending the period of time spent in the instruction of post 1980 U.S. History so that students could become more aware of their world.

Paragraph 4

Dr. Gagnon: *"...the Grades 10 and 11 courses obviously need to review and elaborate upon significant content from Grades 5 and 6, but active collaboration between middle and high school teachers could do much to cut needless repetition, provide more efficient reviews, and allow time for chosen studies in depth in all four courses."*

Response: Concepts related to World and Alabama History as well as geography and civics are included in the chronological study of United States History in order to broaden the information presented to students in the lower grades. This allows the teacher to approach and discuss topics introduced earlier in greater detail. While this may appear to be repetitious, it encourages the study of social studies in an age-appropriate manner. For example, students

may be aware of a person or of an event, but would not have examined either in great detail because of the constraints of their maturity in the lower grades.

Paragraph 5

Dr. Gagnon: *"...a teacher's guide on how to select and work out vital themes and questions on the adventures of democracy, and how to enliven them in a dramatic narrative, with insights from the social sciences and humanities."*

Response: Dr. Gagnon's suggested teacher's guide that would assist teachers has been addressed by a second document produced in March 1999 and is titled *Pathways for Learning: Social Studies*. This document can be accessed on line with the address http://www.al.sde.edu/html/home. asp. Constructed by ten classroom teachers from around the state, these activities and strategies were developed to assist teachers in addressing the mandated standards and objectives of the *Alabama Course of Study: Social Studies*. In addition to numerous workshops held across the state for the purpose of professional development, this document enhances the successful methods already being employed by social studies teachers across the state.

Dr. Gagnon: *"A focus on political education would also allow Alabama's grade 12 courses in American Government and Economics to be taught at markedly higher levels."*

Response: The Alabama Course of Study Committee considered civic responsibility to be a vital portion of each student's education. For this reason, civics and political literacy are interwoven throughout the elementary and secondary school years and allow teachers in Alabama's Grade 12 courses in American Government the ability to teach "... a detailed study of the United States Constitution..." and "...the structure and workings of government at all levels in the state and nation." (*Alabama Course of Study: Social Studies*, p. 118)

California

Thank you for the advance copy of Paul Gagnon's *Educating Democracy: State Standards to Ensure a Civic Core*. I am glad that Mr. Gagnon has a positive view of California's history-social science.

His views reflect my own sentiments in many ways, and I am grateful to have such a distinguished teacher and scholar share my point of view. I do recognize that Mr. Gagnon's assessment is not completely positive, and in some ways, I do sympathize with is criticisms. Most notably, I share his view that clear and detailed standards are essential but that California's standards may too ambitious within the current number of school days. But, as I said at the time, the standards were approved by the State Board of Education, "[d]on't let the perfect be the enemy of the good." While the standards may be less than perfect, they are proving to be sound guideposts for improving student achievement.

As you know, I am leaving my post as State Superintendent of Pubic Instruction. Jack O'Connell, my successor, will be taking office on January 5, 2003, and he will also take seri-

ously the charge of improving public education and turning our children into active citizens.

If you have more questions about the involvement of the California Department of Education on this project, please direct such inquires to Jack O'Connoll. If you have questions about California's history-social science standards, please contact Thomas Adams, Administrator, Curriculum Frameworks, at (916) 319-0663.

—Delaine Eastin, State Superintendent of Public Instruction

Connecticut

At Commissioner Sergi's request I am attaching a response to your evaluation of our Social Studies Curriculum Framework produced in May, 1998. We would ask that our response be published in your report.

—Dr. Betty J. Sternberg, Associate Commissioner, Division of Teaching and Learning

Response to the Albert Shanker Institute's Evaluation of Connecticut's Social Studies Curriculum Framework

Connecticut's social studies framework is a true framework, rather than a curriculum. This is why the framework "fares badly" on a set of five criteria that are really designed for judging curriculum, not for judging standards. A true framework provides the basis for developing comprehensive local curriculum, without dictating details that are better left to district curriculum teams.

Connecticut does not "claim" local control—as a matter of policy, it empowers and supports local school districts. Connecticut has invested in the quality of its educators and educational leaders over a period of years, precisely for the purpose of enabling those individuals to make appropriate decisions. We believe that it is not necessary for a state education agency to adopt a paternalistic role by dictating every detail of content to local educators. As an organization devoted to raising the professional status of teachers, the AFT should be particularly appreciative of an approach that treats local educators as expert professionals.

Keeping in mind that most states provide frameworks, not prescriptive curricula, we believe that the following are 5 more appropriate "criteria for judging the worth of state standards" than those you have used:

1) Comprehensive: The framework outlines the scope of what students should know and be able to do in the subject area;

2) Balanced: The framework promotes an appropriate balance among key subdisciplines within a particular subject area (in the case of social studies, fields such as civics, history, and geography);

3) Foundational: The framework provides a level of detail—in Connecticut's case, through

performance standards—that provides local curriculum teams with the basis for writing more specific, grade-by-grade or course objectives;

4) Flexible: The framework leaves details of specific content—such as which specific historical dates and events should be memorized — to local curriculum writers, who appropriately translate standards into performance objectives based on local priorities and needs; and

5) Supported: The framework is supplemented by model documents and resources designed to assist local curriculum teams in carrying out the vision of the standards.

We are proud that Connecticut's social studies standards meet the above criteria, and have, according to local professionals who use the document, provided a solid basis for teachers to develop local curriculum. Expert local educators helped write these standards. Those same expert educators have enabled Connecticut to consistently score among the nation's highest on the tests that the authors of this report seem to value so highly. We owe our success to a policy of balanced collaboration between state education agency leadership and local professionalism.

Delaware

Thank you for the opportunity to review and respond to the excerpted pages about Delaware from the forthcoming Albert Shanker institute study, *Educating Democracy: State Standards to Ensure a Civic Core*. While we respect your evaluation of the Delaware Social Studies Curriculum Framework (1995) and the updated K-5, 6-8, 9-12 Social Studies Standards, End of Cluster Benchmarks, and Performance Indicators (2001) we do have some concerns that I would like to share with you about the review.

We do not think the documents should be separated and evaluated individually as they were in the Summary statement. They should be viewed as a whole. If this approach is taken, then our Standards, End of Grade Cluster Benchmarks, and Performance Indicators clearly meet Criterion #3 and #4 as indicated by your statements.

We also question your appraisal of our updated standards and benchmarks as "...vague and general as the originals..." In fact, the standards and benchmarks were not changed as a result of the review/revision we completed in 2001, but the Performance Indicators were changed significantly. The Standards are the overarching concepts we want students to know in civics, economics, geography, and history. The End of Cluster Benchmarks are the knowledge and skills we want students to demonstrate at the end of each designated grade cluster and the Performance Indicators are the content pathways to the standards. The updated Performance Indicators provide teachers with examples of content that can be used to help students achieve the End of Cluster Benchmarks. If these documents are evaluated as a whole then we believe we also meet Criterion #1.

You suggested that our Performance Indicators provide specificity for the four disciplines in the social studies standards, but fail Criterion # 2 because they are unteachable in the school time available. Yet later in the report you state, "From Performance Indicators, teachers

could find a common core of learning for citizenship, but only a) if they have local authority to choose and b) state tests are aligned with indicators, and offer a choice of questions." Does his statement indicate that we get partial credit for Criterion #2? The school districts in Delaware do have the local authority to choose which indicators they will use to develop curriculum or include in a specific course.

We are somewhat confused by your statements in the Particulars section of the report concerning the relationship between the state test and the indicators. Is this document a review of our Social Studies Standards or the Delaware Student Testing Program? None of the criteria refer to testing, yet several of the evaluative statements are based on the implied relationship between the standards and the state test.

In summary, we feel that the Delaware Social Studies Standards, End of Cluster Benchmarks, and Performance Indicators accurately reflect the complexity of a content area which incorporates four major social studies disciplines. The Standards provide a conceptual framework for the local districts to use when developing their curriculum guides. The End of Cluster Benchmarks identify what students should know and be able to do at the end of each grade cluster (K-3, 4-5, 6-8, and 9-12), and the Performance Indicators provide specific examples of the content teachers may use without mandating a state curriculum.

Again, thank you for the opportunity to review and respond to the study prior to its publication. I hope you will take our comments into consideration as you prepare the final report.

—Valerie A. Woodruff, Secretary of Education

Department of Defense Education Activity

At the Department of Defense Education Activity (DoDEA) we are always seeking ways to improve our instructional programs and are open to the benefits that accrue from objective, constructive criticism. We welcome the critical eye and expertise of serious scholars, and, we regularly invite the media to visit our schools and present their impressions of how successfully we are addressing the instructional needs of our students to the public. (e.g. 60 Minutes, CNN, The Wall Street Journal.) Given our consistent openness to observation and professional dialogue, we were quite disappointed in the superficial approach to assessing our curricular standards in Social Studies produced by Professor Gagnon for the Albert Shanker Institute.

We take serious exception to the findings of this report, based exclusively upon a Draft Standards document from the year 2000, which does not reflect our curricular standards as applied, or our comprehensive instructional approach to the teaching of that critical content area. We regret that, rather than initiating scholarly dialogue, or setting the groundwork for a peer review, the author chose to write rather than research. Had he inquired, he would have found that in Social Studies, as in all other content areas, we have performance tasks, student

work samples and written commentaries at every grade level. They are not posted on our Web site, because our teachers and administrators are involved in the continual refinement and adjustment of these critical features of a standards-based curriculum

Our objective is to maintain a dynamic approach to instruction that identifies those standards and tasks that truly assist a student's conceptual development and ability to apply knowledge. And, as stimulating an exercise as it might be, we are not interested in a political litmus test that evaluates teaching standards on their use of specific words, structures or items. We are only interested in standards that make the teaching and learning process more meaningful and successful for students. While the author may not respond positively to our approach, our students definitely do. On both the NAEP and the CTB TerraNova standardized tests, our students at all grade levels have scored above the national average in every subject area (including Social Studies) since DoDEA adopted a standards-based methodthat is highly responsive to students' needs and draws upon the expertise of our very talented teachers

Standards, as prescriptively written as they may be, have value only within a comprehensive system that includes regular collaborative work, materials and assessment review and adoption, continual professional development in content knowledge and best practices, and program monitoring. We regret that we were not given the opportunity to demonstrate to the author that a successful standards-based curriculum, or even the standards themselves, cannot be validly or reliably judged on paper.

—Yvonne L. Bolling, Chief, Social Studies/Policy Branch

District of Columbia

Requested Responses to "Educating Democracy: State Standards to Ensure a Civic Core"

I have shared your summary of the District of Columbia (DCPS) history/civics/social studies standards with Mrs. Roceal N. Duke, our social studies content specialist. I am using her written response in large part as the DCPS response to the Shanker Institute's summary.

The DCPS social studies, history and geography standards and benchmarks were developed through a grant in 1996. The seven strands were selected and designed in order to prepare well-informed and analytical readers of history who are intelligent judges of ideas, events and institutions past and present. The writer-researchers of the DCPS standards consulted the latest research on effective history and social sciences instruction. They examined the documents of other state, federal and independent projects on content standards. In our view, therefore, the DCPS standards document identifies the most vital aspects of United States and World history, and of the related social sciences, to be offered to all D.C. Public School students.

The DCPS social studies standards document has the same format as all of the other subject area standards documents. The design of these three columns—*performance standards, essential skills and technology integration*—was agreed upon by all of the content specialists and the Chief Academic Officer at the beginning of the standards revisions in 1998, and we intend to retain this design in our continued use and dissemination of the standards.

The D.C. Standards for Teaching and Learning have been under continuous review and revision since 1998. Additions and deletions have been made to all of the standards, including the social studies standards document, since they were first published. Writer-researchers have added unit plans, lesson plans, rubrics, performance descriptors and pacing charts that have made the standards documents more user friendly. Additional work on curriculum pacing charts is underway this month (December 2002) in order to strengthen and reorganize the content area. Performance standards and essential skills are also being reviewed for revision.

The D.C. Board of Education has mandated that all students complete 3½ Carnegie Units in social studies in order to graduate. These courses include 9th-grade D.C. History and Government and World Geography (½ Carnegie Unit each), 10th-grade World History (1 Carnegie Unit), 11th-grade American History (1900 to the present) (1 Carnegie Unit), 12th-grade American Government (½ Carnegie Unit). Additionally, Eastern and Western hemisphere geography are required in grades 6 and 7, respectively, in order to provide students instruction to strengthen their knowledge of the world and world events, past and present. These classes include the history, culture and resources of the continents and countries of the world and their physical and human likenesses and differences. Map skills are also emphasized in these classes. These classes have been designed to build a bridge from one subject to the other.

DCPS views its standards documents as drafts that will be subject to continued revision and improvement during the coming years. At the same time, we believe we are not significantly out of line with the quality and content of social studies standards to be found in other states. For example, in the National Alliance for Civic Education-Civic Requirements and Guidelines Report it is stated that *"Nearly every state and the District of Columbia have also instituted standards that in some way incorporate civics content. Twenty-three states and the District of Columbia present their civics standards as explicit standards within their social studies standards and three states (Arkansas, Colorado and Vermont) have separate civics standards. Another 18 states integrate civics topics into their social studies or other subject standards."* In addition, DCPS has been awarded a 3-year grant from the Department of Education—Teaching American History Grant—for 2002 ($997,959.00). We were one of 114 school districts in the United States to receive this grant to provide professional development to teachers through a partnership with The American University. *This grant was written using the current DCPS Social Studies Standards for Teaching and Learning.*

The Office of Academic Services of the District of Columbia Public Schools appreciates the opportunity to provide a response to the Shanker Institute's summary. The comments and suggestions for improving our social studies standards document will be taken into consideration as we continue to make revisions.

If you have further questions or need clarification to any of the points in this response, please contact either Roceal N. Duke at roceal.duke@k12.dc.us (e-mail) or 202/442-5646 (phone) or Nevin Brown at nevin.brown@k12.dc.us (e-mail) or 202/442-5148.

—Nevin Brown, Administrative Officer, Office of Academic Services

Georgia

Thank you for the opportunity to provide feedback to the Albert Shanker Institute for their study, *Educating Democracy: State Standards to Ensure a Civic Core*. Two documents are attached, one responding to the Report on Georgia, and the other an overview of our current curriculum revision process that began in the spring of 2002.

—Robynn Holland, Social Studies Program Specialist

Thank you for the information concerning, *Educating Democracy: State Standards to Ensure a Civic Core*. We are currently in the process of revising the social studies standards for Georgia. This work began in the spring and summer of 2002. Three important factors provided the impetus for revising not only the social studies standards, but also the standards for mathematics, science, and language arts. These factors were:

- In September of 2000, the State Board of Education called for an independent audit of the QCC. This audit was conducted in September of 2001 by a team from Phi Delta Kappa;
- In the February of 2002, the Education Coordinating Council cited the need to improve student performance in the area of mathematics; and,
- In January of 2001, the No Child Left Behind Act was passed.

A detailed description of the *Georgia Curriculum Revision Plan* is attached so you will have an understanding of our current work.

In the area of social studies, many of the conclusions drawn by the Albert Shanker Institute were stated in the 2001 Phi Delta Kappa curriculum audit. Members of the social studies curriculum revision committee, after careful research, also drew several of the same conclusions.

A few comments and questions concerning statements made on the page for Georgia:

- In the summary, you state "these pages" partly satisfy Criterion #1. Could you please clarify which pages you are referencing?
- If this report is for secondary schools, why then are Grades 4 and 5 mentioned in the report?
- The social studies educators on the revision committee concurred with the PDK audit that the standards for social studies were generally not clear or specific.
- I think everyone agreed with the PDK audit, from the revision committee to the classroom teachers, that the social studies standards are "too many or too broad"
- 3 units of social studies credit are required for graduation in Georgia. These units are 1 unit of U. S. History, 1 Unit of either World History or World Geography, ½ unit of Economics, and ½ unit of United States Government/Civics.
- All items for the standardized tests in Georgia must be linked to the QCC.
- The social studies curriculum revision committee also found that many of the standards for

social studies were vague, repetitive, and no guidance was given as to how these standards could be taught during the school year.

- Concerns have been cited by classroom teachers and the social studies curriculum revision committee as to the limited amount of history content currently included for grades 6 and 7.

- In the last sentence of the last paragraph on the Georgia page, it is suggested that veteran subject matter teachers and scholars should be asked to revise World history and Western civilization offerings, and change the U. S. history sequence to avoid the one-year high school survey. The scope and sequence of social studies courses are in fact being revised by veteran subject matter teachers and scholars, not only for World history but, for all content areas in social studies.

I appreciate your research and interest in this timely subject. I would be very interested in specific suggestions or insights you might have as to how to improve the social studies curriculum. Although the revision committee has completed much research, another voice is always appreciated.

Georgia's Content Standards

Georgia educators are developing broad-based content standards that will guide what students should know and be able to do from pre-kindergarten through the second year of post secondary studies in language arts, mathematics, science, and social studies. Subsequent to the development of the broad-based content standards, Georgia's Quality Core Curriculum (QCC) standards in language arts, mathematics, science, and social studies will be revised. The following paragraphs explain the history of the QCC, the factors that have precipitated its revision, and the plan and timeline for its revision.

Development and Previous Revisions

In 1985, the passage of the Quality Basic Education Act (QBE) in Georgia mandated the creation of a state curriculum guide, the Quality Core Curriculum, as well as the establishment of 76 student competencies. In 1995, the establishment of a state School Improvement Panel brought about a wholesale revision of the QCC, which was completed in 1997 and implemented in 1998. The decision was made at that point to align future revisions of the QCC to precede the textbook adoption process for each specific content area. A six-year cycle was established to accomplish this rotation. Since 1997, both mathematics and science QCC standards have been revised. Mathematics QCC standards were revised during the summer of 1999, January of 2000, and July of 2000. The State Board approved these changes in December of 2000. Science QCC standards were revised during the summers of 1999 and 2000. However, the revisions in science QCC standards have not been presented to the State Board of Education for approval.

Recent Factors Impacting the QCC

Three important factors provided the impetus for revising Georgia's Quality Core Curriculum.

- In September of 2000, the State Board of Education called for an independent audit of the QCC. That audit was conducted in September of 2001 by a team from Phi Delta Kappa. The audit report, received by the State Board in December of 2001, indicated several areas

in which the QCC could be made stronger and become more effective in guiding instruction for teachers in Georgia. Among other findings, the audit cited lack of rigor and clarity in QCC standards. Further it reported gaps and redundancies in the standards in some content areas. The Curriculum Division of the State Department of Education developed a plan for the revision of the QCC based on two phases of development. The first phase involved research and data analysis; the second phase involved revision of grade level and course curriculum standards. This plan was presented to the State Board in March of 2002.

- In the February of 2002, the Education Coordinating Council cited the need to improve student performance in the area of mathematics. The Board of Regents agreed to lead such an initiative, and began work on a National Science Foundation grant application (PRISM) focusing on both mathematics and science instruction that included revision of the QCC in these content areas. The PRISM grant called for two phases of standards revision. The first phase involved the development of broad-based content standards at intermittent grade levels; the second phase focused on the revision of specific grade level and course curriculum standards.

- In January of 2001, the No Child Left Behind Act was passed. This legislation called for challenging academic content standards that would be applied to all children in the state. These standards were to:
  - Specify what children are expected to know and be able to do;
  - Contain coherent and rigorous content; and
  - Encourage the teaching of advanced skills.

This P-14 standards development and curriculum revision process involves the Department of Education, Board of Regents, Department of Technical and Adult Education, Office of School Readiness, and Professional Standards Commission. In June of 2002, the State Board contracted with the Professional Standards Commission for the services of Dr. Pam Adamson to coordinate the efforts of these state agencies to revise Georgia's QCC. Dr. Judy Monsaas from the Board of Regents is working with Dr. Adamson to make this a seamless P-14 process.

The Revision Process

A Curriculum Revision Leadership Team, comprised of representatives of the State Board of Education, the Department of Education, the Board of Regents, the Department of Technical and Adult Education, the Office of School Readiness, the Georgia Public Policy Foundation, the Southern Regional Education Board, the Georgia Association of Curriculum and Instructional Supervision, the Office of Planning and Budget, and local school systems, guides the revision process.

Phase I of the curriculum revision process, which will occur during the fall of 2002, will focus on three tasks:

1. The development of broad-based content standards for levels K, 3, 5, 8, 12, and 14. These content standards will provide the framework for specific grade level and course content standards development. This is the *Who Do We Want to Be?* step in the process.

2. The analysis of data regarding the strengths and weaknesses of the QCC (K-12). The data will include, but are not limited to, student performance data, including Criterion

Referenced Competency Tests, Georgia High School Graduation Tests, End-of-Course Tests (pilot data), National Assessment of Educational Progress, Scholastic Assessment Test, etc.; national reports on state curricula such as the Fordham Foundation, the American Federation of Teachers, *Education Week*, etc.; curriculum standards from other states that have demonstrated high performance or been recognized for strong standards; national content standards; and the curriculum audit. This is the *Who Are We?* step in the process.

3. The development of a blueprint for the revision of specific content standards for each grade level and course in language arts, mathematics, science, and social studies (P-12). This is the *How Do We Get There?* step in the process. This step will include a discussion of high school course offerings in each of the content areas.

Over 70 curriculum experts from Georgia school districts, Regional Educational Service Agencies, University System of Georgia schools, Department of Technical and Adult Education schools, and the Office of School Readiness will work on the first phase of curriculum revision. They will represent 30 school districts, three technical colleges, eight University System of Georgia schools, and five Regional Education Service Agencies.

Phase II of the curriculum revision process, which will occur during the summer of 2003, will focus on revising specific content standards for all grades and all courses from pre-kindergarten through the twelfth grade. Phase II work will be accomplished through the combined efforts of Georgia teachers and curriculum experts. The standards will be written to incorporate the following:

- Clear and understandable language that will be teacher-friendly and effectively guide instruction;
- Advanced skills and higher level thinking;
- Horizontal alignment to maximize learning opportunities, and
- Vertical alignment to eliminate gaps and redundancies.

Throughout the process, the progress of the committees will be shared across Georgia. Regular updates on the curriculum revision process will be available online at this site.

Input will be sought from all of Georgia's educators and community members. When the State Board has approved the revised QCC, additional teaching resources will be developed, and state mandated student assessments will be adjusted to reflect the changes. Fall of 2004 is the projected date of implementation of the revisions.

Timeline	
Phase I	Fall 2002
Phase II	Summer 2003
Professional Development	2003-2004 School Year 2004-2005 School Year
Resource Development	Fall 2003
Implementation	2004-2005 School Year

Idaho

Thank you for the opportunity to review your forthcoming study, *Educating; Democracy: State Standards to Ensure a Civic Core* with particular attention to the pages referencing the Idaho Achievement Standards.

In clarification, the study views the Idaho Achievement Standards for Social Studies through three lenses: the Standards, the suggested K-12 social studies scope and sequence, and a reference to the Department's courses-of-study.

As a service to Idaho's 114 school districts, the Idaho Department of Education drew upon the expertise of current social studies practitioners to draft 10 integrated guides and/or courses-of-study corresponding to the suggested social studies courses for grades 4-12. Each guide/course-of-study demonstrates the possible integration through suggested activities and resources that support instruction defined by the Standards. The courses showcase a framework from which curriculum and instruction can be developed. Additionally, the courses have added specificity to the content knowledge and skills.

Though Idaho Code specifies the graduation requirements of two (2) credits in U.S. History, two (2) credits in American Government and one (1) credit in Economics, Idaho Code also specifies that:

> "The standards set forth in Sections 250 through 954, inclusive, are state achievement standards that shall be the minimum standards used by every school district in the state in order to establish a level of academic achievement necessary to graduate from Idaho's public schools. Each school district may set standards more rigorous than these state achievement standards but no district shall use any standards less rigorous than those set forth in these Thoroughness rules. The implementation time and effective date for these Achievement Standards rules is the graduating senior class of 2005."

Consequently, as outlined in the "suggested" scope and sequence, districts are adding a requirement for World History so that all students will receive instruction according to the Standards for the History of Human Civilization and the Humanities Standards for World History.

The course, World History [Humanities], includes four specific instructional blocks:

1. Origins: 3000 B.C.-500 A.D.
2. Developing Societies: 400-1500
3. Conflict and Change: 1400-1917
4. Relationship: Post-World War I to Present

Within each instructional block, learning objectives and suggested activities are specified to add further definition to the content knowledge and skills identified.

The study references that "Grades 6 and 7 Geography and Cultures course lifts are wholly empty of specifics." This statement does not indicate what was reviewed in the study the Standards or the instructional guides. We have to assume that the reference is to the Idaho Achievement Standards for Social Studies: Middle School Geography since the guides were not posted online until November 26, 2002. Identified as Grade 6: Geography and Cultures Western Hemisphere and Grade 7: Geography and Cultures Eastern Hemisphere, the guides specify events, ideas, countries and regions.

Once more, thank you for the opportunity the preview the study.

—Dr. Dan Prinzing, Coordinator, Social Studies and Curricular Materials

Illinois

I am responding to your request for assistance regarding the study, *Educating Democracy: State Standards to Ensure a Civic Core*. It is unfortunate that Paul Gagnon has missed a substantial body of evidence that reinforces the Illinois Learning Standards.

Please look at the Performance Descriptors and Classroom Assessments that are available on our web-site at www.isbe.net. They can be found in the blue box in the middle of the home page. These descriptors are written to show the growth of knowledge, skills and reasoning throughout the K-12 grades. The descriptors are written for each standard and are set in 10 stages that could be used as grade-level or grade-cluster statements. These statements help educators to establish curriculum aligned to the standards and provide an avenue to teach to the standards at the classroom level.

The Illinois Learning Standards are actually established as a hierarchy of statements starting at the broader goal level and becoming more specific as they move through the benchmarks and performance descriptors. This helps to get into a middle ground between what your criteria describes as "an endless encyclopedia of specific topics and an array of vast headings, "themes" or "concepts." The Performance Descriptors were written by teams of teachers from all grade levels, university faculty, and members of organizations such as the National Geographic Alliance and the National Council of Economic Education. Please see the documents in the web-site that explain this in detail. They can be found with the Performance Descriptors.

The Illinois Learning Standards, Benchmarks and Performance Descriptors for social science have been rated 5th in the nation by the AFT in their last review. Our standards overall have been rated as 2nd in the nation by the same organization.

State-wide staff development has been established to help teachers in Illinois to implement the standards at the classroom level. The Standards Aligned Classroom initiative, for example, teaches a method of deconstructing the standards by using the descriptors to identify classroom level learning targets, which are teachable and assessable. Our data on this initiative has shown tremendous growth in the confidence of teachers to teach to the standards regardless of years of experience.

I hope the Shanker Institute will take the time to review the resources that have been developed to help teachers in Illinois teach to the Illinois Learning Standards.

—*Richard Carlson, Principal Education Consultant, Department of Standards-Aligned Learning*

Indiana

Thank you for the opportunity to respond to your findings in regard to Indiana's Academic Standards in Social Studies.

I am happy to see that the Shanker Institute recognizes the work and care that was put into the development of the Standards, which I believe are very good. The social studies consultant and teachers from schools across the state used their knowledge, experience, research, and expert assistance to produce the standards. I do agree with the assertion that two of the high school courses may suffer from the challenge of topic overload. This is especially true for the course World History and Civilization.

As we begin to develop the test specifications for the Core 40 end-of-course assessments for World History and Civilizations, the committee has indicated that the number of indicators and topics are too numerous to be handled easily in a two-semester course. I have heard similar concerns expressed about the U.S. Government course. We were advised by numerous independent entities, including the Fordham Foundation, the National Council for History Education, and the National Council on Economic Education, that all of the indicators were relevant to the courses, and should be included.

We expect that these courses could benefit from some refinement and paring down as suggested by the report. This is made especially true as we continue to develop the Core 40 end-of-course assessments and must develop a "test map" to the standards.

We do assert that the amount of material in the U.S. History sequence in Grades 5, 8, and 11 is appropriate. Many of the social studies professional organizations, like the Geography Educators Network and the Indiana Council for Economic Education, are providing inservice training to teachers demonstrating how to integrate content within the social studies, as well as across content areas. For these reasons, I disagree with the report's assertion that there is too much content in the K-8 Academic Standards for the Social Studies.

—Dr. Suellen Reed, Superintendent of Public Instruction

Kentucky

In Kentucky, we believe the experts on what students need to know and be able to do are the ones who are in our classrooms every day working with our students—the teachers. Kentucky educators from across the state were involved in the writing of Kentucky's social studies standards. The social studies program, primary through high school, includes essential content from five areas of social studies: government and civics, culture and society, economics, historical perspective, and geography. In addition to specifying social studies content, the bulleted items provide connections to Kentucky's Learning Goal 5 (Think and Solve Problems) and

Goal 6 (Connect and Integrate Knowledge). These connections provide a more comprehensive link between essential content and the skills and abilities important to learning.

At the primary level, the essential content descriptions for the five social studies areas are not course or grade-level descriptions. Rather, they describe a comprehensive and integrated social studies program to be completed during the primary school experience. Although the social studies program for the primary grades is divided into five areas, each area is designed to interact with the others in an integrated fashion Because of this integration, students develop broad concepts of social studies. This style of learning reflects the developmental nature of children.

The intermediate and middle school required content is devised so that districts/schools can arrange the content in a way that best meets their curricular needs. For example, the content may be provided in a chronological manner (e.g., United States history, colonization to modern times), in a thematic way (e.g., Kentucky studies through a geographic perspective), or another configuration the district/school may choose.

The high school social studies program is designed to provide an integrated and comprehensive course of study. Each discipline description contains connections to other areas of the social studies. Because of this design, students will experience the richness and complexity of the social studies. The essential content descriptions for the five social studies disciplines are not course descriptions. Rather, they are descriptions of the essential content to be found in each of the five specified areas of the social studies. Bulleted points denote the required content.

In addition, each content description includes connections to other social studies areas to create an integrated focus. Lists in parentheses (designated with an "e.g.") are suggestions for instruction and are not meant to be comprehensive.

Criterion #1: Standards

In Kentucky, we believe that students should be able to use what they learn in school to function at a high level in real world situations. The broad statements you refer to are all tied to our academic expectations that state clearly for teachers what students should know and be able to do in the real world when they leave our schools There is nothing implied in those expectations. Teachers, along with many other stakeholder groups, were represented in writing our standards. The people who work most directly with children in Kentucky classrooms have been the most influential in writing our standards.

Criterion #2: Time

The issue of time that you mentioned further makes the point for why our standards are written the way they are. Teachers teach big ideas and concepts and use supporting information that best helps students apply this information to their lives. The big ideas and concepts are common across the standards' documents such as democracy, justice, equity, etc. However, the illustrative examples a teacher uses in his or her classroom is driven by the needs of students. Therefore, the time that teachers spend on various concepts will be differentiated depending on the needs of their students. Schools in Kentucky make curriculum decisions through school based decision making councils. Teachers, parents, and administrators who serve on school councils preside over curriculum issues. Therefore, school councils may decide to look at alternative scheduling models in order to best meet the needs of the students of that school.

Criterion #3: Scope and Sequence
Experienced Kentucky teachers and university faculty developed the scope and sequence of the social studies standards. Developmental appropriateness was considered as the standards were developed. This review insinuates that participants were not carefully selected for the important task of writing these standards. That suggestion is definitely incorrect.

Criterion #4: Requirements
The Program of Studies outlines the content that all Kentucky students must be taught in order to graduate from a Kentucky school. All content is required for all students. According to Kentucky's Program of Studies for social studies, "Three credits in social studies are required for high school graduation. These credits must incorporate the five social studies disciplines of U.S. history, economics, government, world geography, and world civilization. Districts and schools can arrange the essential content within the three credit requirement to best meet their needs. A local board of education may substitute an integrated, applied, interdisciplinary, or higher level course for a required course if the alternative course provides rigorous content and addresses the same academic expectations." Therefore, study of the disciplines listed above is not optional at all, as stated in your review.

Criterion #5: Integration
Kentucky standards support exactly what you are referring to in this section of your report. You state that, "Vital ideas and topics of civics, economics, and geography (and humanities wherever possible) must be pulled into the historical narrative of people in real times and places." That is exactly what Kentucky's standards in social studies require. When history is viewed through a political, economic, geographic and cultural lens, context is established for students. In Kentucky, each strand is required to be taught in an integrated fashion at each grade level. Therefore, from the beginning of their school experience, Kentucky students develop an integrated perspective on the world and the issues confronting our world, not just a collection of unlinked and unrelated facts.

—Gene Wilhoit, Commissioner of Education

Louisiana

We have received your correspondence informing us of the Albert Shanker Institute study *Educating Democracy: State Standards to Ensure a Civic Core* that will be released in 2003. After having read through the criteria used in this study and the evaluation of the Louisiana Social Studies Content Standards, we would like to address some of the critical issues contained in the report.

The Louisiana Social Studies Content Standards document was developed in 1996 by a committee of experienced educators representing kindergarten through twelfth grade. These

educators were charged with developing content standards that would serve as a framework for the subsequent development of local curricula. The committee used national models, such as the revised National History Standards, as guides in the development process. The intent of the committee was that the strands identified in the state document would be integrated into the enacted social studies curricula at the district level.

To assist with the implementation of the content standards at the local level, the *Teachers' Guide to Statewide Assessment for Social Studies* was developed as a companion piece to the content standards document. This guide identifies the essential concepts, events, and historical figures that students need to know and comprehend in order to demonstrate mastery of the standards and benchmarks. The guide also includes 116 pages of sample assessment items that serve as models for teachers in developing standards-based instructional practices. Louisiana classroom teachers have cited the *Teachers' Guide to Statewide Assessment for Social Studies* as an excellent tool for implementation of the state social studies content standards.

Realizing that standards-based education is a dynamic process, the Louisiana Department of Education continues to explore and implement research-based initiatives that promote focused teaching and learning at the classroom level. A draft of grade-level expectations that identify key social studies concepts recommended at each grade-level from PreK through twelfth grade has been developed. This draft will be used as reference for the development of a final Social Studies Grade-Level Expectations document.

We appreciate the opportunity to respond to the evaluation of our Social Studies Content Standards and hope that our comments have clarified some of the issues. While we do not fully concur with the findings of your analysis, we recognize that this study is a worthwhile endeavor.

—Scott Norton, Ph.D., Director, Division Student Standards and Assessments

Massachusetts

The Massachusetts Department of Education received a request to review for accuracy your evaluation of our history and social science standards for the Institute's forthcoming publication, *Educating Democracy: State Standards to Ensure a Civic Core.*

The Commissioner and I are distressed to find that the wrong document—the 1997 document—was reviewed. Please do one of two things: either remove the evaluation of the 1997 document that is now being edited for the forthcoming study and replace it with the following information, or add this information to the evaluation:

"The Massachusetts Board of Education approved at its October 2002 meeting a complete revision of the Massachusetts History and Social Science Curriculum Framework. This document contains for each grade level, K-7, a single set of standards, concepts, and skills for history, civics/government, economics, and geography. It addresses the criticisms of the 1997 document that the Department received from history teachers and provides clear direction to

them on what will be covered on statewide assessments in grades 5 and 7. It also suggests a variety of curricular sequences for grades 8 to 12 that high schools may follow to address the July 2001 vote by the Board of Education requiring an end-of-course competency determination in United States history, from the founding period to the present, at the end of either grade 10 or 11. The Board-approved version of the new Massachusetts History and Social Science Curriculum Framework may be found on the Department's web site: http://www.doe.mass.edu/frameworks/updates.html."

We appreciate your taking care of this problem immediately so that readers of this valuable study can read the correct information about our framework.

—David P. Driscoll, Commissioner of Education

[NOTE: The final draft does indeed concern the 2002 framework. See page 75.]

Michigan

Your recent letter to Superintendent Watkins has been forwarded to our office for response. Michigan has done a lot of work since your last review. While it is true that the content standards and benchmarks for social studies have not changed, we have done considerable work to clarify them.

The first project, The Michigan History Themes Project, was undertaken in consultation with a group of historians currently living and working in Michigan. The purpose of the project was to identify a set of important historic themes that all teachers should be using in the teaching of history. Additionally, the project identified at each grade level where history is the focus, 33 examples of important people or events that we believed best exemplified the themes. These examples were given to our item writers and are the basis for testing in Michigan. The examples are available through a link from our web site at the Michigan Department of Education to the Michigan EPIC web site, our original contractor for the Michigan History Themes Project.

The Michigan History Themes project has as its important and fundamental goal the linking of important historical information in ways that in your own words require students to be "armed with knowledge that makes democracy comprehensible, especially the complexity of its debates and human consequences of its choices."

Michigan, like most states, leaves decisions about curriculum to local school districts. However there exists a very consistent de facto sequence of instruction for all social studies disciplines in Michigan. The strength and clarity of our Social Studies MEAP test at grades 5, 8 and 11 has identified the "essential content" for all social studies disciplines. School districts throughout the state have responded by implementing the appropriate coursework. It is because of this consistency that we were able to write grade level content expectations for each grade Kindergarten to grade 8. This document is also available on our Michigan Department of Education web site.

Another effort to assist Michigan teachers is the newly completed Grade Level Content Expectations for Social Studies. The grade level content expectations documents provide three pieces of information to teachers. The first is grade appropriate benchmarks to focus class-

room instruction at each grade. Each benchmark is age appropriate and consistent with Michigan's de facto social studies curriculum. Next teachers are provided with specific performance indicators we have defined as acceptable evidence of students' understanding. Finally the document provides assessment examples that incorporate skills and processes reflected in the inquiry benchmarks.

And finally, MI CLiMB (Clarifying Language in Michigan Benchmarks) has been produced and distributed to every teacher in Michigan. The MI CLiMB project has been lauded around the state as a much needed tool that explains the benchmarks in English language arts, science, social studies, mathematics, and the fine arts in three ways. First a restatement of the benchmark is provided with an explanation of all technical terms, secondly an example of a classroom activity is provided and finally teachers are provided with an appropriate classroom assessment. Glossaries are included as well as cross subject search capabilities.

We thank you for the opportunity to read your comments and respond. I hope the more recent work referenced here helps you in your efforts.

—Elizabeth C. Haller, Acting Supervision, Curriculum Leadership Unit

Missouri

Thank you for inviting the Department of Elementary and Secondary Education to review the text pertaining to Missouri in *Educating Democracy: State Standards to Ensure a Civic Core.* We appreciate the opportunity to respond to your evaluation of Missouri's standards for social studies.

I am enclosing our response with this letter. If you have questions or need further details, please contact Randy Rook, our Department's social studies consultant (573/751-3468; rrook@mail.dese.state.mo.us), or Bill Gerling, assistant director in the Department's assessment section (573/751-3545; bgerling@mail.dese.state.mo.us). We respectfully request that you publish our response in your report.

Thank you for your work on this important project.

—D. Kent King, Commissioner of Education

Missouri's Response

[Missouri's response to the Study on Education for Democracy is in **bold** print under the relevant sections. Please contact us for any further clarification.]

(*Sources:* Framework for Curriculum Development in Social Studies, K-12, 1996; *and* Content Specifications for Statewide Assessment by Standard: Social Studies Grades 4, 8, and 11, 1999, *Missouri Department of Elementary and Secondary Education.)*

Summary:

The second document "is designed to give social studies item writers and teachers direction with regard to what is 'fair game' for assessment in social studies." It supersedes the 1996 framework, which it says "offers constructive advice" on the purposes of social studies, on "guiding questions," skills, and activities. As the operative "standards" document, the second document partly meets Criterion #1 on clearly-stated, though general topics, from which teachers may draw a common core of learning for citizenship. But on Criterion #2, the large number of general topics under seven "standards" (Constitutional Democracy; American/World History; Governance Systems; Economic Concepts; Geography; Relationships of Individual and Groups to Institutions and Traditions; and Tools of Social Science Inquiry) overflow the bounds of time.

The teachers who developed the Content Specifications for Statewide Assessment by Standard: Social Studies Grades 4, 8, and 11 assumed that the items listed in the Grade 4 benchmark are not to be viewed as content standards or objectives for Grade 4, but as content standards for Grade K through Grade 4. Similarly, the Grade 8 and Grade 11 benchmarks are to be viewed as content standards for Grades 5 through 8 and Grades 9 through 11 respectively. The teachers felt the items listed were doable based on their local curricula.

On Criteria #3 and #4, it lists benchmarks in three columns, Grades 4, 8, and 11, dividing U.S. history between middle and high school at c. 1880 and world history at c. 1450. Statewide assessment implies that content is required of all students. Criterion #5 on integration is unmet.

Missouri does not have a tradition of state-determined curriculum. In fact, Missouri's Outstanding Schools Act of 1993 indicated that the Frameworks for Curriculum Development in Social Studies, K-12 should be developed to serve as a resource for school districts, not as a compulsory curriculum. The teachers who worked on both the Frameworks and the Content Specifications documents took the position that local school districts would build the standards into integrated units, most often in the field of history. Regional workshops were held that also proposed using the standards in integrated ways in locally-developed courses and units.

Only the civics standards have some links to the U.S. and world history eras being taught.

The teachers working on the Content Specifications believed that content in economics and geography could be addressed in history courses. Such content could be addressed nicely in units dealing with the Industrial Revolution and the New Deal, to give two such examples. Whether such links are actually made will depend, however, upon the resources of local Missouri educators in integrating the content in their local curricula, and the fact is that some districts have more resources in that area than do other districts.

Particulars:

Missouri deserves credit for admitting that its 253-page framework of 1996 is unteachable and untestable, very much overstuffed with abstractions, as in others shaped by the 1994 national Social Studies standards.

The Frameworks document was designed as a resource to help educators in local districts in developing their own units. The main aim of the publication was to help teachers engage students in social studies content in ways that would engage them intellectually. It was not intended to serve as the basis for testing. In fact, Missouri's Outstanding Schools Act of 1993 indicated that that document was to serve only as a resource for districts to use

in constructing their local curricula. It was not to be used for state testing purposes. We do not agree that the framework is unteachable and untestable if used as intended. This assumption may have been drawn from the sentence on page 2 of the Content Specifications which states: "Social Studies item writers and teachers also need to know what knowledge and skills should be expected of students for each of their benchmark levels to be assessed in social studies. The problem is that Missouri's Frameworks for Curriculum Development in Social Studies does not lend itself to such concise annotations, as was the case in communication arts, mathematics, and science." The frameworks should be used to help districts construct units that would incorporate locally developed performance-based activities and assessments. For example, consider the activities listed in the third column. Many of them could be used as performance activities and assessments, for which teachers would need to develop scoring rubrics to determine the quality of student work.

It is extremely complex, without priorities. Its "perspectives," "strands," "Guiding Questions," diagrams of goals and objectives, and sample learning activities may at times help teachers, but only after they choose essential content on which to apply them.

The Frameworks document was designed to help teachers develop their units after they chose the essential content. For example, if a teacher is teaching a unit on the Holocaust, the teacher could turn to page 13 in the publication, determine which cells of the matrix he or she wants to emphasize in the unit, and then turn to the pages in the frameworks pertinent to the cells. On those pages, the teacher would find guiding questions, skills, and activities to help the teacher in planning his or her unit. The committee of teachers who worked on the publication also assumed that the teachers would have to tailor the guiding questions, skills, and activities to the content of the specific unit. The book was designed to be used in such thoughtful planning, and as Dr. Gagnon notes, constructive use of the book would require the teacher to first determine what content he or she is teaching: namely, the unit topic.

Missouri's "fair game" is a good start but unevenly done. Each standard's topic list seems written by different authors not in touch with each other, relying too much on the national standards of each discipline, and ignoring the limited time and classroom conditions teachers must work under.

Actually, a single committee did the work at each benchmark level. The committees were organized by grade-level span, not by content. Thus, it was the same group of teachers who worked on "fair game" for all seven standards for each grade-level span.

As elsewhere, this is obvious in the economics and geography standards. The Grade 4 economics benchmarks are wholly unrealistic; the Grade 8 items resemble a typical senior elective in high school; and the Grade 11 items are pitched at college level.

The teachers working on the Content Specifications Committee did believe the content in the publication was at the proper grade level for Missouri students. Teachers were used as benchmark writers to validate what should be "fair game" for testing.

Geography follows suit. Its items take two full pages, more than any other standard, and impose academic concepts and vocabulary of national geography standards as early as K-4. Its detailed demands under Grades 8 and 11 are all but identical, the authors making no effort to help teachers and test writers decide when to teach or test what. Seasoned classroom teachers apparently had no influence on these two subjects.

It was, in fact, seasoned teachers who did make all such decisions, but strong seasoned

teachers have in the past set very high standards, which they felt were appropriate.

For standards #6 and #7, Relationships of the Individual and Groups to Institutions and Traditions, and Tools of Social Science Inquiry, the column headings for Grades 4, 8, and 11 make plain that the items listed are to be tested "within the context of assessment modules that deal with history, geography, government, and economics."

Missouri sets a good example with this statement. Items under standard #6 are indeed best taught by study of history, biography, the social sciences, and literature. And social studies skills are best honed when applied to specific subject matter content. The problem of selecting what is important, however, is only partly solved by the benchmarks/topics under the five other standards. The two civics standards, Constitutional Democracy and Governance Systems (largely comparative government), if taught in relation to U.S. and world history, may be conveyed in the school time available. The Grade 8 benchmarks for the former assume that students have a course in U.S. history heavy on the founding era. And the Grade 11 benchmarks ask for study of sources such as the Magna Carta, Mayflower Compact, Enlightenment ideas (Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Montesquieu), as well as the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, the Constitution, the Federalist papers, and the Bill of Rights. The English Revolution is left out of both the civics and history standards.

The U.S. and world history benchmarks remain general, covering the usual textbook chapters and sections. The next step, selecting specifics needed to teach benchmarks, could be taken without serious overloading of the U.S. history courses, presumably in Grades 8 and 11. Grade 8 has 22 benchmarks, averaging 7 days for each in a year of 160 instructional days. Grade 11 has 25 benchmarks (the first five reviewing the pre-1877 period), for an average of 6 teaching days each. With these numbers, teachers could choose some benchmarks to do in depth, and have time for others done more briefly. Grade 4's 11 benchmarks are reasonable; all could be done in age-appropriate ways.

By its nature, world history poses more problems. Grade 4's column has no benchmarks for it. The Grades 5-8 column has 26 major topics/benchmarks, more sweeping than those for U.S. history, from the river civilizations to c. 1450. These can be made more specific and teachable, but only if both Grades 6 and 7 are devoted to integrated history/geography studies, giving about half of the benchmarks to each. Vital topics need to be added here and could be, without overloading. Now there is no mention of world religions. "Greek civilization and Roman empire" are a single topic. The "origins of democracy" benchmark stands alone. The ideas and fate of Athenian democracy, the overthrow of the Roman Republic and the fall of Imperial Rome are left out. "Feudalism" is listed twice, in Japan and Europe, but with no word on its significance for limited, constitutional government.

High school world history, presumably a single year, cannot be taught from 1450 to the present in serious, engaging ways, especially as the Grade 11 benchmarks begin with a review of the ancient and medieval world. Benchmarks are general and vast. Teachers get less guidance than from a textbook's table of contents. This is the most serious flaw in the Missouri document, all but guaranteeing that teachers would never reach close to the present day. The obvious steps are to move the starting date to no earlier than 1750 and to add the essential specifics of political history American citizens need.

Many high-school world history courses begin with ancient civilizations and end with the present time. Admittedly, it is a bit of a stretch to give much depth to 7000 years of history in one year. Standard 2b only asks for coverage of the last 550 years and is fairly specific with the 10 topics. For example, Grade 11 2b.8 states "Total wars of the twentieth centu-

ry (i.e., World Wars I and II) causes, consequences, peace efforts, and other reactions of the United States and other powers in their wake." This is very similar to what Dr. Gagnon suggests himself in *Identifying Good Standards: Five Criteria* when he states: "In history, an essential (standard) may ask students to grasp the causes of World War II, with an eye to Axis aggression, to its leaders, and to the political, economic, and ideological forces bringing them to power, together with causes of Western passivity, the memories and conditions behind it." Dr. Gagnon is looking at causes, consequences, and reactions with his proposed standard. Ours is a bit more general, in that it pertains to both wars, but essentially aims at some of the same concepts.

In sum, Missouri has made progress since 1996, but much still needs to be slimmed and clarified.

Missouri is presently writing content expectations by grade level for the social studies standards and benchmarks. Local districts should be able to better incorporate the standards and benchmarks into their curriculum as the result.

Nebraska

Nebraska would like to offer the following response to the comments made by the Albert Shanker Institute on Nebraska standards in the upcoming publication *Educating Democracy: State Standards to Ensure a Civic Core.*

The standards reviewed for your document were adopted by our State Board of Education in June of 1998. Since that time Nebraska's standards have been reviewed and clarified by practicing classroom teachers and social studies curriculum specialists in March of 2001 with further work taking place in July of 2002. The number of standards has been reduced from 166 to 98. Items identified as "student demonstrations" in the original document have been designated as "example indicators" now serving as ideas for classroom teachers without mandating curriculum at the local level. Many of the original standards, particularly in 5-8 grade span, have been eliminated or changed to example indicators thus reducing the "overload of topics" and allowing for more in-depth coverage based on local curriculum decisions. Attention was also paid to standards that repeated themselves from grade span to grade span and those standards were either eliminated or expanded depending upon their relevance at the next level.

Nebraska's standards do not, nor will they, "recommend or imply a course order." Nebraska has a long-standing tradition of local control and our standards and assessment system, while unique to the rest of the country, will remain steadfast in that path. The grade spans of K-1, 2-4, 5-8, and 9-12 allow local school districts to determine when to teach specific content. And when and where content will be integrated. Nebraska had utilized State and Federal

resources to provide time and money for districts to carry on the essential conversations that must take place among professionals to make those decisions. It has been the most powerful professional development on the part of classroom teachers in Nebraska in recent history.

Nebraska does allow for local districts to develop their own standards and to submit them to the Nebraska State Department of Education for review to be approved as "equal to or more rigorous than" those adopted by the Nebraska State Board of Education. This process is not taken lightly. Each set of local standards undergoes a peer review by a panel of classroom teachers, curriculum development experts, and Nebraska Department of Education curriculum specialists prior to approval.

—Doug Christensen, Commissioner of Education, Nebraska Department of Education

New Jersey

Commissioner Librera asked me to respond to your recent request for assistance in reviewing the Albert Shanker Institute study of New Jersey's social studies standards. Thank you for giving us the opportunity to respond to this report. It is not clear whether Paul Gagnon's evaluation is a critique of the 1996 social studies standards or the current revised draft of the social studies standards. Dr. Gagnon references both documents, as well as the social studies framework. My sense is that he is commenting on the 1996 standards, but that should be clear in his review.

I believe that many of the issues that have been raised by Dr. Gagnon are addressed in our current revision of the social studies standards. These standards are clear statements of essential content, although we are still in the revision process and they will likely be clearer when finally adopted by the State Board of Education.

New Jersey also does not mandate an orderly sequence of courses in their standards because that would limit the local control of curriculum development and local interpretation of the state's standards. Our focus was to identify the essential content for world and U.S. history and to leave the sequencing of courses to local districts.

Dr. Gagnon also espouses relating civics, geography and economics to history. Making these interdisciplinary connections is a good idea and we will continue to work on this as we revise our 2002 edition of the standards. Our focus, however, was getting each discipline content correct. Is Dr. Gagnon saying that geography and economics can only be taught in relation to historical content? We believe that there is a need for the content of the disciplines of the social studies to be accurate and complete. Then, interdisciplinary connections can be made.

Thank you for giving us an opportunity to comment on these findings. Please contact me if you require further clarification.

—Jay Doolan, Director, Office of Academic and Career Standards

New Mexico

The New Mexico Department of Education was pleased to receive the correspondence from the Albert Shanker Institute dated November 27, 2002 and staff have reviewed our New Mexico report to be included in the Institute's study, *Educating Democracy: State Standards to Ensure a Civic Core.* We appreciate the opportunity to comment on the accuracy of the information and to provide the following comments to accompany the report. The Department found the information accurate and provides the following comments:

- The decisions related to addressing standards in comparative government, the political implications of major world religions, and ethical systems were driven by a need to focus on those essential elements that were most teachable within the constraints of school time and resources.
- While the 9-12 Performance Standards are not specified by grade level, all students, in order to meet graduation requirements, must have within their program of study: U.S. History/Geography, World History/Geography; Government; and Economics. In addition, the decision not to specify by grade level at 9-12 provides local districts with the flexibility to meet requirements with interesting and stimulating course options for students.
- The Department is setting priorities as we develop standards and technical assistance to implement a standards-based system. These comments support our priorities to address the need for professional development of teachers and the availability of supportive resources to ensure our students are able to achieve the standards we have in place.

We appreciate the opportunity to review and discuss these findings and are particularly impressed with the rigorous criteria used to identify good standards. If you have any other questions, please feel free to contact Steven A. Sánchez at (505) 827-3644 or via email at ssanchez@sde.state.nm.us, or Pat Concannon (505) 827-6525 or via email pconcannon@sde.state.nm.us.

—Michael J. Davis, State Superintendent of Public Instruiction

New York

After reviewing your criteria and summary, I offer the following additional information related to criterion #2. These two items respond to your concern about the number of topics included in the core curriculum guide.

When the State Education Department issued the sample tests for social studies grades 5, 7&8, 9&10, and 11, we included in the test sample booklets multiple choice test specification grids for each test. These grids provide classroom teachers with the range of multiple choice questions derived from the various units in the respective content outlines. These grids help teachers plan instruction based on the number of questions asked about any particular unit and the topics within that unit. Teachers can make decisions about instructional time based on the number of questions asked since they know that the multiple choice section of the test is weighted 50-55%. 2. The social studies core curriculum guide includes a list of themes and concepts that are used to develop thematic and document-based essay questions on State examinations for grades 7&8, 9&10 and 11. These essays comprise 45% of the high school State examinations. These themes and concepts help teachers plan instruction by providing a way to organize topics. For example, "political systems" and "movement of peoples" were used as organizing themes for essays on recent Global History and Geography Regents examinations. "Civic values" and "foreign policy" were tested as themes on recent United States History and Government Regents examinations.

I believe that this information should be included in your final report. I will fax copies of the Test Specification Grid as documentation for #1 above. If you have other questions or need additional information, please feel free to contact me.

Thank you for your continued interest in improving academic standards in history and the social sciences.

—*George Gregory*

North Carolina

Dr. Mike Ward, North Carolina's state superintendent has ask me to respond to the forthcoming Albert Shaker Institute study. See the comment below:

Response to *Educating Democracy: State Standards to Ensure A Civic Core* By Paul Gagnon for the Albert Shanker Institute

In reviewing Paul Gagnon's critique by of the North Carolina Social Studies Standard

Course of Study (SCOS) one will note that the basis for the evaluation and the basis for the development of the SCOS document are not congruent.

In the introduction to the "Identifying good standards: Five criteria" document, Gagnon states that "On reflection, then, it was probably a mistake for the standards movement to call for the adoption of 'standards' instead of 'essentials." He goes on to elaborate on the idea of essentials: "...it is something specific."

The North Carolina Social Studies Standard Course of Study is designed to provide a broad framework to guide instruction. The guidelines provide a required common core of concepts that students can achieve in a variety of ways. In addition, the strands included in the SCOS and mentioned in Gagnon's critique, provide a continuum through the K-12 sequence of courses. When displayed in a strands matrix with the goals and objectives, they clearly illustrate that no discipline in the social studies is totally distinct from any other discipline.

It is also important to note that, in North Carolina, local school systems have a certain amount of autonomy and hence responsibility for daily instructional materials to support the Social Studies Standard Course of Study. Support documents at the state and local levels provide the specifics to which Gagnon alludes.

In addition, the disconnect that is noted between the ninth grade Economic, Legal and Political Systems End-of-Course Test and the tenth grade Civics and Economics courses is an issue of transition. The tests for the new curriculum which is to go into effect on a transitional schedule have not yet been developed. The new SCOS involves not only a content change but also a sequence change. The transition plan that accompanies the SCOS recognizes the disconnect between content and testing and accommodates for it in the development and implementation of a new tenth grade end-of-course test that will replace the current ninth grade test.

—Dr. June S. Atkinson, Director, Instructional Services

Ohio

Thank you for the opportunity to react to Ohio's page in the draft study, *Educating Democracy: State Standards to Ensure a Civic Core.* The release of your report early in 2003 will come at a critical time in this state's efforts to implement standards-based education.

It is unfortunate that Dr. Gagnon based his conclusions on the two sources cited in the report. *Social Studies: Ohio's Model Competency-Based Program* is being replaced with academic content standards for social studies. These standards were approved by the State Board of Education on December 10, 2002. "Common Expectations for Ohio's High School Graduates: Social Studies" was a proposal that informed the development of the academic

content standards. It never served as a mandate to direct curriculum development or testing in Ohio's school districts.

It is our understanding that Dr. Gagnon has had an opportunity to review Ohio's draft academic standards for social studies and that he has made some favorable observations about them. Had the academic standards been the basis for his study, we believe Ohio would have been cited as meeting the criteria outlined in the report. The paragraphs below illustrate the differences between the documents reviewed and Ohio's new social studies standards with respect to the criteria used in the report.

[NOTE: The final review does concern the 2002 draft standards. See page 103.]

Criteria 1

The committee that drafted Ohio's academic content standards for social studies was instructed to make them clear and specific. The standards provide detailed directions as to the content and skills that should be addressed at every grade level. U.S. and world history, civics, geography, and economics are directly addressed in these standards.

Criteria 2

The amount of content in the standards is teachable. The writing team was directed to draft standards that students would be able to achieve within the time constraints at each grade level. The teachers on the writing team suggested revisions to the draft standards based upon reasonable time estimates. The number of grade-level indicators was reduced following public input in the fall of 2001 and the spring of 2002.

Criteria 3

While Ohio law does not require that local districts implement the standards exactly as they are written, the standards certainly "suggest an orderly sequence of courses that articulate essential content across the grades" as spelled out in the report's criteria. The writing team was composed of teachers from every grade level as well as representatives of higher education to help identify this articulation. Needless repetition is avoided, but content and skills learned in earlier grades serve as a foundation for later learning.

Criteria 4

Once again, while Ohio law does not require local districts to implement the course sequence exactly as written, the standards are one component of an educational system that fosters "equal educational opportunity". The social studies are a required component of school district curricula. Three units of social studies are required for graduation from high school. Ohio's testing program includes assessments for social studies in grades 3 - 8 and as part of the graduation tests. School districts must provide social studies instruction for all students.

Criteria 5

Ohio's standards incorporate "vital ideas and topics" of other social studies disciplines within a historical narrative. While the Ohio standards represent the different disciplines in the social studies, historical content is referenced in the other standards and geography, economics and government content is referenced in the history standard. (Note that the word "standard" replaces the word "strand" used in the reviewed documents to describe the organizing frame-

work of the document.) The standards help to organize the content of the document, but they do not limit the ability of educators to integrate them for meaningful instruction. Ohió will also be preparing a curriculum model that will contain examples of effective instruction to help teachers address these issues.

It would be best if a review of Ohio's newly adopted academic content standards for social studies could be the basis for Dr. Gagnon's report. If that is not possible, our response to be included in the summary for Ohio should note that new academic content standards for social studies have been adopted by the State Board of Education in December, 2002, and that the report is based on documents that do not serve as a basis for curriculum development in Ohio.

—Susan Tave Zelman, Superintendent of Public Instruction

Oregon

We received survey preview of the Oregon Social Science Standards that you have prepared for the Albert Shanker Institute. We would like to share some information that we hope you will consider as you finish your survey findings, or when you review Oregon standards in the future. We believe that there has been some misinterpretation of Oregon's curriculum and assessment programs and would like you to be aware of the state statutes, rules, and activities that govern and inform our work.

Oregon Social Science Standards in Oregon Law and Administrative Rules

ORS 329.025 (The public school system shall have the following characteristics:) (6) Provides for rigorous academic content standards and instruction in mathematics, science, history, geography, economics, civics and English. (7) Provides students an educational background to the end that they will function successfully in a constitutional republic, a participatory democracy and a multicultural nation and world.

ORS 329.045 Revision of Common Curriculum Goals including Essential Learning Skills and academic content standards instruction in academic content areas. (1) In order to achieve the goals contained in ORS 329.025 and ORS 329.035, the State Board of Education shall regularly and periodically review and revise its Common Curriculum Goals. This includes Essential Learning Skills and rigorous academic content standards in mathematics, science, history, geography, economics, civics, English and physical education. School districts and public charter schools shall maintain control over course content, format, materials, and teaching methods but shall ensure that students receive instruction in the academic content areas. The rigorous academic content standards shall reflect the knowledge and skills necessary for achieving Certificates of Mastery and diplomas pursuant to ORS 329.025 and as described in ORS 329.447. The regular review shall involve teachers and other educators, parents of students and other citizens and shall provide sample opportunity for public comment.

OAR 58-022-1130 Diploma Requirements Each district school board with jurisdiction over high school programs shall award diplomas to all students who fulfill all schools district requirements and all state requirements as described in the following sections and in district school board policies. A school district may award an alternative document to a student who has met some but not all of the graduation requirements: (1) Unit of Credit Requirements: (a) Each student shall earn a minimum of 22 units of credit to include at least...(D) Social Sciences 3—(including history, civics, geography and economics [including personal finance]);

OAR 58-022-1210 District Curriculum (1) Each school district shall provide a planned K-12 instructional program. (2) The planned K-12 instructional program shall include the following: (a) Common Curriculum Goals and academic content standards to include: . . . (D) Social Science (including history, geography, economics and civics);

Development of Oregon's Current Social Science Standards

In 1995, the Oregon State Legislature mandated creation of rigorous academic standards and assessments in the core areas of English, mathematics, science, and the social sciences (history, geography, civics and economics). HB 2991 (1995) stated that the assessment system was to include content assessments, performance assessments, and work samples. During the development of the standards and assessments, a number of issues surfaced and on May 20, 1999 the State Board of Education delayed the implementation of the CIM in the Social Sciences until the year 2003-2004 and issued a directive to create a Strategic Plan for the Social Sciences. The Strategic Plan Committee consisted of 15 members representing all parts of the state, grade levels, and school stakeholder groups. The committee identified issues and designed a process to facilitate future work. The State Board approved the Social Science Strategic Plan on April 20, 2000.

With the Strategic Plan in place, the standards review and revision process began. A benchmarking was facilitated by a national panel and the Council of Chief State School Officers. Forty-five Oregon educators, again representing all parts of the state and all grade levels, met to conduct a "match/gap analysis" of the Oregon standards to the NAEP Frameworks in U.S. History, Geography, and Civics, and the national standards in Economics and World History. The recommendations of these educators then went for review by the 35-member Social Science Content and Assessment Panel. These reviewed recommendations became the draft revised Social Science standards.

Using the ODE web site, feedback was collected electronically and review focus groups were held in Medford, Portland, Bend, Redmond, Pendleton, Vale, Beaverton, Hillsboro, Eugene, and Salem. Another opportunity for comment was added for Portland-Metro area teachers, facilitated by James Sager, then President of OEA, and included Stan Bunn, Superintendent of Public Instruction, and several other ODE deputy and associate superintendents. The final document, adopted by the Oregon State Board of Education in April 2001, reflects the specific written or spoken feedback of parents, other stakeholders, and over 500 individual Oregon teachers.

Response to Survey Evaluation Criteria

Criterion #1: Standards—that is, essential topics—must be *clear and specific*, not general or merely implied by broad headings. They must be rooted in the content of U.S. and World history, civics, geography, and economics that is most vital to the good sense of citizens. Only then do they form a common core of learning for all students, to meet the first Mr. Gagnon's

aim of standards-based reform: equal opportunity to learn. Writers must decide what is most important for citizens of all backgrounds to know and think about. And say it in clear English. This is step one, an "input" without which no useful "output" can occur.

Oregon Response: Evaluation of Oregon's Social Science standards was conducted using only the Standards framework document. Supporting documents, such as the Grade-Level Mapping, the Possible Organizing Structures, and other materials were not considered, even though they provide the specificity that Gagnon's criteria requires.

Criterion #2: The required topics must be teachable, in imaginative ways, within the limits of time teachers have, usually no more than 160 days each year, and in many districts as few as 40 minutes a day, of which the first and last five are often useless. Here, state standards fail in one of two ways. One is an endless encyclopedia of specific topics, unselected, without priorities. The other, arrays of vast headings, "themes" or "concepts," that are unteachable without a similarly endless list of (unmentioned) topics. Both reveal the writers' weakness with the subject at hand or their refusal to do the hard work of selection.

Oregon Response: Oregon agrees that the standards must be kept to a manageable set. When choosing a framework to evaluate the former Oregon standards during the benchmarking activity conducted by the Council of Chief State School Officers, it was decided to use the NAEP Frameworks in Geography, United States History, and Civics, and the national standards in Economics and World History, rather than use the McRel Social Science frameworks because of McRel's extreme length and specificity.

Criterion #3: The standards document must mandate or suggest an orderly sequence of courses that articulate essential content across the grades, to avoid needless repetition but also to make time for needed review of vital earlier learning. Such articulation can be done effectively only by carefully chosen and well prepared K-12 teachers of the subject and scholars wise in the ways of schools, working as equals across the K12 spectrum.

Oregon Response: State statute precludes Oregon from meeting this criterion. ORS 329.045 makes it clear that the Oregon Department of Education does not require particular courses for students. Course design and course content, format, materials, and teaching methods decisions are held by individual school districts. Oregon Department of Education will offer a Grade-Level Mapping (currently under public review) as one possible organization for district curriculum. This model was not considered during the survey evaluation.

Criterion #4: Courses on essential content must be required of all. If critical courses are treated as optional, the principle of equal educational opportunity is betrayed. It invites a retreat to our old habit of giving substance to the few and seat time to the rest, as though schooling for citizenship could be "separate but equal." It cruelly disarms those who are left without the knowledge they need to debate public issues on an equal footing with others.

Oregon Response: Again, ORS 329.045 makes it clear that particular courses cannot be required by the State of Oregon. Because Oregon does not have required courses, the standards cannot meet this criterion. However, all Oregon students are to receive the opportunity to meet the state's standards and benchmarks. This was not considered in the survey evaluation.

Criterion #5: Vital ideas and topics of civics, economics, and geography (and humanities wherever possible) must be pulled into the historical narrative of people in real times and places. Students must be armed with knowledge that makes democracy comprehensible, especially the complexity of its debates and human consequences of its choices. They need to probe the causes behind war, revolution, and oppression-and the necessary conditions for

peace, stability, and freedom-by grasping the forces that flow from the several spheres of human life and history: scientific, technological, economic, social, cultural, religious and philosophical, geographical, political. Unlinked facts are not enough. Standards often fail here, isolating subjects in "strands" as though the others did not exist. Civics, economics, and geography strands very often lack topics linked to historical events taught in the same grade. In many states, strand teams work apart, not consulting each other either to relate content or add up the time their topics would consume. Unrelated standards fail to bring to life the drama and dimensions of democracy's political debates.

Oregon Response: State statute requires that standards be written for history, geography, economics and civics. To meet this legislated requirement, Oregon Social Science Standards are written in separate strands. However, schools and districts are encouraged to integrate the strands as they develop their courses to give the topics context and more clear meaning for students. Since only the standards framework document was used in the analysis, this was not recognized in the survey results.

General responses to Gagnon's evaluation

1) All states are wrestling with the question of "what is most important to teach?" The answer to the question varies from state to state, district to district, and even teacher to teacher. Gagnon conducts the study using his own opinion, not that of the state in question. Oregon teachers chose not to repeat topics within the standards document, understanding that, for example, most teachers teach from a U.S.-centric point of view, it might be better to put some topics under World History, suggesting that the world implications should be included as well.

2) Gagnon wants states to require specific courses for students. In the past, Oregon required specific courses. Simply naming a course does not insure that students are more likely to study the "important" topics. For example, Oregon used to require that students take a course called "Global Studies." Some districts taught it as place geography, some as world history, and some as world cultures. The use of Oregon's standards requires that students study all three aspects. The content, not the course title, is specified.

3) The standards document was the only document considered in the study. The supporting documents, which include the Grade-level Mapping, the Possible Organizing

4) Structures, and other materials, were not considered, even though they provide the information Gagnon says is lacking.

5) Gagnon does not allow for integration of standards during instruction. History, economics, civics, and geography are addressed separately, and he seems to want ideas, events, and people mentioned repeatedly in each content area.

Specifically to Gagnon's critique:

1) The Social Sciences Content and Assessment Panel and other teacher groups continue to struggle with the question of how specific the standards should be written. Oregon teachers do not want a "laundry list" of names, dates, and places. Instead they want instruction to be aimed at broader concepts. Gagnon's descriptions of acceptable study of the Constitution and of Athenian democracy are much more specific than what Oregon teachers recommended.

2) Oregon includes too much content, according to Gagnon's evaluation on Criterion 2, yet his description of study on the Constitution includes much more specificity than the

Oregon document. Interdisciplinary connections are not recognized by Gagnon. He identifies certain topics (e.g. "the post-Civil War plight of African-Americans, industrial expansion, the Gilded Age, Populism, and imperialism") as missing, since they are not listed in U.S. History. He does not recognize them when they appear in the context of World History or Civics. He claims that "the writers seem uninterested in U.S. history." He wants topics listed only in the U.S. History context, when several (World War I and II, imperialism) also have a world context. He believes that "technological change" and "globalization" are also missing, but does not see that they are included within the Geography standards. Because the links to other disciplines are not specifically articulated in terms of History, Gagnon believes that there can be no integration of ideas.

3) Oregon's Social Science standards cannot meet his Criterion 3 or 4 because Oregon does not require particular courses of study.

4)The Oregon Social Sciences Standards, adopted by the Oregon State Board of Education in April 2001, reflects the specific written or spoken feedback of parents, other stakeholders, and **over 500** individual Oregon teachers. They address the needs identified during the benchmarking work conducted by the Council of Chief State School Officers in Portland in 2000. *Sadly, Mr. Gagnon finds this "difficult to believe."*

If there is other information that you need, please do not hesitate to let me know.

—Robert Siewert, Associate Superintendent, Office of Curriculum, Instruction and Field Services

Pennsylvania

(Source: Academic Standards for Civics and Government, Economics, Geography, and History [*four separate documents], Pennsylvania Department of Education, 2001)*

Summary:

"These do not meet Criteria #1 and #2 on specific history topics and the implied content of general headings would overflow teaching time. On Criterion #3, Pennsylvania has no grade-by-grade course sequence, but U.S. history to 1824 is in grade span 4-6, from 1787 to 1914 in 7-9, and 1890 to now in 10-12. World history is skimmed in 4-6, from origins to 1500 in 7-9, and 1450 to now in 10-12. On Criterion #4, Pennsylvania does not test in science or social studies, and the content here is too general to be turned into a common core of learning required of all. Except for the usual links teachers can make between civics and U.S. history, the four strands are not integrated."

Response:

Many school district personnel have asked for exactly the same information. "Tell us what you want us to teach" has been a frequent sentiment from curriculum developers and supervisors. A grade-by-grade scope and sequence would be far easier for them to manage. The

Pennsylvania State Board of Education and the Department of Education desired to continue the mantra of "local control" and as such standard development teams had to focus on grade levels, not standards for specific grades.

Criterion #1—The above rationale does not change the lack of clear and specific standards as stated, however; the approach is there for local districts to develop planned instruction based on the standards. This step has an enormous impact on what is taught and when. Previously, did all students at grade level 1-3, 4-6, 7-9 and 10-12 take history? The answer was no! Students in some Pennsylvania schools could graduate without ever having a high school history course. These "standards" will change that.

Criterion #2—is a biased opinion that is without merit. Teachers will find imaginative ways to teach the content. After all, History standard 8.1 sets the stage for developing skills as students and teachers tackle the content of 8.2, 8.3, and 8.4. If by criterion #2 the reviewer wishes to see pedagogy, it will not be found in these content standards. The topics cited are important, not critical, to remove the impression of rote memorization and are extremely teachable.

Criterion #3—The reviewer is absolutely correct in the statement, but does omit any reference to history, et. al., being taught at grade levels 1-3. A move to infuse content into the primary grades is much in keeping with the Bradley Commission Report when staffed by Dr. Gagnon.

Criterion #4—The reviewer is again quite right. Pennsylvania does not have a statewide test for social studies. The four strands are not integrated *because they are four separate strands.* Local schools will best determine how to link the standard categories. Perhaps Art and Humanities may be aligned with History and Environment Ecology with Geography. This is a task reserved for local education agencies, not a state entity.

Particulars:

"The history document is spoiled by an over-complex approach to content. In the columns under grade spans K-3, 4-6, 7-9, and 10-12, content is scattered (and only as examples) under 20 categories: Inhabitants; Political Leaders; Military Leaders; Cultural and Commercial Leaders; Innovators, Reformers; Documents, Writings, Oral Traditions; Artifacts, Architecture, Historic Places; Belief Systems and Religions; Commerce and Industry; Innovations; Politics; Transportation, Settlement Patterns and Expansion; Social Organization; Women's Movement; Domestic Instability; Ethnic and Race Relations; Immigration and Migration; Labor Relations; and Military Conflicts."

Response:

The reviewer needs to be more realistic. Pennsylvania does not have an over-complex approach to content. It is very manageable! There are four standard statements within Pennsylvania, United States and World History:

- Political and Cultural Contributions of Individuals and Groups
- Primary Documents, Material Artifacts and Historical Places
- How Continuity and Change have Influenced History
- Conflict and Cooperation Among social Groups and Organizations

It is true that each of those statements have additional descriptors that attempt to tell a more complete story. Although the reviewer may not view this as content, it is not scattered;

it is very consistent.

"Under each are three or four disparate examples, many not fitting the category or imprisoned in it (e.g., Washington is a Military Leader, not Political; Jane Addams is a Cultural/Commercial Leader, not Reformer, etc.). No example is mentioned twice, so the Declaration of Independence, U.S. Constitution and Bill of Rights are in span K-3 and nowhere thereafter, except in the Civics pages, which include basic documents back to Magna Carta as required topics, not examples. This odd approach eliminates narrative, multiple causes, and the dramatic interplay of forces, ideas, and people. Moreover, many history examples are chosen less for importance than to demonstrate inclusiveness."

Response:

The commendation that the examples demonstrate inclusiveness is appreciated.

One must agree that it is difficult to pigeonhole a person or event as an example. Of course this is overly simplistic, but designed to give examples, and they are only examples. Is the label military leader for George Washington incorrect? Three distinct examples of Washington serving as a military leader in Pennsylvania during three different decades can be easily cited.

Please make it clear that although mentioned as examples in the history standards, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution are required in various degrees at all levels throughout the Civics and Government Standards. If a school cannot ignore their existence why would the reviewer choose to ignore them?

"World history examples are far emptier than U.S. history's. At all levels, the Belief Systems and Religions category disappears into a single topic: "Analyze [or Identify or Evaluate] how continuity and change throughout history has impacted belief systems and religion, commerce, industry, innovations, settlement patterns, social organizations, transportation and roles of women before 1500 C.E. [or since1450]" in Africa, Asia, the Americas, Europe. No examples cite Greece, Rome, the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, English Revolution, Scientific Revolution, the Enlightenment, the French Revolution, 19th-century ideologies, nationalism, imperialism, Fascism, Nazism, or the Cold War."

Response:

There is no argument that the examples do not cite the litany described; however, it must be stated that schools may choose any or all of these. After all, did they not take place in Africa, Asia, the Americas, or Europe?

To fulfill the introduction's promise to "give students throughout Pennsylvania a common cultural literacy," not to speak of civic/political literacy, the history standards would have to be completely revised in both form and content.

Response:

The goal to meet a common cultural literacy was not met by the history standards. However as stated earlier, Pennsylvania is now closer to that goal than it had been. Using the four standard statement to analyze a historic event will do a far better job of meeting the "new history" as stated by Dr. Gagnon. Pennsylvania's schools may elect to become a history-based program or perhaps some will choose to become a geography-based program. It remains, through the wishes of the State Board of Education, a local decision. The Pennsylvania History Standards provide a guide from which a curriculum will be developed.

The criteria used to review the Pennsylvania standards would be very helpful to schools when developing scope and sequences. The schools have the flexibility to study and implement them if they choose. The criteria do not coincide with the directions to the standard development teams provided by the Pennsylvania State Board of Education.

Note:
The standard documents involved in the approval process are dated July 18, 2002, therefore, minor changes and corrections could differ from the 2001 citation used for the review.
—Dr. James J. Wetzler, Social Studies Education Advisor II, Pennsylvania Department of Education

South Carolina

A writing team composed of college and university professors and K-12 teachers developed the South Carolina Social Studies Curriculum Standards. These educators worked to combine national standards written in the four disciplines into a coherent program for the students of South Carolina. After the work of this group of educators, two national panels reviewed the South Carolina Social Studies Curriculum Standards and recommended revisions. The State Board of Education and the Education Oversight Committee adopted these standards in March of 2000.

As with any document, revisions are necessary, and the Education Accountability Act provided for this revision. In 2004 the South Carolina Social Studies Curriculum Standards will undergo a review and revision to ascertain if they are meeting the needs of our state. We appreciate the review of the Albert Shanker Institute of our state's social studies standards, as it will provide additional constructive criticism for our revision team.

With any document created in a democratic society, such as ours, compromise is an essential key. South Carolina has eighty-five school districts, strong professional organizations in social studies, and many varied political views that united to create the South Carolina Social Studies Curriculum Standards. We feel that our state social studies standards have many excellent points that meet the needs of the districts and students in our state. Again, let me thank you for your report and this chance to respond. I look forward to receiving a finished copy of *Educating Democracy: State Standards to Ensure a Civic Core.*

—James A. Bryan, Education Associate/Social Studies, Office of Curriculum and Standards

South Dakota

Greetings from South Dakota. Thank you for your recent letter and for the pre-publication copy of our upcoming report. We appreciate the opportunity to review it.

The comment we want to share with you is this: The South Dakota Board of education has scheduled a full review/revision of the South Dakota Social Studies Content Standards in 2005.

Again thank you for contacting us.

—Karon L. Schaack, Deputy Secretary, Department of Education and Cultural Affairs

Utah

Superintendent Laing has asked that I respond to the report issued on Utah's secondary social studies core curriculum.

The Institute's concern for the preparation of an informed citizenry is shared by the social studies educators in Utah. So much so, that an additional course was added to the secondary social studies core when it was revised. This required course is entitled "US Government and Citizenship" and is recommended for high school seniors. Information about this course and the rest of the revised secondary core can be found at:
http://www.usoe.k12.ut.us/curr/soc.st/secondary/government.html.

In addition to this new course, all standards and objectives were revised to ensure greater specificity and to answer concerns about too many standards and too much fragmentation. The core revision process includes social studies teachers, social scientists, and university faculty members. It begins with a comprehensive look at other states' standards and current research. It is a lengthy process that is informed by public hearings.

If you have additional questions or concerns, please let me know.

—Vicky L. Dahn, Ph.D., Director of Curriculum and Educational Technoloigy

Washington

On behalf of Dr. Terry Bergeson, I am responding to your recent letter, dated November 22, regarding the inclusion of an evaluation of Washington State's Essential Academic Learning Requirements into your forthcoming study, *Educating Democracy: State Standards to Ensure a Civic Core.*

I appreciate having an opportunity to respond to your evaluation of our state standards, especially given that you have based your evaluation on partial information. It is unfortunate that after your "consultation with each state's Department of Education," you were provided with only the essential academic learning requirements (EALRs) for Washington. The EALRs were purposely developed as broad organizers for the work to follow. Frameworks have since been developed in History, Civics, Economics, and Geography, with the specific purpose of further defining the learning and, therefore, guiding teacher decision making in the development of units and lessons. Furthermore, our long range plan for social studies is to develop grade level content expectations linked to assessment items, sample lessons, instructional resources and professional development opportunities. This work will further support teachers in designing or presenting their course.

The first paragraph of your summary makes reference to Washington's state-wide testing. "Yet Washington is planning statewide testing of social studies, linked to high school graduation, by 2006." The statement is erroneous on two counts. First, statewide testing in social studies is planned for 2008. Second, it is not linked to high school graduation. At this time, we are developing a variety of classroom-based assessments and scoring guides to assist teachers in using classroom based assessment to inform instruction.

Finally, we do believe in the importance of an external examination of our state standards. It is our intention that the Washington State Essential Academic Learning Requirements in history and social studies will be reviewed by an organization that will compare our standards to nationally recognized research documents and exemplary state standards by a team of experts. At that time, the evaluators will have the opportunity to review the documents which provide the complete picture of our Essential Academic Learning Requirements.

—Debbi Hardy, Curriculum Director

Wisconsin

I am responding to your email from Karen Kneeland directed to Superintendent Burmaster. All comments may be published in the final report.

Inaccurate statements made in Paul Gagnon's text of *Educating Democracy: State Standards to Ensure a Civic Core*:

1. The Wisconsin Student Assessment System now uses an off-the-shelf test that has been enhanced with customized items that test Wisconsin's Model Academic Standards for Social Studies to a greater extent.

2. Wisconsin does not test social studies at Grade 11, only in Grades 4, 8, and 10.

3. The High School Graduation Test, 2000, a list of eligible and ineligible assessment items for assessment, is no longer in use since there is no state high school graduation assessment at this time.Wisconsin has always expected all of Wisconsin's Model Academic Standards for Social Studies to be taught.

Gagnon's report uses "one size fits all" criteria based on a philosophy that leads to a national core curriculum for democracy education. No allowance is made for states like Wisconsin that promote development of an educated citizenry through local control.

The summary statement that "Wisconsin's Model Academic Standards for Social Studies do not meet any of the five criteria for the political education of citizens" is not true for the following reasons:

Criterion #1
Wisconsin's Model Academic Standards for Social Studies are very specific. The most important understandings have already been selected and agreed upon by a large number of people. The kind of "clear" standards indicated in criterion #1 would be lists without a suggestion of how to put together deeper understandings.

Criterion #2
Wisconsin's Model Academic Standards for Social Studies do not list themes or concepts, but the Guide to Curriculum Planning in Social Studies, 2000, a separate document published by the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction does help teachers identify the concepts that are inherent in the standards. (A copy of this guide was sent directly to Paul Gagnon's home on 12/4/02 and a CD ROM of the guide to the Albert Shanker Institute.)

Criterion #3
In Wisconsin, a local control state, school districts bring the social studies teachers together who will be teaching the curriculum and who can bring knowledge to elaborate the scope and sequence. The standards document is not considered the place to suggest an orderly sequence of courses; this is done at the school district level and in other state documents.

Criterion #4
Although Wisconsin is a local control state, high school students are required to take 3 credits of social studies. Most districts require all students to take history and civics by course name. With the advent of standards, high schools now must ensure that all students develop knowl-

edge and skills in all of the strands of social studies including geography, history, economics, political science and citizenship, and the behavioral sciences.

Criterion #5

Wisconsin's Model Academic Standards for Social Studies pull vital ideas and topics together better than do most state standards. The performance standards push teachers and students to link together facts and ideas and build connections between disciplines and from grade level to grade level.

Additional Comments

Wisconsin's Model Academic Performance Standards for Social Studies assume that students graduating from our high schools must be able to do more than "know" what was and is; they must be able to analyze past and future peoples, ideas, and events. The Wisconsin people who designed and approved Wisconsin's Model Academic Standards for Social Studies were extremely concerned that the teachers using these standards would not see them as a series of ideas, events, places, people, or institutions, or as "input" lists. To achieve this, the performance standards are written so that teachers may construct lessons to develop deep understandings and habits of mind and heart that students need to apply to the world in which they live.

The examples, cited by Gagnon, to negatively illustrate the broad topics in our standards were the same examples chosen by the Wisconsin writers as excellent examples of student outputs. It is difficult to produce student "outputs" using lists of events, ideas, institutions, turning-points, and leaders.

History Standard B.12.14. is an example of a performance standard that leads to a student output: "Identify a historical or contemporary event in which a person was forced to take an ethical position, such as a decision to go to war, the impeachment of a president, or a presidential pardon, and explain the issues involved." In Wisconsin, teachers might take every one of the suggested situations during the course of a semester or year of study and at the end of the course assess whether students could identify such a historic event or contemporary event and explain the issues involved. That is teaching human stories that people can remember and hopefully apply the rest of their lives!

—Jack Kean, Assistant State Superintendent, Division for Academic Excellence, Department of Public Instruction

Appendix D
Education for Democracy: A Statement of Principles

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- Will democracy survive through the ages if we do not purposefully transmit to successive generations the values that underlie it?
- We believe the answer is no. We believe that our children must learn-and we must teach them—the knowledge, values, and habits that will best protect and extend our precious inheritance.
- To help schools and teachers strengthen their teaching of democratic values, the American Federation of Teachers, the Educational Excellence Network and Freedom House have jointly launched The Education for Democracy Project and prepared this Statement of principles.
- We hope that the perspective outlined here will be a useful guide to educators. We hope that the public support for these ideas—reflected in the diversity of the Statement's signatories—will strengthen schools' resolve to consciously impart to students the ideals and values on which our free society rests.

*Signatories to the Statement of Principles**

List in formation.

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Education for Democracy

As the bicentennial for our Constitution approaches, we call for a special effort to raise the level of education for democratic citizenship. Given the complexities of our own society, of the rest of the world, and of the choices we confront, the need is self—evident and improvement is long past due.

As the years pass, we become an increasingly diverse people, drawn from many racial, national, linguistic, and religious origins. Our cultural heritage as Americans is as diverse as we are, with multiple sources of vitality and pride. But our political heritage is one—the vision of a common life in liberty, justice, and equality as expressed in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution two centuries ago.

To protect that vision, Thomas Jefferson prescribed a general education not just for the few but for all citizens, "to enable every man to judge for himself what will secure or endanger his freedom." A generation later, Alexis de Tocqueville reminded us that our first duty was to "educate democracy." He believed that all politics were but the playing out of the "notions and sentiments dominant in people." These, he said, are the "real causes of all the rest." Ideas—good and bad—have their consequences in every sphere of a nation's life.

We cite de Tocqueville's appeal with a sense of urgency, for we fear that many young Americans are growing up without the education needed to develop a solid commitment to those "notions and sentiments" essential to a democratic form of government. Although all the institutions that shape our private and public lives—family, church, school, government, media—share the responsibility for encouraging democratic values in our children, our focus here is on the nation's schools and their teaching of the social studies and humanities.

In singling out the schools, we do not suggest that there was ever a golden age of education for citizenship, somehow lost in recent years. It is reported that in 1943—that patriotic era—fewer than half of surveyed college freshmen could name four points in the Bill of Rights. Our purpose here is not to argue over the past, but only to ask that everyone with a role in schooling now join to work for decisive improvement.

Our call for schools to purposely impart to their students the learning necessary for an informed, reasoned allegiance to the ideals of a free society rests on three convictions:

First, that democracy is the worthiest form of human governance ever conceived.

Second, that we cannot take its survival or its spread—or its perfection in practice—for granted. Indeed, we believe that the great central drama of modern history has been and continues to be the struggle to establish, preserve, and extend democracy—at home and abroad. We know that very much still needs doing to achieve justice and civility in our own society. Abroad, we note that, according to the Freedom House survey of political rights and civil liberties, only one-third of the world's people live under conditions that can be described as free.

Third, we are convinced that democracy's survival depends upon our transmitting to each new generation the political vision of liberty and equality that unites us as Americans—and a deep loyalty to the political institutions our founders put together to fulfill that vision. As Jack Beatty reminded us in a *New Republic* article one Fourth of July, ours is patriotism "not of blood and soil but of values, and those values are liberal and humane."[i]

Such values are neither revealed truths nor natural habits. There is no evidence that we are born with them. Devotion to human dignity and freedom, to equal rights, to social and economic justice, to the rule of law, to civility and truth, to tolerance of diversity, to mutual assistance, to personal and civic responsibility, to self-restraint and self-respect—all these must be taught and learned and practiced. They cannot be taken for granted or regarded as merely one set of options against which any other may be accepted as equally worthy.

Why We Are Concerned

Are the ideas and institutions—and above all the worth—of democracy adequately conveyed in American schools? Do our graduates come out of school possessing the mature political judgment Jefferson hoped for, an ability to decide for themselves "what will secure or endanger" their freedom? Do they know of democracy's short and troubled tenure in human history? Do they comprehend its vulnerabilities? Do they recognize and accept their responsibility for preserving and extending their political inheritance?

No systematic study exists to answer these questions. We lack adequate information on students' knowledge, beliefs, and enthusiasms. There has been little examination of school textbooks and supplementary materials, of state and district requirements in history and social sciences, or of what takes place in everyday school practice. A study of how high school history and government textbooks convey the principles of democracy is underway, and we hope that several other studies will be launched soon.

Meanwhile, the evidence we do have—although fragmentary and often anecdotal—is not encouraging. We know, for instance, of the significant decline over several decades in the amount of time devoted to historical studies in American schools, even in the college preparatory track; today, fewer than twenty states require students to take more than a year of history in order to graduate. We know that, as a result, many students are unaware of prominent people and seminal ideas and events that have shaped our past and created our present. A recent study shows that a majority of high school seniors do not know what the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision was about.[ii] Nor could majorities identify Winston Churchill or Joseph Stalin. Without knowledge of our own struggle for civil rights, how much can students understand of democracy's needs at home—what it has taken and will still take to extend it? And what can they know of democracy's capacity to respond to problems and to reform? In ignorance of the Second World War and its aftermath, how much can they grasp of the cost and necessity of defending democracy in the world? Having never debated and discussed how the world came to be as it is, the democratic citizen will not know what is worth defending, what should be changed, and which imposed orthodoxies must be resisted.

We are concerned also that among some educators (as among some in the country at large), there appears a certain lack of confidence in our own liberal, democratic values, an unwillingness to draw normative distinctions between them and the ideas of non-democratic regimes. Any number of popular curriculum materials deprecate the open preference for liberal democratic values as "ethnocentric." One widely distributed teaching guide on human rights accords equal significance to freedom of speech, the right to vote, and the guarantee of due process on the one hand, with the "right" to take vacations on the other.[iii]

In the rush to present all cultures in a positive light, the unpleasant realities of some regimes are ignored, as when this guide talks of the high value accorded the right to strike by governments in Eastern Europe (a notion that would surely be disputed by the supporters of

Solidarnosc). Or as when another guide—financed by the U.S. Department of Education—lauds the Cuban government's commitment to women's rights, noting with approval that men who refuse to share equally in household responsibilities can be penalized with "re-education or assignment to farm work."[iv]

This insistence upon maintaining neutrality among competing values, this tendency to present political systems as not better or worse but only different, is illustrated by this test question designed by the National Assessment of Educational Progress and administered in the 1981-82 school year to students aged nine, thirteen, and seventeen:

> Maria and Ming are friends. Ming's parents were born in China and have lived in the United States for twenty years. "People have no freedom in China," Maria insists. "There is only one party in the election and the newspapers are run by the government."
>
> "People in China do have freedom," Ming insists. "No one goes hungry. Everyone has an opportunity to work and medical care is free. Can there be greater freedom than that?"
>
> What is the best conclusion to draw from this debate?
>
> A. Ming does not understand the meaning of freedom.
>
> B. Maria and Ming differ in their opinions of the meaning of freedom.
>
> C. There is freedom in the U. S. but not in China.
>
> D. People have greater freedom in China than in the U.S.

According to NAEP, choice B—" Maria and Ming differ in their opinions of the meaning of freedom"— is correct. The test's framers explained in a 1983 report summarizing the survey's findings that students choosing answer B "correctly indicated that the concept of freedom can mean different things to different people in different circumstances." And, of course, in the most narrow, literal sense, B is correct.

Around the world, people and governments do apply different meanings to the word "freedom." Some states that deny freedom of religion, speech, and conscience nonetheless define themselves as free. But we need not accept their Orwellian self-definitions as if words had no meaning. Were we to use Ming's definition of freedom—a job, medical care, and ample food—many of history's slaves and today's prisoners would have to be called "free"! To offer such a definition, and to leave it at that, without elaboration—as NAEP has done—is grossly to mislead students about history, about politics, and above all, about human rights. In fact, the "rights" to food and work and medical care, when separated from the rights to free speech, a free press, and free elections, are not rights at all. They are rewards from the government that are easily bestowed and just as easily betrayed.

We are rightly accustomed to honest scrutiny of our own faults, and so it is all the more inexplicable when educational materials sidestep or whitewash violations of human rights and pervasive injustice in other lands. Students need an honest, rigorous education that allows them to penetrate Orwellian rhetoric and accurately compare the claims and realities of our own society and those of others. Such a goal is compromised when the drawing of normative distinctions and values is frowned upon as a failure of objectivity, on the premise that all values are arbitrary, arising from personal taste or conditioning, without cognitive or rational bases. They are not to be ranked or ordered, the argument runs, only "clarified"; so the teacher must strive to be "value-free." But such a formulation confuses objectivity with neutrality. It is hardly necessary to be neutral in regard to freedom over bondage, or the rule of law over the rule of the mob, or fair wages over exploitation, in order to describe objectively the differences

among them, or among their human consequences.

What of Nazi values and their consequences? To grasp the human condition in the twentieth century objectively, we need to understand the problems of German society that pushed so many to join the Nazis and to acquiesce in their crimes. But to "understand" is not to forgive, or to trivialize, those crimes. Or to teach, in Richard Hunt's phrase, "no-fault, guilt-free history" where nobody is to blame for anything and fixing responsibility is disallowed.

Finally, no discussion of the discomfort that some feel in teaching children to cherish democracy can fail to mention that some may be indifferent, or even alienated from American democracy, out of disillusion over its failings in practice. The postwar confidence in the American way of life was undermined by the political upheavals of the 1960s and early 1970s. First, America had its long-overdue reckoning with the historic national shame of racial discrimination. Then the country found itself mired in the Vietnam War, and was further shocked and disheartened by assassinations and the events of Watergate. As we struggled to confront our failings and correct our flaws, legitimate self-criticism turned at times into an industry of blame. The United States and its democratic allies were often presented as though we alone had failed, and as though our faults invalidated the very ideals that taught us how to recognize failure when we met it.

While the realities of our own society are daily evident, many students remain ignorant of other, quite different, worlds. How can they be expected to value or defend freedom unless they have a clear grasp of the alternatives against which to measure it? The systematic presentation of reality abroad must be an integral part of the curriculum. What are the political systems in competition wit h our own, and what is life like for the people who live under them? If students know only half the world, they will not know nearly enough. We cannot afford what one young writer recalled as a "gaping hole" in his prestigious, private high school's curriculum.[v] He and his classmates, he says, were "wonderfully instructed in America's problems ..."

> but we were at the same time being educated in splendid isolation from the notion that democratic societies had committed enemies; we learned next to nothing of the sorts of alternatives to bourgeois liberalism that the twentieth century had to offer ... [We] learned nothing of what it meant to be a small farmer in Stalin's Russia or Ho Chi Minh's Vietnam. That it had been part of Communist policy to "liquidate as a class" the "kulaks" was something we had never heard spoken of. It was perfectly possible to graduate from the Academy with high honors and be altogether incapable of writing three factual paragraphs on the history of any Communist regime (or for that matter of any totalitarian regime whether of the Right or Left)."

What the Citizen Needs To Know

What was, and is, lacking is a fullness of knowledge, an objective and balanced picture of world realities, historical and contemporary. We do not ask for propaganda, for crash courses in the right attitudes, or for knee-jerk patriotic drill. We do not want to capsulize democracy's argument into slogans, or pious texts, or bright debaters' points. The history and nature and needs of democracy are much too serious and subtle for that.

Education for democracy is not indoctrination, which is the deliberate exclusion or distortion of studies in order to induce belief by irrational means. We do not propose to exclude the honest study of the doctrines and systems of others. Or to censor history—our own or others'—as closed societies do, or to hide our flaws or explain them away. We do not need a bodyguard of lies. We can afford to present ourselves in the totality of our acts. And we can afford to tell the truth about others, even when it favors them, and complicates that which

indoctrination would keep simple and comforting.

And then we leave it to our students to apply their knowledge, values, and experiences to the world they must create. We do not propose a "right" position on, say, American involvement in the Vietnam War; or on the type of nuclear weapons, if any, we should have; or on what our policy in Central America should be; or on whether the E. R. A. should be passed or hiring quotas supported. Good democrats can and do differ on these matters. On these and a host of other policy issues, there is no one "truth." Our task is more limited, and yet in its way much greater: to teach our children to cherish freedom and to accept responsibility for preserving and extending it, confident that they will find their own best ways of doing so, on the basis of free, uncoerced thoughts.

The kind of critical thinking we wish to encourage must rest on a solid base of factual knowledge. In this regard, we reject educational theory that considers any kind of curricular content to be as good as any other, claiming that all students need to know is "how to learn," that no particular body of knowledge is more worth noting than any other, that in an age of rapid change, all knowledge necessarily becomes "obsolete." We insist, on the contrary, that the central ideas, events, people, and works that have shaped our world, for good and ill, are not at all obsolete. Instead, the quicker the pace of change, the more critical it will be for us to remember them and understand them well. We insist that absent this knowledge, citizens remain helpless to make the wise judgments hoped for by Jefferson.

First, citizens must know the fundamental ideas central to the political vision of the eighteenth-century founders—the vision that holds us together as one people of many diverse origins and cultures. Not only the words—never only the words—but the sources, the meanings, and the implications of the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Federalist Papers, the Bill of Rights,

To go deeper than the words, and truly to understand the ideas, students must know where and how they arose, in whose minds, stirred by what other ideas. What historical circumstances were hospitable, and encouraged people to think such things? What circumstances were hostile? What were the prevailing assumptions about human nature? About the relationship between God and themselves? About the origins of human society and the meaning and direction of human history? To understand our ideas requires a knowledge of the whole sweep of Western civilization, from the ancient Jews and Christians—whose ethical beliefs gave rise to democratic thought—to the Greeks and Romans, through the Middle Ages, the Renaissance and the Reformation, the English Revolution—so important to America—the eighteenth century Enlightenment, and the French Revolution, a violent cousin to our own. Such a curriculum is indispensable. Without it, our principles of government—and the debates over them ever since—are not fully comprehensible. They are mere words, floating in air without source, life, drama, or meaning.

Second, citizens must know how democratic ideas have been turned into institutions and practices—the history of the origins and growth and adventures of democratic societies on earth, past and present. How have these societies fared? Who has defended them and why? Who has sought their undoing and why? What conditions—economic, social, cultural, religious, military—have helped to shape democratic practice? What conditions have made it difficult—sometimes even impossible—for such societies to take root? Again, it is indispensable to know the facts of modern history, dating back at least to the English Revolution, and forward to our own century's total wars; to the failure of the nascent liberal regimes of Russia, Italy, Germany, Spain, and Japan; to the totalitarianism, oppressions, and mass exterminations

of our time. How has it all happened?

Third, citizens in our society need to understand the current condition of the world and how it got that way, and to be prepared to act upon the challenges to democracy in our own day. What are the roots of our present dangers and of the choices before us? For intelligent citizenship, we need a thorough grasp of the daily workings of our own society, as well as the societies of our friends, of our adversaries, and of the Third World, where so many live amid poverty and violence, with little freedom and little hope.

This is no small order. It requires systematic study of American government and society; of comparative ideologies and political, economic, and social systems; of the religious beliefs that have shaped our values and our cultures and those that have shaped others; and of physical and human geography. How can we avoid making all of this into nothing more than just another, and perhaps longer, parade of facts, smothering the desire to learn? Apart from needed changes in materials and methods, in the structure of curricula and. of the school day itself, we believe that one answer is to focus upon the fateful drama of the historical struggle for democracy. The fate of real men and women, here and abroad, who have worked to bring to life the ideas we began with deserves our whole attention and that of our students. It is a suspenseful, often tragic, drama that continues today, often amid poverty and social turmoil; advocates of democracy remain, as before, prey to extremists of Left and Right well-armed with force and simple answers. The ongoing, worldwide struggle for a free center of "broad, sunlit uplands," in Churchill's phrase, is the best hope of the earth, and we would make it the heart of a reordered curriculum for history and social studies.

History and the Humanities As the Core of Democratic Education

We regard the study of history as the chief subject in education for democracy, much as Jefferson and other founders of the United States did two centuries ago. In revamping the social studies curriculum, we should start with the obvious: History is not the enemy of the social sciences, but is instead their indispensable source of nourishment, order, and perspective. We aim at nothing less than helping the student to comprehend what is important, not merely to memorize fact and formula. But it is clearly impossible to reach genuine comprehension of economic, political, social, and cultural questions without examining them in their historic context. To pull "case studies" and "concepts" out of historical narrative, as so many social studies programs do, not only confuses students but is likely to distort the truth of the human condition.

Of all the subjects in the curriculum, history alone affords the perspective that students need to compare themselves realistically with others—in the past and elsewhere on earth—and to think critically, to look behind assertions and appearances, to ask for the "whole story," to judge meaning and value for themselves. History is also the integrative subject, upon which the coherence and usefulness of other subjects depend, especially the social sciences but also much of literature and the arts. Taught in historical context, the formulations and insights of the social sciences take on life, blood, drama, and significance. And, in turn, their organizing concepts and questions can help rescue history from the dry recital of dates and acts so many students have rightly complained about.

We are pleased that several major reform proposals agree on the centrality of history.[vi] Theodore Sizer, in Horace's Compromise, makes the joint study of history and ideas one of

the four required areas of learning throughout the secondary years. The Paideia Proposal puts narrative history and geography at the center of the social studies curriculum, during every grade beyond the elementary. Ernest Boyer's Carnegie Report, *High School*, asks for a year of the history of Western Civilization, a year of American history, another of American government and a term's study of nonwestern society. The Council for Basic Education sets an "irreducible minimum" of two years of American history, one year of European, and the study of at least one non-Western society in depth. The state of California now calls for at least two years of high school history.

We also ask for wider reading and study in the humanities. For we are concerned, again, with values, with every citizen's capacity for judging the moral worth of things. In this, courses in "values clarification" do not get us very far. They either feign neutrality or descend to preachiness. Values and moral integrity are better discovered by students in their reading of history, of literature, of philosophy, and of biography. Values are not "taught," they are encountered, in school and life.

The humanities in our schools must not be limited, as they so often are now, to a few brief samples of Good Things, but should embrace as much as possible of the whole range of the best that has been thought and said and created, from the ancient to the most recent. Otherwise, students have little chance to confront the many varied attempts to answer the great questions of life—or even to be aware that such questions exist. The quest for worth and meaning is indispensable to the democratic citizen. The essence of democracy, its reason for being, is constant choice. We choose what the good life is, and how our society—including its schools—may order its priorities so that the good life is possible, according to what we ourselves value most. That is what de Tocqueville meant by the "notions and sentiments" of a people.

Education for democracy, then, must extend to education in moral issues, which our eighteenth century founders took very seriously indeed. This is hardly surprising. The basic ideas of liberty, equality, and justice, of civil, political, and economic rights and obligations are all assertions of right and wrong, of moral values. Such principles impel the citizen to make moral choices, repeatedly to decide between right and wrong or, just as often, between one right and another. The authors of the American testament had no trouble distinguishing moral education from religious instruction, and neither should we. The democratic state can take no part in deciding which, if any, church forms its citizens' consciences. But it is absurd to argue that the state, or its schools, cannot be concerned with citizens' ability to tell right from wrong, and to prefer one over the other in all matters that bear upon the common public life. This would be utterly to misunderstand the democratic vision, and the moral seriousness of the choices it demands of us.

Conclusions

In calling for a decisive improvement of education for democracy, we are well aware that this will require a sea-change in the typical curriculum. Specifically, we call for the following:

1. A more substantial, engaging, and demanding social studies curriculum for all of our children—one that helps students to comprehend what is important, not merely to memorize names, dates, and places. The required curriculum should include the history of the United States and of democratic civilization, the study of American government and world geography, and of at least one non-Western society in depth.

2. A reordering of the curriculum around a core of history and geography—with history providing the perspective for considered judgment and geography confronting students with the hard realities that shape so many political, economic, and social decisions. Around this core of history and geography, students should be introduced to the added perspectives offered by economics, psychology, sociology, anthropology, and political science.

3. More history, chronologically taught and taught in ways that capture the imagination of students. Historical biography, colorful historical narrative, and debate over the central ideas that have brought us here are all appealing to students. And we recommend that a central theme in the study of history be the dramatic struggles of people around the globe and across the centuries to win, preserve, and extend their freedom.

4. More attention to world studies, especially to the realistic and unsentimental study of other nations—both democratic and non-democratic. Comparative study of politics, ideology, economics, and culture, and especially the efforts of citizens to improve their lot through protest and reform, offers students a healthy perspective on our own problems and a needed window on problems elsewhere.

5. A broader, deeper learning in the humanities, particularly in literature, ideas, and biography, so that students may encounter and comprehend the values upon which democracy depends. Through such study, moral education—not religious education and not neutral values clarification—can be restored to high standing in our schools.

We understand that such a major reform of the curriculum will require more effective textbooks and auxiliary materials, aimed less at "coverage" than at comprehension of what is most worth learning. It will require continuing collaboration between faculty members from the schools and universities, where both work together as equals to clarify what is most worth teaching in their subjects and to devise ways to convey the material to diverse clienteles. And it requires new approaches to teacher education, both pre-service and in-service, to help teachers present the revamped and strengthened curriculum.

Our proposal asks for great intensity of teaching effort. Students will not reach genuine understanding of ideas, events, and institutions through rote learning from texts, classroom lecture, and recitation followed by short-answer quizzes. We ask for active learning on the part of students—ample time for class discussions, for coaching, for frequent seminars to explore ideas, and for regular writing assignments.

We know that teachers would like nothing better than to work in this way. We also know that they cannot be expected to do so when they are responsible for 150 or more students, coming at them in a kaleidoscopic, five-times-fifty minute daily lockstep, frequently requiring three or four different preparations. We thus ally ourselves with recent calls to dramatically restructure education. Over time, we must sharply alter the management, the schedules, and the staffing patterns of our schools to afford teachers more authority, wider latitude of methods and materials, more time to devote to the intellectual lives of fewer students, and more time to devote to their own intellectual growth.

We understand that the dramatic changes we call for—in curriculum and structure—will not come easily. We know also that these changes can be made, and must be.

As citizens of a democratic republic, we are part of the noblest political effort in history. Our children must learn, and we must teach them, the knowledge, values, and habits that will best protect and extend this precious inheritance. Today we ask our schools to make a greater contribution to that effort and we ask all Americans to help them do it.

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The Educational Excellence Network, headquartered at Teachers College, Columbia University, is a coalition of several hundred educators and scholars devoted to the improvement of American education.

Freedom House is a national organization that monitors political rights and civil liberties around the world and that has spent 40 years educating the public about the nature and needs of democracy and the threats to it.

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