

# EDUCATING FOR DEMOCRACY

CALIFORNIA CAMPAIGN FOR THE CIVIC MISSION OF SCHOOLS

## *The California Survey of Civic Education*



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# Educating for Democracy

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*Any opinions expressed herein do not necessarily reflect the views of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Annenberg Foundation, or the W. R. Hearst Foundation.*

*Cover Photo: Daniel Olewiler*

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# The California Survey of Civic Education

## Executive Summary

### Background

Many eligible voters do not vote and increasing numbers of Americans avoid political participation. Voluntary associations of civic life are in decline. Fewer people stay informed about critical political issues. Those between 18 and 25 vote at lower rates than any other age group. Polls show that the vast majority of young people distrust political institutions and processes. Studies find that most students lack a proficient understanding of civics, U.S. history, or our Constitution.<sup>1</sup>

Yet, civic education is no longer a priority in California's overburdened public schools. History and civics have all but disappeared in many elementary grades as educators concentrate on teaching reading and math. In high school, few students even have social studies in the ninth grade. Entrance requirements to the public university system call for only two years of history and government while requiring four years of English and three years of math.

In 2001, the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE) convened a distinguished panel to study the decline of civic education. The report of this study, titled *The Civic Mission of Schools*, identified six promising approaches that research shows can improve civic education. Every school should:

1. Provide high-quality, formal instruction in government, history, law, and democracy.
2. Incorporate discussion of current local, national, and international issues and events into the classroom.
3. Have students apply what they learn through community service linked to the curriculum and classroom instruction.
4. Offer extracurricular activities that involve students in their schools and communities.
5. Encourage student participation in school governance.
6. Encourage student participation in simulations of democratic processes and procedures.



### The California Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools

The California Campaign represents concerned individuals and organizations seeking to enlist support of government, education, business, law, veteran, labor, parent, and service groups to renew civic education in California. Convened by Constitutional Rights Foundation in collaboration with the Center for Civic Education (non-profit, non-partisan educational organizations) and the Alliance for Representative Democracy (a national partnership), the campaign currently represents over 110 organizations statewide. The Carnegie Corporation of New York; the Annenberg Foundation, Los Angeles Office; and the William Randolph Hearst Foundation fund the effort. The goals of the Campaign are to:

- Research the effect of current educational practices in California on young peoples' civic competencies.
- Work with 10 school districts statewide to assess and strengthen their current civic education programs.
- Build public support and promote policies to make effective civic education a greater priority in California public schools.

# The California Survey of Civic Education

The Campaign commissioned Professor Joseph Kahne of Mills College to construct and administer a survey to examine the civic knowledge, skills, and commitments of graduating high school seniors throughout the state and to assess the prevalence and impact of various educational practices as identified in *The Civic Mission of Schools* report. In 2005, the survey was conducted of 2,366 students who had completed a U.S. government course. Participating schools represented different geographic areas and were selected for a range of demographic and academic performance factors.

## Survey Findings

- Young people have a strong desire to help their communities as evidenced by their involvement as volunteers and their commitment to charity work.
- Young people express considerably less of a commitment to other forms of civic and political engagement that relate to the policies and practices of schools and government. Less than half (only 47 percent) of high school seniors agreed that, “Being actively involved in state and local issues is my responsibility.”
- Despite taking a course in U.S. government in their senior year, students’ knowledge of structures and functions of government and of current political issues is modest, at best. Students only averaged a little over 60 percent correct on the commonly used survey items designed to test civics content knowledge, a low “D” on common grading scales.
- The survey also indicates that there is much that schools can do. The school and classroom practices emphasized in *The Civic Mission of Schools* report and related strategies were associated with greater civic capacities and commitments.
- Yet, access to school-based opportunities to develop civic commitments and capacities are uneven. Those intending to go to four-year colleges have significantly more access to these opportunities than others.

## Recommendations

**All California schools should be encouraged to assess their current civic education practices and identify ways to strengthen them.** The survey demonstrates that the research-based promising approaches contained in *The Civic Mission of Schools* report are associated with desired civic outcomes. This recommendation corresponds with a concurrent resolution, ACR#30, approved by the California legislature and signed by the governor. Introduced by Assemblyman Kevin McCarthy, Republican Minority leader, the resolution “urges the State Board of Education and all local school governing bodies to examine current practice and develop plans to increase and broaden emphasis on principles and practices of democracy.” To assist governing bodies to carry out this task, the Campaign has prepared materials to be used by districts and school sites.

**A state-funded teacher professional development program for civic education should be developed and implemented.** The program should help teachers and schools throughout California incorporate the research-based promising approaches described in the Carnegie/CIRCLE report. The California Campaign is advocating the creation of such a program to strengthen instruction. This will be coupled with an incentive and recognition program for schools that excel in civic education.

**Further research should be conducted.** We need to better define the effects of various promising approaches on desired civic education outcomes, distinguish dispositions and effects as they relate to various groups in our diverse state, and provide educational leaders and policy makers with the ability to make evidence-based decisions regarding policy and practices. In addition, research should be conducted to determine teacher and administrator perspectives on these practices. The California Campaign is committed to continuing the research for at least one more year and will seek additional funding to support it into the future.

# The California Survey of Civic Education

## Democracy's Health at Risk

Since its founding over 200 years ago, the United States has been a model for democracy around the world. Its founders, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and others recognized that for democracy to endure, each generation of Americans must be educated about their constitutional heritage and the rights and duties of enlightened citizenship.

*The qualifications for self-government are not innate. They are the result of habit and long training.*

—Thomas Jefferson

to demonstrate even a basic level of understanding. In the NAEP for U.S. history, only 11 percent scored at the proficient or advanced levels.<sup>2</sup>

In a recent study conducted by the National Constitution Center, only 1.8 percent of students could identify James Madison as the father of our Constitution compared to the 58.3 percent who could name Bill Gates as the father of Microsoft.<sup>3</sup>

A recent national survey of secondary students conducted by CIRCLE found that 57 percent were disengaged from civic life and found that only 5 percent of entering college freshmen regularly followed public affairs.<sup>4</sup>

Unfortunately, as the civic knowledge and commitments of young people decline, so has the emphasis on civic education in America's schools. Although the federal *No Child Left Behind Act* mentions social studies as a core subject area, its current testing in reading and math has put pressure on school districts to give emphasis to these subjects often to the detriment of civics and history. Many states' "high stake" testing programs do not include or adequately emphasize civics, further exacerbating the problem.

In short, many of today's young people lack the basic knowledge and skills to effectively participate as citizens, and they often lack the dispositions to do so. Great international and domestic challenges face the United States today and in the future. Only with strong democratic institutions, wise leadership, and a thorough and intelligent debate on crucial issues can these challenges be met. All of them require the participation of an enlightened citizenry. Without this, the health of our democracy is truly at risk.

These realities have galvanized action around the country for a renewal of civic education in our nation's schools. The Alliance for Representative Democracy, a national partnership, has launched efforts in all 50 states. In 2003, the Carnegie Corporation of New York and CIRCLE issued *The Civic Mission of Schools* report describing the problem and identifying research-based promising practices that educators can employ to increase student civic knowledge, skills, and commitments to engagement. The Carnegie Corporation is funding efforts in 16 states, including California.

Throughout the history of our country's public education system, a primary mission has been the civic education of young people to prepare them to be informed, committed, and participatory citizens. In recent years, this central purpose has received increasingly less attention. Yet, the need for civic education is as great as ever.

On the most recent National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) in civics, only a quarter of high school students were judged to be proficient and only 4 percent scored at the advanced level. A third of the students failed



California offers a great proving ground for the future of American democracy. It faces enormous political, social, and economic challenges. Its diverse population offers a vast array of political and cultural viewpoints. Its governmental institutions are complex and feature wide-ranging opportunities for direct democracy.

Voting participation in California's democracy is often limited. While a higher than usual percentage of California's eligible voters cast ballots in the hotly contested 2004 presidential election, voting rates have hovered just above 50 percent in most recent presidential elections.<sup>5</sup> In the 2002 off-year election, only 36 percent of eligible voters voted.<sup>6</sup> Participation in local elections is often much lower. For example, in the highly contested 2005 mayoral election Los Angeles, only about 33 percent of the registered voters cast ballots,<sup>7</sup> and in the 2003 off-year city election, only about 10 percent of registered voters voted.<sup>8</sup>

Youthful voters are much less likely to vote than other adults. While 62 percent of all eligible California voters voted in the last presidential election, only 45 percent of those between 18 and 24 voted.<sup>9</sup> This is actually a marked increase from the 2000 election when only 37 percent of this age range voted.<sup>10</sup>

California is the most diverse and multicultural state in the United States. No single racial group composes a majority of the population.<sup>11</sup> More than 25 percent of the state's residents were born in another country, and California's diversity is likely to increase in the coming years. The reality of California's diversity today is predictive of the rest of the country's tomorrow. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, in 2000 11.1 percent of the U.S. population was foreign-born, up from 7.9 percent in 1990.<sup>12</sup>

A 2004 study by the Public Policy Institute of California found that while California citizens as a whole vote and engage in other civic activities at about the same rates as citizens in the rest of the country, various groups participate at very different rates. For example, white citizens in California vote, sign petitions, write to elected officials, attend rallies, participate in partisan political work, contribute money to political causes, and volunteer at significantly higher levels than other racial and ethnic groups. Only in attending local meetings do whites lag behind Latinos and African Americans.<sup>13</sup>

Low voter turnouts, especially among young voters, and differential levels of civic engagement in California are troubling especially since the state relies on its citizens to seriously engage in various forms of direct democracy. For example, from March 2000 to November 2005, California voters have been asked to make decisions on 80 state ballot propositions covering a range of important political, fiscal, and social issues.<sup>14</sup> In the year 2000 alone, local voters faced 559 ballot measures including 115 county, 297 city, and 146 community college and school district measures.<sup>15</sup>

California's diversity, its challenges, and its reliance on propositions, initiatives, and ballot measures make it a proving ground for democracy. To assure a strong democracy, Californians must actively participate as knowledgeable voters and engaged citizens at the national, state, and local level.

Just as we prepare California young people to be proficient in reading, writing, and mathematics, it is also crucial to prepare them to assume the role of knowledgeable, skilled, and engaged citizens throughout their lives.

The future of democracy in California depends on it.

In 2004, the California Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools was convened by Constitutional Rights Foundation in collaboration with the Center for Civic Education and a statewide coalition of non-profit educational, business, governmental, and civic groups. Funded by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Annenberg Foundation, and the W. R. Hearst Foundation, the goals of the campaign are to strengthen civic education throughout the state by working with schools, building public support, and conducting research to determine the effects of current educational practices.

To advance these goals, the campaign commissioned Professor Joseph Kahne of Mills College to construct the California Survey of Civic Education.<sup>16</sup> The survey assesses the prevalence and impact of civic education practices in California high schools on graduating seniors throughout the state.

The survey examines students' civic knowledge, skills, and commitments. It also identifies opportunities schools have provided to promote these outcomes and the impact of these opportunities. The study establishes a baseline for comparison with national findings and facilitates identification of particularly effective civic education practices, especially those research-based contained in the Carnegie/CIRCLE report titled *The Civic Mission of the Schools* (2002).

In 2005, the project administered a survey to some 2,366 graduating seniors who had completed the 12th grade U.S. government course mandated by the California History/Social Science Framework and Standards. Participating schools were selected from various geographic areas to provide a portrait of current conditions representing a range of factors including student race and ethnicity and API (a broad measure of academic performance) levels. The survey concentrated on high school seniors to get a clearer sense of student civic capacities and commitments as they reach voting age and complete their experience in public schools.



What level of civic knowledge and attitudes toward civic engagement do California's young people possess as they begin to assume the rights and responsibilities of adult citizenship?

Among the major findings of the study are:

**California high school seniors care about those in need and are willing to help.** Eighty-six percent of the students surveyed agreed with the statement, "I try to help when I see people in need." Only 5 percent disagreed. Also, 84 percent of all high school seniors reported volunteering while in high school.

**Students are not well prepared for effective citizenship.** Although a high percentage of students reported that they intended to vote, they were less likely to say they were informed enough to vote. Their confidence declined further when asked about specific issues: Iraq, the economy, taxes, education, health care, and the like. Similarly, one half could not correctly identify the function of the Supreme Court, and 33 percent could not correctly identify even one of California's two senators from a list of options. Forty-one percent didn't know which of the two parties was most conservative.

In fact, overall students only averaged a little over 60 percent correct on the commonly used survey items designed to test civics content knowledge, a low "D" on most grading scales. While these results are consistent with national assessments, they are especially disturbing considering that the 12th graders surveyed had taken a course in U.S government during their senior year.

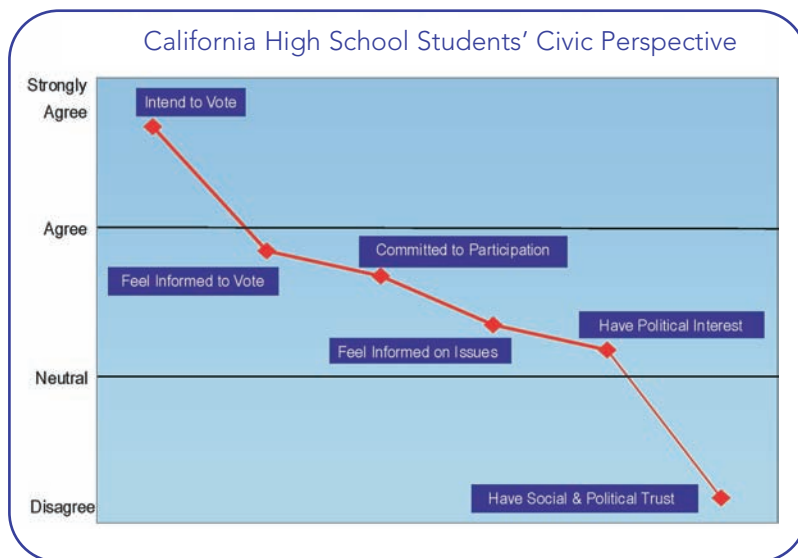
California students also show limited commitment or capacity to become politically involved. For example, less than half (only 47 percent) of high school seniors agreed that, "Being actively involved in state and local issues is my responsibility."

Similar patterns are reflected in high school seniors' views on patriotism. Like older generations, the vast majority (73 percent) agree that "the United States is a great country." Only 10 percent disagree. However, less than half (only 41 percent) agree that "In order to be patriotic, one must be involved in the civic and political life of the country."

**California high school students express very little trust in government.** Only 33 percent of the high school seniors surveyed agreed with the statement, "I trust the people in the government to do what is right for the country." Only 28 percent agreed with the statement, "I think that people in government care about what people like me and my family need."

**Volunteering does not necessarily translate to other forms of civic and political life.** While those surveyed were willing to volunteer or do charity work, they did not engage in more formal forms of civic and political life. Sixty-four percent of all students said they volunteered more than once during their four years in high school, but only 9 percent could say the same thing when asked how often they had worked to change a policy or law in their community, the state, or the nation. Even when asked how often they had worked to change a school policy or school rule, only 12 percent responded "more than once"—with 67 percent saying not at all.

These results are consistent with national findings demonstrating that rates of volunteering are up dramatically from previous decades. Unfortunately, in California at least, these experiences are not associated with similar gains in commitments to civic and political participation.





To better understand the effect of various school and classroom practices on the development of civic competencies, we asked students about what happened in their high schools and classrooms. We then analyzed the relationship of these opportunities to various outcomes.<sup>17</sup> What we found was quite heartening. Numerous opportunities in classrooms, schools, and in after-school settings were related to desired civic outcomes even controlling for demographic factors. The full range of statistically significant relationships between opportunities and outcomes is detailed in the chart on this page.<sup>18</sup>

**Classroom content and practices matter.** A curricular emphasis on the importance of civic engagement and relevant content regarding civic and political structures and functions appear to help students develop the skills and knowledge they need for effective citizenship. In addition, as students develop knowledge and interest in issues, their commitment to participate grows. For example, 52 percent of students in government classes that frequently emphasized why it is important to be informed and to get involved in political issues agreed that they should be actively involved in state and local issues. In classes where students did not have this opportunity, only 35 percent agreed they should be involved in this way.

Similarly, discussing current events is important—particularly when such discussions are tied to students’ interests. In classes where students frequently talked about current events, 61 percent reported they were interested in politics compared to only 32 percent in classes with no discussion of current events.

Curriculum that gives students the chance to find and analyze different perspectives on the same topic or issue was also very valuable. Students who had the chance to do this a lot were more likely to endorse the idea that everyone should participate in the political process (68 percent) than those who did not report ever having this opportunity (43 percent).

In addition to what is studied, how it is studied also matters. Indeed, 36 percent of students who frequently had opportunities in classes to take part in role-plays or simulations modeling democratic processes reported being involved in politics, compared to only 13 percent of students who had not had these classroom opportunities.

One instructional strategy that appeared to be particularly effective was having students work on projects with students from different backgrounds. Among students who had opportunities to do this a lot, 54 percent agreed that being involved in state and local issues was their responsibility, compared to only 29 percent of students who did not report having these opportunities. These experiences are also associated with a greater commitment to vote, more political knowledge, and greater interest in politics more generally.

**Extracurricular activities matter.** Participation in extracurricular activities also appear to be very important. These experiences help students see themselves as connected to the society, learn skills and internalize norms of group membership, and get opportunities to consider varied commitments and ways to pursue them. We found, for example, that students who participated often in extracurricular activities such as an ethnic or cultural club, a drama club, student government, or a school newspaper were 24 percent more likely to agree that being involved in state and local

Classroom Practices Associated with Desired Civic Outcomes		Commitment to Participate	Intend to Vote	Informed to Vote	Civic Skills	Social & Political Trust	Political Knowledge	Political Interest
CMS Promising Approaches	Instruction in Govt, History, Law	★	★	★			★	
	Discussion of Current Events				★			★
	Service Learning				★			
	Extra-Curricular Activities	★	★		★			
	Student Voice in School/Class Governance	★				★		
	Simulations/Interactive Methods			★	★			★
Other Practices	Discuss Politics with Parents	★	★	★	★	★	★	★
	Parents are Active in Community/Politics	★			★	★		
	Analyzing Different Perspectives on Issues	★	★		★			★
	Exposure to Role Models	★				★		★
	Exposure to Diversity	★	★	★				★
	Opportunities to Practice Civic Skills				★			★

## Civic Mission of Schools Promising Approaches

- **Instruction in Government, History, Law, and Democracy**—*Students learn about the structure and function of the U.S. Government as well as learning about the role of individual citizens.*
- **Discuss Personally Relevant Current Events**—*Students discuss current events and analyze social problems that are personally relevant.*
- **Community Service**—*Students participate in service-learning activities linked to the curriculum.*
- **Extracurricular Activities**—*Students participate in clubs, student council, school newspaper, etc.*
- **Student Governance**—*Students have a chance to participate in school and classroom governance through formal and informal means.*
- **Simulations**—*Students participate in political, civic, or legal role-plays as part of their classroom activities.*
- **Discuss Politics With Parents**—*Students discuss community and political issues at home.*
- **Parents are Active in Community and/or Politics**—*Parents are active participants in the community or in political processes.*

## Other Valuable Practices

- **Open School/Classroom Climate**—*Students are permitted to voice their opinions freely.*
- **Analyzing Perspectives on Issues**—*Students learn to find sources with varying perspectives on issues.*
- **Exposure to Role Models**—*Students meet and/or learn about people who work to make society better.*
- **Exposure to Diversity**—*Students discuss issues of diversity and work with groups of students who are different from them.*
- **Opportunities to Practice Civic Skills**—*Students are given opportunities to develop skills important to working on civic problems including planning meetings, writing letters, recruiting others to work, etc.*

service-learning project while in high school. Clearly, one need not have these experiences as part of every class, but sizable numbers of students are not getting these opportunities at all.

**Bright spots.** Many students are getting some of these valuable opportunities. Sixty-eight percent said that their government class taught them a lot of information about the structure of government and how it works. Fifty-eight percent said they often discussed current events. Forty-six percent said that they often worked in classrooms where a wide range of student views were discussed. And 47 percent said that they were often worked in groups or on projects with people who have backgrounds very different than their own. It also should be noted that California's History/Social Science Framework and Standards prescribe that instruction in grades K–12 integrate civics into required course work.

issues is their responsibility than those who did not report in participating in such activities.

**Student voice in the school matters.** Students who reported having a chance to voice their opinions about school policies were more committed to participate than those who said they had few opportunities to voice their opinions about school policies.

**Multiple opportunities matter.** No one experience can provide all that is needed. And while some aspects of a schools' curriculum, such as the high school government course, clearly have the potential to significantly support multiple goals, it's also clear that educating for democracy should not rely on a one-semester course taken during the senior year. Rather, opportunities to educate for democracy exist throughout the high school curriculum and they build upon each other. A school-wide commitment is therefore necessary.

The promising approaches we've identified occur in California schools, but not often enough. When we asked students how often they'd had the kinds of opportunities that supported the development of committed, informed, and effective citizens, the most common answer was "a little." This finding is consistent with the recent International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement study (IEA), which found that 90 percent of U.S. students said that that they most commonly spent time reading textbooks and doing worksheets.<sup>19</sup>

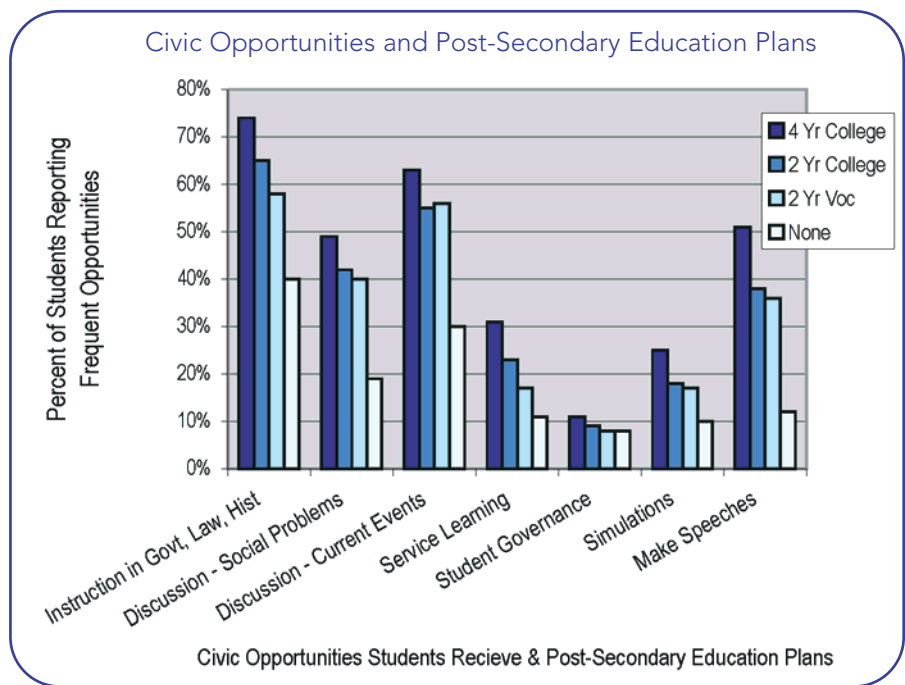
Sometimes, for some students, these desired opportunities don't occur at all. For example, when asked how much of a chance students in their school had to say how they think the school should be run, 36 percent said, "not at all." Thirty-six percent also reported never having the opportunity to participate in civic simulations or role-plays during high school. And 34 percent report never being part of a

### Unequal access to opportunities.

It is inevitable that students will have different experiences depending on the teachers they happen to have for particular subjects. Unfortunately, some systemic inequalities also appear to exist, particularly with respect to students' academic trajectories. Seniors who did not expect to take part in any form of post-secondary education reported significantly fewer opportunities than those with post-secondary plans. Indeed, the opportunities provided for students were strongly related to the amount of post-secondary education a student expected to receive. This may well mean that students in higher track classes get more opportunities to develop civic knowledge, skills, and

commitments than those in lower track classrooms. For example, 25 percent of students who were planning to attend a four-year college reported that they had frequently been part of simulations in their classrooms; only 17 percent of students who planned on vocational education after high school could say the same thing. Only 10 percent of those with no post-secondary plans reported frequently having such opportunities in their classrooms.

Finally, it should be noted that parents appear to have a significant positive effect on the civic capacities of young people. Talking with parents or guardians about politics was the only opportunity that positively related to every one of our desired outcomes.



## Recommendations

Are California’s public schools fulfilling their civic mission? Do graduating seniors have the knowledge, skills, and commitments they will need to be informed and engaged participants in our democracy?

The California Survey of Civic Education can’t fully answer these questions, but the portrait it paints of students and schools is worthy of attention. Most important, the survey provides indicators of students’ civic and political commitments, of their capacities, and of the prevalence of related school-based opportunities. It also gives us an evidence base from which to assess the efficacy of varied educational strategies. Specifically, analysis of findings indicate:

- Young people have a strong desire to help their communities as evidenced by their involvement as volunteers and their commitment to charity work.
- Young people express considerably less of a commitment to other forms of civic and political engagement that relate to the policies and practices of schools and government.
- Despite taking a course in U.S. government in their senior year, students’ knowledge of structures and functions of government and of current political issues is modest, at best.
- The survey also indicates that there is much that schools can do. Our survey indicated that the school and classroom practices emphasized in *The Civic Mission of Schools* report and related strategies were associated with higher levels of civic capacities and commitments.
- Yet, access to school-based opportunities to develop civic commitments and capacities are uneven. Moreover, those intending to go to four-year colleges have significantly more access to these opportunities than others.



The findings of the survey prompt and support specific recommendations for further action:

**All California schools should be encouraged to assess their current civic education practices and identify ways to strengthen them.** The survey demonstrates that the research-based promising approaches contained in Carnegie/CIRCLE’s *The Civic Mission of Schools* report are associated with desired civic outcomes.

This recommendation corresponds with a concurrent resolution, ACR#30, approved in the session just concluded by the California legislature and signed by the governor. Introduced by Assemblyman Kevin McCarthy, Republican Minority leader, the resolution “urges the State Board of Education and all local school governing bodies to examine current practice and develop plans to increase and broaden emphasis on principles and practices of democracy.” To assist governing bodies carry out this task, the Campaign has prepared materials to be used by districts and school sites that are now available.

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The California Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools is advocating the creation of such a program to strengthen instruction. This will be coupled with an incentive and recognition program for schools that excel in effective civic education practices.

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The California Campaign is committed to continuing the research for at least one more year and will seek additional funding to support it into the future.



<sup>1</sup> Gibson, C. and Levine, P. (2003). *The Civic Mission of Schools*. New York and Washington, DC: The Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning.; Levine, P. and Lopez, M.H. (2002), <http://www.civicmissionofschools.org/campaign/documents/CivicMissionofSchools.pdf> (accessed October 24, 2005) Youth voter turnout has declined, by any measure.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> National Constitution Center, “New Survey Shows Wide Gap Between Teens’ Knowledge of Constitution and Knowledge of Pop Culture: More Teens Can Name Three Stooges Than Can Name Three Branches of Government, September 2, 1998, <http://www.constitutioncenter.org/CitizenAction/CivicResearchResults/NCCTeens’Poll.shtml> (accessed October 24, 2005).

<sup>4</sup> Keeter, Scott, Cliff Zukin, Molly Andolina, and Krista Jenkins, *The Civic and Political Health of the Nation: a Generational Portrait*, Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning & Engagement, September 19, 2002, p. 25, [http://www.civicyouth.org/research/products/Civic\\_Political\\_Health.pdf](http://www.civicyouth.org/research/products/Civic_Political_Health.pdf) (accessed October 24, 2005).

<sup>5</sup> “Comparative Voter Registration and Voter Participation Statistics for Statewide General Elections – 1910 through 2004,” California Secretary of State, [http://www.ss.ca.gov/elections/sov/2004\\_general/sov\\_pref\\_pgs9\\_10\\_compare\\_stats\\_1910\\_2004.pdf](http://www.ss.ca.gov/elections/sov/2004_general/sov_pref_pgs9_10_compare_stats_1910_2004.pdf) (accessed October 24, 2005).

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> “City of Los Angeles, General Municipal and Consolidated Elections, Election Night Results, May 17, 2005, Certified Final Bulletin, 11:21:20 AM,” City of Los Angeles, <http://www.ci.la.ca.us/clk/election/Results.htm> (accessed October 24, 2005).

<sup>8</sup> “City of Los Angeles, General Municipal and Consolidated Elections, Election Night Results, May 20, 2003, Certified Final Bulletin,” City of Los Angeles, [http://161.149.221.240/clk/elections/clklections67911678\\_06032003.pdf](http://161.149.221.240/clk/elections/clklections67911678_06032003.pdf) (accessed October 24, 2005).

<sup>9</sup> “Table 4b. Reported Voting and Registration of the Total Voting-Age Population, by Age, for States: November 2004,” Voting and Registration in the Election of November 2004, U.S. Census Bureau, <http://www.census.gov/population/socdemo/voting/cps2004/tab04b.xls> (accessed October 24, 2005).

<sup>10</sup> “Table 4b. Reported Voting and Registration of the Total Voting-Age Population, by Age, for States: November 2000,” Voting and Registration in the Election of November 2000, U.S. Census Bureau, <http://www.census.gov/population/socdemo/voting/p20-542/tab04b.pdf> (accessed October 24, 2005).

<sup>11</sup> “California is the Most Diverse State in the Nation,” Census 2000 Fact Sheet, Ralph and Goldy Lewis Center for Regional Policy Studies, UCLA, March 29, 2001, [http://lewis.sppsr.ucla.edu/special/metroamerica/factsheets/Census\\_FACTSHEET6.pdf](http://lewis.sppsr.ucla.edu/special/metroamerica/factsheets/Census_FACTSHEET6.pdf) (accessed October 24, 2005).

<sup>12</sup> Malone, Nolan, Kaari F. Baluja, Joseph M. Costanzo, and Cynthia J. Davis, “The Foreign Born Population: 2000,” Census 2000 Brief, U.S. Census Bureau, December 2003, <http://www.census.gov/prod/2003pubs/c2kbr-34.pdf> (accessed October 24, 2005).

<sup>13</sup> Ramakrishnan, S. Karthick and Mark Baldassare, *The Ties That Bind: Changing Demographics and Civic Engagement in California*, San Francisco: Public Policy Institute, 2004, [http://www.ppic.org/content/pubs/R\\_404KRR.pdf](http://www.ppic.org/content/pubs/R_404KRR.pdf) (accessed October 24, 2005).

<sup>14</sup> “List of California ballot propositions 2000–present,” Wikipedia, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_California\\_ballot\\_propositions\\_2000-present](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_California_ballot_propositions_2000-present) (accessed October 24, 2005).

<sup>15</sup> “California Elections Data Archive,” a joint project of the Center for California Studies and the Institute for Social Research, both of California State University, Sacramento and the office of the California Secretary of State, <http://www.csus.edu/isr/Summary%20of%202000%20Local%20Elections.doc> (accessed October 24, 2005).

<sup>16</sup> Ellen Middaugh, a doctoral student at UC Berkeley, also worked extensively on this study, and Kristen Schutjer Mance helped design the survey.

<sup>17</sup> Regressions were performed to assess the relationship between the civic outcomes and classroom/school opportunities described in the report. We were able to include various demographic controls (race/ethnicity, gender, mothers’ education, student GPA, and post-secondary educational plans). Our ability to assess causality was limited because we were not able to assess initial levels of student commitments or capacities. For this reason, regression findings are reported as associations between classroom practices and student outcomes. Future administrations of this survey will include pre-tests to provide a control for initial levels of student attitudes. All of the relationships described in this section were found to be statistically significant  $p < .05$ . Readers interested in the specific regression results can contact Joseph Kahne at [jkahne@mills.edu](mailto:jkahne@mills.edu) or may write or call him at Mills College.

<sup>18</sup> Since tables with regression results are not easily interpretable by a lay audience, in the text we report the civic capacities and commitments of students who reported frequently receiving various classroom/school opportunities and compare them with capacities and commitments of students who reported not receiving these opportunities. These comparisons should be interpreted with caution. Unlike the regressions, they do not embody controls for the provision of other opportunities or for demographics. They are, therefore, less precise indicators of the relationship between opportunities and outcomes.

<sup>19</sup> Baldi, S., Perie, M., Skidmore, D., Greenberg, E. & Hahn, C. (2001). *What democracy means to ninth graders: U.S. results from the International IEA Civic Education Study*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics.

# EDUCATING FOR DEMOCRACY

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