

AEI PROGRAM ON American Citizenship

POLICY BRIEF 1 • JUNE 2011

Contested Curriculum

How Teachers and Citizens View Civics Education

By Daniel K. Lautzenheiser, Andrew P. Kelly, and Cheryl Miller

This policy brief is the first in a series by AEI's Program on American Citizenship. The program is dedicated to strengthening the foundations of American freedom and self-government by renewing our understanding of American citizenship. For more information about our work, visit www.citizenship-aei.org.

Introduction

Americans are rightly concerned that schools are not providing students with the knowledge and habits necessary to be good citizens. In remarks to a group of civics educators last March, Secretary of Education Arne Duncan affirmed the central importance of civics education, even as he acknowledged that the subject had been pushed to the sidelines in many schools.

Duncan noted the consequences of that neglect: “Nearly two-thirds of Americans cannot name all three branches of government. Yet three in four people can name all of the Three Stooges. Less than half of the public can name a single Supreme Court justice. And more than a quarter do not know who America fought in the Revolutionary War.”

The recent release of the 2010 National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) Civics Report Card provides additional grounds for concern. The report found that a mere 24 percent of high school seniors scored on the proficient level on the NAEP civics exam, a slight decrease from four years ago. A similar pattern held true for fourth and eighth graders: 27 percent and 22 percent, respectively, scored proficient or higher. Only 64 percent of seniors scored on even the basic level, with a paltry 4 percent considered advanced.

However, while civics ignorance is nothing new, its causes—and possible remedies—are not so well understood. Given this paucity of research, the AEI Program on American Citizenship has set out to explore what teachers and the public think our high schools should be teaching

about citizenship and whether they believe high schools are actually achieving those goals. In spring 2010, we developed and commissioned a survey, *High Schools, Civics, and Citizenship: What Social Studies Teachers Think and Do*, to investigate what high school social studies teachers are teaching today about citizenship.¹

We then administered a portion of the survey to a representative sample of one thousand American citizens as part of the Cooperative Congressional Election Study. We use these data in this report to make two basic comparisons. In the first section, we compare the attitudes and preferences of social studies teachers to those of the public. In the second, we break the public out into Democrats and Republicans and document important differences across those two partisan groups. The results, particularly the areas of agreement and disagreement across these various stakeholders, have implications for the teaching of citizenship in America's high schools.

In general, we find that while citizens and teachers often have similar beliefs about what topics and concepts are most essential to teach about citizenship, important differences emerge on issues like whether schools should emphasize teaching facts and dates and on topics like tolerance and global citizenship. Importantly, we also uncover a significant amount of pessimism from the public about whether high school students are actually learning much about citizenship in high school. More troubling, perhaps, is that citizens express more confidence that students are learning the concepts they see as less essential and express less confidence on those topics they see as most essential. Finally, we find evidence that

citizens are reluctant to recommend that high schools promote civic behaviors like community service and raising money for causes, believing instead that teaching facts and concepts should take priority.

Not surprisingly, Democrats and Republicans are often split over which aspects of citizenship education are most important. Republicans are more likely to see teaching facts, respect for the military, and love of country as critical, while Democrats attach more importance to teaching values like tolerance. Republicans are also considerably more skeptical that students are learning these citizenship concepts, and they exhibit a greater degree of incongruence between which concepts are essential to teach and which ones students are actually learning. We believe these divides have clear implications for reforming and improving citizenship education in the near future. So long as these concepts divide party identifiers, consensus will be difficult to reach.

Social Studies Teachers and Citizenship Education

The product of the initial survey, *High Schools, Civics, and Citizenship*, explores the views and practices of those most responsible for educating and shaping America's young citizens—high school history and social studies teachers. Based on a survey of over one thousand public and private high school educators, the report found that teachers were concerned about the prominence of citizenship education in the current curriculum and somewhat conflicted about what the content of that education should be.

First, social studies teachers felt marginalized in the testing era. Seventy percent said their subject is a lower priority because of pressure to show progress in math and reading. Second, they lacked confidence that students are learning important building blocks of citizenship in high school. When asked how confident they were that the students from their high school had learned a list of twelve concepts—for example, learning about the protections in the Bill of Rights or developing habits of community service—no more than 24 percent of public school teachers reported that they were “very confident” with respect to any of the concepts. Their level of confidence was even lower—between 6 and 15 percent—when it came to issues like developing good work habits and understanding concepts such as federalism. Finally, when asked what content, skills, and knowledge are most important, teachers emphasized notions of tolerance and rights, while giving less attention to history, facts, and constitutional concepts such as the separation of powers.

Teachers and the General Public

To gain a broader understanding of how Americans perceive the goals and content of civic education, we included a subset of questions from the teacher survey on the Cooperative Congressional Election Survey, a nationwide public opinion survey conducted by Polimetrix in the months surrounding the 2010 elections. By comparing the responses from these two surveys, we sought to learn what citizens expect from their schools in teaching about the rights and responsibilities of citizenship and how closely their views and attitudes align with those of teachers.

First, we sought to capture what sentiments teachers and citizens think schools should seek to inculcate in their students. We asked a battery of questions probing opinions on patriotism, respect for the military, and American national identity. Second, we asked respondents what concepts and facts about the American political system and history are essential to teaching citizenship—and how confident they are that students have actually learned these concepts before they graduate high school. To that end, we asked respondents to rank five broad priorities for what high schools should focus on regarding citizenship: internalizing core values like tolerance, promoting civic behaviors, instilling good work habits, teaching principles of government, and teaching key facts, dates, and major events. We also asked them to rate the importance of twelve possible components of citizenship education and to tell us how confident they are that high school students learn each of them.²

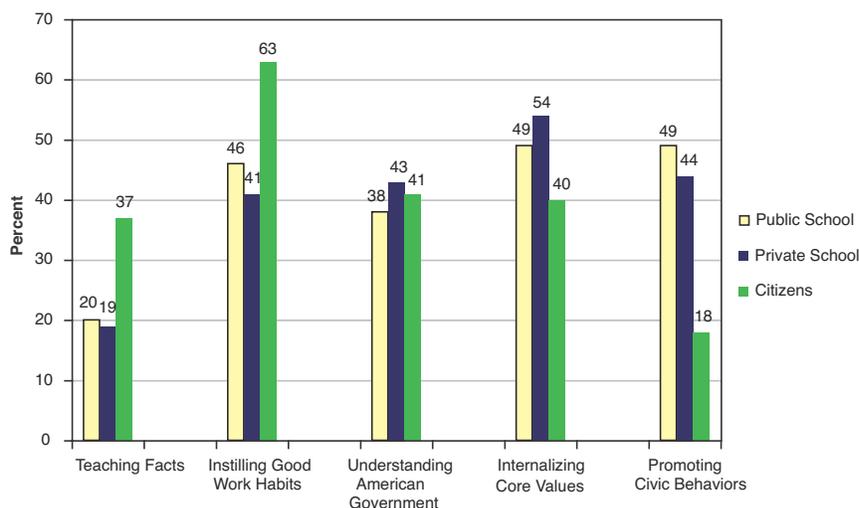
Teach Facts, Not Values . . . But Above All Teach Good Work Habits

Figure 1³ presents a basic picture of how citizens and teachers think about possible elements of citizenship education. Teachers and citizens were asked to rank the five broad priorities that high schools may have in teaching their students to be informed and engaged citizens. The bars correspond to the percentage of each group that ranked the concept either first or second. Because respondents were directly comparing competing priorities, this figure gives us an indication as to the relative importance of each in the public's eyes. The results are striking. Almost 40 percent of citizens rank teaching facts first or second, compared to half that percentage for teachers. Similarly, 63 percent of citizens rank instilling good work habits first or second, a priority that just over 40 percent of teachers feel is that important. On the other end, a

meager 18 percent of the public want schools to promote civic behaviors like voting and community service, compared to almost half of all teachers.

Table 1 takes a more detailed look at the priorities of teachers and citizens by examining how the two groups evaluate twelve different aspects of citizenship education. The original survey asked teachers to rate each concept on a five-point scale, running from “absolutely essential” to “not important at all.” We describe these results in two ways. First, we report the raw percentage of respondents who deem a given concept “absolutely essential” to the teaching of citizenship. Second, using these percentages, we attached a ranking to each to get a sense of how important

FIGURE 1
FIVE PRIORITIES FOR CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION



SOURCE: Authors' calculations.

TABLE 1
TWELVE CONCEPTS OF CITIZENSHIP

Item	Public School	Private School	Citizens
To identify the protections guaranteed by the Bill of Rights	1st (83%)	2nd (81%)	2nd (69%)
To know facts (e.g., the location of the 50 states) and dates (e.g., Pearl Harbor)	12th (36%)	T-11th (35%)	T-6th (56%)
To understand such concepts as federalism, separation of powers, and checks and balances	5th (64%)	T-5th (74%)	3rd (64%)
To be knowledgeable about such periods as the American Founding, the Civil War, and the Cold War	6th (63%)	4th (75%)	8th (54%)
To understand economic principles like supply and demand and the role of market incentives	9th (50%)	10th (48%)	5th (59%)
To follow rules and be respectful of authority	7th (60%)	9th (59%)	4th (63%)
To have good work habits such as being timely, persistent, and hardworking	2nd (80%)	3rd (80%)	1st (79%)
To embrace the responsibilities of citizenship such as voting and jury duty	3rd (78%)	T-5th (74%)	T-6th (56%)
To develop habits of community service such as volunteering and raising money for causes	10th (43%)	T-7th (67%)	10th (37%)
To be tolerant of people and groups who are different from themselves	4th (76%)	1st (82%)	9th (51%)
To be activists who challenge the status quo of our political system and seek to remedy injustices	11th (37%)	T-11th (35%)	12th (29%)
To see themselves as global citizens living in an interconnected world	8th (57%)	T-7th (67%)	11th (35%)

these concepts are relative to one another. Hence, the topic with the highest percentage of “absolutely essential” responses is ranked first, and the one with the lowest percentage is ranked twelfth.

It is important to note that respondents are not ranking these twelve items relative to each other and could have deemed all of them absolutely essential. We chose to rank each item as an organizational tool to reflect the item’s general importance in the eyes of the respondents. As the percentages reveal, the public appears to use more of the scale than the teachers; that is, the public respondents are more willing to say some items are important but not absolutely essential. Teachers, perhaps unsurprisingly, are more apt to say each of the twelve items is essential (so their percentages in table 1 are a bit higher).

Table 1 reveals that all three groups place a high priority on being able to identify the protections guaranteed by the Bill of Rights (ranked either first or second for teachers and citizens); to have good work habits such as being timely, persistent, and hardworking (ranked in the top three for each group); and to understand governmental concepts such as federalism, separation of powers, and checks and balances. All three groups also view teaching students to be activists who challenge the status quo as a low priority (this item had the lowest or second-lowest percentage of “absolutely essential” responses for each group).

But table 1 also reveals many issues on which teachers and citizens diverge. Citizens place a higher value on students learning facts and dates (it was tied for sixth for citizens compared to twelfth for public school teachers and eleventh for private school teachers) and understanding economic principles (fifth for citizens, ninth for public school teachers, and tenth for private school teachers, although the percentages were closer). On the other side, teachers think it is more essential to teach students to be tolerant of people and groups who are different from themselves. Over 75 percent of teachers say this is absolutely essential—it is the top priority for private school teachers—while only half of citizens feel it merits that degree of attention. The same is true for teaching students to see themselves as global citizens living in an interconnected world; 57 and 67 percent of public and private school teachers, respectively, feel this is “absolutely essential,” compared to just 35 percent of citizens.

The public’s preference for teaching facts over values and behaviors may reflect fears that social studies teachers may politicize the classroom. Indeed, nearly half of citizens polled feel that “too many social studies teachers use their classes as a ‘soap box’ for their personal point of view.” Moreover, the public respondents are more likely to want teachers to avoid controversial topics altogether

in the classroom, while teachers are almost unanimous in preferring to use them as teaching moments. Even when asked for their views on a seemingly innocuous statement, “Students must learn to critically evaluate information for credibility and bias—it’s a crucial citizenship skill,” citizens are more cautious. Nearly all teachers say this is close to their view, compared to only three-quarters of citizens.

Attempts to reemphasize or reform citizenship education in our high schools may trigger traditional fault lines in American politics.

The public may be wary of teachers bringing their own belief systems and values into the classroom, but they do want schools to inculcate certain attitudes among students toward America. Citizens are more comfortable than teachers with encouraging assimilation, and they want students to hold a more positive view of their country. About two-thirds of citizens say it is more important for high schools to get students to understand the common history and responsibilities of America than it is to get students to celebrate the unique identities of various ethnic groups. Teachers are more evenly split. Furthermore, citizens significantly prefer high schools to teach students to “love their country” (about a quarter, versus about 10 percent for teachers). Only 58 percent of citizens, compared to over 80 percent of teachers, would rather teach students to “respect [the United States] but recognize flaws.”

Public Skepticism

Are citizens confident that students are learning the twelve concepts? Table 2 juxtaposes the public’s views of which concepts are essential to teach with how confident they are that high school students learn them. Citizens reported their level of confidence on a four-point scale, running from “very confident” to “not at all confident.” The percentages in the second column are net confidence levels—combined responses for “very confident” and “somewhat confident,” and the rankings are again organizational.⁴

TABLE 2
ARE HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS LEARNING?

	Citizens	
	Absolutely Essential	Confident High School Graduates Have Learned It
To identify the protections guaranteed by the Bill of Rights	2nd (69%)	T-5th (34%)
To know facts (e.g., the location of the 50 states) and dates (e.g., Pearl Harbor)	T-6th (56%)	T-5th (34%)
To understand such concepts as federalism, separation of powers, and checks and balances	3rd (64%)	12th (22%)
To be knowledgeable about such periods as the American Founding, the Civil War, and the Cold War	8th (54%)	10th (29%)
To understand economic principles like supply and demand and the role of market incentives	5th (59%)	11th (25%)
To follow rules and be respectful of authority	4th (63%)	T-8th (30%)
To have good work habits such as being timely, persistent, and hardworking	1st (79%)	T-8th (30%)
To embrace the responsibilities of citizenship such as voting and jury duty	T-6th (56%)	7th (31%)
To develop habits of community service such as volunteering and raising money for causes	10th (37%)	3rd (36%)
To be tolerant of people and groups who are different from themselves	9th (51%)	1st (47%)
To be activists who challenge the status quo of our political system and seek to remedy injustices	12th (29%)	4th (35%)
To see themselves as global citizens living in an interconnected world	11th (35%)	2nd (41%)

Citizens are not very confident that high school graduates are learning each item. Indeed, on any of the twelve items, public confidence never tops half of the respondents. Barely one-third of respondents are confident that most high school students have learned the protections identified in the Bill of Rights; even fewer are confident that students have learned good work habits or key concepts like the separation of powers and federalism.

Congruence . . . or Lack Thereof

In addition to citizens' gloomy outlook on students' understanding of key citizenship topics overall, there is often a considerable discrepancy between what citizens feel is essential for students to learn and how confident

they are that students are actually learning it. In several cases, the subjects that citizens feel are most important for students to learn are the same ones they feel the *least* confident that students are, in fact, learning. And vice versa: a number of items that citizens feel are least important for students to learn are ones they feel high schools are doing a good job of teaching.

For instance, while two-thirds of citizens think it is absolutely essential that students understand political concepts like federalism and separation of powers, only 22 percent are confident that students are learning these concepts. A similar discrepancy holds for understanding economic principles and having good work habits. At the same time, the four items that citizens placed the *lowest* priority on teaching—developing habits of community service, learning tolerance of different groups, becoming

activists who challenge the status quo, and seeing themselves as global citizens—are the *same four* they feel most confident that students are actually learning. In contrast, the more teachers deem something important to teach, the more confident they are that most of their high school’s graduates learned it.

This pattern of incongruence suggests that the public is quite pessimistic about the quality of citizenship education in American high schools, a pattern in line with existing public opinion research on how citizens perceive the quality of “public schools” in general.⁵ The public is not only skeptical that students are learning, but also least confident they are learning the most critical cornerstones of citizenship education (in their opinion).

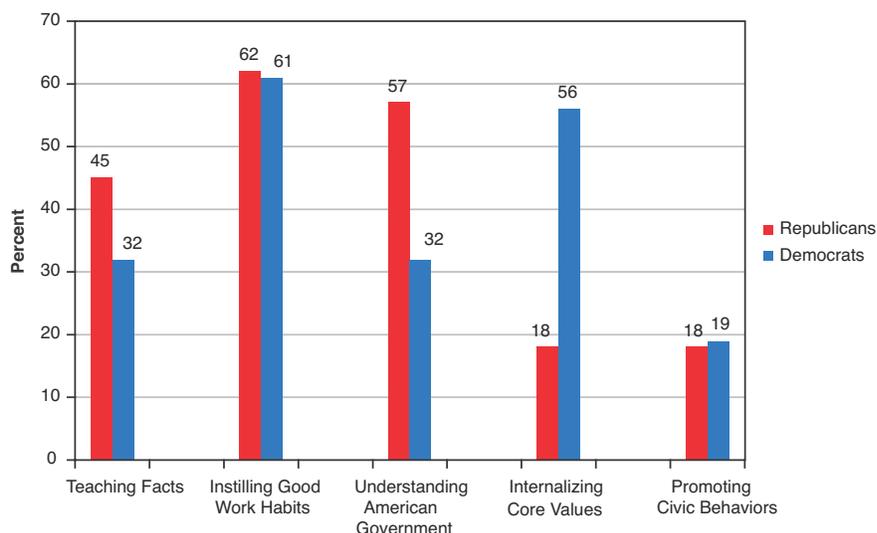
Partisan Divisions and Citizenship Education

The public’s gloomy view of the citizenship education that high school students receive suggests that there may be support for reform and a stronger focus on civics in America’s high schools. As is the case for most issues in contemporary politics, however, we see some serious disagreement between Republicans and Democrats about the priorities citizenship education ought to reflect. While not surprising, these divisions suggest that attempts to reemphasize or reform citizenship education in our high schools may trigger traditional fault lines in American politics.

The Polimetrix survey asked the standard, seven-point party identification question: responses range from strong Democrat, weak Democrat, lean Democrat, and Independent up through strong Republican. Based on decades of political science research, we include “leaners” with strong and weak partisans. In our data, the Republican–Democrat split is 41 percent to 46 percent, with 13 percent identifying as Independent. Because our analysis focuses on partisan groups, we leave out the Independents.⁶

Figure 2 illustrates some basic patterns of the partisan divide. Democrats and Republicans are equally likely to rank instilling good work habits as the first or second priority out of the list of five. Republicans are far more

FIGURE 2
PARTISAN PRIORITIES ON CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION



SOURCE: Authors’ calculations.

likely to support understanding American government (57 percent ranked this item first or second, compared to 32 percent of Democrats) and slightly higher on teaching facts (45 percent compared to 32 percent). Democrats, meanwhile, are about three times more likely than Republicans to emphasize internalizing core values such as tolerance and equality.⁷

The most striking finding, however, is that *both* Democrats and Republicans are unlikely to rank “promoting civic behaviors” as a first or second priority in the teaching of citizenship. Less than one-fifth of either group ranks this priority first or second, a lower proportion than any other priority. Democrats and Republicans do not necessarily agree on much, but they seem to be equally reticent to have high school teachers promoting civic behaviors in the classroom. This disconnect—between placing a high priority on instilling good work habits and a lower priority on promoting civic behaviors—has implications for policy that we return to below.

Table 3 examines how partisans rate the importance of the twelve concepts and their confidence level on each. Democrats are three times more likely than Republicans to think teaching students to view themselves as global citizens is absolutely essential. In turn, Republicans are more likely to view learning facts and following the rules as essential. Republicans also appear to have a set of items they view as essential and a set of items that most view as less essential. The top eight items Republicans consider “absolutely essential” fall in the narrow range of

TABLE 3
ARE HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS LEARNING? REPUBLICANS VERSUS DEMOCRATS

	Absolutely Essential		Confident High School Graduates Have Learned It	
	Republicans	Democrats	Republicans	Democrats
To identify the protections guaranteed by the Bill of Rights	2nd (80%)	3rd (65%)	5th (23%)	T-1st (43%)
To know facts (e.g., the location of the 50 states) and dates (e.g., Pearl Harbor)	T-6th (65%)	9th (50%)	6th (22%)	T-3rd (40%)
To understand such concepts as federalism, separation of powers, and checks and balances	3rd (76%)	4th (60%)	T-11th (13%)	11th (29%)
To be knowledgeable about such periods as the American Founding, the Civil War, and the Cold War	T-4th (71%)	10th (48%)	7th (19%)	T-8th (37%)
To understand economic principles like supply and demand and the role of market incentives	T-6th (65%)	5th (59%)	T-11th (13%)	12th (28%)
To follow rules and be respectful of authority	T-4th (71%)	7th (53%)	T-8th (18%)	6th (39%)
To have good work habits such as being timely, persistent, and hardworking	1st (82%)	1st (75%)	T-8th (18%)	T-3rd (40%)
To embrace the responsibilities of citizenship such as voting and jury duty	8th (62%)	6th (57%)	10th (17%)	7th (38%)
To develop habits of community service such as volunteering and raising money for causes	T-9th (31%)	11th (43%)	4th (33%)	T-3rd (40%)
To be tolerant of people and groups who are different from themselves	T-9th (31%)	2nd (69%)	1st (52%)	T-1st (43%)
To be activists who challenge the status quo of our political system and seek to remedy injustices	11th (20%)	12th (37%)	3rd (39%)	10th (31%)
To see themselves as global citizens living in an interconnected world	12th (17%)	8th (51%)	2nd (44%)	T-8th (37%)

62 to 82 percent support. Meanwhile, the items that garner the ninth-most support are seen as absolutely essential by only 31 percent of respondents, a sharp decrease. This pattern suggests a noteworthy divide in the minds of Republicans between the kinds of things schools should be teaching—facts, duties of American citizenship, and life skills—and those schools should not be teaching—community activism, tolerance, and global citizenry. This gap is not nearly as large for Democrats.

When it comes to confidence that high school students are learning, both groups exhibit a confidence deficit. Nonetheless, Democrats appear to be considerably more optimistic than Republicans that students are learning basic citizenship concepts. On nine of the twelve items, Democrats are more confident than Republicans in student learning, but only once does confidence for either group top 50 percent of respondents. Fifty-two percent of Republicans believe students

are learning lessons in tolerance—an issue Republicans rank as ninth out of twelve in importance (a discontinuity we discuss more below).

Partisan Congruence

In addition to a basic divide between the parties on which topics and concepts are most essential, we also see incongruence across partisans on how closely these preferences track their level of confidence that students actually know these things. These results are also presented in table 3.

Republicans and Democrats both show incongruence between priorities and confidence in student learning on a handful of items. While both groups believe that understanding concepts of American government (federalism and separation of powers) and understanding economic principles are essential, neither has much

confidence that students are learning these concepts—13 percent of Republicans and just under 30 percent of Democrats.

With the exception of these American government concepts, Democrats appear to be more confident that students are learning the concepts they feel are important. The items that Democrats are most likely to deem absolutely essential are generally the ones they are most confident students are learning: identifying protections in the Bill of Rights, tolerance, and having good work habits. (In terms of rank, that is. Again, confidence levels are low for both Republicans and Democrats.) The only glaring exception is knowing facts, which only half of Democrats feel is absolutely essential (ranking it ninth on their list) despite 40 percent expressing confidence that students are learning those facts (tied for third on their list).

Republicans, in contrast, exhibit considerably more incongruence between their priorities for citizenship education and what they believe students are actually learning. Republicans feel four items—teaching students tolerance for other groups, activism, habits of community service, and to be global citizens—are relatively inessential, and yet these are the topics Republicans are most confident that students are learning. In fact, in each case, the percentage of Republicans who are confident that students are learning these four items is *higher* than the percentage that believes it is absolutely essential. These discrepancies might also explain Republican sentiment that teachers are prone to use their classrooms as a soap box (nearly three-quarters of Republicans feel this is close to their view, compared to less than half of Democrats).

Implications

We see a few key takeaways from our findings.

First, the public's general lack of confidence that students leave high school having learned important civics topics, combined with the apparent incongruence between what the public thinks is essential and what it feels schools are teaching, suggests that citizens are not optimistic that schools are teaching the aspects of citizenship they feel are most important. This lack of confidence appears justified, if the poor results of the most recent NAEP civics exam are any guide. This dim outlook could also be the product of a public that is often pessimistic about US public schools on the whole, particularly in the wake of high-profile international studies comparing American students unfavorably with students across the world in core subjects like math and science. Or, the results could indicate a more deep-seated dissatisfaction with the current level of civic

engagement among younger generations and a sense that schools are to blame for this.

But there is also a more sanguine interpretation. Several studies have shown that while citizens are often pessimistic about schools in general, they tend to have a higher opinion of their own child's school. Respondents to our surveys may have been answering negatively about the schooling system at large but actually be more satisfied that their child is receiving a strong civics education.

Citizens are not optimistic
 that schools are teaching
 the aspects of citizenship
 they feel are most important.

Second, the public's emphasis on teaching students to have good work habits—they deem it the most important for schools to teach—is indicative of a tendency to treat citizenship primarily as a set of skills necessary to get into college and obtain meaningful employment. This “transactional citizenship” places a premium on such traits as being timely and hardworking and is a product of the view of education as first and foremost the gateway to professional and personal development. While these attributes are undoubtedly important, there is a fundamental difference between the skills necessary for professional advancement and understanding basic facts about American government or civic responsibilities such as voting.⁸

It is also possible that teaching students good work habits rates so highly with the public because they are universally accepted behaviors and it is rather difficult to say they are not “absolutely essential.” After all, who does not want students to leave high school having learned to be timely and possessing a strong work ethic?

Alternatively, the fact that citizens deem these non-political habits so important, in addition to the similar stress they place on teaching students facts as opposed to behaviors, could stem from fears that teachers might allow political biases to affect their classrooms. Indeed, about half of citizens think too many social studies teachers use their classroom as a soap box to espouse personal views. This is an important disconnect in the eyes of the public, and citizens seem reticent to embrace an active citizenship agenda in America's high schools.

Finally, despite the disagreements, there is room for commonality. There are many ways in which citizens

disagree with teachers on what aspects of citizenship schools should focus on, as well as further divisions between Democrats and Republicans. This partisan divide, in particular, will make consensus on what schools should teach difficult to come by in the near future. And yet there are still items that both teachers and the public hold in common. Both teachers and citizens think students should be able to identify the protections in the Bill of Rights; understand concepts such as federalism, checks and balances, and separation of powers; and learn to follow rules and have good work habits. In other words, schools should teach students a base of knowledge about American government and prepare them to be productive citizens. Perhaps these are the areas where the reform of citizenship education should begin.

Notes

1. Farkas Duffett Research Group for the AEI Program on American Citizenship, *High Schools, Civics, and Citizenship: What Social Studies Teachers Think and Do* (Washington, DC: AEI, September 2010), www.aei.org/paper/100145.

2. *Ibid.*, 43–54, contains the full text of survey questions.

3. For figures 1 and 2, N=831 citizens. Sample size reflects the fact that the rankings question was included on the postelection survey. All other items analyzed here reflect full preelection sample.

4. For confidence levels, we only counted those respondents who gave an answer, excluding respondents who answered “not sure.” The percentage of the “not sure” responses ranged from 2 to 5 percent across these items.

5. For instance, a recent Rasmussen Reports telephone survey found that only 11 percent of voters think the taxpayers are getting a good return on what they spend on public education (“72% Say Taxpayers Not Getting Their Money’s Worth from Public Schools,” Rasmussen Reports, April 27, 2011, www.rasmussenreports.com/public_content/politics/general_politics/april_2011/72_say_taxpayers_not_getting_their_money_s_worth_from_public_schools [accessed June 1, 2011]).

6. In our survey of teachers, the Republican-Democrat split is 32 percent to 51 percent, with 12 percent declaring themselves Independent (another 5 percent describe themselves as something else). (Farkas Duffett Research Group for the AEI Program on American Citizenship, *High Schools, Civics, and Citizenship: What Social Studies Teachers Think and Do*, 31).

7. The differences between Republican and Democratic teachers reflect those among Republicans and Democrats more generally. Democrat social studies teachers are more likely to emphasize tolerance and global citizenship, while Republican teachers are more likely to stress respect for authority and knowledge of facts (Farkas Duffett Research Group for the AEI Program on American Citizenship, *High Schools, Civics, and Citizenship: What Social Studies Teachers Think and Do*, 31–32).

8. See Frederick M. Hess, “The Limits of Transactional Citizenship,” *Education Week* Rick Hess Straight Up blog, October 4, 2010, http://blogs.edweek.org/edweek/rick_hess_straight_up/2010/10/the_limits_of_transactional_citizenship.html (accessed June 1, 2011); and Frederick M. Hess “The Trouble with Vocational Citizenship,” *Education Week* Rick Hess Straight Up blog, October 5, 2010, http://blogs.edweek.org/edweek/rick_hess_straight_up/2010/10/the_trouble_with_vocational_citizenship.html (accessed June 1, 2011).

Author Biographies

Daniel Lautzenheiser is a research assistant in education policy at AEI. His research focuses on the politics of education, governance, and K–12 school reform. He is coauthor of a forthcoming report from the Center for American Progress on state education agencies. Before joining AEI, he was a stock market analyst at Elder Research Inc. He graduated from the University of Virginia with a BA in economics and history.

Andrew P. Kelly is a research fellow in education policy studies at AEI and a doctoral candidate in political science at the University of California–Berkeley. He oversees the higher education work of AEI’s education policy department. His research focuses on higher education transparency and accountability, parental choice in K–12 and higher education, and congressional policymaking. As a graduate student, Mr. Kelly was a National Science Foundation interdisciplinary training fellow and graduate student instructor. Previously, he was a research assistant at AEI, where his work focused on the preparation of school leaders, collective bargaining in public schools, and the politics of education. His research and commentary have appeared in *Teachers College Record*, *Educational Policy*, the *Policy Studies Journal*, *Education Next*, *Education Week*, *Insider Higher Ed*, *Forbes*, and various edited volumes. He is coeditor of *Reinventing Higher Education: The Promise of Innovation* (Harvard Education Press, 2011) and a coauthor of the AEI reports *Diplomas and Dropouts: Which Colleges Graduate Their Students (and Which Don’t)* (2009) and *Filling in the Blanks: How Information Can Affect Choice in Higher Education* (2011).

Cheryl Miller is program manager of the AEI Program on American Citizenship. Previously, she worked as head news clerk and editorial researcher at the *New York Times* and as deputy director of research in the Office of Presidential Speechwriting. Her work has appeared in such publications as the *Wall Street Journal*, the *Weekly Standard*, *Commentary*, and the *Claremont Review of Books*. She is author of the AEI report *Underserved: A Case Study of ROTC in New York City* (2011) and coauthor of *High Schools, Civics and Citizenship: What Social Studies Teachers Think and Do* (2010).