EDUCATING FOR AMERICAN DEMOCRACY











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There is dust alive with dreams of The Republic, with dreams of the Family of Man flung wide on a shrinking globe with old timetables, old maps, old guideposts torn into shreds, shot into tatters burnt in a firewind, lost in the shambles, faded in rubble and ashes.

CARL SANDBURG

The Long Shadow of Lincoln: A Litany

being American is more than a pride we inherit, it's the past we step into and how we repair it. AMANDA GORMAN

4

AMANDA GORMAN The Hill We Climb

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Executive Summary

he United States stands at a crossroads of peril and **L** possibility. A healthy constitutional democracy always demands reflective patriotism. In times of crisis, it is especially important that "We the People" unite love of country with cleareyed wisdom about our successes and failures in order to chart our forward path.

In recent decades, we as a nation have failed to prepare young Americans for self-government, leaving the world's oldest constitutional democracy in grave danger, afflicted by both cynicism and nostalgia, as it approaches its 250th anniversary. The time has come to recommit to the education of our young people for informed, authentic, and engaged citizenship. Our civic strength requires excellent civic and history education to repair the foundations of our democratic republic. Not only social studies but all academic disciplines, cocurricular activities, and many organizations outside schools play important roles in educating young people for constitutional democracy and therefore contribute to historical and civic education, broadly conceived. All hands are needed at this challenging time to build a new foundation for excellence in civic and history education.

This Roadmap to Educating for American Democracy (EAD) sets out goals for a 21st-century history and civic education, in support of civic strength. With an emphasis on inquiry, the EAD Roadmap offers general guidance to be used by national, state, tribal, and local leaders to assess the adequacy of current practices, standards, and resources, and to guide innovation. A lack of consensus about the substance of history and civic education-what and how to teach-has been a major obstacle to maintaining excellence in history and civic education in recent decades. The EAD Roadmap answers these questions and seeks to strengthen civic and history education for all young Americans in service of a healthier constitutional democracy.

Adults are deeply polarized, often demonstrate unsatisfactory knowledge and skills for civic engagement, and experience weak civic institutions. All this can leave them disaffected and alienated. These problems are linked. Partisan polarization has hampered civic and history education because Americans deeply disagree about some of the fundamental issues that arise in those disciplines, and adults have not managed such disagreements productively and constructively. Often it has seemed easier to neglect civics and history than to court

controversy about content or pedagogy. In turn, neglecting civics means that new generations of Americans are not learning how to adequately address contentious and challenging issues well.

ponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities Normal and the U.S. Department of Education, the EAD Roadmap reflects the work of hundreds of ideologically, philosophically, and demographically diverse historians, political scientists, and educators. We made the project of arguing well together an overarching aspiration and, because of that focus, achieved more consensus than might have been anticipated at the outset. That purpose-inculcating skills and virtues for productive, civil disagreement-also takes pride of place within the EAD Roadmap's guidance.

What do we expect to happen if the EAD Roadmap is fully implemented? Because of the deep challenges facing constitutional democracy in the United States-and the need to set high expectations for the knowledge, skills, and civic virtues of Americans-the EAD Roadmap presents an ambitious agenda. Realizing it fully, so that every student in the country truly experiences excellent history and civic education from kindergarten through 12th grade, will require significant renewal and innovation in our educational system.

TO ACHIEVE THIS COMPREHENSIVE IMPLEMENTATION AND WITH THE ASPIRATION TO LEAVE NO ONE BEHIND, WE PROPOSE THE FOLLOWING AMBITIOUS GOALS TO BE ACCOMPLISHED WITHIN ONE DECADE, BY 2030:

- GO MILLION STUDENTS will have access to high-quality civic learning opportunities, where high-quality is defined as excellence in teaching of civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions; also, a diverse supermajority will be actively engaged in earning civic learning credentials;
- 100,000 SCHOOLS will be "civic ready" (have a Civic Learning Plan and resources to support it in place), prioritizing excellence in teaching of civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions; and
- 1 MILLION TEACHERS will be EAD-ready (having received excellent pre- and in-service professional development).

Implementation of the EAD Roadmap can exhibit the best of collaborative federalism, a policy approach that makes the most of our layered federal system—encompassing district and state-level leadership, civil society engagement, and federal investment in research and development, along with federal support for data and metrics and for an expanded and diversified social studies educator corps that is equipped with disciplinary mastery not only in history but also in disciplines like political science and economics.

The EAD Roadmap is advisory, but we include a call to civic duty. Standards, curricula, and materials will reflect variation across states, tribal governments, and localities as befits our diverse federal republic. But all are called to participate in a shared project of achieving excellence in history and civic education in support of civic strength.

The survival of our constitutional democracy is at stake.



Introduction

America's Constitutional Democracy Requires **Better Civic and History Education**

self-governing people must constantly attend to historical $oldsymbol{A}$ and civic education: to the process by which the rising generation owns the past, takes the helm, and charts a course toward the future. The United States is the longest-lived constitutional democracy in the world, approaching its 250th anniversary in 2026. This occasion calls for both celebration and fresh commitment to the cause of self-government for free and equal citizens in a diverse society.

Education in civics and history equips members of a democratic society to understand, appreciate, nurture and, where necessary, improve their political system and civil society: to make our union "more perfect," as the U.S. Constitution says. This education must be designed to enable and enhance the capacity for selfgovernment from the level of the individual, the family, and the neighborhood to the state, the nation, and even the world.

The word "civic" denotes the virtues, assets, and activities that a free people need to govern themselves well. When civic education succeeds, all people are prepared and motivated to participate effectively in civic life. They acquire and share the knowledge, skills, and dispositions necessary for effective participation.

Equity also is essential. High-quality education must be delivered to all, for our form of government necessarily invests in all young people the chance to become civic and political leaders.

Yet civic and history education has eroded in the United States over the past 50 years, and opportunities to learn these subjects are inequitably distributed. Across the same time period, partisan and philosophical polarization has increased. A recent surge in voter participation has been accompanied by dangerous degrees of misinformation and tension, even rising to violence. Dangerously low proportions of the public understand and trust our democratic institutions. Majorities are functionally illiterate on our constitutional principles and forms. The relative neglect of civic education in the past half-century is one important cause of our civic and political dysfunction.¹

Excellence in civic and history education represents a part of the solution; it should be a foundation of our national civic infrastructure.

Civics and History Have Been Neglected

edicated educators and organizations work hard and well every day to teach American history and civics, and some states have implemented admirable policies. Yet recent waves of federal education reform-from the No Child Left Behind Act of 2002 to the Race to the Top grants of 2009-have largely neglected these subjects. Over the last three decades, governments at all levels-from federal to local-have provided scant support for curriculum development, teacher professional development, assessment, and research and development in civic and history education. Nevertheless, state legislatures and departments of education often pass mandates to teach specific topics in these disciplines. This dynamic often results in incoherent standards at once lengthy and superficial, and too extensive to be taught in the limited time and with the scant resources allocated for social studies.

In an era of high-stakes accountability, social studies-commonly the home of much civic education-has often gone untested. This drives declining investment of time and other resources in these disciplines. Students and educators are left to confront often fraught and controversial topics without adequate intellectual support, instructional time, and guidance.

Curricula and instructional practices alike reflect this neglect. Although some well-resourced students have access to highquality civic learning in and out of school, others are left behind due to economic constraints or geographic inaccessibility. Research consistently shows that low-income and underserved students flourish when they receive innovative and studentcentered educational approaches to civic learning that require investments not always available in their classrooms.²

The consequence? Generations of students have not received the high-quality education in history and civics that they need, and deserve, to prepare them for informed and engaged citizenship.

ver half a century, national concerns about geopolitical Space Museum assumed monumental proportions, earning the security and global economic competitiveness have roused nickname "history wars" in the popular press. In the end, the national leaders to devote time and resources to science, Senate rejected the National History Standards by a vote of 99 technology, engineering, and math (STEM) education. As a to 1. Nor have we come to consensus on these issues in the nation, we have invested at least \$2.8 billion per year³ over many decades since. Precisely because the subjects are so important decades, or more than \$100 billion in all. The threat we face now and the stakes so high, we continue to fight over accuracy, is more internal than external; it is our own civic dysfunction. If tone, and emphasis in the presentation of the American past, we seek global competitiveness, we should seek it as the kind of particularly in schools. Historians' widely divergent responses to society we are, namely a constitutional democracy. This requires The New York Times' "1619 Project" on the history and legacy of not just that we master domains of science and technology but slavery demonstrate the ongoing intensity of the disagreement. also that we continuously renew effective self-governance by Fraught though the terrain is, America urgently needs a shared, developing rising generations who understand and are motivated national conversation about what is most important to teach by the value of America's constitutional democracy. Just as we in American history and civics, how to teach it and, above all, invested in STEM education in response to the Cold War, the why. We believe there is a way forward if we can build a national Sputnik moment, and the economic challenges of globalization, conversation that is at once ideologically pluralist, grounded in now in response to our dysfunction and failures of governance we classroom experience, and accessible both to teachers of all need an equivalent scale of investment for civic learning. backgrounds and to diverse student learners.

One Cause of the Neglect Is Dysfunctional **Controversy About Content**

Y entral to the success of STEM has been the ability of experts in ✓ STEM fields to achieve national consensus on standards and needs. In the subjects of history and civics, by contrast, national polarization-including about the nature of our past and the meaning of our institutions-has created obstacles to investment.

In recent decades, professional historians have made significant This is one reason that civics and history have been ignored in scholarly gains, particularly in incorporating historically many state and federal efforts at educational reform. Although marginalized American populations in historical narratives. people disagree about these approaches to education reform, Their revelatory findings are still not fully woven into K-12 the repeated omission of civics and history is revealing. Adults' damaging inability to disagree productively about the purposes 44 and content of these disciplines spotlights the need to teach civil disagreement and civic friendship-two major purposes of civic Research consistently shows that low-income and education as we conceive it.

Disputing the shape and purpose of American history has been something of a national pastime since the Civil War, if not before. In the 1990s, debates over the National Endowment for the Humanities/U.S. Department of Education-funded National History Standards and the planned 50th-anniversary exhibition of the bomber Enola Gay at the Smithsonian Air and

¹Levine and Kawashima-Ginsberg 2017.

²Atwell, Bridgeland, and Levine 2017; Levine and Kawashima-Ginsberg 2017; Levinson 2012.

Civics and History Must Reflect the Best Scholarship

ven well-resourced schools often work under outdated Li standards and with inadequate curricula. Most classroom materials in the fields of history and civics have yet to benefit from cutting-edge thinking in the relevant academic disciplines at the college level.

underserved students flourish when they receive innovative and student-centered educational approaches to civic learning that require investments not always available in their classrooms.

education. Yet scholars' increasing and laudable concern with the diversity of historical experiences in the United States has also yielded fragmentation and specialization at the expense of integrative frameworks for understanding the American past. Few professional historians have helped to create the kinds of overarching and relevant narratives needed in K-12 curricula.⁴

Similarly, in political science, research agendas and methods have expanded dramatically from the 1980s to the present. American political thought was reconsidered and its canon expanded. Scholars have studied social movements alongside institutions. The study of youth political experience entered the field, thanks to the efforts of developmental psychologists and education researchers. Political scientists and legal scholars incorporated the administrative state into study of our political institutions. Yet the incentive structures of the academy have ensured that university political science researchers, much like historians, have contributed only infrequently to the development of K-12 curricula over the last two decades. As a result, little of this new learning has yet made its way into the K-12 curriculum.

/ aking civic education equitable is not just a matter of equitably distributing money and other material resources. Intellectual and cultural resources are equally important goods also requiring equitable provision. Coming to a shared account of our past is essential to sharing equally the burdens of the work of the future, as Bryan Stevenson has argued in explaining his development of the Monument to Peace and Justice in Montgomery, Alabama. Many societies rely on a process of truth and reconciliation to arrive at shared understandings of the past. In the United States, without such a formal process, scholars and educators must achieve, in Stevenson's words, "an honest accounting of the past" and, through that, "a more honest American identity."5

Thanks to the diligent work of historians and political scientists over the last five decades, the experiences of those who lived through enslavement in the United States, and achieved its end and other significant transformations, are now widely available to the historical record. The same is true of other hidden narratives and stories that were thought untellable-the histories of women, Indigenous Americans, immigrant communities, sexual

minorities, and those who are differently abled. Yet students can make it into their teens without knowing, for instance, that George Washington not only was a foundational leader but also enslaved people. Learners who make such belated discoveries, and who wrestle with such contradictions absent meaningful scaffolding, can find their faith in our country existentially shaken. Without having had a chance to learn about and process the contradictions in our hard histories directly, they will have an achievement gap to close with regard to understanding the road this country has traveled.

We are fortunate to live in a time when historical narratives, well supported by evidence, can point to the agency of those who experienced oppression and domination, even as those narratives can also offer clear-eyed accounts of how and why people did wrong to others. We can deliver full and accurate histories that can empower all learners as civic agents standing

Fraught though the terrain is, America urgently needs a shared, national conversation about what is most important to teach in American history and civics, how to teach it and, above all, why. We believe there is a way forward if we can build a national conversation that is at once ideologically pluralist, grounded in classroom experience, and accessible both to teachers of all backgrounds and to diverse student learners.

* * * *

The time has come to rebuild civic education as a foundation for civic strength.

on an equal footing with one another. Innovative scholarship over the last few decades in both history and political science makes this possible and should be integrated into the K-12 curriculum.

The Origins and Purposes of the EAD Roadmap

he time has come to rebuild civic education as a foundation for civic strength. To that end, a large, diverse group of leading civic education providers and research universities has collaborated to develop the Roadmap to Educating for American *Democracy*, offering guidance for the content and instructional strategies of K-12 history and civic education across the United States, as well as an implementation plan. The work was supported by a major grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) and the U.S. Department of Education (ED).

Responding to the call from the NEH and ED for a national framework for history and civic education in public schools, educators from iCivics, Arizona State University, Harvard University, and Tufts University sought to harness philosophical, ideological, and geographical diversity to develop a balanced, nationalconsensus framework and proposed plan of action.

As is discussed in more detail below, the EAD Roadmap lays out an inquiry-based approach to content that is organized by major themes and questions, and vertically spiraled across four grade bands: K-2; 3-5; 6-8; and 9-12. Because an agreement about fundamentals still leaves room for much diversity, we chose the concept of "roadmap" rather than "national standards" as a frame for our work, and we have structured the EAD Roadmap as a guide to the kinds of questions that should be asked and seriously engaged across the span of a K-12 education, richly informed by advanced scholarship in the relevant disciplines. The question of precisely how to help learners engage with these rich questions is left to state and local educational leaders and educators.

The EAD Roadmap is neither a set of standards nor a curriculum. It maps out the disciplinary and conceptual terrain and the skills and dispositional learning areas needed to support healthy civic participation. Its spirit is advisory but includes a call for national, state, local, and tribal leaders to act. Standards and curricula can and should be developed in alignment with the EAD Roadmap. Standards-setters and curriculum writers can look to the EAD Roadmap for advice and guidance.

An informed, authentic, and engaged citizenry would benefit from a better grasp of America's distinctive ideals, how our institutions work, and how 'We the People' strive to perfect our founding ideals and tradition of selfgovernment. All deserve an education that supports "reflective patriotism": appreciation of the ideals of our political order, candid reckoning with the country's failures to live up to those ideals, motivation to take responsibility for self-government, and deliberative skill to debate the challenges that face us in the present and future. History and civics are closely related and intertwining subjects.⁶

he EAD Roadmap, as well as its EAD Pedagogy Companion **L** and Stakeholder Briefs, resulted from a 16-month highly collaborative process involving more than 300 people across executive and steering committees, task forces, and listening sessions. Our large network of participants-including teachers, scholars, students, and leaders from private and public sectorswas professionally, demographically, and ideologically diverse. We charged ourselves with grappling with, rather than avoiding, the complexities of the important subjects under our care. Where we could, we found compromises; where arguments ran deep, we presented the principled tensions explicitly so that educators and students can join the conversation, and can experiment with ways of resolving the competing priorities and goals that characterize history education and civic learning. With compromise where possible and honesty about the hardest challenges, we reached consensus on a substantial educational vision. (For the specifics and resolutions of some of these, please see Appendix A, "Some Choices that Inform the EAD Roadmap.")

The goals of the NEH and ED were to promote wiser and more coherent aspirations for excellence in history and civic learning for all K-12 students. We are honored that our public servants entrusted us with this vital act of service.

Meeting an Expressed Need

S tudents hunger for a deeper understanding of their country's origins, development, triumphs, errors, and travails. In fact, a group of public school students in Rhode Island recently brought suit against the state, arguing that an adequate civic education is an American citizenship right. In its response, the U.S. district court acknowledged "a cry for help from a generation of young people who are destined to inherit a country which we—the generation currently in charge—are not stewarding well. ... We would do well to pay attention to their plea."⁷

The civic and political context that such education must address has changed rapidly in the past two decades. Students must be prepared today for a world of hyper-partisanship, weak civic associations, and social media instead of printed metropolitan daily newspapers. Americans of all ages need better skills with evidence and digital literacy, stronger civic virtues for deliberation and tolerance of divergent views, and deeper commitment to renewal and the rebuilding of civic capital than would suffice a half century ago. Yesterday's civics cannot suffice for today's world.

If we face an acute need for reinvestment in civic education, we do so in a climate that offers hope. The American public is ready for change. A Pew Research Center study reports that 61 percent of Americans think the country needs significant change in its design and structure.⁸ In a separate survey, when a representative sample of Americans was presented with a list of reforms that might improve American community—from ranked choice voting to regulation of digital media to easier access to voting to national service to civic education—only the last garnered support from a majority.⁹

Collectively, we understand the need to reinvest in civic and history education, and it is time to act.

The EAD Roadmap is an inquiry-based content framework excellence in civic and history education for all learners to is organized by major themes and questions, supported by ke concepts. It is vertically spiraled across four grade bands (K-2 3-5, 6-8, and 9-12), and offers a vision for the integration of history and civic education throughout grades K-12.

The *EAD* Roadmap itself favors depth over breadth, intentionally highlighting a relatively concise set of crucial themes and questions to fill 13 years of education in two major academic subjects.

We believe that a weakness of typical civics and history educat is a tilt toward breadth over depth, multiplying rather than organizing lessons from the American past and our civic toolkit

The EAD Roadmap is meant to be a corrective.

The EAD Roadmap is not a curriculum but rather a starting point for the design of state, tribal, and local standards, curricula, resources, and lessons. To give standard-setters and curriculum, resource, and lesson designers parameters for their work, we have also articulated five "design challenges." These bring to the fore the most challenging aspects of designing a history and civics curriculum and invite educators and practitioners to participate in a nationwide community of practice experimenting with finding solutions.

⁸Pew Research Center 2020.

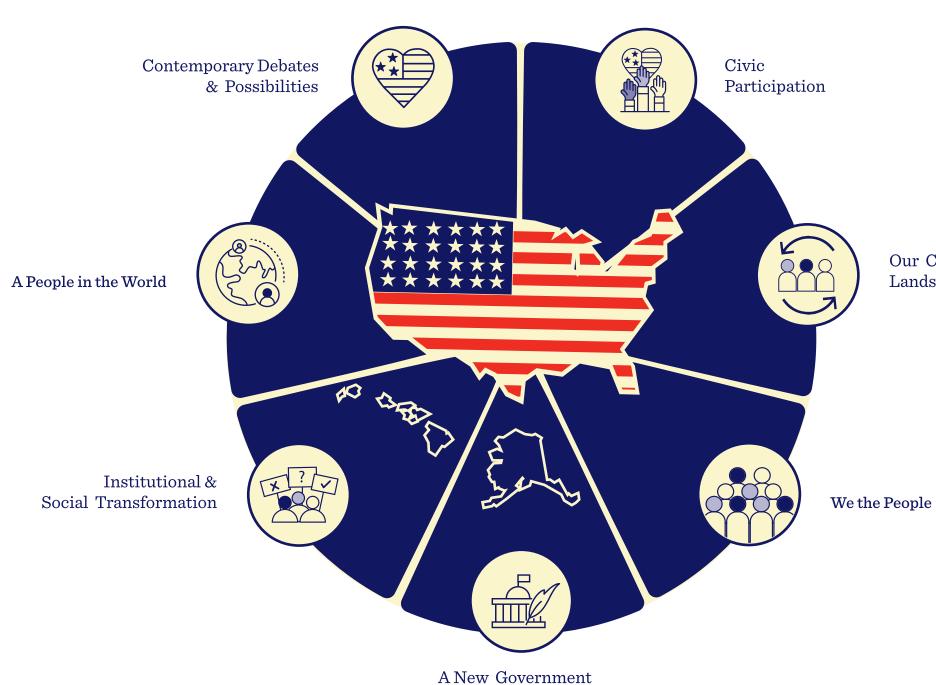
⁹Luntz 2020.

l. for	Finally, the FAD Decomposition with an FAD Dedogagy
k for	Finally, the EAD Roadmap is supported with an EAD Pedagogy
s that	Companion and Stakeholder Briefs. The EAD Pedagogy
ey	Companion offers pedagogical principles of effective civic and
-2,	history teaching and learning. The $\ensuremath{\textit{Stakeholder Briefs}}$ lay out the
of	implementation roles for teachers, students, school and district
	administrators, state and federal policymakers, professional
	development providers, curriculum providers, researchers,
	parents, and local community leaders. The implementation
	roles of different stakeholders align with the implementation
	framework presented below based on collaborative federalism,
	which prioritizes local leadership supported, as appropriate, by
ation	tribal, state, and federal governments, as well as civil society
	organizations.
it.	The aim of the EAD Roadmap is to provide a framework for a
	truly national and cross-state conversation about civic learning,
aint	to focus educator attention and effort in order to build broad,
oint	highly effective communities of practice. Taken together, the EAD
	Roadmap and EAD Pedagogy Companion offer seven content
ılum,	themes, six pedagogical principles, and five "design challenges."
e	themes, six pedagogical principles, and live design challenges.

⁷ "A.C., a Minor by Her Parent and Guardian ad litem, et al., v. Gina Raimondo et al."

The Seven Themes

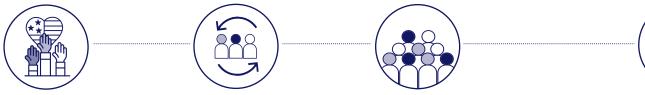
he seven content themes map out the disciplinary and L conceptual terrain, as well as the skills and dispositional learning needed to support healthy civic participation. They encompass the material necessary to explore what it means to participate in American constitutional democracy; how American constitutional democracy came to be; the places and peoples of which it consists; how shared political institutions emerged, have been transformed, and operate now; the diverse array of benefits and harms that have been wrought by those institutions; the place of the United States in the world more broadly; and the ongoing debates that characterize contemporary American civic life, as well as the possibilities available to us now for concrete realization of our ideals.



& Constitution

Our Changing Landscape

The Seven Themes



THE SEVEN THEMES

Civic Participation 1 **Our Changing** 2 Landscapes We the People 3 **A New Government** 4 and Constitution Institutional and Social 5 Series of Refoundings? A People in the World 6

A People with Contemporary

Debates and Possibilities

relationship between selfgovernment and civic participation, drawing on history to explore how citizens' active engagement has mattered for American society, and on civics to explore the principles, values, habits, and skills that support productive engagement in a healthy, resilient constitutional democracy. This theme focuses attention on the overarching goal of engaging young people as civic participants and preparing them to assume that role successfully.

THEME 1: Civic Participation

This theme explores the

THEME 2: Our Changing Landscapes

This theme begins with the recognition that American civic experience is tied to a particular place, and explores the history of how the United States developed the geographic and demographic shape it has, as well as the complex experiences of harm and benefit that history has delivered to different portions of the American population; and the civics questions of how political communities form in the first place, become connected to specific places, and develop membership rules. The theme also takes up the question of our interaction with and responsibility to the natural world.

THEME 3: We the People

This theme explores the idea of "the people" as a political concept-not just communities who share a landscape but members of a nation who share political ideals and institutions while also regularly disagreeing about their meaning and efficacy. The theme explores the history of how the contemporary American people has taken shape as a political body and builds civic understanding about how political institutions and shared ideals can work to connect a diverse population to shared processes of societal decisionmaking. The theme also explores the challenge of e pluribus unum: forging one political people out of diverse experiences.

THEME 4: A New Government and Constitution

This theme explores the social, political, and institutional history of the United States in its founding era, as well as the theoretical underpinnings of our constitutional design. The state constitutions and the federal 1787 Constitution, as amended, form diverse peoples and places into an American people: one overarching political community. The Constitution deliberately creates a complex layering and counterbalancing of institutions, powers, and spaces for debate and opposition. The document and its revisions by amendment strive to secure and protect the ideals of equal rights for all proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence.

THEME 5: Institutional and Social Transformation— A Series of Refoundings?

This theme explores how cultural practices, social movements, and conflicts have combined with political institutions to shape American life from the earliest colonial period to the present, investigates which moments of change have most defined the country, and builds understanding of how we, the people, working in concert, have changed American society and political institutions.

7





and TI

THEME 6: A People in the World

This theme explores the place of the United States and the American people in a global context, investigating key historical events in international affairs, and building understanding of the principles, values, and laws at stake in debates about America's role in the world, and the world's role in shaping the United States.

THEME 7: A People with Contemporary Debates and Possibilities

This theme explores the contemporary terrain of civic participation and civic agency, investigating how historical narratives shape current political, social, and economic arguments, how values and information shape policy arguments, and how the American people continues to renew or remake itself in pursuing fulfillment of the promise of our constitutional democracy.

Example:

A COMPARISON BETWEEN THE CURRENT STATE **STANDARDS AND EAD THEME 3—** WE THE PEOPLE

Instead of Current State Standards listing historical and civic events such as:

- ☆ Constitutional Convention
- Three branches of government
- 🛠 Shays' Rebellion

EAD Theme 3 asks (sample civics and history driving questions; these are accompanied by more detailed sample guiding questions):

- HOW did the institution of enslavement and practices of indigenous removal and even extermination affect national unity in the United States?
- HOW have mechanisms of majority vote interacted with minority-protecting mechanisms over time?
- **WHY** does a society need shared rules and what do rules do?
- HOW do I understand the perspectives of others and build bridges between different points of view?

The Structure of the Themes

7 hile there is no hierarchy among the themes, and they might be variously sequenced in a scope and sequence, they do deliberately reflect a logical progression. They begin with the main task of public schooling: to prepare knowledgeable and motivated citizens to participate in American self-government. In general, the themes build from the human and natural elements of forming communities and a polity, then address the United States' new mode of constitutional government, which perpetually forges a national political community and more particular communities in the country's complex ordering. The themes then move to the substantive achievements and challenges of American political development and self-government, framed through both historical and civic lenses; broaden out to the global context; and conclude with the ever-present need for citizens to commit to civil disagreement and an underlying civic friendship as we argue about how to live out, and live up to, our shared political principles.

The Importance of Inquiry

he content of the themes is presented in the form of guestions that should be explored over the course of a K-12 education. Main or driving questions are supported by sample guiding questions. The driving questions are intended as a starting point for curricular design. The sample guiding questions are intended as examples of starting points for lessons or sequences of lessons. The questions braid together history and civic learning. The figure left draws an example from the grades 6-8 band and provides a comparison between the current approach, focused on a list of themes and events, and the inquiry-based approach braiding together history and civics questions.

he EAD Pedagogy Companion is designed to support classroom teachers, students, and district and community stakeholders. Importantly, it presents the Six Core Pedagogical Principles exemplified by the "EAD teacher," designed to focus educators' effort on techniques that best support the learning and development of student agency required of history and civic education.

As depicted in the graphic below, an EAD teacher draws on six core principles that are connected sequentially. Being an EAD teacher starts with a dispositional shift to expect and support success in civic life from all students and also to commit to continuous improvement in both teaching and learning. The next step consists



of establishing norms and cultivating a community in which rigorous and challenging topics and questions can be explored deeply and courageously. Once these conditions are achieved, an inquiry process can draw on any of a number of instructional techniques. Content and concept learning through the inquiry process should be solidified by student engagement in practices of constitutional democracy both within the classroom and in the community. In this framework, the cycle of development for an EAD teacher starts with a commitment to serve all students well and ends with affirmation of that commitment through use of formative assessment and information from assessments for self-reflection and refinement of pedagogy.

The Six Core Pedagogical Principles



PRINCIPLE 1. Excellence for All

EAD teachers commit to learn about and teach full and multifaceted history and civic narratives. They appreciate student diversity and assume all students' capacity for learning complex and rigorous content. EAD teachers focus on inclusion and equity in both content and approach as they spiral instruction across grade bands, increasing complexity and depth about relevant history and contemporary issues.



PRINCIPLE 2. Self-Reflection and Growth Mindset

EAD teachers have a growth mindset for themselves and their students, meaning they engage in continuous self-reflection and cultivate selfknowledge. They learn and adopt content as well as practices that help all learners of diverse backgrounds reach excellence. EAD teachers need continuous and rigorous professional development (PD) and access to professional learning communities (PLCs) that offer peer support and mentoring opportunities, especially about content, pedagogical approaches, and instructionembedded assessments.



PRINCIPLE 3. Building an EAD-**Ready Classroom and School**

EAD teachers cultivate and sustain a learning environment by partnering with administrators, students, and families to conduct deep inquiry about the multifaceted stories of American constitutional democracy. They set expectations that all students know they belong and contribute to the classroom community. Students establish ownership and responsibility for their learning through mutual respect and an inclusive culture that enables students to engage courageously in rigorous discussion.



PRINCIPLE 4. Inquiry as the Primary Mode for Learning

EAD teachers not only use the EAD Roadmap inquiry prompts as entry points to teaching full and complex content, but also cultivate students' capacity to develop their own deep and critical inquiries about American history and civic life, and their identities and communities. EAD teachers embrace these rigorous inquiries as a way to advance students' historical and civic knowledge and connect that knowledge to students and their communities. EAD teachers also help students cultivate empathy across differences and inquisitiveness to ask difficult questions, which are core to historical understanding and constructive civic participation.

PRINCIPLE 5. Practice of Constitutional Democracy and Student Agency

practices and promoting civic more perfect union.



EAD teachers use their content knowledge and classroom leadership to model our constitutional principle of "We the People" through democratic responsibilities, civil rights, and civic friendship in their classrooms. EAD teachers deepen students' grasp of content and concepts by creating student opportunities to engage with real-world events and problem-solving about issues in their communities by taking informed action to create a



PRINCIPLE 6. Assess, Reflect, and Improve

EAD teachers use assessments as a tool to ensure all students understand civics content and concepts and apply civic skills and agency. Students have the opportunity to reflect on their learning and give feedback to their teachers in higher-order thinking exercises that enhance as well as measure learning. EAD teachers analyze and utilize feedback and assessment for self-reflection and improving instruction.

These principles are well aligned with the six "practices" first articulated in "The Civic Mission of Schools" report (2003) and elaborated in later documents. When viewed and applied comprehensively, the EAD Roadmap and EAD Pedagogy Companion update and build on those lists of practices and should therefore replace them. (See Appendix C for detail.)

FIVE DESIGN CHALLENGES

Motivating Agency, Sustaining the Republic

America's Plural Yet Shared Story

Simultaneously Celebrating and Critiquing Compromise

Civic Honesty, Reflective Patriotism

Balancing the Concrete and the Abstract

7 e present five design challenges that span the seven themes and reflect the six core pedagogical principles reviewed above. These design challenges typically involve several valid, worthy, and well-articulated learning goals that exist in mutual tension. Intentional engagement with questions of instructional strategy will help educators address these design challenges.

The design challenges state honestly and transparently some of the rich dilemmas that educators will encounter as they work with the content themes and pedagogic principles. They are derived from design thinking, an approach to innovation and problemsolving that emerged from STEM and business contexts and now is used in a wide variety of arenas. A design challenge sets a specific task for designers and suggests criteria for success. In this case, the designers are people who write or implement standards, curricula, materials, lessons, and assessments in civics and U.S. history. Rather than thinking that it is possible to solve up front all the challenges of how to deliver effective history and civic education, we argue that the nation's community of educatorsand indeed our students-should be brought into the work of experimentation and discussion necessary to build solutions.

Under the guidance of teachers well versed in the principles of the EAD Roadmap, students, too, would become designers on the path to becoming knowledgeable and engaged citizens: wrestling with thorny questions of approach, coverage, and balance in ways that contribute simultaneously to their historical knowledge and civic skills. Educators and students alike will develop agency by facing contradictions that lack easy resolutions. Indeed, the tensions captured in the design challenges reflect the complexities of history and of our constitutional forms of politics, with separated and distributed institutions deliberately designed to provoke debate and ensure space for airing diverse views. Thus, an education in both the fundamental themes and the design challenges prepares citizens for full engagement with civic argument and the possibilities for forging compromise across diverse views.

The five design challenges are as follows:

DESIGN CHALLENGE 1. Motivating Agency, Sustaining the Republic

- the globe, and shared challenges?
- thus American constitutional democracy?

DESIGN CHALLENGE 2. America's Plural Yet Shared Story

DC2.1	How can we integrate the perspectives of Americ
	States and explicating the content of the philoso
DC2.2	How can we do so consistently across all of Americ
DC2.3	How can this more plural and therefore more
	story, the shared inheritance of all Americans

DESIGN CHALLENGE 3. Simultaneously Celebrating and Critiquing Compromise

DC3.1	How do we simultaneously teach the value and
	people?
DC3.2	How do we help students make sense of the p

paradox that Americans continuously disagree about the ideal shape of self government but also agree to preserve shared institutions?

DESIGN CHALLENGE 4. Civic Honesty, Reflective Patriotism

falling into cynicism and appreciative of the founding without tipping into adulation?

DESIGN CHALLENGE 5. Balancing the Concrete and the Abstract

DC5.1	How can we support instructors in helping stu-
	and thematic and abstract or conceptual learn

DC1.1 How can we help students understand the full context for their role as citizens and civic participants without creating paralysis or a sense of the insignificance of their own agency in relation to the magnitude of our society,

DC1.2 How can we help students become engaged citizens who also sustain civil disagreement, civic friendship, and

DC1.3 How can we help students pursue civic action that is authentic, responsible, and informed?

cans from all different backgrounds when narrating a history of the United phical foundations of American constitutional democracy?

ica's historical periods and conceptual content?

accurate story of our history and foundations also be a common ;?

nd the danger of compromise for a free, diverse, and self-governing

DC4.1 How can we offer an account of U.S. constitutional democracy that is simultaneously honest about the past without

idents move between concrete, narrative, and chronological learning ning?

Toward 2026 and Beyond: Renewing America's Ecosystem of Civic Education

hat do we expect to happen if the EAD Roadmap is fully implemented? Received of the table constitutional democracy in the United States-and the need to set high expectations for the knowledge, skills, and civic virtues of American citizens-the EAD Roadmap presents an ambitious agenda. To realize it fully, so that every student in the country truly experiences excellent history and civic education from kindergarten through 12th grade, will require significant renewal and innovation in our educational system.

To achieve this comprehensive implementation and with the aspiration to leave no one behind, we propose the following ambitious goals to be achieved within one decade, by 2030 (for Timeline and Phases see Appendix D).

- GO MILLION STUDENTS will have access to high-quality civic learning opportunities, where high-quality is defined as excellence in teaching of civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions; also, a diverse supermajority will be actively engaged in earning civic learning credentials.
- 100,000 SCHOOLS will be "civic ready" (have a Civic Learning Plan and resources to support it in place), prioritizing excellence in teaching of civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions.
- 1 MILLION TEACHERS will be EAD-ready (having received excellent pre- and in-service professional development).

To change curricula and pedagogy across the United States in any content area requires sustained attention to implementation. Laws and other policy decisions can be helpful, but implementation is most effective when driven from the ground up, rather than primarily from the top down. This is especially true of history and civic education. These subjects are particularly prone to political controversy and polarization. Any effort to drive implementation

from above will be controversial and incite opposition. Broad engagement can protect reforms from actual and perceived political bias.

Previous research on civic education finds disappointingly modest effects of state mandates on what students know and what and how they are taught.¹⁰ The reason is a lack of serious investment in implementation by any state. A required social studies course, for example, will not produce positive results unless thousands of teachers are prepared to teach it, the available materials are excellent and aligned with the course requirements, and the assessments innovatively and creatively track knowledge, skills, and engagement.

Therefore, implementation of EAD focuses on the preparation of preservice teachers, provision of consistent professional development to educators, and continuous collection of data, which are in turn applied to continuous improvement. Curricula, materials, and assessments must be updated, improved, and made consistent at school, district, and state levels, in context-specific ways. Practitioners and researchers must continuously reflect on what is being learned and use the findings to improve practice.

ccent experience with civics in Florida and Illinois $\mathbf{L}\mathbf{\hat{l}}$ demonstrates that attention to implementation can improve the quality of instruction, raise test scores, and reduce disparities in outcomes by race and social class. These states' investments have, however, been quite modest and are not guaranteed, since they are not funded by regular state appropriations.

Successful, ground-up implementation requires sustained financial investment and the broad collaboration and the enthusiastic commitment of many stakeholders, especially front-line educators. Educators-and young people themselvesmust play active roles in making implementation happen, with experts and policy-makers playing a supporting role. In addition to educators and young people themselves who can emerge as leaders, other stakeholders include school, district, tribal, and state administrators; other professional groups (bar associations and state humanities councils, institutions of higher education, and many entities of civil society); and families. Parents and educators have significant influence to demand civic excellence, working in coordination with school administrators, as do local civic leaders.

44

National civil society agreement about broad overarching goals and metrics would help orient the whole field and support tracking of progress. There is a role for everyone in this work.

Charter schools and private schools are also invited into this work. The upcoming celebration of the nation's 250th anniversary should provide an opportunity to engage millions of Americans in EADinfused thinking about reflective patriotism and civic friendship.

Even while the country works to restore civics and U.S. history as genuine priorities in our public investments, civic educators he national community of practice growing from at all levels can use the EAD Roadmap as guidance for revising L engagement with the EAD Roadmap will be a community the tools they already use: standards, curricula, professional of experimenters, each testing different means of pursuing development programs, textbooks, other materials, and lesson the goals. Yet the goals and a shared vocabulary will enable plans. Experience with the C3 Framework suggests that this independent actors in the 56 states and territories, tribal is possible. For example, excerpts from the C3 Framework are governments, localities, and civil society to coordinate and hold widely assigned in professional development programs for one another accountable for progress. current teachers and in pre-service teacher education. Publishers Importantly, a grassroots approach to implementation does use it to inform textbooks. Some teachers read and apply it, either as individuals or in professional learning communities. We anticipate and welcome similar uses of the EAD Roadmap. Guides and other additional materials will be developed to make the EAD Roadmap more directly useful and accessible for a range of audiences.

not mean an end to accountability. To the contrary, public investment in civic education must be accompanied by practices of accountability to support effective use of those resources. We believe the time is right for innovation. Accountability may mean new tests, though it need not. State governments and tribalfederal partnerships should engage both seriously and creatively State-level authorities will need to revisit standards and on this front to develop innovative approaches. New work on accountability strategies. Curriculum designers will need to ramp badging of civic learning may open up possibilities for alternative up investment in innovation. Districts, tribal and state authorities, approaches to assessment and accountability. The noninclusion national organizations, and the federal government will need to of history and civic education in existing accountability regimes invest in rebuilding our history and civics teaching corps. Higher provides an opportunity for this field to bring innovation and education, too, has work to do; after years of disinvestment in civic creativity to state and federal-tribal accountability systems. education, we have an undersupply of teachers who have adequate college-level training in history and political science. ur implementation approach therefore lays out roles We need to rebuild our own curricular offerings in pertinent areas. J for schools (whether public, private, or charter), local Indeed, colleges and universities should assess whether they educational agencies (LEAs), states, tribal national, and national adequately require rigorous American history and civic educationactors-the latter encompassing both the federal government to include knowledge, skills, and virtues-of all their graduates.

and national civil society. We seek to harmonize the roles across these levels so that all are pulling in the same direction. LEA

and tribal authorities should be empowered in this work while states and other relevant authorities take responsibility for accountability processes, and national-level actors provide needed supports at scale. The federal government should build out infrastructure for metrics and reporting and invest in research and an expanded and diversified social studies educator corps that is equipped with disciplinary mastery not only in history but also in disciplines like political science and economics. Finally, national civil society agreement about broad overarching goals and metrics would help orient the whole field and support tracking of progress. There is a role for everyone in this work.

School students will need to spend more time on history and civics —more, certainly, than the 2.8 hours per week of social studies that is typical in third grade and more than the one year of U.S. history and one semester of U.S. government that is most commonly required in high schools.¹¹ Some of this additional time should be achieved by integrating history and civic learning with ELA courses, or even STEM courses. Students also will need more opportunities for valuable experiences beyond the classroom and school.

We can also make better use of the time already committed to social studies by developing and better curating EADaligned resources and providing more sustained professional development to the educators responsible for these disciplines. We must also draw more deeply on learning science to improve the efficacy of instruction in these disciplines.

The general public must call for this reform; students and educators can clarify the specific needs. We call on public decision-makers to be responsive.

In sum, implementation of the EAD Roadmap can exhibit the best of collaborative federalism, a policy-approach that makes the most of our layered federal system—encompassing district and state-level leadership, civil society engagement, and federal investment in research and development, data, metrics, and the educator corps.

The roles of the different levels in our federal system in EAD implementation are as follows:

EVERY LOCAL EDUCATION AGENCY SHOULD:

- Develop a Civic Learning Plan that lays out its goals, key performance indicators for measuring progress, and operational plan for achieving civic excellence.
- 2. Ensure that every educator has access to ongoing professional learning and is making progress toward becoming EAD certified.
- Develop and deliver curricula and learning resources aligned with the EAD Roadmap, either under existing or in response to revised state-level frameworks.
 Develop and deliver curricula and learning resources aligned with the EAD Roadmap, either under relevant tribal, state-level, or Bureau of Indian Education frameworks or in response to revised state levels.
- Establish student credentialing benchmarks at appropriate grade-level junctures.
 Establish student credentialing benchmarks at appropriate grade-level junctures.
- **5.** As appropriate, public charter schools and charter school networks should participate in these processes.

EVERY STATE LEVEL AUTHORITY (INCLUDING STATES, TERRITORIES, AND D.C.) SHOULD:

- **1.** Require a Civic Learning Plan from every LEA.
- **2.** Aggregate LEA Civic Learning Plans to allow comparisons and assessments of progress.
- **3.** Integrate the Civic Learning Plan data within state accountability systems as a component of school performance indicators.
- **4.** Adopt social studies standards that align with the *EAD Roadmap.*
- **5.** Support educator professional development by building networks across LEAs, and by promoting pre-service civic learning.
- **6.** Require EAD training as part of educator preparation or licensure requirements.
- **7.** Accredit schools for excellence in EAD civics.
- 8. Implement a new Prince Hall Fellowship modeled after the successful James Madison Fellowship program. Humanities and social sciences graduates—with recruitment directed energetically toward people of color—who have preparation in EAD as well as pedagogy would receive a stipend for the first

/	EVE	RY TRIBAL-LEVEL EDUCATION AUTHORITY SHOULD:
	9.	Participate in the National Assessment of Education Progress (NAEP) history and civics assessment.
		teaching profession.

1. Develop a Civic Learning Plan that lays out its goals, key performance indicators for measuring progress, and operational plan for achieving civic excellence.

five years in the profession to incentivize them to join the

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SHOULD:

- **1.** Establish civic readiness as an aim in the mission of the Department of Education, while also recognizing state-level leadership in pursuit thereof.
- Build a robust national data infrastructure for history and civics; part of that infrastructure would be a regularly updated public collection of all the data Civic Learning Plans generate and state civic excellence progress measures.
 - Revise the NAEP frameworks for civics and U.S. history (which were written in the 1980s) to align with EAD; deploy the tests in all three NAEP grades (4, 8, 12); and provide state-level as well as national data every two years.
 - Prioritize innovation and research in educational funding for history and civics, particularly linking higher education to K-12.
 - Include a K-12 outreach requirement in federal research grants in the humanities and social sciences related to civics and history.
 - **6.** Fund demonstration projects in schools/districts to engage the community, educators, administrators, and students in developing civic excellence, and evaluate progress.
- Ensure that the Bureau of Indian Education implements relevant standards, professional development, and accountability responsibilities of state authorities for schools within its jurisdiction.

Conclusion

CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS INCLUDING INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION, FOUNDATIONS, AND CIVIC EDUCATION **PROVIDERS SHOULD:**

- 1. Create a multiplicity of curricula, experiences, and resources that align with the EAD Roadmap.
- 2. Offer professional development opportunities (both preservice and in-service) that align with the EAD Roadmap.
- 3. Develop protocols for credentialing civic learning, including through the use of badges for learners and seals for schools.
- 4. Provide technical advice to districts and states in support of implementation.

Independent and parochial schools were not part of the charge for this initiative and are not explicitly named in the processes described above. Nonetheless, we hope that private schools choose to employ the EAD Roadmap as a guide for their civic and history curricula and programs. They also could serve the whole field by developing and testing novel approaches to both content and pedagogy that are consistent with the themes and design challenges of the EAD Roadmap.

The Importance of Professional Training and Development

f all aspects of implementation, the most important is continuous strengthening of the teacher corps for history and civic education.

In keeping with our development of the EAD Roadmap, we must establish a path to educator preparation. Educators already working within schools need more capacity for this work, including the mastery of inquiry-based teaching as well as content knowledge and other pedagogical practices. Ultimately, this set of skills and capabilities would earn an educator EAD certification.

Similarly, at the school/LEA level, a parallel certification process would help structure the path toward an educator and administrator workforce that is "civic ready."

State-level authorities also should require EAD training as part of the requirements for licensure as a history or civic educator. Working in concert with the higher education institutions that train pre-service educators, state-level authorities could help establish and accredit programs.

In addition, state-level authorities should adopt programs that recruit college graduates in the humanities and social sciences to teach history and civics and diversify the educator pipeline for history and civic education. This is why we propose a new Prince Hall Fellowship for history and civics, modeled after the successful James Madison Fellowship program.

There will be many questions to answer about how redoubled professional development efforts in support of civic learning interact with existing approaches to training and licensure, and how they do so for teachers working at different grade levels or in special education and other distinctive contexts. This is not the place to answer these questions, but we do call special attention to professional development because it is the one aspect of implementation without which nothing else can succeed.

A Call to Civic Duty and Action

ur Roadmap to Educating for American Democracy is advisory, but it responds to a challenge that generations have failed to master. Despite our country's polarization, we need a shared focus on achieving excellence in civic and history education for all learners. We propose an answer to questions about what is most important to teach in American history and civics, how to teach it, and above all, why. Our framework is flexible and provides significant room for differences of emphasis and diverse experiments with implementation. We celebrate that anticipated diversity of approach. Yet all are called to participate in a shared endeavor to achieve excellence in history and civic education and in so doing, to secure our civic strength.

Passing on a love and understanding of American constitutional democracy to future generations is an urgent civic necessity. We are all responsible for cultivating in ourselves and the young the reflective patriotism needed to navigate the dangerous shoals we now face as we chart a course between cynicism and nostalgia. To those who believe in America's principles and promise, what we have inherited is painfully imperfect. It is our task not to abandon but to improve it.

Our constitutional democracy is at stake. We have no time to waste.

n interdisciplinary group of professionally, ideologically, L demographically, and geographically diverse educators and scholars have deliberated regularly over the course of one-anda-half years to write the EAD Roadmap and the accompanying materials. This group has encountered and discussed a wide range of issues, including potentially contentious and divisive themes. The collegiality and commitment to pursuing common ground has been notable in our discussions. Our processes of deliberation, reflection, value clarification, compromise, and coalition building have made use of the kinds of civic skills and civic virtues that the EAD Roadmap calls for. The result has been shared intellectual growth across our team, rather than the watering down or heating up that some skeptics feared. Along the way, we had to make important choices of terms or framing orientations, to break through disagreements that we brought to the table. We owe explanations of the choices we have made when confronting the most sensitive issues.

The Use of the Word "American"

he words "America" and "American" recur frequently in the EAD Roadmap, and deliberately so. These words have fairly precise meanings when used in geographical contexts. For example, a historical or current map that is labeled "North America" should show the whole continent that extends between the modern nations of Panama and Canada. It should exclude Hawaii, which is part of Oceania.

As late as 1760, the word "Americans" typically referred to the Native inhabitants of Britain's North American colonies. Creating a new and broadly shared meaning of what it meant to be "American" was crucial to the work of forging 13 of those 26 disparate colonies into an independent United States. Since the American Revolution, the nation has evolved a rich and powerful tradition of using the words "American" and "Americans" to describe and evaluate-whether positively, critically, or boththe United States and its culture, inhabitants, and institutions. Langston Hughes' "Let America Be America Again" is one of countless poems, speeches, argumentative texts, songs, and image titles that have claimed and contested "America" in valueladen, emotionally resonant ways.

For many people, "America" is a term of attachment, naming an entity to which individuals belong and demonstrate commitment. For others, it has been a term of marginalization, yet one which has held out the ideals and offered the tools through which to contest exclusion from the formal polity. "I, too, sing America.... I, too, am America," as Hughes so powerfully and patriotically asserted. The American people are all the individuals embraced under the U.S. Constitution.

The term also enfolds Indigenous Americans whose relationship to the polity is often defined not only by the Constitution but also by treaties between tribal governments and the U.S. government.

The EAD Roadmap endorses this complex and manifold tradition and encourages students to study what America has meant, and does and can mean. Students should engage with diverse uses of the words "America" and "American," and understand disagreements about their meanings. They should wrestle with a range of views from their own peers and from texts and other media, and should form their own reasoned positions on questions ranging from, for example, "What is definitive or exceptional about America?" to "What can America mean to the young people who hold the future of our constitutional democracy in their hands?"

Principled disagreements about these questions should be expected and welcomed. As with other matters addressed in the EAD Roadmap, a fundamental goal is to help students learn to disagree well, with respect for facts and for other people-and with the objective of governing the nation together.

The Words "Citizen" AND "Citizenship"

he words "citizen" and "citizenship" have at least two ▲ significantly different ranges of meaning.

On one hand, a "citizen" is a person who possesses the full rights and obligations afforded by a given political system. Under the 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution, "All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside." As such, citizens have "privileges," "immunities," and rights, such as "life, liberty, or property."

Citizenship, in this formal sense, consists of rights and privileges Some students have been citizens since birth, some have been and the criteria for holding them. It varies by nation and, to naturalized or aim for naturalization, and some do not have an some extent, by state; it has also changed over time, not least evident path to legal citizenship. All should understand legal as groups originally excluded from the promise of "America" citizenship and be acknowledged for their capacity for citizenship used the nation's ideals to demand their inclusion as formal and success as civic participants in the communities in which citizens. This definition of U.S. citizenship can be found in the U.S. they live. Constitution, statutes, and court opinions, all of which are subject Unity and Diversity: The Challenge of E Pluribus Unum to some debate. he EAD Roadmap strongly emphasizes powerful and shared In a more broadly civic use of the word, a "citizen" is an active L themes within American history and our political and civic and responsible participant in any community or group. Used in institutions. It uses phrases like "U.S. government," "American this sense, students can be constructive citizens of their schools. life," and "the American people" in the singular and strives to scientists can be leading citizens of their disciplines, and educate all students to share in American government. individuals can exercise good citizenship in such international venues as Wikipedia or their religious faith. Here the debate

As in the traditional motto of the United States-e pluribus is about what constitutes "good" citizenship-what skills, unum—we have sought to balance this unity with not only dispositions, habits, and virtues are required. We also use the attention to but also appreciation for the diversity and pluralism phrase "civic participant" in this context.

Both meanings are important in U.S. history and civic education. Students should learn about the formal meanings of citizenship in the United States in the past and today, and (to some extent) in other countries, so that they understand who is included citizenship. They should be prepared to evaluate the current structure of official, legal U.S. citizenship and proposals to change it.

For much of American history, most schools presented U.S. or excluded and what rights, privileges, and duties come with history and civics largely from the perspective of white, Protestant, propertied men. Although there were important exceptions (often developed by and within communities of color), mass-market textbooks and state standards generally Students should also learn about citizenship and civic presented history and civics in this narrow way. Unity, participation in the informal and aspirational sense. What have consensus, and coherence were favored to degrees that made various thinkers argued about the value of citizenship in local these presentations of the American past blinkered, if not communities, in institutions like schools, or at the global level? fundamentally false.

We are aware that the two senses of the words do not always Demands for a wider variety of perspectives began to gain name the same people. An individual may hold legal citizenship in traction in the 1960s and have strengthened since then. a given country, such as the United States, without exercising any Historians and other scholars have achieved monumental civic responsibility or while actually undermining the community. advances in recovering evidence and promoting understanding of An individual who is not born or naturalized in the United States our diverse past. Much more is now known about the experiences may yet serve as a paragon of citizenship in various important of enslaved and free Black people in antebellum America. venues. For this reason, we commonly use the phrase "citizen women and sexual minorities, industrial and domestic workers, and civic participant" to capture both those who have the legal immigrants from a wide variety of countries, and the diverse status of citizen and those who do not. It is a notable and indeed Native peoples dispossessed from the North American continent, distinctive feature of American history that those without full to name just a few examples citizenship rights have often been among the country's most active, effective, and inspiring civic participants.

of American experiences. This diversity constitutes a key and indeed exceptional part of our shared national strength. Making unity from diversity is a foundational challenge in the United States; new meanings join the old across our centuries.

** * * * *

B oth the push for diversity and the new scholarship have been major achievements. However, what might be called a checklist approach to diversity—naming specific groups or episodes in state standards and counting how often these groups are mentioned in curricula and textbooks—has come to substitute for deeper and more transformative inclusion.

State legislatures, tribal governments and other state-level authorities, and state and local education agencies may enact requirements that name groups and topics to indicate a kind of respect. But they have had less capacity to modify, synthesize, or thematize existing requirements when they add new ones. The result has been a steady accumulation of mandates that encourages superficial treatment of all the required topics and creates an incoherent overall narrative. In many states, standards have become too long and detailed to be teachable. Nor will students come away with a clear understanding of why they studied the topics they did.

The *EAD Roadmap* therefore advocates a third stage of thinking about unity and diversity, to follow a stage of excessive narrowness or false unity and then a stage when named groups were included one by one, sometimes at a cost of coherence. We call this third stage diversity and inclusion for civic purposes.

At all grade levels and in all topics, history and civics must be taught in ways that incorporate a wide range of perspectives and interests into shared understanding, coherent even where it is complex, and grounded in appreciation for America's ideals of liberty, equality, and rule of law—ideals which by their nature always call forth argument about whether we are living up to them. We should not teach diverse perspectives so that they can count as having been "covered," but rather to accomplish these purposes:

- TO DEVELOP skills to consider others' perspectives, to understand how the world may look to our fellow citizens and civic participants, with whom we must govern the country and our communities together.
- TO LEARN to interpret other peoples' expressions of ideas and values—an essential skill for living and working together with fellow citizens and civic participants.

- TO GAIN the intellectual humility that prevents us from assuming that we know more about other people (past or present) than we do, while inspiring the quest for a deeper understanding.
- TO BUILD knowledge that anchors complete understanding of how history's many players intersected and interacted in the course of human events and made that history through those interactions, including conflicts.
- TO BUILD knowledge and interpretive frameworks that allow a genuine, thoughtful appreciation of all Americans.
 To recognize the unequal sacrifices that some Americans have made for the country, so that those can be appropriately honored.
- TO GIVE all children in the United States a legitimate sense that people like them matter to the public schools and the society as a whole.

On the whole, the *EAD Roadmap* does not list specific groups of Americans who should be included in curricula. The exception is the explicit question, "How have the many dimensions of diversity pertained to the challenges and opportunities involved in forging one people out of many?" Indigenous peoples, African Americans, and women are also mentioned in the *EAD Roadmap* because they are named in the amended U.S. Constitution as a result of significant and ongoing struggles over their inclusion. Otherwise, our approach has been to go beyond naming and counting, because civic goals require a pervasive commitment to diversity as well as unity—all the way through the curriculum. Several of our design challenges anchor that generalized commitment.

A Constitutional Democracy

The purpose of the *EAD Roadmap* is to help educate young Americans to participate in and sustain our constitutional democracy. Why do we use this particular term?

The United States was called both a republic and a democracy when it was founded in the late eighteenth century.¹² "Republic" is the only word used in the U.S. Constitution to refer to our form of government, when the United States pledges that it will "guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form

of Government" (Article IV, section 4). Yet Alexander Hamilton a substantial majority of American men were not permitted to vote. described the new constitution in the New York ratification Voting rights first began to expand significantly during the Jacksonian debates as a "representative democracy." The framers did era, such that by 1840, most free white men could cast ballots. not all share one definition of "republic" or make a consistent In the wake of the Civil War, the passage of the 15th Amendment distinction between republics and democracies. Both James (1870) guaranteed all men, including freed slaves, the right to vote Madison (Federalist 39) and Thomas Jefferson emphasized that in federal and state elections. The formal disenfranchisement of the word "republic" covered a very wide range of governments. women at the national level ended only in 1920. Jefferson explained to John Taylor in 1816 that he used the word The Voting Rights Act of 1965 enshrined the general principle to "mean a government by its citizens in mass, acting directly and of one person, one vote, removing many barriers to African personally, according to rules established by the majority." Here American voting; the 26th amendment (1971) extended the Jefferson defined "republic" to mean what many today would call franchise to 18 year olds. These and other voting reforms over a direct democracy. the last 150 years have made the United States much more In recent decades, political theorists have used the word democratic than it was at its founding.

"republic" in specific (but debated) ways-for example, to name he culture of the United States has also grown increasingly systems in which civic virtue is strongly emphasized, majority democratic, with wider commitment to the ideal that everyone rule is fundamental but also limited by durable structures can and must have a voice in governing. Institutions such as of government, or certain forms of liberty are paramount.¹³ universal schooling and the mass news media sustain this ideal. A democracy is widely defined as a political system in which Alexis de Tocqueville's Democracy in America (1835/1840) ultimate power lies with the whole people and in which all citizens share power equally at decisive moments, such as during described the American governments (state and federal) as constitutional republics, but discerned that by the Jacksonian era, elections. Both concepts convey popular sovereignty-but the America's predominant political culture had become democratic. former emphasizes the importance of institutions and structure He chose the title of his classic work with an eye to the tension and the latter the importance of participation, electoral and otherwise. The former term tends to be held up by those who between our complex forms of representative government largely celebrate liberty; the latter by those who celebrate equality. devoted to sustaining liberty and political equality, and our broader But the Declaration of Independence makes clear self-government demand for social equality and direct empowerment. depends on both liberty and equality. It is, after all, the work of Twentieth-century American leaders strongly and frequently endorsed democracy, and referred to the United States as a democracy. For example, on the 40th anniversary of D-Day,

free and equal citizens. It requires both order and participation. The phrase "constitutional democracy" honors both sides of the debates. President Ronald Reagan emphasized that the Second World The system that the framers (and especially the Federalists) War had been fought for democracy, saying, "One's country is created had some aspects that were republican and some that worth dying for, and democracy is worth dying for, because it's were democratic, both in their own vocabulary and in modern the most deeply honorable form of government ever devised parlance. The decision to deploy representation rather than by man." President Barack Obama emphasized the connection mechanisms of direct democracy was and is seen as "republican." between democracy and citizen participation: "Democracy was The decision to elect the president from the people as a whole, never meant to be transactional-you give me your vote; I make even if through an electoral college, was seen as democratic. everything better. It requires an active and informed citizenry." ver time, that process of election has become increasingly The United States, of course, also remains a republic. If that

Over time, that process of election has become increasingly democratic. Between 1776 and 1807, some women had the right to vote and used it, but then that right was revoked. In 1800, history, it means a government that belongs to the public (res

publica means "the public's affair"), not to a monarch, a specific class, or a foreign power. The United States is thus a republic that is organized as a constitutional democracy.

The EAD Roadmap assumes that the United States is a constitutional democracy and that students should be educated to practice and protect that form of government. At the same time, the EAD Roadmap envisions rigorous inquiry and spirited debate about the precise meanings, purposes, and requirements of a democracy, a constitution, a republic, and other key terms.

Civil Disagreement and Civic Friendship

he EAD Roadmap poses such questions as "Why are civil disagreement and toleration of differing views important?" and "What is civic friendship?" Design Challenge 1 asks, "How can we help students become engaged citizens who also sustain civil disagreement, civic friendship, and thus American constitutional democracy?"

Civic education is less about learning answers to a set of contested and contestable questions than about learning to disagree well with one's fellow citizens.

Robust freedom of speech is protected in American constitutional law, although the courts recognize some limits or parameters on it. Beyond any legal rights and regulations are norms and civic virtues about public debate that are essential to sustaining a constructive and healthy political order. Two of these civic virtues, which might be considered duties of citizens and civic participants in America's constitutional democracy, are civil disagreement and civic friendship.

What is "civil disagreement"? It is the capacity and commitment to "fighting fair"—to engaging in debate with a commitment to honesty, trustworthiness, charitable interpretation, and moving forward together. Civil disagreement need not be characterized by "civility" in the sense of polished manners, but it should be characterized by a commitment to the well-being of one's interlocutor as well as oneself.

Civil disagreement means using reasonable speech and writing when criticizing views or policies we oppose. What counts as "reasonable" can itself be debated, and it need not exclude expressions of emotion, including anger. However,

civil disagreement requires focusing on the substance of the contending views and on the evidence undergirding them.

mong the famous moments of American history that C exemplify civil disagreement, we could cite the opening and closing essays of The Federalist (1788), which call upon all debating the ratification of the 1787 Constitution to avoid questioning the motives or character of opponents and instead focus on the content and adequacy of the contending arguments. A focus on civil and reasonable argument helps us to elevate the quality and substance of our own views.

The closely related virtue of civic friendship reminds us that we should all regard one another as fellow Americans capable of sharing ideals, principles, and constitutional forms of selfgovernment even as we vigorously debate our philosophical or policy differences.

President Abraham Lincoln's First Inaugural address, which closes by calling those on both sides of the controversy over slavery and secession to find "the better angels of our nature" rather than to descend into civil war, embodies both civil disagreement and civic friendship; the address is a detailed refutation of the legitimacy of the arguments for secession, yet there is no bitterness, nor any derogatory comment marring President Lincoln's vigorous pressing of his case.

The African American lawyer and civil rights leader Pauli Murray, best known for coining the concept of "Jane Crow," advocated what she called "conciliation," one of the "Four Dedications" to which Americans must commit themselves in order to move forward as a people. She explained, "To conciliate does not mean to make concessions of principle. It means to win over to principle, to gain by friendly acts, to reconcile and make consistent. All America is now engaged in various stages of reconciling its practices and making them consistent with the American Dream. We have it in our power to help ease the tensions which necessarily accompany the great social experiment of which we are a vital part."¹⁴

The program of the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedomthe event at which the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., gave his "I Have a Dream Speech"-exemplifies a deep commitment to righting injustice alongside civic friendship. The program "demands" that Congress enact, "without compromise," ten

major reforms. It explains that the march "was conceived as an The K-12 civics curriculum draws on the disciplines of political outpouring of the deep feeling of millions of white and colored science, law, public policy, communications, sociology, and American citizens" about racial injustice. As such, the event "will philosophy, with political science as the traditional anchor. be orderly, but not subservient. It will be proud, but not arrogant. Combining these fields, civics encompasses various forms It will be non-violent, but not timid...It will be outspoken, but not of behavioral and social science, philosophical inquiry, and constitutional and legal analysis. Civics generally explores raucous." principles, institutions, and phenomena that occur across time. The program adds, in words that might serve as inspiration for civic educators, "In a neighborhood dispute there may be stunts, To illustrate the connection between history and civics, take as rough words and even hot insults; but when a whole people an example the Declaration of Independence. It is an artifact speaks to its government, the dialogue and the action must be on from the past-a document written in a particular place and time, a level reflecting the worth of that people and the responsibility by certain people for certain purposes-but it also proclaims, and of that government." King emphasized the discipline and is still read by many people around the world today to proclaim

commitment required to bring a spirit of love to interactions with universal principles of justice. A historian may ask, "Why was this one's adversaries but also proved the strength and power that lie document written?" "Why did various people sign it?" "What did in that orientation. they intend to accomplish?"

Educating for American Democracy has been grounded on the belief that students and teachers can practice these civic virtues in every classroom session and debate about U.S. history and civic principles, and that all Americans can practice these virtues as we undertake the work of self-government.

The Relationship Between History and Civics in the EAD Roadmap

T n the EAD Roadmap, history and civics are presented as distinct L yet related to each other within every theme and grade band. These two subjects are intimately connected and often contribute important insights about the same topic. To reason well about what to do in the present, citizens must bring them together. They are, however, different ways of thinking, and we name their specific contributions throughout the EAD Roadmap to ensure that neither is overlooked and that all students are introduced to the specific skills and methods of both disciplines.

Although professional historians study a wide range of topics, using many methods, their core methodology involves collecting evidence that survives from the past (such as documents, objects, and testimony), assessing its reliability and meaning, and using that evidence as the basis for coherent, verifiable narratives.

The Declaration is also a statement about the truths held to be self-evident by the signers and regarding the rights of individuals

flowing from them, including life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The Declaration also introduces other key philosophical topics such as natural rights, the consent of the governed, and the nature of "a people." Civics questions include "What should these concepts mean and how do they relate to each other?" "Why do nations become independent?" "How do public articulations of values relate to political transformations?"

This example illustrates how the two disciplinary perspectives offer complementary but distinct insights on the same specific topic. The EAD Roadmap accentuates and activates that complementarity.

The Place of Principles in the EAD Roadmap

he EAD Roadmap explicitly names terms such as liberty, L equality, duty, democracy, natural rights, human rights, and the rule of law. Definitions of these terms require articulations of principle. For instance, is liberty, properly understood, about freedom from domination or freedom from interference? And which definition should we choose as the bedrock element of a commitment to constitutional democracy? To choose one or another definition is to settle on the principles one uses to define overarching personal and social objectives, the ideals

and values that we use to assess whether our government and society are performing well or ill. In the EAD Roadmap, we pose questions about these terms so that educators and students must dig into the work for themselves of exploring the varying possible definitions and the consequences of committing to one or another definition.

Ideals like liberty and equality, and the definitions that convert them into principles that guide our actions, are not facts in the modern scientific sense: they cannot be directly observed or demonstrated. At the same time, their value is not a matter merely of the opinions that some people happen to hold. In the best case, both the ideals themselves-and the array of definitions that convert them into action-guiding principlesreflect well-considered, truth-seeking (albeit fallible) judgments about what is good for human beings and societies.

Although principles cannot be assessed by the same techniques as hypotheses about nature, they can and must be explored with academic rigor. Logic can be probed; consequences spelled out; implications unfolded and weighed; congruence with reality evaluated. Political philosophers and political leaders have contributed arguments and reasons for principles that can be rigorously evaluated and thoughtfully debated. Today's citizens can develop new arguments and new reasons.

Our task as citizens is not merely to understand what these ideals and principles have meant but to get them right to the best of our ability; to practice the civic virtue of civil disagreement in discussing divergent views about what these ideals and the related principles mean; and to form a society that combines them appropriately even though our ideals themselves may sometimes seem to conflict.

The Educating for American Democracy initiative involved a crossideological collaboration among more than 300 academics historians, political scientists, K-12 educators, district and state administrators, civics providers, students, and others from acros the country. We are extremely grateful for all those who gave of time, enthusiasm, perspectives, and expertise to the initiative. I addition to the individuals named at the beginning of this Repor wish to express our thanks to the following individuals:

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n 2003, CIRCLE and Carnegie Corporation of New York Lpublished "The Civic Mission of Schools" report, which assembled the available evidence at the time, set the resear agenda, and became the charter for the Campaign for the Ci Mission of Schools. At the heart of this report was a list of si "Promising Practices" for civic education that proved influent both research and practice. In 2011, the Campaign updated list with evidence that had become available by then and cal them the six "Proven Practices."

In 2017, the CivXNow Coalition issued a report by Peter Levin and Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg entitled "The Republic Is Still a Risk" that incorporated amended versions of the six original practices, plus four new ones, for a total of ten.¹⁵ These practices are reflected in the EAD Roadmap and EAD Pedage *Companion*. They are woven into various portions of these documents because, to varying degrees, they are pedagogie policy recommendations, or themes that should be emphasized history and civic education.

The EAD Roadmap and EAD Pedagogy Companion update ar build on the work that produced the Proven Practices, and sl therefore replace them. EAD reflects a broader consensus, n research, and a much more ambitious effort to recommend content, pedagogy, and implementation strategies for the tw integrated disciplines of history and civics.

The Original Six Practices (2003) and Where to Fi Them in the EAD Roadmap

COURSES ON CIVICS, GOVERNMENT, LAW, AND RELATED TOPICS

- ☆ The EAD Roadmap describes the main content for these courses. The implementation recommendations include supporting these courses and their teachers.
- This recommendation has also been interpreted as direct instruction in civics due to variability in how civics and U.S. history are taught. Several evidence-based strategies for direct instruction are included in EAD Pedagogy Companion Principle 4 as part of an inquiry process, as an inquiry process often includes direct instruction.

DELIBERATIONS OF CURRENT, CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES

arch Sivic six	\$	Theme 7 of the EAD <i>Roadmap</i> ("A People with Contemporary Debates & Possibilities") underlines the importance of focusing on current issues.		
ntial in d that alled	\$	Discussion and debate as a mode of learning is highlighted in the <i>EAD Pedagogy Companion</i> under Principle 4 ("Deep and Critical Inquiry": "Discussions and Debates").		
ine at I	\$	Creating an open, inclusive, and rigorous classroom climate is framed as a necessary condition for informed and productive deliberations of current and controversial issues in the <i>EAD Pedagogy Companion</i> under Principle 3 ("EAD Classroom and School").		
gogy es, ized in	\$	Deliberations are named in the EAD Pedagogy Companion under Principle 5 ("classroom-based deliberation and collaborative decision-making") as a practice of constitutional democracy in school.		
ind should new	\$	Theme 1 of the <i>EAD Roadmap</i> ("Civic Participation") recommends such questions as "Why are civil disagreement and toleration of differing views important?" and "What is civic friendship?"		
WO	\$	Design Challenge 1 asks, "How can we help students become engaged citizens who also sustain civil disagreement, civic friendship, and thus American constitutional democracy?"		
	SERVICE LEARNING			
ind	This pedagogical approach is described as an example of project based learning (PBL), which includes service learning and action civics, in the <i>EAD Pedagogy Companion</i> 's Principle 5 ("Practices			
e	of Constitutional Democracy and Student Agency"). In the EAD Pedagogy Companion, community service and informed action are conceived as a result of rigorous inquiry, described in Principle 4.			
	STUDENT-LED VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS			
	Mar	mbarahin and loadarahin in youth groups is described in		

Membership and leadership in youth groups is described in the EAD Pedagogy Companion's Principle 5 ("Practices of Constitutional Democracy and Student Agency").

In the EAD Roadmap, a thematic question for Theme 1 ("Civic Participation") is "How have Americans come together in groups, made decisions, and affected their communities, the country, and the world? How can that history inform our civic participation today?"

STUDENT VOICE IN SCHOOLS

The EAD Pedagogy Companion sets up expectations for all students to develop voice and achieve civic excellence in Principle 1 ("Excellence for All"). Furthermore, the EAD Pedagogy Companion discusses "school-based student policy-making (student inputs, student-led proposals, student advisory and government," Principle 5) and urges school leaders to "create opportunities for teacher leadership and student voice" and to benefit from "student expertise and inputs especially from those who are challenged by the school climate" (Principle 3).

SIMULATIONS OF ADULT CIVIC ROLES

The EAD Pedagogy Companion explains, "When a particular concept, practice or position is not accessible for students-for example, passing a federal law, running for president, or serving on a jury-simulations offer powerful alternatives for them to experience it." (Principle 4)

The New Four Practices (2017) and Where to Find them in the EAD Roadmap

NEWS MEDIA LITERACY EDUCATION

News media literacy is discussed throughout the EAD Roadmap, especially under Theme 7 ("A People with Contemporary Debates & Possibilities"), which poses such questions as "What are your sources of news, and how do you judge whether they are credible, accurate, and fair?" and "How does digital information, including social media, help us to get information, but make it hard to get reliable information?" Theme 1 also names media literacy as a key concept. In the EAD Pedagogy Companion, analysis and investigation is noted in Principle 4 as "an essential part of EAD inquiries" and media literacy is recommended as a teacher action for student learning and engagement.

ACTION CIVICS

The EAD Pedagogy Companion lists action civics under Principle 5, as one of the many strategies that can be considered a form of project-based learning and defines action civics as "a specialized form of project-based learning that emphasizes youth voice and expertise based on their own capabilities and experience, learning by direct engagement with a democratic system and institutions, and reflection on impact."

SOCIAL & EMOTIONAL LEARNING (SEL)

Social-emotional learning, as a "process through which children and adults acquire and effectively apply the knowledge, attitudes, and skill" (CASEL definition), is incorporated in the EAD Pedagogy Companion Principle 3 ("EAD Classroom and School"), both as a way for students to learn to engage productively with disagreement, manage and process emotionally difficult events, and for students to actively work to understand one another and make compromises when needed.

Many of the inquiry examples in the EAD Roadmap tap into social emotional learning and skills. For instance, Theme 1 ("Civic Participation") includes inquiries about a student's role in and relationship to a community, starting with classroom, a key component of SEL competency. Theme 3 of the EAD Roadmap is in part about understanding and learning to make decisions and solve challenges in today's diverse communities, which aligns with SEL competencies "responsible decisionmaking" "social awareness" and "relationship skills."

SCHOOL CLIMATE REFORM

Principle 3 of the EAD Pedagogy Companion expresses the importance of building school climate and practices that are conducive to teaching of the EAD Roadmap. The EAD Pedagogy Companion reviews research "that a positive school climate (e.g., community-building, collaboration, student voice and inputs, mutual support and respect, and quality relationships) affects students' sense of belonging, motivation to learn and therefore, achievement and learning."

he Educating for American Democracy initiative has set out an ambitious agenda that will require long term and sustained work over a decade. We have sketched the implementation work in three phases. The initial phase-during the first year after release—will include an energetic effort on outreach, dissemination, the establishment of pilot projects, and further content curation. Phase 2 (from 2021 to 2026) will focus on the institutionalization of implementation structures at the regional/state levels in 20 states, in addition to building teacher capacity pre- and post-service. In this phase, we will also focus on the development and research of civics credentialing systems. Phase 2 will culminate with the 250th anniversary of our nation in 2026. At that time, we hope that the nation will find innovative ways to celebrate and commit to the cause of self-government. Lastly, in Phase 3 (from 2026 to 2030) implementation of EAD will expand across all 50 states.

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With a vision of excellence in history and civics for all learners, Educating for American Democracy (EAD) represents a call to action to invest in strengthening history and civic learning, and to ensure that civic learning opportunities are delivered equitably throughout the country.

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