



# NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CITIZENSHIP



REPORT ON THE  
2005 ANNUAL CONFERENCE

# The National Conference on Citizenship



## Report on the 2005 Annual Conference

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# The National Conference on Citizenship

*Promoting Civic Participation and Civil Dialogue*

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# Introduction

September 19, 2005

**Craig Turk, Chairman of the Board of the National Conference on Citizenship:** On behalf of our Board, I would like to welcome you to our annual conference on the heels of Citizenship Day and during Constitution Week.

I would like to begin this morning's session with a moment of silence for the victims of Hurricane Katrina, those who were displaced by the storm, and those who are working to help them.

We live in challenging times. In the aftermath of 9/11 and Hurricane Katrina, we have been presented with a unique opportunity to foster and make permanent a kind of civic reawakening that can strengthen our community, country and own lives. But we will need to work together as a "field" to pull this off.

Toward that end, we have a very exciting program today. And it would not be possible without the generous support of our sponsors.

I want to especially thank **Jean Case** and **The Case Foundation** for their extraordinary leadership on issues related to citizenship and young people. She is doing so much and bringing a new rigor – GE Management Style – to many of these issues. And she has been a strong supporter of our work here at the National Conference on Citizenship.

I also want to thank **The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History – Lew Lehrman, Dick Gilder and Jim Basker** – for their terrific support of this conference, our post conference report, and the various documents and photos they made available from their wonderful collection (including the fold-out on your tables showing the evolution of a constitution of many states to "We the People").

In addition, thanks to **The MCJ Foundation and Amelior; Carnegie Corporation of New York; Surdna Foundation; Battelle; The Home Depot; SAP America, Inc.; The Peter D. Watson Agency; Weiser Family Foundation; National Japanese American Memorial Foundation; and Aspen Institute.**

And special appreciation to **AmericaSpeaks** for coordinating our Citizens' Forum, and to **City Year** for their wonderful red-coated volunteers.

Today, we have some outstanding speakers who will give us their perspectives on the civic landscape and outline agendas to advance our work. We will have rich breakout sessions that look at our progress to date and our plans for the future to strengthen citizenship in our



schools, communities, workplaces and government. And we will hear two keynote addresses with wisdom from our founding mothers and our founding fathers, followed by a book signing.

A Jane Addams Award – a new award from the National Conference on Citizenship for that person of the younger generation who develops the internet age equivalent of 4-H or Settlement Houses – will be presented this morning.

New Franklin Awards for outstanding contributions to our civic health through public service, and our annual Citizen of the Year Award, will be given at lunch and in the afternoon.

And we will honor and hear from a current justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, a U.S. Senator from Tennessee and a former Member of Congress from Indiana who co-chaired the 9/11 Commission.

Most importantly, we will hear a lot from you – with a three hour Citizens' Forum in the afternoon, where you will discuss ideas to strengthen citizenship, to guide the NCoC in its work, and to inform the creation of a new Index of National Civic Health to measure our progress.

	<p><b>Craig Turk</b> <i>Chairman of the Board National Conference on Citizenship</i></p>
<p>A high honors graduate of Harvard College and Harvard Law School, and a graduate student at Oxford, Craig Turk went on to serve as Chief Counsel for John McCain's presidential campaign, and to practice law in Washington and California, where he advised political parties in Europe and Asia. Craig is even more creative than that – he has written for television shows including "Law &amp; Order," "The Guardian," and "Cold Case."</p>	

# The State of Our Civic Union

Stephen Goldsmith

*Opening Address*



many programs and initiatives at the federal, state and local levels, he is an ideal candidate to give the first State of Our Civic Union Address.

Stephen Goldsmith

Every year, the President gives a State of the Union address to reflect on the health of our democracy and consider new initiatives to strengthen it. The National Conference on Citizenship will provide an opportunity every year to assess the civic health of our country and to discuss ways to enhance it.

The Founders were intensely concerned about how future generations would keep the American Republic vibrant. They knew that in setting forth a system that so strongly emphasized rights, constant efforts would be needed to remind citizens of their duties. And they thought such efforts should begin with education about who we are as Americans, the moments in history that have defined us, and our role in making our democracy work.

At last year's conference, David McCullough, whose book 1776 now tops the bestseller list, said "to be a good citizen, we have to reassess what we mean by the word love. Love of country isn't just waving a flag. Love of country is knowing its story, knowing its

**John Bridgeland:** Our first speaker has many impressive and well-deserved titles: Professor of Government and Director of the Innovations in American Government Program at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, Chairman of the Corporation for National and Community Service, former Mayor of Indianapolis, creator of the "Front Porch Alliance," former Special Advisor to President Bush, author of too many books and articles to mention, and a corporate executive. He is one of the most innovative and creative thinkers on public policy issues with whom I've ever worked. With his oversight of so

values, its liberties, everything that has been passed on to us by so much in the way of sacrifice and genius."

Building on this insight, I would like to suggest that the state of our civic union be judged by three tests: the first, which Mr. McCullough articulated, is cognitive – what do Americans know about the country's history, core ideas and values? The second is operational – are citizens translating that knowledge into civic action? And the third is aspirational – do young adults believe in, and strive to be part of, the great American Experiment?

These are large issues, and serious people will argue with my tests and the data that supports them, but let me make a few observations about the civic health of this great country using this three-part test.

**First, let's start with the McCullough "love of country" test:** do young adults really know our history, core ideas, values and traditions. The state of student knowledge of



*Pulitzer Prize winning author David McCullough, speaking at the 2004 National Conference on Citizenship about his "love of country" test.*

American history and government is not encouraging. The alarm bells have already been sounded for K-12 education, with scores on national assessments showing that fewer students have a basic understanding of American history and government than of any other subject we teach. More than half the states have no requirement for students to take a course – even for one semester – in American government. Disturbingly, the Intercollegiate Studies Institute will soon report alarming facts concerning student understanding of American history and government – not just a lack of knowledge about arcane facts, but of central ideas that have long defined who we are as Americans and how our system of government works. These fundamental ideas, without which we lack identity as a nation, need to be understood as norms for our democracy to function properly. In a similar fashion to *A Nation at Risk*, hopefully this report will sound an alarm that produces educational Minutemen who will do something about it.

Nevertheless at the same time, good progress is being made to address our students' historic and civic literacy and you will learn more about that today. The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History's stunning resources and summer institutes are equipping teachers to become masters in their subjects and focus on core ideas. Two White House efforts also add to this effort. One, through the National Archives, makes our 100 most

important documents more readily available to teachers, students and the public. The other one, through the National Endowment for the Humanities' "We the People" initiative, supports, among other things, summer institutes for teachers on landmarks in American culture and history. Senator Alexander's new Presidential Academies are helping to fulfill his and David McCullough's dream of placing young teachers in prestigious academies with the best historians and teachers in the country. Supreme Court Justice Anthony Kennedy and other legal professionals working through the American Bar Association have held "Dialogues on Freedom" with more than one million high school students on the central ideas of American democracy. And Senators Alexander and Kennedy have introduced a bill to require state assessments of student achievement in U.S. history and civics.

Civic learning is not just about facts and core ideas – it's also about civic skills, attitudes and behaviors, and here, too, some progress is being made. The Civic Mission of Schools report from CIRCLE and Carnegie, and the Center for Civic Education's 50 State Action Teams are making vital changes in state and local policies to promote civic learning with stunning results. The Corporation for National and Community Service is looking at how we can strengthen Learn and Serve America so that it does an even better job promoting civic learning. The National Conference on Citizenship, working with all of these partners, is helping to support this work and drive it toward successful outcomes.

But notwithstanding these very positive signs, we still need to do a better job connecting these important initiatives and activities to the civic outcomes we are seeking in order to be confident they will create the sea change in civic literacy and engagement that is needed. We cannot have a civic union without civic identity; we cannot forge that identity without civic understanding; and we cannot solve our toughest social problems without knowing how our system of government works.

**My second test is operational.** The State of our Civic Union should also be judged



by the willingness of citizens throughout their lives to serve the Union and its people. Presidents for two centuries have rallied Americans around this theme from Washington who wrote of how liberty was the “work of joint counsels, joint efforts, common dangers, sufferings and successes” to the familiar refrain of a generation ago that proclaimed, “Ask not,” to our President now who summons us to be “citizens, not spectators,” giving at least two years of our lives in service to our country.

Unmistakably, the United States suffered a 30 year decline in service and civic participation, which our next speaker Robert Putnam spoke eloquently about at last year’s conference, but indeed now we are experiencing the early signs of a civic reawakening. You know the story – increased formal volunteerism continues to rise since 9/11, growing from an already high baseline of 59.8 million Americans the year after 9/11 to 64.5 million Americans over the last year, with volunteers spending an average of 52 hours in volunteer service each year. But the Census Bureau also tells us that only 30 percent of the population is serving regularly, so we have much more room for growth.

The role of Government to support and not supplant service is helping produce increased opportunities. Support for, and participation in, community, national and international service programs are at historic levels. Ignited by Freedom Corps, existing programs such as Senior Corps and Peace Corps are at high levels and a record high 75,000 AmeriCorps members produce results daily in their communities. New government – prompted service efforts also are showing promise. For example, Citizen Corps for homeland security – an experiment started after 9/11 – is successfully deploying hundreds of thousands of volunteers in every state, nearly every community and was seen deploying thousands of volunteers to help those evacuated to the Houston Astrodome. A new mentoring initiative has the ambitious goal of reaching up to one million disadvantaged children and 100,000 children of prisoners.

In addition, renewed efforts by the corporate sector, whether on a daily basis or in response to a crisis like Katrina through such organizations as the Hands On Network’s Corporate Service Council, are making dramatic contributions in meeting specific needs in local communities.

All of these efforts play an important role, as does the National Conference on Citizenship, which is working to put in place an **Index of National Civic Health** so we can chart our progress and fill gaps. The National Conference on Citizenship, a non-partisan non-profit organization created by Congress to support such efforts, also plans to create a National Center on Citizenship, with a clearinghouse at its hub and, in part with your advice today, develop new ways to involve more individuals in active service and civic engagement.

At both the Corporation for National and Community Service and USA Freedom Corps, we strive to match the surge in volunteers with the huge demands of Katrina relief. Anyone watching television or working in an affected city can see the country’s service ethic and the wonderful efforts of generous, service minded Americans who – though the data is not yet in – must be participating in the largest outpouring of philanthropy and volunteerism ever. We can tell this by comparing the current efforts to the effort after last year’s Florida hurricanes, which was then one of the largest mobilizations of volunteers in the nation’s history made up 140,000 volunteers, 6 million hours of service, and tens of millions of dollars in cash and in-kind donations. Importantly those who serve not only strengthen those they serve, but they also strengthen themselves and their communities. For example, a recent Corporation for National and Community Service-Urban Institute study confirms that members who participate in such national service programs remain more civically engaged and more inclined to enter public service.

**My third and final test of civic health is aspirational – do people believe this great American Experiment provides them the**

**chance to improve and succeed?** While our civic union is strong in many ways and appears to be getting stronger in the aftermath of 9/11, we still have so much work to do, both in changing attitudes and behaviors and in measuring outcomes and results. A recent generational report on the civic and political health of our nation provides some sobering statistics: 16 percent of the U.S. population is both civically and politically engaged, while 48 percent of the population is completely disengaged from political and civic life. While nearly 80 percent of Americans over 18 are registered to vote, only about half indicate that they always vote in local and national elections.

As a former mayor, I think in terms of civic health in another fashion: to what extent do diverse citizens believe the American dream is in fact a relevant dream for them? And here again there is room for both optimism and anxiety about the trends. A poll in the *New York Times*, as part of its remarkable series on "Class in America," found that 40 percent of Americans believed that the chance of moving up from one class to another had risen over the last 30 years and only 23 percent said it had actually dropped. But in cities, even as more individuals work income mobility declined, wealth gaps increased slightly and educational disparities for inner city children threaten to aggravate the situation even further.

I see this so sharply in my capacity as chairman of a D.C. effort to redevelop the

Anacostia area, where on one side of the river there is incredible wealth and optimism and on the other side deep pockets of poverty. I can hear and feel the difference in the frustrated passions of east of the river residents. At the same time our sense of service takes pride in the efforts of organizations like Earth Conservation Corps, through which young people from tough neighborhoods are cleaning up the Anacostia River and bringing more hope to their own neighborhoods and lives. Our civic success depends on our ability to make sure all children are guaranteed the support they need to be included in the American dream. That is why for example the America's Promise new initiative to recognize **America's 100 Best Communities for Youth** is so critical.

Our civic union grows stronger when all citizens understand America's core values, dedicate part of their lives to serving others and where the young men and women I see east of the Anacostia believe that the prosperity, liberty and hope these principles produce includes them as well. I'm confident, given this distinguished group of Americans here today, that we will perpetuate the genius that has come before us – and fulfill the promise of the Founders and every generation that has come after them -- to make this world a more democratic, free and just place with a people united in common purpose to confront our greatest challenges.



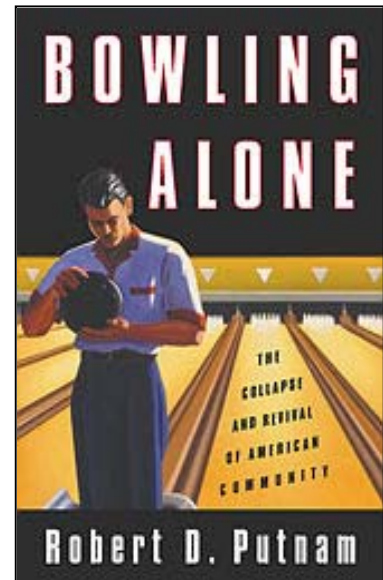
**Conference co-moderator John Bridgeland** is President and CEO of Civic Enterprises, a public policy firm that works with the NCoC. He was a Teaching Fellow in the fall of 2004 at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. Most recently, he served as Assistant to the President of the United States, Director of the Domestic Policy Council, and the first Director of the USA Freedom Corps. Bridgeland serves as Chairman of the National Board of Advisors for the NCoC.

# Citizenship and the Six Spheres of Influence: An Agenda for Social Capitalists

Robert Putnam

*Plenary Keynote Address*

**John Bridgeland:** Back by popular demand, our plenary keynote speaker can't get enough of the National Conference on Citizenship, and we can't get enough of him. Author of *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* and a follow-up book *Better Together*, he is the Malkin Professor of Public Policy at Harvard University, a Fellow of the British Academy, former President of the American Political Science Association, and one of the most popular lecturers not only in America, but around the world. He's recently been storming the continents of Australia and Europe. He also has been helping the National Conference on Citizenship in its efforts to create an Index of National Civic Health. He is here to talk about Citizenship and the Six Spheres of Influence – An Agenda for Social Capitalists. At the end of his remarks, he will be presenting the NCoC's new Jane Addams Award, which he recommended in *Bowling Alone* should be given to a young person who developed the internet equivalent of 4-H or Settlement Houses.



Robert Putnam

What a treat to be introduced by John Bridgeland. John is one of our national civic treasures, and it's great to be introduced by him, and to be back with all of you this year. It's hard to begin any discussion of citizenship in



America this month, without thinking first of all about Katrina, and what Katrina has revealed about our country, and our strengths and our vulnerabilities and the challenges that lie ahead of us.

Katrina revealed, as Steve Goldsmith has said, the reserves of civic strength that we have, and the sense of solidarity that motivates many Americans to care for one another. I think as we learn more about the details of what worked and what didn't work this will become clearer, it revealed the importance of civic engagement, and the importance of those civic resources. Where we had those civic resources in abundance, people did much better and communities did much better than where those civic resources were lacking. And, finally, it revealed the importance of a partnership between civil society in America, and the government.

In some quarters, there's been a false debate about whether we really need government, or whether we really need a civil society; whether we could rely on government to solve our problems or whether we can rely on civil society to solve our problems. I've always thought that was a false and misleading and dangerous kind of debate to have because it's always seemed to me this is a clear case of both. We need, as a country, a clear partnership between strong, effective government and

strong, effective communities. And I think that's clearer now than ever before.

And finally, Katrina revealed, and Steve Goldsmith talked about this, that we are as a matter of fact, still a society that's divided, deeply divided, by class and race. And that's got to be high on our national agenda. We may be in many respects aspirationally one nation, but descriptively we're not. That Anacostia divide that Steve talked about is a cleavage that runs deep in our society.

Those of you who have heard me talk before know that basically what I do for a living is just count things. Over the last year or so I've been looking at very long run trends, not just in civic engagement. I talked about those last year in this setting, and I'm not going to talk about them this year, just except to remind you that the general pattern over the course of the 20th century in terms of civic engagement -- voting and joining and going bowling and so on, and bowling in leagues -- for most of the 20th century, we were doing more and more of those things.

Most of the 20th century we were, year by year, more involved in the PTA, more involved in the Scouts, more likely to vote, more likely to go to church and so on. Until roughly speaking the middle to late 60s and early 70s, and then all of those lines turned down. For the last 30 years or so we've been doing less and less of all of those things. That was really the crux of my remarks last year.

But how about a different trend. A trend about social and economic solidarity, a degree to which we are actually practicing and not just preaching about equal opportunity in America? If you look at the degree to which people have an opportunity in America for upward mobility, those trends look astonishingly identical to the other trends I talked about.

For most of the 20th century, Americans were becoming a more equal society. The gap between rich and poor was and the opportunities for kids who were coming from have-not backgrounds were increasing. For

most of the 20th century, those lines were going up, up, and up. And then, just about the same time that we stopped voting and stopped going to PTA meetings and stopped going to church, we also started being a less equal society. We've had a steady, 30 year or 40 year decline in all of those measures of social and economic equality of opportunity.

And there's probably, not accidentally, a third trend that turns out to match exactly those trends, and that's the trend of political polarization. For most of the 20th century, Americans were, in political terms, becoming less and less polarized because more and more we were connecting with one another, not just in social terms and in bowling leagues and so on, but we were also sharing a sense of collaboration across partisan lines. I don't mean we agreed about everything; of course we did not. But we did have a sense that people of good will were working on both sides of the aisle to solve problems.

And this organization itself emerges from that period. That is, this organization emerges in between 1946 when it was founded, and 1953 when it was chartered by Congress. And that reflected the high tide of this sense of collaboration across party lines. Not in the absence of controversy, of course. People debated things then, too, but a sense that across party lines we shared those divisions.

And then just at the same time, if you look at all the trends in polarization, the polarization was going down and down and down. And then just at the same time when we stopped going to the Scout meetings and stopped going to church, and stopped voting and so on. The trends in the equality changed, too. In addition, the trends in political polarization changed, and we've now had 40 years plus or minus of growing political polarization. If you've been in this city, over this period, over any part of this period, you know that there's been that trend in polarization.

Well, those three curves, the trends of real equality of opportunity, the trends of real civic engagement, and the trends of real cooperation across party lines -- we've got to

reverse all three of those trends. And it's my intuition that we won't be able to reverse any of them unless we begin to work on all three of them. I know that this group is concentrated on, and so am I, largely on civic engagement.

But I want to say that Katrina revealed a lot about America. It revealed, as Tocqueville said, that we did count on one another, and we did have these strengths of the local community. But it also revealed how far we have to go.

Now, I want to say just a word about the good news that actually also emerges from this most recent period. **It has to do with the emergence**, which I now believe is real (when we spoke last year I was not sure it was real, but now I am pretty sure) **among America's young people, of a 9/11 generation.**



In the immediate aftermath of 9/11, the attacks in New York and in this town, there was a big spike in community-mindedness. All of our data, after the attacks, show this big sense of connection. Blood donations went up, and a sense of community went up. Trust went up. People trusted their neighbors more. Trust across racial lines went up. And I'm sure if we had a national hug index, the national hug index spiked in that period after 9/11. That's the good news.

The bad news is there is always a spike like that. After every local catastrophe and after a flood or an earthquake, there's always a spike. And the bad news is, we know what the half-life of those spikes are. This is actually pretty well-developed, the half life of that post-traumatic sense of community. The half life after a flood, is typically about six to eight months, after a hurricane it's usually about 12 to 18 months, and after a snowstorm it's a couple of weeks.

Do you in this city know what a snowstorm is? I was in this city for one of the big snowstorms, and there was in our little cul de sac a sense of, out in McLean where we were living then, a sense of connection. And it melted away just about as fast as the snow melted.

There is only one exception to the generalization that these spikes in community-mindedness disappear pretty quickly after the spike. And that exception is the World War II generation. The people who lived through Pearl Harbor and World War II were more civically engaged than the rest of us all their lives. They trusted more, joined more, gave more, gave more blood, gave more money, gave more time, voted more, schmoozed more, and went to church more.

That World War II generation truly in statistical terms was the greatest generation. I'm not now just saying nice things about the World War II generation. The statistics are really quite astonishing. Sadly, they didn't pass those traits onto their kids, the boomers, and to their grandchildren. But you can see very clearly, and you have been able to see in hard evidence the existence of this powerful World War II generation ever since.

**And even though the spike after 9/11 has disappeared frankly, people of our age are exactly at the same level of civic engagement, joining, trusting and volunteering and so on, almost unchanged from pre-9/11 levels. The exceptions are the young people who were in high school or maybe in early years of college at the time of 9/11, and there we now do see a clear 9/11 generation.**

And this is the good news. And it's due to the work of a lot of people in this room. I mean it's first of all due to the good sense of that generation of kids, but it's also a lot of us, and especially you all around the country, who have been working for the last four years now to try to create a sense of renewed civic engagement among that generation. And the evidence is, there is such a trend.

You can see this very clearly in the data. We all know that voting was up in 2004, for



most Americans, but the spurt in voting last year was much greater among young people than it was among older people. Similarly in 2002, relative to older people, younger people were voting more than they had in the past.

There are several long term national studies, one a study of high school sophomores and juniors that's been done every year for the last 30 years. And another, a study of entering college freshmen which has been done every year for the last 40 years. And those long term surveys had, prior to 9/11, been the strongest evidence for this long term slump among young people, going from the 60s to the 70s to the 80s to the 90s to the 00s. All of those long term trends, which measured interest in politics, interest in public affairs, interest in social issues and so on, were in a slump.

The surveys done in the fall of 2001 showed an increase, and that increase has increased. So, it now can't be an accident that for the first sustained reversal of those long term trends that basically brought us into this room, the first sustained reversal of those youthful declines in civic engagement, comes in the aftermath of 9/11.

So, that's great news. It's great news because I have long said that if we could begin to change the attitude towards politics and government and social activities and community life among our young people, it would have a revitalizing effect across the whole of the population over the long run. Of course, in the short run, our national averages are being held down by the older folks like me and like many people in this room who haven't changed that much, even after 9/11.

We, the older folks, need to do our part. That is, like a good camper, who knows that if you've got a spark you've got to blow on it, try to keep that spark, and make it glow into an ember that then lights a long fire. Our task now is to figure how do we make use of this ember, this spark of new civic consciousness among the post-9/11 generation? There are a lot of things that we can do to it in that connection.

I'm going to talk just briefly about some of the things that I think we need to do, and it's not just about schools. We should pause for a moment to celebrate the fact that we do actually have now a real good firm basis for some hope. It's not time for us to declare victory and go home and say, "Well, okay, we're going to worry about some other problem." It's certainly not that.

But it is, for the first time, some sense that maybe we could turn this thing around. Reverse those trends that have been going in the wrong direction for the last 40 years. That's the good news, and we should feel good about it. But Katrina also reminds us that many Americans, and especially older Americans, don't behave as if we were all in this together. These young people, for the first time in many years are feeling a sense of "we": "We are in this together." That's what they're saying. They are not a collection of self-interested "I"s.

As we think about the challenges after Katrina, we adults have got to start acting like adults. And among those things it means not passing the bill for this tragedy onto them. And there's going to be a debate in this city about how do we solve this problem, the enormous costs. And everybody in this city knows that the easiest thing is going to be to just have the debt rise and figure somebody down the road will pay for it. But that's them, and that would be a really bad thing. A bad, not just bad ethically and not just bad politically, but in civic terms it would be exactly the wrong answer for us to say we're going to pass this bill on to the next generation.

So, I hope that folks in this city and people at both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue here don't get so fixated on the short run political calculations about what can we afford here and what can't we afford. I hope they do focus on the underlying civics of this economics, this public finance issue, and figure out a way that we can pay for this ourselves.

And we have to do other things, in other domains. The title of my lecture says I was going to talk about six domains of civic life. And you're saying to yourself, "Wait a minute,

he's only supposed to talk for another ten minutes; how can he talk about six domains of civic life?" And the answer is, I'm going to do it really, really quickly. I've been talking pretty slowly so far. I'm going to try to do some speed talking now. I'm going to list the six spheres that I think we need to pay attention to, but then I'm just going to pick out one or two to talk about.

These are the spheres of civic life that in the last chapter of *Bowling Alone*, I suggested we needed to think about. They're the spheres of life that then are developed in more detail in this book called *Better Together* that was published a year ago. Here are the six: youth and civics education, and I've already talked a little bit about that so I'm not going to say a whole lot more, but everybody around the room has a lot invested in that question and knows a lot about it. Not because it isn't important, but because it is so important we all share it that I don't want to belabor the obvious.

The second sphere is the workplace. And I'm going to say a little bit about that. The third sphere is urban design and urban politics, and I'll say just a bit about that. The fourth sphere is arts and how to build what I call bridging social capital. The fifth sphere is the internet; I'm not going to say a whole lot about that, except at the very end of my remarks because we're going to give an award to somebody who's been working in that domain. And the sixth sphere is religion and faith-based engagement.

So, let me begin. Civics education as I've already said is really important and we are making progress. And everybody in this room knows the key issues there. The second topic, the workplace: How does the workplace, and workplace practices, relate to this kind of question of community involvement that we've been talking about?

First I want to say, it relates very directly in the following way. Let me just do a little quick bit of history here. Between 1870 and 1900, America went through the Industrial Revolution. It basically meant that a third of Americans moved from fields to factories as

their place of livelihood and employment. And that was a big deal. Between 1970 and 2000, we've been through an even bigger transition because more than a third of American workers have moved from kitchens to offices over that period.

That is, the movement of women into the paid labor force, into professions of closer to professional equality, is a big deal at the same level of importance as the Industrial Revolution. It dramatically changed the way Americans spend our time, and where we are in our time, and so on. And it's fundamentally a terrific thing. I just spent this weekend with my daughter and some of my grandchildren. My daughter is a professional woman and I'd be really upset if she weren't exercising her professional talents.

So, what I'm about to say is not at all to be read as saying we ought to reverse that



movement of women into the labor force. But, it is important to understand what the consequences of that have been. We

have dramatically downsized the caring sector in our society. Because people my mom's age were in fact great social capitalists. They were doing great things for America, but it wasn't counted as part of the GNP and so we didn't notice it.

And when we went through an earlier transition like this, at the time of the Industrial Revolution, we made lots of changes in labor law and in labor practice in our workplaces to accommodate the fact that we were no longer working in the fields. When we were mostly working in fields, child labor meant Susie picking beans in the back forty with mom, and that wasn't such a bad thing. When we were mostly working in factories, child labor meant Susie sewing shirts in a sweatshop 12 hours a day, and that was awful; it was obscene.

Therefore, we had to change our labor law regarding child labor, and regarding work hours, the 8 hour day for example, or the 40 hour work week. When we were mostly working in the fields, the rule was make hay while the sun shines, so you'll work as long as you need to in a concentrated period, but when you're working in factories, you've got to have a different set of rules to make those -- to enable people to live their lives as well as to earn the bread for the table.

We changed all our labor laws since that was seen as an issue for public discussion, not just private. It wasn't Susie's problem or Susie's family's problem; it was the country's problem that we were living in a different age as far as the structure of the workplace.

Fast forward to our current period; we had nothing like that discussion of how we need to change labor law and relations in the workplace to accommodate the fact that we're now, almost all adults, are working outside the home. If I can put it this way, and I hope I'm not going to be misunderstood, our labor laws largely assume that every worker will have a wife at home to be doing the other stuff.

Now, nobody has a wife at home. Guys don't have wives at home and women don't have wives at home. While there are some women who are working still at home, but, largely speaking, we have got to change our assumptions about what it means to be a good worker so that we can fit together our obligations as a worker or professional, and our family and community obligations. And that kind of change, it goes well beyond programs for corporate civic responsibility. It involves what are the assumptions that we make about what you owe to your job, and what your job should enable you to do off the job.

If this sounds like an incredibly abstract or even academic kind of issue, I want to emphasize that it is not. The most asked question in America, at eight o'clock every morning is, "Who is going to pick up the kids tonight?" That reflects we have got a system that doesn't enable us to satisfy our family and community obligations. These issues about

workplace flexibility and both work flexibility over the course of the day, and over the course of the career, have dramatic effects on the society that are not well understood.

Take, for example, what many people in this city and around the country are worried about, which is the long run fiscal deficit of America. A lot of that comes from the fact that our budget projections assume, properly, that we're going to have a lot of aging people (basically it's my generation) to take care of. And we're going to have to go into nursing homes and so on.

As a result of differences in gender in terms of life expectancy, one way to put it is, a large part of the deficit is going to have to be allocated for taking care of aging women, and those are people that we need to take care of. But, suppose that we had more flexibility in the workplace so that people could spend more time when they had to, with their aging mom, and could keep her from having to go into a nursing home quite as soon. She could stay at home a little longer, because the kids would be able to visit her more often and so on. If we were able to keep our aging mothers out of the nursing home for another 8 weeks, 10 weeks, 12 weeks, on average, because we had a more flexible workplace, much of the deficit would simply vanish.

That is, there are big long run costs associated with the fact that we now have to plan that people are going to be so constrained by their jobs that they won't be able to provide mom with the kind of care that would enable her to stay out of institutionalized care.

What I'm trying to say is, these issues about how our workplace is structured, and therefore how we can live out our family and community obligations given the structural constraints of the workplace, it's not just a matter of private concern; it's a matter of basic fundamental importance to the structure of the society. And it goes to issues of how we can enact and not just talk about our civic obligations.

There's much to be said also about urban and suburban design, but I'm not going to talk so very much about that. I want to talk just briefly about two last points. One has to do with the distinction that I've made last year, and I want to keep making, because it's even obviously more important in the aftermath of Katrina, and that is the distinction between what I call **bridging** social capital and **bonding** social capital.

Social capital says connections with other people are important, but there are different kinds of connections. One important distinction is between connections that link you to people like you -- and the academic jargon for that is bonding social capital, and connections that link you to people unlike you -- the jargon for that is bridging social capital. So, my tie to other white, male, elderly professors is bonding social capital, and my ties to people of a different generation or a different race or a different social class or a different background, is my bridging social capital. So, **bonding means ties to people like you, bridging means ties to people unlike you.**

I'm not saying bridging good and bonding bad because if you get sick, the people who bring you chicken soup are likely to reflect your bonding social capital. I am saying that a society that has only bonding social capital, and no bridging social capital (that is, lots of ties but only among groups of people who are just like one another), is a society like that looks like Bosnia, or Belfast where I'm going in a week, or Beirut where I was a couple of weeks ago. A society that has only bonding and no bridging looks deeply cleaved because although there are ties, there are only ties within those separate groups. A society, a modern, democratic, diverse society like ours, needs lots of bridging social capital. It's like vitamins. You need vitamin A and vitamin D; we need lots of bridging social capital and lots of bonding social capital.

So far so good. Except that, building bonding social capital is easier, and building bridging social capital is much harder. Actually, my grandmother knew that. My grandmother told me, "Birds of a feather flock together."

What she meant was, bridging social capital is harder to build than bonding social capital. She didn't think I'd understand that, which is why she used the avian metaphor.

So, the kind of social capital that we most need as a diverse society is the kind of social capital, the kind of connections that are the hardest to build. And we have seen, in the aftermath of Katrina, how weak the bridging social capital in many important parts of our society is. It is the difference between the poor black folks who are stuck in the Astrodome or the Superdome, and the Convention Center, and the white folks who were, as I would have been if I'd been there, in their cars driving away. It reflected visibly a deep cleavage in our society, and reflected an absence of bridging social capital.

And we have got to be thinking, as we go forward, about how to do more bridging social capital. I hope that doesn't sound too academic to you. It is absolutely linked to some of the issues that are rising in the aftermath of Katrina. For example, there have been proposals that the evacuees' kids who have had to leave Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, to go to other places like to Houston and Arkansas and so on, should be put in separate classes; not with the kids from that town. That is a really dumb idea from a civic point of view and I'm not talking about what it is from an educational point of view. From a civic point of view, that's a horrible idea because it means we're going to break up whatever bridging social capital there might have been between different races and different parts of the country and different social classes.

I'm trying to convey that this issue of how we build bridging social capital is not an academic issue. It goes to really urgent issues in our society. And it also speaks to the importance of, for example, the arts and sports and so on, which are or tend to be platforms in which we can more easily build social capital.

I want to say, lastly just a word about religion. It isn't on the agenda for today, but I think it's an important dimension of American civic life to which we need to pay more

attention. There have been periods in American history in which there has been unusual vitality and effervescence in the world of religion. Over the years as a whole, religion is a very important part of America's civic ties.

By the way, those of you who don't know me, I'm an unabashed liberal, and so I'm not speaking from the point of view of the more conservative political stance. I'm basically a card-carrying member of the ACLU, so I'm speaking here as someone who is or understands or at least feels some of the tensions involved in talking about religion and public life in America.

However, I think anybody in America who looks realistically at the array of our social life, would have to say, as I do in *Bowling Alone*, that religion accounts for about half of all American social capital. That is, half of all volunteering, half of all philanthropy, half of all groups. Half of all social groups in America are religious in some way

So, religion matters a lot to the state of our civic life. We've been through periods in American history when there's been an upsurge of religious sentiment. And those periods tend to be a little unsettling to the people in the society that are not so religious, but they tend to have really interesting long run consequences.

These are called Great Awakenings. The first of them was in the 17th century. There was a second one, the Second Great Awakening, in the early part of the 19th century, roughly around 1820, and 1830. There was another one at the end of the 19th century. And I believe we may be in the early stages of a fourth Great Awakening. I think that there are signs, including signs that you can measure pretty rigorously, of a quickening interest among Americans in religious life. And not just do you believe in God, but do you actually show up, do you go to church, do you get connected with people in your faith community?

These tend to be periods in which issues of interreligious tolerance come to the surface. And we, as a country, we've got to deal carefully with those, because we've got to think carefully

about what the kind of effects a religious revival may have on relations among religions. But, as a country, we're not bad at talking about religious issues. We talk about it a lot, and we have big debates about prayer in schools and so on, but more than many other countries, we've had some experience in dealing with that difficult borderline.

And on the other hand, there are some real civic benefits of these periods of great awakening because they often have provided a really sharp impetus, not just to political engagement, but also to important social reforms. For example, the abolition movement, and indeed the end of slavery in America, came directly out of the Second Great Awakening. It was the Second Great Awakening that said to Americans, "Look, you believe this, but look how we're still practicing slavery. How do you put those two things together?" And more and more Americans including lots of white Americans began to say, "That just isn't right."

The political consequences of the Second Great Awakening were really big, and were largely socially and politically progressive. It led us to finally come to grips with this vicious issue that was really embedded in our Constitution, the issue of chattel slavery.

The Third Great Awakening also led to a period of social and political reform, to the progressive era. I'm not sure yet what the political consequences of the Fourth Great Awakening, if we are in the midst of that, will be. In earlier periods these great awakenings have largely been associated with progressive political consequences. This time, of course, we're all aware it seems more that the political consequences are going to be more politically conservative. I think that is still something of an open question.

But in any event, we need to be paying attention to it, and in some respects I think even liberals ought to be welcoming the greater attention of Americans to the ethical and moral and even theological underpinnings of our civic life. I think some of the organizational techniques that are embodied in, for example, the big evangelical mega-churches are really



quite interesting, and I just want to mention one example of this.

There's a large mega-church outside of L.A. down in Orange County, a church called Saddleback. It started off about 25 years ago with about, I think, six members; it now has about 30,000 members. It's grown enormously over this period. And an interesting question, even for people who are not themselves religious, it's certainly not Baptist -- it's not a Baptist church -- is, well, how did that happen? How did this church in the face of declining civic engagement nationwide, experience this explosive growth?

Of course the answer is, if you ask people in the church, God's will. And I don't doubt that, but what I want to know is, how did God do it? And there are a number of things that you can see in this church. They use a lot of modern marketing techniques and so on, which have been very effective.

But the most interesting feature I think is this: If you belong to that church, belonging to Saddleback, and to these other mega-churches, does not mean going and sitting with the 30,000 people on Sunday or Saturday and Sunday, in the regular weekly worship service. Belonging to Saddleback means belonging to one of the hundreds, the thousands of small groups inside Saddleback. So, they have the Mountain Bikers for God, and the Volleyball Players for God, and the Geeks for God, for Cisco Certified Professionals.

Now, I'm not making this up actually, the small group for Survivors of Breast Cancer, and the small group for Spouses of Survivors of Breast Cancer, and the small group for people who like to read the Book of Job, and the small

group for this and that. And if you belong to one of those small groups, inside the church, the people and the other people in the church become your closest friends. Those are the people who will bring you chicken soup if you get sick; if you run into economic problems those are the people who will help tide you over.

Why do I mention this, the existence of all those small groups inside this large organization? It's because what these mega-churches have understood is that people are going to church of course for religious reasons, but also because they hunger for community. They hunger for connections with other people. And those of us in secular, who are interested in secular organizations as well, I think could take some lessons from the structure of these modern rapidly expanding religious organizations.

So, my message to you is that, first of all, you're doing the Lord's work. Worrying about civic engagement, I guess that's an unintentional pun when I say you're doing the Lord's work. Figuring out how to re-engage Americans with our communities will have very powerful long-run effects. Secondly, I want to say there are some good signs that the things we've been working on actually are making a difference.

But the third point is, we have a long way to go. And particularly we have a long way to go in making this country one country again, in which we feel that all of the people in this country are our fellow citizens, and people that in the sense that David McCullough used last year, this is also religious language of course, we ought to love. There's a lot of good work to be done, but there's a lot of work we need to do. Thank you very much for your attention.

# Founding Mothers: The Women Who Raised Our Nation

Cokie Roberts

*Plenary Address*



**John Bridgeland:** Our next speaker wrote a wonderful book called, *We Are Our Mothers' Daughters*. And we are fortunate today to have both mother, Ambassador Lindy Boggs, and daughter, Cokie Roberts, with us. All of us who know Cokie can certainly attest to the wonderful job her mother did in raising such a bright, compassionate and service-minded daughter. We wake up to her on Monday mornings as a senior news analyst on National Public Radio, and I find she improves my Monday morning mood. She is a political commentator for ABC News, where she co-anchored "This Week with Sam Donaldson and Cokie Roberts" for many years. She won public radio's highest honor – the Edward R. Murrow

Award – and was the first broadcast journalist to win the prestigious Everett McKinley Dirksen Award for coverage of the Congress. She also received two Emmy Awards. She's been inducted into the Broadcasting and Cable Hall of Fame, despite her young age, and was cited by American Women in Radio and Television as one of the 50 greatest women in the history of broadcasting (we think she is the best of those 50). She is a member of the President's Council on Service and Civic Participation, and serves on many boards, including the National Archives and the Partnership for Public Service. A graduate of Wellesley College, she is here today to share insights from another one of her books, *Founding Mothers: The Women Who Raised Our Nation*.

Cokie Roberts

Thank you very much. It's great to be with you, and great to be with an organization committed to citizenship. Bridge just told me that this conference was founded by a unanimous act of Congress; I don't think we have those anymore.

It would be nice, although Jamie Witten, he was the longest serving member of the House of Representatives, and Chairman of Appropriations Committee. I actually made my Congressional career by being able to do a simultaneous translation of Jamie Witten because he was impossible to understand, but he used to only say, "The only way you can get the Senate to operate is by unanimous consent, or exhaustion." So, we do occasionally have unanimous consent, but it's not usually for anything as significant as citizenship.

So, it is a real treat to be with you. Thank you for giving a quick hello to my mother. She is an evacuee, as you know, from the great city of New Orleans. One of the things that we will have to be working on in terms of service and citizenship is bringing back that great and glorious metropolis. And I know that all of you will be committed to getting that done as well.

As you know, my mother served in the Congress, representing New Orleans for nine terms, following on my father's service of 15 terms. You can imagine how I feel about term limits. But then Mama retired and discovered that that was extremely exhausting work. So, in 1997 at the age of 81 she took on another job in another country as the United States Ambassador to the Vatican, which put her in the

extremely interesting position of representing Bill Clinton to the Pope.

Now, think of it, it was the toughest job in the Diplomatic Service. But if anybody could do it, my mother could. And she did it well and nobly. And then went home to Bourbon Street, which is where she lives. Right smack dab in the middle of all the honky-tonk on Bourbon Street. If you have been to Bourbon Street you've been to my mother's house. When my children were small we would walk past the strippers and the other neighbors and say, "Through the woods and over the hills to Grandmother's house we go."



*Ambassador Lindy Boggs listens as her daughter, Cokie Roberts, speaks.*

And then when she moved from Bourbon Street to the Vatican, I teased her that the costumes hadn't changed; it was still guys in dresses. In fact, I was back recently for the Pope's funeral and it was all these Cardinals, and they are in petticoats. I mean, it is really something. But Mama is now here with us, I'm happy to say, but trying to do her best to get Bourbon Street up and running again in all its glory, whatever it may be because she has been so committed as a citizen all of her life.

She is out of this tradition of American women. I know that you have heard a little bit about history this morning, but I suspect that the history didn't include the women because it never does. And that is something that I tried to rectify by writing this book. I had been

fascinated with this generation of women because I have to spend so much time with this generation of men.

In order to cover Congress and politics well, and do it as long as I have, you get to be best friends with the founding fathers. Because you have to go back and read everything they wrote, and look at their debates on a whole variety of issues. And it keeps happening. I mean, whether it's gun control or freedom of the press or freedom of religion.

For example, just recently, for obvious reasons, I went back to check on why they had decided that a President had to be born in the United States. Guess why I was reading that? It turns out, actually, John Jay wrote a very funny letter saying, "I understand that people are saying the President could be the Pope of Rome himself," it sounds like a Louisiana election, and he said, "He can't be because he has to be born in the United States." So, Arnold Schwarzenegger can't be President because the Pope couldn't be President.

So the founders are people that I spend a great deal of time with. I grew up knowing how influential the women of my mother's generation were in this city and I figured that the women of the founding generation had to be at least as influential, if not more so. And I started to do the work, and discovered much to my amazement that even 200-plus years later, no one had really written about them as an entity, and what they were doing politically and what they were doing in terms of citizenship.

And it turned out to be for good reason that no one had written it, because it turned out to be almost impossible to do. Because the letters have not been kept; many of them destroyed their own letters; or the families have not thought they were important, or the historical societies. Libraries and universities that have these letters have not considered them important, so they are often tucked away in a box someplace in the basement or the attic and can't be located. So it was with good reason that nobody had put it together before.

I had sort of started on it, and put it aside. Then Steve and I wrote a book on marriage called *From This Day Forward*, and it included a chapter on John and Abigail Adams' marriage. Of course those letters are all preserved, thankfully, and the Massachusetts Historical Society in recent years has even put them online, which is wonderful.

As I was reading through the letters, I really came to understand for the first time how alone these women were. I mean, the men were gone for long periods of time. They were off at war, or they were off on diplomatic missions as John Adams was, or they were in Philadelphia thinking great thoughts. The women were left at home to raise the children and take care of the old people, as women always are. But they were also left to support the family because nobody was supporting these men. And, oh, by the way, the British were coming, as you know.

At one point, John Adams wrote to Abigail and said, "If it gets really dangerous, take the children and fly to the woods." Thank you, John. Appreciate that. I hope you had a nice dinner in Philadelphia.

But so, once I read through those I realized I really had to do the work to learn about the rest. And what an incredible group of women they turned out to be. Martha Washington, about whom we basically only know that she spent a winter at Valley Forge, spent all of the long winters of the Revolution at camp. And it was incredibly dangerous. She would have to go across dangerous roads. She was primed for hostage taking because the British wanted to capture the wives of prominent patriots, and of course her husband was the most prominent of all.

And she was also leaving behind tremendous duties at Mount Vernon, which she was loath to do, but she would go because the general always summoned her, and she said, "It is my duty to be with him." And I can make the case that at various times she really kept the Continental Army together.

You know, in David McCullough's new book, *1776*, he says that the great achievement of

George Washington was to keep the army together, to keep people from deserting and to keep recruiting.

Well, she was absolutely essential to that task, and he knew it, which was why he



Martha Washington

kept begging her to come to camp every winter because soldiers would be threatening desertion by regiment. And she would arrive at camp with cloth that had been woven, and foodstuffs that had been preserved at Mount Vernon over the summer (one, of course, of the

many contributions of African Americans to the Revolution). And she would be cheered into camp by the troops, "Lady Washington is here!" She and the other generals' wives at her behest would sit, and they would sew for the soldiers, and they would cook for the soldiers, and they would nurse the soldiers, pray with the soldiers, and put on great entertainment for them, so that they would be amused and keep morale up. They did this throughout the war, and kept the army together.

In fact it was probably useful that Martha was there, because George could be indiscreet, and at one of these entertainments he danced for three hours straight with the pretty and flirty Kitty Green, the wife of Nathaniel Green. George and Kitty danced together without sitting down for three hours. So it was good Martha was on hand. She also had a nice sense of humor. She named a tomcat Hamilton, which was appropriate.

But actually in the winter of Valley Forge, the person who was probably most useful to the American army was none of our patriot women, but a woman in Philadelphia named Betsy Loring. The British had occupied Philadelphia and driven out the Congress and the patriot families. They could have, at any moment, marched out to Valley Forge and completely decimated our starving, freezing army, but they were having too good a time in Philadelphia to do that.

Sir William Howe, the British commander, was particularly having a very nice time with Betsy Loring and everyone knew it. It was the subject of ditties in newspapers, "Sir William, he, snug as a flea, lay all this time a-snoring. Nor dreamed of harm as he lay warm in bed with Mrs. Loring." I would love to say that she did this out of patriotic fervor; she did not. Her husband got a good job in the British army, and it is possible that she liked Sir William, but she was not a patriot, but so many of these women were.

I was really struck when I started reading the letters and the old newspapers, at how explicitly the women were called upon to be active in the cause of resistance to the British. And the daughters of liberty were summoned to act. And they, of course, had to be the main resisters because their weapon of choice was the boycott and the women were the shoppers.

The women were the people who had to enforce the boycott, which they did quite rigorously. And then they also had to replace the goods that weren't coming in, so they set up spinning bees up and down the colonies, and they would spin and they would gossip and they would talk politics because they were so deeply, deeply political. And they knew what they were doing. They knew that they were on the vanguard of this resistance, which was also brand new information to me.

Abigail Adams, in fact, wrote at one point to John, "Patriotism in a woman's breast is the most disinterested of virtues." She said, "We are really the best patriots here because we are suffering all of the hardships, and making all the sacrifices for the cause. If we win, we're not going to hold high office or be held in high acclaim. We're not even going to be able to vote and still we're making these sacrifices. So, we're better patriots than you are." And I would not argue with Abigail, on any subject, by the way.

You're going to hear next from Walter Isaacson (another New Orleans native by the way) and he and I have an ongoing little dispute about Ben Franklin because in this period of the lead up to the war, Benjamin Franklin was in England. You always learn in your history

books that he was the first Postmaster General of the United States, except he wasn't here; he was in England. Deborah Franklin was the first Postmaster General of the United States. She ran the postal system, and her letters to the British about running the system are just hysterical.



This was the 18th century when married women were not allowed to own property, but she bought and sold property with no problem. Everybody knew Ben wasn't in the country, but she did it in his name and nobody minded. She carried on quite well running the print shops and all of that, but she missed him. He was gone for years at a time and she kept begging him to come home, but he wouldn't come home.

She wrote to him and said, "I really need you here," at various times. When, for instance, a mob marched on the house because they thought that he was a sell-out on the Stamp Act. According to some of the letters at the time he wasn't too keen about opposing the Stamp Act, he was any which way the wind blew. When a mob was ready to raze the house, she took a gun, defended the house, and saved it. He wrote to her and said, "Well done, Deborah." But he wouldn't come home.

Then their only daughter got married, and he wrote saying, "Keep the wedding cheap," some things don't change, and he wouldn't come home. Finally she died and he came home. He wrote to a friend that he had to go, "because my wife, in whose hands I left the care of my affairs, has died." Poor Ben had to go home. I will give him credit; while he was home he signed the Declaration of Independence, and



then went to France and forged the alliance that won the war.

While he was in France, his daughter was in Philadelphia, and she had to leave when the British came. She was in tremendous danger and he, meanwhile, is being wined and dined in France. He wrote to his sister Jane that he could see himself everywhere. He was on mugs and on coins, he was an international celebrity and Sally had to escape Philadelphia because the British were occupying it.

She wrote him a letter and said, "Don't worry, I got all of your books out, and I got all of your papers out, and then I took the baby and ran." And she had to escape several times over as the British moved around the Pennsylvania and New Jersey countryside. Then when the Americans retook Philadelphia, the British just left, she came in, and there was a huge celebration.

She wrote to her father asking him for a little finery to wear to the balls, and lace for her cuffs, and feathers for her hair. He wrote back to her and said, "If you wear your cambric ruffles as I do, and take care not to mend the holes, they will come in time to be lace. And feathers, my dear girl, may be had from any cock's tail in America." So, I don't like him a bit any more. But Walter will convince you otherwise, I'm sure.

Being a refugee in the war was just one of the many things that happened to them. Thousands of women and children went to war because for poor women, they had no other place to be. They were the bane of Washington's sense of a well-ordered army. He issued one general order after another saying, "The women and children should march with the baggage trains." And the fact that he had to keep issuing one order after another leads me to believe that everybody ignored him.

The women and children marched with the soldiers and looked like a scraggly motley mob, but they were essential to the working of the army because they were the nurses and the cooks and they brought water onto the field (hence the story of Molly Pitcher), and

sometimes took over their husbands' gun emplacements. Margaret Corbin did that at Fort Washington, sustaining three wounds. And she is, by the way, the only Revolutionary War veteran buried at West Point who is a woman. And Washington paid them, a pittance, but he paid them because he knew that they were essential.



*Former Ambassador and Congresswoman Lindy Boggs with daughter Cokie Roberts*

But in addition to those women, of course you had the influential women, the founding mothers, as refugees at best, sometimes taken prisoner, sometimes killed, and often having their homes destroyed and being put in tremendous danger.

One of those stories was the story of Rebecca Mott, who was in South Carolina, where as you'll remember the war was especially viciously fought. And she had been driven out of her house by the British. The American generals came to her and said, "Mrs. Mott, we hate to ask you this, because you're such a great patriot, but we need to burn down your house." And she said, "No problem."

She said, "Actually, I have the perfect weapons for you because we have these trick arrows," that her husband who is at this point deceased, "have been given by from the East Indies. These arrows will burn down my house." So, she gave them to the Americans, and it all worked. The arrows were landed on the house and upon impact they burst into flames. It smoked out the British and the Americans were able to capture the British and march on toward Charleston.

But before they did, they all sat down to dinner together, the American generals, the British generals, and Mrs. Mott. And Light-Horse Harry Lee wrote in his memoir, "The deportment and demeanor of Mrs. Mott and her common good sense and conversation gave such a zest to the table that we soon forgot the injury we had inflicted on her." These were great citizens, these women.

One of the wonderful stories about that, though, is a descendant wrote that the case for the arrows that had been used to burn the house was handed down in the family as a case for knitting needles, which I just love; it's such a practical solution. And then, you know, it was swords into plowshares and all that.

The war finally ended and then there was a country to raise. The partisan bickering broke out immediately, as bad as it is today, but of course the danger then was that the country was too young and too fragile to be able to sustain it. It was extremely dangerous that the country could fall apart and the women kept trying to make the men behave bringing them to dinner together, and having them break bread and have wine and cider together. But the partisanship was rampant.

By the end of the first term, the only thing that Hamilton and Jefferson could agree on was that Washington had to run again, since that was the only way that the country would stay together. And Washington wasn't having it. He just wasn't going to do it. He had done his duty, he had not been to Mount Vernon except once during those eight long years of war, and that was on his way to Yorktown. He had presided over the Constitutional Convention, he had been President for four years, and he wanted to go home. He had done it. And the press was vicious, especially to Martha. People think this is something new and different. Wrong. And he was determined not to run again.

Hamilton begged him, and Jefferson begged him. Everybody begged him to run again. He figured that they were all self-interested, as Abigail would say, because they had things they wanted to do in the next term.

He went to tea, in November of 1792, at the home of a prominent Philadelphia woman, Eliza Powell, considered one of the great intellects of the time.

In fact, when Benjamin Franklin, at the end of the Constitutional Convention, was asked, "What have you given us, a monarchy or a republic?" he said, "A republic, Madam, if you can keep it." The woman to whom he said that was Eliza Powell.

Washington was a great admirer of hers. And he went to tea at her house and said he was not running again. This is November of 1792, the election was December. Afterwards, she wrote him a letter that many believe was the tipping point because she was not self-interested. She would get nothing out of his second term, but she wrote him a letter that was just a beautiful summary of arguments about why he should run again, and of course she appealed to his patriotism and his sense of history and his sense of duty. Since it was a letter from a woman to a man, she also appealed to his pride and she said, "At this time, you are the only man in America that dares to do right on all public occasions. Your very figure is calculated to inspire respect and confidence in the people." He was a hunk and the letter worked, and he ran again, and the country was saved.

But it was saved in large part because of the contributions of these women. The men actually knew it, and occasionally even acknowledged it. At the end of the war, Washington wrote to Annis Beaudenau Stockton, who was a prominent patriot and a poet, and she was one of the few women who actually published under her own name, during the Revolution. Washington wrote to her and said, "I think you ladies are among the best patriots America can boast." **But the best compliment came from the enemy, from Lord Cornwallis, who wrote home before Yorktown and said, "We may destroy all the men in America, and we shall still have all we can do to defeat the women." So, these are our founding mothers.** Thank you for letting me share them with you. And please write them back into American history.

# Benjamin Franklin and Citizenship in America: “A Republic, If You Can Keep It”

Walter Isaacson

*Plenary Address*



**John Bridgeland:** Our next speaker is one of the most talented and energetic men I’ve ever met. He works by day, and writes by night. Walter Isaacson is President and CEO of the Aspen Institute. He is formerly Chairman and CEO of CNN and the Managing Editor of Time Magazine. A graduate of Harvard and Oxford, where he was a Rhodes Scholar, Walter has written many books, and is currently working on a biography of Albert Einstein. He serves on the boards of Teach for America, Reader’s Digest, Tulane University and the Shakespeare Theatre. He is here today to give our Founding Fathers equal time, with a focus on the subject of his best-selling book, *Benjamin Franklin: An American Life* and to tell us how that life helps

inform what

Walter Isaacson

Thank you very much, Bridge, Mr. Justice, Congresswoman Boggs. Ben Franklin would love to be here because this is his type of organization, people who engage in civic endeavor. I want to explain why, but first I want to do a little talk, not about Cokie whom I love dearly, despite her feelings about Benjamin Franklin at times, and alas they have some truth to them, but he was a great civic leader nonetheless.

I would like talk about Lindy Boggs, whom I worked with for many years when she was the Congresswoman from the city of New Orleans where I was growing up. I worked for her late husband, and then I worked for her. And if you want to talk about when America had great leadership that rose above partisanship, it was in the days of people like Hale and Lindy Boggs. What happened then was you had towns like New Orleans, where somebody had to represent the whole town. They hadn't gerrymandered all the districts and stuff.

So, Lindy Boggs represented those of us in Uptown and in Central City and in the Lower 9th Ward and in Algiers, and she understood that she had to represent all the people and bring us together and unite us, as opposed to play to the divisiveness. I just wish that we had a lot more people like Lindy with us.

I'm sure you all know her, but a little applause for Lindy Boggs; the greatest. And when it comes to civic endeavor, she inspired us all, especially when I was working in her office and her husband's office. I can assure you and Cokie because I know you're a part of it as well, that we will make sure that the city of New Orleans becomes a better place.

Just this morning I spent a lot of time with one of the groups that Marguerite Sallee and I and Bridge and everybody else have dealt with, which is Teach For America. There are 412 Teach For America corps members who had volunteered and were going down to New Orleans before the Hurricane hit, to be Teach For America teachers in New Orleans; 400 jobs. They got down there, and there's no school system now. So they were going to be

dispersed. They were going to put them in Los Angeles and Chicago and send them where the other Teach For America programs are.

I asked Wendy Kopp, who led that organization, I said, "Why don't we go down there and talk to them, and give them the opportunity if they want, to stay in New Orleans and help home-school people? To help build a new school system from scratch, maybe one that would be fair, that would have different ideas, and entrepreneurs who would come in and build competing schools and different types of schools for the community?"

So, she sat in the hotel ballroom with those 412 corps members and said, "You have two options. We will send you and place you in another school district and you can teach like you were supposed to do, or you can stay in New Orleans and we don't know what you'll do, but you'll be helping evacuees and you'll be helping maybe build a new school system."

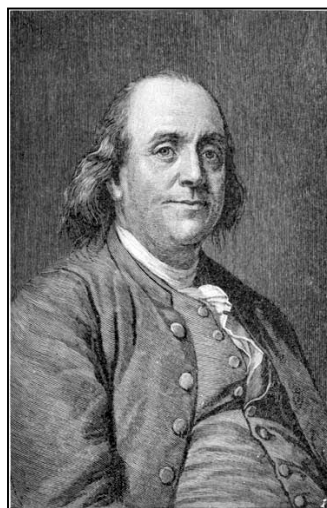
Out of the 412 Teach For America members, 412 signed up to stay in New Orleans. And we're going to raise money to double that, for you and for everybody else, so that we can have a decent school system in New Orleans, and we can live up to what Bridge has done and all of you have done, which is give back to communities the way Ben Franklin would have us do.

You know, Benjamin Franklin, that was the core of his life, was civic engagement. He was, as some of you may know, born in Boston, the 10th son of a Puritan emigrant. As the 10th son of a Puritan, he was going to be his father's tithe to the Lord. His father was going to send him to Harvard to study to be a minister. Some of you may remember that Harvard used to know how to train ministers, but that was a couple of centuries ago.

But Benjamin was not exactly cut for the cloth. In fact, at one point they were salting away the provisions for the winter at his home, and he said to his father, "How about if I say grace over it right now, and we can get it done with once and for all for the entire year?" So his father thought it would be a waste of money to

send him to Harvard to be a minister, so instead Benjamin Franklin got the next best education, or perhaps a better education, he was apprenticed to his brother who ran a newspaper, the first independent newspaper in Boston, the New England Courant - a printer and publisher.

Benjamin Franklin had to teach himself the virtues and values of civic engagement by working at his brother's publishing shop and printing. Every evening he would take books



down from the shelves and read them over night so he wouldn't get caught. He was 14 when he was apprenticed to his brother. He started this self-education. He started with Plutarch's Lives, and Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, then Cotton Mathers' Essays to

Do Good. All the books that Bridge and I were reading when we were age 14, which is why we turned out so well. Right?

He finally taught himself how to be a good writer by doing that. He realized that he wanted to rally the people of Boston to form civic endeavors. So he wrote the Do Good Essays. He did it under a pseudonym, because his brother, whom he was apprenticed to, was an older brother, and those of you who know older brothers know that older brothers are kind of jealous. I'm not going to lie to you, Benjamin Franklin didn't have a chance of writing for the New England Courant, so he had to disguise his handwriting and slip the essays under the door.

He pretended to be, this is now at age 15 and 16, he was kind of a naughty lad, who grew up on the docks of Boston, but he pretended to be a widowed elderly woman living in the countryside and being courted by a minister. And her name was Silence DoGood. It was a triumph of the imagination. But in those Silence



DoGood letters, you see the seeds of civic engagement that made our country so strong.

In the very first Silence DoGood essay, she says, "Let me introduce myself. I have a natural aversion to tyranny, and any trampling of the rights of any of my neighbors makes my blood boil exceedingly. That's how you know I'm an American." In the second Silence DoGood essay she makes fun of Harvard, of course, saying it only knows "how to turn out dunces and blockheads who can enter a room genteelly, something they could have learned less expensively in dancing school."

But eventually his older brother figures out that it's Ben Franklin writing under the pseudonym of Silence Do Good, and so to cut the story short, he has to become the most famous runaway in our history, at age 17 running away from his brother's print shop, penniless, landing famously at the Market Street Wharf in Philadelphia, with just three coins in his pocket. He gives one of the coins as a tip to the boatman.

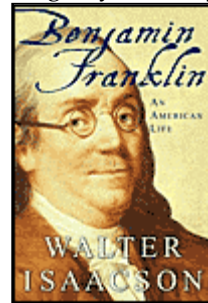
Another coin, he buys the famous "three puffy rolls" that he walks up Market Street carrying, giving one of the rolls away to a woman who had been on the boat with him, who had a hungry child. And he said, "You're always much more generous when you're very, very poor than when you're rich. Because you don't want people to think you're poor, so you pretend to be rich and you pretend to be generous."

It was an odd sort of statement, one of the small little quirks, but also geniuses and also very American things about Benjamin Franklin is that he did actually care about appearances. He said, "You are who you try to be. You are who you pretend to be." And that's the whole theme of the autobiography, of really trying to create a better society by everybody aspiring to be more engaged.

He forms a little club almost like this called the Junto, the Leather Apron Club, because he believes in Main Street middle class values, and he wants the leather aprons, the young 20-somethings like himself, who work in

the shops of Philadelphia, who work as a printer because he had just started his little printing shop, or tradesmen, to form their club.

They made a list of the civic virtues that they would keep in order to build a better society. In fact, those virtues are very famous. You read about them in the autobiography: frugality, honesty, industry, all of Ben Franklin's



great civic virtues. He even, he was a very geeky sort of guy, so he put them on a chart, a little piece of slate, and marked every week how well he did on each one of those virtues. And every time he missed one of the virtues he put a little blot by his name. And he finally

transfers it to a piece of white ivory so he can wipe it clean each week and start afresh, which I also thought was very beautifully American.

At some point, he finally gets a clean slate, which is where the cliché comes from, the autobiography, that he's mastered each one of the twelve virtues. After he shows it around proudly a friend in his Leather Apron Club says, "You know, you're missing a virtue. There's a virtue you don't have on your list you might want to practice." Franklin says, "What's that?" And the friend says, "Humility. You might try that one."

This is the beautiful thing about Franklin, he said, "I was never very good at that virtue. I could never really master it. But I was very good at giving the pretense of humility; I could fake it very well." And he said, "The amazing thing is, I learned that the pretense of humility was just as useful as the reality of humility. It made you listen to the person next to you, it made you consider that they may have a point, it made you understand that the democracy we were trying to form was based on tolerance of the opinion of the person sitting next to you."

And so, with these virtues and values he creates a very wonderful media empire. The envy of any Ted Turner or Rupert Murdoch today. He has a little publishing shop; he

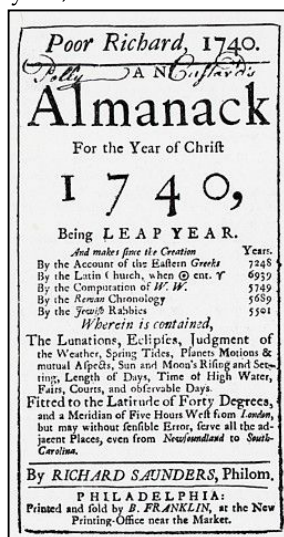


decides he needs to have content if he's got the facilities to produce it. So, he produces a newspaper, and he wants to be a publisher of books. He realizes that people buy the Bible once in their lifetime.

So he creates Poor Richard's Almanac, they have to buy it every year, and that's where you get all the great sayings of Poor Richard. It becomes the best-selling book in America. Then he franchises his print shops up and down the coast of America, with his former apprentices and relatives and friends, and sends them the content and takes an equity stake in each of the print shops. Then like a great media tycoon, he realizes he needs a distribution system to control it. And that's why he created the American Colonial Postal System, which was to connect all of his print shops and publishing houses and newspapers and stuff.

But he does something interesting at age 42 after he's very, very successful in the printing business (he is the first real self-made shopkeeper in America), he semi-retires. He steps back and he gives over the businesses to his partners. He decides to totally involve himself in what you do, which is civic engagement and civil society. He starts all sorts of things: a street sweeping corps, a militia, a volunteer fire department, and the first free library in America, now the Free Library of Philadelphia, where I'm sure Cokie and I both gave speeches.

He starts the Academy for the Education of Young Apprentices in Philadelphia, the Academy for the Education of the Youth in Philadelphia, and even with his protégé Thomas Jefferson, both children of the Enlightenment, later starts the University of Virginia. But they talked about it, and Franklin's



idea is not like Jefferson's, that you only want to educate the elite.

If you read the founding document of the Academy of Philadelphia that becomes the University of Pennsylvania, its mission is to bring every aspiring person in our society up a notch, so that we will have a stronger civil society. It is a great document. He forms mutual insurance companies and all sorts of things.

His mother, who is still a Puritan and still in Boston, is baffled. She writes a really wonderful letter asking, "Why have you become so involved in community affairs and help philanthropy and helping others?" She gives him the Calvinist/Puritan doctrine that salvation comes through God's grace alone, not through good works, and that you're not going to achieve salvation except for by being part of the elect.

He writes this wonderful letter back, talking about how he believes in salvation through good works. And he says, "There's only one thing I know about the Good Lord that I'm sure about, is that he made all of the creatures here, and that he must love them all. So the best way to serve the Lord is not through the dictates or dogma of any particular religion, but simply by serving my neighbor I can serve the Lord because I know that he loves us all. And that's the best way I can express my religion." And he says at the very end of the letter, "And that's why I would rather have it said of me that he lived usefully than that he died rich."

That became his motto, which is, in some ways it was a religious nature to serving your fellow man. He had as his motto to pour forth benefits for the common good is divine. In other words, civic engagement has a sacred quality to it, because it is our best way to serve God's creation. When he forms his greatest thing, the Hospital of Philadelphia, carved in Latin, that motto, to pour forth benefits for the common good is divine. And it's still carved there, if you go to Philadelphia to see the hospital he created.

Anyway, as a great civic leader, he gets involved some in politics and everything else. He's finally sent over to England to try to avert the American Revolution, as the envoy for some of the Colonies. He takes his son William with him. The son is a complicated case. It's an illegitimate son. You don't know who the mother is exactly. An illegitimate son, but unlike most men of the time, he took responsibility when he had this illegitimate son.

He raised this son, he doted on his son, and he educated William. Much to the chagrin of Deborah his future wife, he brings William into the household and makes her help raise William, and they go off to England together. Despite the fact, or maybe because of the fact that William is illegitimate, he becomes very highfalutin. He becomes very Tory. He becomes very aristocratic. He starts hanging around the elite, all the dukes and the earls and the aristocrats. Where Benjamin Franklin in England stays very resolutely middle class, wedded to his Main Street values.

That wonderful scene in the autobiography of Franklin straggling up Market Street with the three rolls, if you want to understand that scene, you have to read the first two words of the autobiography. Which are, "Dear son,". What he's saying to his son is, "Remember your humble roots. We are proud to be working class. We are not trying to be part of a leisure elite. And remember that being industrious and hard working is good, and you shouldn't be part of an idle aristocracy."

As you may know, sons sometimes don't listen to fathers, and William had none of this. William becomes a much more elite, finally becomes a royal appointee, the Royal Governor of New Jersey, loyal to the Crown. And so moved back to New Jersey, and eventually, in 1775, we fail to avert the revolution. We actually do have a revolution.

So there is Franklin, he has to come back to the United States. He's failed in his mission to stop the revolution. And people are wondering what side is he going to be on when he arrives back in Philadelphia? He gets back in Philadelphia; he doesn't say anything for a

week. You have a lot of the radicals hoping that he's going to join the Continental Congress there and be part of the rebellion, be for independence.

But the first thing he has to do is meet his son, who's still the Royal Governor. They have a summit meeting right outside of Philadelphia in Buck's County. Where the Royal Governor of New Jersey, William Franklin, meeting his father, Benjamin Franklin, they're going to discuss what they're going to do.

There's a third person at that meeting. A beautiful 19-year-old kid, a boy named Temple, who is actually William's illegitimate son. When they lived in London together, William had had his own illegitimate son, but unlike Benjamin Franklin, William hadn't taken responsibility for the son, hadn't raised the son, hadn't brought the son into his household. But Benjamin Franklin did. He raises this illegitimate grandson, educates him, and then brings him back to America.

And really almost for the first time, this grandson is seeing his father. They're all together there, and they're waiting to see what's going to happen. Benjamin Franklin declares that he's going to cast his lot for independence, join the movement, the rebellion for independence. His son, William, doesn't. His son remains Royal Governor of New Jersey, despite Benjamin Franklin's pleas that he resigns.

And so for a year, from 1775 that summer on, there's a tug of war for the soul of young Temple Franklin, who goes back and forth from Perth Amboy, New Jersey to Philadelphia, losing a lot of his clothing he'd stocked because the letters they write, between Ben Franklin and William, involved these high-minded fights over independence, and then luggage questions of where the shorts and clothing of young Temple are as he moves back and forth.

But finally in the beginning of the summer, late spring of 1776, Temple casts his lot with his grandfather, and decides to become a rebel as well. He becomes part of Franklin's

team, secretary to Benjamin Franklin, when the Continental Congress is meeting that July, 1776, in Philadelphia. The Congress then appoints a committee to write a declaration explaining why America had decided to declare its independence.

It may be the last time Congress created a good committee. It had Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, and Ben Franklin on it. Thomas Jefferson wrote the first draft of this great document, it's in the basement of the Library of Congress, if you want to see it.

And in that very famous second paragraph, Jefferson begins it, "We hold these truths to be sacred and undeniable." And then you can see on that first draft, the old printer's pen that Benjamin Franklin used, heavy black ink with the back slashes that printers use, and he changes it, "We hold these truths to be self-evident". He explains to the committee that we're trying to create a new type of civic society that is based on the consent of the governed, and the rights come from our own civic society not just the dictates and dogma of any particular religion.

Then the sentence goes on and it says, "They are endowed with certain inalienable rights," and you can see John Adams's handwriting on this first draft where he writes "endowed by their Creator." It's a beautiful sentence. In that sentence, the founders balancing the role of divine providence and the grace we have from the Lord and our own role as people in a civic society, who guarantee our own rights. They keep it almost in perfect balance with that sentence.

And you can see how three very different people in some ways were able to say we're going to use religion not to tear us apart, not to make use a more divided society, but to get the sentence balanced, just as they did with the Constitution. So that religion is used to hold us together when we're a good people, instead of being divisive.

Anyway, the document is great; it is the greatest document of civil society ever written. But in order to make it a reality we had to get

France in on our side in the Revolution, and even back then, France was a bit of a handful. So they send old Ben Franklin, who is then pushing 80 to France, in order to get the French on our side.

And he does a great balance of power game that would have made a Metternich or a Bismarck or a Kissinger proud about the understanding of the balance of power between France and its Bourbon-packed allies and their interests with Spain and the Netherlands, and keeping a balance against England.

Then he does something very unusual, that's very typical of American foreign policy, he realizes that our interests are interwoven with our ideals and he builds a printing press. He prints the Declaration of Independence, many copies of it, and eventually France does come in on our side, not simply because we persuaded the King, which we didn't, that it was in his interests. The Finance Minister, Turgot, knew it was not in France's interest to get into this war, but because the people of France understood, perhaps all too well, the sentiments of liberty and equality and fraternity that were rising in France as well as in America.

After getting the Declaration done, he comes back to America. And he's the one person who signs all the founding documents, from the Treaty of Albany to the treaty that gets France in the war, to the treaty that solves the war, I mean settles the dispute with London, with Britain, to the Declaration of Independence.

But there's one more document. As he gets back to Philadelphia in 1787, things are not going well. The country is not holding together quite properly. Benjamin Franklin is basically pushing 90; he's in his 89th year. But they carry him on a chair, on his chaise, two blocks from his home on Market Street to what is now called Independence Hall for this creation of this wonderful document. He just sits there most of the time. He's an old man and he listens.

By the middle of that very hot summer, it was all falling apart as you remember. The big state - little state issue was tearing things apart; equal votes per state versus proportional

representation; the Connecticut compromise had been voted down. And it looked like it was going to dissolve. So Benjamin Franklin stands up to do one great speech, and what he says is the same thing he said to that civic engagement Junto, the Leather Apron Club, he had founded about 70 years earlier when he was 17.

He said, "I am older than everybody else in this room." They're sitting in round tables just like this in Independence Hall. In fact, he was twice as old as the average age of each member. He said, "But the older I get, something very strange happens to me. I realize that I'm fallible. I realize that I'm wrong at times. I realize that the person next to me might end up being right and I might end up being wrong."

He said, "That's what we have to do in this room here. When we were young tradesmen and wanted to put a joint of wood that would hold together and it didn't quite fit, you'd shave a little from one side and you'd take a little from the other until you had a joint of wood that would hold together for centuries. And so, too, we here in this convention, must each part with some of our demands in order to have a document that will hold together for centuries." And I mean in some ways the lesson is that, "compromisers may not make great heroes, but they do make great democracies," he said.

He proposes a compromise of having a House and a Senate; big state, little state; equal votes per state; proportional representation; The Grand Compromise. He tells them to line up and to vote for this compromise, and they do. State by state. Almost every one of them lines up to vote for it. And as they do, it's a famous scene that if you go there and you look at that room and you see the chair still sitting there, General Washington's chair, it can send chills up your spine because he says, "I've often wondered, on the back of General Washington's chair, whether that was a rising sun or a setting sun, carved in the back of that chair? But now I know, it's a rising sun."

Then, as Cokie said, the doors open up and **there is Miss Powell, the great old dame of**

**Philadelphia, who says, "What have you wrought in there? What have you given us?" And he turns to her and he says, "A Republic, Madam, if you can keep it." And that was sort of the point of his life, that it's up to each one of us, people with the Main Street shop keeping values, to understand how to stand true to principle, but also how to make the proper compromises in order to have the civic society of all the associations that he had helped to form.**

There was only one issue that they'd compromised on that they really couldn't compromise on, and that of course was slavery. At the end of his life, Benjamin Franklin felt guilty about that. He'd even owned two slaves early in his career, and allowed the advertising of slavery in the Pennsylvania Gazette, his newspaper. He realized it was a blot against a lifetime spent fighting tyranny over fellow neighbors.

So, obviously he'd gotten rid of his slaves and made his family sell their slaves or free their slaves, and he'd even started schools in Philadelphia for freed slaves. However, he still felt upset because throughout his life he kept a ledger of all the errata, meaning errors, he had made in his life. Then on the other side he'd mark how he corrected those errata.

And the chart starts with running away from his brother when he was apprenticed to his brother, and he rectifies it by saying that when his brother died, he educated his brother's youngest son. He even has his treatment of Deborah Franklin as an erratum, and he says he rectified it by marrying her. But I'll leave that to Cokie to deal with.

But at the end, there's one great errata that is more than just an errata; it is a sin he feels in a lifetime spent fighting tyranny. And that's having tolerated slavery. So at age 90, which is old back then, he becomes the President of the Society for the Abolition of Slavery. And he fights in his last great speeches and writings, to end slavery in America.

That's what we have to do, those who care about civic engagement. Whether it's

rebuilding an education system in New Orleans, or doing each and every one of the things you get yourself involved in, is how do you balance holding true to your principles with understanding the tolerance that is necessary for a democracy? During his lifetime, Benjamin Franklin donated to the building fund of each and every church built in Philadelphia. At one point, they were building a great hall for itinerant preachers of the Great Awakening who were wandering around. He wrote the fundraising document for it, and raised the money.

The fundraising document starts by saying, "Even if the mufti of Constantinople were to send somebody here to preach Islam to

us, and teach us about the Muslim faith, we should listen and we should offer a pulpit and we should be tolerant, for we may learn." And on his deathbed, he was the largest individual contributor to the Mickvé Israel Synagogue, the first synagogue built in Philadelphia.

So when he died, instead of the Minister of Christ's Church just accompanying the casket to the grave, all 35 ministers, priests, and preachers of Philadelphia, and the Rabbi of the Jews linked arms, and marched with him to the grave. That is the essence of the civil society, the notion of principle, faith and tolerance that we were fighting for when we created this country, and that, more than ever, we're fighting for in this world today. So thank you all very much.

## Book Signing



*Conference attendees lined up for the Book Signing session, held during a conference break. Authors and conference speakers Cokie Roberts and Walter Isaacson graciously autographed many books.*



*A conference attendee chats with NCoC National Advisory Board member Amy Kass.*



*Bob Nardelli of Home Depot and Jean Case of The Case Foundation listen to Associate Justice Anthony Kennedy.*



# A Dialogue on Freedom

## Associate Justice Anthony M. Kennedy *Franklin Award Recipient*

**NCoC National Advisory Board Member Walter Isaacson:** In 1731, Benjamin Franklin worked with his fellow citizens to chip in their books and raise funds to build the first public subscription library in America. Carved in stone atop that Library Company of Philadelphia are Franklin's words: "Communiter Bona Profundere Deum Est" – to provide benefits for the common good is divine.



*Justice Anthony Kennedy*

in the Charters of Freedom. Lawyers, judges, professors and policymakers have now reached more than one million high school students across the country with Dialogues on Freedom, interacting with students on questions fundamental to understanding our democracy and their role in it.

In a Dialogue on Freedom, students find themselves in the hypothetical Nation of Quest and are given the chance to muster the best arguments to defend American democracy, culture and values – to create a timeline of the "Great Events in Freedom" and to discuss the meaning of the rule of law, our system of government, and the defining moments in the struggle for our freedoms. First Lady Laura Bush, U.S. Senators from both sides of the aisle, governors, judges, lawyers and law school professors have gone into high school classrooms across the country to have these vital conversations with our nation's young people and to awaken in them a sense of what is at stake in a post-9/11 world.

For his service to our nation in creating such a vital program after 9/11 that has engaged more than one million of our country's high school students in challenging Dialogues on Freedom, the National Conference on Citizenship is pleased to give its 2005 Franklin Award to Associate Justice Anthony M. Kennedy.

### Justice Anthony Kennedy

Thank you very much, Mr. Isaacson, Mr. Nardelli, Miss Roberts, my fellow citizens, devoted to the idea and the reality of the rule of law. Thank you very much for your gracious welcome. And I thank you for this award, which I shall presume carries with it the undertaking to renew my own efforts to

The National Conference on Citizenship shares Franklin's belief and is giving out awards in his name to outstanding individuals in federal service who are working to strengthen citizenship in America.

In response to the terrorist attacks on September 11, an Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court conceived of an effort to foster a dialogue among high school students and legal professionals on America's core civic values and traditions. He introduced the "Dialogue on Freedom" program at the American Bar Association meeting in 2002 in Philadelphia, where our core values and fundamental freedoms were given formal expression

improve the quality of our civic dialogue, and to underwrite your own.

I sometimes tell my students in Constitutional Law that you can think of "constitution" as a word which begins either with a capital C or a small c. The capital C

Constitution is the most brilliant document in the history of human thought, drafted in Philadelphia in the hot summer of 1787, the document that Mr. Isaacson was referring to.

It's our legal charter, the formal document that is looked to by courts and judges; the formal document with which our people identify. Americans come from many backgrounds, and if you ask what an American is, he or she will tell you that he identifies with the Constitution. That's part of our self-definition. This is the Constitution with a capital C.

The constitution can also have a small c. A constitution was a term used by some of the earliest political philosophers: Plato, Aristotle, and later Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau. And they meant constitution in the sense of that whole web, that whole network, that whole rich nexus of customs and traditions and mores that make up the mission and the destiny of a people.

Now, the closer the large C Constitution comes to the small c, the more secure, the more progressive, the more decent, the more stable a society is. You could say the same thing about civics. Civics with a capital C is most often thought of as a high school course all too often sandwiched for six weeks between Hygiene and Drivers Education, a course often devoid of history.

You can teach Civics in many ways; my own preference is to teach it, if I ever were allowed to teach it, as part of History. Washington surrendering his sword at Annapolis -- one of the most visible, dramatic, tangible expressions of republican government ever given to a people. And the fact that it was in 1783 before the Constitution makes it all the more important because this was part of our understanding.

So that's Civics with a capital C. But Civics with a capital C also ties in with civics with a small c. And civics with a small c is a magnificent word. It sums up the sum total of our obligations and responsibilities as a people to preserve freedom. And we preserve it in many ways, not least of which is through the

quality of our public dialogue. And again, the closer that our concept of civics with a small c, comprising the whole idea of consensus that our people have for basic values, the closer that is to the formal Civics course, the stronger we are.

Now, it's very important to recognize, as you do, that the idea of democracy, the idea of freedom, our Constitutional principles, are not inherited. You don't take a DNA test to see if you believe in freedom. It's taught. And teaching is a conscious act of transmission. And it's the duty of each generation to transmit and to teach and to enrich our Constitutional heritage so that the next generation is even stronger than before. And this, too, ought to be part of our civic dialogue.

Civics presumes that there are certain fundamental principles of a free society. Some people can't find a difference between a platitude and a splendid truth. And it's our obligation to tell high school Civics students and high school Civics teachers, and all of those who are responsible for the conduct of our civic dialogue that America rests on certain great, splendid truths.

Now, let me tell you, for many people in this world, the verdict is still out as to whether they're going to choose the path of freedom. And one of the factors in their decision is going to be their assessment of American society, American culture, American civic dialogue. And we have a great deal to do to improve it.

I was in China two weeks ago, and I taught at most of the major law schools in Beijing. I was with a group of young people who now see within their grasp a prosperity, a material success, a chance for individual advancement that was undreamed of ten years ago. And I asked these students, I said, "Are you ready to sacrifice some stability in order to have designer jeans? Do you understand that freedom is within your grasp?" They sat and they listened. They're thinking. The verdict is still out.

Now, one of the things you hear particularly in Asia and in China is the following. "Well, now, you're a country with an open discourse even if it is sometimes a

fractious, hostile discourse. Look at the names of some of your news shows: Crossfire, Hardball, which indicate this unfriendly, inimical society." They say, "We don't do that. We start from the idea of harmony, consensus, stability, unity."

You must always be careful in talking with students or in examining a witness or in



*Mary Kennedy*

analyzing an argument, not to accept the other person's premise. Notice the hidden premise here. The hidden premise is that America is not based on consensus. Nothing could

be further from the truth. There

is a consensus in this country that we stand ready to transmit to our next generation the principles of freedom that this committee wrote about when they composed the Declaration of Independence.

When I teach a Constitutional Law or Civics class, I sometimes ask students, "How many have read the Constitution of the United States cover to cover? And how many have done it and not had their mind wander?" You can't do that. I can probably do it. Well, it's like reading Hamlet. You see new things every time you read it, and you can't get by the first act.

The Constitution is difficult to read through cover to cover. Not the Declaration of Independence, which that was designed to have a dramatic progression to it. It was designed by Washington to be read to the troops to get them, the more you read it, the madder you get at King George. Until at the end you're ready to go out and fight. I think it was an interesting work. "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights

that among these are Life, Liberty, and Pursuit of Happiness."

Happiness? In this era, happiness carries with it the connotation of self-pleasure; there is a hedonistic component to the definition now. However, that's not what Jefferson meant, and it's not what the Framers meant. If you read Washington, he uses the term happiness all the time. As did the other members of the generation at the time of the founding. For them, happiness meant that feeling of self-worth and dignity you acquire by contributing to your community and to its civic life. And that's the concept of happiness that we have to tell our young people is still within their grasp, but that they must think about more seriously.

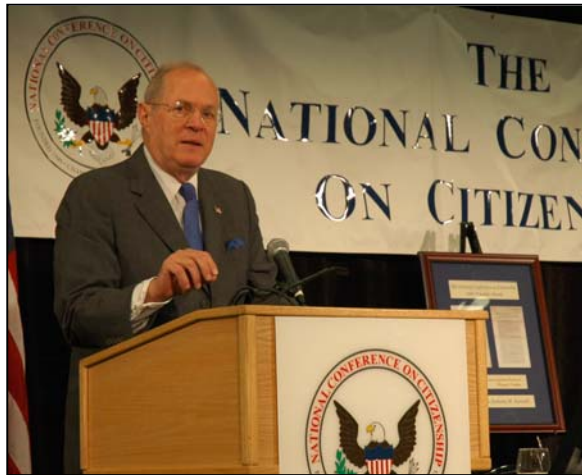
Mr. Isaacson mentioned the word "tolerance". It's interesting, if you're sitting in the House of Representatives to hear a State of the Union Address, there's a credenza which has five different faces to it: Law, Justice, Liberty, Equality, and the middle is Tolerance. And many young people think of tolerance as being equated with moral relativism, with all ideas having equal value. They forget that tolerance is based upon a fundamental premise, that every person is entitled to be heard because every person has a dignity and a worth of his or her own. But that doesn't mean that all ideas are of equal value. This is a great difference.

And this was one of the reasons that I started that Dialogue on Freedom which you were so kind to mention. In part, I had something I wanted to teach, and in part I was just kind of empirically interested. It was what was going on out there. I wanted to go into these schools. And as you can imagine, and those of you who have taught know well, there's good news and bad news about what the students know and what their approach is.

There's lots of bad news. You can be absolutely appalled at their Civics books, what they say as to what they don't say, their basic knowledge, and their basic commitment to the ideas of freedom. To the fundamentals of human dignity. But, you're also inspired by their brilliance, their energy, their dedication,

their youth, their civic commitment, their moderation, their decency.

I asked the students to imagine you're stuck on an imaginary island for a week and you're a high school student, and you have a series of encounters with people your age. I asked them, "What books would you leave behind? What three books? You have to make choices. What three books would you leave behind with your new friends?"



And the results are mixed. A lot of what they read in high school, in AP -- Advanced Placement Lit. Walden Pond, not my choice. I never could emerge from the swamp of the prose to see the pond. I don't know. Also, I think, a debilitating philosophy. A wildly overbroad relativism. But, you know, that's personal opinion. Other books that are very good.

I had one young high school student who said, "I want to be an engineer. And the book I would leave is a book I have at home, my dad gave it to me at Christmas. It has illustrations and pictures of some of the great machines and some of the great consumer products that we've designed to improve the lot of the individual, and to make us more efficient and more comfortable and more secure. And they're beautiful. And it's a great tribute to him and ingenuity. I'd like to show that." That was a great suggestion.

The First Lady was at one of the sessions, and she raised her hand, so I called on the First Lady. And she said, "I would leave

behind the Sunday Edition of any major American newspaper, to show our commitment to a diverse culture. Science, Art, Religion, Sports." I thought that was a beautiful answer.

I asked them what movies they would leave behind? Again, three movies. The problem there is that movies are now deemed as just a form of entertainment. There's no ethical progression, there's no moral dilemma. There's no protagonist and antagonist whose ethical dilemma can be resolved through character progression. Movies could be a marvelous way of teaching. And I am a little bit out of the loop on great modern movies. And, oh, incidentally, black and white, forget it; subtitles, forget it; old, forget it. But that's another problem.

On a broader level, the students react in ways that you're familiar with, and in a way that I think we must confront. Because it has to do with this inability or unwillingness or restiveness or unease or insecurity, with accepting certain fundamental principles like the idea that tolerance means that we defend human dignity and human freedom. That's what it means.

I'll ask the students a series of questions. If you are in this foreign country and a young lady says that she wants to surrender her political power to a male-dominated government, and to put women in a subordinate political position. Don't you have the moral duty not to point a bayonet but a moral duty to persuade your friend, a young lady, not to forego her basic political rights?

Now, a majority of the students in most high schools, will say, "No, you do not have that duty, because whatever 50 percent of the people want to do, they can do." Now, that's a very interesting point. Where do they get 50 percent? What universal does that represent? And we could explore that. But just leave that aside for the moment. I say, okay, and then you start upping the ante.

The old Socratic game. You have a series of more serious deficiencies in the social and the political order. Then you finally get, "What about the genocide in Rwanda? You

have a duty at least to protest, if not to intervene? What about the Holocaust?"

About five percent of the class will say there is no moral duty to intervene for the Holocaust. They stick with their position. What other people want to do is their business. To their great credit, 95 percent of the rest of the class is appalled about where their own reasoning has led them, but they don't have the intellectual equipment to work out of the box. And this, my friends, we must address.

You are so fortunate that you've devoted your lives and your efforts to educating young people. I've taught law school, my wife who is here was an elementary school teacher for years. And in order to fill up the day once a year she promised that I would come out and talk to the third grade students. About what it was like to be a judge and all this stuff.

Finally I would, but I would insist that the kids write me a letter back, a little note on what they learned. And one kid wrote, a third grader, he said, "Thank you, Judge Kennedy, for coming to visit our class. I learned so much. I learned there are three branches of Government: lawyers, judges, and attorneys." Such considerable promise, I thought. So, of course, you have to begin early.

Well, I'll tell you just one more anecdote. Last year we were in Poland, in mid-September. And I was there for the Government to meet with judges. The Polish Government is establishing a new Judiciary, part of its new Constitution. I'd agreed to meet with the faculties of the law schools of the Universities in Krakow and in Warsaw. When I went to Warsaw and they'd told me in advance, "The students aren't here because they don't come until next week, but the faculty is here." So that was fine.

And mid-way during the faculty meeting, the Dean came in, the Provost, and he said, "We forgot, this is Orientation Day for our entering students." Basically high school seniors beginning University. And the pre-law students, law is undergraduate in almost every

country in the world, including Poland, "the law students want you to talk to them."

So, I went in, "I'm Justice Kennedy, Supreme Court" and all this stuff. And no translator needed. And I said it's my tradition that I like to answer questions. It makes for a more engaging class. And I made a few statements designed to elicit questions. And pretty soon a student raised her hand. And she said, "Now you like separation of powers in your government, with three branches of government that you have, where the Congress can check the President and the President checks the Congress. But what checks the courts?" It was a very good question.

So, we had a long discussion about that, or I think a good discussion about that. And another student raised his hand. And he said, "Federalism is very important to your Constitution." I said, "I certainly think it is." And he said, "Well, now, there's a lot of money that goes to Washington and then it goes back to the states with conditions. Grants in aid. Doesn't that undermine federalism?" All right. I was beginning to wonder what was going on.

Another student raised her hand, and she said, "Were Chief Justice John Marshall's decisions all popular when he wrote them?" I said, "Wait a minute, stop." I said, "Is this some pre-programmed exercise? Some scam? Some ruse? I was amazed at their knowledge of the Constitution.

And a student raised his hand, and he said, "Well, you know, depending on when you measure, 1775, 1776, 1783 when the war ended, until 1789 when you adopted your Constitution, it took upwards of 13 years for you to have your Constitution. We've been working on a Constitution for nine years. And we've studied your Constitution, and we've studied the American historical experience, since we've been juniors in high school because we want the American experience for our own."

And then a kid, a young man, raised his hand and said, "How do you keep a Constitution for a long time?" And I told Mary when we left, I said, "If I had had that class at



any American university or in American law school, I would have come home and said, 'That's a good class.'" And it was in Poland, with first year college students.

I repeated the story to the Provost who we were having dinner with that night, and he said, "Well, that's right, the students were right. We do value this, but there is one other thing. In Poland under the Communists, if you wanted to be a doctor or a lawyer or an engineer or an architect, there was no chance. So we didn't

have any competition for good teachers. We had the best minds in Poland in the classroom for 30 years, and you saw the product."

My friends, we must have the best minds, the best thought, the best efforts, the best text books, devoted in high school, in grammar school, in college to try to elevate the discourse in this country to talk about the principles of freedom. And for your commitment to that effort, I salute you and I thank you very much.

## ***2004 Conference Update:***

### **The Corporation for Public Broadcasting's American History and Civics Initiative**

The **American History and Civics Initiative**, which was launched in cooperation with the **National Conference on Citizenship in December 2004**, represents a major commitment by the Corporation for Public Broadcasting to use its educational mandate and creative capacity to address critical shortfalls in middle and high school students' knowledge of American history, our political system, and their roles as citizens. To do so, this initiative will award \$20 million in grants to forge unique and sustainable partnerships between public television producers and broadcast outlets, the educational community, curriculum developers, the high tech industry and other appropriate partners, to design, test and create integrated interactive multimedia platforms that improve learning.

Since the launch of the American History and Civics Initiative, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting has been promoting the initiative to prospective applicants and interest is high. The Request for Proposal was disseminated to thousands of potential applicants in the television, education and high tech/gaming communities. CPB enlisted the cooperation of the National Conference on Citizenship, local high tech councils, the American Film Institute and many other organizations that also distributed the RFP to their members and associates. More than 550 potential applicants attended CPB-sponsored pre-proposal briefings in Chicago, Los Angeles, New York, San Francisco, and Washington DC. With the cooperation of the American Film Institute, the initiative was featured September 20 at the annual Digital Hollywood Conference, the world's largest gathering of the gaming industry representatives, whose sponsors include Intel, IBM, Sony, and Sun Microsystems.

Although the deadline for submissions is not until November 1, 2005, the initiative has attracted considerable interest. The initiative's website <http://www.cpb.org/grants/historyandcivics/> has received about 20,000 hits since April. This is approximately 20 percent of the total hits on CPB's main site. CPB has also received hundreds of e-mails with questions from individual applicants, the most popular of which have been posted on the initiative's website under a "Frequently Asked Questions" link. For more information about applying for a grant through the American History & Civics initiative go to <http://www.cpb.org/grants/historyandcivics/>.

# Announcement of Corporate Citizenship Campaign

Robert Nardelli

*Luncheon Keynote Address*



**Michelle Nunn:** Bob Nardelli President, Chairman, and CEO of The Home Depot, needs no introduction as a business leader. Through his business leadership he is committed to helping all Americans build safe and nurturing homes. But his leadership extends to helping all Americans create safe and nurturing communities and a strong nation. Bob has a deeply rooted understanding and commitment to the power of volunteer service and citizenship. He has lived out that commitment in projects ranging from the founding of Business Strengthening America to The Home Depot sponsored traveling exhibit of The Declaration of Independence. I have served with him on the President's Council on Service and Civic Participation where I saw him apply his strategic leadership and commit to actionable and demonstrable change. But perhaps what has impressed me most of all

about Bob in our work together, has been his hands on leadership and bias for action. He truly embodies the extraordinary culture of The Home Depot's commitment to service. This month alone, I know that Bob is working full days at half a dozen projects. I have seen Bob work hand in hand with his associates building KaBOOM! playgrounds in Anacostia, digging a nature trail in a tropical storm with Hands On Atlanta, and last week working with children and neighbors in a transformational extreme makeover of a school in Houston. Having worked with Bob for a number of years, including a 25th anniversary celebration for The Home Depot that resulted in 250,000 hours, I asked Bob for his leadership and guidance to engage corporate leaders in a new kind of service initiative. He agreed to serve as the Chair of The Hands On Network Corporate Service Council but with the caveat that we commit to action and results, and that he wanted nothing less than a hands on approach.

Robert Nardelli

I could not be more excited about being here with you today. It is an honor to take part in a conference of this magnitude and alongside individuals in pursuit of citizenship and a stronger America.

The timing is certainly perfect. We are exactly three weeks past Katrina's landfall in the Gulf region, and we are surrounded by countless moments of citizenship in motion – individuals, groups, companies, as well as local, state and federal governments – leveraging our collective resources for the greater good.

There has been a lot of talk about what has gone wrong, but I think you would agree

with the general assessment that what went right was corporate America's response.

When I say corporate America, I mean two things: first, the companies that collectively mobilized vast amounts of monetary, physical and human capital to provide immediate relief and recovery to the communities devastated by Katrina.

But just as important, I mean the tens of thousands of corporate Americans who, as individuals, provided a multiplier effect to their companies' actions by volunteering their time, money and effort to help their fellow citizens at their darkest hour.

To me, it was a shining example of the role that companies should play in society today, and serves as a great backdrop to our discussion this afternoon.

Just over a month ago, in a timely look at how more companies are responding to the need to give back to their communities, BusinessWeek, published an article with the headline: "The Debate Over Doing Good."

The Home Depot actually had a prominent role in that story. Its subtitle explained, "Some companies are taking a more strategic tack on social responsibility." It went on to ask, "Should they?"

Are you thinking what I am thinking? There is actually a debate over doing good? With all due respect to Milton Friedman, I think the world has changed, and the last few weeks have proven that time and time again.

To the associates, business partners and the board of directors of The Home Depot – and many other companies today – there is no debate. We believe that when you have the reach and the resources, then you have the responsibility to respond, to do the right thing and do more things right.

We like to say that by driving financial value as a successful, profitable company, we can better live our values in our communities, specifically those of doing the right thing and giving back. The two are inextricably linked.

Now more than ever, companies and their employees are embracing their role as citizens in this country. Whether it is to fill a void, or because of their human nature – I will not debate. I am convinced, however, that what we are witnessing points to a much broader trend relative to companies taking a more holistic approach to the way they do business.

Increasingly, customers are demanding more than just the low-cost item. Associates are looking for more than just a paycheck. In short, the marketplace is keeping a running account of the character and quality of a company and its associates.

And increasingly, that character is measured by more than just the amount of money that a company gives. While direct cash contributions will always be a critical determinant in a company's approach to giving, more and more companies are marshaling the full scope of their resources to multiply the effect of their giving and its long-term impact.

They are leveraging their marketing acumen, their purchasing power, their associates' passion for volunteering, their logistics capabilities, their vendor relationships and non-profit partnerships to make an even bigger difference in their communities. In short, companies are taking a more holistic view of both the supply and demand side of the corporate-giving equation. We see a broader set of stakeholders to address, and we are doing so with a broader set of giving tools.



Let me give you an example from The Home Depot's playbook to illustrate the point. This past summer, we expanded our relationship with KaBOOM!, our national playground partner, by pledging \$25 million to create 1,000 playspaces in 1,000 days.

Just as important as our \$25 million, we committed 1 million volunteer hours from our

associates and vendor partners to the effort. We will join forces with community groups across North America to build playgrounds, create athletic fields and refurbish ice rinks through sweat equity, not just dollars.

Why is that volunteerism component important? It gets back to that holistic view of the supply side of corporate giving that I just mentioned.

I am learning that once people experience the sense of service and engagement of projects like these, they often take the mindset with them for life: that volunteer experience raises their awareness of social issues and their own ability to address them. Then, they become philanthropists in their own right. Volunteerism creates philanthropy.

That volunteer component also allows us to invite suppliers and other business partners to join projects. We have had amazing responses in past efforts, and we have captured meaningful opportunities to strengthen key business relationships

Employees of all companies spread the word. They carry the torch, creating wider and wider concentric circles of involvement and citizenship among their family, friends and neighbors.

All in all, the eight hours spent building a playground or painting a school is only the beginning. And I can assure you that this is not just one company's experience.

Late last December, Michelle Nunn, president and CEO of Hands On Network, asked me to help organize corporate leaders to increase volunteerism in the nation.

In May, we convened a group of 29 Fortune 500 companies and national civic organizations that have all committed to help achieve our goal, through what we are calling the Hands On Network Corporate Service Council.

Specifically, we have launched a two-year initiative to raise 6.4 million volunteers,

representing a 10 percent national increase in volunteerism. Council member companies have committed to increasing their employee involvement efforts by 10 percent and will be reaching out to other corporations to join this effort.

The Hands On initiative seeks to make a significant impact upon three critical action areas while simultaneously increasing the overall interest and demand for volunteerism on a national basis. We have set tangible goals through which we will measure our success in these three areas:

In the first area of Learning and Playspaces, we will create transformational projects and partnerships at 1,000 underserved schools and recreation centers to enhance their physical space and nurture and teach the children they serve.



In the second area of Healthy Places, we will complete 1,000 modifications to provide accessibility to citizens with physical disabilities, including Iraqi war veterans and citizens displaced by Hurricane Katrina, enabling them to live with dignity and independence.

And in the third area of Green Spaces, we will build or renovate 1,000 parks, green spaces and natural areas, including those impacted by Hurricane Katrina, to provide locations for communities to gather and share a common experience.

The leaders of the organizations are participating because they see a tremendous opportunity to reinvigorate the spirit of service in this country and to focus that energy on



addressing real community problems. While they are each making amazing contributions through their individual philanthropic programs, they are also motivated and inspired by what can be accomplished when they join together.

In fact, we already are. This month, the Hands On Network Corporate Service Council is undertaking the Corporate Month of Service. Together, many of the 29 organizations represented on the Council will donate more than 500,000 volunteer hours toward more than 2,000 community service projects across the United States, Canada, Mexico and China.

We expect to touch the lives of children, parents, families, teachers, community advocates, senior citizens – in total, more than 2 million people. If you look beyond the numbers, the story gets better.

Here in the northeast quadrant of D.C. at Watts Branch Park, is a perfect example of community, public and corporate resources “operationalizing” into action.

As part of our Month of Service, at this very moment, more than 500 volunteers are at Watts Branch Park, a unique 1.5 mile-long park that cuts through 10 neighborhoods. Volunteers are planting trees, clearing out brush, cleaning up and creating a youth garden.

They are participating in phase two of the dramatic revitalization of what has been referred to as “the most crime-ridden park in D.C.” – in a community that is home to the second highest percentage of kids than any other area in the city.

As we move forward from the Month of Service, we will issue a call to 100 additional corporations to join hands with our Corporate Service Council. We invite corporations that want to work in concert for impact and to make an institutional commitment to increase their volunteer activities by 10 percent to unite. Together we can change our nation.

In closing, I could not be more excited about what is ahead for our country, and the role that companies are playing in helping shape our future.

Last week, President Bush asked us all to do our part to help Katrina victims and to help rebuild the nation. Millions of volunteers will be needed in the months and years ahead, and the Corporate Service Council is already committed to mobilizing volunteers and supporting recovery and rebuilding efforts.

Through the direction and leadership of Hands On Network, we are working with USA Freedom Corps and others to help ensure that there is a comprehensive, coordinated effort to engage and activate volunteers.

I honestly believe that we have arrived at a new golden age of corporate civic engagement. It is embodied by the activist approach that many of us are taking in terms of hands-on involvement in driving meaningful and lasting improvement and change in today’s society and in our local communities.

Thank you and God bless America and, most importantly, the hundreds of thousands of citizens affected by Hurricane Katrina – and those helping.





## Hands On Network Establishes Alliance with CEOs and Civic Leaders to Achieve Goal

**ATLANTA, Sept. 19** -- Hands On Network, a network of 52 local nonprofit organizations that bring people together to tackle tough community problems through service, announced today the launch of an unprecedented initiative to mobilize 6.4 million additional volunteers over the next two years, representing a 10 percent increase in volunteerism nationwide. Additionally, the effort will train and mobilize 100,000 volunteer leaders with 10,000 of those leaders focused on long-term Hurricane Katrina relief and re-building.

"In the wake of Hurricane Katrina, building and sustaining a strong civic response is an opportunity and imperative," said **Michelle Nunn**, co-founder and CEO of Hands On Network. The Hands On Initiative is being launched in partnership with the Hands On Network Corporate Service Council, a national alliance of 29 corporate CEOs and civic leaders designed to mobilize the corporate workforce who will engage in a range of community projects throughout North America. Co-chaired by Nunn and **Bob Nardelli**, chairman, president and CEO of The Home Depot(R), the Corporate Service Council will focus on increasing volunteerism and mobilizing volunteer leaders as a means to address some of the nation's most pressing community problems, and to enable companies to apply their core competencies to the complex logistics of volunteerism and community impact.

The announcement was made today at the annual conference of the National Conference on Citizenship, which was co-moderated by **John Bridgeland**, president and CEO of Civic Enterprises, and a member of the Corporate Service Council. "With Bob Nardelli's leadership and the comprehensive commitment of the Council, we have the opportunity to sustain and build upon the civic wave that has been catalyzed over the last two weeks," said Bridgeland.

To kick off the Hands On Initiative, participating Council companies will contribute 500,000 volunteer hours during September's Corporate Month of Service with community service projects that will impact more than two million people, from painting schools to revitalizing neighborhood parks. Many projects have also incorporated Hurricane Katrina relief and recovery, such as packing and distributing supplies for evacuees.

"We will harness and focus the power of the corporate workforce as never before to improve the communities where we live, work and do business. We have a powerful resource in millions of people, corporate Americans, who now will have even greater support from their employers to touch countless lives in an immediate way," said Nardelli.

Throughout the two-year effort, each Council member company will set annual volunteerism goals, cultivate project leaders, plan local projects, marshal resources, share best practices, motivate participants and performance, and measure results. Hands On Network will provide on-the-ground

project management and a link between the companies and community organizations to achieve real community impact and change.

Specific goals of the Hands On Initiative include a project-based approach to three areas:

- **Learning and Play Spaces:** Transformational projects and partnerships at 1,000 underserved schools and recreation centers to enliven and enhance their physical space and nurture and teach the children they serve.
- **Healthy Places:** Projects that provide advocacy and accessibility for 1,000 citizens with physical disabilities, including Iraqi war veterans and citizens displaced by Hurricane Katrina, enabling them to live with dignity and independence.
- **Green Spaces:** Projects to build or renovate 1,000 parks, playgrounds, green spaces and natural areas, including areas impacted by Hurricane Katrina, to provide locations for communities to gather and share a common experience.

"We have a window of opportunity in the wake of Hurricane Katrina to re-awaken our citizenry to long-festering needs and to people's capacity to make a difference -- joining businesses, government and the independent sector in concerted action," concluded Nunn. "We are grateful to the Council for acting on this vision and look forward to engaging others in achieving these goals and creating a civic change movement."

### About the Hands On Network Corporate Service Council

Declining civic participation and the power of volunteer service has sparked an historic CEO and nonprofit alliance focused on inspiring and mobilizing 6.4 million additional volunteers. With a goal of harnessing the power of companies coming together, the Initiative is focused around creating tangible change in communities via hands-on service. Spearheaded by Bob Nardelli, chairman, president and CEO of [The Home Depot](#) and Michelle Nunn, co-founder and CEO of Hands On Network, the Council includes CEOs from [3M Company](#); [AARP](#); [Accenture](#); [Albertson's, Inc.](#); [BellSouth Corporation](#); [The Case Foundation](#); [Cisco Systems, Inc.](#); [Civic Enterprises](#); [The Coca-Cola Company](#); [Dell, Inc.](#); [Delta Air Lines](#); [Discovery Communications, Inc.](#); [Fannie Mae](#); [FedEx Corporation](#); [General Electric Company](#); [The Hitachi Foundation](#); [The Home Depot, Inc.](#); [KaBOOM!](#); [Masco Corporation](#); [Nuclear Threat Initiative](#); [PricewaterhouseCoopers LLP](#); [Qwest Communications International, Inc.](#); [Retail Industry Leaders Association](#); [SAP America, Inc.](#); [Starwood Hotels & Resorts Worldwide, Inc.](#); [Turner Broadcasting](#); [U.S. Chamber of Commerce](#); [Young & Rubicam Brands](#); and [Yum! Brands, Inc.](#)

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*Former Senator Harris Wofford (PA), recipient of the NCoC's 2004 Citizen of the Year Award, spends a free moment reviewing materials from the conference exhibit space.*

## Youth and Schools: Progress in American History and Civics Education



### Lesley Herrmann

#### *Panel Moderator*

Lesley Herrmann has been Executive Director of the Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History since its founding in 1994. She has spearheaded the Institute's efforts to promote the study of American history and improve the quality of history education. She has also held a variety of development and planning positions with not-for-profit and educational organizations in New York City, including the Municipal Art Society, Asphalt Green, The New School for Social Research, and Pace University. She holds a master's degree in Russian Area Studies from Harvard University, a Ph.D. in Slavic Languages and Literature from Columbia

University, and has taught Russian Literature at The New School for Social Research and Manhattan College. Herrmann is a contributor to the Scribner Encyclopedia of American Lives, a board liaison to the National Council for History Education, a member of the American Antiquarian Society, a fellow of the Morgan Library, and a board member of the Smithsonian National Museum of American History.

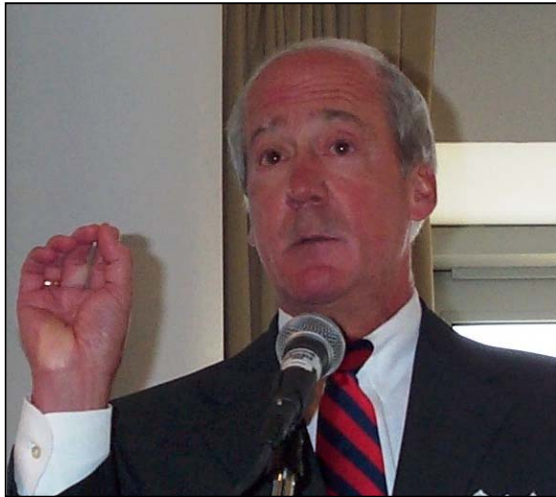
**Eugene Hickok** *has served as Deputy Secretary and Under Secretary of the U.S. Department of Education. He has been a leader in spearheading efforts in the executive branch to strengthen American history and civics education and to work in tandem with other agencies and offices of government, including the USA Freedom Corps and the National Endowment for the Humanities, to fulfill the President's vision. He also served as Pennsylvania's Secretary of Education, where he implemented a sweeping education reform agenda. He holds a doctorate from the University of Virginia.*

I want to start with two conversations I had that predate my public service. The first was a conversation with a young lady who was a very bright, very talented, graduating high school senior from Roanoke, Virginia. I'd watched her grow up; she is the daughter of a friend of mine. We had a conversation about American history and civics, and I asked her to name the battle that most people say led to the end of the Revolutionary War, thinking she

would be able to do so because she was an honors student. She couldn't name it, and therefore she also couldn't name the general who was in charge of the battle, which was Washington. We were in Roanoke at the time, and Yorktown wasn't far away. She went on to graduate with honors from the University of North Carolina, and now works for the United States government and deals with intelligence, and is now stationed overseas somewhere. She represented the best and the brightest, and yet still she was *undereducated*. She didn't know some of the most important, basic facts about where her story all began, which is what this country is all about; our story, as individuals and as a people.

The second conversation: For many years I taught a third year law seminar about the Constitution at Penn State's law school. Every week we would have a different principle. We would explore through a series of writings by the Framers, Federalists and anti-Federalists,

some of the writers the Framers had read and then look at court cases to try and decide whether they had any resemblance to what these guys were talking about. One week we talked about federalism, a topic that is very dear to me, especially after trouncing on federalism as a No Child Left Behind expert for four years. But the fact is that federalism is all about the



relationship of Washington to the states. To illustrate a point, I would put up a blank map of the United States, and I would ask them to name all the states. Not once in five years of teaching that course could any budding young lawyer name all of them. Most got messed up somewhere between Missouri and Iowa. I even put them in groups of three, but said they also had to name the state capitals. They could not do it. I did this to illustrate the point that the constitutional principle is premised on the assumption that *states matter*, and in our system of checks and balances, the states matter. These young people, who I'm sure went on to be fine lawyers, really had no appreciation for one of the fundamental ideas behind this Constitution, and where, in essence, the crucible of citizenship was formed. We were loyal to our states long before we thought of ourselves as a nation. When Lee turned down the request to defend the Armies of the North, he said he "had to go home to defend his country."

There are good things happening. Most of you are doing far more in your communities than Washington ever can do, or should do, frankly. But I think what I would argue is that [America's schools, colleges and universities, and](#)

[frankly, America's churches, ought to be about the business of making patriots.](#) Patriotism is a very deep, rich idea. In this country, it means informed individuals knowledgeable about their history, about the principles their government is supposed to espouse, and embrace, and endorse, capable of critical thinking, of questioning, of debating, of disagreeing, but again of loving, their country and fellow citizens. Patriotism is what drives people to spend money and time in an effort to help those in New Orleans. And it's what drives others to march in the nation's capital next week on the war.

We need to be self consciously involved in thinking about making patriots. I'm not sure schools are very well equipped for it. Every student you teach represents the essence of self governance. That's what we should be involved in, in the classroom. Self governance is all about governing one's self. Let me quote Benjamin Rush, who as the father of American medicine, was involved in founding the Revolution, and wrote this about education in a Republic: "Our country includes family, and friends and property, and should be preferred to them all. Let our pupil be taught that he does not belong to himself, but that he is public property. Let him be taught to love his family, but let him be taught at the same time that he must forsake and even forget them when the welfare of his country requires it." I would argue that that kind of principle should animate many of our conversations, as we try to educate the next generation of Americans.

[Nina Rees](#) is Assistant Deputy Secretary, Office of Innovation and Improvement, U.S. Department of Education.

This is a particularly interesting discussion for me not only because my office administers a number of history-related grants, but also because I happen to be a naturalized citizen. I'm also the mother of a new 7-month-old child, so in my view, one of the most important functions of education is to create productive and competent citizens who are not only going to be involved in matters in their own community, but also involved in issues



relating to their own country and hopefully, also, eventually in the world at large.

Margaret Mead phrased this idea best when she said, "Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world. In fact, it's the only thing that ever has." We're at a special meeting today as our country is dealing with the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, and the country recently noted the 4<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the 2001 terrorist attacks.



After Hurricane Katrina ripped through the Gulf Coast region, people across the nation donated their time, energy, food and clothing and other supplies to residents displaced by the storm. Right here in Washington, DC, the National Guard Armory recently reached capacity with donations. In fact, last week, on the 4<sup>th</sup> anniversary of September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2,000 Muslims gathered in Houston's downtown convention center to help aid the victims of the Hurricane.

In the aftermath of probably one of the worst natural disasters our country has ever experienced, our students can learn important lessons about what it means to be a good citizen. Our children can learn that diverse people can gather at a time like this to help the less fortunate. And many of our children's schools are already organizing fundraising events, and walking students through what is in fact a civic lesson that is important in a time like this to aid those who need help the most. Even the terrorist attacks of September 11<sup>th</sup> have provided students with a very valuable civics lessons.

Americans who were in their adolescent years during the attacks are more involved in public affairs than ever before. For example, voting rates have increased by 23 percent among 18-24 year olds in the national elections in 2002 and 2004, which is a growth rate of 12 percent compared to other age groups who voted in that election. College freshman are increasingly talking about politics, and 82 percent of high school seniors volunteered in 2004, up 14 percent since 1986. As our country's youth are becoming more civic-minded, we need to provide more high quality opportunities for them to participate in civics education and learn about American history.

The President recognizes this important task which is why he has required every state to put standards in place in every core subject, and history is one of those subjects. There are a lot of reasons for this, one of which is manifested in the latest National Assessment of Educational Progress between 1991 and 1994; the average scores of 4<sup>th</sup> graders have increased on the NAEP in history. That same test revealed that 57 percent of seniors scored below basic on U.S. history exam, meaning that half the seniors in our country could not identify significant people, places and events. We have invested quite a bit of funding around this subject.

My office administers a program called Teaching American History, which funds activities at the district level and at raising teachers' awareness and understanding of traditional American history. Since taking office, the President has invested \$100 million every year in this program. We currently have at least one grantee in every state, and we are about to announce the winners of this year's grants, about 130 new grants, about \$300,000 on average. I'm also happy to announce a new program that was passed this year by Senator Alexander called the Presidential and Congressional academies for American history and civics. The Presidential Academy portion of that program is focused on teacher training in the area of civics and history through summer seminars. There were two winners of the competition this year. Unfortunately we don't have enough money to award more, but we hope to conduct this competition again in future



years. The key difference between these two programs is that the funding for this one will also go to grantees other than school districts, such as colleges, universities, libraries and other nonprofits that are interested in being involved in training teachers. A companion piece to this legislation is called the Congressional Academies for History and Civics. Hopefully, we will get funding for this program next year. And thanks to Senator Byrd, who has been known to carry a copy of the Constitution in his pocket, we are also now recognizing Constitution Day at this time. It fell on a Saturday this year, as you know, but we are encouraging every school and university and agency to celebrate this day. We also run a civics program at the Department, the *We the People* program, as well as another program that brings civics education to other countries.

I was also asked to tell you a little bit about the work of our grantees. Because of the Hurricane and all the work there, I thought I'd highlight the work of one of our Louisiana grantees. Ann Traffic leads the program, which is conducted in conjunction with LSU and other agencies to provide seminars to help teachers become more adept at teaching American history. Ninety-four percent of the teachers who have gone through the program say they have a better understanding of the concepts behind traditional history and that they are better equipped to serve their students.

In Georgia, there is a program that has trained 25 teachers, and they send them to the places that they are going to be teaching their students about. This program began because they noticed that a lot of teachers had never visited these historic sites that they were teaching their students about. The teachers were sent to Boston, where they attended a Paul Revere lecture at the Massachusetts Historical Society. They traveled to Pennsylvania to tour the Gettysburg National Cemetery and Battlefield. They came to DC and Virginia to tour Mount Vernon, George Washington's home, and they also got a behind-the-scenes tour of the presidential exhibit at the National Museum of American History. Thanks to this program, teachers can better understand and teach their students about the principles of our

history and the Constitution. Ninety-seven percent reported that their students' performance on history would likely increase thanks to the knowledge that they had learned through these grants.

But of course anecdotes and self-reported surveys are not enough. One of the things that my office has taken the lead on is to encourage our grantees to evaluate the performance of their grant while they're administering it, using a rigorous evaluation, either a quasi-experimental or experimental design. I'm proud to say that about 90 percent of our grantees are going through this evaluation. In most places, they are administering a pre-test, then a post-test, and comparing the results to similar tests administered to teachers elsewhere. We should have the results of these evaluations in about 18 months or so, and I'd be happy to share that information with you if you'd be interested.

We also have another evaluation going on which is very descriptive, describing the types of teachers who are attracted to our grants, and what it will take to better the quality of the types of grants that we are giving out.

We have a lot of programs at the federal level. But we feel we need to do more to hammer home the message to school districts that in the process of implementing the No Child Left Behind Act, history as a subject needs to be something that they focus on, and there's really nothing that is prohibiting them from teaching history. They can certainly incorporate history as they're teaching reading to their students, which is one of the subjects that the states are also mandated to test.

If it's true that one of the main goals of education is to produce responsible citizens, then we must help all our children realize that they live on a timeline that reaches far into the past. The decisions that they make today have probably been made before and are likely to be made again in the future. They must also understand that all things have consequences, from the winds and the rains and the hurricanes, to the decisions of radical extremists on an

airplane. They must also know that we will never cease in our quest to help them learn.

**David Skaggs** is Executive Director, Center for Citizenship and Democracy, The Council for Excellence in Government. He was a Democrat Member of Congress for 12 years.

I am not trained as an educator; I am a recovering politician. From that perspective I may bring an even more impassioned point of view about the state of American education in history and civics because it is an amazing thing to live the life of American governmental architecture. Or as I love to say, to have walked on the stage that James Madison and those guys built for us over 200 years ago.

I had a wonderful and troubling day earlier this summer. I had an initial meeting to talk about some work that I am doing in the



civics area with my old friend and colleague John Lewis, a congressman from the state of Georgia, known to most of

you in that capacity as well as in the capacity of one of the leaders of the civil rights movement back in the 1960s. My meeting with John gave me an occasion to recall what it was like in this country then. I was a teenager and in my early 20s, the struggle we were making to right the wrongs of that part of history in our society.

I went from that meeting with John Lewis to a dedication of the Lincoln Cottage at the Soldiers and Sailors Retirement Home, which is up on a hill on the border of northwest and northeast Washington. To go in what was the library in which Lincoln drafted the Emancipation Proclamation jarred my constitutionalism.

Where did that power come from that was exercised so magnificently? And I thought about those two experiences, privileges for me, juxtaposed to each other, against the backdrop of the work that I'm mainly doing now, indeed with many of you in this room, through the Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools, which is what I was invited to talk with you about today.

How is it that John did what John did, and how was it that President Lincoln was seized of a vision of the country that we are still trying to realize in its fullness? And do our students today get it? Do they have the kind of grounding and the vision of America that is still alive and vibrant in many places around this land but over the last generation or so has been subordinated to other pressures and demands on the public school system? I am fond of recounting what seems to be the secular catechism for the country that paragraph in which Jefferson admonished all of us, that "just power is derived from the consent of the government." What we are about in the civic learning field is making sure that we have the informed participatory consent of the governed in order to insure that the power that's exercised by the Secretary of Education or by a member of Congress is exercised justly. And if we don't pay attention to that linkage between informed consent between the grounding of our people in an understanding of our system of government and its history, and the linkage of that to how we organize our society in political and governmental terms, we are at some risk.

The health of this democracy depends on that kind of informed, engaged citizenry, and that we lose sight at our peril of the fundamental linkage between our educational system and the vibrancy of our political and civic life. As John Dewey said, "our democracy needs to be reborn every generation, and education is its midwife." When you look at what various groups such as Chuck Quigley's are doing here and around the world to educate for democracy in Eastern Europe, or what we are about in Afghanistan or Iraq, you sometimes lose sight of the fact that we need to pay equally robust attention to educating our own young people for

democracy. It is not hard wired into us, it is learned and it needs to be taught. That is what this Campaign is all about.

The public school movement in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was about this. If we were going to insure that this democracy was going to work and was going to honor the ideals of the founders we needed to prepare our young people for that responsibility. So that they understood that this doesn't just happen, that they need to get involved for themselves and understand their role in it. The Campaign is about politics and policy on the one hand and a little bit about pedagogy on the other.

We are grateful for major funding from some large foundations in this country and some smaller ones as well, but mainly thanks to Carnegie Corporation and the Knight Foundation and the Annenberg Foundation we have been able to pull together a very interesting coalition of many of the major educational and civic organizations around the country. We've really been very intentional about trying to pull together the academic, and the practitioner and the political and a vast set of networks represented in organizations like the school boards, state boards of education and so on. Our objective is to try to reverse the trend of the last decade or so in which this area in our schools has eroded where we now find that many of the indicators of competence and understanding that show up in the history or civics exam are not where this country wants to be. And we need to be very direct about tackling a reversal of this trend. That's what this campaign hopes to do over the course of several years.

The politics/policy area of it in terms of strategy are that we are only going to make progress if we go at the field operation, at what's going on in states and schools, and assist state coalitions around the country in their work to improve public policy that supports education for democracy. As well as some work on the pedagogical side. The CIRCLE report on Civic Mission of Schools Report reflected a broad consensus in the education community behind 6 effective ways to educate for democracy and enhance civic learning. They

certainly start with traditional classroom instruction in history, law and geography, but they go beyond that to the experiential techniques that have been demonstrated to really fix these things. So there's a chance to learn in action what this is all about. Things like simulations, participations in school governance, broadened extracurricular activities, especially school journalism, classroom discussions of the current issues, so it is made relevant to the current issues.

How are we doing? It's too soon to tell. We are up and going for a year with grants in 18 states. There's been some success with the national governing board at its meeting last spring; they decided to increase the frequency that the history and civics assessment is given from every ten years to every four. It's important to know how we're doing on a regular basis if we're going to make progress on this. My colleagues at the Academy for Educational Development have done a wonderful job at pulling together an online inventory of good civic learning practices and programs around the country. It's too soon to claim success on the state campaigns, they're just up and running, but we are optimistic that this is going to have real traction around the country. This is a large undertaking that will take awhile, but I think that we will eventually succeed turning upside down the old Pogo cartoon, where it will now say, we have met our ally, and it is us. So I look forward to being your ally.

### Lesley Herrmann

The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History began in 1994. We're doing history on the ground, working with students and teachers, in classrooms and in schools. I can give you a report that's pretty optimistic: kids really do want to learn American history; they're excited when they get a chance to learn it, when it's told as a story, and in ways that speak to them. Teachers are thirsty for American history. They want to know it and to be able to teach it well. Let me tell you about three particular programs. Our annual report and more information is available at our website, which is

[www.gilderlehrman.org](http://www.gilderlehrman.org). It has a tremendous number of resources for teachers and students.

First, our teachers seminar, held in the summer for high school and middle school teachers, as well as National Park Service rangers. Next summer we're going to run 25 summer seminars, week-long programs at different universities around the country. It's a highly competitive program. We take about 30 teachers, and we get the finest professors of American education in the country, at Stanford, Harvard, Yale, Princeton, the University of Virginia, Gettysburg, and we bring these teachers and professors together. The teachers basically have these professors at their disposal for a week. They get a graduate level course. The purpose is two-fold. One is personal enrichment. This is a perk, a week to recharge your battery, study American history. We take a theme and let them learn it as if they are graduate students. They bring back to the classroom 60 documents each, primary sources that they can plug in on their topic. Each teacher annotates 2 documents, 2 primary sources. It can be the Declaration of Independence or a soldier's letter, or a piece of the Constitution, or something very small that no one's ever heard of. Everyone shares their documents and then everyone goes back with 60 documents that they can plug into their work in the classroom. These seminars have trained more than 4,000 teachers since their inception. We started with one in 1994, it was a great success, and we've been building ever since. Now we are going to do 25 next year.

The second program is the history high school. It's a regular high school that students choose to go to. It has an American history course every year through high school. It's like majoring in American history while you're in high school. We have 29 of these now. I can tell you with pride, between 96 and 98 percent of the students who attend these schools and

programs go onto college. We're not trying to make historians out of them, but we are trying to make informed citizens who are interested in reading the paper and knowing what's going on in the country, and knowing how we go to the point where we are today. The first one was opened in 1996 in Queens, New York, called the Academy of American Studies. It's a diverse school, with all kinds of nationalities, and it's highly competitive now to get in because it's been such a success. The only requirement to get in is that the students apply; they want to go. It's not a test-based school. Of our 29 schools, only 1 is test-based, and that was we developed with the City University of New York and that was their requirement. We have schools in New York, Washington, Boca Raton, Florida, Los Angeles, Minnesota, and we currently are working on one in Philadelphia with the National Constitution Center and the Philadelphia School Board; that's going to open next fall. We're also working with the University of Maryland to do one in Maryland, and also working in Newark, New Jersey as well. So these schools are really fun to work with and we're getting amazing results.

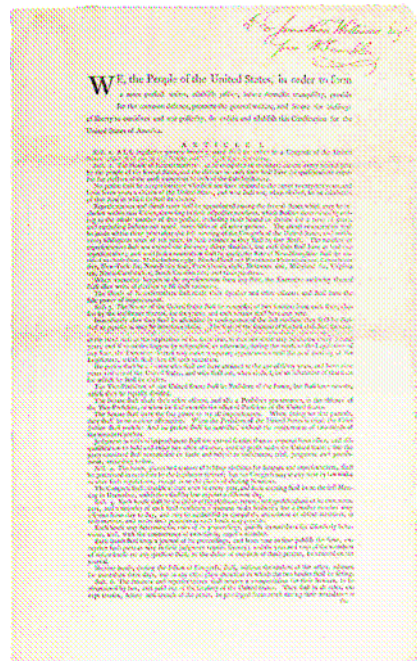
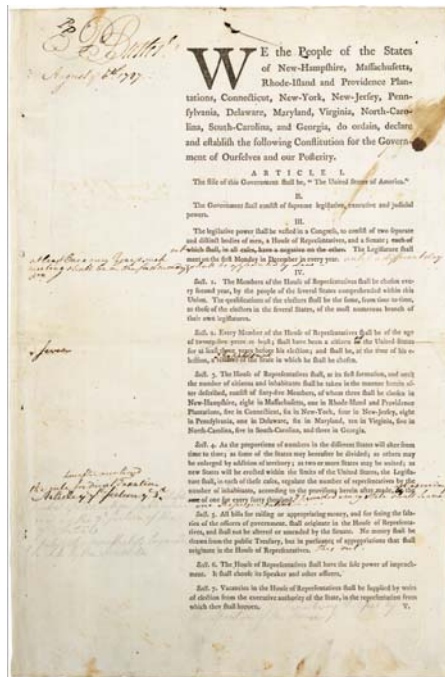
The final program is our resources. Because we can't be everywhere and get to every teacher, we do want teachers to know about our website and about our resources that we can provide them. In comparing the two draft versions of the Constitution from the Gilder Lehrman collection, one from Pierce Butler and the second, written six weeks later by Benjamin Franklin, students can see that something happened in that six week period to make us a Nation. And when students get to read these two documents side by side, let me tell you, they understand something about America. We're big on producing documents and on resources on the web, and we're hoping to continue to expand and do more and more. Thank you.



## From Many, One: Citizenship and The Constitution

Two Original Documents from **The Gilder Lehrman Collection**  
*Published on the Occasion of the 2005 Annual Conference of the NCoC*

As the following pair of documents shows, the U.S. Constitution evolved in stages, with the issue of individual states' autonomy versus national unity central to deliberations. On the left is a working draft printed about halfway through the Constitutional Convention and submitted for debate beginning August 6, 1787. This copy belonged to Pierce Butler, delegate from South Carolina, who recorded in the margin various revisions under discussion. Note midway down, for example, the handwritten seven, changed from three in the printed text, as the minimum years of U.S. citizenship required to run for Congress. More radical is the change evident on the facing page, in the first paragraph of Benjamin Franklin's signed copy of the Constitution. The people of the states have quietly merged and speak as the people of one nation. This is the final version of the Constitution that on September 17, 1787 was signed and sent to the states for ratification. Franklin proudly inscribed this copy to his nephew Jonathan Williams.



Special Thanks to **The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History** for providing all conference attendees with copies of these two important historical documents. The Institute maintains a website, <http://www.gilderlehrman.org>, to serve as a portal for American history, to offer high quality educational materials for teachers, students, historians and the public, and to provide up-to-the-minute information about the Institute's programs and activities.



# Communities: Mentoring Children and Children of Prisoners



## John J. DiIulio, Jr.

### *Panel Moderator*

The Frederick Fox Leadership Professor of Politics, Religion & Civil Society and Professor of Political Science at the University of Pennsylvania, DiIulio is a former Assistant to the President of the United States, former Professor at Princeton's Woodrow Wilson School, and the author of more than a dozen books, including *What's God Got to Do with the American Experiment* and the leading textbook on *American Government* with James Q. Wilson.

## John J. DiIulio, Jr.

There are all kinds of estimates, but by some estimates there are as many as 10-15 million children in this country who grow up severely at risk of succumbing to one or more significant life problems. In the pockets, especially where we have isolated deprivation, socio-economic disadvantage, the kind of things Dr. Putnam was talking about this morning, you can have anywhere from 30 to 40 to 50 to 60 percent and upwards of children growing up severely at risk of ending up chronically unemployed, succumbing to drugs, being a victim of violence, committing violence, getting into trouble with the law, dropping out of school, being illiterate, and premature death.

One of the points of consensus regarding this population of children and youth is that there is significant evidence that putting a loving, caring adult into the life of a child has a positive effect. There was a study done in the mid 90s by Public/Private Ventures, which documents this with respect to Big Brothers Big Sisters and ever since there has been a growing consensus that this is the way to go in terms of improving the life prospects especially for our most at risk children and youth. This consensus has also extended itself to the question how do

we reach out to that 2 million or so set of children who in any given day have a mom or dad incarcerated. This is a country where well over 5 million people are under some form of correctional supervision, a couple million in prison or jail, and these folks in many cases have children. We have seen more public policy attention, more attention from foundations, and philanthropy to these questions over the past several years. Some really dramatic innovations have been made not only in research and the attempts to document how mentoring can make a difference in the lives of children with an incarcerated parent, but also in actually doing something about it.

**Rev. Dr. W. Wilson Goode, Sr.,** *Senior Advisor on Faith-based Initiatives for Public/Private Ventures, Director of Amachi, and former Mayor of Philadelphia.*

There is a village in Kenya and a tribe there called the Masai Tribe. They have an unusual way of greeting each other; they do so not the way we do it, but with a question. The question they greet each other with in the morning is "how are the children;" not good morning but "how are the children;" not good

afternoon, but “how are the children;” not good evening, but “how are the children.”

How are the children of America? Too many in poverty, too many go to bed hungry, too many homeless, too many runaways and too many children of incarcerated parents. On any given day there are 7.3 million children with either a parent in jail or under some type of federal and state supervision. If you look at those parents who are in jail it is about 2.1 million. As many as 5 million children are at risk of going to jail because 70 percent of those children who have a parent in jail or a parent who has been in jail may end up in jail themselves.



A major challenge of this work is that it is generational. At a prison outside of Philadelphia I saw a grandfather, a grandson, and a father who were all in the same jail at same time. What I discovered was that they met for the first time in jail. As I was leaving, the grandson said “I have a son I have not seen and I guess I will see him for the first time in jail, too.”

I thought that experience was unique, but I have seen similar situations in Kansas, Missouri, and other places. In fact, last week when I was in Nashville, Tennessee, at a prison, I talked with a warden there and she had seen now the fourth generation of women come into that institution. Part of the reason for mentoring

children of incarcerated parents is to break the cycle.

The Amachi program is a partnership between Big Brothers Big Sisters, Public/Private Ventures and local congregations. I have thought often about what a marvelous concept it was of bringing together a 100-year-old institution with a brand name (Big Brothers Big Sisters) and a 2,000 year old institution (the local church), to pull those two resources together to rescue children of incarcerated parents.

I use the term rescue advisedly as I saw the helicopters in Katrina lifting down and lifting people out. That same symbol can be used for what we are about, and that is that we are really trying to do, lift the children of incarcerated parents out of their circumstances and give them a new way to look at life. If we are going to provide for them the fullness of citizenship, the fullness that they can be whatever they want to be in life, we need to find mentors for them. When I was 14 my father went to jail, and while my father was in jail my pastor and his wife became my big brother and big sister. And even when my high school counselor advised me not to even consider college, they advised me to go to college and I went on to become the mayor of the fourth largest city in the country.

Amachi means “Who knows but what God has brought us through this child.” There are four basic principles with the Amachi program. First, it is congregation based. Second, it is based upon the Big Brother Big Sisters model of one to one community-based mentoring. Third, it is performance based; we want to know every single month that something is happening between the mentor and the child so we ask for reports. Fourth it is research based. We want to be able to say at the end of the day that this works. We don’t have real research in now, but in Philadelphia we took the 500 or so names of children who had been through the program and we gave it to the school district of Philadelphia. They fed it into their computers and looked at the students’ performance the year before they had a mentor and the two years since they had one. Across the board two-thirds had better grades, two-

thirds had better attendance, two-thirds had better behavior in school, and they all improved on their state and national tests.

Mentoring does work. The Amachi model is now in 88 different cities, 121 different programs, 34 different states, and amazing results are coming from there. There have been more than 1,000 people who receive training to do this work. I can tell you as someone on the ground out there every single week looking at organization after organization across this country, there are some exciting things happening out there.

There is in fact civic engagement. People from communities, there are partners coming together, churches, rotary clubs, etc... there are all kinds of folks becoming involved in this issue; an issue that five years ago was not discussed. Today, there are thousands and thousands of children across this country who have benefited from this, where the community in which they live have come together in order to help them achieve the goal of citizenship. As former mayor of Philadelphia, I have presided over many ceremonies over the Liberty Bell. There is a crack in the bell, and I believe that through our efforts we can close that crack with the work that we do.

**Gail Manza** is Executive Director of National Mentoring Partnership, former Senior Vice President at United Way of America.

I am going to provide an aerial view of what mentoring looks like. To offer this view I will draw from three sources: the National Poll on Mentoring, a national state by state survey we have done at MENTOR, as well as using results from focus groups that have been conducted. From these sources I will provide you with a tour of mentoring looking at six different areas: 1) the gap between the amount of young people who want and need a mentor and those who have one; 2) mentors: what do they look like, what do they do, and what are they interested in; 3) the potential: how many people are actually interested in considering mentoring; 4) the mentoring community: what does it look like; 5) key challenges; and 6) the vital initiatives that are underway.

The mentoring gap: there are probably at least 15 to 18 million young people at risk of not reaching their full potential and about 2.5 million young people are being mentored in formal mentoring programs (about 14 – 16 percent who need mentors are in a formal program). The mentors themselves range in age from 18 – 44, which represents a growing movement in terms of college students mentoring; household incomes are \$25,000 or higher, most are employed full or part time outside the home (even college students), most have some college education or more, whites and people of color are equally likely to mentor.

Where do they mentor? The biggest grouping of mentors (28 percent) are working in a school-based program, next group down (24 percent) are in faith based settings, 16 percent involved in the workplace, 15 percent in youth programs,

and 9 percent in sport programs. How they get started? A large majority is asked by someone to volunteer (they are asked by family and



friends or organizations), others were seeking out an activity through teachers and schools. Ads proved to not be particularly effective. Ninety-five percent of those who mentor found the experience to be worthwhile. They defined “worthwhile” as willing to mentor again.

The potential: 57 million adults (21 or older) would seriously consider mentoring. Characteristics of this group: they too seemed young, higher household incomes (over \$50,000), some college education or more, higher percentage of nonwhites than whites would consider mentoring, tend to have a child in the household, and 86 percent have access to the

internet (interesting for internet-based mentoring).

What is “serious consideration?” Fifty-five percent would be willing to mentor for one hour a week, which would work in well with access mentoring. Access mentoring is for children in a good family setting, parents who love them, and are doing well in school. They are not looking so much for friendship as access.

What would help potential mentors to make the leap from interest to action? They want a choice among mentoring options (age, setting, type of focus of mentoring itself), they want access to expert help, they want to know that if they run into a bump along the way that there is someone there to talk with them immediately; they want orientation and training. These are the top areas that would make people go from interest to action. Also, they want their employers to provide time so they can mentor during the work week and they want their employers encouraging them.

Resources potential mentors are likely to use: the top resource potential mentors are likely to use is a book or short article. They are going to want to read about what it means to mentor and what it takes to mentor, and they want to talk to an expert who is mentoring. What stops people from mentoring? The most frequently cited reason is that people don’t have time. Also, people don’t know what they can offer, they don’t feel like they know how to mentor, and they’re not sure what mentors do. Also, one of the things that emerged in the focus groups that we found interesting was that we used to think that people worried that they were not expert enough to mentor, which is becoming less the case.

What is becoming more the case is that people are very fearful of mentoring in two dimensions. One, they are not so much afraid of the children, but they are afraid of the kid’s family or setting. That issue has come up over and over again. They want to know where they are going to mentor and are they going to be safe. The other is the issue of “I am going to fail this child.” People believe that many children who are available and interested in mentoring

are kids who have had their hearts broken over and over again. They don’t want to be the last in a long line. I think that is a very positive thing because it is clear that people who are expressing interest in mentoring really have the heart to do this work.

In the mentoring community there are about 6,000 to 7,000 mentoring programs in the country. There are 4,452 programs in our national database; those represent programs that are actually looking for mentors. 80 percent of these programs are conducting criminal background checks, 94 percent offer ongoing support; 86 percent have some kind of assessment or evaluation.

Key challenges: infrastructure and the dollars to support it, we need to recruit, need tools to mentor. Also, background checks are not nationwide, we need better and more ongoing support, and there is also no standardized approach to tracking and evaluation. Initiatives underway: dollars for infrastructure, nationwide system for criminal background checks, standardized system for training and evaluation within next year or two. There has been a tremendous growth in mentoring. When we started counting there were about 500,000 young people in mentoring relationships, and we think there are upwards of 2.5 million in mentoring relationships today.

**Judy Vredenburg** is President & CEO, Big Brothers Big Sisters.

No money, no mission. We need to have the world understand that we need to invest in building infrastructure. At BBBS, we recruit volunteers, we enroll them, we recruit the children, enroll the children and their families, we work hard to make the right match and then the work begins. Our professionals work to take these two strangers



and bridge them through very different socio-economic worlds, often different racial worlds, and different geographic worlds. We bridge them and work to build a quality relationship and measure the difference that we make in that individual child's life. It is incredibly rewarding work; it is incredibly hard work on the ground, day in day out, matching one caring adult volunteer with one child through our professionals. We do know the cost. They range from roughly \$800 per match in our school-based program to \$1,500 per match in our Mentoring Children of Prisoner's program.

So this 100 year old organization was challenged to grow. We have a program that has worked so well, how could we not reach a lot more children? So, in 1999 we developed a first part of a three phase approach to growth across the decade to 2010. We said that we would work to reach the neediest kids, and one definition of need was children who have or had one parent in jail and another definition of need was to go through the Title I schools so the economically disadvantaged, underprivileged kids could be reached in those schools. We were reaching about 118,000 kids in 1999 and I am pleased to tell you that this year we are tracking a quarter of a million children.

But of course that is not the right number. We have set up a direction to reach at least one million children annually before the end of this decade. It takes a lot of effort to do that and a lot of capital to do that. And why one million? It's not just any one million, it is a particular one million kids that I just referenced earlier, and we believe that when we get to at least one million children they will influence their peers and change the culture of what it means to grow up -- school by school community by community -- that ripple effect, that tipping point will be reached when all the children will benefit and be lifted up to have a chance to reach their God-given potential.

I want to advocate for the importance of reaching these kids through schools. Yes, we have taken on mentoring children of prisoners and we are pleased to say we have 110 locations where we are very intense and concentrated there, and we are serving roughly two-thirds of

all the kids who are coming in through the Amachi program or through churches, and we are very serious about that. In addition we don't think it is an either/or proposition, we really believe that the way to get to scale is in partnership with the Title I schools, and through those schools in a logical and proficient way to proactively reach children in need.

There are four key reasons why. First, the kids who are having the roughest problems in school, either acting out or incredibly withdrawn, can be referred to us by the guidance counselors, by the teachers, by the principals. It's a way to reach these kids whose families may not come proactively to Big Brothers Big Sisters. It's a relatively easy way to get to the kids whose lives have to be given a chance.

Two, we found that going to a safe, structured convenient place has a much wider appeal to a huge range of volunteers; from high school kids, who we found through incredible data and research are very effective with 3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> graders, all the way up to people in their 60s and 70s and 80s and everything in between. In fact, school-based mentoring is hugely appealing to males. We on the ground mentoring community know it is very difficult to recruit males, especially males of color, than it is women. So, school-based is a way to broaden our appeal, to bring people in, to build that initial one on one relationship which can go on to endure in the open ended community. The broad appeal for school-based mentoring is easier for a larger range of demographic, potential volunteers to understand.

Three, we are gathering data about the effectiveness about one-on-one mentoring to change the academic achievement of the entire school. We change behaviors and we change attitudes toward the classroom, toward authority, towards peers and we are drifting on that. Now we are seeing data on lateness, attendance, and actually academic achievement for that individual child. Further, we are collecting data about what happens when you reach enough kids in a particular school so that the math and reading scores of the entire school are lifted up, which is what the intention of the



No Child Left Behind act is. We are a partner in helping reform public education in the toughest schools and the toughest neighborhoods. Let me share with you the example of the Gallagher School in Wilmington, Delaware, which is one of the schools that did Big Brothers Big Sisters early on (1998-1999), through a partnership BBBS bought with the major employer nearby called the MBNA Bank, they have provided 35 – 38 volunteer bids for those children (there are about 225 at risk children in that school, so roughly 15 percent of the neediest kids) and they are reached year in and year out. The principal felt so strongly about mentors in those kinds of numbers in his school that he got state money to expand our mentoring program. Third and fifth grade math and reading tests improved 12 percent on average for all the kids in that school. You can see the importance of BBBS being just a little piece of how they improve the educational experience.

Four, there is a huge appeal to funders for these kinds of results in BBBS programs in school. It is more efficient, we can recruit volunteers through partnerships, and it is more effective. We have been convincing all kinds of institutions to invest with us. Last year, we raised \$235 million and we are on track to serve 250,000 children. What will it take to reach one million children annually, neighborhood by neighborhood? We're in the social service business, it takes huge numbers of great people, and those people need to be paid and they need to be the best talent in order to take this organization to the best place in order to reach one million children. And so, that \$235 million needs to be \$800 million in order to serve one million children annually. No money, no mission. We want a quality change for our young people. We have to bring forth the financial resources.

**Harry Wilson** is Associate Commissioner for Children, Youth & Families, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.

The only part Judy missed about the money is that you forget how much money it saves in the long term. The productivity of kids occupying jobs instead of prisons saves a lot of tax revenue.

I was a school board member for 10 years at what I would call a Title I school. We had 83 percent of our kids that were Title I students and the challenges are very deep with those kids and I think you're right that if you can get them all in one place it really makes a tremendous difference. The onset of this program signified the profound vision and the commitment of the President to end the senseless cycle of incarceration in America. To engage in this battle he did not call on the traditional forces that might suppress crime, but rather he called on ordinary citizens to rise up and dedicate themselves to making a positive difference in kids. He believed that we ought to make a difference because these kids were more likely to be incarcerated than to graduate. He called on the Department of Health and Human Services to work with USA Freedom Corps and the Faith Based Office to bring this vision to fruition and a strong commitment of HHS towards prevention efforts and an equally strong commitment on all our parts to promote the positives in every young person seemed to be the best ingredients for a successful implementation.

Coming on the heels of another Presidential initiative called the White House Task Force for Disadvantaged Youth, we knew from the recommendations of the task force that there needed to be extra attention paid to designing an effort that involved rigorous data collection and a program driven by results. In the first year, the Mentoring Children of Prisoners program selected 52 grantees in 29 states and received approximately \$8.5 million to support mentoring. During that first year we could not collect reliable data because our 38 data elements were in the approval process in OMB, so already there was a disconnect between starting a program the way you would want to start a program and running into roadblocks to being able to count things right from the very beginning. Last year we were appropriated at \$50 million dollars and finally we got our 38 elements in place, so now we have a total of 215 mentoring children grantees in 48 states and 2 territories. If you were to ask me how its going I would tell you that other than the hurricane work there is no greater priority in the Administration for Children and Families

then to see Mentoring Children of Prisoners programs continue to make a difference in the lives of the children we serve.

What do these programs look like?  
They look like Stefan, who is a kindergartner



and his father is in prison, his mentor Carl is a store owner and the two of them go to the zoo and make cards for Stefan's Grandma who is his caretaker. It looks like Marquee, age 11 from Pennsylvania, who lives with her aunt and two

siblings. She has not seen her mother in 6 years and her father for 5 years; they are both incarcerated. She is being mentored by a husband and a wife who regularly involves her with routine activities around their house and invites her for dinner. They support Marquee by stopping by her cheerleading practice, probably something she wouldn't even be in if she wasn't mentored.

We can identify thousands of youth who have benefited by being paired with a mentor. In our first year of data collecting, this official year, we have seen our numbers double each quarter. I believe that in the planning stages of this program we underestimated the time it would take experienced programs to ramp up and begin mentoring children of prisoners. Programs tell us that even though they know they exist in their communities, these kids are hard to identify. To correct this, we have begun to work more closely with incarcerated parents, child welfare agencies, and with family courts in those places where there is a direct link or a case record to help identify these kids. We also underestimated the ability of

small community and faith-based organizations to undertake the management of a federal grant. With few dollars available for technical assistance, we were able to see existing networks to help grantees learn about quality mentoring practices. We were just about to announce the first technical and training assistance contract, which will also help them provide capacity building and grants management.

And finally, we are asking Congress for discretionary authority this year in order to conduct a demonstration involving the use of vouchers. Under a voucher program, families and caretakers would be able to choose from the more than 4,000 youth mentoring programs around the nation, which would directly link their child to a program in the neighborhood where they live.

I would like to mention that there are a total of 25 mentoring programs in which our grantees have been either directly affected or affected by displaced populations in the Gulf States. My staff is in frequent communication with these grantees evaluating their needs and the needs of their children and families.

Finally, I want to express a deep gratitude to the people who are sitting beside me for their help and guidance through this implementation of this program. It is interesting to note that even though there was an initial competition for these grants, it has never been the case that programs are competing against each other in practice. Sometimes the reason for doing something is so compelling that it naturally joins people together in a common cause and it is simply the right thing to do. Grantees who have struggled with some aspect of their grant have been able to look to other programs and receive the guidance they need simply because the needs of these children compel each of us to act.

## Workplaces: Corporate Citizenship



### Jean Case

#### *Panel Moderator*

An actively engaged philanthropist and a pioneer in the world of interactive technologies, Jean Case's career as a technology executive in the private sector spanned nearly two decades before she and her husband, Steve, created the Case Foundation in 1997. Prior to the founding of the Case Foundation, Jean's role as a senior executive at America Online, Inc. (AOL) contributed to an online revolution that changed the way millions of people learn, communicate, and do business. At AOL, Jean directed the marketing and branding effort that launched the AOL service, directed the communications strategy for taking the company public, and helped establish AOL as not just a household name, but a household utility.

### Jean Case

In recent days following Hurricane Katrina we have seen first hand the power of corporate efforts to make a difference, but we also want to talk about the broader issues involving corporate volunteerism and giving. What are companies doing today; what is being measured in terms of impact; what are the effects of volunteerism and corporate giving on a company's bottom line; and what are the challenges that exist, as we look to bring more companies into the fold?

To better understand the relationship between business volunteerism and the company's bottom line, the Case Foundation together with the Hands On Network commissioned a study to review existing research. It spotlights some exciting things companies around the country are doing. For example, 82 percent of executives surveyed said that good corporate citizenship helps the bottom line and 52 percent said the corporate service is a part of business strategy. In addition, there are some terrific stories about companies like Cisco, which on the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary challenged their employees to collectively serve more than 175,000 hours of volunteer service that would

equate to more than 20 years of service. By the end of the year, the employees had not only met the goal, they had exceeded it by 30 percent.

Most recently with Katrina we have seen first hand how companies have acted with urgency and unprecedented giving to address this horrific disaster. An article in the New York Times recently said, "As companies reach into their coffers in a time honored gesture of corporate goodwill they have grown increasingly creative, even strategic, about the way they approach their philanthropy where many are tapping their particular realm of expertise. In contrast to the government's initial response, they have applied hallmark speed and efficiency to the process of sending in goods and services."

The sheer volume of donations has been overwhelming; in the last two weeks Georgia Pacific alone sent 65 truck loads of consumer goods to relief organizations. More than three times the amount they sent last year during the hurricane season, and last year's hurricane season was very significant. In addition to its 17 million in cash donations to relief agencies, Wal-Mart has shipped more than 100 truck loads of

goods including everything from diapers, wipes, toothbrushes and even beds to the gulf coast. And although companies have given more than \$300 million in cash donations to relief agencies, this does not begin to account for the expenses associated with the transfer of employees who were affected by the storm or covering the payroll of those who lost their jobs for a brief period or the value of the volunteers who have been on the ground working, donated by many of these companies. So there is no question that there is positive momentum on the side of corporate giving and volunteerism, but to attain the kind of goals that Michelle Nunn and others have outlined, we need to step back and understand what's working and what's not.

**John Bridgeland** is President & CEO of Civic Enterprises. He was also a Teaching Fellow in the fall of 2004 at the Institute of Politics at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. Most recently, Bridgeland served as Assistant to the President of the United States, Director of the Domestic Policy Council, and the first Director of the USA Freedom Corps.



I had this experience after 9/11 of being in the Oval Office with the President. He looked at me and said that he wanted me to foster a culture of service, citizenship, and responsibility. We later added "for decades to come". We decided to put together an initiative to bring together two formally competing concepts – national service and traditional volunteerism. We made massive public

investments in existing federal service programs such as the ones Harris Wofford and Sargent Shriver had established at the Peace Corps and Harris had overseen at the Corporation for National and Community Service. But we also made investments in new programs such as Citizen Corps since people like Denny McGinn, a former admiral from the navy who is with us today, was asking what is going to be the role of the citizens in protecting the homeland in the aftermath of 9/11 and how can we meaningfully build on successful community programs to put in place service efforts that will have some relevance.

But what I discovered in that interesting process was that even when we put together USA Freedom Corps and more than a billion dollars of investments in federal service opportunities -- when you added in the slots that were available for citizens to serve their country in the military, Citizen Corps, AmeriCorps, Peace Corps and other avenues -- all of those programs together only reached about 3 million Americans annually and we have a population of 280 million Americans. I recognized we would have to do more than invest in federally -- supported service programs. We needed to reach Americans where they were everyday. In order to understand the current levels of service among the population generally, we went out and did a survey through the Census Bureau and the Bureau of Labor Statistics to measure the number of Americans who regularly volunteered -- through schools, houses of worship, non-profits and other such institutions.

One of the questions we asked was for those of you who don't serve, why don't you serve. And the most common reason was due to a lack of time and demands of the workplace. So, on the one hand we had this idea that we could only generate in the low millions through federally supported service slots and on the other hand most of the population would like to serve, but because of the demands of the workplace they were not able to do so. We knew that corporate America was going to have to play a significant role if we were going to build this culture of service and citizenship to reach millions of Americans.



I have always been struck by the philanthropy and corporate citizenship of John Rockefeller, one of the great industrialists, who said that "anyone who dies rich dies disgraced." He lived this virtue and even when he was a man of modest means, he donated 10 percent of his own income to public purposes. Andrew Carnegie envisioned step ladders of education through our public libraries which equalized our country in a great way so that each person could have access to information and learning. It is leaders like these that make me very aware that this tradition of corporate philanthropy is an old tradition.

In this post Katrina environment we are trying to capture the spirit of service and sacrifice and institutionalize it so that a company's policies remain in place for the long haul. There is recognition that workplaces are absolutely essential to a comprehensive response to disaster. Hands On has brought together 29 CEOs to utilize their vast networks to work together to collectively solve our problems. These companies are not working in isolation, but rather together, even when they may be competitors. Another unique aspect of this movement is that there is a lot of attention being placed on the nonprofit infrastructure so that as the supply of corporate goodwill and volunteerism mobilizes people to serve there is actually a sophisticated infrastructure to meet that corporate demand.

Once or twice a century we are given the opportunity to foster a civic renewal. We had it after 9/11 and Katrina is proving to be another catalyst where volunteerism, national service and corporate citizenship are all on the rise. We need to capture this moment by getting the message out that corporate service can positively affect the bottom line. If we can do that we can have boards, management and shareholders around America embracing corporate citizenship.

**William McDermott** is the President & CEO of SAP America, Inc., and a Corporate Officer of SAP AG. SAP America is the North American subsidiary of SAP AG, the largest business software company in

*the world. McDermott is responsible for managing SAP's strategic business activities in the United States and Canada, directing more than 5,000 employees to serve the needs of customers.*

When I came into SAP three years ago, I entered with the stated goal of turning around the operation. If you looked at SAP compared with all other theatres in the world, it was the fledgling operation, and in fact it was the poorest performer in the world. So we had a vision to enable every customer to become a best run business and you cannot enable every customer to become a best run business unless you have the most productive, energized workforce in the world. So what do you do to energize a workforce to be passionate about the work? We believe that corporate citizenship is very much a part of your corporate business strategy. They are not disparate and in reality have to be uniquely connected, since it is that interdependence of your business strategy and your corporate service strategy that makes it sustainable versus just the event *du jour* of the quarter.



We are actually in an industry that has had flat growth for three years, which means it is not growing; instead it is consolidating like many other industries here in America and around the world. However, at the same time we have grown on a compounded basis by 40 percent. In our industry it is not uncommon to have up to a 40 percent turnover rate per annum of employees, but in terms of voluntary turnover we are near zero percent. Why are people not leaving and why are they happy?



We think to some extent -- and the empirical data supports it -- that if you do well and at the same time you do good, you become an employer of choice, which is a good position to be in a tight labor market for skilled workers.

There are a lot of challenges that face our youth today. There are 16 million kids in America who need mentors; they are reaching out for leaders to be role models. Between the ages of 5 - 14 years old there are 8 million kids who go unsupervised each day. If you look at our literacy rates, 65 percent lack in proficiency when compared to standards and at the same time our science scores are slipping. To address these problems we need to get more involved with kids to give them a chance to be math and science literate.

The one thing that is perfectly clear regardless of your position on leadership is that leaders have followers, so you have to lead. Our program includes the giving of about \$100 million a year back to the community. We have a university alliance program where we will set up computer labs to ensure that kids are not only getting the theoretical education, but also the practical education so that when they get out of school they get jobs which are likely to be 15 percent higher since they already know what to do. Another program we run is called "Dollars for Doers," where if people do well and they make a contribution especially in the areas of kids and education then we will match each hour they volunteer by contributing fifty dollars. When you think about our week of service from October 1 through 8, where we could stimulate as much as 50,000 hours that could mean a significant contribution. Finally we run a program called "Dollars for Dollars," where if somebody has a charitable cause that they believe in we will match that charity giving dollar for dollar.

While many companies are shying away from encouraging their executives from joining boards these days, we are driving each member of our team to become members of a nonprofit board in their community to tie into our strategy of corporate citizenship. The Hands On Network is really significant, it means that you have reach to two million workers and 1.5

trillion dollars worth of economic activity and we are just looking to make our little contribution. SAP employees are giving up 15 Saturdays, so for those days instead of going to the ball field or watching TV, we are encouraging our employees to get involved in their communities and give something back and this is stimulating a lot of activity in the company.

In my view, SAP has been able to grow in a flat industry, retain employees where typically there is turnover at the rate of 25, 35 or 40 percent, and double the size of the workforce while other firms can't attract good workers partly due to our corporate citizenship strategy. The hypothesis is that when workers are really motivated and passionate about their work, they take great care of their customers so this becomes a self fulfilling prophecy around success.

**Michelle Nunn** is the President and CEO of Hands On Network (formerly CityCares) an umbrella association of 42 "Cares" and "Hands On" volunteer organizations across the U.S. and internationally.



Hands On sees corporate participation as a key component to encouraging civic change. I have worked for over 15 years in the realm of service and civic engagement and I have seen first hand the power of what corporations can do. Bill clearly speaks to that eloquently and through action. One thing I think had been

unrealized in the area of corporate participation had been the idea of how corporations can work together in collective action. We wanted to see what would be possible if we brought together corporate leaders and asked them how they would change the corporate landscape and what problems can they solve working together. We asked Bob Nardelli to convene a group and he brought together 29 of the best and the brightest to start a change movement. The goals that have been set are incredibly ambitious and align with other nonprofits, but the focus of our efforts is to increase volunteerism by 10 percent or 6.4 million people, which we believe is possible with the help of other nonprofits and the participation of the business community. We know that most people spend more time in the work place, so that becomes a point of leverage to organize people and we have seen how businesses are doing this in outstanding ways. We have certainly seen this over the last few

weeks following Hurricane Katrina especially in terms of generosity.

Despite the amazing support, it is still a little troubling how much of a lack of coordination there is, especially in the non-profit community and the federal sector. I think each of these sectors can work better in a concerted effort and the power of this collective action would be amazing. In addition, we have seen an amazing level of philanthropic giving and volunteer effort, but we have actually gotten much more volunteer interest than we have been able to tap into. Unfortunately, we have had tens of millions of people want to make a hands on difference and we have not been able to tell them what to do, which is partly due to the nature of disaster, but I think a challenge for all of us is to figure out how to tap into that reservoir of goodwill and compassion in a sustained way.



## Politics and Government: Citizen Participation in Public Life



### Max Stier

#### *Panel Moderator*

#### President & CEO, Partnership for Public Service

Max Stier is the President and CEO of the Partnership for Public Service. He has worked previously in all three branches of the federal government. In 1982, he served on the personal staff of Congressman Jim Leach. Mr. Stier clerked for Chief Judge James Oakes of the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit in 1992 and clerked for Justice David Souter of the United States Supreme Court in 1994. Between these two positions, Mr. Stier served as Special Litigation Counsel to Assistant Attorney General Anne Bingaman at the Department of Justice.

### Max Stier

The focus of the Partnership for Public Service is to inspire a new generation into public service and to transform the way government works in order to make it more attractive for the next generation of workers. The recent events following Hurricane Katrina has shown the critical role that government must play during times of disaster.

The key to effective government is to make sure we are getting the right talents from the career employees and political appointees. The panel assembled here today is united in a belief that we need to make sure that we have quality people working for the government.

For too long, government service has been left out of the discussions involving civic engagement. While there has been a lot of focus on volunteerism and the nonprofit sector, little emphasis has been placed on the public sector. It is important that we focus our attentions on the growing needs of the public sector, especially when viewed in terms of the overall changes in the America labor market. While in the past we had expected government

employees to remain in the civil service for their entire career, this is no longer realistic since the average worker stays with their employer for about three and a half years. The goal for the government should be to turn working for the government from being seen as a career to being a career builder.

**Mickey Edwards** is Executive Director of the Aspen Institute-Rodel Fellowships in Public Leadership and a lecturer at Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs. He was a Republican member of Congress from Oklahoma for 16 years.

One of the toughest issues preventing students from looking seriously at government service is the immense amount of debt that students incur today. In addition, while young people have an aversion to anything political, we need to acknowledge that politics is the way a free people govern themselves. Ultimately, in order to have a significant influence on the decisions involving our public policies and our tax level one needs to work within the system of government.





Government is how we promote the general welfare and keep our people secure, and we have not succeeded in inspiring our young people to see that government service is the way you help manage a great country. The Rodel Fellowships in Public Leadership finds the best young publicly elected officials in both parties and brings them together to engage in discussions on public policy issues.

Listening to the other panelists and the audience members here today shows me that there is an awareness that a lot needs to be changed and my hope is that need is recognized as serious enough issue to merit careful attention. We need to deal with these challenges in a methodical way since they are more complicated than they seem.

While you often here people complain about how the bureaucracy can be obstructionist, we have to help people realize that certain apparent barriers are there for reasons, designed to ensure accountability so that people who work for an agency don't start making up laws themselves. For example, there was outrage about not using the American military more quickly and effectively following the recent disaster, however many years ago liberals and conservatives came together to prevent the military from sending troops into the American cities. In the end, we need to realize that while these problems need to be dealt with in a serious way, there are no quick fixes or easy solutions.

**Marta Brito Pérez** is an Associate Director of Human Capital Leadership & Merit System

### *Accountability at the Office of Personnel Management.*

The public has the expectation that the government will provide services and do its job well, especially in times of crisis as was seen following Hurricane Katrina and September 11. The sentiment expressed by the public in regards to the government's response to Katrina is an example of the public demanding accountability. In order to make sure that the civil service can be accountable to the needs of the country it is important that we recruit and retain highly qualified individuals. Since over forty percent of government workers are currently eligible to retire and sixty percent are senior executives, there is a great possibility that a large number of government employees will be leaving in the near future.

Our job is to make sure that government employees' skill sets are matched with jobs. For example, while most of the Department of Energy employees are engineers and scientists, most of the work is done by outside private firms so the real skills that are needed are contract management skills.

We do not do enough in government to market the contributions people can make through public service. We need to let students know that they can continue to grow professionally in the government. Many young people fear that they are not going to be able to grow and develop working for the government and that they cannot make a significant contribution while working for the government. Max was correct to point out that younger generations of workers are different from previous generations since they see entering the government not as a career, but as a career builder. Younger generations are part of an era of instant gratification, wanting to contribute and make a difference in a short amount of time, but government is not a place where things happen quickly, so these younger workers get restless. Our challenge is to motivate them and keep them engaged. Our managers need to understand this is a different workforce.

Often I have heard interns remark that "people in government are old." This

impression is a huge impediment for the government being able to recruit talented workers since often these younger workers will choose to go work at consulting firms where they find peers of their own age. The challenge facing government today is not just finding talented workers, but managing them better and creating a work environment that meets their needs.

**Sean O'Brien** is the Executive Director of the Sorensen Institute.

At the Sorensen Institute our focus is a bit different than the work of the other panelists since I tend to work at the state and local level as opposed to the federal level. Our mission is to improve the quality of governance in Virginia. While there are many different opinions of what

constitutes good governance, our goal is to ensure that government is responsive to what people desire. Some are of the belief that government should be large and include an extensive infrastructure, while other contend that government should be smaller. The Sorensen Institute seeks to develop leaders who will understand the needs of the citizenry.

We attract young people who have identified themselves as being interested in getting involved in public service from volunteering to running for public office. We encourage people to engage with people of different views; bringing people together from various backgrounds and even having them room with those with whom they might disagree.

## Aspen Institute Names First Class of Aspen-Rodel Fellows

**Washington, DC, September 7, 2005**—Following an eight-month search involving input from more than 1,400 business, political, and civic leaders, the Aspen Institute has selected 24 of the nation's top young elected officials for a new fellowship program honoring public leaders the Institute has identified as "the true rising stars" of American politics. The 24, drawn from the ranks of federal, state, and local governments, and representing 20 states, will form the inaugural two-year class of the Aspen-Rodel Fellowships in Public Leadership, designed to bring together "the very best of the nation's emerging leaders" to discuss broad issues of democratic governance and effective public service.

"We are committed to getting past the narrow partisanship of contemporary politics and rebuilding a tradition of thoughtful dialogue and political civility," said the program's director, former US Congressman Mickey Edwards. In a joint statement, Aspen Institute President and CEO Walter Isaacson and Rodel Foundation spokesman and Institute trustee, William D. Budinger, the fellowship program's chief source of inspiration, described the new program as "a serious effort to bring together, in one place, without partisan considerations, the brightest, most thoughtful, and most promising of America's young leaders."

The first-year class of Aspen-Rodel Fellows includes seven members of the United States Congress, two lieutenant governors, two state treasurers, two secretaries of state, an attorney general, a mayor, a city council member, a county council president, and seven state legislators. The 24 Fellows include: Oregon State Senator Jason Atkinson; Warwick, Rhode Island Mayor Scott Avedisian; Oklahoma Congressman Dan Boren; Nebraska Attorney General Jon Bruning; Missouri Secretary of State Robin Carnahan; Louisiana State Representative Karen Carter; Alabama Congressman Artur Davis; Arizona State Senator Gabrielle Giffords; Kentucky Secretary of State Trey Grayson; Kansas State Treasurer Lynn Jenkins; New Jersey State Senator Thomas Kean, Jr.; Illinois Congressman Mark Kirk; Florida Congressman Kendrick Meek; Kentucky State Treasurer Jonathan Miller; New York City Councilwoman Eva Moskowitz; Minnesota State Representative Erik Paulsen; Montgomery County, Maryland Council President Tom Perez; Colorado House Speaker Andrew Romanoff; Wisconsin Congressman Paul Ryan; Florida Congresswoman Debbie Wasserman Schultz; Maryland Lieutenant Governor Michael Steele; Mississippi Lieutenant Governor Amy Tuck; Colorado State Senator Jennifer Veiga; and New Mexico Congresswoman Heather Wilson.



# Citizens' Forum: AmericaSpeaks

The 2005 NCoC Conference featured a Citizens' Forum led by Carolyn Lukensmeyer and a team from the organization AmericaSpeaks, gave the civic engagement field the chance to have their thoughts and ideas heard. With the gathering of over 500 leaders from the government, non-profit organizations, corporations assembled, the Citizens' Forum was a dynamic and interactive way to discuss our nation's civic priorities

AmericaSpeaks is a non-profit organization that works to foster authentic public dialogue on important public issues among citizens and decision makers – AmericaSpeaks. They have performed similar dialogues to engage citizens in setting priorities for the D.C. budget, the future of Lower Manhattan in the aftermath of 9/11, and for world leaders to discuss at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland.



Concerned about the deep partisan divide in Washington and the growing disconnection between citizens and government, Carolyn launched AmericaSpeaks in 1995, which has since won too many national awards to mention. Former advisor to the White House Chief of Staff in the mid-1990s and Deputy Project Director for Management of the National Performance Review, Lukensmeyer also served as Chief of Staff to Governor Richard Celeste of Ohio. She has a doctorate in organizational behavior from Case Western Reserve and training at the Gestalt Institute of Cleveland.

The session focused on three questions:

- (1) First, how do we best strengthen citizenship? What are your best ideas? Where are the gaps and opportunities?
- (2) Second, how can the National Conference on Citizenship's new National Center help drive and facilitate this work, so we make great progress together in the three principal areas in which we work?
- (3) And finally, how will we measure our progress, and what could an Index of National Civic Health look like?

The discussion period resulted in the following input from the 2005 NCoC audience, which was asked to address the questions by developing response strategies at the local, state and national levels.

## Local Strategies:

Recognizing that some of the most effective ways to get people involved in their community is through local outreach, the participants brainstormed ways in which we can foster civic engagement at the local level. Strategies were developed by the participants and then ranked in importance by using keypads.

### Local priorities:

- (1) Make election day a holiday
- (2) Create mock elections for K-12

- (3) Expand experiential Civic Education
- (4) Establish a clearinghouse for civic opportunities
- (5) Require flexibility in work schedules for civic involvement
- (6) Fund more community-based associations
- (7) Create youth in government program to serve as non-voting representatives

#### Participants' comments on proposals:

*We need to eliminate the barriers to people getting engaged in the public discourse and civics. We need to identify the compelling motivation for people to get involved. We need to link the causes of distress in our communities and show that the needs for assistance and community response are not "the fault" of those who are suffering.*

*We need to focus a great deal of attention on teaching community involvement and engagement on our youth. If we can generate experiential events, e.g., the safety patrol, we might do well to create education and community partnerships to increase citizenship.*

*We should provide employees with flex time during which they can take unpaid volunteer time during the workweek to donate their time with business-aligned volunteer opportunities in the community.*



### State Strategies:

After discussing what can be done at the local level, participants focused on what initiatives could be pursued at the state level in order to strengthen citizenship and civic participation. Below is a list of priorities that were developed.

- (1) Increase Civic Education (e.g. Get legislators in the classroom, start earlier than high school)
- (2) Curriculum standards for civic education
- (3) Create service learning requirements for high school graduation
- (4) Increase access to polling locations
- (5) Same day voter registration
- (6) Create school-based opportunities for community problem solving
- (7) Deploy seniors to educate kids
- (8) Increase media coverage of citizenship as a value

#### Participants' comments on proposals:

*We should encourage college admissions boards, corporations and the government to consider a person's community service record when making admission and hiring decisions.*

*One idea is to involve legislators in this kind of citizen-based dialogue to increase their awareness of civic discourse and to create incentives for paying attention to what we want.*

*Schools should start teaching civics to children at an earlier age (elementary school) and should use the actual founding documents rather than the boring biased textbooks which are currently used.*

### National Strategies:

Having developed ideas for the local and state level, participants concluded their discussions by focusing on what goals could be set for the national level.

## National Priorities

- (1) Increase accessibility to the Internet
- (2) Require public service for students
- (3) Create a clearinghouse for people and organizations involved in public service
- (4) Increase funding for teaching about citizenship
- (5) Create pre-high school programs for citizenship
- (6) Mandatory service requirement for all citizens
- (7) "Voting should be a national holiday"
- (8) Require business to give employees time to volunteer

### Participants' comments on proposals:

*Have a mandatory or incentive based effort for national service that every CITIZEN needs to participate in for one year – also increase service learning programs and teacher training on experiential (service learning) teaching techniques*

*The country should use Katrina to empower people politically, economically, and culturally to create bridges across cultures and communities.*

*The government should make voting a national holiday and give options to make voting more accessible for all citizens including those abroad and who do not have a way to get to the polls. By coming up with innovative way to get people to vote we will expand participation and strengthen our democracy.*



## National Center on Citizenship Actions

Finally, the audience was asked, what are the most important actions that the NCoC Center should commit to doing in the coming 3-5 years to implement the strategies you've identified?

- (1) Showcase best practices for increasing civic engagement at all levels
- (2) Become a national clearinghouse on opportunities, experts, and programs for civic engagement
- (3) Engage Congress to create support for civic programs
- (4) Develop a campaign for election day as a national holiday
- (5) Encourage new public / private partnerships to promote civic engagement
- (6) Generate media coverage promoting citizenship (e.g. PSAs)
- (7) Support the creation and dissemination of a national civic engagement curricula
- (8) Create a national index of civic health



*Participants discuss our nation's civic priorities*



*City Year volunteers give their thoughts on national service*

# 2005 Citizen of the Year

Lee Hamilton



**NCoC Board Chair Craig Turk:** Each year, the National Conference on Citizenship honors a **private** citizen who has made outstanding contributions to the public good. We hold up as an example someone who has extraordinary achievements, with an eye to the three areas in which we work – strengthening American history and civics education; community, national and public service; and political and civic engagement.

We are very pleased that this year's candidate has achievements that relate to each of these categories and more: He is tireless in his work to promote a better public understanding of

the Congress, as Director of The Center on Congress at Indiana University. He is a leader in bringing key sectors together to engage in a non-partisan discourse on public policy issues that affect our country and world, as President and Director of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars here in this building. He has been a strong advocate of congressional redistricting reform, strengthening ethics rules, and fixing the broken budget process. He talks a lot about the importance of regular and authentic dialogue with the public – like we just had in the Citizen's Forum – to the health of our democracy. In fact, he is the National Conference on Citizenship's dream candidate – writing on subjects such as "Why We Need an Informed Citizenry," "Why Political Virtue Matters in the Voting Booth," "The Cornerstones of Active Citizenship," and "The Merits of Civic Engagement."

Today's honoree is an example of everything we are trying to promote in service – having served in the Congress for 34 years, having been a volunteer to chair and co-chair important commissions, and having maintained an interest in furthering the public good throughout his entire life, even after his retirement from the Congress. What is remarkable about this man is that we are honoring him for his outstanding contributions in areas that relate to fostering a stronger citizenry in the United States, when he is even better known for his work on international affairs. He served as the Chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs for many years and was known in the Congress as a man of great integrity, intelligence and effectiveness. We also honor him today for the work for which he is now best known – to help protect the security of our country as Vice Chair of the highly successful National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, popularly known as the "9/11 Commission." Please join me in honoring this outstanding American as the 2005 Citizen of the Year – Lee Hamilton.

## Lee Hamilton

Thank you, Craig, for those kind remarks. Let me thank Craig Turk, John Bridgeland, and the Board of Directors of the National Conference on Citizenship for bringing us all together today. The work that you do affirms the importance of civic education and

participation.

Let me also say how grateful I am for this honor. You and I agree with Justice Brandeis that: "The only title in our democracy superior to that of President is the title of citizen." That is why I share this award with



everyone in this auditorium, and the people across the nation who are strengthening our democracy through education, awareness and service.

Public life today has many aspects that are dispiriting: all of the political posturing, the sniping and scrambling to claim credit for good things – or to avoid blame for the bad – and the constant maneuvering for partisan advantage. All this, and much more, can be disheartening.



*Former Congressman Lee Hamilton and Senator Lamar Alexander*

But you and I know that there is more to public life than all this noise. Most Americans – certainly all of you – want to do something to make a difference in the lives of their fellow citizens, and in the great affairs of this nation. After all, our days are for something more than making money and having a good time, though there is nothing wrong with either of those.

You and I know that we have obligations that extend beyond ourselves.

You and I know that public service is a stimulating, proud, and lively enterprise. The call of public service is one of the highest you will hear or your country and community can make. The reward is a deeply felt satisfaction that a contribution has been made to the direction and success of our country – a contribution to a good greater than ourselves.

You and I know that civic engagement can make a difference in peoples' lives. Every one of you wants to help people, wants your life to make a difference, and wants it to count for something. To do that, you and I know we have to get off the sidelines and into the arena.

The one thing I am sure about is that this country is filled with good people from all races, religions, political views, and all walks of life who want a better life for the people in their communities and their nation. They seek what the Founding Fathers called, "the common good."

You and I know that the question that Lincoln posed at Gettysburg – whether this country, so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure – remains open. If we do not educate our children about history and civics, encourage participation and engagement, and get into the arena of public service, I guarantee you that we and the country will fail.

Your country makes a wager on you. It says that in return for giving you freedom, education, and opportunity, you will respond with a life well and constructively lived. Most of the time – not always – our country wins this wager.

Our task is to make sure that more people answer that call, and that more people fulfill the promise and opportunity of life in this country. Our task is to give meaning to the words we live by, like "democracy" and "opportunity" and "freedom." Wherever there is freedom, there are people who work for it, and you are among them.

Thank you once again for this award, but more importantly, thank you for all that you do to make this country a more perfect union.



# Franklin Award

## Senator Lamar Alexander

**NCoC Board Chairman Craig Turk:** In 1731, Benjamin Franklin worked with his fellow citizens to chip in their books and raise funds to build the first public subscription library in America. Carved in stone atop that Library Company of Philadelphia are Franklin's words: "Communiter Bona Profundere Deum Est" – to provide benefits for the common good is divine.

The National Conference on Citizenship shares Franklin's belief and is giving out awards in his name to outstanding individuals in federal service who are working to strengthen citizenship in America – in this case through the Legislative Branch of government.

When this former governor, Secretary of Education, president of a major university, Harvard professor, and classical and country pianist was first elected to the U.S. Senate, he helped revive the Senate tradition of freshman senators giving a maiden speech on the Senate Floor on issues vital to the country. He rose, in his own words, to give urgency to "putting the teaching of American history and civics back in its rightful place in our schools so our children can grow up learning what it means to be an American." It's a moving speech that should be required reading for every high school student. Among many profound points, he states that America's variety and diversity is a great strength, but its greatest accomplishment is finding a way to take all of that variety and diversity and unite ourselves as a country around such principles as liberty, equal opportunity, the rule of law, individualism, the separation of church and state and more.



*Senator Lamar Alexander accepts his Franklin Award from NCoC Board Chair Craig Turk*

Last year, he outlined at the NCoC's annual conference a specific Ten Point Plan to strengthen our common culture and to increase an understanding of the principles that, in all of our wonderful diversity, unite us as a country. And he is acting on this agenda. Since he spoke at our conference, he authored and passed through the Congress the American History and Civics Act, which was signed into law and will create Presidential Academies for teachers and Congressional Academies for students. He authored with Senator Kennedy the American History Achievement Act to require State academic assessments of student achievement in U.S. history and civics. And he has added to the civic conversation with wonderfully creative ideas to help new citizens, and strengthen the fairness of elections.

He's not only passionate about these subjects, he moves forward to get the job done. On behalf of the National Conference on Citizenship, I am pleased to present the 2005 Franklin Award to Senator Lamar Alexander for his outstanding work to strengthen citizenship throughout our Nation.

### Lamar Alexander

Thank you Craig, thank you, ladies and gentleman, and thank you for still being here at the end of a long day. I am especially honored to be here with Lee Hamilton, who I just complimented for co-chairing with Tom Kean one of the most important commission studies in



the history of our country. I can be very brief in my remarks. First, thank you very much for this. Last Thursday, I was presiding over the United States Senate and I looked up and right above me were the words "E Pluribus Unum"; they are the most visible words in the United States Senate chamber. Last Friday, I was at the Jefferson memorial at a naturalization ceremony, which put 99 faces on that motto of this United States "E Pluribus Unum", and I reminded those 99 new citizens that the oath that they took on Friday was much the same as George Washington gave to his officers at Valley Forge. It's a remarkable oath. It basically renounces where you came from, and pledges allegiance to where you are, which is a startling oath for many Americans who haven't seen it.

I am delighted with what you are doing here; "E Pluribus Unum" is a major part of my objective as United States Senator. I believe that all the magnificent diversity in our country gives us great strength, but I believe there is

something even more important and that is taking this diversity and making it into one country. That's why I worked with Senator Reid on the presidential academies for teachers and students in the summer, that is why Senator Kennedy and I are working to add United States history as one of the national assessments for educational progress tests that states can do on a state by state basis, and that is why as we discuss the immigration legislation this fall in Congress I am going to insist that after we secure our borders, after we establish the rules for workers and students here, that we also talk about what we can do to help prospective citizens become American.

I am going to suggest that we give grants so that any prospective citizen can have a \$500 grant to help learn our common language, English. I am going to suggest that we reduce from five to four years the number of years it takes to become an American citizen, if you become proficient in English. I am going to suggest that we create a foundation in the Office of Citizenship to make grants to help new citizens to learn more about our founding documents. I am going to suggest that we make the Oath of Allegiance permanent in law like the Pledge of Allegiance and the National Anthem. And I am going to ask the Department of Homeland Security to develop and celebrate these naturalization ceremonies that we have in which more than a half million people every year become new citizens. My goal is to celebrate our diversity of course, but it is even more important to celebrate what makes us one. And I appreciate the emphasis and time you are spending on our civic character. I want us to be able to say as a country we are proud of where we came from, but we are prouder to be Americans. Thank you very much

# Jane Addams Award

## Scott Heiferman

*Co-Founder, CEO, Meetup.com*

**Robert Putnam:** In my book, *Bowling Alone*, I said that we ought to bestow a Jane Addams Award on the Gen X'er or Gen Y'er who comes up with the best idea for the Internet-age equivalent of 4-H or settlement houses -- to spark the creative energies of those who came of age in the civically dispiriting last decade of the twentieth century to invent powerful and enticing ways of increasing civic engagement among their younger brothers and sisters who will come of age in the first decade of the twenty-first century.

Well, the person who is about to receive this award read my book and took the challenge seriously, and the National Conference on Citizenship also took me seriously and created the Jane Addams Award. I am thrilled because I truly believe that new ways that speak to young people and engage them in the civic life of their communities, nation and world are absolutely essential to our democratic health and our own health and happiness.



In my capacity as a member of the National Conference on Citizenship's National Advisory Board, it is my great pleasure to give this year's Jane Addams Award to someone who has created online technologies to bring people together offline in their communities. This organization's innovative team has connected, in three short years, more than 1.6 million people with Meetup Groups for more than 4,000 interests -- from politics to pets -- in 55 countries around the world. Ladies and gentleman, the NCoC's Jane Addams Award goes to Scott Heiferman, CEO of Meetup.com.

### Scott Heiferman

Thank you very much, it is quite an honor. I guess it is a good time to admit something that you all might find funny, which is I didn't read the whole book. It's a long book. I couldn't get into Harvard, I'm a proud graduate of the University of Iowa and that is a thick book and I never really admitted anywhere that I never read the whole thing. But thanks anyway.

I do want to say thank you to Dr. Putnam who did inspire Meetup and definitely John Bridgeland who has inspired me. The most important people that are responsible for these Meetups are the thousands of Meetup organizers out there today who have started a Meetup about something they care about in their community, and the millions of members that they have found to be in their Meetup. We at Meetup; me and my partners Matt Meeker, Peter Kamali, and Brendan McGovern; we just



*Bob Putnam reacts to Scott Heiferman's thank you speech.*

sit in a room and make technology. It is the people who are using it that it really would be nothing without.

It is an honor to be in this room. To all of you, the people who are doing amazing things, I stumbled upon caring about this stuff.

I'm maybe ashamed to admit that I came to *Bowling Alone* because I lived in New York and when 9/11 happened you got this rush of a sense that people were looking out for each other and I never thought about that concept very much, and it got me thinking about it and intrigued about it. So, I stumbled upon *Bowling Alone* and saw how Dr. Putnam mentioned things like organizations Ort and Hadassah, and they rang a bell because I remembered that actually my Mom was the president of those



local chapters. So I called my Dad, who's in the audience here from Homewood, Illinois, Bert Heiferman said "yes, she was head of these chapters." I had never thought about civic engagement, I had never thought about these local organizations before, maybe it's a sad truth of my generation. Basically, the biggest lesson I have learned from Meetup and these thousands of Meetups that happen, is that people do have more to give; the way that during the

presidential campaign. Whether it is the Howard Dean campaign, all the sudden the whole country was amazed "How did the guy raise \$40,000,000 out of thin air without having any organization or infrastructure." And it was just these people organizing themselves on Meetup, it is because people have more money and time to give. Yesterday's *Miami Herald* talks about how the Miami Belly Dancing Meetup held this huge fundraiser for Katrina victims. We see hundreds of these stories of Meetup groups around the country; existing Meetup groups (mom's groups and knitting groups in Poughkeepsie and the language groups) are using their Meetups to help Katrina victims. Even in Atlanta there is an amazing Meetup that got started by a woman, you should really take a look at this one on [www.meetup.com](http://www.meetup.com), this woman organized in Atlanta people who are all housing people who were made homeless by the hurricane, this woman is doing an amazing job of organizing these people, it's a support group basically.

The biggest lesson on top of the other one, if I didn't say that one was the biggest, is that people do have the power to make a difference and create community. Meetup is just one of many tools that help people do that. The main message though is that it is not about the internet. These new technologies are just tools to do things in the real world. This award is an honor and I want to say thank you again.



*The next generation participates in the Conference.*



*Justice Kennedy chats with Admiral Denny McGinn of Battelle (right) during a conference break.*



# Citizen's Oath

**Craig Turk:** At the opening session of the inaugural conference of Philanthropy for Active Civic Engagement in New York City this past May, our next speaker took us back 2,300 years to a place where young men used to take an inspirational oath of citizenship. Called the "Ephebic Oath," young men would pledge their loyalty to the city-state of Athens, to do such things to defend its ideals and laws, and to convey the state in better shape than they found it so that future generations would be better off. Pericles was right that in many respects "future ages would marvel at them, as the present age marveled at them then."

Our speaker implied that America could use an Ephebic Oath. We thought it was such a good idea that we went back to him and asked if he would lead such an effort, working with the National Conference on Citizenship. And he did, assembling a team that included [Harris Wofford](#), [Steve Goldsmith](#), [David Sandak](#), [John Bridgeland](#), and [Ted Sorenson](#), with input from many students around the country.

He is Executive Director of the Surdna Foundation, a large family foundation based in New York City. It works in several program areas to create a more effective citizenry. Before coming to Surdna he founded and ran the first organization to help nonprofits be more financially independent and entrepreneurial. Ed also has been a senior official in the New York City and New York State governments. He has published dozens of articles on entrepreneurship, philanthropy and civic engagement. He is a man of vision.

## Edward Skloot

It's a great honor to be asked to offer a new oath of citizenship. This oath has its antecedents in ancient Greece -- specifically in the Ephebic Oath.

Young men, aged 18 - 20, in the city-state of Athens, each had to pass a two-year course covering military practice and civic duties. At the end of the first year, these teenagers were given a sword and a shield. Then, each took a positively breathtaking oath of fealty to the city-state of Athens.

It begins: "We will never bring disgrace on our City by an act of dishonesty or cowardice." The oath then charts the responsibilities which were expected of citizens - and it created a historic example of the deep, positive commitment that lies in wait for us between the individual and the state.

A few months ago I referred to this oath in a speech on philanthropy's role in creating an effective citizenry. Senator Harris Wofford and

John Bridgeland were there and we all had the same idea: Why is there nothing like this in America today? Why shouldn't there be?

Especially for young people, whose eyes and minds and hearts are surely receptive to the great possibilities inherent in becoming an effective citizen.



Harris had been working on this idea for years. And much before him, our Founding Fathers and other civic leaders, in the youthful United States, did too.

In those early years they were concerned that individual rights and mutual responsibility found a proper and honorable balance. We can see now how the latter, mutual



responsibility, would become the buckle that held our country together through decades of danger and difficulty. In fact, that's the essence of what we've been discussing today.

I was asked to do a draft of a Citizen's Oath, and Harris and Bridge, Steve Goldsmith, Ted Sorensen and many young people joined the review process.

We imagine this Citizen's Oath will be entirely voluntary, but still, a starting place, an invocation for young people to take as they begin high school. And maybe as they graduate too. It's for them to shape it, and add to it, and breathe life into it, just as it may, in due course, offer them a constant reminder of the importance and nobility of an active civic life.

So, this is a gift to ourselves. May we use it well.

## Citizen's Oath

As an American I embrace the responsibilities of self-government.

I pledge to learn and live the principles set forth in the charters that define our freedoms: the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

I pledge to keep myself informed about the challenges that face our country and world, and to work with others to meet those challenges.

I pledge to assist persons in need, and thereby strengthen the bonds among us.

I pledge to register and vote when I am of age, in every election in which I am eligible.

I pledge to conduct myself according to the highest standards of civic decency, to foster those standards throughout my community and to expect them of all public officials.

Through these acts, I commit myself to build a more just, humane and ethical nation, for my own and all future generations.

## NCoC Board of Directors and Conference Staff



**NCoC Board of Directors:** *Back row from left to right:* Bob Giese, Martin Krall, Michael Weiser, Norma Barfield, Thomas Susman, Barry Byrd, Craig Turk, Geoff Loree, Philip Duncan, Viet Dinh, Jocelyn White, John Reeder. *Front row from left to right:* Linda Gustitus, William Fenimore, Carol Anderson, Eric Federing, Ben Sorensen.



*Left to Right:* Karen Morison (Civic Enterprises), Katie Morison (NCoC Intern), Tiffany Happel (Civic Enterprises), David Sandak (NCoC), George Williams (Civic Enterprises Intern), Debra Weinstein (International Freedom Center), Ali Klaren (Aspen Institute), and Lucy and Terry Newmyer, (NCoC).

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