

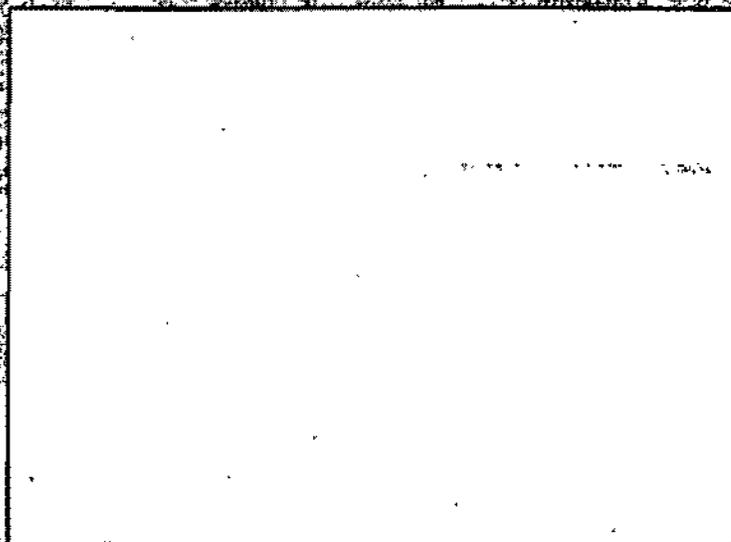
---

---

The  
Walt Whitman Center  
for the  
Culture and Politics  
of  
Democracy

---

---



THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW JERSEY  
**RUTGERS**

**Measuring Citizenship**

**Project Notebook**

**June 30, 1994**

## **Table of Contents**

### **Section A: Introduction to Measuring Citizenship**

- Project Introduction and History

### **Section B: 1992 Working Group Documents**

- Participant List for November 22-24, 1992 Working Group Meeting
- Working Group Report "Clarifying and Measuring Community, Service, and Citizenship"
- Report Appendix

### **Section C: 1993 Working Group Documents**

- Participant List for November 7-9, 1992 Working Group Meeting
- Working Group Report: "The Civic Skills Assessment: A Critical Examination"

### **Section D: Working Papers**

- Benjamin R. Barber, "Democratic Concepts: Some Preliminary Clarifications"
- Alan Ryan, "Higher Education and Citizenship: An Individualist Perspective"
- Rogers Smith, "American Conceptions of Citizenship and the Problem of Civic Education"
- Walt Whitman Center, "Measuring Citizenship: Who? What? Where? When? and Why?"

## **Table of Contents**

### **Section E: Civic Skills Assessment (Second Version)**

- Copy of Civic Attachments and Public Life, second version

### **Section F: Civic Skills Assessment (Current Version)**

- Copy of Civic Attachments and Public Life, current version

### **Section G: Technical Report**

- Description and Analysis of Measuring Citizenship Data: Spring 1994

### **Section H: Project Proposal**

- Proposal for a Project on Community and Service Learning



**Section A:**  
**Introduction to Measuring Citizenship**

**Contents:**

- Project Introduction and History

**Measuring Citizenship  
Introduction  
Project Notebook  
Walt Whitman Center  
for the Culture and Politics of Democracy  
June 30, 1994**

**Introduction:**

This notebook provides an overview of major developments in the Walt Whitman Center's Measuring Citizenship Project from March 1992 through June 1994. It pulls together in one place all the documents -- the conference reports, working papers, civic skills questionnaire, and data analyses -- that constitute the major written outcomes of our work on Measuring Citizenship to date. The work collected here should: help to introduce the Measuring Citizenship project to those not yet familiar with it; encourage healthy criticism among the many colleagues who have worked with the Center; serve as a reminder about how very far the project has come for our closest associates -- with whom we have been working intimately, sometimes with too little time for reflection-- and finally, function as a historical project compendium for the Center and its supporters at the Surdna Foundation, Inc., the Ford Foundation, the Markle Foundation, Inc., and the Rutgers University Citizenship and Service Education (RUCASE) Program. The project's supporters have provided essential financial resources and encouragement which has enabled the Whitman Center to institute an ambitious project concerning the theory and practice of civic education for democratic citizenship. This notebook is only a place holder, a reminder, and point of departure for the continued development of the Measuring Citizenship Project,

which, with the help of a new grant from the Ford Foundation will continue for another two years. We hope it stimulates further interest, fosters honest criticism, encourages reflection, and, above all, moves the project forward.

## **Project History:**

### *Introduction:*

Issuing out of the success of the Rutgers University Citizenship and Service Education (RUCASE) program, the Walt Whitman Center and the Surdna Foundation embarked on a project designed to explore the relationship between community, citizenship, and service learning. The project's primary goal is to develop an empirical assessment tool that will capture attitudinal and behavioral outcomes of service learning and other service based interventions in the life of democratic citizens. On the way to establishing a feasible measurement instrument, the project has also focused on the meaning of citizenship and the character of democracy in ways that move beyond some of the standard approaches. (See Section D, "Measuring Citizenship: Who? What? Where? When? and Why?").

*Funding for the Measuring Citizenship Project:*

The Whitman Center commenced the Measuring Citizenship Project with a two year grant from the Surdna Foundation, Inc. From the very beginning of the project in March 1992, Surdna and, in particular, its Executive Director (Edward Skloot) and Program Officer (Deborah Visser) worked closely with the Whitman Center. Surdna not only helped to bring together scholars and practitioners in the areas of community, service, education and citizenship for the two working conferences that served as the cornerstones of the ongoing research at the Center--developing powerful normative understandings of key concepts like citizenship, community and democracy. Surdna was also active in assisting the Center's fund raising efforts to continue with the research beyond the initial grant period. During the second year of research, the Ford Foundation, Markle Foundation, and RUCASE became supplementary supporters in addition to the primary Surdna grant. The project continues into a third and fourth year with major additional support from the Ford Foundation, and supplementary assistance from the Markle Foundation, and RUCASE.

*Organizing the Measuring Citizenship Project at the Whitman Center:*

In March 1992 after receiving notification of the initial Surdna Foundation grant, the Center's Director, Benjamin R. Barber, asked John Dedrick, an ABD doctoral candidate in the political science department at Rutgers University to work with the Center for two years as the Project Director for Measuring Citizenship. Dedrick accepted the position and began to work closely with Barber to implement the ambitious plan that the Center had

laid out in its project proposal to Surdna. (See Section H, "Proposal for a Project on Community and Service Learning").

Over the Summer of 1992, the Center invited Professor Jeffrey K. Smith (Rutgers University Graduate School of Education) and Ms. Janice Ballou (Director, New Jersey Center for Public Interest Polling) to work with the Whitman Center and constitute a Rutgers University based Measurement Team whose primary task it would be to develop a civic skills assessment instrument that would take into consideration the discussions and suggestions of the working group that the Center would assemble in collaboration with Surdna. Ballou and Smith agreed to work with the Center, and the Measurement Team began meeting on a regular basis. In addition to the Rutgers based Measurement Team, the Center also invited Professor Brenda Loyd (Curry School of Education, University of Virginia) to join the effort. The Measurement Team spent much of the summer and fall of 1992 talking through the tough issues about how best to measure civic outcomes of service learning programs that are not normally vulnerable to measurement without abdicating testing standards. It also prepared presentations for the first working group meeting.

During the Fall of 1992, the Center also invited a several interested graduate students from the political science department and the Graduate School of Education to work with the Measurement Team. The project's research associates--Michael Cripps, Kimberly Downing, Wendy Gunther-Canada, Megumi Kinoshita, Greg Vafis and Michelle Yurecko--have been essential contributors to the project both as individuals and as a group. These project associates have brought to the Measuring Citizenship project

theoretical insight, technical know-how, and enthusiasm that has been a vital part of the project's success.

*Assembling the Working Group:*

Over the summer of 1992, the Whitman Center invited a working group of more than thirty scholars, community activists, representatives from foundations, and government agencies to participate in the project team's first conference scheduled for November 22-24, 1992. (See Section B, 1992 Working Group Participant List) The Center also asked several of the participants to prepare working papers for the November 22-24 meeting. Center Director Benjamin R. Barber, Alan Ryan (Princeton University), and Rogers Smith (Yale University) each prepared working papers for the conference. (See Section D, Working Papers). Harry Boyte (University of Minnesota) and Ernesto Cortes (Texas Industrial Areas Foundations) also prepared presentations.

This first working group meeting was held at Rutgers University November 22-24, 1992, and focused on themes of clarification and measurement of the theory and practice of community, service, and learning in the context of education-based service learning programs, as well as others forms of civic participation. In preparation for the November 1992 meetings, the Whitman Center sent participants two mailings that included previously published essays by working group members in addition to conference plans. The working papers prepared by Barber, Ryan, and Smith, were given to participants as they arrived at the conference site. In addition to the papers

and presentations noted here, highlights from the meeting included: observation of an RUCASE class meeting led by the program's director, Professor Richard Battistioni; and a session concerning measurement issues led by Professor Jeffrey K. Smith. (See Section B, "Clarifying and Measuring Community, Service, and Citizenship" and attached Appendices).

*Developing the Civic Skills Assessment instrument:*

The first working group meetings were an important point of entry amidst a critical sequence of events for the Rutgers based Measurement Team charged with the task of developing a Civic Skills Assessment instrument. The election of Bill Clinton to the Presidency three weeks before the meetings bolstered grass roots support for service learning throughout the country. During the campaign, Clinton made a commitment to youth service. President-elect Clinton was moving quickly to fulfill his campaign pledges. The creation of the Commission on National and Community Service (now the Corporation for National and Community Service) made more urgent the availability of tools designed specifically to assess the outcomes of programs that would be based on strengthening the ties between service and citizenship. On March 1, 1993, President Clinton honored Rutgers University and the Walt Whitman Center by announcing his Administrations plan for a Summer of Service and a National Service Act at a packed Rutgers University athletic center, following a day long visit to Whitman Center and RUCASE service learning projects. It was amidst these circumstances that the Whitman Center set about translating the insights of the thirty-one member working group into an objective multiple choice, self-administerable questionnaire.

The Measurement Team presented a first version of the civic skills assessment to the Center's staff in April 1993. Later that month, 200 students from an introductory political science course at Rutgers volunteered to complete this first draft questionnaire. During the month of May 1993, the Measurement Team worked quickly to revise the questionnaire based on problems they encountered in the administration and analysis of the first version. They also prepared a second version that was administered at the Summer of Service Program in Newark, New Jersey. Approximately 150 Summer of Service volunteers filled out the revised questionnaire at the beginning of the Summer of Service in June 1993 and then again at the end of the Summer of Service in August 1993. The Summer of Service program offered the Measurement Team an opportunity to observe patterns of stability and change in the attitudes and behaviors of citizens who participated in a service program. (See section E, Second version Civic Skills Assessment Questionnaire)

The data from the Summer of Service volunteers was analyzed by the Measurement Team. In anticipation of the second working conference that would focus exclusively on the civic skills assessment tool, the team prepared a workbook that provided analyses from the three administrations of the questionnaire during the Spring and Summer of 1993.

#### *The Second Working Group Meeting:*

The discussions at the first working group meetings focused on the theory and practice of community, service, learning, and citizenship. The

Center decided that the second meetings held at Rutgers University, November 7-9, 1993, reassembled most of the members from the first meeting and also added additional participants from Foundations, non-profits, and government. (See Section C, Participant List) In the year following the first session, the Center's work moved substantially in the direction of applied research. Consequently, the Measurement Team wanted to engage more voices from the field to assure that its work would be useful to those actually running service learning programs. All members of the working group received new readings along with a copy of the revised questionnaire (an interim point not included here) prior to the November 1993 meetings.

The year that passed between the working sessions had been particularly eventful for the conferees who met at Rutgers in November 1993. Participants spent much of the first working session of the second meeting recounting recent developments in their programs and raising questions about the place of assessment in their work. Remaining sessions were devoted to an extended critical discussion of the Measurement Team's work. The second meeting produced important insights about the kind of questioning that would be most helpful for people who work in service learning programs, and it resulted in a shared understanding among the participants about the possibilities and limitations of any self-administered questionnaire, as well as an agreement that an ideal instrument would provide answers not only to "what" questions ("Do you vote?") but also to "why" questions ("If not, Why not?") of special pertinence to education and service program leaders. (See Section C, "Civic Skills Assessment: A Critical Examination")

## *Revision and Administration of the Civic Skills Assessment 1994*

While the first working group meeting provided essential theoretical and historical background for the Measurement Team's efforts, the second expanded group presented the Measurement Team with the challenge of making their work more relevant to the day-to-day world of administering and assessing service learning programs. The Measurement Team took the challenge seriously and worked throughout December and January to revise the assessment tool by rewording existing questions and adding new scales, as well as a number of open-ended questions to get at "Why?" issues.

The Measurement Team administered the newly revised questionnaires to more than 400 Rutgers Student volunteers at the beginning of the Spring term in 1994 and a second time during the last week of the Spring semester. This research was conducted with support from RUCASE. (See Section F, revised Civic Skills Assessment Questionnaire. See Section G, Data Analysis )

### *Next Steps:*

In the Spring of 1994, the Whitman Center was awarded a two and one-half year grant from the Ford Foundation to continue research for two additional years beyond the Surdna collaboration. Upon completion of this notebook, John Dedrick will leave the directorship to become a consultant to the project. Dr. Robert Higgins (a political scientist who has written extensively on environmentalism) will join the Center's staff as the Project Director. With the Ford grant, and supplementary support from Markle and RUCASE, the Whitman Center intends to conduct a norming study with the

civic skills assessment questionnaire and to further improve the instrument. This study will involve twenty institutional sites where service learning programs are being implemented. These sites will include a large public university, private schools, a group of historically black colleges supported by a new Ford Foundation grant, several youth corps, a United States military training unit, and other programs where service learning and civic education putatively take place. The Measurement Team hopes to present findings from this norming study through academic papers and conference presentations in 1995 and 1996.

Ultimately, the success of the Measuring Citizenship project depends upon the usefulness of the Civic Skills Assessment tool. A successful assessment instrument will add to the ongoing work of evaluating the civic outcomes of service learning as well as other service interventions and will help to revise our understanding of the normative meaning of central civic terms like citizenship, community, and democracy. The Whitman Center can do no more than bring a tool to the field of service learning. The usefulness of that tool will be determined in the field--through its contribution to the difficult work of educating citizens for democratic life. The Measuring Citizenship project embodies a commitment to a more relevant and civically useful form of empirical testing: a commitment to what John Dewey called a "method of intelligence." To meet the programmatic needs of a variety of service based educational programs, the current version of the civic skills assessment tool may require substantial change. The work in this notebook is thus tentative--open to criticism, modification, and reevaluation. The Whitman Center welcomes criticism and counsel from every part of the community, academic and non-academic alike.

## **Section B:**

### **1992 Working Group Documents**

#### **Contents:**

- Participant List for November 22-24, 1992 Working Group Meeting
- Working Group Report "Clarifying and Measuring Community, Service, and Citizenship"
- Report Appendix

**Walt Whitman Center and Surdna Foundation, Inc.  
Participant List  
Clarifying and Measuring Community, Service, Learning,  
and Democratic Citizenship  
Working Group Meeting  
November 22-24, 1992**

Ms. Janice Ballou; Director, Center for Public Interest Polling, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University

Professor Benjamin R. Barber; Director, Walt Whitman Center for the Culture and Politics of Democracy, Rutgers University

Professor Richard Battistoni; Director, Civic Education and Community Service Program, Rutgers University

Professor Harry Boyte; The Humphrey Center, University of Minnesota

Mr. Keith Canty; Director, D. C. Service Corps

Professor Jean Cohen; Department of Political Science, Columbia University

Mr. Ernesto Cortes, Jr.; Director, Texas Industrial Areas Foundation

Ms. Dorothy Cotton; Cornell University

Mr. David Crowley; Project Director of CampusServe, Council on Higher Education

Mr. John Dedrick; Project Director for Surdna Grant, Walt Whitman Center

Professor Lisa Disch; Department of Political Science, University of Minnesota

Ms. Monique Dixon; Director of Programs, Phillips Brooks House, Harvard University

Mr. Donald J. Eberly; Executive Director, Coalition for National Service

Professor Amitai Etzioni; University Professor, George Washington University

Ms. Franciena Fowler-Turner, CVA; Director, St. Ann's Volunteer Program

Professor Ricard Gomà; Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

Professor Carol Gould; Stevens Institute of Technology

**Walt Whitman Center and Surdna Foundation, Inc.  
Participant List Continued  
November 22 to 24, 1992**

Professor Brenda Loyd; Curry School of Education, University of Virginia

Dr. Suzanne Morse; Director, Pew Partnership for Civic Change

Mr. Keith Morton; Project Director of Integrating Service with Academic Study,  
Campus Compact

Professor Alan Ryan; Department of Politics, Princeton University

Ms. Smita Singh; Program Officer, Commission on National and Community  
Service

Professor Jeff Smith; Graduate School of Education, Rutgers University

Professor Rogers Smith; Department of Political Science, Yale University

Professor Manfred Stanley; The Maxwell School, Syracuse University

Professor Mary Stanley; The Maxwell School, Syracuse University

Mr. Charles Supple; Vice President, Youth Engaged in Service, The Points of Light  
Foundation

Mr. Edward Skloot; Executive Director, Surdna Foundation

Mr. Gerald Taylor; National Staff, Industrial Areas Foundation

Dr. Josep Valles; Rector, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

Ms. Deborah Visser; Program Officer for Community Revitalization, Surdna  
Foundation

**Walt Whitman Center and Surdna Foundation, Inc.  
Participant List Continued  
November 22 to 24, 1992**

**Participant Observers:**

Professor Eleanor Brilliant; School of Social Work, Rutgers University

Mr. David Burns; Assistant Vice President for Student Services Policy, Rutgers University

Dr. Martin Friedman; New Jersey Department of Higher Education

Professor Norman Glickman; Director, Center for Urban Policy Research, Rutgers University

Mr. Mark Murphy; Executive Director, Fund For New Jersey

Professor Catherine Stimpson; University Professor, Rutgers University

Professor Jon Van Til; Department of Urban Studies, Rutgers University

Professor Linda Zerilli; Associate Director, Walt Whitman Center for the Culture and Politics of Democracy

Dr. Susan Zivi; Director, The New Jersey Academy for Service and Service Learning, The New Jersey Institute of Technology

**Project Staff:**

Michael Cripps, Lynn Davern, Wendy Gunther-Canada, D. A. Hamlin,  
Megumi Kinoshita, Scott McLean, Greg Vafis, Michelle Yurecko

**Clarifying and Measuring Community, Service,  
and Citizenship  
A Working Group Meeting Held at Rutgers University  
November 22 to 24, 1992  
Summary Report\***

**I. General Overview:**

The working group met for the first time at Rutgers University November 22 to 24, 1992 for critical discussions of issues concerning community, service, and learning in the context of education-based service learning programs. The working group's 31 members included representatives from universities, service organizations, foundations, and community activists. Participants worked closely over the two days, meeting in three discreet sessions dedicated specifically to the theory of community and citizenship, the practice of service-based learning, and--with particular reference to service learning--the measurement of civic outcomes.

The working sessions produced a critical foundation for an ongoing collaborative project to develop and field test a national civic skills assessment instrument and a volume of papers written by working group members concerning the theory and practice of service-based learning and democratic citizenship.

---

\* Thanks to Michael Cripps, Lynn Davern, Kim Downing, Wendy Gunther-Canada, D. A. Hamlin, Scott McLean, Claire Snyder, and Greg Vafis for their extraordinary efforts in coordinating, facilitating, note taking, and, in many other unseen ways, contributing to the working group meeting.

The three sessions had as their respective tasks:

1. [Monday, November 23, Morning] to clarify democratic conceptions of community, citizenship, and service;
2. [Monday, November 23, Afternoon] to explore the practical applications of these concepts to the practice of service-based learning for democratic citizenship; and
3. [Tuesday, November 24, Morning] to produce the conceptual framework for a national civic skills assessment instrument.

Each working session involved a full group discussion organized around an activity intended to highlight significant clarification and measurement questions. Conceptual papers by Professor Benjamin R. Barber (Director of the Walt Whitman Center), Dr. Harry Boyte (Director, Project Public Life; the Humphrey Institute, University of Minnesota), Professor Alan Ryan (Princeton University), and Professor Rogers Smith (Yale University) introduced the group to a shared set of themes about community and citizenship that framed the first session.\*\* The second session was preceded by an in-class demonstration of a Rutgers Community Service course and a talk by Brian Morton, a former gang member who is currently a student service organizer at the Rutgers Camden campus. Professor Richard Battistoni (Director, Rutgers Civic Education and Community Service Program) led a group of eleven students, who are serving in community organizations as an integral part of their course requirements, through a

---

\*\* Copies of the working papers are available from the Walt Whitman Center. Titles of the Working papers follow:  
--Benjamin R. Barber, "Democratic Concepts: Some Preliminary Clarifications"  
--Harry C. Boyte, "Citizenship and the Public World"  
--Alan Ryan, "Higher Education and Citizenship: An Individualist Perspective"  
--Rogers M. Smith, "American Conceptions of Citizenship and the Problem of Civic Education"

carefully guided discussion of service and citizenship. The third session was introduced by a presentation from the measurement team leader, Professor Jeff Smith (Rutgers, Department of Educational Statistics), on themes of "validity," "reliability," and "believability" in psychometric measurement design. To guide the discussion further, the measurement team prepared a citizenship skills worksheet which group members were asked to fill out as the discussion proceeded. Summary results from fourteen worksheets are attached to this report [Appendix A].

## **II. Summary Outcomes from the Working Group:**

The following remarks are an attempt to draw conclusions from and highlight specific moments of one and one half days of broadly gauged and subtle theoretical and practical discussions. Obviously, a short report cannot do full justice to those discussions. Fuller transcripts will be available upon request from the Walt Whitman Center.

### **1. Clarification of democratic conceptions of community, citizenship, and service:**

In this session, devoted to the clarification of essential democratic concepts, papers by Professor Barber and Professor Smith provided the group with significant models for better understanding contrasting varieties of democratic citizenship that range from individualistic and liberal to participatory and deliberative. Professor Ryan's paper on the individual and community offered essential criticisms and connections that helped the group to mediate between the contrasting political visions of liberal and communitarian democracy. Professor Ryan, Dr. Boyte, and Professor Amitai

Etzioni (University Professor, George Washington University and spokesperson for the Responsive Community) led a rigorously argued discussion about the constitution of various communities, including political communities. The project of theoretical clarification proved to be a useful departure point for a tightly integrated conversation that brought the theorists and practitioners together in pursuit of a series of issues, ranging from concerns about the relationship between the individual and community in democratic political life, to provocative considerations about the nature and qualities of political power, to questions about the extent to which all the communities contained within a democratic nation can, and should, be internally democratized, and how best to understand and promote political agency. Among the arguments advanced were the following:

- Democratic citizenship can be conceptualized in terms of several models which stress differing ideals of the constitution of citizenship. Rogers Smith presented three historical and legal models of citizenship in the American context: a liberal model emphasizing individual rights; a participatory model stressing democratic participation; and an Americanist model ("Americanism") emphasizing the special claims of social groups. Smith argued that all three models are active in the political process. Benjamin R. Barber further explored the tensions between models of democratic citizenship. He introduced character types to capture the tensions between liberal individualism, participatory democracy, deliberative democracy and Americanism (or "unitary" democracy).
- The salience of the Americanist claims to citizenship made by certain social groups, frequently based on ethnic, racial, gender, or religious identity, was taken to be a serious and ongoing challenge by group members. In current debates, the problem of a hegemonic Americanism is often confronted by the counter-hegemonic claims of multiculturalism, which tend to undermine severely any basis for

group identity. Although disempowered groups may facilitate their ability to mobilize by making appeals to special claims derived from group identity, the very same language of special claims can be used by power holding groups to continue to subordinate disempowered groups.

- Community has multiple levels and locations. In the contemporary context, as Professor Jean Cohen (Columbia University) noted, we live in a highly differentiated social structure that contains many communities and where local and other kinds of "sub-communities" are nested within larger national and international communities. Citizens participate at various levels of community including the nation-state.
- Recalling the debates between Kallen and Dewey, Smita Singh (Commission on National and Community Service) helped focus the conversation on problems surrounding the extent to which specific communities can and should be internally democratic. This part of the conversation was an important reminder that the extent to which the state should be involved in democratizing various communities remains a significant and unresolved problem for democratic theory. It also led participants to question whether a democratic state can encompass non-democratic communities and itself remain democratic.
- Democratic language contains competing discourses of community and interest which appeal to different conceptions of politics and community building. Professor Etzioni presented a communitarian model which stressed cooperation, identity, and shared values. For this vision of communitarianism, the problem of building community is about creating shared values; political problems are best solved by appealing to shared values instead of power. Reliance on power will only further disadvantage subordinate groups. By contrast to a communitarian ideal, Dr. Boyte offered a "political" model of community that stressed conflict, power, and problem-solving. Boyte argued that community building is about problem-solving. People become citizens "as they work at it." This model was strongly supported by the theory and practice of the Industrial Areas

Foundation as represented by Ernesto Cortez, Jr. (Director, Texas Industrial Areas Foundation) and Gerald Taylor (National Staff, Industrial Areas Foundation).

- Professor Mary Stanley (Maxwell School, Syracuse University) stressed the importance of creating and recreating institutional spaces which promote agency, or the capacity to act. As Ernesto Cortez, Jr. and Gerald Taylor noted, this includes citizens' abilities to interact with the federal, state, and local governments as well as other institutions, including economic markets.
- Several group members, including Amitai Etzioni, Harry Boyte, and Gerald Taylor, grappled with the question of how best to understand power. It was variously defined in a relational mode as command over resources, as a sense of efficacy in the world, and as acting together in concert on a shared problem. Professor Lisa Disch (University of Minnesota) insisted on the relational character of power, while others noted that it permeates market relationships as well as political associations. This raised a whole new set of questions about the relationship between the political community [sovereignty?], the market [contractual relations], and civil society [non-coercive but public mediating associations].

## 2. Exploring the practical applications of the concepts to the practice of service-based learning for democratic citizenship:

The second working session started during lunch with welcoming remarks by the Rutgers University Provost, Dr. Joseph Seneca, and an overview of the Rutgers Civic Education and Community Service program by Professor Battistoni. The session was led by participants with extensive real world community service and community mobilization experience and focused on the practical implications of democratic theories of community, citizenship, and service for education-based service learning programs. A class

demonstration by a Rutgers Civic Education and Community Service course introduced the task of exploring the practical applications for the working group. Eleven students led by Professor Battistoni sat in the middle of the conference room surrounded by working group members who became anxious spectators to an actual class in session. The students were initially reticent, but they eventually launched into a spirited debate including, among other topics, multiculturalism, gender inequalities, and economic problems confronting the communities where they serve as part of their civic education. The pedagogical specificity of this class anchored the rest of the afternoon's discussion. While any of the remarks made by group members referred to specific observations about that session, the tenor of the observations applied generally to education-based service learning for citizenship; many of their specific observations could be generalized into generic questions about service learning.

Much of the discussion focused on questions about the design and outcomes of service programs. Service learning programs that are effective at teaching civic skills need to be designed for specific audiences, and special considerations need to be taken with regards to the relationships between sponsoring institutions and the communities where learners are placed. Programs should help students learn how both to think and act politically; this includes teaching students how best to use the traditional political process. An understanding of limits as well as possibilities is a critical learning outcome. Learning civics through service integrated into other institutional programs should help students better situate and sensitize themselves in the full complexity of social problems and processes.

- Social ethics outcomes of service-based learning were among the most sensitive problems raised by group members. Alan Ryan contrasted civic education for empathy or social solidarity (r.e.; Toynbee Hall) with civic education for community and political organizing. Gerald Taylor suggested that two models of civic education might be captured in the ideas of "service ministry" and "transformational ministry."
- Several discussants suggested that the projects of empathy and organization are part of one developmental continuum. As Smita Singh remarked, students "start with moral solidarity, empathy, and personalizing of their experience. And given the right structure and format, often times it takes a few years, they go to a more politicized view of what they are doing." Reflecting on the Southern Christian Leadership Conference Citizenship Education Program, which she directed, Dorothy Cotton said, "We were working from the position of moral solidarity simultaneously as we were working from the position of political capacity."
- Education-based civic education may result in a number of outcomes that include ethical visions of the political world as well as practical leadership skills. It is important to decide what citizenship skills service programs should teach. Suzanne Morse (Director, Pew Partnership for Social Change) pulled much of the conversation together with a list of skills and capacities for citizenship that included: the ability to talk publicly; a sense of public interest, the ability to imagine a different society, an ability to judge, and the courage to act.
- Edward Skloot (Executive Director, Surdna Foundation) suggested that service learning programs may have at least three kinds of results that may be political: individual growth, social change, and effects on the community. Programs need to make difficult considerations about what kinds of results they hope to effect in the individuals, institutions, and communities where service-based learning occurs.

- It is important to find out whether students are doing more good than harm in the communities where they are placed. Deborah Visser (Program Officer for Community Revitalization, Surdna Foundation) posed questions about the benefits and effects of service programs. What are the effects on the communities where students are placed? Who benefits from service learning programs? Are programs primarily pedagogical-- of service to students and their education? Or are they intended to solve real world problems? Can the university be a social agency? Should it?
- Service-based learning programs should be designed to begin where the participating students are. Learners in varied institutional settings will certainly bring different skills with them to the programs. Programs need to be flexible enough to accommodate a mixture of class and field work in order to strengthen the skills deemed appropriate for their specific institutional contexts. As Keith Canty (Director, D.C. Service Corps) remarked, some learners begin service programs without even a vague sense of citizenship: "You talk with them about being American and they get offended.... They have disassociated themselves from everything."
- Service-based learning for citizenship needs to emphasize the workings of the traditional political process as well as the politics of community building. Charles Supple (Vice President, Youth Engaged In Service, Points of Light Foundation) emphasized the importance of students learning to address community problems with reference to appropriate political institutions. Why, he asked, didn't the students talk about the state?
- Placements for service-based learning should be in a broad variety of locations, so that students can be exposed to both the centers and workings of power in America as well as identified problem areas. Gerald Taylor noted that this includes service placements connected to the political process.

- Several working group participants emphasized the importance of students developing a sense of how limited their initial understanding of social problems may be. Smita Singh commented, "One of the most dangerous things we can do for the students is to have them leave these courses, or leave the community service, feeling as if they fully understand the other half, or they somehow have a grip on the entire picture."
- Keith Morton, (Campus Compact) emphasized how important community service experiences can be for helping students to develop better understandings of the social world in which they live. This is especially true where service is part of a broader set of relationships: "One of the core reasons for doing community service-based learning is that you get to know something about the lives of the people that you work with. If it is going to be relationship driven, it is hard to do service learning if there is not a relationship that extends beyond the immediate service purpose of being together."
- As Richard Battistoni observed, to best integrate service learning programs into local communities, the originating institutions, *qua* institutions, need to work at being "good citizens." Students and other community members will quickly perceive the hypocrisy of schools that preach community service to them but make poor institutional citizens themselves.
- Some students expressed an interest in continuing their service work after the course but were uncertain about their ability to continue serving. It is important to develop ongoing institutional support for students who want to continue serving. Brian Morton, a Rutgers Camden student service organizer observed how important it was to help interested students continue their service work after the course was completed. He urged ongoing institutional support for students who want to continue serving and described his own efforts in Camden to do just that.

At the end of a long day's work, Gerald Taylor brought the group back to earth with a story that made some laugh and some nearly cry and whose moral underscored how easily the real purposes of a service project can be lost. He recounted the true story of the "accident ministry:"

There was a church at a little bend in the road. This bend in the road was one that people couldn't see around, and there were lots of accidents because there was no street light and what not. So they put together a service ministry called the accident ministry.

The accident ministry would stay awake and listen for the cars to screech and crash. Then the accident ministry people would run out and help the people, and there was lots of training for all the church on how to do accident ministry, and they were prepared to do accident ministry.

Five years later they have a celebration of accident ministry. All those on accident ministry over the years are recognized. They ask how they can make accident ministry better? Someone says, "We need more connections with the accident victims, so I suggest we have walkie-talkies for all the people out on accident ministry, so that we can put the voices of the wounded on the machine, so people can hear their voices and connect with them, and just get 911 out here faster." Someone says that's a great idea, and everyone claps. Another person says we need new recruits for the accident ministry because people are getting too old. So everyone volunteers to go recruit new members.

A little girl in the back put up her hand and said, "You know, I don't understand why we don't just straighten the road out, put some street lights up and stop all the accidents. That means we have to go negotiate with the public works department, but that will take care of all the accidents."

Everybody got quiet, and said, "Oh my god, that's politics; the church can't do politics." Everyone applauded. The next person recommended an ambulance to speed the process of getting the victims to the hospital.

That is service ministry, and that is what this discussion reminds me of. And its not bad. I'm not saying service ministry is bad. It is helpful, but the fundamental question is, "is that what we want these folk to do?"

3. *Producing the conceptual framework for a national civic competency test.*

The third session began on Tuesday morning with participants well rested after a Walt Whitman Center dinner hosted by Mrs. Leah Barber at the Barber's home in Piscataway and a good night's sleep. This session was led by Professor Jeff Smith and the measurement team (Janice Ballou, Director Center Public Interest Polling; and Professor Brenda Loyd, University of Virginia). The session focused on the question of how best to develop measurements to assess the civic outcomes of service-based learning and retained a concrete and technical character throughout. The specific task was to develop a shared conceptual framework within which a battery of indicators might be developed which together would constitute a National Civic Skills Assessment Instrument. The session began with a presentation by measurement team leader Professor Jeff Smith. He presented basic problems in psychometric measurement which confront anyone hoping to develop a "valid," "reliable," and "believable" measure. A measure is valid if it captures the concept one is studying. A measure is reliable if it yields the same results on repeated trials. And, a measure is believable, or has face validity, if the results of the test make sense to most people. Smith observed that one of the most important questions the group needed to confront was "What have we left out of the measure?" To be useful, a citizenship measure must include a full range of attributes and characteristics we reasonably associate with citizenship (validity). It must be able to indicate these important attributes across a variety of audiences (reliability). And it needs to be both stated and interpreted in a manner that most people will actually believe is citizenship (believability). Brenda Loyd stated the problem in

terms of a dilemma: "Our dilemma is that we must have specific variables to test, yet at the same time maintain the richness of the ideas of citizenship we have been talking about."

After the measurement team presentation, Jeff Smith invited the working group to assist in developing a set of indicators, or scales, which included:

- a. knowledge;
- b. skills;
- c. participation;
- d. span and depth of involvement in civic affairs;
- e. political/philosophical orientations;
- f. social orientations and convictions,
- g. expectations and responsibilities concerning government.

A summary analysis of citizenship worksheets returned to the Whitman Center is attached as Appendix A and indicates categorical responses to each of the conceptual scales. The following remarks are meant to highlight a few of the issues raised in the measurement session.

- Democratic citizenship is a normative idea. Any instrument designed to capture fully the skills, attitudes, and behaviors of democratic citizens will necessarily be value-laden.
- The instrument should discriminate between qualities of democratic citizenship and other models of citizenship. Manfred Stanley (Maxwell School, Syracuse University) urged the group to develop instruments that would not only measure citizenship per se, but would also help differentiate models of democratic citizenship from authoritarian, totalitarian, or other models of citizenship.
- The instrument should be sensitive to internal differences between visions of democratic citizenship [e.g.; liberal versus participatory]. It may be used in a variety of contexts and should be designed to facilitate measuring the outcomes of a variety of educational experiences. The instrument will be used in a broad variety of service

environments and should facilitate the measurement of the differing kinds of civic skills that attend differing modes of service.

- The instrument should distinguish acquired skills from birthrights of democratic citizenship. As Janice Ballou indicated, knowledge of history, rights, and obligations is an important aspect of democratic citizenship. This kind of knowledge creates the possibility for access to politics. The instrument should be designed to distinguish between components of citizenship which are inherited and those which are acquired through civic activity. Along one dimension the instrument would examine capacity for access, and along another dimension it would measure "social stewardship."
- Janice Ballou encouraged the working group to consider developing scales that range from "passive" to "active" where citizens are "active or passive depending on various circumstances, contexts, and issue orientations." This kind of scale is well suited for contextualizing citizenship skills within a framework of multiple models of democracy.
- We should anticipate teachers using the instrument as a teaching aid. Professor Battistoni urged us to consider the possibility that teachers using the instrument will "teach to the test." This may mean that we need to develop interpretative materials to help teachers better understand student responses.

As noted above, this report cannot do full justice to the richness and texture of the discussions of our working group. Much more will be accomplished when the group has examined new and revised working papers and meets again next year. It is already clear to us, however, that the goal we have set ourselves of clarifying community, service learning, and citizenship in the broad framework of democracy, and of developing a technical instrument capable of assessing the civic skills associated with community, service learning, and citizenship is both feasible and doable.

## Appendix A

Following is the text from the worksheet that was used by the measurement team to gather comments and reactions to measurement issues. Fourteen working group members returned the completed worksheets to the Whitman Center. Responses are organized according to a common theme under each measurement issue and generally follow the order of the original worksheet.

### Whitman Center Conference on Citizenship Reactions to Measurement Issues

I. **Overview:** The purpose of this form is to gather your thoughts and ideas concerning our goal of trying to develop a measure or set of measures concerning citizenship. As the group discussion proceeds, we would appreciate your jotting down your reactions and ideas on this form. We will collect the forms and use them in the development of the measure.

II. **Constructs to be measured:** The first agenda item is to explore what constructs (or traits, scales, etc.) should be included in such a measure. At the Whitman Center, we have spent some time on this topic and have generated the list below. We'd like your general reactions to them (should or should not be included, should be expanded, conceptualization should be different) and to find out what else you think should be on such a measure. The constructs are deliberately left fairly broad at this point.

1. **Knowledge base:** What should a citizen know?

#### History

History of self

History of country

History of this country (inclusive of all peoples).

"Texts of membership" -- Constitution, Bill of Rights, 3 constitutional law cases, history.

Documents (e.g., Constitution) -- Supreme Court cases, key events

#### Rights

Inherent rights (2)

His/her civil rights.

Awareness of rights/inherent rights

Understanding your rights

Rights and responsibilities of citizens.

Rights as citizen, history of development of this concept of rights.

#### Values

Basic values -- meaning of freedom, justice, democracy.

#### Knowledge or Understanding of Government

Process of governance

A basic idea about how society works (government to people; people to people; three branches).

Knowledge of governmental structure (federalism) and procedures

How systems work, how government works or is set up to work and ones place in all of this.

Basic knowledge of government and how it works.

Basic governing institutions, how to access them

Structure of society -- nature of economy, government, law, families, with some historical context and differences from other forms of society.

Input in the political process.

### Citizenship

What are the basic ways people become U.S. citizens? What are the basic criteria/expectations?

Understand the context for their citizenship, i.e., school, family, neighborhood, state, etc. This will vary according to circumstance, age, and issue.

### Knowledge or Understanding about community

Understanding your responsibilities to your community, country

Current events in community and society.

Concerns of community/local and national

Associational knowledge -- knowing how to organize, where to find information

What communities does the person belong to? Which do they care most about and why?

### Obligation

Range of obligations -- a concept of obligations

Obligation/accountability: who is responsible for this problem/failure of policy and who gets credit.

### Issues of Power

Powerholders in one's group(s)

Who is powerful in your town? In the U.S.? Elected officials? The rich? Men?

White people? Voters? The media? The courts? The corporations?

### Ability to Communicate/Think/Act

Ongoing capacity to articulate self to others and describe "relevant" public environment (also put as "constructing narrative"), but the point is a language capacity, a means for thinking and interacting. It doesn't matter, to me if we're about a common language among us all, or if we're measuring the emerging language of specific individuals/groups.

Relationship between people as citizens.

Knowledge of access

Access

Agency

Critical thinking skills

Arts of association

### Questions/Suggestions Raised

Is there one base? Could people know lots of alternative things?

How do you balance a person who is immensely deft at local lobbying and a person who has some of that detailed knowledge but quite a lot of general knowledge?

Who/what is public?

1. Knowledge base. Detailed critique and determination of nature of scales.

#### Rights and responsibilities

Basic rights and responsibilities.

Rights

Responsibilities

Know constitutional and civil rights (this would encompass and sense of pride).

Have a working understanding of the different "ideologies" that constitute American political discourse and policy: "social" conservative, liberal, socialist, market conservative, "democratic".

#### Public Space

To be able to name/identify the space that is their "public". I think a "gang" might be a legitimate public space. Why assume all gang members have the "skills" of citizenship but are inherently against the polity: isn't the polity against them?

Have a working understanding of the "public" space (its power-structure) that is relevant to them -- who is in charge, how to appeal decisions.

#### Other comments

Read newspapers that are produced there, or ?? information -- a newsletter, bulletin board (see info from a variety of perspectives).

Different models of participation.

History of community and society.

Basic structure of society and government.

Global perspective -- understands international context of U.S. citizenship.

Growth

Social Service

Interaction

Logic and practical reasoning

2. Skills related to citizenship: What should a citizen be able to do?

#### Agency

Exercise personal agency

Capability to act. Willingness to act/ propensity to act. Where does one situate oneself in the public sphere?

Agency and initiative and what people actually do.

Be agential -- develop initiative

Level of engagement -- sources of info, reading newspapers, participating in public meetings/associations.

Courage to act.

Should be able to "work" system, should have skills to actively participate and affect change.

#### Strategic skills

Strategic thinking

Fluidity

Strategic/Public sensibility -- skills, ??? and judgment that enables ??? analysis, action, evaluation to be practices. general skills: public judgment, power-mapping, diversity, negotiation, public evaluation.

Ability to distinguish between perceived and real barriers to people's participation. Then ability to strategically attack the real barriers.

### Critical thinking

Be able to think more broadly than their individual interests.

The capacity to imagine a different way of living together as a community (thinking about who is not at the table who should be)

Be critical of direction of society

Critical thinking.

Analytical skills.

### Communication/Deliberation

Communicate

Understand

Ability to communicate.

Public talk (and listen) deliberatively -- talk is a political act.

Ability to articulate ideas and problems.

Ability to negotiate, mediate.

Ability to listen actively.

Time -- time for changes to occur, patience.

### Planning & Organizational skills

Organizational skills (2). How to get things done.

How to make decisions -- plan and implement.

Plan

Set agendas.

Be able to work with others toward common goals.

### Self-Placement and Reciprocity

Ability to put yourself in place of others, take another perspective.

Have disposition to reciprocity -- understanding situation of others individuals and groups; being able to come to agreement.

Where does one place oneself? This could break into levels: can one relate situations to "most appropriate" responses?; direct service; organizing a citizens' group; lobbying government, etc. Also where does one place oneself on different levels: local, national, policy, etc.

### Policy Understanding and Decision-making

Ability to anticipate consequences of policies.

Ability to judge issues in a public way (not what I think but what we think).

Identify issues relevant to self as well as public.

Participate in decision-making on problems/policies that affect their life conditions.

Seek information on problems/policies that affect their lives.

Evaluate information on problems/policies that affect their lives.

Attend public meetings/hearings to comment on "agendas" of a decision that affects them.

Do you think you can figure out ways to act to solve your problems? What ways are you likely to try? List options -- see leaders, organize others, etc.

Problem solving.

Do you think you can identify the sources of your problems -- e.g., your emotional state/ abilities? Your family? Your school or job? Your town or national government? The economic system?

Is it important to you to stop now and then, identify the problems in your life, and think about what's causing them?

### Other comments

Read the New York Times; distinguish fact from editorial comments.

Map social world.

Sense of ownership over the polity.

Respect

Tolerate

To buy into the dream (rights, education, home, etc).

Vote (2)

Contribute to society in order to enhance [society]

### Questions/Suggestions Raised

We seem to agree that there are barriers to participation -- perceived and actual.

Have we lowered the barriers to participation?

Know how to find out what you don't know?

## 2. Skills related to citizenship. Detailed critique and determination of nature of scales.

### Agency

Agency/initiative

Knowing how to get things done.

### Reciprocity

Disposition to reciprocity -- being able to understand the situation of others/other groups, identify, also not differences.

Ability to think about a problem from various ideological and strategic standpoints (disposition to reciprocity).

### Critical Thinking/Communication/Organizational Skills

Be critical of direction of society/government/or other institutions or communities.

Ability to plan, in cooperation with others, solutions to those problems: includes ability to argue about/debate those solutions.

Ability to define and explain in an articulate way the particular problem(s) s/he has.

Ability to formulate way to execute that plan, in cooperation with others.

### Other Comments

Service.

Identify shared goals for your community or institution.

Respect the rights of others.

Voting.

### 3. Participation in citizenship: What should a citizen do?

#### Agency

Deliberate and act.

We must allow for alternative channels of action; disaffection from traditional institutions (democratic forms of exit).

Take control of themselves (lead)

Have capacity and will to act on their self-interest in public.

Formulate and enact a role that transforms their "public" space -- a school, a country, a nation...

Contribute to the common good/problem solving: pay taxes; obey laws; organize to help solve local problems.

To help community to grow

Economic (e.g. firms) and social institutions (e.g. schools) -- participate with a view to directing them to fulfill the needs and shared goals of those belonging to them.

Neighborhoods, government -- participate in communities that are significant to them.

Habits of using power.

Look for ways to improve society or whatever community one belongs to.

#### Electoral Participation

Vote (3)

Run for office

Contribute to/work for the candidate of his or her choice.

#### Informed/Aware

Be aware

Pay attention to national and local affairs.

Read newspapers from different ideological perspectives.

#### Other Comments

To be productive

Respect others rights and differences.

#### Measurement Issues: Questions Suggested

What is the least responsibility of citizenship?

What would you consider active citizenship?

#### Questions/Suggestions Raised

Could they do nothing if they knew exactly how they would if they needed to, and felt absolutely confident of success if they had to? [I think there's a strain even in "good citizen" between good citizen and good citizen; the more you load up the capacity side, the more plausible that s/he could have the capacity unused.]

We need to be careful not to subsume the values of public mindedness to the skills a citizen needs to be effective.

3. Participation in citizenship. Detailed critique and determination of nature of scales.

Voting.

Accountability.

Could someone be a "good" citizen in the sense of having all the appropriate knowledge and skills, but be so disaffected that they didn't participate? Can you distinguish people like that from people who are merely ???

4. Span and depth of involvement in civic affairs: What kinds of activities should a citizen engage in and to what extent?

#### Levels of Participation

This measurement could include levels of participation.

Local, state, and national. Church, school, home and neighborhoods.

#### Activities/Actions

Protecting others rights.

Vote.

Sit on a condo board, a county board, a workplace/union committee.

Protest in parades or other actions.

Organize/participate in a study circle.

Organize a consciousness-raising group (for "social" issues, workplace or school problems).

#### Questions/Suggestions Raised

Different people have different styles of participation. There are a variety of ways of participating, depending on the person they may/will do it. I, e.g., organize "political" things at my university, go to protest marches, cultural events, but really don't do more than vote in electoral politics.

This is one of these things citizens do based on their choices. But in order to exercise this right they must have acted previously to ensure they have a choice.

Could is maybe a better word [than should].

Not 'good' and 'bad' citizens -- active or passive.

This should not remain normative; let's actually find out how people are involved: one year after intervention, three years after, 10 years after.

Prefer using case studies of public situations. Asking what could one do...? Gets at level of political "sophistication" in terms of ability to 'map' environment and understanding of agency. Another level is to ask respondents: what kinds of activities should a citizen engage in?

People act out of their self-interest, broadly interest as "self among others." I therefore think this question leads us down a path which has great capacity to mislead us. The answer here is "Zen" -- they should practice "right engagement." The goal, rather, is to have people see their self-interests as linked or interdependent.

4. Span and depth of involvement in civic affairs. Detailed critique and determination of nature of scales.

Exposure.

Understanding your own power in the political process.

What activities do you participate in beyond your family life? What do you see as your role in this activity?

5. Political/Philosophical orientation: Which of the various models of government/citizenship does this person subscribe to?

Liberty/Freedom/Justice/Equality

Liberties, self-development.

Freedom, justice (equal rights and equal opportunity), democracy--participation.

Commitment to equal opportunity.

Commitment to inclusion.

Tolerance of diversity.

Vision of 'just' society.

Disposition to reciprocity.

Measurement Issues: Questions Suggested

What is a good citizen's most important responsibility? To work hard and support himself or herself and family? To vote? To pay taxes? To speak out about social problems? Do community service? Get involved in politics?

What should the criteria be for becoming citizens?

Do individuals have obligations to their communities? Which obligations are the most important -- to family? church? neighborhood? ethnic group or race? town? state? nation?

Should men and women play different roles in politics? If so, what are the differences?

Are people from some cultures better suited to be American citizens than others? If so, what cultures?

Questions/Suggestions Raised

Perhaps a combination of all the models. Should there be a proscription it should be based on the individuals' choices.

We should gauge attitudes toward public involvement -- affective notions of "enfranchisement."

This could be one of those indirect measures.

Who cares, really? What they need to know to act effectively is this government, within this polity, there is the latitude to act on different models of citizenship (ie. one can be more "active" or "passive").

Do most people subscribe to a model or to two or more that they appeal to selectively for different purposes? One might guess that a strongly participant person would be reluctant to accept the decisions of a majority vote or a representative, but it's only a guess, and s/he might easily split reactions -- being heavily participant locally or at work, but "liberal" in Ben's sense nationally.

5. Political/Philosophical orientation. Detailed critique and determination of nature of scales.

Measurement Issues: Questions Suggested

How do you think decisions are made in your community? How should they be made? What changes should make this happen?

Questions/Suggestions Raised

Here I want to underscore Alan's point that it may be very difficult to get agreement on these general values, visions, orientations. It is often easier to get agreement on a response to a particular problem among people who do not share a "global" orientation and among whom debates about larger world philosophy would be divisive and preclude coalitions around specific issues. Again, to recall Arendt -- citizens act on specific problems/events. Ideologues and totalitarians try to achieve a world-historical plan.

6. Societal orientation and conviction: What does this person see as a desirable society and what is his/her commitment to realizing that society?

Agency

Willingness to act -- utilizing agency.

Reciprocity

Willingness to conceive of how one's personal actions will impact on others, acting in a way and making decisions based on not one's personal gains but on one's views of a better society for all.

Notion of common good. How personal decisions affect others, a social orientation.

Justice/Rights/Equality

Tolerance, respect for diversity.

Notions of justice. What is your vision of a just society?

Notions of fairness/entitlement.

Rights

Right to seek the American Dream.

Is committed to enhancing freedom for all.

Societal Interest vs. Self Interest

Individuals right to choose but my preference is for some kind of humanistic compassionate society.

Societal orientation/identification vs. self-interest.

Level of enlightened self-interest: 1) involvement/interest in "backyard" problems; 2) to national issues that seemingly have little obvious impact upon one's day-to-day life; 3) willingness to give up -- (money, taxes, time, etc) to achieve what one thinks is good.

Other Comments

Education

Investment in the polity -- what level of the polity?

Attitudes towards political life.

Measurement Issues: Questions Suggested

Would you prefer to see the U.S. as primarily a nation of English speakers, or many languages?

Would you prefer to see the U.S. as primarily a nation of people of color, or primarily white? or Don't Care?

Would you prefer to see the U.S. as a society in which men and women do child-rearing and homemaking equally, or on in which women can have jobs outside the home, but are primarily mothers and homemakers?

Would you prefer to see U.S. as a society in which all are prosperous? In which all participate in government?

How important is it to you to have racially and ethnically integrated schools? legislatures? workplaces? neighborhoods? families?

Questions/Suggestions Raised

I see this issue a little differently. Perhaps we should address our diversity upfront... "Given a diverse society like America how do you see this society working for citizens?"

Irrelevant. I do think people need to be able to state the problems they think they see in a society and that this skill is often informed by an ideology/philosophy of society. but I think many people (in the U.S.) might not put forward a statement of their ideology or might not view their social orientation in those terms. I suppose (in response to the points raised in the session) I am assuming this person has a fundamental commitment to liberal democracy, so that Hitler does not end up looking like a good citizen.

Can you control this so that "desirable" doesn't mean utopian -- so that s/he could sensibly say it's not up to him or her to do it?

6. **Societal orientation/conviction.** Detailed critique and determination of nature of scales.

What responsibility do you feel that citizens have for each other?

What are the strengths and weaknesses for how we live?

Interaction of all cultures.

Return to the community in service -- given back.

Taking part in the political process.

7. **Expectations and responsibilities concerning government:** What does this person see as his/her responsibility toward society and what does he/she expect to get out of it?

Rights

In order to protect the rights of citizenship. What responsibilities do citizens have?

Rights, obligations.

Open-ended questions -- "What rights do you have as a citizen?"

To have their rights and life style respected.

Respect for others (cultures, life styles, etc).

Other Comments

To serve their community, state, nation.

Government has a role to moderate and coordinate social activities for the general and individual good respectively.

To buy into the [American] dream.

Questions/Suggestions Raised

This would be an interesting question to put on a citizenship measure. It would help elicit their understanding of politics, their political philosophy (so to speak). I do not think there is a norm regarding what a citizen should think about this and hence I do not think it can be measured. I do, however, think the question itself is a useful measure.

I don't know under what categories these go, but I believe a citizen should understand their place in the society and their ability and responsibility to act and make a difference. They need to be prepared to do so and feel connected and a part. They should understand how their personal/private interests interact, conflict, impact on public interest. They should be open to others and sensitive to others and willing to see other options and alternatives.

7. Expectations and responsibilities concerning government. Detailed critique and determination of nature of scales.

Fairness

To serve all people.

To assist society to understand itself.

Should government work for everyone?

- 8.-12. Other Reactions to Measurement Issues.

Measurement Issues: Questions Suggested

What was government intended to do? What does it do?

How do you decide on public issues that effect you?

When faced with an issue that affects your school or community who do you talk with about it?

What is your relationship as a citizen to others in your community?

When faced with a tough unpredictable problem are you willing to take an action toward a solution?

Do you watch the news?

Questions/Suggestions Raised

What is missing is some sort of personality measure, motivation to act, political efficacy -- belief that you can make a difference.

Outcomes of actions: What did their action(s) achieve? Most of the measures you have here address individual learning/development. While this is important, it is also important to see an outcome. The active citizen/enfranchised citizen needs to do something.

As you develop broad and sharply defined measures, I believe it would indeed be useful to meet with various groups -- e.g., the military, the Peace Corps, Conservation

Corps, IAF -- and explore the citizenship and stewardship potentials of experiences in such groups. The representatives of these groups will react too your citizenship measures and you will react to their descriptions of outcomes and potentials. That takes your measuring instrument to the next level. Then you test the instrument and compare it with parallel instruments that emerge from other ?? interactions.

**Section C:**  
**1993 Working Group Documents**

**Contents:**

- Participant List for November 7-9, 1992 Working Group Meeting
- Working Group Report: "The Civic Skills Assessment: A Critical Examination"

**Walt Whitman Center and Surdna Foundation, Inc.**

**Participant List**

**The Civic Skills Test: A Critical Examination**

**November 7, 1993 to November 9, 1993**

**The Working Group:**

Ms. Janice Ballou; Director, Center for Public Interest Polling, Eagleton Institute,  
Rutgers University

Prof. Benjamin R. Barber; Director, Walt Whitman Center,  
Rutgers University

Prof. Richard Battistoni; Director, Citizenship and Service Education, Rutgers  
University

Mr. Michael Brown; Co-Director, Boston City Year

Mr. Keith Canty; Director, D.C. Service Corps

Mr. Edgar F. Beckham; Program Officer, Education and Culture,  
Ford Foundation

Prof. Pamela Conover; Department of Political Science, University of North  
Carolina, Chapel Hill

Mr. Ernesto Cortes, Jr.; Director, Texas Industrial Areas Foundation

Mr. John Dedrick; Project Director, Walt Whitman Center,  
Rutgers University

Prof. Janet Eyler; Department of Human Services, Vanderbilt University

Ms. Erin Flannery; Evaluation, Public Allies

Dr. Martin Friedman; Office of Special and Interagency Programs,  
New Jersey Department of Higher Education

Ms. Kiran Handa; Governor's Office of Voluntarism, State of New Jersey

Prof. Jane Junn; Department of Political Science, Rutgers University

Ms. Vanessa Kirsch; Executive Director, Public Allies

Mr. Goodwin Liu; Program Officer, Corporation for National and Community  
Service

**The Civic Skills Test: A Critical Examination  
Participant List Continued  
November 7, 1993 to November 9, 1993**

Prof. Brenda Loyd; Curry School of Education, University of Virginia

Mr. Keith Morton; Project Director for Integrating Service with Academic Study,  
Campus Compact

Mr. Jim Mustachia; Economic Development Amelior Foundation

Dr. Beate Schiwiek; Vice President, Felician College

Prof. Donald Searing; Department of Political Science, University of North  
Carolina, Chapel Hill

Mr. Edward Skloot; Executive Director, Surdna Foundation, Inc.

Prof. Jeffrey Smith; Department of Educational Psychology,  
Rutgers University

Prof. Manfred Stanley; Maxwell School, Syracuse University

Prof. Mary Stanley; Maxwell School, Syracuse University

Dr. Tim Stanton; Director, Hass Center for Public Service,  
Stanford University

Ms. Mary Strong; Chair, Citizens' Committee on Biomedical Ethics

Ms. Trish Thompson; Corporation for National and Community Service

Ms. Deborah Visser; Program Officer for Community Revitalization,  
Surdna Foundation; Inc.

Prof. Linda Zerilli; Associate Director, Walt Whitman Center,  
Rutgers University

**Walt Whitman Center Staff:**

Mr. Mark Brown, Mr. Michael Cripps, Mr. J. Crosson, Ms. Kim Downing,  
Dr. Doug Emery, Ms. Barbara Fitzgerald, Ms. Erika Gabrielsen,  
Mr. David Gutterman, Mr. Scott McLean, Ms. Claire Snyder and Mr. Greg Vafis

**Civic Skills Assessment: A Critical Examination  
Working Group Summary Report  
November 7 to 9, 1993**

**Walt Whitman Center for the Culture  
and Politics of Democracy**

**Introduction:**

From November 7 to 9, 1993, the Walt Whitman Center hosted the second of two working conferences convened to produce a civic skills assessment instrument.\* The working group meetings are a central component of a collaboration by the Whitman Center and The Surdna Foundation, Inc. with additional support from The Markle Foundation designed to produce a civic skills assessment instrument that will be useful for measuring civic attitudes and behaviors within the context of a wide variety of civic experiences including education-based service learning programs and service corps. With most participants attending both meeting, the two conferences brought together in total 46 scholars, community activists and representatives from foundations and government to assist in the development of a civic skills assessment (Participant Lists Attached).

The members of the working group were charged with the task of developing and clarifying empirically testable concepts of community, service, learning, and democratic citizenship that were to be incorporated into the civic skills assessment. The first working group meeting held from November 22 to 24, 1992, brought together 31 representatives from universities, community

---

\*Special thanks to Mark Brown, Michael Cripps, J. Crosson, Kim Downing, Doug Emery, Erika Gabrielsen, David Gutterman, Claire Snyder and Greg Vafis for the many important contributions they made to the 1993 working group.

organizations, and foundations to focus on this critical task. At the working group's second meeting, several new members with special skills in the areas of measurement and in running community based service organizations joined the group for two days of intensive analysis and criticism focused principally on the first working draft of the Center's civic skills assessment.

As a result of the systematic constructive criticisms voiced at the second meeting, the Whitman Center's Measurement team is thoroughly revising the civic skills assessment instrument to enhance its usefulness for the assessment of civic education and other service based citizenship experiences. The Center's Measurement team, led by Prof. Jeff Smith (Department of Educational Psychology, Rutgers University), intends to complete the revision process by June 1994. The Center is interested in collaborating with other organizations to field test the civic skills assessment in 1994 and 1995.

### **The Conference Process:**

This collaborative project had the practical goal of producing a working civic skills assessment instrument and has succeeded in doing so. The Whitman Center's planning process for the second meeting was driven by the results oriented character of the project. We were particularly anxious to bring together not only theorists and skilled social science research specialists but also the service learning and community organization leaders whose constituencies are those who may benefit from using the civic skills assessment. The 29 participants who attended the second meeting engaged in an exchange that included the theoretical and technical concerns of the measurement specialists and political theorists as well as the pedagogical and

civic concerns of the practitioners, allowing us to focus both on the constraints imposed by objective measuring and the demands of the subject to be measured -- in this case, the rich kind of citizenship associated with service learning and other local civic practices.

In preparation for the second working group meeting, the Whitman Center's Measurement team (Janice Ballou, Director, Center for Public Interest Polling, Eagleton Institute, Benjamin R. Barber, Director Walt Whitman Center John Dedrick, Project Director, Brenda Loyd, Curry School of Education, University of Virginia and Jeff Smith) developed and pre-tested three versions of the civic skills assessment tool. The audiences pre-tested included an introductory political science course at Rutgers University and the volunteers enrolled in the Newark Summer of Service Program. Each of these preliminary assessments took the form of close-ended questions designed to tap attitudes and behaviors which the team believed might constitute civic skills for democratic citizenship of both traditional pluralist (Madisonian) and participatory (Jeffersonian) types. The Measurement team collated findings from the three assessments in a workbook that was given to conference participants. The results were helpful in assessing the usefulness of the measures developed by the team.

The conference sessions were organized around the presentation of this working document. The aim was to encourage a constructive dialogue between the measurement experts and community leaders about the conceptual and measurement strategy developed by the measurement team. Following a technical presentation of the items along with some of the assessment results and their apparent implications for the validity and reliability (or not) of the

instrument, the floor was open to extended critical discussion from the theorists (including Benjamin R. Barber, Pamela Conover, Richard Battistoni, Donald Searing, Manfred Stanley, Mary Stanley, and Linda Zerilli,) service learning and community leaders (including Michael Brown, Keith Canty, Ernesto Cortes, Jr., Vanessa Kirsch, Goodwin Liu, Keith Morton, Beate Schewick Mary Strong and Tim Stanton) and representatives from foundations and government (including Edgar Beckham, Martin Friedman, Kirin Handa, Jim Mustaachia, Trish Thompson, Edward Skloot, and Deborah Visser).

**Monday, November 7, 1993:**

Benjamin Barber chaired the meetings. He introduced the sessions by way of a cautionary story about a man who after a long unsuccessful search for his lost wallet was asked whether he was sure he had lost it where he was looking and who replied, "No. I lost it on the other side of the street, but the light was better here." Barber charged the group with the difficult task of producing a conversation that would not only enable those who might eventually use the assessment instrument to understand the constraints imposed by social science methodology on those designing it (who tended to work where the light was brightest!), but also one that would enable the testers to understand the normative aims and pedagogical ends of those for whom the assessment was being designed. The dilemma for the group was how to be sure that the assessment does not represent what is a workable methodology for the testers but one that largely is irrelevant to the concerns of those who were looking for the wallet (the community leaders).

This dilemma turned out to be defining of the first day's discussion in which the leadership of community and service learning organizations again and again alluded to the normative character of their work, which challenged conventional paradigms of politics, the ways in which their constituents were likely to reject the very notion of conventional citizenship being put forward implicitly in the instrument and generally expressing a deep dissatisfaction with both the conceptual clarity and programmatic applicability of the assessment as developed to that point.

- Participants questioned the general applicability the assessment as initially drafted to their program needs. Keith Canty, Director D. C. Service Corps, gave voice to this thread of criticism when he reported to the working group that he had shared the preliminary assessment with his staff. According to Canty: "I took the questionnaire to my staff to get some discussion from them and they were very angry about it. They felt that I had wasted their time... They felt that either the document was extremely irrelevant or was extremely dangerous in doing no more than validating the status quo. This was because they felt that it had no application to what citizens did in their world and what they really needed to be valued productive members of the community".
- Several members (including Ernesto Cortes , Director, Texas Industrial Area Foundation, and Edward Skloot Executive Director, Surdna Foundation, Inc.) expressed concern that the assessment focused too much on attitudes and self-reports rather than on an actual account of civic behaviors. For instance, Cortes remarked that the instrument

asks people if they think of themselves as leaders rather than demonstrates if they actually are leaders.

- Still others (including Manfred Stanley, Professor of Sociology, Maxwell School, Syracuse University and Linda Zerilli, Associate Director, Whitman Center) questioned the utility of the assessment on the grounds that it did not account for the effects of the social contexts in which it would be used.

The afternoon session of the first day opened with a presentation by the Whitman Center's Measurement team that was designed to respond to criticisms raised in the morning. The Whitman Center Measurement team was sympathetic to the practitioners concerns, and responded by trying to more fully include the practitioners in dialogue about civic skills assessment as it had evolved at Rutgers since the group's last meeting. Janice Ballou and John Dedrick recounted many of the theoretical and practical issues the Measurement Team encountered in their attempt to develop a civic skills assessment tool that was conceptually inclusive enough to be valid, methodologically reliable, and still brief enough to be generally useful. This presentation by the Measurement team was followed by a fruitful afternoon session in which the group worked together to try to find ways to meet the demands for validity, reliability, and believability in social scientific research with the normative and pedagogical concerns of community leaders. By the end of the first day of critical debate, there was not a consensus within the group about how to best accomplish this goal, but there was tangible progress. The Measurement team understood better the insufficiencies of their pilot instrument with respect to the needs of the communities in which it was likely

to be used. The community leaders understood better major constraints operating on those who design replicable, objective skills assessments of any kind. Still, there was no agreement on how the assessment might be successfully modified to maintain standards and at the same time meet the imperatives outlined by the community representatives.

To conclude the first day, the Whitman Center asked a number of the community and service learning program leaders to comment on the project. Their remarks are suggestive of the progress the group made over the first day's meetings.

- Keith Canty, Ernesto Cortes, and Goodwin Liu (Program Officer, Corporation for National and Community Service) each suggested that the project needs to address more explicitly an overt normative model of good citizenship. As Liu and Canty argued, the use of such an assessment drives larger considerations about the content of good citizenship. Community leaders and teachers may design service learning programs geared to the assessment. They will teach to the test.
- Richard Battistoni (Director, Rutgers Citizenship and Service Education) suggested that qualitative evaluation strategies provide the best information for leaders running citizenship programs. Nevertheless, he argued that quantitative assessments need to be used. For Battistoni, this project is valuable because it is considerably more sophisticated than the current voter registration question used to assess civic outcomes.

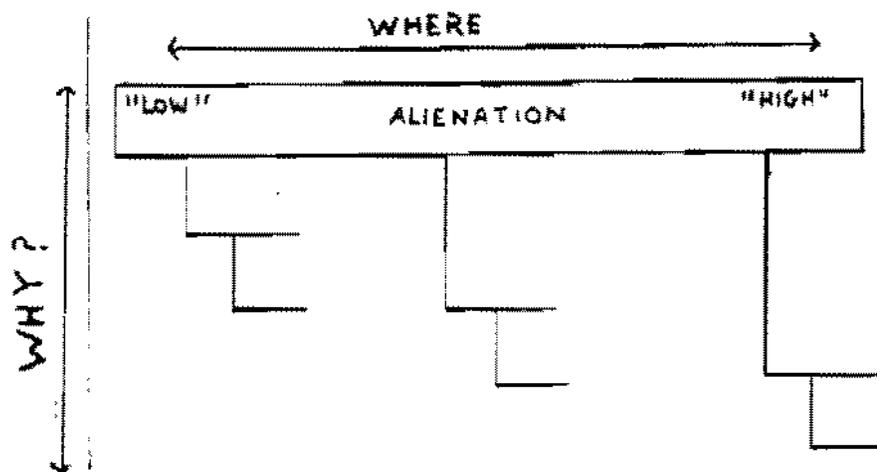
- Edgar Beckham (Program Officer, Education and Culture, Ford Foundation) told the group that there is considerable skepticism within philanthropic foundations about the viability of quantitatively measuring citizenship. Still, he argued, this kind of project is important because it furthers discourse about the nature and assessment of citizenship education programs.
- Michael Brown (Co-Director, Boston City Year) discussed the problem of recovering public space in American society. He encouraged the group to think about developing questions that would help to capture paths to good citizenship. He asked whether the instrument was designed primarily to assess learners or to assess programs.

### **Tuesday, November 8, 1993:**

On the morning of the second day, following an extended and relaxed evening of informal exchange and leisurely discussions, which as sometimes happens, were even more productive than the formal debate preceding them, the conferees engaged in what turned out to be a breakthrough session. The nub of the first day's debate turned on whether objective assessments could really investigate important "why" questions: not just does someone register as "tolerant" on a scale, but why? Not just whether someone votes or not, but why? Apathy? Anger? A sense of Powerlessness? Not just where someone scores on traditional alienation questions, but again why? The measurement team was well aware of the problem. Smith pointed out that answers to many of the important "why" questions could be answered through a more complex

assessment instrument, but such an instrument would be more useful for research purposes than civic assessment. Is not the aim, he asked, to identify a range of civic attitudes and behaviors and develop measures that capture where an individual is at a given point-in-time on those measures? Explaining why an individual is where he/she is on the scales is another task and challenges the limits of a self-administered assessment. Yet, replied others, it is answers to why questions that permit us to discriminate between different kinds of citizenship and get at the important normative characteristics of good citizenship.

Towards the end of the early morning session, Dr. Jeff Smith, with his strong capacity to visualize methodologies, devised an ingenious solution to help broaden the usefulness of the civic skills assessment for research purposes without forgoing the primary task of developing a set of valid, reliable, and believable scales which capture central civic attitudes and behaviors. Using an "alienated - integrated" spectrum to identify the "where" question, he demonstrated by using a pictorial equivalent of formal grammatical parsing how follow up deepening "why" questions might be folded into more conventional "where" questions.



Thus, we might still have a scale in which alienation was measured in conventional ways, but it could also be a scale that could be parsed and thus modified by follow-up questions which could establish whether alienation was the result of complacency, indifference, a sense of victimhood, or rage of a kind that might energize politics.

This in turn would make it possible to reinterpret data about alienation in more complex ways that addressed the concerns of educators, trainers and community organizers. For example, young people engaged in service might well initially register as "more alienated" than they were before their service began as a consequence of growth in their sensitivity and political perception -- actually a positive result of service which evaluators would hope to measure. An assessment instrument that cannot capture the meaning of this temporary "backslide," which actually is a form of pedagogical progress, would miss the meaning of what it was measuring. Similarly, someone self-reporting on a tolerance scale might well acquire greater honesty about some of their prejudices as a result of service learning and report out as "more intolerant" on a simple tolerance scale. Again, the training would seem to have "failed" when in fact it had succeeded in creating more self-critical honesty -- a first step on the way to challenging and overcoming real prejudice. Only with questions that parse "where" (simple scale) questions as more complex "why" questions, can such "developmental" features of civic learning be captured. If Smith's breakthrough method can be implemented, we may yet develop an instrument that gets below the veneer of conventional definitions and in effect permits those taking the assessment to offer their own insights and explanations about their objective behavior as determined by the assessment. This gives to the assessment a strong normative flavor and enables those who wish to use it to

challenge conventionalist notions of political behavior. At the same time, by retaining the first level of conventional measures (where measures) it provides a first stream of data fully compatible with and comparable with existing social science data sets. All of Tuesday's participants sensed the importance of this breakthrough.

Tuesday's discussions also resulted in additional important conceptual developments that will need to be carefully considered and judiciously integrated into the assessment.

- Deborah Visser (Program Officer for Community Revitalization, Surdna Foundation, Inc.), Erin Flannery (Evaluations, Public Allies), and Keith Morton (Campus Compact) each pushed the group to consider further the relationship between mentoring and democratic citizenship.
- Keith Canty, Manfred Stanley, and Mary Stanley (Professor of Public Affairs, Maxwell School, Syracuse University) discussed the importance of developing measures of agency.
- Benjamin Barber and Donald Searing (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill) struggled with ways the assessment could include measures of deliberation.

**Next Steps:**

The Whitman Center based Measurement Team came away from this second working conference excited, energized, and committed to trying to develop a revision of the civic skills assessment instrument that was consonant with Tuesday morning's breakthrough discussion-- a discussion that emerged from Monday's highly productive "muddle" and opened everything to critical examination. Our aim will be to design and then to test a version of the assessment which responds particularly to the concerns and outcomes of the conferences. The first post-working group revision will be developed primarily for research purposes. We hope that a second post working group revision of the civic skills assessment instrument designed principally for assessment purposes will be available by June 1994. Many representatives from community and service organizations at the conference generously offered to test the instrument in its new form with their constituencies. Following completion of the revision we will move to test it on learners from as many different groups as our project budget permits. Following further revision and testing we intend to create what we hope will be a beta version of the assessment which will be ready in the fall of 1994 to begin a large scale norming study.

**Section D:**  
**Working Papers**

**Contents:**

- Benjamin R. Barber, "Democratic Concepts: Some Preliminary Clarifications"
- Alan Ryan, "Higher Education and Citizenship: An Individualist Perspective"
- Rogers Smith, "American Conceptions of Citizenship and the Problem of Civic Education"
- Walt Whitman Center, "Measuring Citizenship: Who? What? Where? When? and Why?"

DEMOCRATIC CONCEPTS: SOME PRELIMINARY CLARIFICATIONSBenjamin R. Barber

In preparing for our discussions on November 22-24, I thought it might be useful to set down a few general comments about our conceptual vocabulary. Since part of our task is to try to clarify how we talk about democracy, community, citizenship and service, I offer the following under the heading "preliminary clarifications" -- although I realize that a better title might be "preliminary obfuscations"! But sometimes, muddying the water is the first step towards eventual clarity.

Democracy, community, citizenship, civic responsibility, duty and service, along with many other political concepts in democracy's lexicon, are normative rather than empirical. That is, there is fundamental disagreement about their meaning, which will vary in ways determined by the changing nature of the particular theories and paradigms of politics with which they are associated. In the language of philosophers, they are "essentially contestable."

Consequently, there can be no cloture on the debate over the meaning of democracy -- no fixed definitions, no unchanging descriptions, no absolute consensus. Conceptual clarification is thus very much a second order activity in this domain. In fact, the only thing we can say with certainty about democracy is that is, among other things, an ongoing debate about the meaning and boundaries of democracy!

Nevertheless, there are some approaches to the language of democracy that offer more persuasive and more coherent understandings than others. And for those actively engaged in the practices of citizenship, democracy and community service, there is a need for clarity, even though it may be constrained by a lack of agreement on fundamentals. Perhaps the most important feature of the language of democracy is the way in which related terms change in accordance with underlying paradigms. Thus, there may be one understanding of duty, right, citizenship and community that accompanies the paradigm of representative democracy, and another understanding appropriate to the paradigm of strong democracy. Their differences cannot be argued independently of the models of democracy with which they are associated. Participation may be a "good" in a strong democratic system where active citizenship defines effective democracy and, as Samuel Huntington suggested in the 1970's, an "evil" in a representative system seeking to avoid "democratic overload." To speak of participation in the abstract is not very helpful here.

Thus, the first step in clarifying the language of democracy (and measuring it as well) is to try to capture several distinctive models of democracy which are conceptually discrete but also descriptive of obviously different kinds of actual democratic systems or democratic ideologies. In an earlier study, Strong Democracy, I distinguished three kinds of representative democracy, (authoritative, juridical and pluralist), and two kinds of direct democracy -- unitary democracy and participatory or "strong democracy." The differences are suggested in the following graph:

FIGURE 1. *Democratic Regimes (Ideal Types)*

Regime Form	Political Mode	Value	Institutional Bias	Citizen Posture	Government Posture	"Independent Ground" Diagnosed as
<b>Representative Democracy</b>						
Authoritative	authority (power/wisdom)	order	executive	deferential unified	centralized active	noblesse oblige wisdom
Judicial	arbitration and adjudication	right	judicial	deferential fragmented	centralized limited	natural right higher law
Pluralist	bargaining and exchange	liberty	legislative	active fragmented	decentralized active	invisible hand natural equality market rules
<b>Direct Democracy</b>						
Unitary	consensus	unity	symbolic	active unified	centralized active	the collective the general will
Strong	participation	activity	populist	active centralizing	decentralizing active	(no independent ground)

Without trying to rehearse the arguments by which these distinctions are made (if interested, please consult chapter 7 ["A Conceptual Frame", pp. 139-162] of Strong Democracy, University of California Press, 1984), I want here to simplify a little. For our purposes, I would propose distinguishing four models: representative (without the subtypes), unitary, strong and -- adding a fourth -- "deliberative." By deliberative democracy I have in mind a model which focuses on the character of the interaction leading to public judgment in a citizenry. Please notice that while these four models can be conceptually distinguished, elements from each may be found in any particular regime. Moreover, relationships between them are themselves the product a various theories. For example, Madisonian proponents of representative democracy may argue that experienced elected representatives are more likely to render deliberative judgments than ordinary people participating in a strong democratic referendum. Or that strong democracy inevitably becomes demagogic and thus comes to resemble "unitary" democracy at its worse. Participatory democrats may argue that most modern democratic systems involve important elements of popular participation -- whether in jury service, state referenda, or local

neighborhood politics -- and may insist strong democracy is less subject to corruption and thus more deliberative and prudent than representative democracy.

In another words, our four models entail overlapping practices, and are unlikely to be found in their pure form anywhere. On the other hand, there are four types of citizen -- four varieties of citizen behavior -- that accord with the models. Specifying those citizen types may help clarify the differences between the four models. Let us imagine four citizens: James M., a typical proponent of representative democracy; Tom J., a strong democrat; Hannah A., a deliberative citizen; and Pat B., a believer in democracy as a consensual and closed club. Here they are:

James M.: James takes pride in his country, and votes regularly in primaries as well as general elections. When upset, he will write his Congressman, and has been known to stuff envelopes for a candidate he particularly likes. He professes a willingness to do jury duty, although in practice he has had a good excuse not to serve every time he has been called, and he says with real convictions that he thinks it is his job to elect good governors and then let them govern. Indeed, he worries that too much participation will only impassion the political process and prevent politicians from doing their job. That is to say, he thinks everyone should vote but that too much "civic activity" may be bad for good government. For him, politics floats above the "community" and helps regulate it. Communities are outside of the political domain, the seat of inevitable conflicts (which he doesn't object to) that tend to get brokered ("log-rolled" he says) by government.

Tom J: Tom thinks that democracy has to mean more than voting for those who govern him (he recalls that a founder once called that "elective aristocracy"), and he likes to get involved in "self-government," which he insists means governing himself (in concert with others.) He is a member of his neighborhood association, chairs his daughter's highschool PTA, and has testified at hearings in his state about introducing a legislative initiative and referendum process. He can sound cynical about national politics and failed to vote in the 1984 Presidential election, but is genuinely enthusiastic about his own community and the possibilities of making a difference locally. Thus, for Tom, politics is all about community -- how women and men govern the communities they belong to in common, how they discover the common ground on which their communities are based. Tom doesn't fear conflict, but thinks participatory politics are a good way to both deal with and (occasionally) get beyond conflict.

Hannah A.: Hannah refuses to respond to pollsters ("They never ask me what I think as a citizen, only what I want as

a private individual and they get citizens self-consciously second-guessing themselves by constantly mirroring what it is they are supposedly thinking!") and insists on talking about everything before voting. She drives local politicians wild by calling and writing and arguing through every issue on the public agenda, and has told her teenage children that is better not to vote at all than to vote without thinking. She likes to say that citizens are private individuals who have learned to think publicly, and she works hard at being a citizen in exactly that way. For her, the political community is the ONLY community worth talking about; it includes only those willing to commit themselves to political talk and deliberation. The rest are, by choice, followers and in a certain sense don't belong to the political community. Hannah has no wish to increase voter turnout, which, she is certain, will only have the effect of decreasing deliberation.

Pat B.: Pat is a Catholic and a union man, and believes that democracy means voting his identity. Even in the Reagan years, he stayed with the Democrats, because it was "his" party, and he is impatient with the new wave of Latin-American and Asian immigrants coming ashore in the Nineties. Although his own great grandparents were nearly barred from coming to America by Nineteenth Century Protestant Know-Nothings who thought Catholics would destroy the fragile unitary identity of the nation, he now believes America is an exclusive club of people with values just like his own. Consequently, he thinks Latin and Asian Americans are likely to destroy the fragile unitary identity of the nation. He sees himself as a democrat, by which he means that his people. Pat doesn't like conflict and thinks democracy ought to be about achieving a consensus, and that those who don't fit don't belong in America. Democracy is less about voting than about fundamental agreement on fundamental values like family values.

Now if we think of these four different citizen types, we can see that any attempt either to stipulate a single understanding of citizenship, or assess what is to count as a civic skill or an "effective" democratic citizen, will depend which type we have in mind. Depending on whether we are looking for a sound representative system citizen or a strong democrat, we can imagine very different sets of questions being asked. For example, cognitive skills, what one needs to know to be a citizen, differs considerably across models. Representative democrats may need to understand character issues, and certainly have to know how the forms of representative government work; strong democrats, on the other hand, may require extensive knowledge of issues and policies. The attitudes proper to a representative democrat (a sense of responsibility associated with accountability but a willingness to defer to

elected rulers) will differ from those proper to a strong democrat (an insistence on taking responsibility directly for policy-making, a willingness to be permanently involved in politics locally).

Finally, any attempt to fathom other key issues on our agenda -- community service, for example -- can be seen to depend on how we construe democracy itself. The representative democrat for whom governing is an activity of representatives and who sees service as an aspect of the private sector, may emphasize charity, helping others, and feeling good, whereas the strong democrat will focus on service as an extension of basic responsibility for self-government, and give service a much more political meaning.

These remarks are not meant to restrict our discussion of key concepts and their relationships. Rather, they are intended to give some sense of the complexity of our tasks, and the RELATIONAL nature of the key terms. Finally, they are intended to invite debate and controversy, since they show, above all, that there are no fixed definitions and there can be no cloture by experts or others on the debate about the meaning of democracy, community, citizenship and service.

*Higher Education and Citizenship: An Individualist Perspective*  
Alan Ryan

*Disclaimers*

Without wishing to sound too complaining a note, I ought to say that I write in an "individualist" mode largely because Ben Barber suggested I ought. My own inclination, faced with a topic like this, would have been to reach for T.H. Green and the young John Dewey, to both of whom a conception of citizenship came naturally that they felt able to promote to the young men - I say "men" advisedly, because this was a long time ago, and both of them taught at non-coeducational institutions - to whom they taught philosophy and its history. Indeed, so little am I persuaded that there is any serious difference between an intelligible individualism and an intelligible communitarianism on this issue that I shall surely end by reaching for them anyway... But I want to begin by playing my role in the drama scripted by Professor Barber. I have little surprising or novel to say, but things I take for granted may surprise my interlocutors, and even if they are merely startled by me, I learn a good deal from them. If that's true on this occasion, you will have earned my thanks, though I am not sure I shall have earned yours.

Before I start, I ought to say that I am gloomily conscious that I say nothing at all about what might feature in the curriculum of programmes of civic education - as the mention of Green and Dewey suggests, I would wish to say something, and I hope that in the final paper I shall - and if possible even less about the measurement of citizenship. My memory of such matters now runs back to Almond and Verba's *The Civic Culture* of 1965, and the enormous difficulties its authors encountered in assessing such things as citizen and subject competence, pride in government, and so on. It is plainly of some importance to be able to assess the "value added" of whatever education we give our students - I suspect that we rarely try to do it because it will reveal some exceedingly alarming truths about how *little* value our highest prestige institutions add - but in this realm I have very little idea how one would even begin. It is surely much harder than in any area where there are relatively uncontroversial tests of performance to be administered.

*The social contract: one more version*

It is often said - at least, Professor Etzioni often says it, and Professor Barber says it in his introduction, to take two people whose views I respect - that we live in a culture that goes on a great deal about rights and goes on much less about obligations. Now this can't literally be true. If it goes on about rights at all, it must go on about obligations at least to the same degree; your rights are my obligations, my rights are your obligations.

Your right to walk down the street unmolested is my obligation to leave you unhindered as you walk down the street. What is it that they mean? Two things rather than one, perhaps. Partly, I think, that people reach too quickly for the language of rights when they ought to use a less peremptory moral vocabulary. That is, I may say that I have a right to a job when what I mean is that it is a waste of my talents to leave me unemployed; nobody in particular has the sort of obligation to hire me that everyone has to refrain from assaulting me or abusing me, and I may not really think that any person or institution has the sort of non-optional duty that rights impose. It may be that I say I have a right only as an emphatic way of saying that I really, truly, and importantly ought (in some sense) to have a job. But this first complaint runs in two possible directions; one is to say that excessive use of the language of rights just debases the currency. If we start talking of our rights whenever there is something we think ought to happen, everyone else will start shouting about their rights in just the same way, and there will be no way of knowing which claims should be given priority.

The moral is that we should use the word right only when we have given some thought to the question of just who or what institution is going to meet the corresponding obligations. If we can't tell a coherent story about that, we must back off from claiming a right strictly speaking. The other direction it runs in leads to the second complaint, the one that I think is more nearly at the heart of the view that there has been too much talk about rights and not enough about obligations. It isn't a complaint that can be defeated by the retort that talk about one just is talk about the other, since it is the complaint that each of us has become too willing to claim our rights, and not willing enough to meet our obligations. It isn't that I am unwilling to talk about obligations when it's your obligations to me, but that I am unwilling to talk about obligations when I have to acknowledge my obligations to you. My rights and your obligations come trippingly off my tongue; your rights and my obligations do not.

But what is the proper relationship between my rights and my obligations? The relationship between your rights and my obligations is a matter of logic; to say that you have a right just is to say that somebody or other has an obligation - the ten dollars I owe you is what you have a right to have repaid and what I have an obligation to repay. The relationship between my rights and my obligations is something entirely different. I could without apparent contradiction wish to have all my rights met and wish to meet none of my obligations - the banker would like all his debtors to pay up and all his creditors to shut up; whether I could without contradiction propose this as a moral principle is another kettle of fish, and one I shan't examine closely since it has been dis-

cussed so often.<sup>1</sup> But if there is no logical contradiction in *wishing* to enjoy a large number of rights and meet a small number of obligations, it is clear that human society is impossible if everyone tries to live on the basis of insisting on their rights and ratting on their obligations, and that nobody will voluntarily cooperate with persons whom they suspect of intending to try it.

It is equally clear that one aspect of the fears that Amitai Etzioni and his collaborators have recently voiced is that we have inadvertently been creating a society that is approaching the condition that I have just said is socially impossible, that we are undermining the basis of our own social existence. I am myself not persuaded that we are in general very far along that slippery slope. One reason for thinking that we are not far down the slippery slope is that an awful lot of everyday obligations get met on a taken for granted basis, are enforced by law and public opinion without anyone giving it a second thought, and are more or <sup>less</sup> internalized in our everyday social interactions. If they were not, things would indeed have ground to a halt pretty swiftly, and thus far and in general they haven't. There are innumerable situations in which one would be utterly foolish to rely on such thoughts: you might expect your professors to turn up to class merely because they felt they ought to do, but you'd be rash to think your local drug dealer would hesitate before betraying you to the police in order to save his own hide. Still, as I suggest below, one way in which an "individualist" analysis may help us to think about the topics we have before us, is by turning our attention to problems of coordination, rather than only to problems of moral consciousness. The complaint that I ascribe to Professor Etzioni and those who are persuaded by him is that demands are made in a way that violates the conditions of reciprocity. People wanting an improvement in their positions demand their "rights" and say nothing about the reasonableness of the obligations they thus seek to impose on others, and most importantly say nothing about what obligations they might be willing to see imposed on themselves in return.

Now, all this is pretty familiar. But it is worth walking through the argument thus construed, because it allows us to get to the next stage without appealing to anything one might call "communitarian" ideas or ideals. I haven't suggested, and resolutely will not suggest, that the reason for not talking entirely in terms of demanding our rights is that we are all members of a larger collectivity in whose life and activities we may find self-realization or whatever else. I think in fact that unless some such view is true, it is hard to understand how we could have such notions as that of moral cooperation; that

<sup>1</sup>  
This is less a matter of unwillingness than to acknowledge that ever since Kant (or possibly Hobbes, or even more contentiously, possibly Plato), this has been hotly argued among philosophers, and nothing hangs on it here.

is, any ethical theory must be able to answer the question "what does the moral actor get out of behaving well?" not because ethical claims reduce to self-interested ones, but because we must be able to explain how people can be motivated to behave decently. I think, again, that to do that, we must be able to show how their idea of their own well being is not a merely self-interested one, but contains already a conception of themselves as something other than a Hobbesian atom. None the less, I want, for the moment, and not only out of a desire to play my scripted role, to talk the language of contract, reciprocity, and exchange, and then I want to talk the language of coordination, facilitation, and the need for salient solutions.

On this view - the individualist rendering of what has been thought of as a communitarian politics - the thought that lies behind the complaint that there is too much talk of rights and not enough of obligations is that society must be a system of reciprocity; this is not just the practical point, that you won't cooperate with me if I don't do my share in return, but a moral point. I morally can't demand my rights and say nothing of my willingness to recognize your rights, and meet my obligations. The practical point is that as a matter of social prudence, any society that fails to instill a strong ethic of reciprocity into its members will find itself in trouble because trust, reliance, and the sort of calm that comes from knowing that people will indeed do in the future their share of the burdens we have assumed in the present will cease to be available. This would be banal were it not the case that advanced societies like our own run many institutional arrangements where contract and reciprocity pull apart from each other. What I mean is this: the norm of reciprocity says that if you do me a good turn, I am bound to do you a good turn - even in the absence of a written or spoken agreement to that effect. Contracts are a way of inducing people to do things for one another by allowing the parties to put themselves in a position where reciprocity can be enforced. But the moral norm of reciprocity requires us to reciprocate in the absence of an explicit agreement. One complaint against American industrial and business practice - heard less now that the German and Japanese economic miracles are in remission, but probably due to be heard again quite soon - is that this norm is less respected here than elsewhere. US managers and businessmen, it is said, (I have no idea how fairly) operate on the basis of "never give a sucker an even break," or more genteelly, "pacta servanda sunt, but if it's not in the contract, there's no call to do it." Essentially, the idea is that the free market, so construed, works effectively if people pursue their own self-interest narrowly construed, to the utmost consistent with respect for legal and contractual obligations. Anything more is a reckless waste of one's resources. But, such an outlook has the seeds of trouble in it; although it may be an attractive alternative to excessively

cosy arrangements under some circumstances - widows and orphans will do better if their investment advisers aggressively pursue good bargains instead of leaving their money with the local thrift as a favour to an old friend - it may equally mean that many cooperative enterprises are forgone because nobody trusts anyone else to share the payoffs on a voluntary basis. The more worrying thought is that if many institutions encourage such behaviour, it spreads through society, and so undermines even the moral basis on which unpoliced performance of contractual agreements must rest.

Reciprocity is paradigmatically an individualistic moral notion. It is when I ask myself what I owe to somebody else that I then consider what they have done for me, and what is due in return. But, it won't cover as much of the moral landscape as one might hope; or, to put it differently, if one tries to get it to cover much more of the moral landscape, and particularly the kind of area we are thinking of here, it gets stretched out of shape. Can our obligation to assist people who are, say, out of work, homeless, ill but uncared for, and so on be explained in terms of reciprocity? Richard Titmuss once tried to justify the welfare state in such terms, in effect by arguing that people who were unemployed had shared the risks of a free market economy, and that their unemployment benefit was a sort of payment from the rest of us in return for that. This had a proper polemical purpose, lifting unemployment benefit out of the category of charity and into the category of a claim of right; but it is not clear that it's persuasive as a piece of logic. For one thing, the unemployed had no intention of sharing such risks, probably had no particular understanding of them, and so on; for another, we do not seem to be tempted to pay unemployment benefit in accordance with the ex ante risks of unemployment but only in accordance with the usual parameters of what the income was that we are replacing, and how many people are dependent upon it.

There is another, different, and rather old thought that may catch more of what we need: social arrangements such as property rights depend upon the self-restraint of those who are least favoured by them, and thus those who benefit most owe the most off a return for their self-restraint. I have always found this an attractive argument, not least because it appears to capture at least some of the sentiments of disgruntled small crooks who complain that they have been asked to shoulder the burdens of society without an adequate return. But even this only covers the most general "contributions" of the hard done by - their willingness to secure their goals by lawful rather than lawless means, and so on; it doesn't take one much further. Will reciprocity in any form carry us into the regions in which this workshop is interested? To put it more brutally, what can we say to the person who observes that he has never had any favours from the unemployed, the homeless, abused children or whomever, and therefore owes

them nothing by way of reciprocity, whatever charitable impulses he may or may not be able to summon up ? (Was it Eliza Doolittle's scapegrace father or some other Shavian hero who observed "I'm always being asked to think of the future; but when has the future ever thought about me ?" ?) It is not, perhaps, a matter of his feeling more or less willing to help in various ways, but a denial that it is one of his duties as a citizen, a denial that the citizenship of the hard up gives them a right to his help. Indeed, one can imagine someone who combined considerable charitable inclinations with a fastidious wish to represent these as sentiments of fellow human feeling, who wanted to distinguish quite sharply between what he thought he owed others as part of a system of reciprocal rights and duties and what he thought he owed them as simply people in need.

Before moving on, I want to make two further nods in the direction of arguments that come close to these. The first is the conception of citizenship that underpins T.H. Marshall's classic work, *Class and Citizenship*. Here, Marshall argues that the past two centuries have seen the development of a notion of social equality from the idea of equality before the law, through the democratic ideal of equal voting rights, and onto the still contested but widely accepted ideal of equal access to social and economic advantage. (And Albert Hirschmann has interestingly argued in *The Rhetoric of Reaction* that the standard conservative response has always been to obstruct each advance by saying that the next advance will destroy the gains made by the first; so democracy threatens the rule of law and the welfare state threatens democracy - and who knows what will be accused of destroying the welfare state ?) If one were to accept Marshall's schema not simply as history but also as morality, it would become more plausible to say that the indigent had a right to our aid, and a right in virtue of their common citizenship. But it seems to me that this gets matters the wrong way round. It is not that we have an independent conception of a common citizenship from which their rights flow so much as that we have come to think that charity is not our favourite organizing conception, and that the needy have a right to assistance. It may also be, to unveil more of what I really wish to suggest, that such a revised conception of citizenship rests on an appeal to ideas about solidarity and a common obligation to aid one another in coping with common hazards that we have reason to think modern societies increasingly press upon us. The point here is simply to raise some doubts about the moral persuasiveness of Marshall's account, at any rate if we think of it as translated into the terms to which I am confining myself.

The other passing observation is that there is another sort of individualism here that we might at least look at. One concept of reciprocity is not that of "favours due for

favours done," but "put yourself in their shoes and see how things look." That is, it is an appeal to the exchangeability of viewpoints, an appeal that seems to be individualist in appealing to what each potentially recalcitrant spectator is feeling or thinking, but "reciprocal" only in the sense that mathematical reciprocals are - the view of you held by me has its complement in the view of me held by you, and a vital aid to moral thinking is that I should occupy your viewpoint as I occupy my own. I shan't explore the psychological or logical difficulties of this view of ethics: it underpins R.M. Hare's moral philosophy, and has attracted critical scrutiny for forty years. I only observe that it is not the same notion as that of reciprocal obligation in the quasi-contractual sense. But, I have a covert aim in bringing it into the discussion. One thing I hope to do, but do not even begin to do here, is link these thoughts not only (as I shall do here in a moment) to the issue of civic education in a university setting, but to some empirical evidence about the attitudes of students in a setting where there is a great deal of volunteerism, even though there is no curricular requirement. Princeton students not only do a great deal of voluntary work - Habitat for Humanity, food drives, Big Brother and Big Sister programmes, literacy programmes in Trenton prison, and so on - but approach it in an organized fashion through a student volunteer council on which a few faculty members sit and by way of which other faculty are drawn in to help. My experience of students I have talked to who do a good deal of voluntary work in such contexts is that their moral values are not "citizenship" values, and not in general utilitarian or "reciprocity-based."

Rather, they seem to belong with 18th century ideal observer theories of value; students ask themselves what sort of a person they would judge themselves to be, looking at themselves from the outside. This may look like an appeal to the kind of "reciprocal" vision this paragraph has been discussing, but I think it is not. For there is no suggestion that they should change places, mentally and morally speaking, with those whom they may or may not be helping. Rather, it is they themselves as outsiders looking at themselves in judgment. If one felt unkindly disposed, as colleagues of mine sometimes do when they encounter these attitudes, it might be criticized as a form of narcissism; my own sense is that it isn't, and that the spectatorial "I" is endowed with a coolness and far-reaching sympathy that is intended to stand in judgment on the emotions and self-centred anxieties of the "I" that is struggling with a moral issue. But, as I say, all I can offer at present is a promissory note.

Now, I began by promising to say something about coordination and similar problems. This I now do. I imagine we all have our own private visions of "the" problem to which society as currently constituted seems to have few answers. My own may give

fuel to critics, but it is that many of our difficulties lie in the realm of coordination. That conveys little unless one adds, coordination as opposed to lack of goodness of heart, pure bloody-minded selfishness, and so on. On my view, many people are ready to join in schemes for the improvement of the conditions of people worse off than themselves so long as several conditions are met. They have to be fair in their distribution of the burdens and benefits; the misfortunes they aim to remedy should not be (unduly and wilfully and prolongedly) self-inflicted; and they have to be effective in alleviating the problems they set out to cure. The great obstacle to achieving any of this, aside from the familiar obstacles of sloth, greed, and general unconcern, is the difficulty of coordinating our actions. Coordination needs various things, some of them in the alternative, some of them together.

The coordination of voluntary activities can sometimes be achieved by the existence of a salient solution. A group of tourists who lose one another and want to meet up will either hang around their hotel lobby, or head for the main square; but the bigger the town and the more dispersed, the less clear it may be where that salient place is. One thing that leadership provides is saliency; we know whose decisions to follow - the tour leader may traverse the town waving his umbrella aloft, gathering in his lost flock. But leadership may, in conjunction with a modicum of real authority, achieve coordination another by making it much more likely that contributions to the activity under his or her leadership will actually do some good, while other contributions will go to waste. And this is likely to be a cumulative process. One way in which purely voluntary organizations are at a disadvantage vis à vis the state is that the state's ability to coerce the recalcitrant into working with its schemes gives its schemes greater effectiveness and therefore great moral attractiveness - I need hardly add "ceteris paribus." There may be any number of countervailing features of coercive government schemes that sabotage this argument.

I offer this argument, however, as a small contribution to the topic before us. In New Jersey schools, there is now a requirement for students to engage in "voluntary work." Many people have observed that compulsory voluntary work seems to be an oxymoron, though those of us who recall ROTC calls for "volunteers - you, you, and you!" may be a little less shocked. If you suppose that what matters is that students should pick out for themselves what they feel morally drawn to, should think what they will be good at, should investigate what there is, how to get to it, and so on and so forth, then the compulsory element is indeed a disabling feature of it. If you think only that students should get into the habit of expecting to do something of the sort, you are likely to be happy so long as there is a certain amount of choice available about what

form the activity takes - that students who have asthma attacks at the first puff of dust should not be dragooned into chipping plaster off walls. Saliency is a great aid to overcoming the familiar feeling that we'd like to help but don't quite know at what and where; and saliency is likely to be taken care of by such programmes.

*What are we after*

But the workshop is not about "how to get from individualism to cooperation," though that is more or less the brief I have so far set myself. It is about the civic education of students in higher education, and I want to say a bit about that. I have two thoughts, and they are at least in tension with each other, perhaps in outright contradiction. But here they are. The first is that unless there is some civic dimension to the education students get, it is not higher education at all. Having said that, I have to say that I think most of what is offered in institutions of higher education really isn't higher education. Indeed, to trail my coat even more, I think that most of it doesn't even purport to be, and that much of what purports to be isn't. On the first count, I merely observe that most of what goes on in institutions of higher education is avowedly vocational training of a fairly narrow sort. I do not know the exact figures, but something like two thirds of all higher education students are majoring in something whose general label is "business studies." Their English courses are courses in writing business letters, their economics is book-keeping, and their politics is so far as possible an education in how business may keep the right side of the legal system. Nor is this a matter of teachers denying students what students want; most of the time, it seems to be an essentially good natured mutual conspiracy. The wonder is not that so many of these students don't take much interest in politics, and don't know much about the political and economic systems of their native country, let alone others, but that so many of them come through as public spirited, energetic and wide awake as they do.

Lest this sound like intellectual snobbery, I must add the second point, that I think that much of what is taught in the most distinguished places has just about as little tendency to widen anyone's horizons or turn their minds towards the political and economic issues of the day. Courses such as David Billington's in Engineering, Art, and Politics at Princeton stand out just because they are so unusual; in my own field, which is in principle concerned with exactly the right issues, there is constant pressure to turn the subject into an examinable set of topics - which I cheerfully agree it must in part be - without much thought about its educational value. That educational value, to my mind, ought to be the same in just about every discipline, namely the encouragement of a self-conscious capacity to think about why we study what we do, what good it us to us, how we came to see the world as we have, and so almost endlessly on. What makes higher

education higher is not that it is the rote learning of more difficult theories and more arcane facts, but that its recipients are supposed to end with some idea of why we ever bothered to emerge from the unthinking primeval ooze. It is that that seems to me the first step in a civic education, and one that all higher education should meet.

But characteristically, I also think something close to the opposite thought. That is, it must be one part of higher education's purpose to allow us to get away from the everyday pressures of practical matters - not to "use" Homer or Shakespeare, but allow them to "use" us. In my view, these are not really incompatible aims and intentions, since the level at which higher education can intrinsically do anything to make us better citizens is that of making us aware of our own position as members of the human community, and of a particular branch of it, and of that branch at a particular point in its history, and so on. That is, I don't believe that higher education in and for itself can make us good citizens in quite the sense before us here. I do believe that it can in and for itself sensitize students to what is at stake, but that any programme of the sort described in the papers we have seen has to be defended as part of a specific training in the duties of citizens here and now in the light of the problems that confront us here and now - as a sort of pacific ROTC programme, not as an implication of higher education's own intrinsic purposes. But, I hope what I have said suggests that this is different from saying that it is an intrusion upon those purposes. It seems to me that it is not, and that it would be absurd to suggest that a global conception of citizenship such as I think really is implied in the claim to offer higher education at all - I incline to say education at all, but will restrain the impulse here - is at odds with or hostile to the specific intentions of such programmes.

Lastly, what conception of citizenship is it that we are trying to advance when we either institute some form of voluntary work requirement for students or put strenuous institutional encouragement behind a programme for volunteers? It evidently goes well beyond any of the ordinary elements of the right to vote, eligibility for office and so on. So why does one feel tempted to reach for the concept of citizenship rather than any other? It is here that my efforts to rest everything on "individualist" conceptions of political ethics really have to be abandoned. Or rather, they have to be sophisticated. Think of J.S. Mill, who is often thought to be the paradigmatic individualist, whose conviction of our essential sociability was such that he claimed in *Utilitarianism* that we can only think of ourselves outside a social setting with a considerable effort of imagination, who stressed that the libertarian doctrines of *On Liberty* were absolutely not to be understood as an encouragement to selfishness and indifference to the well being of our fellows, and who emphasized throughout his *Considerations on Representative Govern-*

ment that citizenship was a trust for the benefit of others as well as for ourselves, that a democratic government could only rest on a citizenry who were self-protecting, public spirited, and conscious of what they owed to the social and political order on which they depended. It is true that one would not wish at this late stage of the 20th century to defend Mill's views about the way that public assistance should disqualify us from the suffrage, nor yet his advocacy of a poll tax to bring home to each citizen the fact that each of us does and must contribute to the society on which we make our claims. Still, one might want some of the traits of character that he thought necessary for a successful democracy.

As far as I understand the formula that Saul Alinsky adopted - never do for anyone what they can do for themselves - it was squarely in line with Mill's insistence that the educative role of democratic participation would be lost if people were not to a large extent put in command of their own well being. In the current climate this plainly creates one practical hazard of any programme such as we are discussing, which is that it looks as if something very like political organizing is almost more valuable than something in the dimension of social work, and it is only the more innocuous kind of social work programmes that we can really expect any sort of consensus on.

This is perhaps a luxurious anxiety. We are not facing a situation in which there is a vast amount of volunteer work going on, and we wonder how to extend its reach. We are asking, rather, what the place of such voluntary work is in the higher education of our students. If it does not much more than extend their sympathies, their empirical understanding of the hazards of everyday life for the less well favoured twenty percent of the population - and if as a bonus it gives them the sort of easy empathy with people who live in very different conditions that people like T.H. Green and John Dewey hoped such work would produce, and which I must say I feel that I have always lacked myself - it will have done a great deal.

American Conceptions of Citizenship  
and the  
Problem of Civic Education  
(Working Paper)  
Rogers M. Smith

First I will go over some familiar ground mapping how American citizenship is commonly understood. Then I'll indicate what I'm adding to that map.

i) The Conventional Debate. There is a standard narrative about American citizenship, one endorsed in much popular rhetoric and in the writings of prestigious authors ever since the nation was a glimmer in a few colonists' angry eyes. American law and the American Creed hold, we are told, that to be an American citizen, one does not have to be of any particular race, gender, religion, ethnicity or original nationality, culture, or language. A person only has to support the American constitutional system and be law-abiding, though aliens must also give some minimal evidence that they are willing and able to work hard and be self-supporting. Unlike most other nationalities, then, American citizenship rests ultimately only on consent to the political principles valorizing personal liberties and democratic self-governance that are enshrined in America's Constitution and laws. On this view, American civic education is properly centered on teaching those principles, as well as on the skills and habits needed for effective participation in democratic political processes, in the commercial market economy that legal protection of economic liberties generates, and in the diverse forms of life persons may choose to pursue.

Readers may observe that embedded in this widely shared account are (at least) two overlapping, often jointly held, but nonetheless analytically distinguishable conceptions of citizenship. First, a more "liberal" or "thin democratic" notion presents the American citizen as essentially a bearer and enjoyer of individual rights, of economic, spiritual, intellectual, procedural, and only secondarily political liberties. She or he is likely to be most absorbed

in pursuing happiness in forms of "private" life, work, church, family, and to get politically involved only sporadically, with a view to keeping government accountable and making sure it does not trample rights.

In contrast, a "strong democratic," "participatory democratic," or "civic republican" reading of American citizenship emphasizes not the individual rights it bestows and protects, but participation in the forms of democratic self-governance it makes possible. On this view involvement in American political life is not a nuisance, the price of preserving personal liberties. It is a civic duty, part of a shared commitment to help shape our lives in common and serve our common interests, and a vital fulfillment of our human potential for both freedom and moral dignity, as we bring the social constituents of our lives under more conscious consensual control.

Thus disentangled, more "liberal" and more "democratic" or "republican" conceptions of American citizenship point to different emphases in civic education, as Richard Battistoni has argued. Liberal views stress development of the cognitive and economic skills that enable individuals to flourish in planning their own lives, and in the marketplace. Democratic ones stress fostering the sense of civic responsibility, and the skills of democratic participation, that produce citizens who are more concerned about public life and vigorously active in politics, at least at some levels. Importantly, democratic views tend to favor extensive governance at local levels more accessible to democratic participation, while liberals are happy with national governance so long as it seems most efficient and remains accountable. But American advocates of democratic civic conceptions generally accept much national governance and wish it to be as democratic as possible.

Much of the current discussion of American citizenship and civic education centers on the debate over whether more liberal or more democratic conceptions should guide American policies. At times, theorists and educators like Locke, Mill, Horace Mann, and Diane Ravitch are arrayed (rightly or wrongly) on the more liberal side; figures like Rousseau, Jefferson, and Dewey are placed on the more democratic side. Again, however, most Americans want the

best of both worlds (Amy Gutmann's Democratic Education is perhaps the most extensive recent effort to see how this might be done).

One further aspect of the conventional debate should be noted. Both sides adhere to a shared explanation of how American citizenship came to exist, as a combination of liberal and democratic or republican elements. This explanation usually involves appeal to Tocqueville's great work, Democracy in America. And though his views are actually more complicated, the standard story does have a Tocquevillian flavor. It holds that America was predominantly settled by European colonists who brought with them Enlightenment ideals of liberty, especially religious freedom, and who were then shaped by the unusual physical, social, and political conditions of the new country. Because land was plentiful, the European aristocracy absent, and control by home officials weak, Americans quickly became used to relatively equal economic and social statuses; considerable freedom in their religious, economic, and personal lives; and considerable political self-governance, via town meetings, local juries, and elected representative colonial assemblies. And because they sought to grow in numbers, Americans were from early on eager to embrace as fellow citizens anyone willing to support and participate in these ways of life, regardless of their backgrounds.

The colonists thus shaped eventually came to resent the way British imperial authorities infringed on their personal liberties, economic but also religious, and their long established practices of political self-governance. Hence they came to establish a new republican form of government, resting on popular sovereignty, favorable to commercial pursuits, and constructed with elaborate protections for individual rights. From at least the Revolution on, then, American citizenship was most shaped by the liberal and democratic commitments ideology, geography, economics, culture, history, habits and politics had conspired to produce. Or so the familiar story goes.

ii). The Missing Links. This standard view of American civic identity captures significant truths. But some crucial things are

clearly missing, because there is a lot that this account does not explain. Why have Americans so often denied access to full American citizenship to persons and groups who were perfectly willing to vouchsafe loyalty to American constitutional principles and to support themselves? Why has it been so controversial to have American civic education at all, and especially to extend it on an equal basis to all members of American society? In these regards, the main lessons of my research on the conceptions of citizenship American lawmakers and judges have written into their public laws are three-fold.

First, though liberal and democratic notions have indeed been central, Americans have also defined both civic membership and civic education extensively through appeal to a third political and intellectual tradition, a family of ethnocultural conceptions that I term "Americanist." "Americanism" holds that ethnicity, race, religion, gender, language, and cultural heritage are quite relevant for deciding who should be full American citizens and what forms their citizenships should take. Specifically, American citizens should possess the characteristics of native-born WASP males or some none too distant approximation thereof. Civic education should foster such traits in all those capable of possessing them, but traditionally Americanism has held that many could not reasonably be treated as having such capacities. At times these less capable persons have included blacks, Native Americans, other ethnic minorities, and women. Americanism suggests such disparate groups should receive special education appropriate to their civic roles. Some may be denied access to citizenship, and civic education, altogether.

Second, analysts have focused on liberal and democratic conceptions of citizenship and underrated the importance of Americanist notions in part because they have seen America through European eyes. They have focused on the lesser presence of the types of ascribed, hereditary hierarchical feudal political and economic class structures that have been central to European politics historically. Thus they have not attended adequately to the forms of ascriptive hereditary, racial, ethnic, sexual, cultural, and religious, that were in fact central, though frequently contested, constituents

of American political development. American civic culture and its development thus must be reappraised from a standpoint that sees it as a common product shaped by all these ideological traditions and practices.

Third, Americanist conceptions have shown the power and tenacity they have because liberal and democratic conceptions of American civic identity, taken alone or in tandem, often have not seemed sufficient bases for senses of meaningful civic membership and both national and partisan political loyalties. Many Americans have regarded them as too demanding in terms of the individual efforts required to earn self-respect; too disruptive in terms of their implications for inherited, valued ways of life; and insufficiently affirming of Americans' inherent personal and social worth, as something validated by more transcendent historical, natural, and divine standards. Some Americans have gone so far as to renounce liberal conceptions of universal human rights and commitments to democratic self-governance. But most have tried to affirm liberal and democratic values while qualifying them by simultaneously affirming Americanist accounts that shortened the roster of those eligible to claim liberal rights and full democratic powers.

Americans, then, have generally not been pure liberals, democrats, or Americanists. Instead the nation's history, political parties and movements, and its laws, including its systems of civic education, have displayed various blends of these elements, all with more or less severe internal tensions and inconsistencies. For many Americans, those tensions have been less important than the political, economic, and psychic benefits these combinations of beliefs and practices have provided. The tensions have, nonetheless, often spurred conflict and change.

Once we see American political culture and development as shaped not simply by the dynamics and tensions of liberal and republican traditions, but also by the interaction of those values with Americanist ones, several important revisions in the standard narrative follow. On this view it appears normal, not aberrational, for Americans repeatedly to reinvent nonliberal, nondemocratic, often inegalitarian ideologies of civic identity as means of coping

with discontents liberal and democratic values have not addressed, and may indeed have fostered. We should therefore also not presume such reinventions are no longer possible today. The liberalizing and democratizing changes of the 1950s and 1960s already prompted resurgent forms of Americanism in the late 70s and 80s, and the trajectory of the 90s is not yet clear. And we should see the challenge of American civic education now as not simply a choice between more liberal and democratic conceptions. The quest for an appropriate civic education also compels us to find better ways to respond to the deep longings for less voluntaristic, more organic senses of civic identity that have so heavily, and often so oppressively, shaped education and civic life in America.

With these basic points sketched, I will in the remainder of this essay point to some of the evidence that leads me to advance them. I will especially note ways these various political traditions have been expressed in American educational systems.

iii). Americanism, Civic Identity, and American Civic Education.

The most frequent of many criticisms made against the claims just sketched is that they exaggerate the significance of nonliberal, inegalitarian ideologies and practices in American life.<sup>1</sup> These have, many say, been real, but they have been recognized by most Americans as exceptional and marginal, and they have been slowly but steadily eliminated from American life throughout our history.

Perhaps so; but many facts speak powerfully the other way. Not just in exceptional periods, but for over 80% of the nation's history, U.S. laws have declared most of the world's population to be ineligible for full American citizenship, solely and explicitly because

---

<sup>1</sup> The next most frequent is that these nonliberal, inegalitarian ideologies are at root expressions of liberal, democratic ideologies and arrangements. I contend instead that they are distinguishable analytically, morally, politically and historically. But I do not mean to present liberal and democratic traditions as pristine, unconnected to the nation's history of ascriptive inequalities. Instead, I think most Americans have combined liberal, democratic, and ascriptive beliefs; that they have done so in part because of their dissatisfactions with liberal democratic precepts; and that they have used liberal and democratic arguments to reinforce Americanist ascriptive positions whenever they could plausibly (or even implausibly) do so.

of their race, original nationality, or gender. For at least 2/3 of American history, a majority of the domestic adult population has also been ineligible for full citizenship for the same reasons. For persons of the wrong color, national background, or gender, it did not matter how "liberal," "democratic," "republican," or "pro-American" their views were, or how educated or prosperous they were.

Nor is it true that these patterns of civic exclusion, or assignment of second-class civic status, characterized the nation extensively at the outset and were gradually eroded. More women (though not many) legally had the vote in 1790 than in 1820. The civil rights of free blacks were better protected throughout the nation in 1790 than in 1850, and the rights of blacks were much better secured in 1870 than in 1920 (though they were not fully secured at any of these times). The legal rights of Native Americans also had more standing in American courts in 1790 than in 1850. The U.S. had no racial restrictions on immigration at all until 1882, and it did not adopt a permanent, elaborate, explicitly nationalistic quota system, designed to preserve the existing racial and ethnic makeup of the American citizenry, until 1924. "Two steps forward, one step back" is probably closer to the mark than slow but steady progress, but at times for some groups in America there have been two or three steps back.

The same pattern holds for civic education: for over 80% of U.S. history, many public schools were legally segregated by race and gender (when they existed at all). Throughout those years public education also generally upheld the superiority of Protestant religiosity and Anglo-Saxon or northern European cultures and peoples. Not only blacks, but many southern and eastern European immigrant groups, were primarily educated for blue collar jobs or manual labor. Women were prepared to be mothers and housewives or to enter a narrow range of womanly professions. Officially at least, American public schools are much more inclusive today; but de facto racial, ethnic, and economic segregation is again on the rise, for reasons traceable in part to public policies assisting white flight to the suburbs.

These patterns have many roots, but they include political problems present since before the nation's founding. The Europeans who came to colonial America believed themselves to be products of a superior civilization and bearers of the true religion. Some, indeed, saw themselves as people chosen by God to preserve true religion from corruption in Britain and Europe. From the outset, they gave religious and cultural, as well as economic reasons to each other and to the world to explain why they were entitled to take land from the aboriginal tribes and to use Africans as chattel slaves.

When British colonists had overwhelmed Dutch, Swedish, and German immigrants and pushed French and Spanish populations, along with many tribes, to the margins of what is now the U.S., they grew increasingly restive with many restraints imposed on them by British home authorities. But there was no massive groundswell for revolution; elites favoring that cause were faced with the political task of winning popular support for it. They could and did claim that Britain had become a corrupt, despotic monarchy, instead of a free mixed republic, and that it was violating their natural rights. But republicanism and liberal rights theories were not widely known or embraced among the more middling and lower classes of English Americans. For many they did not provide a morally or politically compelling case for embracing membership in a new American nation. For most, they did not provide much assurance that this dangerous cause would prevail.

Hence leaders also appealed to the American colonists' more broadly shared senses of religious and cultural identity. Americans were said to be indeed a chosen people, destined to be a beacon of wholesome Protestant freedom, in contrast to decadent Britain and Europe, and also to the savage American aborigines and the barbaric, almost subhuman Africans. Thus the forces of history, nature, and above all divine Providence could be counted on to insure the success of their new endeavor. By elaborating this sense of themselves as possessing a religiously sanctioned, superior, and freedom-favoring ethnocultural identity, Americans created "Americanism."

It included within it not only notions of the superiority of Euro-Americans and Christianity to all other cultures, races, and religions.

It also endorsed beliefs that God and nature assigned women and men different and unequal roles that a model Protestant republic should enforce. Thus the enactments of the revolutionary and Confederation eras created new republican governments in the states and guaranteed individual rights. But they also provided for religious education, as did the Northwest Ordinance; they deprived women of the few voting rights they had, everywhere but in New Jersey; and they sanctioned the exclusion of the tribes and of slaves from access to citizenship.

Apart from its recognition of slavery and the separate existence of the tribes, the Constitution appears ethnoculturally "neutral." But in fact this "neutrality" is an artifact of the ongoing difficulties of winning support for the new national government, and for the new American nationality itself. The framers did not reject "Americanist" definitions of citizenship (though some had reservations about such views). The Constitution was silent on many issues of ethnocultural qualifications for citizenship because it was politic to defer to state definitions of civic identities in many respects. The different regions disagreed too much on the proper variety of Protestant religiosity, on slavery, as well as on other issues, to permit any other national resolution of these ethnocultural controversies. (Few thought women's statuses required much attention, beyond better enforcement of the common law).

One educational consequence of these differences over what conceptions of national identity should prevail occurred at the outset and was repeated up to the Civil War: the rejection of efforts to create a national university. Presidents from George Washington on promoted the idea as a means to foster a common national culture and hence strengthen national patriotism. It was opposed by those with strong attachments to particular regions, and to traditions of localistic republican self-governance, for precisely those reasons.

The new national government nonetheless acted on behalf of "Americanist" conceptions of civic identity in other ways. It confined naturalization to "whites" in 1790, and in many other ways it advanced or supported measures to maintain slavery, restrict rights of free blacks, expel the surviving tribes, and subordinate women's

civic status to that of their husbands and fathers. And the nation's political and intellectual leaders began elaborating doctrines of why American nationality was special, claims usually tilted to express and support the outlook of some leading party. Their sources were chiefly Protestant divines of various sorts, but they were buttressed by English historical works and by continental Enlightenment theorists of racial difference. These elements were combined in various versions of the "Anglo-Saxon" myth, or what might be termed "Anglo-Saxon Americanism": Americans were descended from northern European peoples, originally Teutonic, who had been shaped by their early history for Protestant spiritual and republican political freedom. Hence God had placed them in the New World to be an example to more slavish peoples, religions, and cultures, peoples they might be wise to avoid, could choose to assimilate, but also could rightly dominate. The Constitution was divinely inspired as the vehicle for the realization of Americans' distinctive capacities.

The Federalists who enacted the Alien and Sedition Acts favored Anglo-Saxon origins but added an insistence on native birth for officeholders and voters. Nativity was said to indicate an upbringing shaped by America's special political culture. The Jeffersonians resisted this restrictive Americanism, correctly seeing it as an effort to limit their support from European immigrants. They were, however, the leading supporters of the restrictions on access to full citizenship for blacks, Native Americans, and women.

Similarly, in the antebellum era, Anglo-Saxon Americanism was particularly visible in the Whigs' nationalistic rhetoric, which drew especially on British romantic poets and historians in order to foster patriotism and respect for property rights. It also heavily shaped what Carl Kaestle has termed the "Protestant Anglo-American republican paidea" of the early public school movement, led by Horace Mann. Many Jacksonian leaders, who had white immigrant and Catholic constituencies and who supported state powers to uphold slavery, opposed the Protestant Anglo-Saxonism and the New England abolitionist values they rightly saw as propagated by public school activists. But the Jacksonians had their own forms of Americanism blended in with their commitments to a more

democratic franchise and tolerance of religious and cultural differences among whites. They endorsed religious and scientific doctrines of racial difference, the latter spelled out in the "American School of Ethnography," that served to justify the south's peculiar institution.

The Civil War and Reconstruction were dramatic reform eras that made the American Constitution and civic laws much more egalitarian, liberal, and inclusive. Not incidentally, these years saw a tremendous growth in public education, especially in the south, and especially for newly freed blacks, but also for women of all colors. And education was expanded at all levels, with the creation of the land grant universities, black colleges, women's colleges.

Yet as those examples indicate, like other Reconstruction reforms, this burst of public schooling never went so far nor was as egalitarian as its most radical advocates wished; and much of it died with the triumphs of the southern white Redeemers. The Democrats found their most appealing political message, north and south, was preservation of white supremacy over newly freed blacks. Republicans therefore abandoned the cause of black civil rights, most without great reluctance. Large parts of the south then went back to having virtually no public schools at all, only private white academies. When southern public schooling did come in the 20th century, it was part of the vast Jim Crow system that public laws and social customs constructed throughout southern life, especially from the 1890s through the 1940s. Education elsewhere was also racially segregated, with most blacks receiving only "vocational" education for manual labor. When women obtained public education, it was segregated at the higher levels, culminating at best in attendance at women's colleges that were often essentially finishing schools, or in special state programs designed to prepare women for careers in teaching, nursing, or home economics.

Under Grant's Reconstruction era Peace Policy, educational efforts for Native Americans also expanded. But the U.S. imposed an assimilating education, demanding acceptance of Christianity, the monogamous family, private property and self-supporting farming as prerequisite to both graduation and full citizenship. Hence these

efforts were experienced by most tribal members as a massive imperialist assault. Grant also proposed a constitutional amendment to make public education a constitutional right. But it was accompanied by a measure to deny all public funds to parochial schools, which Protestant advocates of the public schools wished to drive out of existence.

By the end of the century Republicans were even more overtly nativistic, dividing labor movements and gaining native working class votes via racial assaults on immigrant laborers, first the "Yellow Peril" of the Chinese, then southern and eastern Europeans. Many Republicans and some Democrats also used the narrative of Anglo-Saxon destiny to justify imperialism in the Caribbean and the Pacific in the late 1890s. The policies that resulted denied civic status to immigrant Chinese and imposed on the nation's new colonies a harsh kind of civic education, the apparently permanent "tutelage" their inferior status allegedly required. Both parties buttressed their positions by appeal to ongoing providentialist interpretations of U.S. history and also via the Darwinian race theories and cognate historical theories of cultural evolution that had been embraced throughout turn-of-the-century American intellectual life, thereby becoming staples of the nation's civic teachings. In sum, in 1900 American civic education exhibited racial, ethnic, religious, and gender stratifications in both its structure and its content, along with doctrines about liberal individual rights and democratic civic participation.

Matters began to change in the Progressive era, but none too rapidly. For most Americans, the emphasis in progressive thought on society's evolutionary nature and the culturally shaped character of individuals only expressed and reinforced the concerns for civic racial, ethnic, and religious homogeneity visible in the late 19th century. Many progressives supported Jim Crow, ethnically based immigration restrictions, "protective" legislation for women that often denied them economic opportunities outside the home, and harsh "Americanization" policies, including civic education, designed to stamp out immigrants' original cultures.

But Jane Addams, John Dewey, Randolph Bourne, Horace Kallen and a few others were different. They looked at the American history just sketched and began reconceiving American civic identity in ways that had direct, if varying, implications for civic education. Appalled at nativist and racist exclusionary policies, they all argued for minimizing the importance of American national identity. Not that they minimized the importance of social identities. To the contrary, they all thought that the individualistic strains in American political culture, along with its crassly materialistic elements, drove Americans to be attracted to doctrines preaching their membership in some large community with higher aims, even if those doctrines were illiberal. Hence they sought a public philosophy which would give greater weight to peoples' aspirations to belong to social units they saw as intrinsically meaningful. But those social units were not to be homogenous nation-states.

They were, instead, to be smaller, more intimate, immediate and sustaining human communities. The U.S. should be seen, they stressed, only as a confederation of such smaller social groups, bound together simply by an ethic of mutual respect and tolerance for group differences, and by the desire to achieve collectively certain goods on which the groups all could agree, such as national peace and prosperity. All agreed, too, that civic education should foster this tolerance and respect, as well as economic skills and the skills to participate in democratic processes through which these national common goods could be identified and pursued.

Here, however, progressive thinkers parted company. Dewey conceived of all these smaller communities as voluntaristic, to be run via internally democratic procedures. Civic education should foster democracy in every sphere of life. Kallen saw persons' primary community memberships as inherited and ascribed, and as appropriately governed by hereditary customs and traditions, even if these were non-democratic. He did not favor common public schools teaching pervasive democratic practices so much as separate schools through which religious and ethnic communities could maintain their identities--so long as that separation is what each community wanted for its members. Kallen did not favor mandatory

segregation of public schools, by race or ethnicity, against the will of many who felt themselves subordinated by such systems, in the manner of Jim Crow and gender segregation.

I will not attempt to sketch further American history from the progressive era to our own time, partly because I have not done the work to support it. I think, however, that much of the story of this century is the increased ascendancy, especially from W.W. II through the early 1970s, of these various progressive era civic conceptions, in public law and in American education. Older liberal and republican strains have certainly not been eliminated, but they have to some degree been mapped over and reinterpreted in light of these views. And restrictive Americanist conceptions have been in some significant ways overturned. Public laws creating racially segregated schools, and to a lesser degree gender segregated schools, have been repudiated. Protestant hegemony in the schools has also been weakened. Public school materials now regularly invoke ideals of tolerance, mutual respect for various cultural groups, and democratic citizenship.

These changes are great and admirable in many ways. Yet problems remain, problems that I take to be contemporary expressions of enduring ones. The core problem that the history I've been sketching reveals is that liberal and democratic civic conceptions, by themselves, rarely seem to satisfy American leaders and publics. Broader, often religious, ethnic, or cultural senses of civic identity have virtually always also been present and important. The progressive democratic reformers responded to this pattern, again, by trying to meet desires for stronger senses of community identity not at the level of the nation but within more intimate groups. Although better than older nativist and racist policies, that approach presents difficulties that the U.S. is currently exhibiting in practice.

One is the problem of whether Dewey or Kallen is right: should we treat cultural groups, or even families, as voluntary associations, to be run democratically, or as traditional ascriptive memberships, to be run according to varying customs? A second problem is what the precise requirements of expressing mutual tolerance and respect are.

Does tolerance require compulsorily integrated, democratic, equally funded public schools, or permission for each religious and, possibly, ethnic, economic, or even racial group to set up its own separate institutions?

But perhaps most fundamental is the problem that is a prerequisite to answering those questions. Is it really a stable solution for a nation to tell itself that membership in the large political society is merely instrumental to the full communal lives that come only within more intimate associations? Will that sense of civic identity foster sufficient loyalty and attachment to the larger society? Will it encourage genuine respect and tolerance among quite different cultural groups, who feel themselves bound together only contingently, especially if some are faring much better than others economically? Or is this view of civic identity a formula for increasing fragmentation, balkanization, and group hostility, as critics of compulsory integration, and compulsory multicultural curricula, all contend?

iv) Some Concluding Observations. I do not have answers to those questions that fully satisfy me, but I am sure these issues are central to the problem of American civic education today. And I think so because I do not believe the progressive democratic conceptions of civic identity, as democratic but culturally pluralistic, have ever laid to rest the appeal of the sorts of ascriptive Americanist notions of civic identity that have so pervasively shaped American civic development. I believe, for example, that not only the controversies over integration and multiculturalism just noted, but also the ongoing debates over gender, and the power of the appeals to patriotic Americanism and the old racial order visible in the Reagan and Bush campaigns of the 80s, all indicate the resilience of Americanist civic conceptions. Many Americans still want to feel they share a meaningful national identity, with common values, that is special in some fundamental way. At the same time, older notions of that common nationality that were hierarchical and exclusionary are much less viable in national politics today, though far from absent. Their decline has meant that even many formerly dominant

American groups now want to be permitted to withdraw into their smaller ethnocultural and economic communities, since the presence of others in that common national culture threatens to disrupt or burden their customary ways of life and senses of social meaning. That is one reason why the most popular reform in public education today is choice systems, which might well promote more ethnically, culturally, religiously, and economically segregated schools.

Let me end, then, by summarizing the lessons I draw from the history sketched above, using it to flesh out the suggestions of the sources of Americanist appeal I offered above. They must be fully appreciated if the challenges they pose to civic education are to be fully understood.

First, I think the history reviewed here confirms that Americanism has thrived in part because of its propagation by elites. American political leaders have sought to win support and loyalty to their partisan causes, sometimes including American nationality itself. They have therefore looked for ways to convince their core constituencies, and occasionally all Americans, that they are indeed part of some larger community that is specially endowed, divinely favored, a source of their worth and success and hence deserving of their loyalty. It is too mild to say that doctrines of racial, ethnic, religious, cultural, gender identity and superiority have often served these political causes. The truth is that no major American political leader or movement has failed to employ some such Americanist narrative as a rallying cry.

But political appeals must fall on receptive ears. I think Americans have so often been receptive to Americanist arguments because taken seriously, both liberal and democratic commitments have always been subversive of many established social forms, and in tension with each other. Liberal notions of individual rights make a prima facie case that at least all those capable of developing powers of rational self-guidance should be treated as bearers of such rights. Legal systems that automatically subordinate women, blacks, Native Americans, and non-Christian religious perspectives therefore appear presumptively illegitimate. Strong democratic or republican emphases on civic participation can also have egalitarian

implications, and at a minimum they militate against the claims of private religious, familial, and cultural groups, as well as individual conscientious choices, to justify failures to contribute to common civic endeavors. To have ever made the U.S. a purely liberal or purely democratic society in these senses would have seriously disrupted existing social and political hierarchies and customary ways of life. It still would do so.

Understandably, many who have been reasonably well up in those hierarchies, or who have found meaning in those customary ways of life regardless of their place within them, have never been much attracted to the far-reaching transformations liberal and republican principles, if taken fully seriously, would have required. Many Americans wanted to keep slavery, or at least institutionalized white superiority; many wished to reject the legitimacy of Native American customs; many tried to maintain only slightly modified traditional gender roles, to uphold Protestant Christianity in public life as true religion, etc. They have expressed and reinforced these desires by embracing Americanist ideologies that went much beyond, and often against, liberal democratic principles.

The content of liberalism and republicanism as civic ideologies further fuelled these desires for more and different civic views in at least two ways. The requirements liberal and republican ideologies set for individuals to gain a secure sense of personal worth are rather high. Liberalism demands that individuals show themselves to be industrious, rational and self-reliant, usually via economic productivity. In times of economic distress, especially, many Americans have found it hard to meet that standard. Republicanism or strong democracy calls for willingness to sacrifice to the public good and active contributions to public life, again demands that many have found burdensome and unrealistic, especially when they were struggling to survive in a competitive market economy. Neither doctrine, moreover, offers much reassurance that even most hard-working individuals will avoid ultimately being eclipsed by their own mortality. Good liberal individuals may be remembered by their families and businesses, a few republican heroes will be

celebrated by the republics they helped maintain, but most will soon be lost to human memory.

It is thus not surprising that many Americans have often been attracted to accounts that designated them as intrinsically worthy because of their social identities, as Anglo-Americans, as whites, as Christians, as men, regardless of their personal accomplishments or economic status. People are thus made to feel part of some larger, more enduring whole that will continue to flourish after they have perished, so that they will not have lived in vain. And according to religious forms of Americanism, they may in fact have gained eternal life.

If these are the core, enduring problems of liberal and republic conceptions of civic identity as a basis for national community, it should be clear why progressive democratic notions have not entirely overcome the limitations of these older views. Dewey's voluntaristic view of human associations offers the comfort of ongoing intimate association with generally like-minded fellows, but otherwise it reproduces all the greatest difficulties of traditional liberal and democratic views. It provides no transcendental reassurance, and it makes us work hard. Kallen's embrace of hereditary cultural groups as the primary locus of social identity fares better on these scores. It does so, however, only by endorsing an essentialism many find false, minimizing a national identity (and older national hierarchies) that many wish to treasure, embracing particular traditions that many experience as confining if not oppressive, and by accepting a considerable measure of separatism that may foster all the ills of balkanization.

Yet I would say that Kallen's vision still comes closest to describing the directions toward American civic laws and civic education have been evolving in this century, to the point where the problems of this view are now being more acutely experienced in everyday life. The reason Kallen's vision of American civic identity has gained force may well be precisely because it provides the more transcendent cultural identities and affirmations people seek once older racist and nativist forms of Americanism have been admitted to be massively oppressive and unjust. It may be, however, that

today the nation's acceptance of that vision has gone as far as it can go, given that it has assaulted older forms of Americanism and not replaced them with any very rich sense of why membership in the national community is intrinsically estimable. Many cry today not merely for mutual tolerance and respect and rich lives within particular communities, but for a sense of common values uniting Americans. If so, then the implications of the whole of American history up to the present remain pertinent. We cannot realistically discuss civic education in terms of the contrast between liberal and democratic or civic republican conceptions alone. Americans have never been content to define their civic identities, or construct their educational institutions, without reference to the sorts of ethnocultural notions of membership that Americanist traditions have conveyed from the nation's inception up until today. It is unlikely that they will be much more willing to do so in the future. For me, the question is how should those of us most committed to the liberal and democratic traditions in American life respond?

# Measuring Citizenship: Who? What? Where? When? and Why?

Walt Whitman Center  
for the Culture and Politics of Democracy

December 13, 1993

Working Draft--Not for Citation

Service learning has become one of the most widespread forms of civic education in the 1990s, and with the passage of legislation establishing the Corporation for National and Community Service, it has become the basis for one of the Clinton Administration's most popular programs. Along with voluntary service and youth service and other forms of experiential civic education, service learning has provided a window on new ways of training young people in social responsibility and what was once called civic virtue. Supporters include Donald Kennedy, President Emeritus of Stanford, Tom Ehrlich, President of Indiana University and the current President of Campus Compact, the Academy of Arts and Sciences (which is undertaking a study of service learning), the American Association of Colleges (which is investigating service learning as it studies many different forms of multiculturalism and curriculum innovation on American campuses) as well as many Foundations including Surnda, Amelior, Kellogg, Pew Partnership for Civic Change, Kettering, Lilly and MacArthur -- and of course the Ford Foundation itself (in its support for the AAC project and its new initiative with the United Negro College Fund).

These welcome developments have inaugurated a new period of experimentation in civic education and training of the young for life in a democracy. However, evaluation and assessment of programs such as these remains in a very underdeveloped state. Traditional indicators of civic

education have been mainly cognitive ("Who is your Congressman?" or "What are checks and balances?") as if citizenship were little more than a matter of knowing something. But attitudes are hard to measure (among other things, because they involve self-reporting). Moreover, behavior (Did you vote?; Which organizations do you belong to?; etc.) can be a poor indicator among young people who are not yet established in communities, jobs, families and neighborhoods.

There have been a number of important projects in the past that have been aimed at providing social indicators for citizenship. The classic voter studies done at Michigan and elsewhere in the 1950's and 1960's (including Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet The People's Choice, Berelson, Lazarsfeld, and McPhee, Voting, and Campbell, Converse, Miller and Stokes, The American Voter) tried to gauge voter attitudes and link voting to other traits (class background, religion, education, partisanship, etc.). These early studies were driven by Cold War elite theories of democracy which reduced democratic politics to elite competition for popular support in the electoral arena (e.g., Joseph Schumpeter's Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy, William Kornhauser, The Politics of Mass Society); consequently, these studies tended to reduce the content of citizenship to voting. This research was interested primarily in causal links between voting and other variables rather than in the measurement of capacities that could be said to constitute a prudent voter. In their classic 1963 study The Civic Culture, Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba associated democratic citizenship with certain cultural traits which they compared across five nations -- an exercise which invariably pointed to the conclusion that America was the only really democratic country and hence raised some eyebrows about its cross-cultural credibility. Sidney Verba subsequently wrote several major studies of participation, although his aim

was not to measure the civic aptitude of participants so much as to describe the social conditions favorable to participation. See for example, The Changing American Voter and Participation in America, both co-authored with Norman Nie.

In recent years, several studies have been undertaken that have aimed at measuring citizenship that break from a strictly elite vision of democratic society. Pamela Conover, Donald Searing (who attended our recent meeting) along with Ivor Crewe are conducting a cross national study comparing citizenship attitudes and behaviors in both urban and rural communities in Britain and the United States. In addition to direct elector behavior, their work emphasizes the role of communal participation in the formation of citizen identities. Benjamin Page and Robert Shapiro recently published The Rational Public in which they examine fifty years of American public opinion data. They argue in defense of the proposition that American citizens are rational, and conclude that citizens are rational, given the information they are provided with. (A sympathetic critique of their work by Benjamin R. Barber can be found in Marcus and Hansen, Reconsidering the Democratic Public.) Francis Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward have done the more extensive work on non-voting, and have been able to distinguish the merely satisfied and complacent from those whose non-voting reflects alienation, anger or even a conscious political decision. Jane Mansbridge in her Beyond Adversary Democracy also took on the measure of active civic participation by looking at certain pathological or sociopathological features of participation.

What most of these projects have in common however is, in content, the reduction of citizenship and participation to voting (or non-voting); and, in method, a concern to ask research questions rather than to survey and assess civic skills (or their absence). The historical legacy of elite theories of

democracy has profoundly shaped the research of many of its critics. By emphasizing voting (or non-voting) behavior, even work that is not overtly sympathetic to the elite interpretation of democracy--as orderly competition between elites and democratic citizenship as a vote in the ratification process--has tended to focus on the approach of elite theory rather than fundamentally contest its theoretical and empirical bases.

The work done on evaluation and assessment has been paltry, in part because evaluators have relied much too readily on traditional multiple-choice cognitive tests along the lines of the S.A.T. or G.R.E. model, but also because the challenges facing anyone who hopes to measure civic skills are extremely daunting. Chief among them is an inability to agree on what is to be measured: is citizenship a matter of simple behaviors like voting, or more complex behaviors like the capacity to deliberate, to cooperate and to find common ground with others? Is it a matter of behavior only, or are there specific attitudes which undergo change in ways correlated with the learning of civic skills (and a presumed growth in civic capacity)? If tests ask only survey questions (is the test-taker alienated?) and avoid "research" questions (is it because she is complacent? or angry?), answers will be of little use to those engaged in civic education. But if questionnaires pose research questions of the kind that might help civic educators evaluate civic growth in their students, they quickly become unmanageable in both methodological and practical terms (too long, too complex and expensive to process, too open-ended, non-replicable, etc.)

These problems led many to conclude, quite prudently in our view, that measuring citizenship verged on being a hopeless enterprise. No one could fully agree on what citizenship was, and whatever it was, it seemed that it couldn't be easily measured. Yet this conclusion runs counter to the common sense

evidence of everyone working in service learning, civic education and other citizen-training programs who regularly witness profound changes in attitude and behavior in those with whom they work. Moreover, it is clear that some programs are more effective than others -- some trainings more likely to produce good citizens (or at least better) than others. There have to be ways to measure these changes, even if traditional social science and educational testing have had a hard time doing so. Moreover, such measurement surely is critical to the many programs being developed to enhance citizenship and thus to the foundations and government agencies that are funding them. Millions of dollars have gone into service education and community and national service in recent years, and there is an absolute necessity to be able to offer some reliable assessment of program outcomes.

It was this challenge that led the Whitman Center, itself engaged in a number of projects devoted to enhancing citizenship and social responsibility, chief among them its pioneering service learning program which gave President Clinton the occasion to visit Rutgers University and launch his own National Service Plan in March of 1993, to examine assessment questions. With the support and collaboration of the Surdna Foundation (with a supplementary grant from the Markle Foundation), the Whitman Center embarked in 1992 on a three year (plus) project designed to result in the production of an assessment tool that has the specific virtue of capturing the measurable civic outcomes of service-learning and other service interventions in the life of a democratic citizen. The Whitman Center's Measuring Citizenship project contributes to the assessment of the civic outcomes of service interventions in three ways:

- First, we are producing a practical assessment tool to measure relatively short term changes in the attitudes and behaviors of citizens who experience a service intervention.
- Second, through a combination of working group meetings and our ongoing measurement efforts at the Whitman Center we are contributing to the theoretical debate about the substantive content of democratic citizenship.
- And third, the research team at the Whitman Center in combination with the program and measurement specialists brought together through the working groups is providing us with an opportunity to develop an assessment tool which is both conceptually innovative and methodologically rigorous.

#### **1. CIVIC SKILLS ASSESSMENT TOOL:**

We are producing a tool for measuring relatively short-term changes in civic attitudes and behaviors that occur when a citizen experiences a service learning or other experientially based intervention. This tool takes the form of a repeated measures, close-ended questionnaire that can be self-administered, will be inexpensive to analyze, and can be compared with other existing data about democratic citizenship. Our civic skills assessment is designed to be one component of a full program evaluation; it is designed to measure changes in the civic attitudes and behaviors of individuals.

We believe that this questionnaire can make an important contribution to the more specific and qualitative kinds of data any solid program evaluation will gather. For instance, our instrument does not gather data on numerous structural issues concerning the design, history, or day-to-day operation of a

service program that would be part of a full program evaluation. We anticipate, however, that our instrument will indicate the extent to which these structural factors affect the attitudes and behaviors of citizens. Thus, our individual level measures may have consequences for many structural decisions program officers must make about, among other things, service placements and the place of traditional civics education in combination with service. Again, our assessment is at the individual level, evaluating participant growth rather than programs. It contributes to other dimensions of solid program evaluation however by providing measures of some of the attitudinal and behavioral civic changes an individual undergoes as a result of a service intervention. Consequently it offers programs a valuable method of self-assessment and provides funders and government sponsors with a method for evaluation.

## **2. THE CONTENT OF DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP:**

By examining and defining several different species of democratic citizenship, which we have done through both formal working groups meetings and meetings at the Center, on the way to developing measures by which citizenship can be assessed, the civic skills assessment instrument offers a framework for interpreting the attitudinal and behavioral content of democratic citizenship. (See the attached report "Clarifying and Measuring Community, Service, Learning and Citizenship" for an overview of our theoretical discussions. See also attached report "Civic Skills Assessment: A critical Examination" for a review of our progress on measurement questions.) The test allows both for survey questions and for background research questions that probe second levels of meaning and provide "why" explanations to "what and where and when" answers: not only how "tolerant" someone may

be, but whether "tolerance" represents a complacent and un-self-scrutinizing attribute or the product of hard work (a "lower" score on a tolerance scale might thus turn out to reflect more self-critical attitudes which actually suggest a more developed level of citizenship!)

A preponderance of the post World War II United States citizenship studies have been grounded in elite democratic theory and have focused on the electoral arena. Consequently we already know a great deal about the relationship between partisanship and voting (see studies mentioned above, Gerald M. Pomper, The Voter's Choice, and Morris Fiorina Retrospective Voting in American Elections), the ways people become socialized into the political process (see David Easton, Children and the Political System, Roberta S. Sigel, Political Learning in Adulthood and M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi, Generations and Politics), the patterns of communication between elites and the mass electorate (Philip Converse, "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics," Edward Carmines and James Stimson, Issue Evolution). While we believe that voting is an important indicator of responsible democratic citizenship, our work is not about electoral politics. It focuses on the attitudinal and behavioral changes in citizens who undergo service learning and other kinds of experientially based civic interventions and thus contributes to a richer more textured conception of democracy. Put differently, this assessment extends our understanding of democracy. While it reflects traditional representative conceptions, it also speaks to more participatory conceptions. The civic assessment results permit evaluation of citizenship on several levels then; a participant may score high on a local participation scale but low on a traditional national electoral scale, or vice versa. Inevitably then, the test not only reflects but contributes to our understanding of democracy.

Our research builds upon insights from the National Election Study, the General Social Survey, and surveys designed for Verba and Nie's Participation in America and Jennings and Niemi's Generations and Politics as well as the innovative ideas of Janice Ballou, Director, Center for Public Interest Polling, Prof. Jeff Smith, a nationally recognized testing expert and statistician, and Prof. Benjamin R. Barber, Director of the Whitman Center, especially in his work Strong Democracy.

### **3. COMMITMENT TO METHODOLOGICAL RIGOR AND INNOVATION:**

While it has incorporated a number of methodologically novel features in trying to meet the specific needs of those who will be most likely to use the assessment instrument, the approach of the research team has been to insist on social science rigor (if not in the narrow positivistic sense). The instrument under development thus builds incrementally on existing citizenship survey questions and pays careful attention to the need for reliability, validity and believability; yet at the same time, it responds to new concerns and the particular issues of those who work in civic education and the community and are trying to effectively raise levels of citizenship in young people working in a service context.

We are persuaded that the appropriateness of any method of analysis will depend upon what it is one wants to learn. Historical, ethnographic, experimental, participant-observer, and survey methods will yield distinct kinds of knowledge that are not easily or fully translatable into other terms. We made a difficult decision to develop a relatively traditional repeated measures, close-ended question style assessment tool. This decision was difficult because we knew that we would limit our ability to have full access to

the kind of rich, textured information one gathers through participant observation, "thick description", or ethnography. But we made this decision because our project has a practical, results-oriented focus. To be useful for measuring the civic outcomes of service learning and other forms of experiential interventions, we know that our assessment will have to be easy to use, inexpensive to analyze, valid across a variety of audiences, and comparable with other existing data about democratic citizenship. At the same time, by building in innovative opportunities for "why" questions as qualifiers for and modifiers of "what" or "where on the scale" questions, we believe our assessment will be more flexible and more useful to civic educators than instruments wedded so much to rigor that they cannot pose the right questions.

We do not pretend to have solved all the conundrums of objective evaluation of the subjective and normative skills involved in citizenship. We do think we have developed a sophisticated model of democracy and citizenship that encompasses several competing understandings; and that our provisional assessment instrument is a significant improvement over previous tools. It should have special value to those working in service learning and citizenship education programs who want a realistic and reliable measure of many of the attitudes and skills they are trying to inculcate in their participants. In this, it not only contributes to testing methodology and social science knowledge about democracy, but to the effort to nourish more democratic, civic-minded citizens.

**Section E:**  
**Civic Skills Assessment (Second Version)**

**Contents:**

- Copy of Civic Attachments and Public Life, second version

### Civic Attachments and Public Life

The following questions are about citizenship and public life. Please answer them to the best of your ability. This is not a test. Try not to spent too much time on any one question. Thank you for your cooperation.

1. People have different feelings about the responsibilities they owe to their families, their jobs, the community where they live, their country, and to humanity. Some people feel a strong personal responsibility, and that they owe a lot. Other people feel that they should contribute something, but don't feel they owe as much. And others feel that they owe only a little. Please circle the number that best indicates the degree of responsibility you feel that you owe next to each of the following.

		Owe A Little						Owe a Lot
a. your family	107-	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
b. your job	108-	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
c. your community	109-	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
d. your country	110-	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
e. humanity	111-	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

2. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with each of the following items. (Circle your response.)

		Agree		Disagree
a. The public has little control over what politicians do in office.	112-	1		2
b. The average person can get nowhere by talking to public officials.	113-	1		2
c. The average person has considerable influence on politics.	114-	1		2
d. The average person has much to say about running local government.	115-	1		2
e. People like me have much to say about government.	116-	1		2
f. The average person has a great deal of influence on government decisions.	117-	1		2
g. The government is generally responsive to the public.	118-	1		2

3. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements. (Circle your response.)

	Agree	Disagree
a. The people running the country don't really care what happens to you.	119- 1	2
b. The rich get richer the poor get poorer.	120- 1	2
c. What you think doesn't count very much anymore.	121- 1	2
d. You're left out of things going on around you.	122- 1	2
e. Most people with power will try to take advantage of people like yourself.	123- 1	2
f. The people in Washington, D.C. are out of touch with the rest of the country.	124- 1	2

4. Below are several pairs of statements. Please circle the number next to the one statement in each pair that is closest to your opinion.

- a. 125- 1. I am most interested in issues that are local and close to home.  
OR  
2. I am most interested in issues that are national and international.
- b. 126- 1. Democratic politics works best when a few elected, strong leaders make the important decisions.  
OR  
2. Democratic politics works best when all citizens act as leaders.
- c. 127- 1. Elected representatives should make decisions based on what is best for all of their constituents.  
OR  
2. Elected representatives should do what the majority of their constituents tell them, even if the representative doesn't think it is the best decision.
- d. 128- 1. When I elect someone, I am trusting them to make the best possible decisions for me.  
OR  
2. When I elect someone, I am sending them to represent my interests.
- e. 129- 1. Rights are earned through accepting the responsibilities of citizenship.  
OR  
2. I am entitled to my rights because I am a citizen.

(Continued) Please circle the number next to the one statement in each pair that is closest to your opinion.

- f. 1. A political society should protect the interest of the community even if that means sacrificing some individual interests.  
 130- OR 2. Political society should protect the interest of individuals, even if that means sacrificing some interests of the community.

5. Here is a list of issues that may affect your community. Do you tend to think about these issues as primarily technical and about the facts, or governmental and a matter for public discussion? For each of the following issues, please circle the number under the column that best represents your opinion.

		Technical-- about facts	Governmental-- a matter for public discussion
a. Recycling	131-	1	2
b. HIV/AIDS	132-	1	2
c. Prison overcrowding	133-	1	2
d. Health care	134-	1	2
e. Gun control	135-	1	2
f. Cancer research	136-	1	2
g. Education	137-	1	2
h. Global warming	138-	1	2

6. The following is a list of some of the different groups in our society. Next to each group, circle the number of people you know in that group with whom you have had a conversation in the last six months.

		none	1 - 5	6 - 10	more than 10
a. African-Americans	139-	1	2	3	4
b. Asians	140-	1	2	3	4
c. Gays and lesbians	141-	1	2	3	4
d. Latino	142-	1	2	3	4
e. White, Non-Latino	143-	1	2	3	4
f. People with disabilities	144-	1	2	3	4
g. People wealthier than you	145-	1	2	3	4
h. People on welfare	146-	1	2	3	4

7. How much do you feel you know about the concerns and issues that people in the following groups face? (Circle your response.)

		Nothing at all	Not very much	Some	A great deal
a. African-Americans	147-	1	2	3	4
b. Asians	148-	1	2	3	4
c. Gays and lesbians	149-	1	2	3	4
d. Latino	150-	1	2	3	4
e. White, Non-Latino	151-	1	2	3	4
f. People with disabilities	152-	1	2	3	4
g. People wealthier than you	153-	1	2	3	4
h. People on welfare	154-	1	2	3	4

8. In the last year, how often have you felt that when you tried to explain an issue or problem to someone they did not understand or did not "get it" because they had not had the same ethnic, cultural, or gender experiences you have had? (Circle your response.)

1. never
2. one or two times
- 155 - 3. three to five times
4. six to ten times
5. more than ten times

9. In the last year, how often have you listened to someone explain an issue or problem they faced, and they felt that you did not understand or did not "get it" because you had not had the same ethnic, cultural, or gender experiences that they have had? (Circle your response.)

1. never
2. one or two times
- 156 - 3. three to five times
4. six to ten times
5. more than ten times

10. For each of the following issues, please indicate what action you would take (or have taken) to support each. (You may circle more than one activity.)

		Do nothing	Give money	Write a letter	Attend a meeting	Organize a group
a. education	207-	1	220-	1	233-	1
b. world peace		1	1	1	1	1
c. homelessness		1	1	1	1	1
d. women's rights		1	1	1	1	1
e. environment	211-	1	224-	1	237-	1
f. health care		1	1	1	1	1
g. crime		1	1	1	1	1
h. race relations		1	1	1	1	1
i. world hunger	215-	1	228-	1	241-	1
j. child abuse		1	1	1	1	1
k. elderly care		1	1	1	1	1
other: (please specify)						
l. _____		1	1	1	1	1
m. _____	219-	1	232-	1	245-	1

11. The following are some things that could happen to people. After the problem is described there is a list of different actions that could be taken. Please circle the number in front of all of the possible actions you would take.

a. Imagine that you live in a dormitory on a college campus and there have been five different crimes in the past month. What would you do? (Circle all that apply.)

- 272- 1. Nothing--mind your own business.
- 273- 1. Start a petition.
- 274- 1. Write to the President of the University.
- 275- 1. Organize a meeting for the people in your dormitory.
- 276- 1. Attend a meeting that was organized by someone else.

b. You find out that the family that you live next door to is having financial problems. What would you do? (Circle all that apply.)

- 307- 1. Nothing--mind your own business.
- 308- 1. Send an anonymous donation.
- 309- 1. Help them find a job.
- 310- 1. Help them find a social service agency to help them.
- 311- 1. Contact a social service agency yourself and notify it about them.

12. For each of the following questions, circle the number that best represents your response. (Circle the number for your response.)

		No more than once a year	2 - 5 times a year	6 - 10 times a year	More than ten times a year
312-	a. How often have people asked for your advice about a issue that concerned you?	1	2	3	4
313-	b. How often do you arrange for activities for you and others to do?	1	2	3	4
314-	c. How often do you suggest events or activities for other people to participate in?	1	2	3	4
315-	d. How often do you come up with ideas that no one else has thought of before?	1	2	3	4
316-	e. How often do you persuade a person to agree to your point of view?	1	2	3	4
317-	f. How often do you listen to someone else's ideas and change your point of view?	1	2	3	4

13. How much do you feel you know about how government works--a great deal, some, not much, nothing at all? (Circle the number under your response.)

	a great deal	some	not much	nothing at all
318-	1	2	3	4

14. The following is a list of different services that people use. For each, please circle the number that best describes how you feel.

		Individuals should provide for themselves	Government should provide for individuals	Both individuals and government should provide
a. Telephone system	319-	1	2	3
b. Clean tap water	320-	1	2	3
c. Jobs	321-	1	2	3
d. Health care	322-	1	2	3
e. Higher education	323-	1	2	3
f. Inoculations for diseases	324-	1	2	3
g. Defense	325-	1	2	3
h. Housing	326-	1	2	3

15. The following is a list of activities. Please indicate whether you think each activity is a part of citizenship, and then indicate whether or not you think each of these activities should be required by law. (Circle "1" for "yes" or "2" for "no.")

	This is a part of citizenship.		This should be required by law.	
	YES	NO	YES	NO
a. register to vote	327- 1	2	341- 1	2
b. register for the draft	328- 1	2	342- 1	2
c. report for jury duty	329- 1	2	343- 1	2
d. pay taxes	330- 1	2	344- 1	2
e. obey the laws	331- 1	2	345- 1	2
f. assist the police when you see a crime	332- 1	2	346- 1	2
g. pay attention to what goes on in government	333- 1	2	347- 1	2
h. run for elected office	334- 1	2	348- 1	2
i. volunteer for community service	335- 1	2	349- 1	2
j. give blood	336- 1	2	350- 1	2
k. pick up litter	337- 1	2	351- 1	2
l. car pool	338- 1	2	352- 1	2
m. recycle	339- 1	2	353- 1	2
n. stay out of debt	340- 1	2	354- 1	2

16. The following is a list of things that people may do. For each please circle the number under the answer that best describes how serious an offense you feel each is.

	very serious	somewhat serious	not very serious	not serious
a. Driving through a yellow caution light	355- 1	2	3	4
b. Underage consumption of alcohol	356- 1	2	3	4
c. Trying to find ways to evade taxes	357- 1	2	3	4
d. Driving faster than the speed limit	358- 1	2	3	4
e. Paying a mechanic extra to pass your car for inspection even when it has failed	359- 1	2	3	4
f. Not telling a store check-out person when they undercharge you	360- 1	2	3	4

17. Do you feel most laws are: (circle one)

- 361-
1. fair to everyone
  2. fair to most people
  3. fair to some people
  4. fair to only a few people

18. For each of the following statements, please circle the number that best represents how frequently you have done these things in the past five years.

		Never	Occasionally	Regularly
a.	I vote in national elections.	362- 1	2	3
b.	I discuss local politics on a weekly basis.	363- 1	2	3
c.	I speak at meetings of the town council.	364- 1	2	3
d.	I vote in primary elections.	365- 1	2	3
e.	I have given serious thought to running for school board, town council, or other local office.	366- 1	2	3
f.	I volunteer time to a civic organization.	367- 1	2	3
g.	I write to newspapers to voice my views on an issue.	368- 1	2	3
h.	I vote in local elections.	369- 1	2	3
i.	I contact my congressman or senator over an issue of concern to me.	370- 1	2	3
j.	I talk about national politics with friends and relatives.	371- 1	2	3
k.	I hold gatherings at my house (apartment) to support local candidates who I think are good.	372- 1	2	3
l.	I work for political causes that I care about.	373- 1	2	3
m.	I campaign for candidates for state or national office.	374- 1	2	3
n.	I participate in events in my community.	375- 1	2	3
o.	I collect signatures for petitions for a causes I care about.	376- 1	2	3

(Continued) Please circle the number that best represents how frequently you have done these things in the past five years.

		Never	Occasionally	Regularly
p.	I organize protests to try to change a policy I think are unfair.	407- 1	2	3
q.	I call the mayor of my town to get action on issues I think are important.	408- 1	2	3
r.	I try to learn as much as I can about candidates before voting.	409- 1	2	3
s.	I make sure I understand bond votes and referenda before voting on them.	410- 1	2	3
t.	I hold (have held) office in a community organization.	411- 1	2	3
u.	I serve (have served) as a scout leader or a little league coach.	412- 1	2	3
v.	I organize phone campaigns to make sure people vote.	413- 1	2	3
w.	I serve as a poll watcher at my local voting precinct.	414- 1	2	3
x.	I go door-to-door to help candidates.	415- 1	2	3
y.	I am a member of national organizations which support issues which are important to me.	416- 1	2	3

19. There are seven categories of activities listed below. Rank each category from 1 to 7 in order of importance to you.

**SAMPLE:**    2 Sports  
                   4 Career  
                   1 Personal Development  
                   3 Friends and Acquaintances

1 = Most Important --- 7 = Least Important

- a. 417-        Career
- b. 418-        Family/Relatives
- c. 419-        Community/Civic Activities
- d. 420-        Sports/Relaxation
- e. 421-        Personal Development
- f. 422-        Politics and Public Life
- g. 423-        Friends and Acquaintances

**Directions:** Below you will find a list of six activities or ideas which you might spend time doing. Read each concept and then provide your reaction to the concept in terms of the pairs of adjectives listed below it. For example, imagine the first concept was like this:

**SAMPLE:**

Reading a Mystery Novel

	Good	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Bad
	Fast	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Slow
	Familiar	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Unfamiliar

Let's say you enjoy mystery novels, so you mark closer to "Good" than "Bad." If you like to take your time in reading them, you might think of them as somewhat slow. If you have read a lot of them, you might think of them as very familiar. Your marks would look somewhat like this:

**SAMPLE:**

Reading a Mystery Novel

	Good	1	②	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Bad
	Fast	1	2	3	4	5	6	⑦	8	9	Slow
	Familiar	①	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Unfamiliar

Now read the six sets of concepts and ideas below and respond to all of the adjective pairs in the same fashion. Some of the adjectives may seem unusual for the concept. Don't worry about that. Do not spend too much time on any of the adjective pairs, just mark your first reaction.

20.

Being with Family or Friends

- |      |    |          |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |            |
|------|----|----------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| 424- | a. | Good     | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | Bad        |
| 425- | b. | Fast     | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | Slow       |
| 426- | c. | Familiar | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | Unfamiliar |
| 427- | d. | Weak     | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | Strong     |
| 428- | e. | Unusual  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | Usual      |
| 429- | f. | Fair     | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | Unfair     |
| 430- | g. | Active   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | Passive    |
| 431- | h. | Small    | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | Large      |

21.

## Working on an Aspect of Personal Development

431-	a.	Good	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Bad
433-	b.	Fast	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Slow
434-	c.	Familiar	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Unfamiliar
428-	d.	Weak	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Strong
456-	e.	Unusual	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Usual
437-	f.	Fair	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Unfair
438-	g.	Active	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Passive
429-	h.	Small	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Large

22.

## Working on a Community or Civic Activity

448-	a.	Good	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Bad
449-	b.	Fast	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Slow
442-	c.	Familiar	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Unfamiliar
443-	d.	Weak	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Strong
444-	e.	Unusual	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Usual
445-	f.	Fair	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Unfair
446-	g.	Active	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Passive
447-	h.	Small	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Large

23.

## Taking Part in a Sports Activity or Relaxation

448-	a.	Good	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Bad
449-	b.	Fast	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Slow
450-	c.	Familiar	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Unfamiliar
451-	d.	Weak	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Strong
452-	e.	Unusual	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Usual
453-	f.	Fair	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Unfair
454-	g.	Active	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Passive
455-	h.	Small	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Large

24.

Engaging in Politics or Public Life

456-	a.	Good	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Bad
457-	b.	Fast	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Slow
458-	c.	Familiar	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Unfamiliar
459-	d.	Weak	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Strong
460-	e.	Unusual	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Usual
461-	f.	Fair	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Unfair
462-	g.	Active	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Passive
463-	h.	Small	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Large

25.

Doing Something to Enhance Your Career

464-	a.	Good	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Bad
465-	b.	Fast	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Slow
466-	c.	Familiar	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Unfamiliar
467-	d.	Weak	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Strong
468-	e.	Unusual	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Usual
469-	f.	Fair	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Unfair
470-	g.	Active	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Passive
471-	h.	Small	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Large

26. Below are a list of skills and activities that people do in various situations. Please read each of the following and rate yourself with respect to how well you do each of these. Use a scale of 1 = "I do not do this very well." to 7 = "I consider this to be something I do very well." You can use any number from 1 to 7.

**I do not do this very well**
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
**I do this very well**

*Write in the number indicating your response next to each question.*

- 472- \_\_\_\_\_ a. Respecting the views of others.
- 473- \_\_\_\_\_ b. Attentive to social issues.
- 474- \_\_\_\_\_ c. Participating in community affairs.
- 475- \_\_\_\_\_ d. Thinking critically.
- 476- \_\_\_\_\_ e. Communicating my ideas to others.
- 477- \_\_\_\_\_ f. Engaging in discussion with others.
- 478- \_\_\_\_\_ g. Ability to compromise.

(continued)

**I do not do this  
 very well**

1                  2                  3                  4                  5                  6

**I do this  
 very well**

7

*Write in the number indicating your response next to each question.*

- 507-    \_\_\_\_\_ h. Listening skills.
- 508-    \_\_\_\_\_ i. Moral or ethical judgment.
- 509-    \_\_\_\_\_ j. Identification of social issues and concerns.
- 510-    \_\_\_\_\_ k. Thinking about the future.
- 511-    \_\_\_\_\_ l. Ability to take action.
- 512-    \_\_\_\_\_ m. Tolerant of people who are different from me.
- 513-    \_\_\_\_\_ n. Effective in accomplishing goals.
- 514-    \_\_\_\_\_ o. Ability to see consequences of actions.
- 515-    \_\_\_\_\_ p. Empathetic to all points of view.
- 516-    \_\_\_\_\_ q. Ability to work with others.
- 517-    \_\_\_\_\_ r. Thinking about others before myself.
- 518-    \_\_\_\_\_ s. Ability to speak in public.
- 519-    \_\_\_\_\_ t. Feeling responsible for others.
- 520-    \_\_\_\_\_ u. Knowing where to find information.
- 521-    \_\_\_\_\_ v. Knowing who to contact in order to get things done.
- 522-    \_\_\_\_\_ w. Ability to lead a group.

27. In politics as of today, do you consider yourself a Democrat, Republican, Independent, or something else?

- 1. Democrat
- 523-    2. Republican
- 3. Independent
- 4. Other

28. Do you lean more toward the Democratic Party or more toward the Republican Party?

- 1. Democratic Party
- 524-    2. Republican Party
- 3. Other Party
- 4. Neither

29. We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Here is a seven point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative. Where would you place yourself on this scale? (Circle the number for your response)

- 525-
- |                   |         |                  |                              |                       |              |                        |
|-------------------|---------|------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------|------------------------|
| 1                 | 2       | 3                | 4                            | 5                     | 6            | 7                      |
| extremely liberal | liberal | slightly liberal | moderate: middle of the road | slightly conservative | conservative | extremely conservative |

30. Ethnic group: (please circle only one)

- 526-
- |                                      |                                  |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. American Indian or Alaskan Native | 4. Latino                        |
| 2. Asian or Pacific Islander         | 5. White, Non-Latino             |
| 3. Black, Non-Hispanic               | 6. Other (Please Describe) _____ |

31. Do you consider yourself to be Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, or Something else?

- 527-
1. Catholic
  2. Protestant
  3. Jewish
  4. None/Atheist/Agnostic
  5. Other: \_\_\_\_\_

32. Please circle the number next to the category that best describes your total yearly family income from all sources. (Estimate to the best of your knowledge.)

- 528-
1. \$20,000 or less
  2. \$20,001 - 30,000
  3. \$30,001 - 50,000
  4. \$50,001 - 75,000
  5. \$75,001 or more

529- 33. Your gender:            1. Male        2. Female

530-531 34. Your age: \_\_\_\_\_

35. Please circle the number in front of the statement that best describes your education:

- 532-
1. have not finished high school or equivalency
  2. High School graduate (or equivalency)
  3. some college (or junior college)
  4. four year college degree
  5. post-graduate studies

36. For research purposes we need to have a unique code on this questionnaire. Please write in the LAST FOUR DIGITS of your telephone number:

\_\_\_\_\_ 533-536

**Section F:**

**Civic Skills Assessment (Current Version)**

**Contents:**

- Copy of Civic Attachments and Public Life, current version

### Civic Attachments and Public Life

**Directions:** The following questions are about citizenship and public life. Please answer them to the best of your ability. This is not a test. Try not to spend too much time on any one question. Thank you for your cooperation.

For research purposes we need to have a unique code on this questionnaire. Please write the LAST FOUR DIGITS of your local telephone number in the space below:

\_\_\_\_\_ 109-112

1. Please circle the response that best represents your feelings about the following statements:

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
a. The public has little control over what politicians do in office.	113-	1	2	3	4
b. The government is not generally responsive to the public.	114-	1	2	3	4
c. The people in Washington, D.C. are out of touch with the rest of the country.	115-	1	2	3	4
d. Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.	116-	1	2	3	4
e. People like me don't have any say about what the government does.	117-	1	2	3	4
f. It's not worth my time to pay attention to what goes on in government.	118-	1	2	3	4

Think for a moment about the responses that you gave to the six statements above. In a couple of sentences, please summarize your reasons for giving the responses that you did.

---



---



---



---



---



---



---

2. Here is a list of issues that may affect your community. Do you tend to think about these issues as primarily technical and about the facts, or governmental and a matter for public discussion? For each of the following issues, please circle the number under the column that best represents your opinion.

	Technical-- about facts	Governmental-- a matter for public discussion
a. Recycling	119. 1	2
b. HIV/AIDS	120. 1	2
c. Health care	121. 1	2
d. Cancer research	122. 1	2
e. Education	123. 1	2
f. Global warming	124. 1	2

Pick one the issues from above that you think about as governmental and a matter for public discussion. What is this issue? \_\_\_\_\_

Now, write a couple of sentences explaining why you think about this issue as primarily governmental and a matter for public discussion.

---



---



---



---



---



---

Pick one the issues from above that you think about as technical and about the facts. What is this issue? \_\_\_\_\_

Now, write a couple of sentences explaining why you think about this issue as technical and about the facts.

---



---



---



---



---



---

3. There are always some people whose ideas or beliefs are considered offensive by others. Sometimes these offensive ideas or beliefs that are of an extreme religious or political nature. Other times offensive beliefs are about race or nationality. Consider members of a group that advocates these extreme ideas or beliefs, and indicate which of the activities listed below you think members of such a group should be allowed to do to advocate their particular ideas or beliefs in the town, city, or community you call home and which activities should not be allowed. *(Please Circle Your Response.)*

**a. Consider members of a group that advocates extreme political views.**

	Should be Allowed	Should not be Allowed
Make speeches about their cause at the local Community Center or Public Library <sup>121.</sup>	1	2
Teach at a local high school <sup>122.</sup>	1	2
Teach at a nearby university or college <sup>123.</sup>	1	2
Host a weekly television show about their cause on the local cable access channel <sup>124.</sup>	1	2
Run for a local elected office <sup>125.</sup>	1	2
Organize demonstrations to change the federal government's position regarding their cause <sup>126.</sup>	1	2

**b. Next, consider members of a group that advocates extreme religious views.**

	Should be Allowed	Should not be Allowed
Make speeches about their cause at the local Community Center or Public Library <sup>127.</sup>	1	2
Teach at a local high school <sup>128.</sup>	1	2
Teach at a nearby university or college <sup>129.</sup>	1	2
Host a weekly television show about their cause on the local cable access channel <sup>130.</sup>	1	2
Run for a local elected office <sup>131.</sup>	1	2
Organize demonstrations to change the federal government's position regarding their cause <sup>132.</sup>	1	2

(Continued. Please Circle Your Response.)

c. Finally, consider members of a group that advocates the superiority of one race or nationality.

	Should be Allowed	Should not be Allowed
Make speeches about their cause at the local Community Center or Public Library	137- 1	2
Teach at a local high school	138- 1	2
Teach at a nearby university or college	139- 1	2
Host a weekly television show about their cause on the local cable access channel	140- 1	2
Run for a local elected office	141- 1	2
Organize demonstrations to change the federal government's position regarding their cause	142- 1	2

4. For each of the following issues, please indicate which of the following actions you have taken within the last year. (Please circle all that apply.)

	Nothing	Gave money	Wrote a letter	Attended a meeting	Organized a group
a. education	143- 0	156- 1	207- 1	222- 1	215- 1
b. world peace	0	1	1	1	1
c. homelessness	0	1	1	1	1
d. women's rights	0	1	1	1	1
e. environment	144- 0	160- 1	213- 1	226- 1	219- 1
f. health care	0	1	1	1	1
g. crime	0	1	1	1	1
h. race relations	150- 0	163- 1	216- 1	229- 1	242- 1
i. world hunger	0	1	1	1	1
j. child abuse	0	1	1	1	1
k. elderly care	153- 0	166- 1	219- 1	232- 1	245- 1
other: (please specify)					
l. _____	0	1	1	1	1
m. _____	155- 0	168- 1	221- 1	234- 1	247- 1

$\frac{201-207}{247} \quad \frac{2}{208}$

5. The following is a list of some of the different groups in our society. Thinking about a typical week, please indicate how often you have conversations with members of the following groups. Circle your response. If you never have an opportunity to speak with any members of these groups, please circle the "No Opportunity" response.

		Never	Less than once a week	About once a week	2 to 6 times a week	Daily	No Oppor- tunity
a. African-Americans	248-	1	2	3	4	5	9
b. Asians	249-	1	2	3	4	5	9
c. Gays and lesbians	250-	1	2	3	4	5	9
d. Latino	251-	1	2	3	4	5	9
e. White, Non-Latino	252-	1	2	3	4	5	9
f. People with disabilities	253-	1	2	3	4	5	9
g. People wealthier than you	254-	1	2	3	4	5	9
h. People less well off than you	255-	1	2	3	4	5	9
i. Rural young people	256-	1	2	3	4	5	9
j. Urban young people	257-	1	2	3	4	5	9
k. Elderly people	258-	1	2	3	4	5	9

6. How much do you feel you know about the concerns and issues that people in the following groups face? (Circle your response.)

		Nothing	Not very much	Some	A great deal
a. African-Americans	259-	1	2	3	4
b. Asian-Americans	260-	1	2	3	4
c. Gays and lesbians	261-	1	2	3	4
d. Latino	262-	1	2	3	4
e. White, Non-Latino	263-	1	2	3	4
f. People with disabilities	264-	1	2	3	4
g. People wealthier than you	265-	1	2	3	4
h. People less well off than you	266-	1	2	3	4
i. Rural young people	267-	1	2	3	4
j. Urban young People	268-	1	2	3	4
k. Elderly People	269-	1	2	3	4

7. Thinking about a typical month, about how often does each of the following events happen to you. (Circle your response.)

	No more than once a month	2 - 5 times a month	6 - 10 times a month	More than ten times a month
a. How often have people asked for your advice about an important issue?	270. 1	2	3	4
b. How often do you arrange for activities for you and others to do?	271. 1	2	3	4
c. How often do you suggest events or activities for other people to participate in?	272. 1	2	3	4
d. How often do you come up with ideas that no one else has thought of before?	273. 1	2	3	4
e. How often do you persuade a person to agree to your point of view?	274. 1	2	3	4
f. How often do you listen to someone else's ideas and change your point of view?	275. 1	2	3	4

8. Imagine that you are about to join a new group or organization. How likely are you to anticipate becoming a leader of this group. Circle the response that best represents your expectations.

1. I know that I won't become a leader.
2. I don't have any anticipation either way.
276. 3. I might become a leader.
4. I fully expect to become a leader.

9. How frequently do you do each of the following? (Please circle your response.)

	Never	Occasionally	Regularly
a. I vote in national elections.	309- 1	2	3
b. I discuss local politics on a weekly basis.	310- 1	2	3
c. I speak at meetings of the town council.	311- 1	2	3
d. I vote in primary elections.	312- 1	2	3
e. I run for the governing board, school board, town council, or other local office.	313- 1	2	3
f. I volunteer time to a civic organization.	314- 1	2	3
g. I write to newspapers to voice my views on an issue.	315- 1	2	3
h. I vote in local elections.	316- 1	2	3
i. I contact my congressman or senator over an issue of concern to me.	317- 1	2	3
j. I talk about national politics with friends and relatives.	318- 1	2	3
k. I hold gatherings at my house (apartment) to support local candidates who I think are good.	319- 1	2	3
l. I work for political causes that I care about.	320- 1	2	3
m. I campaign for candidates for state or national office.	321- 1	2	3
n. I participate in events in my community.	322- 1	2	3
o. I collect signatures for petitions for causes I care about.	323- 1	2	3
p. I organize protests to try to change a policy I think is unfair.	324- 1	2	3
q. I call the mayor of my town to get action on issues I think are important.	325- 1	2	3
r. I try to learn as much as I can about candidates before voting.	326- 1	2	3
s. I make sure I understand bond votes and referenda before voting on them.	327- 1	2	3

(Continued) How Frequently do you do each of the following?

		Never	Occasionally	Regularly
t.	I hold (have held) office in a community organization.	325- 1	2	3
u.	I serve (have served) as a scout leader, little league coach, or other youth group leader.	324- 1	2	3
v.	I organize phone campaigns to make sure people vote.	330- 1	2	3
w.	I serve as a poll watcher at my local voting precinct.	321- 1	2	3
x.	I go door-to-door to help candidates.	322- 1	2	3
y.	I am a member of national organizations which support issues which are important to me.	313- 1	2	3

10. Please circle the number that best indicates how important you feel each of the following activities is for a citizen.

		Not Important			Very Important	
a.	register to vote	329- 1	2	3	4	5
b.	register for the draft	315- 1	2	3	4	5
c.	report for jury duty	356- 1	2	3	4	5
d.	pay taxes	327- 1	2	3	4	5
e.	obey the laws	328- 1	2	3	4	5
f.	assist the police when you see a crime	329- 1	2	3	4	5
g.	pay attention to what goes on in government	340- 1	2	3	4	5
h.	run for elected office	341- 1	2	3	4	5
i.	volunteer for community service	342- 1	2	3	4	5
j.	give blood	343- 1	2	3	4	5
k.	pick up litter	344- 1	2	3	4	5
l.	car pool	345- 1	2	3	4	5
m.	recycle	346- 1	2	3	4	5
n.	stay out of debt	347- 1	2	3	4	5

11. The following is a list of different services that people use. Please circle the response that best represents who you think should be primarily responsible for providing these services.

	Individuals and Families	Local and State Government	Federal Government	Private Agencies
a. Caring for the elderly	348- 1	2	3	4
b. Providing clean tap water	349- 1	2	3	4
c. Assisting the unemployed	350- 1	2	3	4
d. Financing health care	351- 1	2	3	4
e. Financing higher education	352- 1	2	3	4
f. Providing inoculations for diseases <sup>153</sup>	1	2	3	4
g. Providing military defense	354- 1	2	3	4
h. Providing housing	355- 1	2	3	4

Pick the item from this list that was most difficult for you to answer and write in the name of that item. \_\_\_\_\_

In a few sentences, please explain what it is about the item you selected that makes it the most difficult for you to decide who should have the primary responsibility for providing it.

---



---



---



---



---



---



---



---



---



---



---



---



---



---



---



---

12. Please read the four statements below and write "1" next to the statement that best represents your feelings about politics and a "2" next to the statement that is the next closest to you. (Choose only two statements and leave the others blank.)

- 356- \_\_\_\_\_ This view of government emphasizes participation and involvement, especially at the local level. If you believe that government should involve the active participation of the governed, then select this choice.
- 357- \_\_\_\_\_ This view of government emphasizes the election of strong leaders who are entrusted to make decisions. If you believe that government works best elected representatives make the decisions, then select this choice.
- 358- \_\_\_\_\_ This view of government emphasizes that what is best for the individual voter is really what is best for the country. If you believe that voting for your best interest also serves the country, then select this choice.
- 359- \_\_\_\_\_ This view of government emphasizes particular issues that people care deeply about. If you believe that government works best when individuals work to support the issues they care about, then select this choice.

Please explain why the statement you picked as "1" is closest to your feelings about politics. If none of these statements represents your feelings, try to explain how you feel about politics.

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

*Directions:* Below you will find a list of six activities or ideas which you might spend time doing. Read each concept and then provide your reaction to the concept in terms of the pairs of adjectives listed below it. For example, imagine the first concept was like this:

**SAMPLE:**

**Reading a Mystery Novel**

Good	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Bad
Fast	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Slow
Familiar	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Unfamiliar

Let's say you enjoy mystery novels, so you mark closer to "Good" than "Bad." If you like to take your time in reading them, you might think of them as somewhat slow. If you have read a lot of them, you might think of them as very familiar. Your marks would look somewhat like this:

**SAMPLE:**

**Reading a Mystery Novel**

Good	1	②	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Bad
Fast	1	2	3	4	5	6	⑦	8	9	Slow
Familiar	①	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Unfamiliar

Now read the six sets of concepts and ideas below and respond to all of the adjective pairs in the same fashion. Some of the adjectives may seem unusual for the concept. Don't worry about that. Do not spend too much time on any of the adjective pairs, just mark your first reaction.

13.

**Being with Family or Friends**

360.	a.	Good	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Bad
361.	b.	Fast	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Slow
362.	c.	Familiar	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Unfamiliar
363.	d.	Weak	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Strong
364.	e.	Unusual	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Usual
365.	f.	Fair	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Unfair
366.	g.	Active	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Passive
367.	h.	Small	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Large

(Continued. Circle your Response.)

14.

**Working on a Community or Civic Activity**

368-	a.	Good	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Bad
369-	b.	Fast	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Slow
370-	c.	Familiar	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Unfamiliar
371-	d.	Weak	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Strong
372-	e.	Unusual	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Usual
373-	f.	Fair	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Unfair
374-	g.	Active	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Passive
375-	h.	Small	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Large

$\frac{401-407}{PUP}$

$\frac{4}{200}$   
0014

15.

**Taking Part in a Sports Activity or Relaxation**

409-	a.	Good	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Bad
410-	b.	Fast	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Slow
411-	c.	Familiar	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Unfamiliar
412-	d.	Weak	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Strong
413-	e.	Unusual	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Usual
414-	f.	Fair	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Unfair
415-	g.	Active	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Passive
416-	h.	Small	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Large

16.

**Engaging in Politics or Public Life**

417-	a.	Good	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Bad
418-	b.	Fast	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Slow
419-	c.	Familiar	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Unfamiliar
420-	d.	Weak	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Strong
421-	e.	Unusual	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Usual
422-	f.	Fair	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Unfair
423-	g.	Active	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Passive
424-	h.	Small	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Large

17.

**Directions:**

Below is a list of activities that an individual citizen might undertake. First, think about how hard each would be for anyone to accomplish, and then think about how likely you would be to accomplish each activity. Assume for each of these that it is an activity that you felt was worthwhile to accomplish.

18. First, how hard do you think it would be for anyone to accomplish the following activities.

		This could not be accomplished even by a very effective citizen.	Some people might be able to get this done.	Almost anyone could get this done.
a.	Getting a pothole in your street repaired.	449- 1	2	3
b.	Getting the town government to build an addition to the local Senior Citizen Center.	450- 1	2	3
c.	Organizing an event to benefit a charity.	451- 1	2	3
d.	Getting a referendum placed on the ballot for a statewide election. (Assume your state allows this.)	452- 1	2	3
e.	Starting an after-school program for children whose parents work.	453- 1	2	3
f.	Organizing an annual town cleanup program for the city park.	454- 1	2	3

19. Now think about how hard it would be for you to accomplish these same activities.

		I would be able to get this done.	I might be able to get this done.	I would not be able to get this done.
a.	Getting a pothole in your street repaired.	455- 1	2	3
b.	Getting the town government to build an addition to the local Senior Citizen Center.	456- 1	2	3
c.	Organizing an event to benefit a charity.	457- 1	2	3
d.	Getting a referendum placed on the ballot for a statewide election. (Assume your state allows this.)	458- 1	2	3
e.	Starting an after-school program for children whose parents work.	459- 1	2	3
f.	Organizing an annual town cleanup program for the city park.	460- 1	2	3

20.

21. Below are a list of skills and activities that people do in various situations. Please read each of the following and rate yourself with respect to how well you do each of these as compared to most people. Compared to most people are you not as good, about the same, better, or much better at each of these? (Circle your response.)

		Not as Good	About the Same	Better	Much Better
532-	a. Respecting the views of others.	1	2	3	4
532-	b. Attentive to social issues.	1	2	3	4
534-	c. Participating in community affairs.	1	2	3	4
535-	d. Thinking critically.	1	2	3	4
536-	e. Communicating my ideas to others.	1	2	3	4
537-	f. Engaging in discussion with others.	1	2	3	4
538-	g. Ability to compromise.	1	2	3	4
539-	h. Listening skills.	1	2	3	4
540-	i. Moral or ethical judgment.	1	2	3	4
541-	j. Identification of social issues and concerns.	1	2	3	4
542-	k. Thinking about the future.	1	2	3	4
543-	l. Ability to take action.	1	2	3	4
544-	m. Tolerant of people who are different from me.	1	2	3	4
545-	n. Effective in accomplishing goals.	1	2	3	4
547-	o. Ability to see consequences of actions.	1	2	3	4
547-	p. Empathetic to all points of view.	1	2	3	4
548-	q. Ability to work with others.	1	2	3	4
549-	r. Thinking about others before myself.	1	2	3	4
550-	s. Ability to speak in public.	1	2	3	4
551-	t. Feeling responsible for others.	1	2	3	4
552-	u. Knowing where to find information.	1	2	3	4
553-	v. Knowing who to contact in order to get things done.	1	2	3	4
554-	w. Ability to lead a group.	1	2	3	4

22. In politics as of today, do you consider yourself a Democrat, Republican, Independent, or something else? (Circle your response.)

- 1. Democrat
- 2. Republican
- 3. Independent
- 4. Other

23. Do you lean more toward the Democratic Party or more toward the Republican Party? (Circle your response.)

- 1. Democratic Party
- 2. Republican Party
- 3. Other Party
- 4. Neither

24. We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Here is a seven point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative. Where would you place yourself on this scale? (Circle the number for your response)

- |                   |         |                  |                              |                       |              |                        |
|-------------------|---------|------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------|------------------------|
| 1                 | 2       | 3                | 4                            | 5                     | 6            | 7                      |
| extremely liberal | liberal | slightly liberal | moderate: middle of the road | slightly conservative | conservative | extremely conservative |

25. Your ethnic group: (please circle only one)

- 1. American Indian or Alaskan Native
- 2. Asian or Pacific Islander
- 3. Black, Non-Hispanic
- 4. Latino
- 5. White, Non-Latino
- 6. Other (Please Describe) \_\_\_\_\_

26. Do you consider yourself to be Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, or Something else?

- 1. Catholic
- 2. Protestant
- 3. Jewish
- 4. None/Atheist/Agnostic
- 5. Other: \_\_\_\_\_

27. How frequently do you attend religious services?

- 1. Weekly or more often
- 2. Monthly
- 3. Less than once an month
- 4. Never

28. Please circle the number next to the category that best describes your total yearly family income from all sources. (Estimate to the best of your knowledge.)

- 1. \$20,000 or less
- 2. \$20,001 - 30,000
- 561- 3. \$30,001 - 50,000
- 4. \$50,001 - 75,000
- 5. \$75,001 or more

562- 29. Your gender:            1. Male        2. Female

562-564 30. Your age: \_\_\_\_\_

565-566 31. What is your major? \_\_\_\_\_

567-568 32. Which college are you enrolled in at Rutgers University? \_\_\_\_\_

569- 33. How many years have you been a college student? \_\_\_\_\_

**Section G:**  
**Technical Report**

**Contents:**

- Description and Analysis of Measuring Citizenship Data: Spring 1994

## DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF MEASURING CITIZENSHIP DATA SPRING 1994

### I: Introduction:

The following section contains analyses of some of the scales we have developed through the Measuring Citizenship project. For the purposes of this working document, we will only discuss those items which were used as part of the work we did in partnership with the Rutgers Civic Education and Community Service program (RUCASE) during the Spring semester of 1994 at Rutgers University.

### Sample:

The purpose of collecting data on these measures was to examine the quality of the measures themselves as opposed to testing hypotheses with the data. To that end, the scales were administered to undergraduate students at Rutgers University in three course areas: Political Science, "Nature of Politics" (n= 144); Journalism and Mass Communications, "Mass Media and Society" (n=157) and three course sections from the Rutgers Civic Education and Community Service program--RUCASE-- (n=61). Students in the Political Science course were generally in their first year at the university. The Journalism and RUCASE students were generally not first year students. For all 362 students in the sample, the mean age of the respondents was 20.4 with a standard deviation of 2.46 years. Fifty-nine percent of the students were women and forty-one percent were men. Seventy percent of the students were white, non-Latino, eleven percent Asian or Pacific Islander, eight percent Black, non-Hispanic, seven percent Latino and one percent American Indian or Alaskan, and two percent reported another ethnic background.

## **Procedures:**

Subjects completed the measures during class time in February 1994 (beginning of the semester) and again at the end of April 1994 (end of semester). Participation was voluntary. The data presented here are from the second administration of the questionnaire. Roughly eighty percent of the students in the classes participated in the study. Following completion of the questionnaire, students were informed as to the purpose of their participation.

## **Analyses:**

All of the scales were summed into a total score and were analyzed for internal consistency and reliability using coefficient alpha and through the examination of item to total correlations. For each scale, the mean, standard deviation, range of possible scores, and coefficient alpha are presented. Then, for each item, the mean, standard deviation, and item to total correlation are presented. Several of the scales include a fairly long list of items. For these scales, a principal components factor analysis was performed with an orthogonal rotation of factors to see if the scale could be broken into meaningful subscales. The number of factors to be retained for rotation was determined by looking at a scree plot and by examining the factors resulting from the rotation. Items were placed into factors when they had a factor loading of .50 or greater. Finally, all scales were compared across the three courses from which the data were collected to look at course to course differences.

## 1. ALIENATION:

The alienation scale consists of six four-point Likert items that ask how strongly a respondent agrees or disagrees with statements about government. Five of the items (indicated with "\*" below) are adapted from the National Election Study conducted by the Survey Research Center, University of Michigan. (Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree)

	Mean	Possible Score Range	Std Dev.	Alpha
ALIENATION	13.81	6-24	2.71	.73
		Mean	SD	rit
1 a. The public has little control over politicians		2.49	.70	.53
1 b. Government is not responsive to the public*		2.47	.63	.49
1 c. People in DC are out of touch with the rest of country*		2.67	.64	.41
1 d. Politics and government seem so complicated*		2.37	.80	.34
1 e. People like me don't have a say*		2.18	.71	.62
1 f. It's not worth my time to pay attention*		1.63	.65	.42

## 2. TECHNICAL OR GOVERNMENTAL ISSUES

This scale consists of six force choice items that ask respondents to indicate whether they think of major issues as primarily technical and about facts or governmental and a matter for public discussion. (Technical--about facts, Governmental--a matter for public discussion.)

	Mean	Possible Score Range	Std Dev	Alpha
TECHNICAL- GOVERNMENTAL	3.81	0-6	1.62	.64
		<b>Mean</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>rit</b>
2 a. Recycling		.54		.47
2 b. HIV-AIDS		.57		.42
2 c. Health Care		.88		.27
2 d. Cancer Research		.43		.41
2 e. Education		.88		.23
2 f. Global Warming		.52		.48

### 3. TOLERANCE

This is set of three tolerance scales each composed of six forced choice items for which respondents are asked to choose whether or not members of a group advocating extreme political views (extreme religious views or racial views) should be allowed to do a variety of activities. (Should be allowed, Should not be allowed)

	Mean	Possible Score Range	Std Dev.	Alpha
POLITICAL TOLERANCE	1.52	0-6	.131	.59
		Mean		rit
3a1. Speak at a local community center or library		.13		.22
3a2. Teach at a local high school		.69		.31
3a3. Teach at a local college or university		.31		.43
3a4. Host a weekly cable TV show		.16		.33
3a5. Run for a local elected office		.15		.41
3a6. Organize demonstrations to change government policy		.08		.29
	Mean	Possible Score Range	Std Dev	Alpha
RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE	1.81	0-6	1.47	.66
		Mean		rit
3b1. Speak at a local community center or library		.19		.29
3b2. Teach at a local high school		.76		.33
3b3. Teach at a local college or university		.38		.43
3b4. Host a weekly cable TV show		.16		.40
3b5. Run for a local elected office		.20		.47
3b6. Organize demonstrations to change government policy		.12		.41

**TOLERANCE CONTINUED**

	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Possible Score Range</b>	<b>Std Dev</b>	<b>Alpha</b>
<b>RACIAL TOLERANCE</b>	2.87	0-6	2.03	.82
		<b>Mean</b>		<b>rit</b>
3c1. Speak at a local community center or library		.40		.64
3c2. Teach at a local high school		.85		.37
3c3. Teach at a local college or university		.58		.53
3c4. Host a weekly cable TV show		.40		.68
3c5. Run for a local elected office		.35		.66
3c6. Organize demonstrations to change government policy		.29		.66
	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Possible Score Range</b>	<b>Std Dev</b>	<b>Alpha</b>
<b>SUMMARY TOLERANCE</b>	6.18	0-18	4.11	.86
<b>[POLITICAL]</b>		<b>Mean</b>		<b>rit</b>
3a1. Speak at a local community center or library		.12		.29
3a2. Teach at a local high school		.69		.35
3a3. Teach at a local college or university		.30		.46
3a4. Host a weekly cable TV show		.16		.44
3a5. Run for a local elected office		.15		.48
3a6. Organize demonstrations to change government policy		.08		.36

**TOLERANCE CONTINUED**

[RELIGIOUS]	Mean	rit
3b1. Speak at a local community center or library	.19	.36
3b2. Teach at a local high school	.76	.41
3b3. Teach at a local college or university	.37	.52
3b4. Host a weekly cable TV show	.16	.50
3b5. Run for a local elected office	.21	.54
3b6. Organize demonstrations to change government policy	.12	.40
[RACIAL]		
3c1. Speak at a local community center or library	.40	.54
3c2. Teach at a local high school	.85	.47
3c3. Teach at a local college or university	.58	.62
3c4. Host a weekly cable TV show	.39	.59
3c5. Run for a local elected office	.35	.57
3c6. Organize demonstrations to change government policy	.29	.54

## 5. GROUP CONTACT:

This scale consists of 11 items that ask respondents how frequently they have conversations with a variety of demographic groups. (never, less than once a week, about once a week, 2 to 6 times a week, daily)

	Mean	Possible Score Range	Std Dev	Alpha
GROUP CONTACT	42.60	11-55	5.80	.69
		<b>Mean</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>rit</b>
5 a. African Americans		4.15	.99	.40
5 b. Asians		4.17	1.01	.27
5 c. Gays and Lesbians		2.82	1.29	.33
5 d. Latinos		3.91	1.18	.47
5 e. White, non Latino		4.76	.75	.33
5 f. People with Disabilities		2.67	1.08	.33
5. g People Wealthier than you		4.46	.85	.32
5 h. People less well off than you		4.55	.76	.43
5 i. Rural young people		3.66	1.41	.29
5 j. Urban young people		4.25	1.08	.40
5 k. Elderly people		3.20	1.10	.23

## 6. GROUP KNOWLEDGE:

This scale consists of 11 items that ask respondents how much they feel they know about the concerns and issues of a variety of demographic groups. The demographic groups in the Group knowledge scale are identical with those in the Group Contact (5) scale (above). (nothing, not very much, some, a great deal)

	Mean	Possible	Std Dev	Alpha
GROUP KNOWLEDGE	31.64	11-44	4.83	.79
		Mean	SD	rit
6 a. African Americans		3.25	.63	.51
6 b. Asians		2.75	.78	.39
6 c. Gays and Lesbians		2.90	.82	.47
6 d. Latinos		2.75	.80	.41
6 e. White, non Latino		3.25	.86	.23
6 f. People with Disabilities		2.78	.73	.44
6 g. People Wealthier than you		2.46	.86	.46
6 h. People less well off than you		3.12	.65	.58
6 i. Rural young people		2.52	.87	.44
6 j. Urban young people		2.97	.80	.53
6 k. Elderly people		2.88	.73	.45

**7. LEADERSHIP ACTIVITY:**

This scale consists of six items that ask respondents about how frequently they engage in leadership activities. (No more than once a month, 2-5 times a month, 6-10 times a month, More than 10 times a month)

	Mean	Possible Score Range	Std Dev	Alpha
LEADERSHIP ACTIVITY	14.88	6-24	3.85	.78
		Mean	SD	rit
7 a. People ask for your advice		2.76	.92	.53
7 b. Arrange activities for others		2.49	.98	.57
7 c. Suggest activities for others		2.50	.96	.70
7 d. Come up with new ideas		2.30	.91	.48
7 e. Persuade a person to agree with you		2.60	.92	.54
7 f. Listen to others ideas		2.21	.86	.37

**9. CIVIC AND POLITICAL ACTIVITY:**

This scale consist of 25 items that ask respondents how frequently (Never, Occasionally, Regularly) they engage in various civic or political activities.

	Mean	Possible Score Range	Std Dev	Alpha
CIVIC/POLITICAL ACTIVITY	38.86	25-75	7.65	.88
		Mean	SD	rit
9 a. Vote in national elections		2.41	.82	.41
9 b. Discuss politics on a weekly basis		2.00	.64	.47
9 c. Speak at meetings of the town council		1.10	.34	.40

## CIVIC AND POLITICAL ACTIVITY CONTINUED

	Mean	SD	rit
9 d. Vote in primary elections	1.85	.82	.42
9 e. Run for local office	1.17	.48	.32
9 f. Volunteer time to a civic organization	1.71	.74	.47
9 g. Write to local newspaper to express views	1.25	.49	.40
9 h. Vote in local elections	2.02	.82	.49
9 i. Contact my Representative or Senator over an issue	1.34	.53	.48
9 j. Talk about national politics with friends	2.38	.64	.49
9 k. Hold gatherings at home for local candidates	1.07	.30	.39
9 l. Work for a political cause that I care about	1.44	.63	.57
9 m. Campaign for candidates for state or national office	1.28	.54	.53
9 n. Participate in community events	1.96	.64	.47
9 o. Collect signature for petitions	1.33	.56	.45
9 p. Organize protests to change policy	1.19	.48	.39
9 q. Call the mayor of my town	1.08	.31	.37
9 r. Try to learn as much as I can before I vote.	2.29	.75	.56
9 s. Make sure I understand bond votes	2.02	.84	.58
9 t. Hold office in a community organization	1.34	.63	.40

**CIVIC AND POLITICAL ACTIVITY CONTINUED**

	Mean	SD	rit
9 u. Serve as a scout leader, coach	1.71	.75	.44
9 v. Organize phone campaigns to get out the vote	1.14	.42	.44
9 w. Serve as a poll watcher	1.09	.34	.45
9 x. Go door-to-door to help candidates	1.24	.50	.44
9 y. member of national organization that supports issues	1.45	.71	.27

For purposes of data reduction we factor analyzed the 25 political and civic participation items from the scale above (9a-9y). The first ten eigenvalues from a principal components factor analysis are presented here. After examining several possible solutions, we decided on a five factor solution for purposes of an orthogonal rotation.

Factor	Eigenvalue	% of Var.
1	6.23	24.9
2	2.53	10.1
3	1.56	6.2
4	1.27	5.1
5	1.22	4.9
6	1.14	4.5
7	1.04	4.1
8	.93	3.7
9	.84	3.4
10	.80	3.2

## CIVIC AND POLITICAL ACTIVITY CONTINUED

### VARIMAX Rotated Factor Matrix for Five Factor Solution

	1	2	3	4	5
9 a. Vote in national elections	.85	-.01	.04	.07	.05
9 b. Discuss politics on a weekly basis	.24	.23	.21	.07	.64
9 c. Speak at meetings of the town council	.05	.58	.10	.00	-.12
9 d. Vote in primary elections	.81	.09	.07	.05	-.04
9 e. Run for local office	-.00	.30	.48	.04	-.31
9 f. Volunteer time to a civic organization	.02	.15	.70	.16	.21
9 g. Write to local newspaper to express views	.08	.61	.09	.17	.15
9 h. Vote in local elections	.84	.04	.10	.17	.03
9 i. Contact my Representative or Senator over an issue	.13	.60	.05	.15	.26
9 j. Talk about national politics with friends	.17	.16	.10	.02	.76
9 k. Hold gatherings at home for local candidates	-.04	-.05	.03	.17	.28
9 l. Work for a political cause that I care about	.12	.28	.32	.45	.36
9 m. Campaign for candidates for state or national office	.12	.13	.16	.76	.22
9 n. Participate in community events	.11	.14	.64	.11	.28
9 o. Collect signature for petitions	.01	.61	.29	.24	.09
9 p. Organize protests to change policy	-.06	.55	.27	.09	-.03

**CIVIC AND POLITICAL ACTIVITY CONTINUED**

	1	2	3	4	5
9 q. Call the mayor of my town	.07	.55	.07	.09	.09
9 r. Try to learn as much as I can before I vote	.69	.09	.19	.03	.37
9 s. Make sure I understand bond votes	.56	.21	.04	.07	.43
9 t. Hold office in a community organization	.07	.18	.68	.21	-.01
9 u. Serve as a scout leader, coach	.11	.08	.60	-.07	.05
9 v. Organize phone campaigns to get out the vote	.08	.26	.11	.62	.09
9 w. Serve as a poll watcher	.11	.19	-.09	.63	-.02
9 x. Go door-to-door to help candidates	.04	.03	.20	.77	.02
9 y. member of national organization that supports issues	.17	.36	.39	.18	.17

## CIVIC AND POLITICAL ACTIVITY CONTINUED

We used a five factor solution and a criterion of .50 for factor loadings to develop the following participation subscales. The fifth factor in the analysis had only two items on it, both related to discussing politics, and was dropped as a possible participation subscale.

	Mean	Possible Score Range	Std Dev	Alpha
<b>PARTICIPATION- VOTING BEHAVIOR</b>	10.57	5-15	3.25	.86
		Mean	SD	rit
9 a. Vote in national elections		2.40	.82	.72
9 d. Vote in primary elections		1.84	.83	.63
9 h. Vote in local elections		2.01	.82	.71
9 r. Try to learn as much as I can before I vote		2.29	.76	.69
9 s. Make sure I understand bond votes		2.02	.84	.65
	Mean	Possible Score Range	Std Dev	Alpha
<b>PARTICIPATION- LOCAL ACTIVIST</b>	7.30	6-18	1.77	.72
		Mean	SD	rit
9 c. Speak at meetings of the town council		1.11	.35	.46
9 g. Write to newspaper to voice views		1.25	.49	.45
9 i. Contact my Congress- Senator over issue		1.34	.53	.41
9 o. Collect signatures for petitions		1.33	.56	.52
9 p. Organize protests to change policy		1.19	.47	.47
9 q. Call the mayor of my town		1.08	.32	.41

**CIVIC AND POLITICAL ACTIVITY CONTINUED**

	Mean	Possible	Std Dev	Alpha
<b>PARTICIPATION- COMMUNITY FOCUS</b>	6.75	4-12	2.09	.74
		<b>Mean</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>rit</b>
9 f. Volunteer time to a civic organization		1.72	.75	2.53
9 n. Participate in events in community		1.96	.65	2.80
9 t. Hold office in a community organization		1.34	.64	2.87
9 u. Serve as Scout leader, etc.		1.72	.76	2.52
	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Possible Score Range</b>	<b>Std Dev</b>	<b>Alpha</b>
<b>PARTICIPATION- CAMPAIGN ACTIVIST</b>	4.77	4-12	1.42	.77
		<b>Mean</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>rit</b>
9 m. Campaign for candidates for state and national office		1.29	.55	.63
9 v. Organize phone campaigns to get out vote		1.14	.42	.55
9 w. Serve as a poll watcher		1.10	.35	.49
9 x. Go door-to-door to help candidates		1.24	.51	.62

## 10. RESPONSIBILITY:

The responsibility scale consists of 14 items that ask respondents how important they think a variety of activities are for citizens. (Each is a five point Likert scale with anchors "Not Important" and "Very Important.")

RESPONSIBILITY	Mean	Possible Score Range	Std Dev	Alpha
	56.14	14-70	7.53	.82
		Mean	SD	rit
10 a. Register to vote		4.71	.65	.40
10 b. Register for the draft		3.71	1.37	.26
10 c. Report for jury duty		4.10	.99	.39
10 d. Pay taxes		4.55	.74	.41
10 e. Obey the laws		4.48	.82	.33
10 f. Assist the police when you see a crime		4.10	1.02	.45
10 g. Pay attention to what goes on in government		4.42	.80	.49
10 h. Run for elected office		2.71	1.04	.44
10 i. Volunteer for community service		3.79	1.00	.59
10 j. Give blood		3.63	1.14	.58
10 k. Pick up litter		3.89	1.05	.67
10 l. Car pool		3.58	1.11	.57
10 m. Recycle		4.30	.90	.49
10 n. Stay out of debt		4.15	1.04	.24

**18. AGENCY OF OTHERS:**

This scale consists of 6 items that ask respondents to indicate how difficult it would be for anyone to accomplish a variety of civic tasks. ("This could not be accomplished by even a very effective citizen;" "Some people might be able to get this done;" "Almost anyone could get this done.")

	Mean	Possible Score Range	Std Dev	Alpha
<b>AGENCY-OTHERS</b>	13.09	6-18	2.08	.66
		<b>Mean</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>rit</b>
18 a. Get a pothole in your street repaired		2.27	.62	.25
18 b. Get town government to build addition to senior citizens center		1.87	.46	.27
18 c. Organize an event to benefit charity		2.37	.59	.52
18 d. Get a referendum placed on ballot for statewide election		1.90	.56	.39
18 e. Start after school program for children		2.31	.58	.47
18 f. Organize a town clean up program for city park		2.37	.59	.49

**19. AGENCY OF RESPONDENT:**

This scale uses the same six items developed for Agency of Others (Q18) and asks respondents how likely they would be to accomplish the same tasks. ("I would be able to get this done;" "I might be able to get this done;" "I would not be able to get this done." The data presented below has been recoded to make the mean scores comparable with Q18.)

	Mean	Possible Score Range	Std Dev	Alpha
AGENCY-SELF	13.27	6-18	2.74	.79
		Mean	SD	rit
19 a. Get a pothole in your street repaired		2.31	.64	.44
19 b. Get town government to build addition to senior citizens center		1.76	.63	.47
19 c. Organize an event to benefit charity		2.43	.64	.64
19 d. Get a referendum placed on ballot for statewide election		1.89	.66	.51
19 e. Start after school program for children		2.42	.67	.59
19 f. Organize a town clean up program for park		2.46	.64	.66

## 21. LEADERSHIP COMPARED WITH OTHERS:

This scale consists of 23 items which ask respondents to compare themselves with others with regard to a variety of leadership skills and capacities. (not as good as, about the same, better, much better)

LEADERSHIP COMPARED WITH OTHERS	Mean	Possible Score Range	Std Dev	Alpha
	64.29	23-92	11.02	.91
		<b>Mean</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>rit</b>
21 a. Respecting the views of others		2.95	.77	.38
21 b. Attentive to social issues		2.74	.81	.49
21 c. Participating in community affairs		2.24	.94	.39
21 d. Thinking critically		3.04	.78	.53
21 e. Communicating my ideas to others		2.93	.86	.61
21 f. Engaging in discussion with others		2.98	.82	.65
21 g. Ability to compromise		2.74	.86	.42
21 h. Listening skills		2.98	.80	.51
21 i. Moral or ethical judgment		3.00	.77	.51
21 j. Identification of social issues		2.81	.75	.62
21 k. Thinking about the future		2.9	.82	.51
21 l Ability to take action		2.57	.91	.60
21 m. Tolerant of people different from me		3.04	.84	.37
21 n. Effective in accomplishing goals		2.83	.74	.57

**LEADERSHIP CONTINUED**

	Mean	SD	rit
21 o. Ability to see consequences of action	2.89	.78	.55
21 p. Empathetic to all points of view	2.77	.80	.47
21 q. Ability to work with others	3.05	.78	.56
21 r. Thinking about others before myself	2.72	.86	.44
21 s. Ability to speak in public	2.39	1.06	.56
21 t. Feeling responsible for others	2.74	.84	.46
21 u. Knowing where to find information	2.70	.79	.56
21 v. Knowing who to contact to get things done	2.57	.86	.59
21 w. Ability to lead a group	2.67	.95	.61

For purposes of data reduction we factor analyzed the 23 leadership compared with others items from the scale above (21a-21w). The first ten eigenvalues from a principal components factor analysis are presented here. After examining several possible solutions, we decided on a 2 factor solution for purposes of an orthogonal rotation.

Factor	Eigenvalue	% of Var.
1	7.73	33.6
2	2.60	11.3
3	1.38	6.0
4	1.18	5.2
5	1.14	5.0
6	.92	4.0
7	.83	3.6
8	.75	3.3
9	.72	3.1
10	.63	2.8

## LEADERSHIP CONTINUED

VARIMAX Rotated Factor Matrix for Two Factor Solution

	Factor 1	Factor 2
21 a. Respecting the views of others	.02	.68
21 b. Attentive to social issues	.45	.30
21 c. Participating in community affairs	.43	.13
21 d. Thinking critically	.61	.16
21 e. Communicating my ideas to others	.71	.16
21 f. Engaging in discussion with others	.63	.32
21 g. Ability to compromise	.08	.69
21 h. Listening skills	.29	.56
21 i. Moral or ethical judgment	.39	.43
21 j. Identification of social issues	.59	.33
21 k. Thinking about the future	.57	.19
21 l Ability to take action	.78	.04
21 m. Tolerant of people different from me	.03	.67
21 n. Effective in accomplishing goals	.70	.10
21 o. Ability to see consequences of action	.48	.37
21 p. Empathetic to all points of view	.12	.71
21 q. Ability to work with others	.28	.66

**LEADERSHIP CONTINUED**

	<b>Factor 1</b>	<b>Factor 2</b>
21 r. Thinking about others before myself	.14	.64
21 s. Ability to speak in public	.73	.04
21 t. Feeling responsible for others	.22	.56
21 u. Knowing where to find information	.67	.13
21 v. Knowing who to contact to get things done	.71	.12
21 w. Ability to lead a group	.76	.07

We used a 2 factor solution and a criterion of .50 for factor loadings to develop the following leadership subscales.

<b>DELIBERATIVE/ OTHER ORIENTATION</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Possible Score Range</b>	<b>Std Dev</b>	<b>Alpha</b>
	23.04	8-32	4.40	.83
		<b>Mean</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>rit</b>
21 a. Respecting the views of others		2.94	.77	.53
21 g. Ability to compromise		2.75	.86	.57
21 h. Listening skills		2.99	.80	.49
21 m. Tolerant of people different from me		3.04	.84	.54
21 p. Empathetic to all points of view		2.77	.80	.59
21 q. Ability to work with others		3.06	.77	.61
21 r. Thinking about others before myself		2.74	.86	.55
21 t. Feeling responsible for others		2.76	.84	.53

<b>INITIATIVE/ ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTATION</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Possible Score Range</b>	<b>Std Dev</b>	<b>Alpha</b>
	30.43	11-44	6.60	.90
		<b>Mean</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>rit</b>
21 d. Thinking critically		3.03	.78	.53
21 e. Communicating my ideas to others		2.94	.82	.69
21 f. Engaging in discussion with others		2.98	.82	.65
21 j. Identification of social issues		2.81	.75	.56
21 k. Thinking about the future		2.90	.82	.52
21 l Ability to take action		2.57	.91	.70
21 n. Effective in accomplishing goals		2.84	.74	.63
21 s. Ability to speak in public		2.40	1.06	.66
21 u. Knowing where to find information		2.70	.79	.62
21 v. Knowing who to contact to get things done		2.58	.86	.65
21 w. Ability to lead a group		2.67	.95	.69

The following data is a comparison of the three Rutgers Course sections for the February 1994 (beginning of the semester) and April 1994 (end of the semester) administrations of the measures discussed above.

Scale:		PRE TEST		POST TEST	
		Mean	SD	Mean	SD
<b>ALIENATION</b>					
1.	Pol. Sci.	13.27	2.51	13.54	2.86
	Mass Media	14.57	2.49	14.41	2.48
	RUCASE	13.21	2.08	13.07	2.58
<b>TECHNICAL- GOVERNMENTAL</b>					
2.	Pol. Sci.	4.08	1.64	3.90	1.82
	Mass Media	3.84	1.55	3.62	1.44
	RUCASE	4.22	1.56	4.11	1.50
<b>POLITICAL TOLERANCE</b>					
3a.	Pol. Sci.	1.36	1.29	1.40	1.31
	Mass Media	1.72	1.49	1.64	1.32
	RUCASE	1.31	1.16	1.47	1.29
<b>RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE</b>					
3b.	Pol. Sci.	1.74	1.48	1.70	1.54
	Mass Media	2.18	1.52	1.91	1.40
	RUCASE	1.86	1.34	1.83	1.49

Scale:		PRE TEST		POST TEST	
		Mean	SD	Mean	SD
<b>RACIAL TOLERANCE</b>					
3c.	Pol. Sci.	3.10	2.06	2.51	1.97
	Mass Media	3.65	1.94	3.17	1.92
	RUCASE	3.32	1.91	2.95	2.29
<b>TOLERANCE, SUMMARY</b>					
3a.- 3c.	Pol. Sci.	6.14	4.03	5.58	4.21
	Mass Media	7.59	4.06	6.70	3.92
	RUCASE	6.45	3.35	6.26	4.27
<b>GROUP CONTACT</b>					
5.	Pol. Sci.	43.20	6.73	42.06	5.01
	Mass Media	41.45	5.46	42.28	6.29
	RUCASE	44.00	5.73	44.88	5.75
<b>GROUP KNOWLEDGE</b>					
6.	Pol. Sci.	31.75	4.80	31.70	4.79
	Mass Media	31.21	5.19	31.21	5.05
	RUCASE	32.49	3.74	32.67	4.24
<b>LEADERSHIP ACTIVITY</b>					
7.	Pol. Sci.	14.66	3.96	14.79	3.71
	Mass Media	15.11	3.59	14.52	3.97
	RUCASE	15.73	3.73	16.07	3.68

Scale:		PRE TEST		POST TEST	
		Mean	SD	Mean	SD
<b>PARTICIPATION</b>					
9.	Pol. Sci.	36.78	7.35	37.52	7.43
	Mass Media	35.25	6.10	36.17	6.76
	RUCASE	40.27	7.02	41.61	7.83
<b>RESPONSIBILITY</b>					
10.	Pol. Sci.	54.73	8.01	55.67	7.91
	Mass Media	54.87	7.07	55.86	7.47
	RUCASE	57.79	6.77	57.98	6.62
<b>AGENCY OF OTHERS</b>					
18.	Pol. Sci.	13.27	2.14	13.34	2.17
	Mass Media	12.97	1.87	12.93	1.99
	RUCASE	13.59	1.80	12.98	2.11
<b>AGENCY OF SELF</b>					
19.	Pol. Sci.	12.38	3.01	13.18	2.87
	Mass Media	12.47	2.44	13.07	2.68
	RUCASE	13.69	2.33	14.02	2.49
<b>CIVIC LEADERSHIP</b>					
21.	Pol. Sci.	64.65	11.31	65.03	11.30
	Mass Media	60.42	8.05	62.86	10.97
	RUCASE	61.77	9.78	66.22	10.24

## Selected Crosstabulations from Spring 1994 Rutgers Data

The following tables show in crosstabular form comparisons between the course sections as well as sex of respondent for the scales discussed above. The first table on each page is for the February 1994 administration of the questionnaire, and the second table is for the second administration at the end of the semester in April 1994. All the variables have been recoded for these tables.

STUB=XALLEN	Overall	CLASS ID			Sex of Resp	
		Polit Sci.	Mass Media	Comm. Serv.	Male	Female
Alienation scale: Q1 Recoded						
Low	9%	12%	6%	9%	11%	9%
2.00	51%	55%	42%	60%	52%	50%
3.00	35%	30%	45%	31%	34%	37%
High	4%	3%	8%		3%	4%
PERCENT	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
UNWEIGHTED N	453	226	159	68	185	245
WEIGHTED N	453	226	159	68	185	245

Civic Attachments & Public Life: Spring 1994-1

STUB=XALLEN	Overall	CLASS ID			Sex of Resp	
		Polit Sci.	Mass Media	Comm. Serv.	Male	Female
Alienation scale: Q1 Recoded						
Low	9%	13%	4%	14%	9%	10%
2.00	55%	58%	50%	61%	57%	53%
3.00	31%	24%	40%	22%	29%	32%
High	5%	5%	5%	3%	4%	5%
PERCENT	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
UNWEIGHTED N	354	139	156	59	141	202
WEIGHTED N	354	139	156	59	141	202

Civic Attachments & Public Life: Spring 1994-2

STUB=XTECHGOV	Overall	CLASS ID			Sex of Resp	
		Polit Sci.	Mass Media	Comm. Serv.	Male	Female
Technical-Governme ntal: Q2 Recorded						
.00	1%	2%		1%	2%	1%
Technical	19%	18%	24%	10%	22%	17%
Mixed	39%	38%	41%	41%	42%	37%
Governmental	41%	42%	36%	47%	35%	45%
PERCENT	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
UNWEIGHTED N	451	226	157	68	184	246
WEIGHTED N	451	226	157	68	184	246

Civic Attachments & Public Life: Spring 1994-1

STUB=XTECHGOV	Overall	CLASS ID			Sex of Resp	
		Polit Sci.	Mass Media	Comm. Serv.	Male	Female
Technical-Governme ntal: Q2 Recorded						
.00	3%	5%	1%		5%	1%
Technical	19%	20%	20%	15%	19%	19%
Mixed	42%	34%	48%	43%	44%	40%
Governmental	36%	42%	30%	42%	33%	40%
PERCENT	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
UNWEIGHTED N	337	137	147	53	133	193
WEIGHTED N	337	137	147	53	133	193

Civic Attachments & Public Life: Spring 1994-2

STUB=TOLPOL	Overall	CLASS ID			Sex of Resp	
		Polit Sci.	Mass Media	Comm. Serv.	Male	Female
Tolerance of extreme political views (Q3A)						
Most Tolerant	29%	30%	25%	30%	31%	26%
1.00	27%	30%	23%	30%	28%	27%
2.00	24%	24%	25%	23%	26%	23%
3.00	13%	11%	15%	13%	10%	16%
4.00	5%	3%	7%	4%	3%	6%
5.00	1%	1%	1%		1%	2%
Least Tolerant	2%	1%	3%		2%	2%
PERCENT	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
UNWEIGHTED N	456	228	158	70	189	245
WEIGHTED N	456	228	158	70	189	245

Civic Attachments & Public Life: Spring 1994-1

STUB=TOLPOL	Overall	CLASS ID			Sex of Resp	
		Polit Sci.	Mass Media	Comm. Serv.	Male	Female
Tolerance of extreme political views (Q3A)						
Most Tolerant	24%	27%	22%	24%	28%	22%
1.00	31%	32%	29%	36%	29%	32%
2.00	25%	26%	26%	22%	26%	25%
3.00	11%	6%	14%	10%	11%	10%
4.00	6%	6%	7%	5%	5%	6%
5.00	2%	2%	1%	3%	1%	2%
Least Tolerant	1%	1%	1%			2%
PERCENT	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
UNWEIGHTED N	350	139	152	59	140	201
WEIGHTED N	350	139	152	59	140	201

Civic Attachments & Public Life: Spring 1994-2

STUB=TOLREL	Overall	CLASS ID			Sex of Resp	
		Polt Sci.	Mass Media	Comm. Serv.	Male	Female
Tolerance of extreme religious views (Q38)						
Most Tolerant	19%	23%	13%	16%	22%	17%
1.00	24%	25%	22%	26%	24%	23%
2.00	28%	26%	27%	33%	31%	25%
3.00	17%	15%	22%	14%	13%	22%
4.00	7%	5%	9%	7%	6%	7%
5.00	3%	4%	2%	3%	1%	4%
Least Tolerant	3%	3%	5%	1%	4%	3%
PERCENT	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
UNWEIGHTED N	454	227	157	70	184	248
WEIGHTED N	454	227	157	70	184	248

Civic Attachments & Public Life: Spring 1994-1

STUB=TOLREL	Overall	CLASS ID			Sex of Resp	
		Polt Sci.	Mass Media	Comm. Serv.	Male	Female
Tolerance of extreme religious views (Q38)						
Most Tolerant	19%	22%	16%	17%	22%	18%
1.00	29%	30%	27%	32%	30%	27%
2.00	26%	27%	26%	24%	26%	26%
3.00	13%	10%	15%	15%	13%	13%
4.00	8%	4%	12%	5%	6%	9%
5.00	2%	2%	2%	3%	1%	3%
Least Tolerant	3%	5%	1%	3%	1%	5%
PERCENT	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
UNWEIGHTED N	350	138	153	59	141	199
WEIGHTED N	350	138	153	59	141	199

Civic Attachments & Public Life: Spring 1994-2

STUB=TOLRAC	Overall	CLASS ID			Sex of Resp	
		Polit Sci.	Mass Media	Comm. Serv.	Male	Female
Tolerance of extreme racial views (Q3C)						
Most Tolerant	9%	13%	5%	6%	14%	5%
1.00	13%	13%	13%	14%	15%	11%
2.00	17%	18%	14%	19%	23%	13%
3.00	16%	17%	13%	18%	14%	16%
4.00	13%	11%	18%	13%	11%	15%
5.00	8%	7%	9%	8%	5%	10%
Least Tolerant	24%	22%	28%	22%	18%	29%
PERCENT	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
UNWEIGHTED N	456	228	156	72	185	248
WEIGHTED N	456	228	156	72	185	248

Civic Attachments & Public Life: Spring 1994-1

STUB=TOLRAC	Overall	CLASS ID			Sex of Resp	
		Polit Sci.	Mass Media	Comm. Serv.	Male	Female
Tolerance of extreme racial views (Q3C)						
Most Tolerant	12%	17%	6%	16%	15%	11%
1.00	19%	18%	19%	21%	21%	17%
2.00	20%	23%	19%	16%	22%	18%
3.00	12%	12%	13%	10%	13%	11%
4.00	12%	10%	17%	7%	13%	12%
5.00	6%	6%	7%	2%	2%	7%
Least Tolerant	19%	14%	20%	29%	14%	23%
PERCENT	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
UNWEIGHTED N	356	143	155	58	142	203
WEIGHTED N	356	143	155	58	142	203

Civic Attachments & Public Life: Spring 1994-2

STUB=XTOLSUM	Overall	CLASS ID			Sex of Resp	
		Polit Sci.	Mass Media	Comm. Serv.	Male	Female
Tolerance of Pol-Rel-Race: Recoded						
Most tolerant	7%	10%	5%	4%	12%	5%
1.00	17%	18%	15%	19%	18%	15%
2.00	29%	32%	25%	28%	33%	26%
3.00	24%	20%	26%	30%	21%	26%
4.00	17%	14%	20%	17%	13%	20%
5.00	4%	3%	6%	1%	1%	6%
Least Tolerant	2%	2%	4%		2%	3%
PERCENT	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
UNWEIGHTED N	444	220	155	69	182	241
WEIGHTED N	444	220	155	69	182	241

Civic Attachments & Public Life: Spring 1994-1

STUB=XTOLSUM	Overall	CLASS ID			Sex of Resp	
		Polit Sci.	Mass Media	Comm. Serv.	Male	Female
Tolerance of Pol-Rel-Race: Recoded						
Most tolerant	10%	15%	5%	10%	12%	9%
1.00	22%	23%	21%	22%	25%	19%
2.00	29%	30%	29%	24%	29%	29%
3.00	17%	16%	17%	21%	16%	18%
4.00	14%	8%	21%	14%	16%	13%
5.00	6%	5%	5%	9%	3%	8%
Least Tolerant	2%	3%	1%		3%	3%
PERCENT	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
UNWEIGHTED N	346	137	151	58	140	197
WEIGHTED N	346	137	151	58	140	197

Civic Attachments & Public Life: Spring 1994-2

STUB=XGRPCONT	Overall	CLASS ID			Sex of Resp	
		Polit Sci.	Mass Media	Comm. Serv.	Male	Female
Group contact: Q5 Recorded						
Lowest	0%	1%			1%	
2.00	0%	1%				
3.00	23%	15%	34%	21%	28%	19%
4.00	65%	71%	62%	57%	63%	67%
Highest	11%	13%	4%	21%	8%	13%
PERCENT	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
UNWEIGHTED N	254	120	92	42	107	134
WEIGHTED N	254	120	92	42	107	134

Civic Attachments & Public Life: Spring 1994-1

STUB=XGRPCONT	Overall	CLASS ID			Sex of Resp	
		Polit Sci.	Mass Media	Comm. Serv.	Male	Female
Group contact: Q5 Recorded						
2.00	2%		3%	3%	1%	3%
3.00	20%	23%	24%	3%	22%	20%
4.00	72%	76%	67%	79%	71%	71%
Highest	6%	1%	6%	15%	5%	6%
PERCENT	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
UNWEIGHTED N	211	82	96	33	94	110
WEIGHTED N	211	82	96	33	94	110

Civic Attachments & Public Life: Spring 1994-2

STUB=XLEAD1	Overall	CLASS ID			Sex of Resp	
		Polit Sci.	Mass Media	Comm. Serv.	Male	Female
Leadership1: Q7 Recoded						
Rarely	7%	7%	7%	3%	7%	6%
2.00	50%	54%	45%	46%	48%	51%
3.00	38%	31%	47%	43%	39%	38%
Frequently	5%	7%	1%	9%	6%	4%
PERCENT	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
UNWEIGHTED N	455	227	158	70	187	245
WEIGHTED N	455	227	158	70	187	245

Civic Attachments & Public Life: Spring 1994-1

STUB=XLEAD1	Overall	CLASS ID			Sex of Resp	
		Polit Sci.	Mass Media	Comm. Serv.	Male	Female
Leadership1: Q7 Recoded						
Rarely	7%	6%	9%	5%	9%	7%
2.00	50%	53%	48%	44%	51%	50%
3.00	38%	38%	38%	40%	33%	40%
Frequently	5%	3%	5%	11%	7%	3%
PERCENT	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
UNWEIGHTED N	351	143	151	57	139	202
WEIGHTED N	351	143	151	57	139	202

Civic Attachments & Public Life: Spring 1994-2

STUB=XGRPKNOW	Overall	CLASS ID			Sex of Resp	
		Polit Sci.	Mass Media	Comm. Serv.	Male	Female
Group knowledge: Q6 Recoded						
Lowest	1%	0%	1%		2%	
2.00	13%	13%	16%	6%	17%	10%
3.00	79%	79%	75%	89%	74%	82%
Highest	7%	8%	8%	6%	7%	9%
PERCENT	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
UNWEIGHTED N	455	226	157	72	188	244
WEIGHTED N	455	226	157	72	188	244

Civic Attachments & Public Life: Spring 1994-1

STUB=XGRPKNOW	Overall	CLASS ID			Sex of Resp	
		Polit Sci.	Mass Media	Comm. Serv.	Male	Female
Group knowledge: Q6 Recoded						
Lowest	1%		2%		2%	
2.00	16%	19%	14%	10%	20%	12%
3.00	78%	74%	80%	79%	73%	83%
Highest	6%	6%	4%	10%	6%	6%
PERCENT	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
UNWEIGHTED N	354	141	155	58	143	200
WEIGHTED N	354	141	155	58	143	200

Civic Attachments & Public Life: Spring 1994-2

STUB=XPARTIC	Overall	CLASS ID			Sex of Resp	
		Polit Sci.	Mass Media	Comm. Serv.	Male	Female
Participation: Q9 recoded						
Low	40%	41%	50%	18%	41%	40%
Medium	44%	42%	43%	56%	46%	43%
High	15%	17%	8%	25%	14%	17%
PERCENT	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
UNWEIGHTED N	454	224	159	71	189	243
WEIGHTED N	454	224	159	71	189	243

Civic Attachments & Public Life: Spring 1994-1

STUB=XPARTIC	Overall	CLASS ID			Sex of Resp	
		Polit Sci.	Mass Media	Comm. Serv.	Male	Female
Participation: Q9 recoded						
Low	34%	36%	39%	19%	36%	33%
Medium	48%	46%	49%	49%	50%	46%
High	18%	18%	12%	32%	13%	21%
PERCENT	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
UNWEIGHTED N	351	138	154	59	143	198
WEIGHTED N	351	138	154	59	143	198

Civic Attachments & Public Life: Spring 1994-2

STUB=XRESPNS	Overall	CLASS ID			Sex of Resp	
		Polit Sci.	Mass Media	Comm. Serv.	Male	Female
Responsibility: Q10 Recoded						
2.00	1%	2%	1%		3%	0%
3.00	20%	20%	23%	13%	28%	14%
4.00	65%	65%	66%	63%	60%	69%
Very Important	13%	12%	10%	24%	9%	17%
PERCENT	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
UNWEIGHTED N	453	228	154	71	187	244
WEIGHTED N	453	228	154	71	187	244

Civic Attachments & Public Life: Spring 1994-1

STUB=XRESPNS	Overall	CLASS ID			Sex of Resp	
		Polit Sci.	Mass Media	Comm. Serv.	Male	Female
Responsibility: Q10 Recoded						
2.00	1%	1%	1%		3%	
3.00	16%	17%	19%	7%	24%	9%
4.00	68%	68%	66%	69%	64%	72%
Very Important	15%	13%	14%	24%	9%	19%
PERCENT	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
UNWEIGHTED N	345	138	148	59	140	195
WEIGHTED N	345	138	148	59	140	195

Civic Attachments & Public Life: Spring 1994-2

STUB=XLEAD3B	Overall	CLASS ID			Sex of Resp	
		Polt Sci.	Mass Media	Comm. Serv.	Male	Female
Leadership: Q21 Recorded						
About the Same	27%	23%	30%	32%	27%	27%
Better	67%	65%	70%	64%	63%	70%
Much Better	7%	12%		5%	10%	4%
PERCENT	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
UNWEIGHTED N	138	66	50	22	59	79
WEIGHTED N	138	66	50	22	59	79

Civic Attachments & Public Life: Spring 1994-1

STUB=XLEAD3B	Overall	CLASS ID			Sex of Resp	
		Polt Sci.	Mass Media	Comm. Serv.	Male	Female
Leadership: Q21 Recorded						
About the Same	24%	26%	27%	16%	28%	22%
Better	66%	62%	65%	74%	63%	68%
Much Better	10%	12%	8%	11%	9%	11%
PERCENT	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
UNWEIGHTED N	323	125	141	57	132	188
WEIGHTED N	323	125	141	57	132	188

Civic Attachments & Public Life: Spring 1994-2

STUB=XAGHTOT	Overall	CLASS ID			Sex of Resp	
		Polit Sci.	Mass Media	Comm. Serv.	Male	Female
Agency Others: Q18 Recoded						
No one	4%	4%	6%		5%	3%
Some people	69%	68%	72%	65%	73%	65%
Anyone	27%	27%	22%	35%	21%	31%
PERCENT	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
UNWEIGHTED N	428	205	154	69	184	240
WEIGHTED N	428	205	154	69	184	240

Civic Attachments & Public Life: Spring 1994-1

STUB=XAGHTOT	Overall	CLASS ID			Sex of Resp	
		Polit Sci.	Mass Media	Comm. Serv.	Male	Female
Agency Others: Q18 Recoded						
No one	6%	5%	5%	8%	9%	3%
Some people	69%	67%	71%	67%	65%	70%
Anyone	26%	29%	24%	25%	26%	27%
PERCENT	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
UNWEIGHTED N	344	132	152	60	139	199
WEIGHTED N	344	132	152	60	139	199

Civic Attachments & Public Life: Spring 1994-2

STUB=XAGNTSLF	Overall	CLASS ID			Sex of Resp	
		Polit Sci.	Mass Media	Comm. Serv.	Male	Female
Agency Self: Q19 Recorded						
Wldnt be able	14%	18%	13%	3%	16%	12%
Might be able	59%	56%	64%	58%	58%	59%
Wld be able	27%	26%	24%	39%	27%	28%
PERCENT	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
UNWEIGHTED N	430	207	152	71	186	241
WEIGHTED N	430	207	152	71	186	241

Civic Attachments & Public Life: Spring 1994-1

STUB=XAGNTSLF	Overall	CLASS ID			Sex of Resp	
		Polit Sci.	Mass Media	Comm. Serv.	Male	Female
Agency Self: Q19 Recorded						
Wldnt be able	10%	13%	10%	5%	13%	8%
Might be able	53%	51%	56%	48%	52%	54%
Wld be abla	37%	36%	34%	47%	35%	38%
PERCENT	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
UNWEIGHTED N	345	134	151	60	140	199
WEIGHTED N	345	134	151	60	140	199

Civic Attechments & Public Life: Spring 1994-2

## **Section H: Project Proposal**

### **Contents:**

- **Proposal for a Project on Community and Service Learning**

PROPOSAL FOR A PROJECT ON COMMUNITY AND SERVICE LEARNING  
 as a Collaboration between the Walt Whitman Center for  
 the Culture and Politics of Democracy (Rutgers  
 University) and the Surdna Foundation

Statement of General Philosophy and Ends:

Community has long been a central scholarly concern of schools and universities, but the university also is a community and belongs to a community. It is thus an ideal setting for a critical examination of the meaning and democratic significance of community as a working construct in modern America. For those who care about community not merely as a topic in sociology but as a condition of citizenship, civic welfare and identity, the ways in which the university (and by implication, the educational establishment generally) manifests or fails to manifest community in its own structure and in its relationship to its social environment are of the first importance. How it teaches its students community and democracy and how they experience them (or fail to experience them) both in the school and in the community to which their school belongs ought to be of concern to all Americans.

Within the university, sad to say, while community as a descriptive sociological term receives a great deal of attention, the university as a community and as a part of the communities to which it belongs has been neglected. That is to say, while the idea of community remains central to university life, the experience of community and its relevance to the democratic life of America is largely marginalized in academic curricula and liberal education.

Yet traditionally colleges and universities were devoted to training young people for a life of community: this was the meaning of civic education and preparation for democracy, which figured heavily in the mission statements of most public and private universities in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Indeed, the capacity of Americans to understand and live effectively in their several civic communities (local, regional and national) once was thought to come as much from their schooling as from their home environment. But, largely as a result of the professionalization of education, schools today rarely are able to act as experiential brokers between thought and life; instead they encourage a sharp division between reflection and experience, between the abstract learning environment of school and the "real world" of community (or work, business or commerce). When they do focus on the outside world, it is exclusively in terms of vocational training, economic competition and job preparation ("will the United States be able to compete economically with the Japanese and Europeans in the Twenty-First Century!? Support your local schools!")

In recent years, higher education has once again begun to take seriously its mission as an explorer and teacher of community. The place of schools as communities of one kind within towns and cities (as well as a nation and a world) that are communities of another kind is increasingly being examined. Some educators have criticized what they regard as too much 'outreach' to the community, but usually they are reacting to the overvocationalization and overprofessionalization of education (corporate funding of academic research or education as job preparation, for example) and are using "community" only in the weakest sense (the outside world). Others insist that the particular nature of the academic community rules out an engagement with the outside community (the 'ivory tower' model of liberal education). It is not clear that either set of critics has thought very much about the meaning of community or citizenship either within the university or outside of it. This neglect endangers both education and democracy.

Nonetheless, there is also a new movement in academe which has softened the sharp division between the school and its communal environs. This movement focuses on community service and the problem of community membership and identity for young people. Community service has long played an extra-curricular role in university life (Phillips Brooks House at Harvard or service fraternities, for example), but the new emphasis tries to treat community service as an intrinsic feature of academic education ("service learning"), incorporating experiential service opportunities in the community outside of the university into the active pedagogy of students, while at the same time regarding the university itself as a community as a significant mediator of education. From this perspective, pathologies once diagnosed as purely pedagogical or personal are coming to be seen as pathologies of communities in crisis. Racism or substance abuse or suicide, traditionally viewed as isolated problems that reflected personal difficulties (e.g., adolescent depression) or pedagogical failures (e.g., insufficient course work in ethics), now appear as interdependent symptoms of integral community breakdown. Likewise, town-gown resentments once written off as "institutionally inevitable" reappear as signs of a failure of community (the university's, the town's or those of the greater community supposedly embracing both). The new perspective compels educators to think about the meaning of community both within their institutions and in terms of the world beyond the ivy walls.

This new approach is anything but academic or exclusively theoretical. A number of higher education institutions have instituted practical programs integrating service learning into academic curricula. Students in these institutions are being asked to consider community experientially both as the

setting for their education, and as the social environment within which they will lead their lives. The question of whether a community is egalitarian or hierarchical, traditional or voluntaristic, just or unjust, democratic or dominated, ceases to be an essay question on social science exams and becomes an indispensable challenge of how students live their lives.

Rutgers University has had three years of experience with its education-based community service program ("CECL," see Appendix, "status report"), and has offered over a dozen courses on three campuses and in a number of different departments and schools. With the leadership of the Whitman Center for the Culture and Politics of Democracy, it has developed a democratic agenda around the integration of community service into liberal curricula. A number of other institutions, including Baylor University, Stanford University, the University of Minnesota (the Humphrey Institute's Project Public Life), Spelman College, the National Service Secretariat and Campus Compact (whose chair is Stanford's [outgoing] President Donald Kennedy) have experimented with their own programs of experiential education aimed at the cultivation of democratic community.

These programs share a dedication to the proposition that issues of community, citizenship and democracy (the politics of self-governing communities) are central to the business of education, and that such issues demand real experience in the greater community to which schools belong. Together they have the potential to yield a provisional model of education for community through community service learning and other forms of community integration. The model is undergoing constant change and offers more questions than answers, but these questions move well beyond the usual academic agenda about the "nature of community" and the hypothetical relationship between citizenship and community. Among the issues that arise from the community service learning project and that we propose to address in our project are these:

Leading Questions:

1. To what extent are American colleges and universities genuinely interested in the kind of democratic education and preparation for community life to which they give lip service?
2. Can students learn the meaning and significance of community in institutions that neglect both their own internal community life and their relationship to the communities (neighborhood, town, state and nation) which are their natural environment?

3. Can the dual goals of research and academic teaching that define the hiring and promotion agendas of American educational institutions offer any real incentives for a pedagogy of service, community and democracy?

4. Do the young need to experience community democratically (that is to say, participate in self-governing communities) in order to learn the meaning of democracy and the skills of democratic political participation? Must they be permitted to practice what their teachers preach? Is this possible in naturally hierarchical, authoritative universities?

5. Does engagement in the community outside school of the kind made possible by community service help or hinder learning about community? help or hinder the nurturing of citizenship? help or hinder students to become effective participants in communities inside and outside the university?

6. Do 'town-gown' tensions reflect the collision of two incompatible forms of community? Is there a greater responsibility on one side or the other? Do community service programs help ameliorate such tensions? More generally, do education-based service programs contribute to the self-understanding of the communities they serve in the same way they (purportedly) contribute to students' own sense of community?

7. Do students need to be "protected" and "sheltered" from the real communities they will eventually join -- communities often deformed by power, race, class, prejudice and other real-world problems likely to endanger their still tender souls? In other words, is it possible that community service will actually turn the young off to the possibilities of community by giving them too strong a dose of "reality" too soon? If yes, can the educational dimension of service learning be employed to counter these pernicious effects?

8. How can experience be integrated into learning in an environment which has traditionally polarized the two? (Prejudice rarely appears in classroom discussions of race, but these hardly means racism is dead on campus!) Will students simply create two distinct cells into which they will put (into the first) their classroom readings, debates and reflections on community and (into the second) their experience of and real feelings about community, so that the two will never really meet, let alone marry or nurture one another?

9. What is the relationship of the "service" idea, so crucial to service learning, to the idea of community and the idea of democracy (self-governing community)? Is service

about altruism or enlightened self-interest? About the person served or the person serving (or some amalgam)? If service is a way to teach students about community and citizenship, can it be a way to teach others, no longer in school? How?

10. Does community service, especially in wealthier private universities, foster a notion of "community" as a place for the poor and disadvantaged, who are served by the wealthy and advantaged -- a 'noblesse oblige' idea of service and a pejorative notion of community? If community means "problems" and service means "solving them," are we really teaching the democratic lessons about community we want to? What can be done about this?

11. What is the difference between community generically understood and a democratic community? Are schools supposed to be "democratic communities"? If not, are they appropriate places to teach democratic community?

#### Project Goals:

These and other related questions come easily and fluently to those who have worked in or with real service programs and represent an important resource for all of us who care about building and sustaining community. The Whitman Center proposes to exploit the strong start Rutgers and other universities and colleges have made with community service learning through a project which would have among its goals:

- a) To raise, formulate systematically and begin to try to answer concrete questions of the kind noted above -- questions that come out of real experience with service learning programs and questions of vital interest first of all to those wishing to develop similar programs, but also to educators, community organizers and policy-makers with community-building agendas.
- b) To draw lessons from those with community service and service learning experience that can be used in constructing a flexible and multifaceted model of service-learning which would be usable in a wide variety of school, college and university settings; and to disseminate that model through the educational community (and beyond to legislators interested in models of 'national service,' 'community service,' and 'alternative service.')
- c) To offer a working definition (or working definitions) of community and of democratic community which would be of use to community organizers, educators, philanthropists, policy-makers and others actually engaged in "community-building", "community organization," and other forms of civic education. Sought-for definitions would be practical and

action-oriented, and thus of real use to those wishing to build community and not merely to those who study it.

d) To develop an objective measure for "civic community" and "democratic citizenship" that would permit educators, organizers and policy-makers to judge the efficacy of specific service learning and community-building programs (as well as other strategies aimed at enhancing community, democracy and citizenship). At present, service learning in the name of community-consciousness cannot really be measured in any useful fashion. Institutions like Surdna and the Whitman Center devoted to nurturing community and citizenship are hard pressed to judge (other than in the most intuitive and impressionistic ways) which among the programs they support are genuinely effective. This in turn gives to all such efforts at transformation a 'soft' character that makes them seem unpersuasive to 'hard-headed' social scientists and professional politicians.

Project Elements:

To achieve these ends we propose the following specific program elements:

1) A TWO-PART NONCONVENTIONAL CONFERENCE: A carefully selected group of persons who have had direct experience with community service learning, including students, professional staff and clients of organizations in the communities served, and faculty and administrators who have themselves participated in service learning programs, along with a few experienced thinkers with community experience (Donald Eberly, the director of the National Service Secretariat, Amitai Etzioni, Director of The Responsive Community (on whose board Benjamin Barber sit), David Mathews of Kettering and Harry Boyte, director of Project Public Life, for example) -- no more than a manageable two dozen in all, would be brought together twice over the period of a year: the first time (November, 1992) to exchange information on program experience and raise and debate questions of the kind adumbrated above; the second time (September, 1993), to develop a usable model of community service learning including a video element (see below) and also to examine the first stage of a "Measuring Civic Community and Citizenship" test, to be developed in the interim at the Whitman Center. The gatherings would be working conferences with ample preparation prior to each; by involving the same people over eighteen months in a working group and assuring an on-going commitment to the project, we might hope to have some cumulative impact. The two Conferences (each to be held over several days) would include meetings in the community with participants in programs as well as their critics -- case workers, a mayor or councilmen, school principals, parents of children served by community service programs -- and thus quite literally

take participants out into the community that would be the focus of their discussion.

2) A PARALLEL WHITMAN CENTER RESEARCH EFFORT: With a project director/research coordinator working under the guidance of the Center's director (Barber), the Whitman Center would not only service the conferences, prepare their agendas and summarize and systematize their work, and prepare the final "model" document and accompanying video documentary, but would also undertake its own parallel critical research effort to act as a control on and impetus to the work of the conference group. Further, it would link this research to the "Measuring Civic Community and Citizenship Project," tying the two closely together. This would assure that the project leader would be much more than a conference administrator, and guarantee the ongoing input of the Whitman Center into the process.

3) A VIDEO-RECORDING PROGRAM: A project of this kind would benefit enormously from documentation of the kind that a simple but ongoing video project would afford. Service learning projects, involvement by students in the outside community, the response of kids in mentoring programs or clients in social welfare organizations served, classroom debates, even our two Conferences would be videorecorded, providing both ample archival and demonstration materials as well as the basis for a documentary which would become part of the "model" the project hopes to develop. Baylor University has made a short amateur video exploring its program, and its raw virtues suggest how useful the medium can be. This part of the project would be coordinated with the Rutgers University Office of Television and Radio, which has cooperated with the Whitman Center in the past and has technical resources and equipment (at in-house rental fees) that could be used.

4) MEASURING CIVIC COMMUNITY AND CITIZENSHIP: The Whitman Center is already committed to developing usable understandings of and measures for community, democracy and citizenship defined as membership in democratic communities (see appendix B). The conference working group should become integral to this effort, which could in turn serve the working group. Professor Jeffrey Smith, a measurement specialist and educational psychologist in the School of Education (Rutgers) has worked with Barber to formulate a design for this project. We believe it would make a powerful complement to the work of the Conference Group, which would benefit in its proceedings by the development of hard and critical definitions and measures of community, citizenship and democracy; the working group could in turn be of enormous help through discussing, testing and criticizing the measuring and definition project output.

A key feature of this element is the acquisition, testing and usage of CONSENSUR, an electronic survey

instrument that permits complex responses from up to 100 participants, and a device which would be a great asset to our project generally. (Note bene, much of the cost of Consensur is built into CECL and would in effect be available to this project for roughly 25% of its cost).

These four program elements are to some degree separable -- the Conferences can be hived off and treated independently from the other elements; we could hold a single meeting and try to maximize results from it; the measuring project could be done in stages, with or without CONSENSUR, the Whitman Research element can be downgraded so that we hire only a conference administrator, and so forth. But I believe much of the strength of the proposal lies in its combination of forces and its concern with concrete payoff. A conference by itself is unlikely to issue in action. Campus Compact, COOL, The Responsive Community and WINGSPREAD have held conferences on community service in which Whitman Staff (often the director) have participated (we ran the Campus Compact Northeast regional conference here at Rutgers last spring). Conferences generate useful discussion, often serious, sometimes of a high caliber worthy of publication. But the conference format is by itself an academic invention focused on TALK, and its usefulness by itself for action programs is limited (though not unimportant). The linkage proposed here between two product-oriented conferences, with ongoing collaboration in between and after, and the inclusion of the video project, an ongoing research commitment, the measuring citizenship project and the development and dissemination of a model of service learning, would not only concretize the work of the Conference group but would piggyback on (and give impetus to) the strongest program elements of the Whitman Center as presently constituted. It would also play to the strengths of both the Center's director, and of Rutgers University -- as a public university committed to service learning as well as a strong presence in the larger communities of Newark, New Brunswick and Camden, and New Jersey.

Summary:

The Whitman Center is a small, highly focused institution; it tries to integrate its work and utilize all of its strengths on each of its projects. This collaboration with the Surdna Foundation is envisioned to take maximum advantage of its virtues. Surdna and the Whitman Center share a belief that the invigoration of our community structures is vital to the preservation of our democracy; students who do not learn what it means to be citizens of a community, however well educated they may be, will ultimately fail both America and themselves. As a modest collaboration between a public university's leading Center on Democracy and a foundation with profound commitments to the nurturing of community, this project may at once contribute to education for democracy and the building of community in America.

"A STRONG COMMITMENT TO DEMOCRACY"

A strong commitment to democracy is the condition for the survival of all that is most dear to us in the Western liberal tradition. To be free we must be self-governing; to have rights we must be citizens. In the end, only citizens can be free.

The road to freedom lies then through democracy, and democracy means above all the capacity of common speech -- that distinctive faculty of reasoning the Greeks call logos that sets humankind apart from the animal kingdom and bestows on it the twin gifts of self-consciousness and other-consciousness. To strong democrats, the right of every individual to speak to others, to assert the right of being through the act of communication, is identified with the precious wellspring of human autonomy and dignity.

Thus it was in ancient Greece, isogoria -- the universal right to speak in the assembly -- came to be a synonym not merely for democratic participation but for democracy itself. Thus it is that democracy, as it struggles to flourish in a shrinking world of ever greater complexity and interdependence, has to nourish the power of the people to speak, to decide, and to act.

For in the end human freedom will be found not in caverns of private solitude but in the noisy assemblies where women and men meet daily as citizens and discover in each other's talk the consolation and strength of their common humanity.

Benjamin R. Barber

Epigraph to the 1988 Democratic  
National Convention Program