

EDUCATING FOR WHAT KIND OF DEMOCRACY? EXAMINING THE
POTENTIAL OF EDUCATING FOR PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY WITH
A CASE STUDY OF DREXEL UNIVERSITY'S FIRST-YEAR CIVIC
ENGAGEMENT PROGRAM

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ABSTRACT

Youth today are participating in political and civic life in new and emerging ways -- some positive and some negative -- but there is scant evidence that these new forms of engagement spawn enduring forms of participation to enhance democratization at all levels in society. How, then, do we educate for democracy and for what type of democracy, especially in a society that struggles with persistent inequality and injustice? Universities clearly have an important role—and, some insist, an obligation—in guiding the so-called millennial generation into civic pathways that can produce meaningful advancement of democracy. Adopting a participatory democratic theoretical framework, this work presents a case-history study of and survey data from a civic education program at Drexel University, in Philadelphia, PA, an institution that strives to be the “most civically engaged university” in the U.S, according to its President. In addition, and arguably equally important, this study examines the assumptions and conceptions students bring to the table when they are first exposed to civic education in college. How do students conceptualize democracy and civic and political engagement now and in the future? On what foundation are we building concepts of civic education for democracy when we design curricula? Do students view democracy in participatory democratic ways and does Drexel educate students for a participatory democracy, albeit implicitly? The study finds both the students and the program embrace participatory democratic norms, strengthening normative theoretical arguments that participatory democratic

theory is increasingly relevant, useful and salient to understand and nourish democracy in the U.S. today.

To My Mom and Dad
for infinite love and support

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In recent years, an array of scholars and researchers of youth civic engagement, including political scientists, has increasingly lamented the perceived lack of interest among young people, the so-called millennial generation, in civic and political participation (Macedo, et al 2005; Putnam 2000; Lawless and Fox 2015; Ferman 2012; Flanagan and Levine 2010; Galston 2004; Gibson 2001; Andolina, et al 2002; Roholt, et al 2009; CIRCLE 2015; Colby et al 2009; Rogers 2015; Wattenberg 2016). Other scholars diverge from this bleak depiction and report millennials, or persons who typically have been born since the early 1908s, engage in new and emerging ways, at times often greater than their generational predecessors (Dalton 2015; Schudson 2006; HERI report 2015; Youniss and Levine 2009; Childers 2012; Zukin, et al 2006). Youth may report less trust in politicians and may be less likely to vote at times as evidenced by the recent, historic 40 year low in voter turnout for the 2012 midterm elections, but this is juxtaposed with high levels of volunteering, increased direct policy action, greater likelihood of government watchdog activities, enhanced empathy and other ways of being an engaged citizen (Dalton 2015).

Universities continue to have a role—and, some insist, an obligation—in shaping the civic and political development of its students, mostly young adults, in ways that can produce meaningful advancement of democracy (Colby, et al 2009; Jacoby 2009; Ehrlich 2000; Saltmarsh and Hartley 2011; Boyte 2015; The National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement 2012; Rogers 2015)¹. In fact, as the timespan between adolescence and adulthood has lengthened coupled with a dwindling

associational life in the information era (Skocpol 2003; Crenson and Ginsberg 2002; Putnam 2000; Boyte and Kari 2000), four-year colleges may have become the dominant institution for incorporation into civic life for younger persons (Flanagan and Levine 2010). In addition, the first year of college presents a critical transformative time period for the formation of civic ideals and values (Hunter and Moody 2009; Gardner 2008; Nudelman and Hecker 2008). If we presume that civic education is worth promoting, and that universities are a logical venue, how should that effort be executed?

This research project does not ask whether universities should further their commitment in civic and political education, but rather it asks *how* universities should educate for democracy and importantly, for *what type* of democracy. The study normatively posits that universities should educate for a particular type of participatory democracy -- a democratic system where people engage in political decision-making in all spheres and institutions of their everyday lives, from national and local elections to the workplace to their home, thus generating more inclusiveness which can translate into more political, economic and social equality (Pateman 2012; Bachrach and Botwinick 1992; MacPherson 1977).

The theoretical framework for this study rests largely upon participatory democratic theory, a theory that has evolved since its development in the U.S. in the 1960s², finds people learn to participate via participating and with more participation democratization will be deepened and furthered (Pateman 2012). It is not something that is pre-existing or that spontaneously appears, but rather needs to be created (Pateman 2012), and it involves an ongoing dialectical process where participation is needed to transform inequalitarian authority structures and the mitigation of these unequal structures

is required to allow inclusive participation. (Pateman 1970; MacPherson 1970; Bachrach and Botwinick 1992). Participatory democracy is premised on a feedback loop where “maximum input” of participation produces an output of “not just policies” or decisions, but “also the development of the social and political capacities of each individual, so that there is ‘feedback from output to input’” (Pateman 2010, 43). It is not about imposing or forcing socioeconomic equality or “an arithmetical equality of income or wealth,” but rather promoting a process that ensures the “equality of opportunity to realize one’s human capacities” (MacPherson 1966, 47; also see MacPherson 1977).

The theoretical framework for this study also incorporates theories of experiential education for democracy and democratic education, such as those set forth by John Dewey and Amy Gutmann. John Dewey’s (1916) liberal democratic theory of education recognizes the educative function of student-centered learning and experiential education. Amy Gutmann (1987), a liberal democratic theorist, builds on Dewey’s theoretical foundations by setting forth a democratic approach to structuring education with the normative goal of inculcating “democratic values” in citizens such as nondiscrimination and nonrepression.³ Thus, this study normatively posits universities should educate for a participatory democracy, combining works of participatory democracy with theories of liberal democratic education (Dewey 1916; Gutmann 1987).

To better explore the potential for a participatory democratic civic education at the university level, and in an effort to link theory with praxis, this dissertation presents macro critique of university civic education initiatives generally, and specifically presents a case-history study and survey data from a first-year civic education program at Drexel University, in Philadelphia, PA, an institution in which the President declared it aims to

be the “most civically engaged university” in the United States. Drexel University’s Lindy Center for Civic Engagement CIVIC 101 program is a first-year civic education, service-learning class in which students spend half their classroom time discussing topics related to civic and political participation and the other half volunteering for a nonprofit organizations in Philadelphia. Some of the course goals as outlined on the syllabus have included enhancing student learning through community based experience; introducing students to how social responsibility and public service can be part of their professional lives; increasing civic and political efficacy through classroom civic engagement experiences; augmenting knowledge of civic engagement models; improving understanding of social issues through direct service and accompanying classroom discussion and reflection; and aiding students in developing a civic pathway⁴. Interviews with university and Lindy Center administrators, workers and instructors as well as students enrolled in the program were conducted to gain greater insight into this unique, civic engagement class and thus determine, as much as possible, as to whether the program, with its service-learning, experiential focus, educates for a participatory democracy, albeit perhaps implicitly, as well as the student’s current conceptions of engagement and democracy. Overall, this research finds after delving into the course through interviews, surveys and participant observation, that Drexel’s CIVIC 101 class offers a limited, but promising step toward educating for a participatory democracy.

In addition, and arguably equally importantly, this study examines the assumptions and conceptions students bring to the table when they are first exposed to civic education in college. Few researchers have attempted to define exactly what constitutes millennials’ definition and expectations of democracy, and the role of civic

and political engagement within that ideal. This research project attempts to elicit and measure young adults' conceptualization of democracy and participation. How do students conceptualize democracy and civic and political engagement now and in the future? Is it simply participation in the mechanics of the process, such as registering to vote and voting, what some scholars label a minimalist, proceduralist form of democracy (Dahl 1986; Schumpeter 1950)? Or do students see democracy in a more ambitious, expansive, and substantive way, demanding collective and democratic participation throughout society's institutions in order to transform inegalitarian structures and unfair distribution of power? Hence, do they show an affinity for participatory democracy? Early and late adolescent years are pivotal moments for developing ideas about democracy, collective action, liberty, social trust and other core values related to civic and political engagement (Flanagan 2013). Understandings students' ideas about democracy and civic engagement can lend insight into the foundational concepts for civic education curriculum design and aid educators in meeting students where they are in their thinking on democracy and civic engagement. This portion of the research also adds a participatory component by giving voice to students' perceptions about democracy, which sheds light on normative claims of how educate for democracy in the university.

Data from this portion of the project, which consists of over 300 surveys disseminated to first-year students at Drexel University, suggest that indeed students do view democracy in participatory ways: A surprising number of respondents assert that democracy encompasses more than just voting and volunteering; in their view, collective efforts to change the status quo distribution of power were also essential. For instance, close to 60% percent⁵ of the student respondents found "democracy should" include a

collective action to alter the status quo and most agreed that democracy should promote a “participatory citizenry that works to change inequalities.” Understanding millennials’⁶ conceptions of democracy – for the purposes of this study, conceptions of first-year college students -- sheds light on how to better educate for democracy, and in particular participatory democracy.

Why Participatory Democracy?

This research project contends participatory democracy, as discussed above, compared to other theories of democracy singularly considered, is best equipped to tackle current institutional inequalities of neoliberalism and institutionalized discrimination. Neoliberalism, the political economic paradigm that gained prominence in the 1970s and 1980s, heralds principles of privatization, liberalization, decentralization, and any effort to promote economic growth at the expense of other societal goals, such as improving education, healthcare, and quality of living overall. Unchecked neoliberalism exacerbates wealth inequality in society that is already the most unequal developed country in the world (Roser 2015; Saez and Zucman 2014; Tyson 2014), benefitting the haves at the expense of the have-nots. Neoliberalism eviscerates liberal democracy, denying the full expression of liberty, political equality and any chance of liberal democracy’s potential for greater equality (Brown 2015). Ascriptive hierarchy, in which persons are afforded greater access to institutions and power based on some ascribed characteristic including race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation or any other trait deemed privileged in U.S. society (Smith 1993) also enervates participatory progress. In light of tremendous economic disparities in the U.S. today, exacerbated by neoliberalism and coupled with ensuing forms of ascriptive hierarchy and institutionalized racism (Jones 2000),

participatory democratic theory best offers normative prescriptions on how to engender a democracy that contains not just *de jure* equality, but *de facto* equality as well.

Participatory democratic theory, does not jettison deliberative, republican, communitarian or liberal theories of democracy⁷, but rather builds upon them with a stalwart defense against the excesses of capitalism noting the detrimental and deleterious consequences on democracy.⁸

In addition, the term civic engagement has developed into a popular substitute for the discourse of participation and participatory democracy since the 1970s (Levine 2007). While many studies of civic engagement adequately and elaborately define civic engagement calling for actions such as community participation, political voice, political engagement, development political efficacy as well a commitment to social justice locally and globally (Levine 2007; Jacoby 2009), they do not specifically note larger structural changes that impact and depend on civic engagement. Civic engagement may be deemed a sanitized, less polemical term compared to participatory democratic theory, but it is precisely participatory democracy's focus on the political, or the focus on the distribution and access to power, that is desperately needed to confront entrenched socioeconomic inequalities. Educating for a participatory democracy dares to educate students to be fearless of the political and equips them with transformational power. Undoubtedly, few and perhaps no universities, will explicitly design their program with calls to educate for a participatory democracy.⁹ This research project is not about presenting an either/or approach to the design of university based civic engagement programs. In fact, it recognizes tremendous work is being carried out by colleges nationally and globally in diverse civic engagement, service learning and other experiential learning initiatives.

This dissertation, though, attempts to make a small contribution to the literature by to examining in what ways university civic engagement programs, particularly Drexel's CIVIC 101 class, is already educating for a participatory democracy, albeit implicitly, and also calling on educators, scholars and researchers to turn to participatory democratic theory, and theories of liberal democratic education, for insight, direction, and increased understanding when educating for democracy today.

In constructing a normative defense for the viability and importance of participatory democratic theory, especially as it could and should be applied to university civic engagement initiatives, this research project also briefly theorizes on the state of democratic theory in chapter 3. This part of the project endeavors to make a small contribution to the re-invigoration of participatory democracy in theory, which optimistically will impact practice.

Methodology

The dissertation utilizes mixed social scientific methods, consisting of both qualitative and quantitative data of structured and semi-structured surveys as well as a case study analysis. The surveys were shaped by knowledge attained of a literature of participatory democratic theory, the normative theoretical approach to this approach to be explained further below, and asked students about their conceptualizations of democracy, what type of civic engagement is important in a democracy and their future expected civic engagement. Over 300 students completed the surveys. The qualitative portion of the research, or the case-study, consisted of in-depth interviews with administrators, instructors and students in Drexel University's Lindy Center Civic 101 program, participant observation as an instructor, review of student reflection papers and course materials and the collection of data from the Lindy Center's website. The materials that

were thoroughly reviewed were the mission, background, syllabi and lesson plans associated on the CIVIC 101 program and Lindy Center. I have also been an instructor with the CIVIC 101 for the past four years, so I have witnessed first-hand the curriculum changes and I have interacted with and read papers of at least 500 students in the program.

The project also explores a few bodies of literature – literature on youth civic engagement, political and civic engagement of higher education, experiential pedagogies and participatory democratic theory -- to situate and analyze how to educate for college students for a participatory democracy. The project does present a normative theoretical stance in its assertion that universities should turn toward participatory democratic theory in their civic engagement initiatives. Normative political theory endeavors to examine particular practical and political problems (Young 1994, 717) and relate them to theory. In this research study, the problems presented are related to how universities effectively educate for democracy, including various practices and pedagogies, in an era of neoliberal dominance with persistent racial, socioeconomic, gender, and other inequalities and the lack of understanding of what democratic ideas college students possess and bring to the classroom before they are educated and prepared for a participatory democracy. Participatory democratic theory, a theory some found was being relegated to obscurity, is harkened to shed light on these issues and in simultaneously, although secondary to the project, defend its relevance. The study fuses theory with praxis in collecting and analyzing empirical data to probe actualities and possibilities of participatory democracy.

In general, methods were designed with parameters described by Creswell (2003) in his book *Research Design*, and this project adopts what Creswell terms a pragmatist approach to research methods. To fully understand the method a researcher employs, Creswell highlights the following three questions central to research design: What are the “knowledge claims” or theoretical perspectives set forth by the researcher; “What type of “strategies of inquiry” inform the procedures; and which data collection methods and analysis are used? (Creswell 2003, 5). Creswell provides a framework for knowledge claims situated into four main areas: postpositivism, constructivism, pragmatism and advocacy/participatory. This research project adopts a pragmatist approach to research, which is mostly problem-oriented, but does focus on the *what* and *how* of research to better understand consequences and how to proceed. Pragmatists approach research from a social, historical and political context and may apply a theoretical lens that is social justice oriented (Creswell 2014, 12). This research project utilized participatory democratic theory to identify the topics, survey questions, and methods for research.

In addition to the pragmatist approach, the study employed concurrent and transformative research strategies (Creswell 2014). Research strategies range from surveys, experiments to narrative research, to name just a few. In a mixed-methods approach, the research may adopt sequential methods, starting with one method to better inform another method used later; concurrent procedures in which data is converged to provide an overview of the research problem; or transformative procedures in which a larger theoretical lens offers a framework for the quantitative and qualitative data collection (Creswell 2014). This study employed both concurrent and transformative

procedures, applying a theoretical framework, collecting data concurrently and using it for the final analysis.

In terms of the execution of the actual methods, the project started with the aforementioned excursion into political theory. The researcher then expanded on the results of the survey described above by interviewing a number of instructors, administrators and students related to the program. The instructors shed light on the teaching, what works and doesn't work in the classroom and suggested promising pedagogies to promote civic and political engagement in the future. The administrators, including the Director of the Lindy Center, the Provost and President of the University, contributed a first-hand look at the design and intent of the program and how it relates to Drexel University's overall mission to promote civic engagement. Finally, I, the researcher, served as a participant observer, as I have been an instructor with the CIVIC 101 program for over four years. As a result, I bring my insights as well as biases to the data collection and analysis.

Benefits and Limitations of the Research Study

Many studies on civic engagement in higher education incorporate theory in their discussion about design of programs, pedagogies, students' participation and other issues of concern. However, few explore democratic theory closely discussing its implications for civic engagement in higher education. This study attempts to do that.

Many studies may just look at one study, whereas others compare youth across many countries, or compare and contrast various civic engagement programs. One limitation of this study is that it is a small-N case, and in this study it is one case. Small-N studies are limited due to the fact they lack a control group, results are often hard to

generalize and they can be susceptible to experimenter bias. I recognize these shortcomings, but despite the results in this work being derived from one case study, I argue it is a case that offers convincingly rich data. During any 10 week quarter, this introductory CIVIC 101 class is taught by 8 different instructors, employing the same syllabus, but interpreting it differently, and utilizing different pedagogies — ranging from experiential activities, guest lectures to old fashioned lectures. Students choose from a number of volunteer sites, with a number signing up for any one particular site. Their reflection papers also provide nice intra and inter-site comparisons. This allows for rich and informative comparisons among students when examining relevant issues.

Theoretical Framework

Defining Civic and Political Engagement

The terms civic engagement and political engagement are largely used interchangeably throughout this research project, although definite distinctions must be drawn. I rely largely on Barbara Jacoby's (2009) definition of civic engagement adopted from the University of Maryland's Coalition for Civic Engagement and Leadership, as well as Dalton's idea of the "engaged citizen," a terms he uses to define the civic and political participation of young persons in the United States today.

First, Jacoby's definition describes civic engagement as:

'acting upon a heightened sense of responsibility to one's communities. This includes a wide range of activities, including developing civic sensitivity, participation in building civil society, and benefiting the common good. Civic engagement encompasses the notions of global citizenship and interdependence. Through civic engagement, individuals — as citizens of their communities, their nations, and the world — are empowered as agents of positive social change for a more

democratic world ‘ (Coalition for Civic Engagement and Leadership, 2005 cited in Jacoby 2009, 9).

In addition, civic engagement includes an array of additional hoped for results such as the following:

- Learning from others, self, and environment to develop informed perspectives on social issues
- Valuing diversity and building bridges across difference
- Behaving, and working through controversy, with civility
- Taking an active role in the political process
- Participating actively in public life, public problem solving, and community
- Assuming leadership and membership roles in organizations
- Developing empathy, ethics, values, and sense of social responsibility
- Promoting social justice locally and globally (Coalition for Civic Engagement and Leadership, 2005 cited in Jacoby 2009, 9)

This definition is comprehensive, holistic and as Jacoby points out, presents a “big tent” that allows diverse individuals and programs to gather under to advance collective efforts toward change in society.¹⁰ It enhances shorter and quicker definitions, such as the definition introduced by the Lindy Center for Civic Engagement’s Civic 101 class at Drexel University, which defines civic engagement as “collective public problem-solving” and “develop[ing] the knowledge, skills, values and motivation to do this effectively.”

Political engagement generally refers to those activities that influence the selection or activities of government officials (Verba and Nie 1972). Jacoby’s definition above demonstrates that the hoped for goals of civic engagement do include aspirations of political participation as well, and it presents an understanding of civic engagement that goes beyond what may be expected of citizens if liberal democracy was conceptualized in solely minimalist, procedural terms. In a democracy focused largely on the elites’ competition for the right to vote along with the guarantee of civil and political

rights, the conception of the good citizen may be one that is primarily “duty-based” (Dalton 2016) or “personally responsible”(Westheimer and Kahne 2004). The “duty-based” or “personally responsible” votes, pays taxes, serves on juries, recycles, and joins association, but may reluctant to challenge the status quo, whether that means questioning the government, protesting, or engaging in acts deemed unpatriotic. Duty-based citizens adhere to norms of citizenship that “reflect the formal obligations, responsibilities and rights of citizenship as they have been defined in the past” in the U.S. (Dalton 2016, 5). Instead, the definition Jacoby (2009) subscribes to reflects a more “engaged citizenry,” a term Dalton (2016) utilizes to describe the changing civic norms among young persons in the United States. “Engaged citizens” are persons that may not necessarily vote often, but they volunteer more, are more likely to contest elected government officials’ activities, stress participation, and engage in direct action on social issues. “Participation is not just an expression of allegiance and duty but an attempt to influence policy outcomes” (Dalton 2016, 33). In addition, the “engaged citizen” seems to show greater support for deliberation in political activity as well as stronger concerns for the welfare of others (33). Dalton’s conception of the “engaged citizen” is captured in the University of Maryland’s list of civic engagement aspirations, as well as his conceptualization of the “duty-based” citizen.

This research project normatively argues participatory democracy requires political as well as civic engagement, and civic action does not exclude political engagement. It supports Dalton’s argument that the ideal civic norms and behavior are a combination of both an “engaged citizen” and “duty-based citizen.” The “engaged citizen’s” ability to challenge the status quo and the government on socioeconomic

inequalities and other issues in a democracy is more closely aligned with a participatory democratic framework for participation than a “duty-based” citizen, but it is still important to have robust levels of trust in the government, parties and elections (Dalton 2016, 183). Fortunately, Dalton, through extensive review of the General Studies Survey and other public opinion surveys, finds that millennials embody an “engaged citizenry” displaying assertiveness and engagement in public and civic life in new ways that differ from their duty-based predecessors. Thus, similar to the findings in the survey results of the data presented in Chapter 5, many millennials already reveal a predisposition to the ideals or activities of participatory democracy.

Still, throughout the dissertation, I often use the terms civic and political engagement interchangeably for purposes of brevity or to avoid repetition. Participating in politics or being civically engaged, in my opinion, are mutually constitutive terms but do possess some discreteness as described above.¹¹ For instance, volunteering or participating in a PTA seem to represent largely civic activities of charity or working with others for the common good, but they can become, and perhaps inevitably possess, a political component to them once issues of power and its distribution are addressed.

Defining Participatory Democracy

Dalton’s (2016) “engaged citizen” with additional trust and participation in parties and elections would be the “good citizen” in a participatory democracy. Participatory democracy, first soaring to prominence in the 1960s and 1970s, differs from other versions of democracy, such as liberal, illiberal, deliberative, republican, consolidated, or even “democracy without adjectives” (Collier and Levitsky 1996), in that it aspires to democratize all sectors of society through active participation in political decision-

making including interacting with authority structures (Pateman 2012). Instead of focusing solely on democracy's procedural inputs, such as free and fair elections and political and civil rights, participatory democracy focuses on a substantive output as well, generally an output toward socioeconomic equality, that can be achieved via active and civic participation open to everyone equally.¹²¹³ Participation can range from voting, joining a civic association, playing sports, participating in a protest, or engaging in efforts to truly effect change in terms of ameliorating structural imbalances of economic, political and social power in society. Engagement on all fronts, toward these ends, diffused throughout society's institutions is the general recipe for engendering participatory democracy (Pateman 1970, 2012; Bachrach and Botwinick 1992; MacPherson 1977). Therefore, the current neoliberal environment marked by forms of ascriptive hierarchy dampens the prospects and ability for participatory democracy to flourish. Neoliberalism's emphasis on the race to the economic finish line with winners amassing more resources -- at the expense of others -- along with entrenched institutional disparities privileging some based on race, class, gender and a host of other characteristics also at the expense of others makes it difficult to idealize and ultimately materialize participatory democracy.¹⁴

Application of a Theoretical Framework

What are the characteristics of a participatory democratic civic education program at the university level? Many scholars posit that civic education programs should include teaching political knowledge, discussion, sparking interest in politics by encouraging newspaper reading, for instance, direct experience with the community, reflection upon service, deliberation, collective action for the common good to solve public problems or a

commitment to public work (Boyte 2014). Building on a variety of works in the field of youth civic engagement and applying a participatory democratic framework, the following is a list of desired components of participatory democratic civic engagement program in higher education. They should:

- *Be participatory in design in execution.* The curriculum should be designed in a participatory fashion, incorporating input from students, professors, administrators, community members and the general public.
- *Employ pedagogies that are participatory and experiential.* In the classroom, dialogue and activities to foster input, deliberation and sharing of ideas among students and teachers in a non-hierarchical manner should be fostered. It also student-centered instead of teacher driven (Dewey 1963; Freire 1970; Shor 1992). Deliberation is important, and civic education programs should strengthen deliberation and aid into transforming deliberation into public actions.
- *Utilize reflection activities through writing exercises* and classroom dialogue are essential for students in understanding the underlying problems related to their service site's purpose and mission.
- *Foster collective action for solving public problems* and inculcate a sense of shared responsibility for problems. This should be carried out by classroom participants with community organizations through shared, collaborative methods. Volunteering could be an aspect of this, but it should be carried with the public, not solely for the public (Saltmarsh and Hartley 2011; Burkhardt and Joslin 2012). Community service should empower recipients and volunteers, not just engage in a "feel good" form of charity (Eggers 2012; Dillman 2013).

- *Recognize that societal problems are political*, or are related to the distribution of resources in society (Easton 1953; Lasswell 1936). Politics should not be seen as a “dirty word,” but rather one that is embraced when addressing public problems (Kettering Foundation 2014).
- *Develop political and civic knowledge of students and participants*, including an understanding of larger structural forces such as neoliberalism and injustices such as racism, sexism, and discrimination.
- *Institute experiential education* that motivates persons engage in but also go beyond “personally responsible” forms of citizenship, such as recycling, voting and helping the neighbors, but rather transition to more participatory and social justice oriented forms of citizenship (Westheimer and Kahne 2004), such as participating and assuming leadership roles in town meetings, advocacy groups and other community organizations and institutions as well developing a sense of social justice and incorporating it into their civic efforts and pathway. In addition, a “justice-based service-learning” (JBSL) program as termed by McGivern (2015) promotes critical reflection, provides understanding of the local context and public policy implications of issues; supports ensuing engagement; ensures equal access to service learning opportunities; stimulates interdisciplinary collaborations; fosters a safe and open environment for dialogue (66-68).
- *Encourage students and participants to democratize society’s institutions*, including the workplace, university and the home, as well as pursue a path of civic professionalism (Boyte 2015).

- *Foster values of nondiscrimination and nonrepression*, and highlight negative effects of *neoliberalism and institutionalized discrimination*. Incorporating ideas from Gutmann (1987) as well as address the negative structural effects of neoliberalism and institutionalized discrimination as described in this dissertation, university based civic education programs should contain components to directly address these important societal issues.
- *Embrace and instill concepts of a holistic definition of civic engagement*, as presented by some scholars such as Jacoby (2009), explicated in Chapter 2. This includes acquiring civic and political knowledge, expressing empathy in engagement, developing a sense of social justice, as well nurturing civic and political efficacy and agency.

The concepts described above will be applied to the case study of Drexel University's CIVIC 101 program to better understand to what extent these goals are being carried out in practice as well as to shed light on the shortcomings of participatory democratic theory to be used as a theoretical framework in the study and practice of democratic education today. The basis for these concepts will be described further in Chapter 2's literature review and Chapter 3's discussion of participatory theory and its relevance for civic education.

Outline of Dissertation

Chapter 2 presents a review of the literature on the themes related to the case study and survey data including youth civic and political engagement, and university civic education initiatives including experiential pedagogies such as service learning. Some of the aforementioned themes of the case study relate to the goals outlined in the

syllabus including students learning via community based experience, encouraging students to think about how personal responsibility and public service can be a part of their professional lives and civic pathway, heightening students' civic and political efficacy; and increasing knowledge of civic engagement models. These themes will be weaved throughout and touched upon in the literature review.

Chapter 2 begins by exploring questions pertaining to the state of youth civic engagement today, by comparing and contrasting various studies and analyses on how millennials are engaging, their propensity for future engagement, and whether it can be assessed as hopeful or bleak for the future. Some of the discussion will also focus on how other studies have examined young adults' democratic values and views. The second part of the chapter explores how universities in general have attempted to promote civic and political engagement. How have service-learning and community-based courses been crafted to promote civic and political engagement in the U.S. considering the current political, economic and social climate as marked by neoliberalism and ascriptive hierarchy and described above? How *should* they be crafted? What pedagogies should be employed, such as service learning and other experiential practices? The discussion aids in evaluating to what extent these activities are being carried out by instructors in university based civic education programs, especially Drexel's CIVIC 101 program.

Chapter 3 discusses the importance and relevance of participatory democratic theory as it applies to civic education at the university level. It first explores role of education in liberal democratic theory, and how participatory democratic theory complements and offers insight to a theory on democratic education, such as the one set forth by Guttmann (1987). It briefly reviews the trajectory of democratic theory since the

mid-20th century, examining how a liberal, and minimalist, proceduralist notion of democracy as conveyed by Schumpeter and Dahl persevered as the theoretical stronghold in the field. Chapter 2 then engages in a normative defense of participatory democratic theory by exploring the rise of the theory in the 1960s and 1970s by theorists such as McPherson, Pateman, Bachrach and Botwinick, Barber. The chapter contends many of theory's principle extend and deepen democratic commitments set forth by deliberative democracy, which eclipsed participatory democratic theory in mainstream democratic theory since the 1980s (Boyte 2015). This chapter finds deliberative democracy is important, and it a vital part to participatory democratic theory but it falls short of fulfilling the aspirations of a participatory democratic framework. The chapter centers its theoretical discussion on to what extent does participatory democratic theory display robust explanatory power for democratic politics and practices, particularly civic education initiatives at the university level?

Chapter 4 and 5 present the case study and survey data on Drexel University's Lindy Center for Civic Engagement CIVIC 101 class and the instructors' and students' opinions and ideas about the program and concepts of democracy and civic engagement.

Chapter 4 presents the case study of Drexel University's Lindy Center for Civic Engagement and its CIVIC 101 course. It presents a historical overview of the center and the origination of the first year civic engagement course. It shares findings from in-depth interviews with administrators and instructors from the program. In particular, the conversations with instructors offered a detailed view of how they perceive the program, its goals and mission and what type of pedagogies they employ in the classroom. The findings reveal CIVIC 101 instructors are strong proponents of participatory democratic

principles, regardless of their ideological predispositions to the theory's core issues of inequality.

Chapter 5 presents the findings from the aforementioned surveys capturing college students' beliefs on democracy. It examines how their beliefs may differ based on demographics, and how these ideas match their expected future civic and political engagement. The findings reveal that many students conceptualize democracy in more substantive ways or in terms set forth by participatory democratic theorists. In general, the findings contribute empirical data to how students theoretically think about democracy, and offer a glimpse into the mindset of students entering university civic education program.

Chapter 6 presents an analysis and conclusion of the study. The chapter revisits the normative defense of participatory democracy presented in Chapter 3 and present throughout the research endeavor. The study concludes by outlining recommendation for the Lindy Center and other university based civic education programs as they continue to educate for democracy.

In sum, the major question examined in this work is how the empirical evidence gathered advances and clarifies our understanding of the practice, theory, and goals of education for democracy. Overall, it finds both the students and the program embrace participatory democratic principles which strengthens normative theoretical arguments that the theory is increasingly relevant, useful and salient to understand and nourish democracy in the U.S. today.

Thus, the research project optimistically aspires to shift the central question for educators and scholars when asking how to educate for democracy at the first-year

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON CIVIC AND POLITICAL EDUCATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION

“Higher education, in short, is a crucial *anchoring institution of citizenship*.” Harry Boyte (2015) *Democracy’s Education: Public Work, Citizenship and the Future of Democracy* (3, 2015)

It has historically and conventionally been perceived that higher education should educate students for democracy. Whether or not universities adequately attempt or succeed in preparing students to be engaged citizens is the subject of much debate. This chapter is a review of the literature in an attempt to better inform the questions of how universities should educate for democracy in the 21st century and for what type of democracy they should educate. This chapter reviews literatures related to themes captured in the empirical case study, such as the goals of the CIVIC 101 program, as well as themes related to the survey data on students’ ideas about democracy and civic and political engagement.

First, to better understand how to educate for democracy and, perhaps, a participatory democracy, we must grasp how and to what extent millennials, and the general population, participate in civic and political life today. The first part of this chapter will cover literature on the state of civic and political engagement today among the general populace; it will also focus on the special factors pertaining to millennials. A discussion on millennials’ political attitudes and knowledge will follow. It will then review literature on how to educate for democracy in higher education, including strategies and mechanisms employed, including service learning, community -based classrooms, critical pedagogies of education and other experiential curricula.

The purpose of the literature review is to provide insight and understanding of themes related to Chapter 3's discussion on Participatory Democratic Theory and Democratic Education; to present important scholarly arguments and frameworks on state of civic engagement and higher education's civic efforts to aid in critically analyzing the curriculum of Drexel University's Lindy Center for Civic Engagement's CIVIC 101 program and the extent to which it prepares students for a participatory democracy addressed in Chapter 4; and to offer insight related to first-year students' conceptualizations on democracy and civic engagement captured in Chapter 5's empirical data.

State of Civic and Political Engagement

Many scholars warn the US may be facing a "democratic deficit" (Macedo, et al, 2005) due to a decline in political participation and civic engagement compared to previous generations (Putnam 2000; Skocpol 2003, 2004; Brokaw 2001; Corporation for Community and National Service 2011). Research points to a decline in voter turnout, a decrease in associational life (Putnam, 2000; Skocpol, 2003, 2004), a dearth of political knowledge (DelliCarpini and Keeter, 1996), a decrease in reading newspapers and deliberating with one another (Putnam 2000; Skocpol 2003; Flanagan and Levine 2010) and a general slump in social networks and interaction among citizens (Putnam, 2000). In addition to the general decline of civic and political engagement over the past sixty years or more, the younger generations, or those termed Millennials¹⁵, rank lower on many indicators than Older Adults, Baby Boomers and Generation X, including voting, discussing politics¹⁶, serving as a committee person for a group, talking with neighbors, participating in church and other civic activities (Corporation for Community and

National Service 2011, 2-3). Overall, there has been a decrease in civic and political engagement since those who came of age during the Depression and WWII, or the “Greatest Generation” as Tom Brokaw (2001) calls them, and according to most analysts.

Adolescence is a pivotal period in terms of building civic skills, attitudes and participatory habits, as literature in the fields of youth development and civic engagement stress. Campbell (2006) argues that the political activity of adolescents are a good indicator of their activity as adults. In particular, he examines how the civic norms of adolescents’ communities shape their political attitudes and habits, including a sense of duty to participate. “[O]ne can be socialized into acting out a sense of duty, and an important (probably the most important) period of our lives for that socialization to occur is adolescence” (Balsano, 2005, p. 5). Higher levels of civic engagement also lead to a healthier social and personal development, as well as enhances one’s future aspirations (Balsano, p. 188). “Civically engaged youth tend to have an increased sense of their own competencies, be more internally driven to get involved in pro-social activities, and have higher self-esteem” (Balsano, p. 188). Positive youth development, as occurs through civic engagement, helps youth to rely on their strengths and the opportunities of their social context to contribute in a mutually beneficial way to themselves, communities and societal institutions (Lerner 2004).

Will Millennials, the focus of this research project, be inclined to increase civic and political participation as they gain years, or is engagement overall on a perpetual slope downward? Are there new forms of engagement that will supplant what is deemed traditional civic behavior? How can civic and political engagement be promoted, and in particular how does higher education nourish greater and enduring civic and political

engagement among young adults in the United States? What do young people, especially first-year college students, already bring to the classroom in terms of their ideas and thoughts about democracy and civic participation? What type of pedagogies and curricular strategies produce the best outcomes in stimulating political and civic activity? If higher education continues to reinvent ways to educate its students for democracy, to what extent should a reconceptualization of civic and political engagement and democracy be part of this process?

Youth Civic Engagement

Youth (Dis)engagement?

So how do youth fare? According to many authors, youth don't fare well on civic and political engagement indicators. Putnam (2000) reports that there has been a precipitous decline in youths' level of participation as compared to their age cohorts a few decades or generations ago. Youth attend fewer public meetings, vote less regularly, read and watch the news less frequently and in general are ranked lower on a number of civic participation indicators as compared to their parents (Putnam, 2000; Zukin, et al, 2006; Corporation for National and Community Service, 2011). The Corporation for Community and National Service reports Millennials came in last of four generations on most of the civic engagement indicators, including voting and discussing politics, when compared to the Older Adult Generation or those born before 1946, Baby Boomer or those born between 1946-1964, and Generation X, or those born between 1965 and 1981. (Corporation for Community and National Service 2011, 2-3). In addition, youth in general expressed a disenchantment with politics (Galston, 2004; Gibson, 2001) which

many young persons find is dominated by ‘white guys in suits’; corrupted by greed (Andolina, Jenkins, Keeter and Zukin, 2002, p. 192). Jennifer Lawless and Richard Fox (2015) find the majority of high school and college students express no interest in running for office, which they contend is troubling considering there are more than a half million elected positions in the U.S. Hence, not only have the levels of engagement declined, but so have the youths’ civic skills, knowledge and attitudes.

Not all youth are similarly disengaged: many studies historically show that college education is a good predictor of greater civic and political engagement. For nearly one hundred years, “literally thousands of cross-sectional surveys have indicated that turnout rates climb with years of formal schooling” (Sondheimer and Green 2010, 174).¹⁷ Those with college degrees tend to vote more and engage in other civic activities at higher rates including boycotting, contacting a public official and serving on a committee as an officer in a group (Millennial Health Index 2013, 9).¹⁸ The literature, though, shows that this relationship may not be causal (Millennial Health Index 2013). During the 20th century, educational attainment increased in tandem with voter participation, but this began to change in the 1990s. In 1990, for instance, white men voted at substantially higher rates than they do today, although they continued to acquire more education as times progressed (CIRCLE staff with Haley Pero and Laura Nelson 2012, 5). This data has led scholars to believe that voter turnout may be more highly correlated with socioeconomic status than education, as “education is mostly a proxy for relative social status” (CIRCLE staff with Haley Pero and Laura Nelson 2012, 5).¹⁹

Besides class, identity politics may also play a role in youth political engagement. In a critique of the conventional ways the literature on political socialization treats youth

political development, Flanagan and Galloway (1995) suggest political and civic engagement may be affected by more than just socioeconomic factors; that factors related to larger institutional issues pertaining to those deemed to be members of the status quo versus those who have been historically marginalized. A good example of this is a reference to a study by Jankowski (1992),²⁰ in which a 17 year-old Chicana reveals, “Before I knew anything about how the American government worked, I could tell Chicanos didn’t have much say in how things got done ‘cause of the way Anglo people would treat us” (Flanagan and Galloway, 35 ref. Jankowski 1992, 84). Her comment goes beyond just class disparities, and the authors point out “she links her own experience of unfair treatment, of contempt from the dominant group, to the subordinate position of her people in the polity” (36). As a result, she may be less likely to become politically engaged as “the sense of alienation from the polity, the lack of power and the sense that she does not belong revealed in the young woman’s statement will be resolved only through collective action” (37).

Ferman (2012) posits, in a very clear, elucidating typology, that young persons’ lack of interest in government and politics today stem from three interconnected factors of “relevance”, “negativity” and the “triumphant market factor”. The “relevance” factor refers to the difficulty youth have in finding the relevance of their personal lives to government policies or absence of policies. Ferman references studies such as one by the National Association of Secretaries of state that report students rarely can list definite ways that the government decisions impact their lives (22). This lack of a connection between their personal lives and government does not necessarily translate into increased participation as many abstain from voting to due lack of information and a feeling their

vote does not matter (232). The “negativity factor” refers to the almost ubiquitous perception that government is corrupt, profligate and inept (233). Both the “relevance factor” and “negativity factor” are supported by the “triumphant market factor,” which refers to the superiority of the market over government since the 1980s “in its strong push to privatize as many functions, products, and services as humanly possible thereby further emasculating government” (233). This unfettered privatization combined with a resurgent belief in “rugged individualism,” has given primacy to personal gain instead of organizational ties and has inverted the 1960s mantra of the “personal is the political” into the “political is the personal” (233). Thus, “the market has replaced the polis as *seemingly* personal problems falsely cry out for customized solutions” (233). Thus, the three factors—relevance, negativity and triumphant market factors—have whittled any inclination youth have to become politically engaged or interested in government policies and politics.

Some youth may possess different attitudinal dispositions and motives toward civic and political engagement. A two-year research program at the Applied Developmental Psychology Department at Fordham University studied the political views and behavior of high school and college aged youth and found that their participation in society, albeit manifesting itself similarly, served different functions (Sherrod 2003). Surveying youth in the New York Metropolitan area, they discovered some youth were concerned about political issues such as poverty, whereas others were concerned with political issues dealing with self-protection such as defense and the control of terrorism. Those concerned with poverty performed community service altruistically whereas those concerned with self-protective issues tended to engage in

community service to improve their resume (2003, 287-292). Sherrod (2003) also found youth that faced poverty directly may hold self-protectionist views about politics as a form of self-defense. It is empowering to think one can individually escape poverty whereas focusing on social constraints may leave them feeling disillusioned and confined to a lower socioeconomic class. In this research at Fordham (Sherrod 2003), over seventy percent of the students reported a good citizen was one that obeyed the law or helped others, a personally responsible form of citizenship, whereas only one or two from a sample of 80 listed activities such as protesting, questioning the status quo, or activities such as voting (Sherrod 2003), important for more substantive, participatory forms of civic engagement.²¹

Not so Bleak After All: Youth as “Engaged” Citizenry

Other literature reports a more optimistic outlook on youth political engagement, such as voting. For example, research performed by the Center for Information on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE) notes that despite the continual decline in youth voter turnout between 1972 and 2000, there was a jump in turnout in elections after 2000 with 50% of young people (18-29) voting in the 2012 elections,²² and this was substantial enough to decide the election. In fact, without the youth vote, the states of Ohio, Florida, Virginia and Pennsylvania would have gone to presidential candidate Mitt Romney instead of Barack Obama, effectively making Romney the winner of that election.²³ Still, voting was slightly down from the 51% voter turnout in the 2008 election versus 45% percent of 18-29 year olds voting in 2012, according to CIRCLE’s 2012 youth vote statistics. In addition, CIRCLE reports college-aged youth were disproportionately represented in 2012 since 71% of young voters attended college, but 60% of citizens

between the ages of 18-29 were enrolled. On an even slightly more dismal note, recent statistics show that voter turnout of young adults reached a 40 year historic low in the 2014 midterm election with less than 20 percent turnout (CIRCLE 2015). These statistics may temper an overly optimistic picture.

Zukin, Keeter, et al (2006) find that voter turnout actually declined over the past three decades for youth compared to older adults, but younger adults were more likely to be civically engaged in new ways today. “Aided in part by the Internet, young people are matching their elders in the public expression of their civic voices. And their participation involves an intriguing combination of continuity with the past mixed with a variety of new perspectives” (2006, 4). Traditional political participation, such as voting and campaign work, has dampened over the past thirty years due to “high-level government scandals and unpopular wars” that have “eroded public trust and sagacity of leaders”, as well as the rise of gerrymandered congressional districts producing uncompetitive elections, and a power shift towards the private and nonprofit sector (4). Now, civic participation geared towards solving community problems and helping others, has eclipsed traditional political participation, or actions designed to influence government policy (5-6). Although “a significant segment of the public eschews voting and campaigning,” they engage in volunteering, community problem solving, expressing their voice through the media, with other citizens and policymakers and as consumers (4-5).

Dalton (2016) presents a similar argument as Zukin, Keeter, et al in his book *Good Citizen: How A Younger Generation is Reshaping American Politics*. As mentioned in the introduction, he dispels the myth that Millennials are not civically engaged and instead finds they are participating in a multitude of ways in unparalleled

numbers. When compared with their generational “duty-based” forebears who voted regularly, showed deference to government and unwavering patriotism, the new generation is engaged increasingly in direct action politics, public protest and volunteer at higher rates (2016). In addition, they view the relationship of government to society differently than their grandparents and even parents. They prefer a more active instead of limited government, support social welfare programs, and display more tolerance for different persons and viewpoints. “Engaged citizenship emphasizes a more assertive role for the citizen and a broader definition to include social concerns and the welfare of other,” asserts Dalton (5, 2016) noting “many Americans believe they are fully engaged in society even if they do not vote or conform to traditional definitions of citizenship” (5). He points out that by identifying this new “engaged citizenry,” it becomes more difficult to prove a strong relationship, as Almond and Verba (1972) displayed in the *Civic Culture*, between higher education and increased voting, deliberation and knowledge about politics, traits often characterizing “duty-based” citizens (44)²⁴. What accounts for the recent rise of an “engaged citizenry”? Dalton attributes it to a rise in social status including higher educational levels, enhanced living conditions, more leisure time and new employment opportunities. The “engaged citizen” adopts more “self-expressive” or “postmaterialist” values that are endemic of many advanced industrial nations such as greater tolerance for diversity, increased attachment to social causes such as environmentalism, and heightened demands for participation in decision-making in economic and political life (World Values Survey 2016) and more emphasis on “belonging, self-expression, and the quality of life” (Inglehart 1990, 66). Dalton (2016), however, notes that the ideal “good citizen” would be one that embraced the qualities of

an “engaged” citizen with some “duty-based” characteristics such as the propensity to vote and a show of trust in government and parties.²⁵

Schudson (2006) complements Dalton’s (2016) argument and believes the state of civic engagement in general, including youth civic engagement, is misdiagnosed largely by the dominant studies on associational life that are premised on narrow definitions of effective engagement (Putnam (2000) and Skocpol (2003)). For instance, he points out that their conventional definition of membership in groups requires face-to-face meetings, cross-cutting class encounters, grassroots with chapters organized in towns, subsisting on unpaid volunteers or very few paid staff members, and maintaining a stable organizational structure to name just a few of the requisites (pg. 595). Schudson argues that this definition of an ideal association does not leave space, and in fact denigrates, newer forms of groupings that may not be enduring or require in-person contact, but are also worthy of generating civic change and engendering engagement. Some of the types of organizations and movements he lists include groups aimed at local goals, such as the NIMBY or not-in-my-backyard movement against perceived negative developments close to home, such as the disposal of low-level radioactive waste (Kearney 1993); groups that emerge during crises but may be ephemeral such as Occupy Wallstreet; groups driven by professional staff such as the many activist nonprofits in D.C.; individual activist agendas that challenge actions in the courts instead of building movements of solidarity; the rise in apolitical self-help organizations (596). He is not opposed the organizations that Putnam and Skocpol endorse, but he finds they “should not exhaust our civic imaginations” (596). Other forms of organizations “should be honored and their advantages exploited because, first, they suit the individualistic and

pluralistic society that we have increasingly become; and second, they are in fact capable of generating social connection, civic benefit and moral claims upon the state” (596, Schudson).

Youth have been volunteering in the United States in amounts that do not “parallel...their immediate predecessors” (Putnam, 2000, 133). Some studies report that up to sixty-five percent of youth in the United States said they performed service in the past year, and up to thirty percent said they perform service on a regular basis. (Younniss, et al, 2002). In addition, more recent studies of college freshmen report an increase in volunteering in both their last year in high school as well as in college (Galston, 2004, p. 263).²⁶ Since 2007, Millennials’ volunteering has increased (Corporation for Community and National Service, 2011) and by some measures, “millennials’ volunteering and community service rates are much higher than those of their parents in the 1970s and 1980s” (Millennials’ Civic Health Index 2013, 4).²⁷

In 2014, those youth aged 16-19 years of age surpassed the national average in volunteering; 26.1% of the youth volunteered compared to 25.3% of persons in the country overall (Bureau of Labor Statistics [BLS], 2014). However, only 18.7% of 20-24 year olds volunteered the same year (BLS 2014). This raises a few questions important related to this project. Why did 16-19 year olds, students who are generally finishing high school and in their first or second year of college, volunteer at a rate of over 8% more than 20-24 year olds, a time period where many students are in the latter years of college? Could it be due mandatory community service requirements in high school and first year of college, like the Drexel CIVIC 101 program? What happens once students immerse themselves in the university? Why do they volunteer less? Wattenberg (2016) presents

U.S. Census data from 2004 Census revealing similar trends. When asked if they had done any volunteer activities through or for an organization since September 1st of last year, 30% of 15-18 year olds responded positively compared to 20 percent of 19-23 year olds and 21 percent of 24-29 year olds (155). In addition, Wattenberg (2016) shows data that some age groups over 40 in 2004 actually volunteered at rates that matched (40-49 year olds) and surpassed (50-59 year olds) the most involved youth (155). Those between the ages of 60-79 also volunteered at rates greater than 19-29 year olds.

Wattenberg also points out there is no consensus among youth civic engagement scholars that volunteering leads to political engagement (156). In general, youth participation is not as bleak as voting, but “it is not a particularly rosy scenario either,” according to Wattenberg (2016). Relating this evidence to this project, we may turn to the university to examine ways a first-year civic engagement program or other university initiatives could improve this.

Volunteering can bring positive benefits that can lead to future political development (Flanagan and Galloway, 1995), as well as encourage students to “think about political issues, establish political identities and develop long-term habits of civic participation.” (Younniss and Yates cited in Owen, 2000, p. 639). Gibson (2000) notes that for a number of youth, especially those from lower socioeconomic backgrounds, community service raises self-esteem and gives a sense of empowerment (p. 13). Even non-political volunteering often leads to greater political participation (Campbell 2000). “Volunteer activity builds social capital and smooths [*sic*] the way for collaborative efforts, including efforts directed at effecting political change” (Campbell 2000, 642). Campbell found a consistent positive relationship between volunteering and political

activity, and he found that early volunteering set the stage for increased likelihood of volunteering later in life. Sixty-four percent (64%) of persons who volunteered when they were young continued to do so as adults, compared to thirty-one 31% percent who did not volunteer as youth (Campbell, 643).

Besides voting and volunteering, other researchers have reported youth today prefer to engage in non-hierarchical, more fluid and loose organizations, such as those that may develop over the Internet or consumer-focused activities in the changing market economy (Stole, et al, 2006). In fact, compared to other age groups, Millennials, or those born after 1982, are most likely to engage with others via the Internet (Corporation for National and Community Service, 2011, 3). According to the Pew Research Foundation, almost 90% percent of young adults aged 18-29 use Facebook compared to 78% percent in the next age bracket from 30-49 (Pew Research Center 2013), and Facebook usage has been linked to greater amounts of social capital, especially bridging social capital or social capital that links people between different groups, enhanced personal quality of life (Ellison, et al, 2007) and greater amounts of volunteering (Flanagan and Levine, 2010). According to the National Conference on Citizenship's 2008 Civic Health Index, youth that did not attend college but used digital media in general, including Facebook, MySpace, e-mail, texting and other online interactive venues, were between 10 and 40 percent more likely to volunteer than those "non-college" youth who did not (Flanagan and Levine 2010, 173).²⁸²⁹

Youth Political Knowledge and Attitudes

Political knowledge is “an important precondition of voting and other forms of political participation” (Milner 2008, 3). Among the general populace --especially in the conventional sense in terms of measuring knowledge of institutions, values, and government -- there leaves much to be desired. Examining longitudinal data from the 1950s until early 2000s, Delli Carpini and Keeter (1996) found that despite advances in technology, education and economy, surprisingly low knowledge levels persist among U.S. adults.³⁰

How do young persons or Millennials compare to this bleak assessment? CIRCLE’s *Report of the Commission on Youth Voting and Civic Knowledge* conducted a national survey that found 76% of those under 25 who voted could answer and formulate their opinion about one out of two factual questions on presidential stances (2013, 5). However, more than half of young people did not vote, and more than half could not answer other questions gauging political knowledge, such as whether the government spends more on foreign aid or social security (CIRCLE 2013).³¹ Zukin, Keeter, et al (2006) show the DotNet or Millennial generation tend to lag behind all other generations—Generation X, Boomer and Dutiful—on many conventional indicators of political knowledge, including understanding U.S. institutions, newspaper readership and even political news from the internet (Danziger 2013, referencing Zukin, et al). Millennials may be engaged more online, but this may not assist in acquiring much political knowledge because social media, such as Facebook and Twitter, recently have been found to silence debate instead of fostering it since more people tend to be reticent about political issues online (Hampton, et al 2014).

When comparing youth demographically, CIRCLE's research confirms the notion that socioeconomically disadvantaged groups possess lower levels of political knowledge and are also less likely to vote (5). However, some authors contend that many studies of political knowledge do not truly capture the full range of political knowledge possessed by youth. Conventional definitions of political knowledge, as well as political socialization, may not capture the diverse interests in a pluralist society or the idea of how one's personal life is political too (Flanagan and Gallay, 1995). If college students, for instance, are more interested in whether famed Yankee Alex Rodriguez tested positive for steroids, does that mean they lack political knowledge? By many accounts, this information is less political than whether or not North Korea has nuclear weapons, the extent of the NSA wiretapping program or whether or not Russia is arming Ukrainian separatists or Assad's forces in Syria. However, if students can understand the implications of a professional athlete's use of performance enhancing drugs on society, then is this not just as political?³² Flanagan and Gallay (1995) suggest that youths' political efficacy and knowledge is closely linked with their actual and perceived access to power. This may lead to alienation and apathy, but if they are aware of why they feel estranged from politics—awareness of being subjugated because of one's race, culture, class, gender, age and other characteristics-- then that is a politicizing experience itself. This may not translate into political action, and the majority of members of marginalized groups may never be politically active because "ultimately the sense of alienation from the polity, the lack of power, and the sense that [one] does not belong... will be resolved only by collective public action" (Flanagan and Gallay 1995, 35-36).

Other studies examine how psychological and socioeconomic demographics may impact youths' attitudes toward political and social issues. For instance, Wulff (2003) points out how high school students tend to think they can solve social and political problems on their own. In terms of demographic differences, Sherrod (2003) finds that socioeconomically disadvantaged youth that witness how some in society benefit at the expense of others may adopt "self-protectionist" views or internalize a sense of empowered agency as the primary response to overcome poverty or other problems (Sherrod 2003).

Some scholars turn toward the larger culture and institutions of a society that may impact how one becomes civically engaged. For instance Schudson (2003) identifies four defining factors – everyday life, structures of attention, shared enterprise and civic infrastructure—that influence how people learn to be civic. Everyday life refers to the symbols, as well as larger political culture, that shape how a person relates to the polity. For instance, he anecdotally recounts a story where a British audience was aghast learning that it was not that uncommon for a 4-year old child in the United States to refuse to eat his/her vegetables because "it's a free country" (263). The powerful presence of liberal ideals and principles shapes youth at a very young age, and thus the parents become a symbol of government in the child's mind. Structures of attention refer to how leaders and the media shape discourse of civic engagement, and Schudson critiques how President Bush's call for citizenship after 9-11 emphasized self-reliance instead of relying or expecting too much from government, and the ideal or "good" citizen was "the Rotarian, moved by a sense of neighborliness, Christian charity, and social responsibility but untouched by any sense of having a personal stake in public

justice” (271). Shared enterprise refers to the time period or shared history a group of people, or generation, may share that can influence civic behavior and norms, whereas civic infrastructure refers to opportunities and efforts by societal institutions to promote and shape civic and political engagement. Educational civic engagement programs, like the Lindy Center and its CIVIC 101, would qualify as being a type of civic infrastructure, part of Drexel’s everyday life, as well as leader in influencing what it means to be civic at Drexel.

Similar to Schudson’s argument about everydaylife, scholars in the field of comparative political research with data collected at the country level (Almond and Verba 1963; Inkeles and Smith 1974) reveal that countries differ in their patterns of political beliefs, values and attitudes that impact political cultures and is shaped by “life experiences, education and social class” (Chu, et al, 2008, 2). Understanding the larger social, political and economic context of how and why students think about democracy is also important in designing civic education curriculum to foster participatory democracy.³³

Some studies (Flanagan and Galloway 1995; Fisher, et al 2005) call for re-conceptualizing youth civic engagement, focusing on ways youth can become empowered and acquire political knowledge. This includes meeting youth where they are and learning what they care about and already know. This dissertation also investigates how first-year college students think about democracy and their participation within it, and thus the literature on civic knowledge and attitudes raises some questions about their potential thought processes and attitudes toward democratic participation. How does the Millennials’ knowledge of political system as well as growing up in the United States

influence how they perceive democracy, their role within it including how they should participate and their relationship to the government?

The results from this study's survey reveal that many youth are interested in voting and find voting an important part of democracy, and yet, the voting has been erratic with youth voting reaching a historic low point in the 2014 elections. As Dalton (2016) highlights, the "engaged citizenry" embodied by youth today are not concerned much with voting. Thus what accounts for the widespread belief among youth that voting is important, but the less than stellar performance in practice? Education may play a role in translating these thoughts and ideas in practice.

How does volunteering impact the political knowledge and conceptions of democracy of Millennials, especially since youth still volunteer at relatively strong rates, either as a requirement in an institutional setting, such as a school, or on their own? While some argue for a "civic learning approach" to volunteering rather than one that measures purely personal development benefits, "altruistically motivated volunteer activity" can still be a stepping stone to further political engagement (Flanagan and Gally 1995, 39). For instance, volunteering can help question stereotypes and break down barriers of persons of different socioeconomic classes and backgrounds (40). Flanagan and Gally's thesis posits "political reasoning develops gradually" (1995, 39). They elaborate that "activity is the basis for reasoning, and that experiences that cause people to question their suppositions about the way the world works provide an impetus for developing a political perspective on issues" (1995, 39).

Thus, while not directly engaging youth in collective political action, to what extent does experiential civic education at the university level empower students to later become civically and politically engaged and change their ideas on democracy? If young adults witness others disempowered or struggling during the service for the class, how does that influence their perceptions of democracy? How could universities employ more experiential, action-oriented pedagogies that may move youth to engage in cooperative actions? Do service learning programs that call for students to volunteer develop civic capacities in young adults (Gibson 2001; Flanagan and Galloway 1995)? If so, how should they be structured, since many studies find it is not just volunteering but an understanding why someone is serving that is most important for civic and political empowerment (Galston 2004; Battistoni 1997; Robinson 2000; Walker 2000)? In general, how does higher education educate for democracy? This research project explores these questions. The next section sets the framework for study of university based civic education.

Educating Students for Democracy in Higher Education

Universities have historically been seen as playing an important role to educate students for democracy, although the focus of how to educate for democracy has changed over time. Calls for education as essential to creating an effective citizenry have been made by Plato and Aristotle,³⁴ as well as later Enlightenment thinkers such as Rousseau, Jefferson and Franklin,³⁵ yet formal civic education did not begin to emerge as an explicit goal of higher education until the late 19th or early 20th century.³⁶ Prior to higher education's experimentation with civic education in the Progressive Era in the United States (circa 1890-1917), college was directed to ensure "mental discipline, religious piety, and strict rules governing student behavior," as well as educating future elites for

public leadership (Mattson 1999, 3).³⁷ Cardinal John Newman described the goal of the university in his *Idea of a University*, published in 1852, as one that cultivated the minds of students (Newman [2001], xvi) and hosted “a community of scholars dedicated to knowledge for its own sake” (Wagner, 2007).

At the turn of the 20th century, the university both developed into a more secularized institution and focused on preparing persons for middle class management, as demanded by the transforming economy (Mattson 1999). The Progressive Era witnessed universities’ first efforts to engage in democratic public service (Mattson 1999) such as University of Chicago professors collaborating with pioneer, social reformer Jane Addams and her efforts to democratize society through initiatives like Hull House (Mattson 1999). Yet, it was not until the 1960s, after the size of the nation’s higher education system almost doubled, that the progressive, experimental approaches to education gain some traction (Smith, 2001). However, this trend toward experimental education was coupled with a counter trend of increased government sponsored research to advance the interests of the country, including in military and technological advancement.³⁸

By the 1990s, there was a resurgence of research conducted on civic education (Jacoby 2009) and a concerted effort by universities to refocus their energies on civic engagement. For instance, a few university presidents created Campus Compact in the 1980s to build cross-institutional collaboration in improving community service, university-community relationships, and assisting faculty with community based learning options (Campus Compact Website).³⁹ With the adequate support and structure, they believed they could promote more civically engaged students and transform higher

education institutions into civic actors⁴⁰ (Campus Compact Website). This renewed attention also brought an increase in service-learning programs and promotion of experiential pedagogies in the classroom, which will be discussed later in the chapter.

However, although there has been a revitalization of civic engagement efforts over the past two decades in universities, such as increased service-learning opportunities, Campus Compact and other efforts at promoting political and civic engagement, critical assessments persist. Musil (2003) argues too many institutions take a “helter skelter” approach to civic engagement because much of the university-community collaboration is orchestrated by ancillary groups such as urban affairs center, public affairs offices or student groups (4). By keeping this responsibility out of the purview of formal institutional representatives, a “larger societal schizophrenic predicament” is engendered in students in which civic engagement is deemed ancillary and “adults are to ‘care about community’ after 5:00 PM or on weekends” (Musil 4). Thus, she calls for civic engagement to be cultivated through the core curriculum.⁴¹

This scattered, decentralized approach to civic education in universities may be a byproduct of the university in the last half century which is described as consisting of complex, research focused communities held together and subsumed by larger administrative goals of selling, branding and “corporatizing” higher education (Giroux 2011, 2014; Mills 2012; Clay 2008). In addition, civic education efforts may be scuttled as too many academics “[b]eholden to corporate interests, career building, and the insular discourses that accompany specialized scholarship...have become overly comfortable with the corporatization of the university and the new regimes of neoliberal governance,” asserts Giroux (2014, 17). These critiques are a reminder that the clamoring for more

civic engagement in higher education over the past 30 years requires more than just service-learning programs.

Other scholars extend this critique by calling on higher education to recognize how politics and education are intertwined. The supposed crisis over the “politicization” of the university is “chimerical,” asserts Susan Searls Giroux (2012), since the political life of the nation cannot be disentangled from the university’s commitment to civic engagement (40-41). Citizenship and community cannot be thought of “without politics” (40-41). The discussion about university’s commitment to civic education is split between creating a “critically informed, democratic citizenry capable of participating in the political life of the nation,” versus “a mass of trained workers who can fit into existing niches in the social structure” (2012, 40).

This politicization of the university, or the questioning of the value-free presumption of the university, is necessary in striving for social justice and the liberation of the dominant social structure (Giroux, 1980). It serves the “critical and creative conscience of society” by engaging in practices and research that best serves the majority of the socioeconomically disadvantaged, a goal described by Ignacio Ellacuría, a critical theorist and slain university president during El Salvador’s civil war in the 1980s (Lee 2013, 43). The university “is a significant site for containment or resistance to the dominant system,” and this is important in its task of “identifying and providing solutions to social problems” (Brown 2012, 97).

These scholarly observations are in large part the impetus behind this project’s normative argument of why it is essential to educate for a participatory democracy, as

well as the importance of learning how young college students conceptualize democracy to better design programs of civic education today.

Pedagogies of Civic Education

Critical pedagogies

Educating for a participatory democracy requires more than just structural and strategic plans by universities; it requires transformative learning from the ground up through pedagogies employed in the classroom. *How* persons are educated for a democracy is of critical importance, especially when considering civic education. Dewey called for student-centered, experiential education that went beyond just the transmission of knowledge from one person to the next, but that met the students where they were in their lives and incorporated their life experiences. The traditional approach to education in which students store or ‘bank’ knowledge from their teachers (Dewey, 1963; Freire, 1970; Shor, 1992) is a method that deprives students of any enjoyment, stimulation and even enlightenment from education. Instead, alternative pedagogical approaches call for a greater focus on student inputs. Students should be active in creating the educational agenda, including its purposes and objectives (Freire, 1970; Shor, 1992). Freire, later in the 20th century, pushes Dewey’s arguments further, contending that students should also be engaged with education in such a way that they can freely contest dominant power structures to liberate themselves from society’s oppressors (Freire, 1970).

Paolo Freire, a champion of spreading literacy in Brazil, had called for the mixture of culture and politics in education. People should strive to understand how they themselves are makers and owners of culture, and how their status of “being less” is not

predetermined, but “rather as determined by the economic-political-ideological context of the society they live in” (Freire and Macedo, 1998, p. 7). Freire’s method of developing student capacities was dialogical, but Ana Maria Freire and Macedo (1998) warns that this “sharing of experiences” in education should not be employed in a feel-good way. It requires a political and ideological analysis, otherwise “educators reduce pedagogy to a form of middle-class narcissism” (p. 10).

Ira Shor, an emancipatory educator himself and author of *Empowering Education* (1992) also expands Freire’s principles and offers tremendous insight about how to foster a pedagogy for liberation. Like Freire, he argues that an education for democracy requires a great break from the past teacher-centered strategy. They need to break free from “standardized test, commercial textbooks, basal readers and required syllabi,” because “these traditional practices restrict student-centered, dialogic and participatory education” (1992, 143). Teacher expertise is vital, according to Shor, but to be a teacher that is empowering rather than stifling, she/he should not force students to jump into their “academic terrain” out of their “cultural territory”, but rather teachers should “pose problems in a learning process situated in student thinking” (Shor 1992, 204). It is this way that “the teacher does not transfer knowledge but rather poses it as a critical problem relevant to student perceptions” (204). In addition, like Freire he also praises dialogue as the most rigorous form of education (1987) and views education as political as opposed to neutral.

In addition, education is not neutral, but political, related to the distribution and access to power, according to Freire and Shor (1987) and Wallerstein (1987). Education is not only about knowing, but “it is a political act,” and thus why “no pedagogy is

neutral,” asserts Freire (Shor and Freire 1987, 13 check page). Transformative or liberatory education allows, as well as urges, for students to challenge the “dominant ideology [that] “‘lives’ inside us and also controls society outside” (13). Wallerstein (1987) agrees with Shor and Freire that education is not neutral. She highlights that, “People bring with them their cultural expectations, their experiences of social discrimination and life pressures, and their strengths in surviving” (33). Thus, education springs forth from “the experiences of the people,” and “either reinforces or challenges the existing social forces that keep them passive.” (33). She finds that the dialogic approach is inclusive of everyone as a co-learner (33-34).

Besides Freire and Shor, many other critical theorists, such as Apple, Giroux, and McLaren, examine ways persons can be liberated from oppressive dominant structures in society, whether based on class, race, gender, ethnicity, social orientation or other identity traits. Michael Apple, for example, a modern day critical pedagogical theorist and professor of education policy since the 1970s, finds, according to Nganga and Kambuto (2013) that “traditional educational practices in the US confer cultural legitimacy to groups in power and privilege while generating and supporting structural inequalities for groups that have been historically disenfranchised” (1). Educators should be aware of these power struggles, as well as how various forms of domination and exploitation relate to the curricula (Nganga and Kambuto 2013, 1-3). bell hooks presents an engaged pedagogy which calls for a reconceptualization of knowledge, the linking of theory and practice, student empowerment, multiculturalism and incorporation of passion (Namulundah, 1998).

In addition to contesting dominant power structures and recognizing that education is political, others point out the importance of developing a kind of civic empathy. Sometimes becoming a fuller member of the community requires recognizing the Other, or those that are different, outside of one's frame of reference or may even be "invisible". Ervelles (2010) applies a transnational feminist disability studies perspective to deconstruct how images and stories of persons suffering during Hurricane Katrina or the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan have been treated by the media. One of the themes Ervelles (2010) explores is the continual invisibility of certain groups in society, where persons "look the other way" because this Other "evokes a form of terror—a terror that demands a stifling silence" and to "bury the evidence of the other's existence" (13). Thus, she calls for a transformative pedagogy that combines radical critical theory and practice, to reverse the negation of the Other and combat the ensuing suffering in society.

Porfilio and Watz (2010) also examine how ideas from the media can be unpacked and deconstructed. They contend, "political and economic supporters of neoliberalism have [also] utilized dominant media outlets to generate inaccurate and sensational accounts of dispossessed populations in the United States." They find media representations of the marginalized have reinforced the notion that "social and economic maladies present in North America are the result of an individual's lack of intelligence or motivation to succeed, deficit in character, or a lack of family values, rather than stemming from the inherent injustice in an economic system based upon greed and exploitation"(129). They call for educators to employ curricula, workshops and other experiential learning strategies where students can actively contest these dominant ideologies.

These works help in understanding how college age youth should analyze and reconceptualize their position in the United States, and how their multifaceted identity plays a role in their understanding of their rights as well as in developing civic agency or engaging in any political transformative behavior. How do experiential, critical pedagogies that engage issues of race and class in and out of the classroom shape students' perceptions of democracy? How can these issues be addressed in service-learning programs and civic engagement programs at the university level? The next section discusses service-learning and how critical pedagogies can enhance it.

Service learning

Service learning, “the subject of more research than any other pedagogy over the last decades” (Ehrlich 2011, xiii), is another pedagogical approach to promote civic engagement by promoting learning through community service, with reflection and analysis. Service learning became more prominent in higher education by the 1980s as the university shifted over the last half century from employing a “closed-system” logic viewing the university as a “storehouse of knowledge” which is fixed and universal, to an “open-system” logic that perceived knowledge as subjective and views learning as the primary goal (Lounsbury and Pollack 2001).⁴² Service learning builds on Dewey’s ideals about educating for a democracy – collaborative learning between the student and faculty in the community to solve societal problems (Ehrlich 2011, xiv). This strategy has been used to not only enrich knowledge of various subjects, but to promote forms of civic and political involvement (Donahue 2011). “Service-learning is seen as a way to motivate students, meet community needs and make the content of college courses relevant to the world beyond campus (Donahue 2011, need page).⁴³

Whether or not service learning dampens or enhances political and civic participation is contentious. For example, Crenson and Ginsberg (2002), report there is a decrease in political participation and voting with an increase in service-learning in US educational system. Schools traditionally taught civic education by helping students develop political ideals and beliefs and preparing them for collective political action, especially in the realm of electoral politics. However, there has been a marked shift towards “service learning,” which calls for students to volunteer in public service jobs with charitable, civic and public interest groups (p.6). Instead of the feminist idea of the personal being political, citizenship today turns the political into personal, and suggests that political action should feel “empowering,” and “enhance self-esteem” instead of “engender[ing] confusion, ambiguity, or frustration” (p. 7). Walker (2000) also argues that educators cannot assume that service leads to political engagement, and he fears that “service has been positioned as a morally superior alternative, a belief reinforced through rhetoric and practice by parts of the community service movement” (647). Instead, he asserts the role of educators is to aid students in understanding the larger social and political context of the service (647).

To better understand politics, one should attempt to understand partisanship, why people protest and strike, and the false dichotomy between moral and corrupt (Walker 2000). Thus, he argues an effective service learning program mandates a component that engages students in the complex, political issues of the service.⁴⁴ Otherwise, without the discussion of politics, the “depoliticized rendering of direct services to needy populations makes service learning a glorified welfare system” (Robinson 2000, find page).

Campbell (2000), contrary to others, found that increased volunteering did increase likelihood of political activity, in part due to service learning building more social capital, which inspires collective efforts to engage in social and political change (Coleman, 642). This enhancement of social capital stemming from service learning leads to increased forms of all types of participation as well as the genesis of “functional communities,” as termed by James Coleman, in which people interact regularly (Coleman, 2000).

These discussions about the politicization of service learning and its ability to increase social capital are relevant for this study because educating for a participatory democracy presupposes some politicization or encouragement of political activity. Challenging socioeconomic inequalities in society is not a neutral, value-free activity; it requires one to thoughtfully and critically examine the distribution of power and the reasoning behind the haves and have-nots at various levels. Thus service-learning that is packaged as value-free activity or tends to depoliticize may be educating consumers for a neoliberal society. Here volunteer work is a type of add-on activity, or as Heldman (2011), referenced later in this chapter, describes it, “sexy volunteer work” that garners “many pats on the back”. As described later in this chapter with Westheimer and Kahne’s typology and the section on charity v. social justice, volunteer work that truly prepares participatory democratic citizens is political and encourages collective public action to transform the status quo.

Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) Citizen Typology

Westheimer and Kahne (2004) developed a typology consisting of three types of citizens—personally responsible, participatory and justice-oriented. They find the best service-learning programs that educate students for a democracy should strive to create participatory and social justice oriented citizens, versus just personally-responsible ones. The personally responsible citizen is exactly as she/he sounds: someone who acts responsibly in his/her community by fulfilling duties such as picking up trash, recycling, giving blood, obeying laws, staying out of debt, etc. According to the authors, programs that develop this kind of citizen tend to “build character and personal responsibility by emphasizing honesty, integrity, self-discipline, and hard work” (3). Some of the civic education programs focus largely on volunteering, aiding students in developing respect for others as well as well as empathy, as part of a mission to tackle social problems (3).

The participatory citizen model, though, goes further calling for citizens to participate in civic life at the local, state, national level. Civic programs that focus on engendering this type of citizen often teach students about the workings of government and community organizations, as well as how to participate in efforts to help those in need or perhaps to guide policy. “While the personally responsible citizen would contribute cans of food for the homeless, the participatory citizen might organize the food drive” (4). The justice oriented citizen is perhaps the “least commonly pursued” and calls for citizens “to analyze and understand the interplay of social, economic, and political forces”. They are less likely to focus on volunteering or charity as ends in themselves, and instead teach students about how to contest and transform dominant power structures in society (4). Westheimer and Kahne (2004) finds the best type of

citizen to educate and strive for is a combination of the participatory and social justice oriented citizen.

Most character and community service programs focus on producing personally responsible citizens. This is important but it does not foster democratic citizenship, according to Westheimer and Kahne (2004, 6). In fact, personally responsible citizens may actually impede democratic change with too much of a focus on loyalty and obedience and too little attention on critical thinking that many find vital to democracy (6).⁴⁵ To the extent that students may favor helping others over voting as the most important civic virtue, the personally responsible model dominates. Westheimer and Kahne note that research and evaluation of service-learning programs are often designed to gauge student input on whether it is their responsibility to help those in need, instead of questions on collective problem solving, participation to influence government decisions or justice oriented solutions that may solve problems underlying the situation they are encountering in service. For example, often students are presented with a dichotomous choice of either “not my responsibility” or “everyone’s responsibility” when confronted with various issues such as that of pollution or toxic waste (6). Rarely, though, are questions of corporate responsibility addressed, including how they may be regulated or whether government policies can ameliorate social problems (6).

Identifying the limitations of the personally responsible model, Westheimer and Kahne (2004) favor a participatory and social justice approach to civic education, though pointing out the challenges of executing both simultaneously. A program can promote civic participation without developing students’ abilities for critical analysis and social change; conversely, programs could “support the development of armchair activists who

have articulate conversations over coffee, without ever acting?” (7). They demonstrate this difficulty with the study of two high school based civic engagement programs, where one strives to create a more participatory citizen but fails to generate a social justice mindset, while the other program inculcates a strong sense of social justice but it lags in terms of developing personally responsible, activist and leadership traits.⁴⁶ Their conclusion is that programs that educate for democracy can render different outcomes. This may be due to the social context and political norms of a society.⁴⁷

Westheimer and Kahne’s (2004) typology helps to better clarify what is meant by educating citizens for a participatory democracy. Indeed, their *what kind of citizen* typology describes an ideal type of participatory and social justice oriented citizen that is very similar to the type of civic and political engagement envisioned by the participatory democratic theorists. It allows for a clearer identification of what type of engagement students think is best for democracy. The results from the survey in Chapter 4 reveal many students find voting and recycling important for a democracy, as a personally responsible citizen, but also rank engaging in collective action for school reform as equally or more important, an activity more aligned with participatory and justice oriented forms of citizenship.

Do students favor one conception of Westheimer and Kahne’s (2004) citizenship model over another? This will be explored in the next chapter. In addition, their typology is tremendously useful when evaluating whether university-based civic education programs, such as Drexel’s CIVIC 101 program, and the instructors in the program applying different pedagogies, strive to educate for personally responsible, participatory or social justice oriented citizens.

Charity v. Social Justice Model

Many scholars agree with Westheimer and Kahne (2004)'s typology, particularly on the difference between charity and social justice work, a conceptual dichotomy that indicates how well service-learning and other university based civic education programs are educating for democracy. Some service learning programs engage in charity, or helping others through donated time, money or other resources, but neglect collective action to transform a situation and empower citizens for change. "[C]harity has little or no effect on the political or economic or social status quo, while justice, which seeks to change the structural status quo, leads inevitably to political action and conflict" (Dillman, 2013, 4). Charity is about the "redemption of the giver instead of liberation of the receiver," says Robert Eggers, the founder of D.C. Central Kitchen (Robert Eggers 2012, D.C. Central Kitchen).

Dillman (2013) argues charity actually "relieves pressure for more fundamental structural change" instead of actually helping the poor and closely examining the political and economic institutions contributing to the economic inequalities the donors try to help (p. 7). Heldman (2011) argues that with charity work, "volunteers conceive of themselves as being above the person or group they are assisting", and they believe their work "makes them 'good people', and they expect recognition for it (36). For instance, during a California-based liberal arts college's service-learning trip to New Orleans to study the effects of Hurricane Katrina and perform in service, Heldman found the majority signed up for the program because "this is sexy volunteer work for which they will receive many pats on the back when they return, as opposed to more mundane local volunteer work" (36).⁴⁸

Robinson (2000) applies a social justice model to an example of students helping renters paint decayed homes. A more justice-oriented framework would call for students to build a tenants' union to address the exploitation of the slumlords instead of just volunteering (Robinson, 2000). Students engaged in justice work tend to awaken to the fact that there is "no coincidence that the people lining up for food and clothes are predominantly black and brown, unskilled, and politically and economically powerless (Dillman, 2013, 8). Justice seeks to empower those who have been historically oppressed (Dillman, 2013, 8) and eventually lead to the oppressors joining in solidarity with the marginalized by awakening to the system of oppression (Freire, 1970). Discerning between a charity versus social justice model of service-learning is important in understanding where students' perceptions fall along this duality as well as to what extent programs like Drexel's CIVIC 101 further a social justice model.⁴⁹

Conclusion

This chapter presents a broad overview of Millennials' civic and political engagement, including their level of political knowledge, factors that may shape how they develop their democratic mindset, and the importance of the university its pedagogies and approaches employed to educate for democracy, and perhaps participatory democracy.

In terms of civic and political engagement, overall Millennials may lag on conventional indicators of engagement such as voting, reading the newspaper, joining a political campaign, but overall their rates of participation and levels of knowledge reflect larger lackluster rates among the general population. Political and civic participation, as previously mentioned, has been far from spectacular in the U.S. as indicated by declines

in voter turnout and associational life, poor political knowledge and an overall lack of political efficacy. However, on a brighter note, some scholars, including Dalton (2016) and Schudson (2006) point out how youth are participating in new ways, such as through direct action or social movements around short-lived causes, as well as volunteering at unprecedented levels. Dalton, referring to research by Inglehart and others (1990), notes that youth also are displaying higher levels of tolerance and an affinity for participatory forms of democracy here in and in the U.S., despite a lack of interest and perhaps even a disdain for conventional political processes and institutions, such as voting and parties. Dalton (2016) mentions that those who are more educated did display a tendency to act as an “engaged” citizen versus “duty-based,” which may suggest higher education has played a role in fostering these new forms of engagement. Higher education also has a responsibility to further the efforts and actions of the “engaged” citizenry as well as encourage greater participation in voting and trust in government and political parties.

While there is not much research on how Millennials in the United States conceptualize democracy, the research shows that larger socioeconomic and historical context matters in shaping one’s viewpoint, especially if they adopt a more procedural or substantive view of democracy. Studies in comparative politics (Chu 2008; Almond and Verba 1963; and Inkeles and Smith 1974) reveal that political structure and culture may impact conceptions of democracy. As societies democratize, youth tend to embrace more self-expressive, participatory views of democracy (Inglehart 1990; World Values Survey 2016). Socioeconomic levels within the U.S. could also impact democratic and civic views. For instance, youth that grow up poor may become dogmatically faithful to the idea of gaining social mobility via individual agency, and thus hold more “self-

protectionist” views as Sherrod (2003) astutely describes it. These studies presented in this chapter offer some insight into the importance of the data presented in Chapter 5 that examines how students conceptualize democracy, civic and political engagement and their future civic and political engagement.

Finally, the chapter presents literature that discusses the pros and cons of volunteering and service-learning for creating engaged citizens in a democracy and presumably a participatory democracy. Many studies highlight that volunteering is a great stepping stone for later engagement, but it must be accompanied by deep reflection and analysis heightening awareness of why someone is volunteering in the first place. Critical pedagogies of civic and political education, offer insight for ideals that may strived for in a participatory democracy. The discussion of the literature presented in this chapter strengthens the normative argument of why education, especially higher education, should educate for participatory democracy.

CHAPTER 3: EDUCATION FOR A PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

“The conception of education as a social process and function has no definite meaning until we define the kind of society we have in mind.” (Dewey 1916, p. 112).

As mentioned in the introduction, the guiding impetus for this project centers on the observation we often ask how we should educate for democracy, but less frequently do we ask *for what type of democracy*. College provides an opportunity to educate young adults for a democracy, developing a sense of civic responsibility and instilling a desire to be engaged⁵⁰. Often civic engagement for “the common good” (Barber 2004; Etzioni 1993), or developing a sense of moral values (Colby, et al 2000), or for social justice (Jacoby 2009; Westheimer and Kahne 2004) is called for without thoroughly examining for what type of democracy is demanded, how that democracy should be perceived or promoted, and the democracy’s relationship with civic engagement.

In this chapter, I normatively posit that education for a participatory democracy incorporating principles of experiential and democratic education (Dewey 1944, 1963; Gutmann 1987) offers a useful and important theoretical edifice from which to promote civic and political engagement in students. The chapter begins by examining the role of education in democratic theory as it relates to participatory democracy, including a discussion of Gutmann’s (1987) argument that a democratic education requires participation in its design and support for the values of nonrepression and nondiscrimination. In addition, Gutmann notes the more participatory conceptualizations of liberal democracy support education practices for more deliberative and participatory democracies. The chapter then presents a defense of the relevance and salience of participatory democratic theory today reviewing its modern historical foundations and its relationship to other democratic theories. The chapter concludes calling for greater

application of participatory democracy's theoretical contribution to efforts and strategies of civic education at the university level.

Democratic Theory and the Role of Education

“Education not only sets the stage for democratic politics, it plays a central role in it.” (Gutmann 1987, 3). How does democratic theory perceive the role of education? Classical democratic and social contract theory, especially in the Lockean sense, presumed persons were egoistic, rational and social and would relinquish just enough of their natural rights to government for the common good or public interest of society, which as the *Second Treatise* notes was the government's “preservation of their property” (Tannenbaum 2014, 176). Education was largely focused on the knowledge of rights, and it was premised on the idea that citizens make sound judgments (Schaeffer 2013).

A bit later, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who spent most of his life in the 18th century, and found most persons adhered to a social contract to collectively create a common good or “general will” in order to mitigate societal ills produced as a result of modernization. However, contrary to Locke's presumptions of individuals' capacity to make sound judgments, Rousseau was skeptical of people's ability to judge (Schaeffer 2013). Rousseau did not advocate for a representative democracy, as Locke and as later modern democratic theorists claimed about him, but instead he was a proponent of direct democracy, where citizens participated in executing and making the laws (Pateman 1970, 20). However due to his lack of faith in human judgment and public opinion (Schaeffer 2013; Rousseau, *Emile*), he found that a system of democracy, where citizens participated in collective rule, “was fit only for gods” (bk. III, ch. 4, cited in Pateman 1970, 20). Thus, Rousseau advocated for an education to aid persons in developing critical analysis

as well as the ability to judge persons and systems of authority (Schaeffer 2013)⁵¹. Education should be part of this participatory system – a system in which laws reflect the “general will” of the citizens – in that his “ideal system is designed to develop responsible, individual social and political action through the effect of the participatory process” (Pateman 1970, 24-25). The act of participating is educative as it aids individuals in considering others viewpoints, outside of one’s own immediate private concerns, enabling greater cooperation. In addition, this Rousseauian developmental conceptualization of education attempts to break the dichotomy between the private and public spheres as “the individual will eventually come to feel little or no conflict between the demands” of the two arenas (Pateman 1970, 25). Pateman (1970) highlights “[t]he human results that accrue through the participatory process provide an important justification for a participatory system” (25). The role of education in a democracy for Rousseau sets the foundation for later participatory democratic theorists and also shares similarities with Dewey in educational purpose and aspirations.

Modern democratic theorists, who focused largely on a procedural approach to democracy, viewed education as important to democracy but also were skeptical of the general population becoming well educated *for* a democracy. Schumpeter elaborated upon this in his book *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy* (1942), in which he defended his minimal conceptualization of democracy by pointing out how the majority of the public lacks the sufficient knowledge to fully engage in political issues. Schumpeter finds that most people are just concerned with their immediate surroundings, such as family, business and church. There is less interest in local and even national government. Because people, in Schumpeter’s view, cannot effectively contribute to an

“unworkable committee” or a committee of an entire nation, they dedicate less time and energy on truly understanding political problems and developing opinions on domestic and foreign affairs (261). They spend more energy on games such as bridge, and the “great political problems” become the subject of “irresponsible conversation” during leisure time (1950, 261). Status or education does not affect this pervasive lack of interest. “We need only compare a lawyer’s attitude to his brief and the same lawyer’s attitude to the statements of political fact presented in his newspaper in order to see what is the matter” (1950, 261). Hence, the ordinary citizens’ political arguments seem infantile in comparison to her or his real interests. Education is still important in modern democratic theory, but elites are deemed those educated to carry out the duties of a representative republic. Civic and political education seem inconsequential for democracy; hence the observance of free and fair elections and political and civil rights is enough to ensure democracy.

John Dewey, a pioneer of the philosophy and reform of education during the Progressive Era in the United States, argues that the purpose of education in “classical democratic” theory – to ensure the working of suffrage to elect representatives and obey laws-- is a “superficial explanation,” (2008[1916]), because it does not embrace the fullest vision of democracy or the purpose of education in society, which ultimately is to contribute to democracy’s progression. Dewey notes “the devotion of democracy to education is a familiar fact” (2008[1916]), and in his philosophical treatise *Democracy and Education* in 1916, he questions existing educational theories and practices to explore and promote discussion on the kind of education that supports a participatory democracy (Connell 2008, 261). Connell (2008) points out that Dewey finds schools can

foster democratic practices in all areas of life “by promoting school experiences that foster habits of inquiry, ongoing communication, social understanding and openness to learning” (261).

In Dewey’s opinion, education is required for even a minimal conception of democracy to ensure citizens are equipped with the proper education to select representatives. However, democracy is much more than processes of selecting representatives or governance. Democracy “is primarily a mode of associated living of conjoint communicated experience” (2008[1916]). This vision of democracy provides space for multiple, diverse individuals to interact with one another relating “his own action to that of others,” refining and reconsidering his or her own opinions. This reexamination of one’s own interest is the “equivalent to the breaking down of those barriers of class, race, and national territory which kept men from perceiving the full import of their activity” (2008[1916]). Education plays a role in the socialization of groups and society, according to Dewey. Recognizing the multiplicity of interests and diversity of persons in an increasingly globalized society, education requires shared input to respect and fully consider multiple interests and to discover mutual interests. Education should be “freeing of individual capacity in the progressive growth directed toward social aims.” (Dewey, 1916, 115)⁵². A “good” society according to Dewey is one in which persons can participate on equal terms and there exists “flexible adjustment” of society’s institutions “through interaction of different forms of associated life” (115).

Building on Dewey’s theory, Amy Gutmann (1987) develops a theory of democratic education, in a book of the same name, in which she queries to what extent authority is shared in deciding democratic practices in society. Gutmann contends that

the realm of democratic theory, from liberal, conservative and functionalist, fall short of presenting a theoretical framework to thoroughly grapple with educational problems, including who should have the authority to make decisions about education and the moral limits of that authority (11). A democratic theory of education emphasizes empowered individuals' abilities to make policy in accordance with principles of non-repression and nondiscrimination (13). In addition, a theory of democratic education focuses on "conscious social reproduction" or "the ways in which citizens are or should be empowered to influence the education that in turn shapes the political values, attitudes, and mods of behavior of future citizens" (14). It also should not "sanction majority tyranny" or jeopardize self-government in the future (97). A society, Gutmann asserts, is undemocratic if it denies persons access to education or constrains deliberation (95). Her theory of democratic education diverges from the emphasis placed on education in classical and modern democratic theory. For Gutmann, education is essential, the bedrock of democracy, but it is not just education required to ensure democratic processes run smoothly, but rather education, designed by collective decision-making by society's members, for greater critical thinking and deliberation within society.

Gutmann's (1987) argument stems from a normative theoretical support for a deliberative and participatory oriented democracy. She states in a footnote, "[l]iberal theories can also become more democratic and defend those educational policies for a community that are necessary for democratic deliberation" (1987, 9). Here she sets the stage for her later book (2004) with Dennis Thompson *Why Deliberative Democracy*, in which she defends the importance of a deliberative democracy, where free and equal citizens collaborate to reach adjustable decisions mutually agreeable to all (7). In fact, she

rails against theories that are “too philosophical” because they ignore that “people disagree over what forms of freedom are worth cultivating, and therefore over what constitutes best education, in principle as well as in practice” (9). Such theories include what she categorizes as functionalist arguments of education that find education in a capitalist society is structured to reproduce social inequities needed to reproduce capital and sustain dominant modes of production (9)⁵³. Instead, Gutmann’s theory “makes a democratic virtue out of our inevitable disagreement over educational policies” (11)⁵⁴.

Gutmann’s theory on democratic education, contrary to participatory democratic theory, does give primacy to the substance of education over participation because education is required to empower citizens to thoughtfully participate in democratic institutions, not the reverse of participation begetting desires for good democratic education (Katznelson 1989, 133). In fact, she argues “political education” – or the “cultivation of the virtues, knowledge, and skills necessary for political participation”— “prepares citizens to participate in consciously reproducing their society, and conscious social reproduction is the ideal not only of democratic education but also of democratic politics” (Gutmann 1987, 287). Democratic education “lies at the core of our commitment of democracy” fostering shared trust and self-determination while adhering to principles of nonrepression and nondiscrimination (288-289).

Gutmann (1987) contends the university is an ideal location to further the democratic education essential for a thriving deliberative and participatory democracy⁵⁵. First she notes that democratic virtues, such as “toleration, truth-telling and predisposition to nonviolence,” are actually developed prior to college (173). Universities are “well suited” for teaching young adults “how to think carefully and critically about political

problems, to articulate one's views and defend them before people with whom one disagrees (173). This is not a "substitute for character training," but it is a type of "moral education" that can be carried out at universities (173). In addition universities can thwart the "control of the creation of ideas—whether by a majority or minority"—that is needed for "the ideal of *conscious* social reproduction at the heart of democratic education and democratic politics" (175). Instead, universities allow for the judgment of ideas on their own merit, and where good defenders of new ideas are valued members of the community. Thus they are "sanctuaries of nonrepression" (175) and are well suited to educating citizens in a democracy in a nonrepressive and nondiscriminatory way, including deliberate efforts at civic education (175, 194).

Gutmann's (1987) theory of democratic education does not conflict with the assertion that university civic education programs should educate for a *participatory democracy*, and it does negate participatory democratic theorists from Rousseau to Pateman⁵⁶, who argue participation is an educative process itself, but rather it calls for greater attention on the substance of education to aid in reaching the ideals of participatory democracy. University-based civic education programs that practice deliberation, participation, service in a way that welcomes disagreement, collective action among diverse persons, would be the educational substance needed to educate for a participatory democracy.

Participatory Democratic Theory

Participatory democratic theory emerged forcefully and prominently in the 1960s through the 1980s largely in response to the hegemonic procedural, minimal, liberal

approach to democracy promulgated by modern democratic theory (Pateman 1970; Kaufman 1968; MacPherson 1977; Bachrach and Botwinick 1992). Especially flourishing in the 60s-70s with social movements -- the civil rights movement, students movements, women's movements, environmental movement, gay rights movement, and other identity-based movements -- and collectives of this period, participatory democratic theory was in reaction to the dominant, Schumpeterian, minimalist conception of democracy that was popularized after the totalitarian regimes during WWII, especially those that relied heavily on civic engagement and a strong associational life for their support (Mansbridge, 1995; Berman, 1997). Many of the theorists found liberal democracy, in its minimalist form, fell short of recognizing political participation as essential to the growth of individuals. . "Liberal democracy is a 'thin' theory of democracy," according to Benjamin Barber (2004), "one whose democratic values are prudential and thus provisional, optional, and conditional—means to exclusively individualistic and private ends" (Barber 2004, 4)⁵⁷. It also "thin" in its apolitical view of humans and its "artificial" outlook toward citizenship, regarding it as something that people wield to "safeguard his solitary interests" (2004, 9).⁵⁸

The term participatory democracy, deemed by many to be coined by Arnold Kaufman, a professor at the University of Michigan and a leader of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) in the 1960s, a prominent student group opposed to the Vietnam War. SDS widely published the Port Huron statement which was to serve as a blueprint for their version of participatory democracy. It stated:

as social system we seek the establishment of a democracy of individual participation, governed by two central aims: that the individual share in those social decisions determining the quality and direction of his life; that society be organized to encourage independence in men and provide the media for their common participation" (Port Huron 50th Anniversary Conference, 2012).

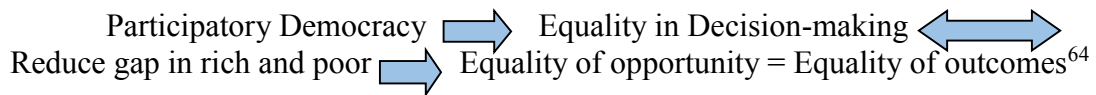
These were some of the factors that revived participatory theory at this time.⁵⁹

For participatory democratic theorists, modern democratic theory, which focuses mostly on elites' competition for the people's votes with a set of procedural civil and political rights (Schumpeter 1950; Dahl 1971, 1986)⁶⁰ set the bar low (Cobb and Elder 1971)⁶¹; it overlooked vast economic and social inequities --such as those found in capitalism and its byproduct of consumerism (MacPherson 1977) -- as well as the clamor by many activists, theorists and persons in general for more inclusiveness and transparency in government and society's institutions. Participatory democratic theorists, inspired by the allure of Rousseau, strongly believed greater participation in decision-making in work, community and governmental decisions would greatly improve both societal and personal growth. Rousseau found that freedom comes from service, and laws are legitimized with everyone's direct participation in lawmaking so that they become the "direct expression of the general will" (Smith 2015, 2)⁶². As previously mentioned, Rousseau and others (Pateman 2012) find participation played an educative function; one learns to become democratic by participating in democratically organized institutions. Participatory democracy is something that needs to be created, a process that includes the elimination of undemocratic authority structures such as institutionalized hierarchical patterns of ruling in the workplace, government and other societal spaces of decision making. (Pateman 2012, 10)

Participatory democracy also engenders is furthered by a wholesale democratization of societal institutions⁶³ (Pateman 2012; Pateman 1970; Bachrach and Botwinick 1992; Hilmer 2010). Participatory democratic theory urges increased democratization with inclusive and active collective decision-making with authority

structures, empowering and nourishing a democratic sensibility or “foster[ing] the ‘democratic’ personality” (Pateman 1970, 64). It calls for equality in democratic inputs, or participation, which will eventuate outcomes approximating greater socioeconomic equality. As conditions become more equal, more persons will participate, and thus it is a mutually reinforcing process.

The process may look like this:



Hence it is not just about guaranteeing fair procedures of a representative democracy, but it is more *substantive* in that democratic outcomes or policy results, and not just the elites that won the election, matter. Participatory democracy can be actualized on an array of dimensions in both governmental institutions and procedures and in nongovernmental institutions such as the workplace. It is inclusive of activities and relationships as diverse as community members coming together to formulate a town budget to college students protesting racism on campuses and society to initiatives promoting youth running for office⁶⁵. It is also a theory that supports challenging the status quo, particularly in terms of the dominant capitalist system, both inside and outside governmental and societal authority systems. Many participatory democratic theorists focused on workplace democracy as way to challenge the dominant economic dichotomies, and undemocratic norms, of capitalist versus worker (Pateman 1970; Cole 1919; Bachrach and Botwinick 1992; MacPherson 1977). Participatory democracy is simultaneously educative and dialectical on a personal level; as persons participate more, they adopt more participatory

attitudes and outlook to society creating a enhancing the prospects for a participatory democracy.

The theory also addresses the tenuous space between promoting fervent participation and protection of minority rights, including those who have been historically marginalized (Young 2000). Participation is encouraged but not without a constant check on participation to avoid a slippery slope to a myopic and oppressive majoritarian “consensus,” one that tramples on rights or excludes the voices of others. The tenuous space refers to the careful watch that participatory democracy must maintain.⁶⁶

Many civic education program in higher education tend to educate for communitarian and liberal forms of education with very few teaching for a participatory democratic society. Some scholars just call for a type of civic education that educates for all forms of democracy without favoring one over another. This dissertation argues that participatory democracy, which builds and incorporates, many principles of liberal and republican or communitarian visions of democracy, is best suited to guide civic education curriculum today because of its attention on persistent structural inequalities, especially those generated by neoliberalism and institutionalized racism. Thus, this project, in its defense of the relevance of participatory democracy and its call to be applied to higher education, tentatively adopts a liberal, emancipatory communitarian perspective toward participatory democracy recognizing its interrelationship with other democratic theories. The rest of the chapter reviews the theoretical contributions of communitarian, deliberative and liberal/procedural democratic theories and how they feed into participatory democracy.

Republican/Communitarian Visions of Democracy

Democracy should be “strong” as Barber (2004), a scholar often considered a participatory democratic theorist, penned it. It is where persons are “bounded together by a common participatory activity” as well as “active participants, cooperative, dialectical,” demonstrating “civility” ,“engage[ing] in common talk”, all while being “sovereign” (pg. 219). Pushing past the minimalist definition, Barber finds politics becomes:

“not [only] a not as a way of life but as a way of living—as, namely, the way that human beings with variable but malleable natures and with competing but overlapping interests can contrive to live together communally not only to their mutual advantage but also to the advantage of their mutuality” (Barber 2004, 118).⁶⁷

Instead of dealing or eliminating current conflict, a strong democracy aims to transform it to benefit everyone, according to Barber. “Under strong democracy, politics is given the power of human promise.” (Barber 2004, 119). In many ways, Barber captures a republican theory of citizenship that calls for sharing in self-government, deliberating with citizens about the common good, knowledge of public affairs, possession of civic virtues and a sense of belonging. Commonly linked to the philosophy of Rousseau, republicanism is not neutral in the values and ends citizens espouse, and it calls for the development of character which is the essence of the developmentalist model that emphasizes civic and moral ties. In general, republicanism or what emerged in the 1980s as modern day communitarianism, reacts to the “excessive individualism of classical liberalism” since the dawn of the neoliberal era and finds individuals should not just be “embedded” in society but rather “well-integrated” to allow for judicious reasoning and sense of responsibility without being overwhelmed by a potential pressures for conformity (Etzioni 2003, 2-3).

Sandel (1996), a communitarian or republican political theorist⁶⁸, argues that liberal political philosophy's supposition that government should be neutral towards citizens' moral and religious views, and treat citizens as unencumbered⁶⁹, is ultimately flawed. Politics and political arguments are devoid of neutral motivations and ends, and thus liberal democracy and its concepts of liberty and equality should not be perceived as apolitical either. In fact, ever since the U.S.'s inception, whether it has been the last-minute, seemingly reluctant decision by many at the Constitutional Convention to adopt the Bill of Rights to appease the anti-federalists and in effect protect the Constitution (27-37)⁷⁰, or whether it has been issues such as slavery and abortion, decisions have been devoid of neutrality and unavoidably moralistic and political. The minimalist liberal theory of democracy that advocates for neutrality is not feasible in a pluralistic diverse society of varying political and religious beliefs, and it is in fact inimical to the values of cooperation and toleration democracy is supposed to possess (18-19). Our political identity is and should be inseparable from our personal lives, including moral, religious and other beliefs we may hold (Sandel, 18). In order to reach self-sharing in government and develop into active political and civic participants, political thoughts and their inspiration cannot be divorced from debates on various issues. An example of his argument is liberalism's treatment of politics as a dirty word and replaced by some ideal of neutrality. This is a façade because even policy decisions or Supreme Court rulings since the 1800s executed in the spirit of liberalism with a veneer of neutrality undoubtedly were crafted with political and ideological motivations. In fact, devotion to liberalism's precept that the state should be neutral lacks neutrality itself.

Participatory democratic theory builds upon communitarianism and republicans beliefs about the importance of civic engagement and associational life and the acknowledgment that persons and politics are not unencumbered and neutral. However, participatory democratic theorists point out how republican conceptions of democracy falter in their focus on combatting inequities and deepening democracy throughout society. MacPherson notes that for a number of communitarian leaning writers, capitalist relations of production produced no obstacle for democracy's ability to function, and they believed a true, egalitarian participatory democracy, and the common good, would spring forth from a vibrant associational life. Participatory democratic theorists find this ironic and implausible. This is where the developmentalist or republican approach and participatory democratic theory diverge: the latter questions and contests the inequality embedded and produced by the capitalist relations of production. Participatory democratic theory, especially with many authors' emphasis on democratizing the workplace, treats economic and social inequalities as a central focus of its efforts. A participatory democratic model with deepening and enhancing participation in government and nongovernmental institutions is aimed to mitigate and reverse socioeconomic inequalities.

Yet, how can increased participation be generated with persistent economic and social inequality? Cooperative and working-class education may be a partial solution according to MacPherson (1977), but he ultimately calls for a change of consciousness from perceiving oneself as a consumer to a participant (99). The developmental or republican/communitarian model tends to focus on human development via participation, but does not tend to see the dialectical relationship between the two, where participation

may increase via more human development. Gutmann's (1987) theory aligns according to this participatory theoretical premise as she notes a substantive education may be necessary for democracy, instead of solely relying on democratic processes to foster an educated citizenry. There may not be an absolute panacea, but participatory democratic theory addresses the shortcomings of the developmental model, in particular its tendency to avoid the economic and social disparities generated by the global capitalist system

Deliberative Democracy

By the 1990s, the participatory version of democracy lost traction and took a backseat to deliberative democracy, emerging as the more practical and less “utopian” theory of democracy (Hilmer 2010). Deliberative theorists such as Gutmann and Thompson (2004), Ackerman and Fishkin (2005), Habermas (1996) and more recently Mutz (2006) have strived, according to Hilmer (2010), to “supplant *participatory* democratic theory with the potentially more practicable *deliberative* theory of democracy” (51).⁷¹

Deliberative theory of democracy calls for deliberating on the merits of public policy among policymakers and citizens at both national and local levels in venues such as the federal legislature, a local school boards, a community meeting, a deliberative poll, etc. Equal access to the process of deliberation should be ensured (Gutmann and Thompson 2004), and it presupposes a certain amount of knowledge so that persons influence policy after thoughtfully reasoning on the pros and cons of a particular policy, instead of the mere aggregation of preferences. It should be a mutually respectful and reasoned process of finding the common good in policy (Cohen 1989; Gutmann and Thompson, 2004; Ackerman and Fishkin, 2004; Bessette, 1997; Brighthouse, 2002). For

some, the central claim of deliberative democracy is that “individuals should always be prepared to defend their moral and political arguments and claims with reasons, and be prepared to deliberate with others about the reasons they provide (Pateman, 2012, 8). It goes beyond a liberal minimal conception of democracy as it incorporates a little bit of republicanism, liberalism and populism with its central claim that increasing deliberation among citizens and representatives strengthens the legitimacy of democracy (Stokes 2002, 40).

Deliberative democracy and participatory democracy are very similar, and in fact, deliberation is an essential component of participatory democracy. It is educative, pushing persons to become equally informed and engaged in decision-making process of policymaking, and it calls for deepening of democracy in that popular sovereignty, accountability and legitimacy are heightened when people thoughtfully and intelligently engaged with important issues. Deliberative democratic theory, however, eventually “masquerades” as participatory democracy because it falls short of conveying some of the central principles of participatory democratic such as depending too much on the procedures of democracy (Stokes 2002)⁷²; recognizing the relationship between socioeconomic equality and participation (Pateman 2012); excluding certain persons and segments of society in its conventional definition of deliberation (Mansbridge 2012; Young 2000)⁷³; and hindering participation rather than fostering it (Mutz 2006)⁷⁴.

In many ways participatory democratic theory became subsumed under deliberative democratic theory, a theory that emphasizes rational citizen deliberation or reasoning on the merits of public policy (Bessette 1997).⁷⁵ Deliberative democratic theorists have focused mainly on deliberation inside deliberative forums taking for

granted democracy as the pre-existing backdrop of forums, mini-publics or other venues fostering citizen deliberation (Pateman 2010, 10). Deliberative theorists do aim to improve democracy via enhanced deliberation, but they “are generally not concerned with structural features of the wider society” (10), and they “leave[s] intact conventional institutional structures and political meaning of ‘democracy’” (Pateman 10). In a sense, deliberative democracy is a conservative estimate of participatory democracy.⁷⁶ Participatory democratic theory, by contrast, challenges prevailing notions about democracy, and does so not by setting forth unattainable ideals but with empirical evidence of participation in workplaces, local governmental structures and other structures of decision-making (Pateman 2010).

Liberal/Procedural Views of Democracy

Pateman (1970) and Botwinick and Bachrach (1983) find that participation in the procedural model is there to protect, especially private interests, rather than to transform structures of power in society, which ultimately can manifest inequities in access to participation and power. This is because participation in this model is “about the participation of choice makers” and its function is solely for protection of private interests and from indiscriminate actions by leaders, according to Pateman (1970, 14). The model does not foster or develop persons’ capabilities and inclinations to participate in society’s decision-making structures. Botwinick and Bachrach (1983, 366) concur pointing out that liberal democracy is a “representationist reading of participation” which is problematic because it “merely serves as a channel for communicating citizens’ private interests” rather than developing them and transforming them individually and collectively (366). This also leads to an unequal playing field. In order to participate in

a liberal society, “a greater degree of assertiveness in defense of one’s selfish interests than is normally mobilized by the apolitical public,” is usually required thus creating a situation where those who have the greatest voice and impact are often the ones with the most resources (Botwinick and Bachrach 1983, 366).

Yet, despite this critique, this is not a sweeping rejection of liberal democracy. The aforementioned authors as well as others (ie Brown 2005) note the importance of liberal democracy in undergirding participatory forms of democracy. In fact, participatory democratic theorists do not abandon liberal democracy’s central precepts-- freedom from government intervention in persons’ lives and political equality -- but rather build upon these liberal ideas to strive for a more full and undiluted expression of them. It is true that some participatory democratic theorists have asserted their theory is an alternative or even serves as a remedy to what they perceived to be some of the negative attributes of liberal democracy—its reification of hierarchy, exaltation of government noninterference at the expense of equality and making consent an obligation to empower unequal structures (Mansbridge 2008). Thus, some like Pateman did not call herself a liberal, according to Mansbridge (2008). “Pateman’s “democracy” poses a contrast not only with “liberalism” as instantiated in current liberal democratic institutions but also with a liberal theory that undermines the substantive equality necessary for genuinely free choice” (Mansbridge 2008, 23). Pateman’s democracy “insists on a robust equality as a base of democracy” (23). Mansbridge notes this is not too far removed from other theorists supporting a radical notion of liberal democracy such as Kaufman’s understanding of it to mean to mean someone who “wants to live authentically” (Kaufman 1968, 3 referenced in Mansbridge) and Sen’s notion of

“substantial” freedom in terms of maximum capabilities to live the life one chooses. These ideas treat liberal democracy as resting more heavily upon equality instead of liberty or noninterference. Thus Pateman perhaps is a liberal, but like some other participatory democratic theorists, ie Ronald Mason (1982), tries to distance herself from the theory in differentiating participatory democratic theory from the dominant theoretical paradigm.

Participatory democracy also rests upon liberal democracy for its support of minority rights. First, the inclusive structure and definition of participatory democracy, as depicted above, where participation is deemed educative and important to carry out at multiple levels, buffers against the trampling upon minority rights. However, the inextricable linkage with liberal democracy strengthens the protection of minority right and provides an edifice from which participatory democracy can assert itself and flourish (Botwinick 2010). Peter Bachrach, a prominent participatory democratic theorist, contended that “power, participation and equality” ultimately recognizes that the protection of minority rights or the prevention of mob rule is important despite desiring mobilization without constraints (Botwinick 2010, 87). Summing up a large theme of Bachrach’s work, Aryeh Botwinick keenly observes and describes:

In Peter’s political universe, a democratic citizen has a constitutional right to be stupid, wrongheaded, and misguided. At the same time, Peter also believed that all of the participatory democratic fervor in the world was no substitute for state- enforced constitutional guarantees and protections of minority rights. In the end, for Peter, democracy cannot be left entirely in the hands of the people. (Botwinick 2010, 88).

In fact, the liberal states sanctioning of opposition shields against the tyranny of the majority, and without it, forces that are contrary to the status-quo would not have the opportunity to assert themselves (Botwinick 2010).

The liberal state, thus, is essential for participatory democracy to flourish. Yet, how can participatory democratic theory continue to ardently address tyranny by a minority or majority? How can this be incorporated into educational programs fostering participatory citizens? Taking on the negative effects of neoliberalism and ascriptive hierarchy or institutionalized racism and discrimination in the U.S. may be another step forward.

Taking on Neoliberalism and Ascriptive Hierarchy

Neoliberalism, the shift in the political economic paradigm since the 1970s and 1980s, giving primacy to the market over the state⁷⁷, has also taken its toll on participatory democracy. Participatory democratic theory is often viewed as a family member of the left, a left that has consisted of “a set of transformative theories and practices that in the course of the past 150 years, has resisted the expansion of capitalism and the economic, social, political and cultural relations it has generated” (Santos 2009, 44).⁷⁸ With the dominant neoliberal doctrine, it becomes increasingly difficult for the left to assert itself, including its calls for participatory democracy.

Liberal democracy itself, as mentioned above, in its adulterated form supports and nourishes participatory democracy (Brown 2005).⁷⁹ However, in the era of neoliberalism hegemony⁸⁰ in discourse, practice and policies, liberal democracy has ceased to exist in its pure form, and its manipulation affects the capacity for participation (De Sousa Santos

2009; Brown 2005; Wolin 2008). “The basic principles and institutions of democracy are becoming nothing other than ideological shells,” Brown asserts (2005, 52) which hide “their opposite” and “the extent to which these principles and institutions even as values are being abandoned by large parts of the American population.” Democracy now consists of calculating consumers goaded by market directives rather than persons engaging in personal or collective actions towards transformative, social justice oriented goals, according to Brown (2005)⁸¹. In fact, she argues that neoliberalism, is far from a new type of classical liberalism, but is an entire, “new” normative approach to economics and society that tends to reduce all players to market rational actors (2005)⁸²

De Sousa Santos (2009) and Wolin (2008) share Brown’s sentiments and both argue liberal democracy has reached a type of breaking point. De Sousa Santos describes a kind of “social fascism” that has been engineered in which “extreme economic inequalities are translated into political inequalities not by the direct action of the political system of the capitalist state but with its complicity” (49). He compares liberal democracy to a resource that has been fundamentally transformed and eviscerated by privatization. Once a resource like water is privatized, it is the business owner who has supreme control because if people do not pay their bill, they will not receive water (49). Shared control has been destroyed, and this is seen in democracy as well. Wolin (2008) discusses the emergence of “inverted totalitarianism” in that free markets and capitalism reign supreme where persons are managed instead of making real decisions. “Voters are made as predictable as consumers” (Wolin, 2008 47).

Participatory democratic theory in its rejection of consumerism (MacPherson 1977) and its call for equality in decision-making and outcomes (Pateman) challenges

neoliberalism's "free-market fundamentalism" that "privileges personal responsibility over larger social forces, reinforces the gap between the rich and poor" and supports a "value system that promotes self-interest, if not unchecked selfishness" (Giroux 2014, 1). Yet, perhaps due to the timing of the theory's emergence it does not yet engage in an onslaught against neoliberalism. Calling for political and civic participation, especially at the local level, participatory democracy "offers an answer to the atomizing influence of neoliberalism" (Vick 2015, 8). Also the participatory democracy's extensive literature on workplace democracy (Botwinick and Bacharach 1983; Pateman 1970; Mason 1982; MacPherson 1977; Collom 2001; Bernstein 1982; Greenberg 2008; Carter 2003), and how a democratic workplace may lead to "spillover" into greater participation outside of work (Pateman 1970), presents a formidable challenge to neoliberalism principles of profit maximization, race to the bottom and productivity instead of meaningful work (Yeoman 2014). Participatory democracy also brings awareness of the political in many problems, such as poverty, in which neoliberalism treats as something pathological that can be solved with a quick, technical palliative (Vilas, 1996; Ferguson 1994).

Thus it is important to educate for participatory democracy as students prepare to enter a work environment marked by neoliberalism. How do we educate students preparing for careers that focus on heightening core components of neoliberalism, such as privatization, liberalization and deregulation, often at times to the detriment of the welfare of society? In addition, they are entering a labor market where workers' rights continue to be eviscerated marked by declining union membership in the U.S. (Bui 2015), the increasing focus on free trade instead of fair trade, and the alarming but sadly all too common reports of

popular companies sustaining abusive, alienating and overall Darwinian work environments, such as what was recently exposed by the *New York Times* on the conditions of Amazon (Kantor and Streitfeld 2015). These are important questions for this study as well as future studies. In addition, how do instructors and administrators generate enthusiasm for a civic engagement program, especially one based on participatory democratic principles, when the current neoliberal assault on higher education has resulted in the increasing corporatization and militarization of the university, decline in academic freedom, and overall demoralization of educational culture regarding students as mostly consumers (Giroux 2014, 16)?

The study of neoliberalism is also important in addressing the democratic attitudes of young adults today. Neoliberal ideology heralds the free market, individualism, and self-interest in contrast to ideas of the common good, economic and social equality, and these values – especially individualism which has reportedly been heightened in the Millennial generation (Twenge, et al 2012; Greenfield 2013) – most likely are embedded into the democratic attitudes and mindset of the citizenry. Hence, it is important participatory democratic theorists study the impact of neoliberalism in studies on the attitudes and mindsets of citizens, such as this one. Although first-year college students embraced principles of participatory democracy at greater levels than expected, they still showed tremendous support for democracy’s protection of the free market. In fact, over 80% found a free market was important for a democracy.

For some participatory democratic scholars, neoliberalism has taken such a toll on civic and political engagement that it has led to weakening of support for the theory itself

-- if not complete abandonment. “I can’t call myself a participatory democrat any longer,” claims Mattson (2003). Too often, he argues, participatory democracy, in the age of neoliberalism has been exploited by free-marketers with their emphasis on personal and free choice instead of civic participation. He discovers students who are more civically engaged in terms of volunteering do not necessarily demonstrate a greater interest or likelihood of political involvement (2003). In addition, nonprofits and private philanthropies loved and overused the words of democracy and civic participation that the terms “often became empty,” and “championed because they weren’t controversial, almost saccharine” (51). Participatory democracy alone, Mattson argues, is not enough.

Agreeing with Kaufman’s skepticism raised in the 1960s, Mattson (2003) argues participatory democracy may usher change but it requires the support and institutionalization of the government (52). Perhaps most importantly, “at certain times social justice must trump local participation in politics,” and he points out the case during the civil rights era when “federal government – ‘big government’—had to face down local civic organizations like the Klan and the Citizen Councils” (52). Mattson’s critique of participatory democracy’s potential to thrive in the context of today’s neoliberalism, reinforces the importance of some of the central questions of this project – what type of democracy and civic and political engagement do students envision is best for society and how are they being encouraged and taught to conceptualize participation in a democracy? His observations also raise the importance of teaching students about the role of government, especially as it relates to the public’s participation.

Ascriptive hierarchy, or the inegalitarian ideologies and institutions that have historically privileged persons in the U.S. based on some ascriptive or handed-down trait

such as race, class, gender, ethnicity and other identity factors (Smith 1997) presents a serious obstacle to participatory democracy and its theory. Participatory democratic theory -- a theory that recognizes “capacities, skills and characteristics of individuals are interrelated with forms of authority structures” (Pateman 2012, 10) and encourages political activism *through* participation – would be an ideal democratic theory to address the problems of ascriptive hierarchy or institutionalized discrimination and racism today.⁸³ Yet, many participatory democratic theorists do not address this directly, indirectly or at all.

In addition, there continues to be participation by various rights and other movements. Marches to combat gun violence, occupy movements to protest extreme wealth disparity, same-sex marriage campaigns, protests to end police brutality against African Americans, calls to end sexual violence against women, and mobilizations against repressive regimes worldwide, persist. These forms of participation call for participatory democratic theory to not only engage and fight neoliberalism, but also place ascriptive hierarchy or institutionalized discrimination and racism at the front of their agenda. Ultimately, these participatory energies in the streets may be a source of inspiration and motivation for an emerging participatory democracy.

Defense of Participatory Democracy

One conundrum of participatory democratic theory has been the presumed lack of empirical evidence to support its claims. As Mansbridge (1995) starkly notes:

“Participation does make better citizens. I believe it, but I can’t prove it. And neither can anyone else.”

She points out it is difficult to find cross-sectional studies where a researcher investigates whether admirable, participatory qualities pre-and post-participation were acquired (Mansbridge, 1995). However, this lack of rigorous data linked to democratic theory is not necessarily an anomaly in the field. Pateman (1970) points out that modern liberal, procedural democratic theorists such as Schumpeter developed theories before empirical data was available to support its claims. In fact, Schumpeter's "new, realistic *definition* of democracy" in *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy* (1943) came about before empirical research was available (p.3).

Contrary to expectations, Pateman (2012) argues that there is burgeoning empirical data to prove that participatory democracy works (2012). For instances, there are numerous studies on participatory budgeting projects (Wampler 2007;Piper 2014)⁸⁴ and studies in public policy, including environmental public policy, which have examined empirically the impact of public participation in environmental decision-making (Stevens, et al 2009; Ananda 2006). Thus, participatory democratic theory continues to be applied to national and international studies of public policy and political decision-making. This study, for instance, contributes to this body of empirical data linked to participatory democratic theory in the realm of university based civic engagement as well as attitudes or ideas toward participatory democracy. As Pateman noted in 1970 and others have elaborated upon thereafter, democratization should not only be deepened in the workplace, but other institutions, especially schools and higher education because they are prime locations to carry out participatory democracy in practice and theory. There are a number of existing empirical studies in the field of experiential and service- learning education in higher education that demonstrate the

educative impact experiential learning has on students and how certain pedagogies can generate more participatory mindsets and actions (Westheimer and Kahne 2004; Held 2011), but they are not explicitly connected to or defined in terms of participatory democratic theory.

This study explicitly links participatory democratic theory, with the works of Dewey(1916) and Gutmann (1987), to the field of university based civic engagement initiatives. Civic and political education programs, especially at the university level, should focus not only on promoting active participants in society and decision-making at various levels, but also play a role in actively fighting inequalities. Participatory democratic theory also contributes to better conceptualizing how to develop a civic identity and pathway. “[T]he underlying premise of participatory democracy—in contrast to liberal representative democracy—is that participatory democratic politics encompasses self-exploration.” (Bachrach and Botwinick, 10-11). Recognizing that experience and participation is still educative in itself, and that engaging persons in the political process is important toward educating for a participatory democracy, university civic education initiatives can work towards collective problem solving and political action between the universities and the communities, with students often serving as the agents. To empower students as well as the community to become more participatory and social justice oriented (Westheimer and Kahne 2004), the theoretical inspiration behind pedagogies of civic education at the university level matter. It is the critical component to teaching for a participatory democracy.

**CHAPTER 4: EDUCATING FOR A PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY?
A CASE STUDY OF DREXEL UNIVERSITY’S LINDY CENTER FOR CIVIC
ENGAGEMENT’S CIVIC 101 CLASS**

“Drexel will be the most civically engaged university in the United States”

--Drexel President John Fry

Introduction

How do we educate students for a participatory democracy? This chapter builds on this research project’s normative premise that we should strive to engender a participatory democracy in light of massive wealth, racial and social inequalities⁸⁵, and also builds on the study’s empirical data showing many first- year college students bring participatory democratic ideas – such as inclusive participation, the importance of deliberation, a critique of non-democratic institutions and other aforementioned values-- to the classroom. Chapter 4 presents a case of how Drexel University’s Lindy Center for Civic Engagement’s CIVIC 101 program, a university based civic education program in Philadelphia, PA, does and could educate for *participatory* democracy, both implicitly and explicitly. The chapter first explores the purpose and inspiration behind the Lindy Center as well as the CIVIC 101 class (see also Appendix B), with a particular focus on CIVIC instructors’ pedagogical and theoretical approaches to teaching the course. Most of the data was collected through in-depth, qualitative interviews with five current and former University and Lindy Center administrators and six CIVIC 101 instructors. The chapter next takes a closer look at students’ perspectives of the course and what impact the class had on their democratic values and ideas about civic and political engagement, from in-depth interviews and readings of hundreds of student reflection papers.

A university-based civic education class that directly engages students in the community and explicitly calls for increased civic and political action presents a ripe opportunity to educate citizens for a participatory democracy. In fact, a university-based civic engagement class, such as the one at Drexel, may be a prime location to discuss participatory democracy's recognition of great inequalities in society coupled with entrenched consumerism. Where else could Freire's transformative pedagogies that empower persons to recognize, think and ultimately contest the dominant power structures in society, be explored if not in a class on civic and political engagement at a university?

Some tentative findings reveal CIVIC 101 instructors are the strongest proponents of participatory democratic principles in the program, regardless of their ideological predispositions to issues of inequality. Students' opinions about democracy have not been changed by the program⁸⁶, but their awareness of important issues and ideas about civic engagement are heightened and clarified. There are significant differences towards conceptualizations of democracy based on students' identities.

Purpose and Background of Lindy Center's CIVIC 101 program

The Lindy Center for Civic Engagement and its first year civic engagement program is part of Drexel's initiative to be the "most civically engaged university in Philadelphia," according to John Fry, the President of Drexel University⁸⁷. The CIVIC 101 class is the "freshman requirement for civic engagement, establishing the culture at the start of the Drexel experience" (Fry, 2015). Drexel University's Lindy Center for Civic Engagement coordinates the first year CIVIC 101 program, a one credit course

where students spend half of their time volunteering at a local nonprofit in Philadelphia and the other half in the classroom reading, discussing and studying about a host of issues pertaining to civic engagement and their service experience⁸⁸. Most of the nonprofits work on issues related to the Lindy Center's three thematic pillars of education: homelessness, poverty, and economic development. The nonprofits all are located in Philadelphia, with some like Drexel's Dorsnife Center, located in the school's neighborhood or the Mantua section of West Philadelphia, whereas organizations such as Manna, Philabundance, Broad Street Ministries, Squash Smarts and Books for Bars are situated in various parts of the city⁸⁹.

Drexel's Center for Civic Engagement first started in 2003⁹⁰ and was later named the Lindy Center for Civic Engagement after a local philanthropist and community philanthropist Philip Lindy.⁹¹ As part of its mission and vision, the Lindy Center provides and sponsors a number of opportunities for student leadership, scholarship and service beyond the CIVIC 101 course, including domestic and international service field-trips, professor led community-based experiential courses, the Lindy Scholars program⁹² and other opportunities. Yet the cornerstone of the center is the CIVIC 101 program which has witnessed exponential growth since 2011. It now has become a requirement for almost all first year students at Drexel University,⁹³ and it has developed more than 30 ongoing partnerships with community based organizations.

The CIVIC 101 syllabus sets the direction and course for the class. Over the past few years, the syllabus has gone through a number of iterations, although all are focused on fostering greater civic engagement among the students. At the time when most of the

data for this research project was conducted (Winter 2014-Spring 2015), the syllabus that was employed included the following Course description:

The First-year Civic Engagement course is designed to help students develop skills as active participants in a pluralistic, democratic society through direct service, education, and reflection opportunities. The course will cover key concepts and frameworks for understanding civic engagement, including: trends of civic life in American society; history of civic engagement in higher education; university-community relations; and public service leadership. Through the course, students will strengthen critical thinking skills regarding myriad social issues in the context of active civic participation. Students will also enhance their learning through structured discussion and reflective learning assignments (Course Syllabus, Winter 2015)

The course description used such terms as “pluralistic, democratic society” and “direct service, education and reflection opportunities.” It then discussed the topics and themes gleaned from a small selection of literature on civic engagement as it pertains to higher education. The literature was selected by Lindy Center staff to reflect a sampling of what students would study if they were to pursue a certificate in Civic Engagement.

The course learning outcomes included strengthening students learning through community-based service, introducing students to ideals of social responsibility and public service, and enhancing students’ personal and political syllabus. (CIVIC 101 Syllabus, Winter 2015).

The syllabus requirements included short chapter- and article-length readings on the state of civic engagement in the U.S., the role of higher education in civic engagement, how one learns to become civic, university as an economic anchor and grassroots workplace democracy. These topics were chosen to reflect what a student may expect to learn in-depth if they were to pursue a certificate in civic engagement

coordinated by the Lindy Center. One core component and idea behind the older syllabus was that instructors had autonomy to design each lesson plan as they so desired as long as they incorporated or reflected upon the readings to some extent. Thus, some instructors may have focused an entire class on the intersection between art and social justice, whereas others may have centered entire classes around issues of economic inequality, charity versus social justice, or building a successful nonprofit.⁹⁴ Instructors often experimented with different themes and activities, and sometimes shared their curriculum at meetings and online. Instructors often invited an array of guest speakers to their classes including city councilpersons and Drexel student activists.⁹⁵

This original syllabus, which was primarily used since the inception of the program in the fall of 2011, was crafted clearly and deliberately to increase civic participation of students with a critical awareness of why and how they are participating. In some ways, the syllabus moved in the direction of educating for a participatory democracy. Calling for students to “develop skills as active participants in a pluralistic, democratic society” is certainly congruent with the goals of a participatory democracy, but it tended to focus more heavily on creating personally responsible and participatory citizens as opposed to social justice oriented (Westheimer and Kahne 2004). It fell slightly short of stimulating politicization as it uses terms such as “social responsibility” instead of social justice, and it does not elaborate about what is meant by “political efficacy.” Political efficacy generally refers to “the belief that one can have an impact on political affairs” (Sharoni 2012), and that one’s voice matters. However, there is no description of how service may lead to a better understanding of causes and manifestations of economic and social asymmetries and how they can be transformed.

The syllabus *almost* arrived at embracing a participatory democratic framework, but was not quite there yet.

The new syllabus and curriculum was unveiled in the fall of 2015. In the spring and summer of 2015 a group of Lindy Center administrators, instructors and a few others brainstormed ways to design a syllabus to ensure that all students were having a similar experience. Because instructors had extensive autonomy over implementing the syllabus, there was uncertainty as to whether or not students were achieving similar learning outcomes. Catherine Fuller, Assistant Director, Community Based Programs for Drexel University's Lindy Center for Civic Engagement, pointed out that the former syllabus made it "impossible to evaluate," and "we wanted students to have a consistent, positive experience throughout the course" (Fuller 2015). Thus a small working group of Lindy Center administrators and instructors collaborated in the spring and summer of 2015 to create a one-size-fits-all syllabus with uniform readings and in-class activities. In-depth trainings, including monthly meetings by phone and in person, have been conducted with instructors to aid in their teaching of the new curriculum.

The new syllabus did reflect many of the original goals of the program but it was updated to reflect changes in the field since the original curriculum was developed (Fuller 2015). Although historically the curriculum was student-centered, "we tried to make that explicit in the new curriculum," said Fuller. "We definitely have a student approach to civic engagement and making sure they understand how these concepts relate to them personally," she explains. "It's not just to learn these concepts for theory sake," but rather they are encouraged "to find something in this course" that relates to their "civic pathway" (Fuller 2015). In fact the new syllabus focuses on this concept of "civic

pathway” where students “develop their civic engagement efficacy, identity and agency.” The syllabus states “this course is a starting point.” In addition, the new course builds on the former, noting students will learn “key concepts and frameworks of civic engagement,” as well as “university-community relationships, power structures and the concept of privilege” through service and critical reflection in class and through assignments.

The course objectives and learning outcomes are quite similar to the former syllabus except for a few differences. The first change is the increased focus on “civic pathway,” an activity in which students analyze how they previously have been taught, influenced and in general socialized to think and act civically and how they may envision their future civic pathway. In fact, their final assignment in the new curriculum requires them to reflect critically on their past and future civic pathway and how their time at Drexel may contribute to this journey.⁹⁶

The new curriculum is also very experientially, hands-on focused, encouraging students to actively participate in the classroom. Each week centers on a particular theme including what it means to be civically engaged, gentrification in Philadelphia, efforts by nonprofits to be civically engaged, and power and privilege. The students are required to read short readings pieces on each theme, post a short reflection on blackboard prior to coming to class, and participate in-classroom based activity related to the topic. Some of the in-class activities include group research and presentation on local nonprofits, Likert scale about opinions on gentrification, group discussion about identity as it relates to ideas of power and privilege, and acting out a group skit on a description-reflection-evaluation model that is introduced early in the quarter and a running theme throughout.

Overall, instructors have been giving positive feedback to the new curriculum. Does it adhere to a participatory democratic framework? In some ways, it is more successful than the previous curriculum in that themes and experiential activities embrace the spirit of participatory democracy more directly. All students taking CIVIC 101 are challenged to think about economic inequality, systems of privilege in society and what it means to be civically and politically engaged. One critique of the new program is that the word “political” is not included in the new syllabus and may not be as readily used in the classroom. However, during the first week students are asked to think about how they may have been engaged in the following areas: social connectedness, community engagement and public service, political deliberation and action, diversity and social action. The inclusion of “political deliberation and action” does compel students to at least think about how to define “political activity” and to what extent they have participated politically in society. This research project does recognize how both civic and political engagement are interrelated, however, more direct attention to political engagement linked to the themes discussed would move the curriculum in a more participatory democratic direction.

Voices from the Instructors

Do CIVIC 101 instructors conform to a participatory democratic framework in their teaching? Do they rely on critical pedagogical theories, as discussed in Chapter 3, which many scholars argue offer the most promise and direction to educate for participatory democracy as they promote participation to challenge entrenched power interests and capitalism’s contradictions that benefit a few at the expense of others. Do the instructors carry out a transformative education that goes beyond students merely

“banking” information deposited by the teachers (Freire 1970),⁹⁷ but instead liberates and empowers students by meeting them where they are, drawing on their life experiences through dialogue and decentralized encounters in the classroom? Do the instructors encourage students to critically assess oppressive power structures in society? Some of these transformative elements were embedded in the past curriculum and as aforementioned are further institutionalized with the changes of Fall 2015. However, the instructors themselves, their teaching philosophy, and their ideas about democracy, bring a unique contribution to the classroom.

Six in-depth interviews with CIVIC 101 instructors revealed that in many ways they *are* educating for a participatory democracy, often employing radical pedagogies in the classroom, empowering students to not only question societal problems and injustices, but at times spark transformative thinking about the world.

In addition, the instructors overall say they believe that the program, albeit not flawless, is indeed meeting its goals and objectives as outlined in the syllabus, and at times surpassing them. The instructors themselves are pushing the boundaries of the program to guide students in developing, as well as activating their civic and political identities. These transformative moments stemming from a combination of service along with in-class discussion and activities offer promise and possibilities that a reframing of societal problems, to contest dominant and oppressive power structures in society, will be manifested in future thinking as well as action.

Results from the Interviews

All the instructors brought diverse, impressive experience and qualifications to the program, along with a sincere enthusiasm and drive to teach and inspire students to become more civically and politically engaged. The instructors who were interviewed are: Jaya Mohan, Assistant Director of the Office of Undergraduate Research, Pennoni Honors College at Drexel University; Jeff Knowles, Regional Adviser at Pennsylvania Department of Conservation and Natural Resources; Jennifer Breevort, a professional development specialist and trainer at the Philadelphia Youth Network; Dana D’Orazio, Program Manager for Postsecondary Education at the National League of Cities and formerly Director of National Strategy and Operations at the Graduate! Network, an organization dedicated to helping adults complete postsecondary education; Gabby Mora, Associate Director of Drexel University’s Residential Living and Joseph Peltzer who worked in Student Affairs and currently is studying law at Drexel. All of the instructors have at least one postgraduate degree, a requirement to teach at Drexel University. Many of the degrees are in the field of education. The interviews included topics such as defining democracy, perceived goals of the program, assessment of outcomes and highlights from the course.

In terms of how they conceptualize democracy, their perceptions varied slightly as their definitions were tightly intertwined with civic engagement. Although they were steadfast that democracy requires a procedural backbone, many preferred a deliberative or republican vision of democracy stressing the importance of political knowledge, discussion and pursuing the “common good”. Some referred to a definition of democracy that conveyed a republican or liberal perception that skimmed the surface of a

participatory view of democracy. For instance, for Gabby Mora (2015), civic engagement was twofold: “one [part] is education, having awareness of the issues that are happening and being invested in something that is going on,” and the second part is about “taking action” to change society. Jeff Knowles, also merging civic engagement with action, coined it as “public problem solving” which piggybacks on “a form of government that requires an engaged citizenry to build a society where person’s rights are respected” (2015).

All the instructors internalized the goals of the program as promoting lifelong civic engagers as well as making them aware of social issues, especially in Philadelphia. Foremost, according to D’Orazio (2015), the program is part of President Fry’s vision of being the most civically engaged university, and in particular she sees it as “the campus hub to inspire the student body to carry out this vision.” She added, “I think it is really important to expose students to different pieces of the community and ways to make an impact and hopefully inspire them to continue to be aware but also proactive about making an impact.” Joe Peltzer (2015) echoed this view, saying the program should be “showing how what they are doing today not only impacts what they are doing in the future, but it impacts what is happening on a larger scale”.

For Jennifer Brevoort (2015), the goals of the program are to help young people create a civic identity as well as connect more deeply with Drexel and the city of Philadelphia. She says the class should create a sense in students that opportunities to be civically engaged are ubiquitous, from buying fair trade coffee to participating in something larger. “[T]he goals of the program are to really help young people see that these opportunities are everywhere and they are as small or as complex as they want it to

be.” (2015). Mohan (2014) agreed calling on students to develop a sense of corporate social-responsibility. The program, Brevoort maintains, should also enlighten them on the power that a group has to make a difference. Decisions and opportunities for being civically engaged, according to Brevoort can be described as:

That is all happening within this powerful community of peers. So one of the things we talk about in our class a lot is how strong they are as a collective community of students and how powerful and whether they want to use that power or not is totally up to them. This age that they are in, this moment they are in time, is probably one of the most powerful places they can be (Brevoort 2015).

“Public problem solving” should be the main goal of the program, according to Knowles (2014). In particular, the program should instill a sense that public problem solving is a civic responsibility. “It’s less of I’m doing this out of the goodness of my heart and more of the society in which I want to live requires me to do this,” and “[f]or me, that’s the goal” (Knowles 2014)

For Gabby Mora (2015), it’s about developing a sense of caring as well as “opening their eyes to social issues, especially in Philadelphia.” She found that many Drexel students have done some volunteering in high school, but it has always been a requirement so “they don’t really seem to care,” and “they are not very invested in what is happening in the world.” In fact, when she first asks how many students read the news, the response rate is usually around 10%, prompting her to observe that “students are very detached from that idea of being invested in the community and the society you are living in through things that work.” As part of the process of cultivating a sense of community investment, the class provides an opportunity to awaken students to a number of social issues. For example, she explained that many students come in with this idea that

homeless people are “lazy” and “that’s why they are homeless,” but volunteering at various local sites, “they really get the ability to talk to these people and learn their stories.” They may learn that someone may have just fallen on a “bad time” such as a job loss or something else, not due to a fault of their own. “[I]t really helps them to understand that,” especially in “developing a care for social issues and wanting to do something about it.”

In terms of pedagogies, all of the instructors carried out practices⁹⁸ that tended to be experiential, involved large and small group discussions, and activities that animated students to be active, participatory learners (see Appendix C for a list of activities/practices). In fact, almost all of the instructors noted that lecture did not work well, even those that did provide some type of lecture whether it would be the first ten minutes of class (Peltzer 2015) or a more substantial presentation on the history of Philadelphia and the surrounding neighborhoods, such as Mantua (Knowles 2014). “Straight lecture does not work,” explained Knowles, and he often resorted to employing the Socratic Method, questioning students until they arrived at the question themselves. Only in her first class did D’Orazio engage in “a lot of talking at them,” and afterwards she begins with icebreakers to get the classes moving engendering a collaborative learning environment. Breevort also explained how she found lecture may not be the best practice for this class, but she added this stems from a self-awareness, after years of teaching and training professionals, that lecturing is not her forte. Overall, lecturing seemed to be less favored compared to student-led, experiential discussions and activities.

All of the instructors said they wanted the students up and moving in class to be fully active. “I want them talking as much as possible,” asserted Peltzer (2015). Mohan affirmed this, saying “I tend to have them standing up for as much of the class that I can,” because she found “when they are up and moving, they are more engaged and paying attention more” (Mohan 2014). Mohan, like others, experimented with small groups and pairs for discussion, as well as Likert scales asking students to agree and disagree and explain why.

In addition to dialogue, Mora (2014) wants students to challenge what they think since most of them are coming from belief systems they have inherited from their parents. She admitted her belief system may be very different from what the students are accustomed to, but as a teacher she listens to where they are coming from and helps them expand their minds. She wants them to realize and develop their own knowledge, because “at Drexel, the classes in general don’t do a good job in developing students’ critical thinking skills, because it is so much of ‘this is what you need to do, do it’, and ‘it is not them coming up with their own solutions for things.’” Although 10 weeks may be a bit ambitious for them to fully develop their critical thinking skills, she wants it to be a “starting point for them to question their pre-existing beliefs,” and back up what they know. Both Mora (2015) and D’Orazio (2015) mentioned how their classes were “fluid,” and “organic,” respectively, in that they are student centered, where instructors tune into the topics students bring to the table, or as D’Orazio does, measure ‘the tone of the room’ to see what works best. Specific activities vary, but all required some hands-on approach coupled with critical thinking questions to engage students in a deeper discussion. A

more detailed list of some of the various activities carried out in the classroom can be found in the Appendix.

Breevort (2015) also mentions how part of her goal is to aid students in developing their own civic identity. She debunks the traditional way of looking at civic engagement, including volunteering, as selfless acts. Instead, she tells students it's ok to be "selfish" or to put yourself at the center in deciding what you like about civic engagement, what you may want to get out of it, and designing an enduring, personal civic pathway. She said she also hopes the program aids students in realizing "that people and issues are acting on them whether they decide to be involved or not and so that there is a place for them to be involved," or "one or two things that they can sort of connect into in order to develop their network of folks who are going to support them and that in return they will get something great from it." (Breevort 2015) She also encourages them to think critically about what works and what doesn't in terms of nonprofit management, sustainability and its ability to spark a larger social movement. Peltzer (2014) tries to fill in the holes about basics of governmental institutions and decisions because, "sometimes it's really shocking to me that people don't know the foundations how the government works and things like that."

In terms of teachable moments, all instructors said they stemmed from good class discussions. In particular, Joe Peltzer (2014) said, "I think the best parts of class are when someone presents an opinion that definitely isn't shared by a lot of people but they are able to have discussion with someone else and able to come to a different understanding." He says this "happens a lot," and he revealed a situation or teachable moment that stemmed from class discussion:

..[T]here was one girl in particular, she had some strong views on same-sex marriage. We were talking about Iran, and someone made a comment about Iran and it was a very general, Muslim comment and someone in the class was from Iran and he corrected her, but very respectfully and the way he was able to talk to her was very impressive, number one, and two he made her know that it was ok. .. I think it is those types of teachable moments where we can dissect what the confusion is. She is not the only one that believes that or the only one that thinks that way or would say that. So let's talk about that. Let's utilize the area we have to talk about it. (Peltzer 2014)

Class discussion is also about connecting with the students and their own experience. "The students really seem to surprise me," expressed Breevort (2015). She elaborated:

If you ask the right question, you find out some really cool stuff about people in your classroom. The young people have done so many amazing things already. I keep finding kids who started businesses, like really have been in charge of things at home and don't know how to do that now. So having those conversations with students where they literally can look to possible campus activities. I have said to students, "Look you have done this amazing work with Alex's Lemonade Stand"; I bet there is something here that can connect you in. (Breevort 2015)

Another great teachable moment is discussing how some students may have felt uncomfortable going to some of their service sites, assessing why and linking it to other class topics, said Breevort.

Many of the instructors mentioned how they weave the theme of social justice, the idea that persons deserve the same social, political and economic rights, throughout the class, often directly and explicitly. D'Orazio (2015) usually engages students in a discussion about whether students think diversity is something that you can learn from a book or from experience. From this, a conversation about social justice, identity and

equity springs forth. She commented, this “is an interesting way to get at it, because it often leads you down the same path but allows students to get there in a different way a more reflective and personal approach to see themselves in that topic.”

Gabby Mora (2014) said she emphatically discussed issues of social justice including inequality and racism, and it was an integral, if not defining, feature of her course. She related a number of examples that presented transformative opportunities for students to adopt a more social oriented mindset about societal inequalities, or a conceptual understanding of inequalities as being products of power imbalances in society versus being the result of personal effort alone. One touching example she relayed was about a student who volunteered at “Books Behind Bars,” an organization where volunteers read prisoners’ letters and send them books based on their requests. She elaborated about the student who confided with her after reading a particular letter he received from one of the prisoners participating in Books Behind Bars:

At first he had always been somebody who thought you are in prison, you are a bad guy, that’s it. He started reading this letter from this guy [in which] he talked about his background and the reason he had to do what he did and that it really helped develop an understanding of situations of how people are not always bad, that sometimes you are put in this place where you have no way out and you have to do something that is against the law, but it is the only way you can survive. And it really helped him with that. (Mora 2015)

After the student’s volunteer experience, his participation in the class skyrocketed in which he became earnestly involved in class discussions. It “was so different than what it was before,” and he was able to think about issues in a more profound way that people “are not always that bad, but we have to look at why they became that person.” (Mora

2015). This teachable moment supports what Mora strives to accomplish with her CIVIC 101 classes. As she explained it:

“One of the things I want them to understand is that in the world there is no good or bad guys. There are just a lot of people [that] come from places that they do things that maybe you think are bad, but for them they are not and you have to be able to understand that. This is not to say that terrorists are good. We are not saying that, but we are trying to help understand why they are terrorists.” (Mora 2014)

Mora unabashedly discusses inequality and racism as it relates to education in Philadelphia, because for students “it is very much a black and white situation.” She commented:

What I found in the beginning, that some students would come and they would say ‘aghh, the kids I work with, they are just so bad, they misbehave so much,’ and so that happens and I get that, but a lot of times they would say all black kids were doing this, so from that I tried to include the white privilege piece. (Mora 2015).

She discusses what is meant by white privilege while supporting it with statistics, showing a connection between disparities in socioeconomic status and racism.

Unfortunately, Mora expressed how Philadelphia presents a good example of this inequalities.

In terms of discussing white privilege itself, she shared the following:

I have learned that you can never shut people down with that, because the truth is that a lot of times people don’t believe in it because they have never had the opportunity to actually think about it and see it. I think unfortunately in this country people are told that in terms of the American dream, ‘if you work hard enough you can get it.’” That’s what people think. Unless you have looked at the research, unless you have seen the police statistics and the graduation rates and the school funding, you really

have no reason to not think that the American dream is a reality for everyone (Mora 2014)

Thus, she asks them many questions pushing them to consider the complexities of these situations. She constantly questions their assumptions. If someone says a person is poor because she or he has to work harder, Mora will respond with a question about what does it mean to work harder or getting a job.

Other instructors approach social justice more hesitantly because of the difficulty of discussing certain issues, lack of training on issues of social justice and disagreement about how certain issues, such as institutionalized racism. For instance, Mohan noted that it is difficult to discuss “thorny” issues such as racism. She explained, “When they are not willing to express an opinion with something that is safe, it’s so much work to get them to that point. I don’t know where to start with harder issues.”

Other instructors shift the discourse from issues of social justice to themes of collective problem solving and the tremendous impact of consumerism in society (Knowles 2014; Mohan 2014). Knowles (2014) pointed out to his students that the support for volunteering and voting “pales in comparison to what the corporate world is spending on music festivals [and] NFL games. There is a lot of other things we spend money on in a society that maybe they do communicate where civic engagement stands in the grand scheme of things.” He did admit this was often not easy to relay to students. He does steer away from delving into the “white privilege” argument because of lack of training on that issue and it does not seem seminal to his goals for the class. He explained it as follows:

“My goal is not to have them to come to civic engagement from a victim or perpetrator mentality or that they need to be doing this volunteerism because of past wrongs that white people have committed and they should feel guilty for that... and now it’s your duty to go and share your largesses with these poor, unfortunate souls. I want to come more as we are all in this together, we all have a role to play” (Knowles 2014).

This is all part of his commitment to public problem solving. He elaborated:

Again, my whole thing is problem solving. I want them to have agency in these issues that seem insurmountable. Homelessness, poverty, failing schools. All of these things they could *easily* turn their back on or walk away or move out to the suburbs or disengage. I want them to say, ‘no, there is way, I can get involved with this group and volunteer an hour a week. That is going to make an important contribution to somebody’s life (Knowles 2014).

He does address some themes of inequality and racism, but it is a minor part of the course.

Overall, instructors found using “creative ways to keep people engaged” (D’Orazio 2014) and the varied pedagogical approaches contributes to students leaving with a deeper understanding of civic engagement.

Analysis of Instructors’ Approach to Teaching CIVIC 101

Most instructors employ an experiential, participatory pedagogy in the classroom that is student centered, and approaches range from promoting personally responsible citizens to more participatory, justice-oriented citizens. For instance, one goal of the instructor, Dana D’Orazio, is to inculcate a sense of personal responsibility in the students by fostering a sense of civic responsibility in their daily lives. She explained:

“My goal is to make civic engagement a part of their everyday life. It is a choice they make every single day to have a positive impact. From holding the door open for someone to making the time to go and actually tutor someone, it is from the little, little acts to the bigger time commitments” (D’Orazio, 2014)

This viewpoint of course does not aspire to the greater participatory and justice-oriented forms of citizen participation explained by Westheimer and Kahne (2004) and captured by participatory democratic theory, but it does lay a foundation, a stepping stone for further civic engagement, similar to the belief that volunteering is an initial step toward other forms of civic engagement (Wilson and Musick 1999). Other instructors called for greater involvement in governance of society or as Boyte (2005) describes it, empowering citizens to develop civic agency and shift from being “simply voters, volunteers, and consumers” to becoming citizens that are “problem solvers and co-creators of public goods” (518). Knowles (2014) exemplified this approach to his teaching. Other instructors, such as Brevort (2015) and Mora (2014) push the boundaries of civic engagement further with their discourse, framing of issues, questioning and activities, as they seek to empower students civically and foster a sense of participatory, social justice forms of citizens. For the most part the instructors wavered between promoting all types of citizens—personally responsible, participatory and social justice oriented—throughout their classes. None were opposed to educating for a participatory democracy, but their commitment to participatory democratic principles varied. Mora (2014) for embraces from the outset a theory of democratic education very similar to Gutmann (1987) and participatory democratic in spirit. Others tended toward a more republican, communitarian vision of democracy. All of them promoted values that

would be expected in a program that may educate for a participatory democracy, although some supported participatory ideas more rigorously and directly.

However, not all instructors have to share the same viewpoints on social justice, racism, consumerism and inequality in general to still be effective in engendering participatory citizens. This became clear throughout the interviews, as some of the instructors held different beliefs on these issues but still called for students to imagine themselves now and in the future as problem solvers, collectively striving to create a more equal playing field in society. Whether the instructor found the most pressing issue to be consumerism or racism, the idea of developing active, participatory citizens open to new ideas, and questioning injustices, was conveyed by all instructors. Yet tackling these issues without inadvertently, or perhaps even knowingly, sliding into a terrain of ideological indoctrination, or the opposite end of apolitical instruction, is a tricky task (Searls Giroux 2012). It also raises questions, such as whether an instructor like Gabriella Mora, who politicizes the class a bit more in her stance towards social justice and her outward attempt to push students to contest the dominant power structures in society, has more success in teaching for a participatory democracy. Freire and the like-minded may think so, as they contend that education is never neutral. This is an ensuing dilemma not just for the CIVIC 101 class but for any academic class in how instructors endeavor to empower students on issues of social justice, making them aware of dominant social structures without infringing on academic freedom. Participatory democracy rests upon liberal precepts of equality in choice, but it goes beyond liberalism's primacy on individualism or republican emphasis on the developmental benefits of engagement or participation. It requires an understanding that injustice in

society, as Mora points out, is inextricably linked to larger oppressive social structures in society such as racism and inequality. It is challenging to engage students in these discussions and engender a transformative experience in the classroom without appearing as though one is infringing on academic freedom, or that a program is crafted in a way to further a liberal or conservative agenda (Jacoby 2009). This is an area that the CIVIC 101 program should continue debating and discussing as it moves forward.

One area that it is important for civic learning is having a good understanding of the historical and social issues of their community. As Saltmarsh explains (2012):

A key element of civic knowledge is historical knowledge that contextualizes community-based experiences such that past events provide a context and a foundation for present community-based problem solving. (Saltmarsh 2012, 33)

This is one area where content seems scant; one instructor, Jeff Knowles, said he elaborated on the political, historical and economic background of the community, but other instructors desired to integrate this material but did not have the time, were not sure of the content to relay, or were fearful that a historical overview may turn into an hour long lecture emitting information to be “banked.” The new curriculum since the Fall of 2015 includes additional information on Philadelphia, but this could still be expanded. Some suggestions to improve on increasing knowledge about Philadelphia, particularly West Philadelphia and the Mantua area, are to require students to find out additional information on their own as well as preparing a short, online lecture or PowerPoint with voice with a historical overview of the area.

One structural critique of the program offered by a number of instructors was that one credit is not enough as there was just not enough time to accomplish all the desired

goals. Some instructors suggested increasing the number of credits, or having another class senior year for a more well-rounded civic education. Others argued that current schedule of one class on and one class off, divided into two groups, breaks continuity in learning and perhaps should be jettisoned for ten consecutive weeks in the classroom. Others argued that the course should not be shared with any other university first-year initiatives, such as what occurred in some classes where other university life topics needed to be include in the CIVIC 101 due to scheduling and time constraints. Most instructors would argue that requiring all first year students to partake in the course is positive. This is especially important at Drexel with its large number of engineering students who did not start participating in the program until recently. Sax (2000) points out that students in engineering are less likely to be social activists, and she notes that Astin's (1993) research finds these students showing an "increase in materialism and conservatism and declines in concern for the larger society" (Sax 2000, 14)⁹⁹. Thus, finally convincing the engineering school this was an important class was a huge success for the Lindy Center in 2014. The engineering students' CIVIC 101 class is designed differently, where there is a greater focus on STEM education in the inner city, and each student volunteers to present scientific experiments during the Philadelphia Science Festival as well as other community events throughout the city.

One difficulty of the CIVIC 101 program prior to the Fall of 2015 is that the curriculum lacked uniformity. Hence, it was difficult to share approaches to the topics covered in class and ensure similar quality education. The recent move to a standardized curriculum, but still allowing some instructor autonomy, generated by collaboration between Lindy personnel and instructors is a step in the right direction to institutionalize

its commitment to best experiential pedagogical practices for civic engagement (See Appendix D). One recommendation would be to develop an online resource center of experiential civic education curriculum, activities, research and other information to share with other universities, scholars and practitioners in the field of youth civic engagement. The Lindy Center may also consider holding additional workshops, seminars, and conferences related to university civic engagement initiatives.

Overall, from the instructors' assessment of the program shared in the interviews, as well as from taking into account the instructors' tremendous individual efforts, visions and goals for the program, the program does meet its objectives as outlined in the syllabus, and in some ways surpasses them. Students leave with a greater appreciation of what it means to be civically engaged, with an awareness of issues in Philadelphia, with a spark to hopefully engage more in the city and surrounding areas, and with an understanding of pressing issues such as hunger, poverty and homelessness. Thus, Drexel's Lindy Center for Civic Engagement CIVIC 101 course one-credit course is a step in the right direction toward educating for participatory democracy. Through service coupled with dialogue and discussion, students encounter new ways to view social and political problems with an emphasis on what it means to be civically engaged, the role of the university as well as nonprofits in civic engagement, and social justice issues affecting the community including gentrification, racism, and other topics related to power and privilege.

The instructors in the program are already teaching for a participatory democracy, and with recent changes as the result of dialogue and discussion with various persons, the CIVIC 101 class could deepen its effort.

Voices from the Students

Responses of Qualitative Interviews and Reflection Papers with Students

I conducted 12 in-depth interviews with students as well, in which I talked to the students directly about their experience. The students were asked about democracy, their overall experience at their service site, what may have surprised them about the experience and whether or not their perspectives changed on topics of democracy, civic engagement, societal problems and other issues (see Appendix for the survey). In addition, I read hundreds of reflection papers in which students responded to instructor generated prompts to reflect about their experience in and outside of the classroom. These are referred to as well.

The first set of interview questions dealt with democracy and whether or not the students placed primacy on civil liberties like freedom of speech or wealth redistribution and equality. Their definitions of democracy were very similar to the findings in the survey, often defining democracy in procedural terms but where the majority has a say in the decision-making. As one student, Jake, summed it up, it is a political operation “where everyone could have an equal say.” This was echoed by most of the interviewees, except one student, Isabel, who described it as: “I see it as we should all be born with the same equal rights; everyone has a say, everyone is given the same privileges, etc.” Only three out of the twelve found equality of wealth trumped civil liberties, if they were forced to choose between the two.

The students interviewed volunteered at a wide range of places dealing with issues of economic development, education and poverty. The program in general allows students to choose from approximately 30 different service sites, some of which work

with the program each quarter whereas others rotate and invite students on a quarterly basis, dependent on need. Some of the places where the students volunteered were:

- The U.S. Dream Academy, an organization dedicated to providing education, after school care and services in general for youth with incarcerated parents;
- UHURU, a furniture thrift shop to support economic and social development of members of the African community;
- Urban Tree Connection, an organization dedicated to helping revitalize low income areas, primarily by converting vacant lots into gardens and farms;
- MANNA, an organization that helps with the nutritional needs of critically ill persons by preparing and delivering meals;
- SquashSmarts, Inc., an afterschool academic and squash based program aiding youth between 5th and 12th grade with literacy and math while also teaching them the game of squash;
- Habitat for Humanity Restore, a large thrift store selling used furniture, appliances, building supplies and other items in a low-income neighborhood to benefit the Philadelphia chapter of Habitat for Humanity, an organization dedicated to providing housing for persons globally; and
- Mount Moriah Cemetery, a historic cemetery and burial site for soldiers since the revolutionary war, in southwest Philadelphia that has been in disrepair.

The students were asked about their specific volunteer experience, what they liked about them and some of the challenges. Most of the students reported that they did learn something from their experience and enjoyed their time performing service as well.

Drexel student Harry Bach said he really enjoyed working with kids at the U.S. Dream Academy where he said he felt he did a lot of tutoring. His particular volunteer session consisted of two hours. In his reflection paper he described how the first hour other faculty and himself walked around helping students with homework in general, and in the

second half, he was paired with two students in a reading room where they rotated reading pages from a book. Finally, the students were allowed some free time and he played video games with the students. Describing his experience in the reflection paper, Harry writes:

From the moment I stepped into that cafeteria, I began to love the work I was partaking in. First and foremost, the children make the program extremely enjoyable for me. As I worked with both students, Nashir and Kevin, I began to see the extent of the work that the U.S. Dream Academy had done. The two young boys showed such a genuine excitement to learn that I almost could not believe. They were so eager to have me help them not only for the rewards offered by the program for academic achievement, but for the sake of self-enlightenment. This was refreshing to see in the youth of today, for I feel in these modern times it can be near impossible to motivate and keep the attention of children.

He also admired the staff of the school, which he said did a good job organizing activities and having everything run smoothly. From his statement, his experience deconstructed preconceptions about youths' attitude toward learning in general.

Donald Arnold, another interviewee, also reported a positive experience at the U.S. Dream Academy. Noting that the U.S. Dream Academy set forth three pillars to guide their mission—Skill building, character building, and dream building -- he said the teachers dedicate a lot of effort to make the program a positive experience for the youth recognizing their strengths. His sentiments about the program mirrored Harry's comments, as can be seen with the following observation:

It was evident early in my time spent at the Dream Academy that these students had hard lives and school wasn't their primary focus. Although it wasn't their focus they still tried and wanted to learn. That was the part that I loved the most. I have volunteered three times and each time gets better. The students want to learn and they seriously try their hardest at everything they do.

This positive experience led him to see value in volunteering and in his experience at the Dream Academy, as he continues here:

Seeing this proves to me why volunteering at this site is worth my time. Not only do I help the students learn, they teach me some stuff too. Since I'm from Northern Pennsylvania, I'm not accustomed to city life or city talk. Every now and then the students teach me slang words. The reaction that they have when I ask them something means it is priceless. It's great being able to interact with the students.

Harsh Patel (2014), a student who volunteered at MANNA, an organization geared to feeding the critically ill in Philadelphia, also enjoyed his experience and made him aware of persons truly engaged as volunteers. He said:

After interacting with different volunteers of all different ages, I got a first-hand experience with people outside of my learning community as a university student and saw that these people expressed true citizenship by spending their time to give back to those in need. From packaging bags, to preparing food, to driving trucks and delivering specific food to specific patients, these were the actions that everyone does on a regular basis at MANNA.

In reflecting upon whether volunteering was enough to be civically engaged, another student, Mit Shah (2014), discussed how his experience going to and volunteering at SquashSmarts was certainly a form of civic engagement, not just because of his contribution, but because of the persons he interacted with along the way, or perhaps the social capital he was in the process of creating. He said:

Ultimately, one trip to the Lenfest center resulted in the formation of many friendships and acquaintances and also familiar strangers. Thus, volunteering is enough to be civically engaged.

For Mit Shah (2014), civic engagement is mostly about interacting with others and creating more social capital, or the networks, norms, and trust that facilitate

cooperation for mutual benefit (Putnam 2000). In the interview, he remarked how people reached out to him on his way to volunteering due to his Eagles football shirt. Thus, he argued that besides volunteering:

“If you really want to be civically engaged, you should go to a sporting event, like an Eagles game. I go to Eagles games, and when you go there you can really see that people care in the city of brotherly love.”

Another student, Yash Kalebere (2014), enjoyed meeting persons of all different backgrounds at his volunteer site, MANNA, including persons that were just released from jail. Isabel Wingert (2014), who volunteered at Urban Tree Connection, was astounded by how turning urban blight into a farm or garden can positively impact the neighborhood. In her reflection paper, she said:

I had originally come into Drexel in the beginning of the year believing that our campus was on the western side edge of the city. There was more to the Philadelphia area in the west bound direction than I had realized. This was where Urban Tree Connection’s location, Neighborhood farms, was located. My friends and I walked upon a tucked, lush, green entrance with a mulch pile, contrasting the cracked pavement with metal wired fences in the immediate surroundings. I remember that the first thing that crossed my mind was that perhaps people around here are probably just grateful for seeing some greenery in the inorganicness of Philadelphia.

Still, with the all the positive comments, the students did remark on some of the challenges the volunteer sites faced. For instance, Parth (2014) noted that the first day he was at MANNA, there was a long wait and at other times they were understaffed. Rebecca, a student in the program, said at times it was hard to know where everything, such as the food being prepared, was going and how it would be utilized. Jake observed that at the Habitat for Humanity Restore there were sometimes too many volunteers there, and thus it was difficult to accomplish things.

The interview questions also asked the students what societal problems they may have witnessed at their service site or on their way to volunteer and how they thought about these issues. The answers varied. Some of the students witnessed poverty, education problems, population density, urban blight and other problems. Harry Bach (2014) saw some children from poverty at the U.S. Dream Academy, and he was surprised how far behind they were in their schooling compared to other students. Isabel Wingert (2014), Rebecca (2014) and Yash Kalebere (2014) all encountered poverty. However, for Yash, it did not startle him as much as it may have the other students because he observed large amounts of poverty in India. He offered the following:

I feel it is all about perspective, if it is in India, poverty is everywhere and everyone deals with it. With poverty in the U.S., people pay attention to it more. The U.S. has a higher standard of living than India, they seem to care about that more. In India, everyone generally has a lower standard of living... In India, you live with grandparents, moms, uncles, cousins, aunts. If you live like that in America, it is like what the heck, you shouldn't live like that. That's not good.

Harrison Zook (2014), who volunteered at Mount Moriah Cemetery, saw elements of urban blight, especially with the substandard condition of the cemetery. "One of the problems is that the cemetery had fallen into disrepair, back in 2008; the owners abandoned it and it was overtaken by wild growth," explained Harrison in his reflection paper. He found the volunteers helped, but they were starved for more assistance. The volunteers of Mount Moriah were clearing it out and doing it for free. Jake Pardue also witnessed urban decay at Habitat for Humanity's Restore located in the Kensington section of the city¹⁰⁰, an area with a lower socioeconomic level and often known to be riddled with a host of problems such as crime, prostitution, drug sales, and poverty in general.

Besides witnessing problems, students often addressed problems facing the community in their reflection papers. In fact, in these students' particular class, their reflection paper called for them to research an issue in-depth pertaining to their organization or to respond to the question as to whether or not the U.S. has an equal playing field. For example, Parth Patel (2015), who volunteered at Manna, explores the intersection between poverty, hunger and disabilities in his paper, and how MANNA is working to address these issues.

In fact, Parth Patel (2014) discusses how he didn't realize the extent of the hunger problem in the U.S. until he volunteered at Manna and did some research on the issue. Manna is an organization devoted to helping those persons with illnesses and disabilities that make them more vulnerable to hunger. It was started in 1990 during the height of the discrimination against AIDS as a way to reach out to a population that may have felt helpless or deserted by others. After learning about its mission and goals, Parth poignantly noted in his reflection paper how it opened his eyes to hunger and how he benefits from a "food privilege":

The one fact that Manna opened my eyes up to is the greater problem of hunger in the United States. As a privileged individual I tend to think that there is not a high population of hungry and poverty-stricken individuals in the USA. From research, I found that approximately 15.5% of people in the United States live in food-insecure houses, which means they do not know where the next meal will come from ("Hunger", 2014). I believe my neglect stems from my food privilege which is similar to the male privilege and white privilege mentioned in "White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack," by Peggy McIntosh. My ignorance is a result of always having food on the table or having the money to buy food, but now I realize that many of the people inflicted with diseases do not have this luxury. They have neither the strength nor the money to obtain food. From hearing workers at MANNA explain that they are doing this service for those who are ill-fated and battling sickness, I understand that hunger is a real problem in the United States, especially among those disabled.

Parth (2014) argued that organizations like MANNA are one way hunger can be fought in the U.S. Another way is helping persons become employed with appropriate jobs, he added. In general, he said during the interview, “Poverty exists because people don’t make enough, but it exists due to a lack of education of drugs, etc., and the consequences of their actions (not necessarily just math, science, etc.)” Thus, Parth said that, “for a lot of them, since they live in poverty stricken areas, they turn to drugs to support themselves.”

The students were also asked to discuss what may have influenced them in the past to think and act civically and politically. Literature on political socialization explains how various agents, such as families, schools and peers, as well as larger structures, impact the way people develop and engage themselves politically and civically (Owen 2008; Almond and Verba 1963; Danziger 2013). In these interviews, the students offered diverse responses ranging from school, family friends to the military.

Rebecca (2014) claimed her high school education had the largest impact on her. She went to Mt. Pleasant High School in Delaware, which is an International Baccalaureate program where they were required to perform 150 hours of service within two years. This could be done through direct community service, sports, creative action service, and a host of other activities. Thus from this experience and her own personality, she says there is absolutely no reason why she wouldn’t want to be engaged.

Donald Arnold (2014) also said the volunteer work he did in high school influenced him greatly, especially as he was president of the Key Club which is a community service organization. However, he also was discouraged about civic and

political engagement as he had an “awful” government teacher who approached teaching as “us against him.” This soured his taste toward the subject.

Michael Antonio (2014) also claimed education influenced his beliefs about what it means to be engaged. In particular it was the “10th grade, dystopian literature years,” with books such as *Brave New World* and *1984*, which had a “pivotal” impact on him. “It opened my mind that there were these problems out there,” and “Big brother is out there.” He added, “My friends called me a conspiracy theorist until Snowden came out.” Edward Snowden’s infamous leaks to the media about government data gathering influenced him a lot, but it did not necessarily make him more civically engaged. He said, “I’m not really all that much civically engaged,” but he is somewhat politically engaged. For instance, he was intrigued by the Occupy movement, and said that “I almost went down to occupy Wall Street.”

Harry Bach (2014) said his parents largely influenced his beliefs and civic engagement orientations. They taught him the value of trying to help people. Harrison Zook’s (2014) family also influenced him, but for different reasons. His parents are divorced, and thereafter he was exposed to two different socioeconomic backgrounds, as his dad was more affluent than his mom. He explained it as:

Growing up, I got to see the direct difference between a household that was well off as opposed to a household that may be struggling, depending on food stamps to get by. At least as far as the economic parts, as for politics and society, I feel that I can have a viewpoint from both perspectives (Harrison 2014).

Harrison also expressed that adults are often not that welcoming of youth’s involvement in politics. He said adults will disregard young person’s opinions that differ from their

own. They will attribute it to young persons not having “experienced real life enough to understand what that is like,” according to Harrison.

Yash Kalebere (2014) says his home country largely influenced his civic and political ideas and actions. He comes from India, and he said the transitioning from there to here [the U.S.] has made him more open minded to new situations and different persons. Yet, “even if you do stay in one place, you can still have that open mindedness if you reach to people in the community.” For instance, even at MANNA, he said he met incarcerated persons who were volunteering as part of their community service requirement.

Konstantin Nomerov (2014) said serving in the U.S. military had the largest impact on him. “I was reading a lot of news about Iraq, and then I saw it for myself,” and he learned that “things tend to work themselves out without having to take immediate action on everything that is urgent.” He added, “Something may seem urgent, but then in hindsight, you may regret it.”

Harsh Patel (2014) pointed to the media as influencing his conceptions of civic engagement. In particular, he said the “way that being a citizen is portrayed” on the media, with the immigration issues and President Obama’s immigration plan, “shows you the desire of others to live in America and become a citizen.” He finds the position of U.S. citizens “is valued a lot by outsiders, and he remarked, “I think I should contribute to this.”

What did the students take away from the experience? How did it help them re-conceptualize their thoughts about civic engagement and their future expected participation? Parth Patel (2014) said he learned “volunteering isn’t enough,” as “there

are so many ways to be engaged in your government” and “your community, like we discussed in class, [such as] coach[ing] a soccer team.” He added, “volunteering helps some people, but it doesn’t help the mass population.” Along with this, he now thinks, “democracy requires a lot of people that are civically engaged.” He explained:

Throughout the course I have redefined what civically engaged means. I was pretty aware of societal problems before this, [but] I think the last class we had on white privilege and inequality brought those ideas from the back of my mind to my attention. After that class, I realized that more (Patel 2014).

He also said that the class helped him think more deeply about what he would like achieve with his career. He is pursuing a career path in medicine, and pragmatically, he realizes that med schools look upon it favorably, and he finds civic engagement, in terms of helping people, “makes a better doctor.”

Almost all the students recognized that volunteering has made them more civically engaged. For some, like Donald Arnold (2014), it inspired them to strive to volunteer more in the future. Donald simply stated:

“I definitely want to do this [volunteer more in the future]. Being able to kids opened my eyes. It was a good feeling” (Arnold 2014).

Here Donald revealed the CIVIC 101 positively reinforced his commitment to be being civically engaged, albeit in a personally responsible way. Harsh Patel (2014) and Isabel Wingert (2014) shared similar feelings. Isabel admitted it changed her perception on how she should get involved in the community. She stated that, “working behind the scenes at a place like Urban Tree Connection can lead to a lasting impact.” Harsh admitted that the program “broadened my intelligence in different societal program that exist,” such as “unequal backgrounds and foods,” and “people living differently.” Thus, he exclaimed, “as long as problems are presented to me, then I should do more to help everyone.”

Others were not so sure that the program changed how they expect to participate in the future or how they think about civic engagement. For example, Konstantin Nomerov (2014) admitted, he is “too set in my ways.” However, it was evident that at a minimum the program focused their attention on topics of engagement. Konstantin Nomerov elaborated:

I don't think that volunteering is necessary at all. I'm not entirely sure if civic engagement is a good thing overall. You don't have to volunteer, there could be a sense of community such as church and give donations. You build community that way. You don't need to go somewhere to volunteer. Everyone can pick up some trash outside of the house and that's volunteering. (Nomerov 2014).

In addition, he was skeptical that promoting civic engagement produced positive results. “If someone has a good cause and they want to fight for it, then they will do it themselves.” He discussed this concept in relation to his home country Ukraine and associational life there. He said organizations in the U.S. tend to be more autonomous than organizations in Ukraine. He explained in detail:

There is more poverty in Ukraine, and [it] is not a powerful nation. You have organizations that use youth to help build the neighborhood, but then different forces from outside can take over those causes and use them for their purposes, whether it is Russia, the US, and it could be a cover for something. Outside forces could overwhelm some of these organizations. Organizations are more independent in the U.S. Any abuse is more quickly found out and acted upon. [There is a] lot less corruption in U.S. (Nomerov 2014).

Harrison Zook (2014) said the program did help alter his perspectives on societal problems, what it means to be civically/politically engaged and what a good democracy requires. He is “not 100% sure” as to whether the volunteer assignment at Mount Moriah Cemetery will impel him to be more civically or politically involved in the future, but it

did enlighten him on some societal problems, such as the cemetery should be “common ground for everyone,” and “the fact that this public space was able to fall in disrepair.” He admitted he already possessed “some pretty strong opinions on what a democracy should require,” but the program “helped me to solidify those opinions and helped me think of some new opinions of what it should be like.” He gave an example of how the program changed his opinion about politics:

“Coming into the program, I had a distrust of most people in positions of power, like senators, representatives, but through the program, it made me sit down and think about [it], [and] I see the necessity for having representatives for all of us to get all of our best interests represented” (Zook 2014).

Thus, he said that he would try to vote more often and be an informed voter, and not just during national elections, but also at the local, community level. He added, “I definitely think I may be more civically engaged,” after completing the class, and he will pay more attention to local problems, something he did not do previously.

The new format and design of the CIVIC 101 class as of Fall 2015 requires students to think more intensely about their civic identity and pathway, how they have learned and have been shaped to think and act civically over the years. The concept is very similar to political socialization, examining agents and influences in one’s life that contribute to their political and civic development. At the end of the quarter, students are still required to write a reflection paper, but they are asked to focus on their civic pathway and how it was impacted by the CIVIC 101 program and how it may unfold in their future. They are also required to submit a visual whether it is a PowerPoint or infographic about their civic pathway, their service and what they have learned during the class.

As an instructor for one of these pilot classes, my initial impressions have been that the students have been taking away similar ideas and observations about civic and political engagement, but with the uniform curriculum it should be easier to measure and evaluate as the program progresses. In terms of leaving empowered and attaining a sense that civic engagement is more than volunteering, I found that halfway through the program, students were not moving much past a “charity” or “personally responsible” model of service to embrace a “social justice” or “participatory” model as discussed by Westheimer and Kahne (2004) and Eggers (2013). However, by the end of the semester, many of them engaged in sophisticated and thoughtful reflections about their civic identity and pathway, something that was not necessarily achieved with the first, loosely-structured CIVIC 101 curriculum¹⁰¹.

Scott Pelkowski, a transfer student from West Virginia University, who volunteered at Urban Tree Connection, said he was impressed with the Drexel’s CIVIC 101 class, and it did impact the way he envisioned himself as being civically engaged. He wrote in his reflection paper:

Before these experiences, volunteering was something normally only thought was given as punishment. I never felt strongly enough towards something that felt worth giving my time to, or even heard of the idea of civic engagement. Maybe that’s because I never felt close to a community as I do now, being back home after living three years in a place that is three hundred miles away. Whatever the case may be, these experiences have changed not only my idea of engagement and volunteering, but also how I look at the world. Now, I don’t think that there will ever be a time where I will not be volunteering in whichever community I am living (Pelkowski, 2015).

Another student in the Fall 2015 CIVIC 101 class, was Bryan Du (2015), a student from a small town in Massachusetts whose parents are from South Korea. He said

he learned to be civically engaged from his family and church where he often performed community service, and from high school which mandated 30 hours of service to graduate. Coming from a small town where his high graduating class consisted of 50 students, he felt overwhelmed in the large city, but CIVIC 101 and volunteering at Uhuru helped him become more involved and get acclimated to the new environment. His experience with CIVIC 101 specifically helped him realize the importance of voting. He said he may want to start voting, because he has “not participated in any form of election,” and he says he thinks he “need[s] to start as soon as possible.” He did not elaborate why specifically his volunteer experience with Uhuru and participation in the class impressed on him the importance of voting, but it was interesting he wrote this in his reflection paper.

Analysis of Student Interviews

The qualitative interviews with students and review of their reflection papers reveals the diversity in the student body, their backgrounds, and what they learn and take away from the program in general. Students shared how various agents and institutions influenced them civically and politically. Their background shaped how they perceived their volunteer work in CIVIC 101, how they viewed societal problems, and also how they critically analyzed what it means to be civically engaged. Coming from a country where poverty is pervasive, it may surprise them, as it did with Yash, how much attention is paid to poverty in the U.S. Having a parent who struggled with poverty, as did Harrison, may lead the student to believe not enough attention is devoted to issues of poverty and inequality. Bad teachers may have clouded their impressions about civic engagement, and coming from a country that is vulnerable to political and economic

control of a more powerful neighbor or superpower may also fashion how much worth is given to being civically involved.

The students revealed that the CIVIC 101 program certainly provided positive reinforcement for their current and potential future civic engagement, especially in terms of being good, personally responsible citizens. Many, such as Donald, shared how volunteering made them feel good and opened their eyes to the poverty, struggling and overall suffering around them. However, it is difficult to discern to what extent the students cultivate a propensity towards becoming a participatory, social justice oriented citizens, or one that endeavors to view democracy in with a participatory democratic mindset. Much of the burden in the former curriculum for reaching these critical connections of how civic engagement in a participatory democracy required a commitment to widespread democratization and a recognition of the unequal power structure in society was placed on the instructors. Individual instructors, as demonstrated through the six-depth interviews mixed with personal observation, often pushed students to critically analyze how their engagement related to societal power distributions.

The curriculum overall—in its past and current form—does surface issues and dilemmas important to participatory democracy. The former curriculum pre-Fall 2015, which served as the basis for the new syllabi, included some academic readings that called students to question how their societal institutions, leaders and dominant cultural, political and economic paradigms shaped how they learned to be civic (Schudson 2003). The former readings also devoted some attention to how workplaces should and could be democratized, something instructor Breevort and I found to be very important (Helgesen 1996). These readings are no longer a part of the new curriculum, unless an instructor

wants to include them as recommended reading.¹⁰² The new curriculum, however, definitely introduces issues of social justice with entire class periods dedicated to discussions on issues such as gentrification and institutionalized racism and discrimination. Much of the new curriculum is centered on developing the student's individual civic identity and pathway. This is important in the course of strengthening one's civic agency and inclination to support a participatory democracy, but it is a small step forward and does not guarantee that students ultimately will embody a participatory democratic mindset. In fact, many students continue to echo Donald's and other students' assertion that the greatest impact of the volunteering has been to make them more fully aware of disparities in education, economy and other aspects of society. In addition, in some of the more recent reflection papers, students have heralded all forms of civic engagement as equally beneficial, which one may argue furthers a depoliticized, neutral conceptualization of civic and political participation, something countered by participatory democratic theory's normative acknowledgement of the problems posed by capitalism. For instance, Masha Katende, a student who grew up in Uganda and performed a substantial amount of community service in his high school, described how he plans to continue to be civically engaged on campus as a leader of the Venture Capital and Finance club. While the new curriculum, at the end of the quarter, calls for the students to describe how they may carry out their civic pathway in their professional life, more discussion is needed about the purpose of professional advancement in the context of being a "good citizen" and one that strives to mitigate, not hasten, social and economic inequalities.

Of course, many of the shortcomings of the course is due to the fact that it is one-credit, introductory and does not require a demanding academic counterpart to the 8-10 service hours students are to perform. In addition, the course does not receive students on a blank slate; many of the young adults may have developed civic dispositions prior to arriving at Drexel as revealed by a number of extensive survey data studies on civic and political lives and attitudes of youth 14 to 18 years of age (McFarland and Thomas 2006; Torney-Purta 2001; Quintelier 2010). In addition, many students may share their generational cohort's dominant attitudes and values of individualism (Greenfield 2009), self-assertiveness, narcissism (Twenge, 2006), and more concerned about values such as money, fame and prestige instead of community, self-acceptance and association (Twenge, et al 2012). As the Lindy Center develops the civic mission of Drexel University, it may to consider how to use the CIVIC 101 more directly as a launching pad for future civic learning across the curriculum and in upper-level courses. It may also want to continue to discuss, study and better understand pre-existing ideas and values of students' conceptions of democracy including what it means to be politically and civically engaged. The next chapter's empirical data offers some insight into some of those ideas first-year students bring into the classroom.

CHAPTER 5: STUDENTS' VISION OF DEMOCRACY AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

Students are not blank slates; what they bring into the classroom matters in terms of what they take away. When educating citizens for participation in a democracy, it is important to examine how persons conceptualize democracy, because although democratic theory may impress upon one's beliefs about democracy (Stokes 2002) as aforementioned in previous chapters, the reverse is true too. How persons conceptualize democracy also impacts democratic theory, and in regards to this project, theory of how to educate for a democracy. This chapter endeavors to reinforce the nexus between theory and empirics by presenting data that explore how first-year college students from diverse backgrounds conceptualize democracy and future expected participation. It is part of an effort to gain greater insight into "what do we mean by democracy and democratic citizenship" (Sehr 1997, 3), because "[h]ow we think about the formation of democratic citizens depends upon the specific conception of democracy we embrace," (Galston 2001, 217-218 *see* March and Olsen 2000). This chapter intends to gauge how young persons, or those part of the Millennial generation, conceptualize democracy -- whether it is in more limited, procedural terms or more substantive terms aligned participatory democratic framework -- in an effort to better inform, shape and reconsider how to educate for democracy.

This chapter adds an original contribution to democratic theory with an empirical analysis of over 300 first-year college students' perceptions of democracy and their expected future civic engagement. As previously stated, the chapter examines whether the students view democracy in limited, procedural terms or whether they view it substantive ways, where procedures and output matter, conferring a sense of equality in

participatory input and outcomes. The chapter also examines whether there is a relationship to *how* students conceptualize democracy with *how* they may expect to participate in the future. In addition, it provides an analysis of empirical data collected from over 300 students about the impact of an experiential, civic education program at the university level. The data in this chapter are important because experiential civic education programs, such as Drexel's service-learning CIVIC 101 class, that educate for a democracy require an understanding of youths' life experiences and the thoughts and ideas about democracy do they bring to the classroom.

Survey Design and Rationale

Through a representative survey of over 330 students, this chapter provides an empirical baseline of students' vision of democracy and of civic engagement. The survey is designed to increase understanding of how young adults conceptualize democracy today, how their conceptualization differed based on demographic and identity factors, how they perceived their expected future participation, and whether there was a connection between their ideas about democracy and participation. The survey also includes questions to gauge whether or not their participation in Drexel's experiential education program changed those perspectives.

A thirteen (13)-question, multiple-part, pre- and post-survey was administered to over 330 students participating in Drexel University CIVIC 101 class from Spring 2014 until Winter 2015.¹⁰³ The survey took approximately 10 to 20 minutes to complete and was circulated the second week and last week of the 10 week course. The survey consisted of mostly close-ended, Likert scale-designed questions, but did contain a couple of open ended questions. It also included eight questions about demographics

taken largely, although in an abridged format, from the U.S. Census¹⁰⁴. A few of the demographic questions did ask about prior knowledge as well as the students' hometown. The survey questions in general were designed to capture the difference between minimalist versus substantive beliefs of civic engagement as well the various forms democracy as well as civic and political engagement, ranging from the more personally responsible to social justice oriented citizen (Westheimer and Kahne 2004). Most students completed the pre- and post- test, but there were a few more pre-tests than post-tests. Altogether, there were 335 pre-tests, 255 fully completed pre and post- tests. In addition to the survey, this researcher executed qualitative interviews with a number of students to delve further into some of these topics and directly ask questions about their thoughts on the CIVIC 101 program.

The students are a sample of college-aged students in the United States. The average age was 18.8 years,¹⁰⁵ with 48% identifying as male, 50% as female, two individuals identifying as “genderless” or “nonbinary,” and three individuals not reporting.¹⁰⁶ Approximately half of the students identified as white, with the remainder identifying as African-American, Latino, Asian, or other group (see Table 4.1). In addition, 87 students (26 percent) from the sample were international students (of whom 49 were from China) and 147 students (44 percent) came from New Jersey or Pennsylvania.

Table 5.1: General Demographics of the Survey Respondents

Demographic	Frequency	Percentage
White	145	43%
Black or African-American	28	8.4%
Latino	13	4.9%
Asian	113	34%
Some other way	27	8.1%
Did not answer	9	2.7%
Total	335	

The students' majors varied across nearly every subject, from music industry to economics to sports management. There were slightly higher concentrations in biology, biomedical engineering, business, finance and psychology (though none of these exceeded 15 percent of the sample). In addition, 178 students had taken a government and/or American government course at the high school and/or university level.¹⁰⁷ Of the 335 pre-test surveys, only 301 responded to questions on family income, which yielded the following distribution (Table 4.2). The majority of students' families earned between \$50,000 and \$100,000, although 41 percent of families earned 100,000 or more.

Table 5.2: Family Income of Student Respondents

Under 50,000	\$50,000-\$100,000	\$100,000-200,000	Over \$200,000	More than one category	Not sure or did not answer
49	108	82	56	6	34

As these demographic data demonstrate, the survey sampled a diverse, yet fairly typical mix of college students in the United States. However, there is a lack of sociological representation, or representation that parallels the demographics of the U.S., in terms of those that identified as black or African American (8.4%), Latino (4.9%) and Asian (34%), as the current Census statistics are 13.2% for Black or African American alone, 17.4% for Hispanic or Latino and 5.4% for Asian (Census 2015). There is an overrepresentation of persons identifying as Asian compared to the general population in the U.S., but this is because Drexel has many international students from China. The foreign-born population, though, in the United States is only 12.9% (Census 2015). As such, the findings of the survey are expected to reflect the responses of young college students generally in the United States, but with a skew toward international students.

The remainder of the chapter analyzes student responses along several dimensions. The first section surveys students' definitions of democracy, both by categorizing their terminology and through selected examples of their own words. The second section explores views of students on what they believe democracy should do in order to better understand young peoples' expectations of what comprises a democracy. The third section examines what students believe should occur in a democracy, including what rights should be protected and what limits on government should be imposed. The fourth section, through a series of statistical tests and qualitative analysis, examines how student views and backgrounds shape their views on democratic participation and their expected participation. The fifth section concludes with an analysis of data, linking the data to my theoretical framework.

Section I: First-Year Students' Ideas about Democracy

The first half of the survey presents students with questions about democracy, including open ended and close ended questions asking students to rank qualities of a democracy on a scale. The first question asked students to define democracy. It reads as follows:

“How do you define/describe democracy? Please write your answer here. If you need more room, please use the back of questionnaire.”

For the pre-test, many people described democracy in more procedural terms, but with expansive participation by the electorate. A common theme repeated throughout the responses was everyone has the right and “opportunity” to voice their opinion, or “everyone has a say on everything.” Some presented an understanding of democracy in more participatory terms, calling for active participation as well as equal say in decision-making. Some, though, did call just for people’s right to vote.

Out of 335 responses, 279 did provide some type of answer for the pre-test, about an 84% response rate. The responses were coded below into different categories such as procedural, republican, deliberative and substantive/participatory. Table 4.3 presents the words/terms that were associated with each as well as percent response.

Table 5.3: Frequency of Terms Used by Student Respondents

Type of Democracy	Terms Used	Response Rate
Procedural (P)	Free and Fair Elections with mentioning of civil liberties and political rights, Representative Democracy	44% (123)
Republican (strict) (R)	Common good	.72% (2)

Deliberative (D)	Informed citizenry reasoning on the merits of public policy	10% (29)
Substantive/Participatory (SP)	Democracy with full participation and equality, direct democracy or aspects of direct democracy	26.5% (74)
Ambiguous (A)		15% (42)
Other (O)	Anarchy	.72% (2)
Negative (N)	Negative depictions of democracy	1.1% (3)
Not sure (NS)		1.4% (4)

The largest response was a conceptualization of democracy as procedural and representative at 44% followed by a perception of democracy as substantive or participatory at 26.5%. Those that identified in republican/deliberative terms were approximately 11%. Recalling from Chapter One how republican and developmentalist ideas of democracy, as set forth by Rousseau, Barber and others, blends with participatory democratic theorists, another way to report the data would be to state 37.22% of students view democracy in more substantive terms according to deliberative and republican conceptualizations -- approximately 7% percent less than those that viewed it in procedural and representative ways. Thus, it may be inferred that many first-year college students do indeed possess participatory, albeit in rudimentary form, ideas about democracy.

A response was identified as procedural if it clearly identified democracy to be comprised mostly of procedures, whether it was the elite's competition for the people's votes or the guarantee of civil liberties, political rights or freedoms in general. Examples

of very clear procedural responses are: “A democracy is a system of government representing the whole population through elected officials“ or “A democracy is a type of government that allows the people to have the power to choose who represents you.” Some of the less clear, ambiguous definitions were coded as procedural if they referred to ideas such as freedom, the right to do something, civil liberties, and other terms that signified democracy was mostly a process. Some examples include: “A political system that in theory gets its power from its constituents. Free elections”; “A system in which people are given freedom, protection and social mobility”; or “A society that allows one freedom of speech, religion, or practice and a society where the people have a say in their doings; not fully controlled by the government.”

In this latter comment, there is some doubt whether the expression conveys an understanding of democracy in purely procedural terms or whether a notion of deliberative or participatory democracy is present¹⁰⁸. In cases like these, the answers were considered in their entirety and labeled according to the concept with which it mostly aligned. This Many of the conceptualizations were inclusive of the varied definitions, and then were labeled according to its tendency to support one over another. This reifies the notion that the continuum of democratic labels is not mutually exclusive and indeed overlaps. In fact, in some cases, the definitions were labeled as falling within two categories, such as deliberative and participatory. Deliberative and republican visions of democracy are similar to one another as well as similar to participatory with the former stressing the reasoning on the merits of public policy and the latter focusing on civic engagement and policy generated toward the common good. It was difficult to

label ideas as solely deliberative or republican, especially since both of them also share a participatory framework for democracy.

The second most popular response was a substantive/participatory understanding of democracy. Students labeled in this category used terms such as “participating” and “equality” as well as any reference to direct democracy. Of course direct democracy, calling for full participation of persons in a polity, can be blurred with being both participatory as well as deliberative, as some deliberative democratic supporters call for a more participatory style of democracy (Gutmann and Thompson 2004, 30). Yet, since deliberative democracy tends not to convey a sense of participation as robust as participatory democracy (Gutmann and Thompson 2004, 30), student mentions and suggestions of direct democracy were situated as substantive/participatory. Some of the quotes labeled as such include: “Democracy is a system of government in which the general public is intimately involved with the actions and policies of that government”; “Direct democracy is society in which each member votes on each policy that is to be enacted i.e., super inefficient”; “equal participation of the citizens in social decisions pertaining to the nation”; or “A democracy is a model of government in which the citizens vote and decide on policies that affect the laws of the area in which they live.”

In other cases, some definitions of democracy are unclear as to whether they are participatory, republican or deliberative: “Absolute democracy is a society in which the people have equal say and power within self-government” or “democracy should be a government that the people have direct contact and knowledge on.” The first comment could have been coded as either republican or participatory, but in this case it was placed in the latter with the reference to “equal say.” The second comment could also have been

deliberative, but the direct contact situated it as participatory. Twenty eight of the responses were marked as deliberative and reflected statements such as: “Democracy is taking everyone's opinion when choosing the president”; “democracy is obtaining consent of individuals, whether the general public or those with qualifications, to take action”; and “Democracy pertains to everyone's voice being heard and valued in or out of government settings.” Two responses displayed a republican connotation: “democracy is a system that looks at for the common good while still making it important for individuals to [maintain] certain liberties” and “Everything should focus on the benefits of most people.”

A very small percent of students revealed pejorative connotations about democracy with phrases such as: “It's not real. There is no true democracy in the world”; “It is the system that allows you to choose who will ruin your life and how they will do it”; or simply that democracy is defined as “lies.” Others admitted they had no definition of democracy and still others seemed to veer more towards anarchy with comments such as “people can have freedom by themselves,” or that, “Democracy I believe is the freedom to make your own decisions. It is a type of government that allows you to do such things.”

Altogether, the comments marked as negative, unsure or as conveying something different than democracy comprised just 3% of the responses. Yet, 15% of the comments were marked as ambiguous. These were comments that may have been too vague to really capture a certain form of democracy or unclear in their wording. Often persons that wrote democracy means “rule by the people” were labeled as ambiguous as the statement did not necessarily reflect a procedure or actual participation. Some of the

ambiguous statements included the following: “a government for the people, of the people, by the people”; “a government that is ruled by the people”; “A democracy is a form of government , in which a majority of the people have a say in what happens in their government and are represent[ed] by someone looming to benefit their well -being“; or that “democracy, in its simplest state, involves the people directly with the government.” The third statement listed above was termed ambiguous because of the odd choice of words and/or grammar issues. This may have also been due to it being difficult to read the handwriting as students filled out the survey in class with paper and pencil. As for the last statement, the phrase “involves the people directly with the government” is difficult to truly decipher in terms of what it signifies. How should people be involved directly from the government? Altogether, ambiguous, negative, uncertain and other comments amounted to 18% of the responses. This could also reflect how someone interprets the question right on the spot, a lack of careful or thoughtful deliberation over the response, or a lack of understanding or prior knowledge of the concept.

Overall, there was not much difference in the pre and post- tests responses for the 255 pre and post-tests recorded. Most students that were procedural on the pre-test tended to be procedural in the post-test. In some cases, students added a few more concepts to their post -test to show a better understanding of democracy in the U.S., but the overall direction remained the same. Some examples of pre- and post -test comparison are presented in Table 4.4.

Table 5.4: Students’ Views of Procedural Democracy

Pre-test	Post-test
1)“Democracy is a form of government where the people elect officials to represent them in the government so that their concerns are heard.”	“Democracy is a form of government where all the citizens who were able and eligible, vote to have their “concerns and opinions heard at the state and national level.”
2) “A system where everyone has some sort of power”	“A society in which the people have a say, and the ability to control most aspects of life.”
3) “Democracy is a government form that promotes freedom of choice and speech The people have a say in influence government decisions”	“Democracy is the rights that we have as U.S. citizens. It included all of the freedoms and liberties that we have.”
4) “Democracy is when every voice is heard. Every point of view is taken in account and the decisions made are just because it what the majority decided. “	“Government and community working together for common goals and objectives to find a balance in the community where everyone's opinion is heard and taken in account “
5) “The ability to choose a governing group via voting.”	“people get to decide the governing of the country”
6) “The ability for citizens to control the government”	“the citizens have a say in the government “

These responses show similar conceptions of democracy at both the pre- and post-tests. The first response shows an understanding of democracy in procedural norms, but the post-test does reveal a better understanding of federalism. The second comment shows ambiguity in both pre and post-tests, and the third shows procedural tendencies in before and after comments. The fourth suggests direct democracy in the pre-test which would have been labeled participatory, and the post-test comment reveals a republican conception. As aforementioned, it was difficult to clearly delineate between substantive/participatory and deliberative and republican views. The fifth example shows a clear minimal and procedural notion of democracy, and the sixth reveals ambiguity in both pre and post-test in using broad descriptions such as “control” and “have a say.”

Overall, students conceptualize democracy differently with more tending toward the procedural notion. However, even though many discussed the right to vote and be represented, they also discussed equal representation revealed by these comments: “society where everyone is entitled to same civil rights, privacy and freedom to choose leaders”; “System of government where citizens can influence laws, government and policies”; or “Rights for all, Equality for all to vote.” Perhaps the most alarming responses come from the 18% of ambiguous, negative, other and uncertain comments along with the 16% of those that did not respond to this question the pre-test. Altogether that equals 106 of 335 persons, or about 32% of those surveyed. Thus, approximately a third of the students are either uncertain or have a hazy understanding of how to define democracy¹⁰⁹. This is coupled with the fact that some of those categorized were still cloudy and obscure. Thus, it suggests perhaps more discussion in college could be generated directly about what democracy is and what it could be.

Section II: What Should Democracy Do?

The survey also asked students what they believed a democracy should comprise, using a five-part question in which students were asked to mark a spot they agreed with most on a continuum between two conceptualizations of democracy. For instance, students were asked to select a position between the following two opposing statements on privacy:

A democracy should have the following:

A government that affords you much privacy, but may not provide strong national security for everyone.

Versus

A government that *does not* afford you as much privacy, but does provide strong national security for everyone.

Students chose one of five positions along a Likert scale, with 1 reflecting the opposing statement on the left and 5 reflecting approval of the opposing statement on the right. The averages from the pre-test with a sample size of 335 is listed below, along with the percentages of those that answered to the left, or the spots marked 1 and 2, and the percentages of those that answered to the right, or the spots marked 4 and 5. Students who marked a middle box which was coded as 3 is not listed and neither are the questions that were left blank or that chose two values. In this Likert scale, few parts were left blank and few chose two values, being less than 5 in any question.

Table 5.5: Student Views on What Comprises a Democracy

A democracy should have the following:

Opposing Statement	Percentage leaning to the left statement	Average	Percentage leaning to the right statement	Opposing Statement
Q1. A government that affords you much privacy, but may not provide strong national security for everyone.	28%	2.91	23%	A government that <i>does not</i> afford you as much privacy, but does provide strong national security for everyone.
Q2. A government that passes laws that benefit the “common good” in society (or the good of society as a whole), but it may limit some individual choices	38.5%	2.81	24.5%	A government that <i>does not</i> pass laws to limit individual choices, but “common good” of the society (or the good of society as a whole) may not be achieved
Q3. A government that implements policies to bring about socioeconomic equality, although persons are taxed at high rates	38.9%	2.95	29%	A government that taxes at low rates, and allows for large amounts of socioeconomic inequality
Q4. A government and society that encourages everyone to deliberate (reasoning on the merits of public policy), but may require a great deal of time, preparation and education of its citizens and stall the policymaking process	40.6%	2.82	27.8%	A government and society that ensures free and fair elections to choose hopefully wise and educated persons to make decisions on the citizens’ behalf, but many citizens may not have a solid grasp of the issues or knowledge of the candidates

Q5. A society in which persons are politically active and encouraged to collectively try to change power structures in society, although it may upset the norms or status quo in society.	54%	2.40	12.5%	A society in which persons may discuss politics, but do not collectively organize to overturn the prevailing power structures, although the dominant system of power will remain even if conditions improve.
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On the five Likert scales above, for the most part, the averages were situated in the center, especially for the first four questions. On the Question 5 (Q5), the average skewed to the left, which reflects over 50% answered 1 or 2 for this part of the question. This is an intriguing finding in that this depiction of democracy closely resembles a radical, participatory approach, and it will be interesting to see how it compares to the students' answers about specific items that should occur in a democracy. On Questions 2, 3 and 4, the answers tend to be slightly skewed to the left side option. On Q2, close to 40% of the students tended toward the republican vision of democracy that government should pass policies to promote the common good. Question 3 reflects a slight affinity, close to 40%, for a more activist state to redistribute wealth, and Question 4 shows a preference for deliberative democracy versus a minimal, procedural democracy. The results based on the 255 respondents who completed both the pre and post-test reveal similar averages as those displayed above for the larger pre-test sample. However, for these pre and post-tests, the averages tended to fall in the center, with a slight skew to the left like the other sample, except for the average on Q5 which tends to favor a more radical, participatory democracy versus a more deliberative conception. The smaller

sample size produced higher results for students that tended to the substantive definition of democracy.

There were a few differences on the pre- and post-test that may be of note. One difference between the pre- and post-test occurred on Question 1 (Q1) weighing the trade-off between privacy and security, as the students in the pre-test tended to tilt toward the left, with 30.35%, favoring a government that favors privacy at the expense of national security. However, the post-test results drop with only 23.34% favoring privacy over national security. On the opposite end the percentages rose from 21.4% to 28.4%. Although this may not be statistically significant, what else could explain this change? Could it be involvement in the volunteer organizations, current events considering terrorism and other events have been ongoing during the course, or topics discussed in class? On question 2 (Q2), the same percentage, about 40% of students favored a republican conception of democracy, which was quite high. On the other side of the spectrum, the post-test, reveals a 6% drop for in support for the common good and more support for individual rights. Question 3 (Q3) reveals that more students supported government aided socioeconomic equality with higher taxes than vice versa, although the post-test showed a very slight decrease in this. The post-test, alternatively, though, reported an 8% decrease (from 29.8% to 21.2%) in support of low tax rates coupled with more inequality. Did the program influence this change? It will be interesting to compare this with the findings in the rest of the survey coupled with students' one-on-one interviews and reflection papers. While making students aware of inequality in society is not an explicit objective of the course, it tends to be explicit and addressed by most, if not, all the instructors.

The students did tend to favor a more deliberative conception of democracy with over 40% supporting this, compared to approximately 25% supporting a minimal, procedural form ensuring free and fair elections without an informed citizenry. This proportion did not change a great deal before or after the class, except for a slight 2% drop in support for free and fair elections regardless of an informed citizenry. Thus, many students tend to bring to the class an idea, or even conviction, that a democracy requires an informed populace that engages in deliberation. This was similar for the larger pre-test sample, and this viewpoint is often expressed in class discussions and debates.

In terms of a participatory perspective of democracy, an overwhelming majority, over 60% in the post-test favor this perspective, or that democracy should include collective action to alter the status quo, with only about 12% choosing a system that is merely deliberative but does not necessarily affect dominant power structures in society. In the larger sample pre-test it was 54% and 12.5%, respectively. This support for participatory democracy increases 2% after the post-test, and the support for its counterpart decreases by 1.17%. The fact that over half of the students favor a more participatory style of democracy with these questions suggests students bring these viewpoints to the class, and are thus, politicized in high school or elsewhere. The class, through the service-learning component as well as dialogue, may heighten this support as well as dampen support for the primacy of individual rights above all else.

Section III: What Should Occur in a Democracy?

The next set of questions asks what should occur in a democracy. The survey presented a number of items such as the following: freedom of speech; personal freedom to choose what he/she wants with one's life; protection from one's privacy from government interference, and a number of others (see Appendix A). Students were asked to place their response on a Likert scale from agree strongly to disagree strongly, with agree strongly being a 1, neither disagree or agree a 3, and disagree strongly a 5. The following is a chart comparing the averages from three different datasets. The first dataset refers to pre-tests with the larger sample size of 335, and the second dataset consists of 255 pre-tests that have matching post-tests. The third dataset are the 255 post-tests.¹¹⁰

Table 5.6: Students' Views on What Should Occur in a Democracy¹¹¹

	Dataset 1 Average of 335 Pre-Tests	Dataset 2 Average of Pre- tests that have matching post- tests (255 students)	Dataset 3 Average of Post-Tests that have matching pre-tests (255 students)	Average of Overall Views of Democracy
Protection of freedom of speech	1.28	1.28	1.30	Liberal, Proceduralist View
Personal freedom to choose what he/she wants with one's life	1.27	1.29	1.28	Dataset 1, Pre-Test, 1.51
Protection of one's privacy from	1.76	1.77	1.79	Dataset 2, Pre-test, 1.52

government interference				Post-Test 1.54
Promotion of a free market	1.73	1.74	1.75	
Encouragement of civic engagement	1.79	1.77	1.75	Republican and Deliberative view Dataset1 Pre-Test, 1.87 Pre-Test, 1.87 Post-Test, Dataset 1.83
Deliberation (reasoning on the merits of public policy) among persons	1.91	1.92	1.83	
Policies enacted for the “common good”, or for the good of the society overall, and the encouragement of citizen input	1.90	1.91	1.90	
Passage of laws that promote socioeconomic equality	2.16	2.20	2.11	
Redistribution of wealth and resources in society, usually from rich to poor	2.96	2.99	2.90	Radical Participatory View Dataset 1, Pre-Test 2.72 Pre-test: 2.74 Post-test, Dataset2, 2.69
Limits on individual earnings, so no one earns too much or too little	3.68	3.71	3.59	
Promotion an active,	2.01	2.05	2.15	

participatory citizenry that works to change inequalities				
Promotion of a strong workers' party (a labor backed party)	2.45	2.45	2.46	
Promotion of anti-consumerism	3.04	3.07	2.97	

For the most part, the students tend to agree and even strongly agree that many of the items listed are necessary for democracy. Looking at the larger pre-test sample set, protection of freedom of speech is ranked the highest, and the first seven items had an average less than two which suggests students strongly agree these should occur in a democracy. These items include privacy rights, promotion of a free market, civic engagement, deliberation, and policies that promote the common good. Students tended to somewhat agree that a democracy required an active citizenry to combat inequality, a strong workers party, the passage of laws to promote socioeconomic equality, and the redistribution of wealth in society, usually from the rich to the poor. Students disagreed somewhat with the promotion of anti-consumerism, although this response was close to an average of neutral, and students more strongly disagreed with the limits on individual earnings (over 3.5 for all of the responses).

The responses in this section seem to blunt the robustness of the findings in the first section, as the averages did not display fervent support for those items correlated to

participatory democracy. Students expressed wariness at suggestions of redistribution and limits on earnings, and they showed neutrality or indifference at efforts of anti-consumerism.

In terms of percentages of those that agreed strongly or somewhat agreed, adding the two responses together as *agreed*, that democracy should contain the following:

Table 5.7: Students that Agreed the following should occur in a Democracy		
	pre test	post test
Protection of Freedom of Speech	96.10%	95.70%
Personal Freedom to Choose what he/she wants with one's life	96.90%	95.70%
Protection of one's privacy from government interference	84.30%	81.60%
Promotion of a free market	85.10%	81.60%
Encouragement of civic engagement	82.40%	81.20%
Deliberation (reasoning on the merits of public policy) among persons	75.30%	81.60%
Policies enacted for the "common good", or for the society overall, and the encouragement of citizen input	80.40%	82.40%
Passage of laws that promote socioeconomic equality	68%	70.20%
Redistribution of wealth and resources in society, usually from rich to poor	40.80%	40.39%
Limits on individual earnings, so no one earns too much or too little	17.30%	21.18%
Promotion of an active, participatory citizenry that works to change inequalities	67.10%	64.70%

Promotion of a strong workers' party (a labor backed party)	52%	50.60%
Promotion of anti-consumerism	21.20%	26.30%

From the statistics above, it can be seen that there is very strong support for protection of civil liberties, such as freedom of speech. There is over 50% support on almost all of the indicators except for the redistribution of wealth and resources in society, usually from rich to poor, limits on individual earnings, and promotion of anti-consumerism. Surprisingly, over 50% support the promotion of a strong workers' party, although the current rate of union membership in the United States, as of 2014, is a little over 11% (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2015).¹¹²

Those items that received less than 50% support -- redistribution of wealth, limits on earnings and promotion of anti-consumerism -- contain language that may have conjured images of an activist state strongly manipulating the market or "socialism," in the ways that it may be perceived by the students. In terms of support for anti-consumerism, only 21% of students supported it in the pre-test and a little more than a quarter in the post-test. This may be due students' strong belief in the free market. However, correlation between the two using the 335 sample set, reported a negative -.09, which is negligible. What is curious, though, is that over 70% support the passage of laws that promote socioeconomic equality and over 80% support the promotion of a free market. The same held true for the large sample set.

Table 5.8: Support for free market and socioeconomic equality (Results from sample set of 335 students)	
Promotion of a free market	84%
Passage of laws that promote socioeconomic equality	68.06%

However, a correlation between the two responses reported a $-.09$, which is a weak or negligible relationship. Thus if one supports a free market, it does not necessarily signify that the respondent will support passage of laws that promote socioeconomic equality. However, the high response rate on both questions does suggest that students do not view socioeconomic inequality as being incompatible with the free market. In Chapter 1 and 2, a number of scholars pointed to the incompatibility if not impossibility of policies to support socioeconomic equality in an era of neoliberalism. Yet, students' thinking suggests that both the goals of socioeconomic equality and free market are desired. This returns us to a question posed in this research project -- can both a participatory democracy and free market be sought after and preserved in a period of neoliberalism hegemony?

Section IV: Students Expected Civic and Political Participation

Students were asked how likely it would be to engage in various civic and political ways in the future.

Table 5.9: How likely will it be that you will do the following in the future?

	Dataset 1 Average of 335 Pre-Tests	Dataset 2 Average of Pre-tests that have matching post-tests (255 students)	Dataset 3 Average of Post-Tests that have matching pre-tests (255 students)	Average of Overall Views of types of participation: Personally responsible, Participatory And Participatory +Social Justice
Voting	1.56	1.58	1.63	Personally responsible
Recycling	1.44	1.41	1.39	

Express political views or promote causes/ social movements on social media ¹¹⁴	2.52	2.59	2.51	citizen based activities (just voting, recycling and volunteering) ¹¹³
Volunteering in a soup kitchen	2.32	2.29	2.49	
				Pre-test (335 sample) 1.77
				Pre-test (255) 1.76
				Post-test (255) 1.81
Be part of a Parents/Teachers Organization (i.e., Home and School Association)	2.75	2.80	2.62	Participatory activities Pre-test (335 sample) 2.77 Pre-test (255) 2.80 Post-test (255) 2.82
Be part of a sports club (i.e., soccer club, bowling league, football team)	2.02	2.05	2.17	
Organizing a food drive	2.87	2.92	2.92	
Run a community meeting	3.00	3.02	3.07	
Speak in front of your town council	3.22	3.24	3.35	
Engage in a protest or march for civil rights	3	3.06	2.98	Participatory plus social justice oriented activities Pre-test (335 sample) 2.64
Engage in collective efforts to improve the public education system	2.37	2.40	2.45	
Understand and work to combat some of the root causes of poverty in the U.S.	2.55	2.54	2.56	

Engage in collective efforts to change dynamics of power in the workplace	2.65	2.65	2.69	Pre-test (255 sample) 2.66 Post-test (255 sample) 2.67
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Again, the ranking is inverse in terms of strength. Those that report a 1 are very likely to participate in the activity, whereas a 3 is neither likely nor unlikely and a 4 and 5 is unlikely. The most likely activity, or that with the lowest score, is recycling followed by voting. Students tended to hold the same perceptions before and after taking the class as there are marginal differences in the responses. The least likely activity is speaking in front of the town council, as the average was somewhat unlikely. Students may have showed ambivalence towards engaging in protest or a march for civil rights, but they did tend toward the somewhat likely side of engaging in efforts to improve the public education system, understanding the root causes of poverty and changing the dynamics of the workplace.

The table is broken into three parts to follow Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) typology set forth in *What Kind of Citizen?*, described in detail in Chapter 3. The first top of the table points to personally responsible activities, the second part refers to activities that are more participatory, and the last part describes a more participatory and social justice oriented engagement. Looking at the averages above, students are most likely to carry out actions of a personally responsible citizen. Participatory and participatory

combined with social justice forms of actions may be somewhat likely, but tend to the middle and thus students may also be neutral or indifferent about them as well. The percentages of students to participate in the following activities are listed below.

Table 5.10: Percentage of Students that are Very and Somewhat Likely to engage in Political and Civic Activities in the Future (pre and post-test, 255 responses)

	Pre-Test	Post-Test
Voting	86%	84%
Recycling	94%	90%
Express political views or promote causes/ social movements on social media	50%	53%
Volunteering in a soup kitchen	64%	52%
Be part of a Parents/Teachers Organization (ie Home and School Association)	44%	47%
Be part of a sports club (ie soccer club, bowling league, football team)	71%	65%
Organizing a food drive	38%	38%
Run a community meeting	34%	34%
Speak in front of your town council	27%	24%
Engage in a protest or march for civil rights	34%	36%
Engage in collective efforts to improve the public education system	59%	55%
Understand and work to combat some of the root causes of poverty in the U.S.	49%	47%
Engage in collective efforts to change dynamics of power in the workplace	42%	42%

The above statistics display a general finding that students tend to participate more in personally responsible activities, and have less of an interest in the participatory

and social justice oriented activities. However, the range of interest in the participatory and social justice oriented activities is similar across these activities. Those activities that require more conventional forms of leadership, such as organizing a food drive or speaking in front of town council, received a less favorable response in expected future participation compared to being members of larger movements such as engaging in efforts to improve public education.

For the most part the variation in the pre and post-tests was small, except for some variations that seemed significant and called for further investigation. For instance, why did volunteering in a soup kitchen, engage in efforts to improve public education and participate in a sports organization and other associations drop from the pre- to post-test? The responses on volunteering in a soup kitchen dropped 12%, which was the most significant decrease. The participation in associational life decreased by 6% and the efforts to improve public education fell 4%. This is especially interesting on the soup kitchen and public education variable, since both are integral to the core pillars of the Lindy Center—hunger, poverty and education. Perhaps more persons responded neutral on the post-test? Or did persons become disillusioned with the severity of the problems after witnessing them first hand? Why would persons be less willing to participate in associational life than in the beginning of the semester? Again, was it just a move toward being more neutral on these indicators?

Here are more detailed observations of these variables from the pre and post-tests:

Table 5.11 Expected Future Civic Engagement Pre and Post Tests

Activity	Percent likely Pre test	Percent likely Post-test	Neutral Pre-test	Neutral Post-test	Unlikely Pre-test	Unlikely post-test
Volunteering in a soup kitchen	64%	52%	23%	32%	14%	16%
Be part of a sports club	71%	65%	18%	21%	11%	13%
Engage in collective efforts to improve the public education system	59%	55%	22%	30%	17% (5 were not included because they were ranked 2 and 3 and 3 and 4 and one was blank).	15%

In terms of volunteering in a soup kitchen, many more students moved from somewhat likely to neutral, and a few more reported that they will not be likely to volunteer in a soup kitchen. One hypothesis is that they took the pre-test before they volunteered during the class, and thus, indeed many of them knew they were likely to volunteer in the soup kitchen during class. Another explanation could be that they became disenchanted with their actual contributions in a soup kitchen or volunteering in general, and thus they may not participate in the future. Or perhaps they found their likelihood to volunteer in a soup kitchen due to time constraints. Another possible reason

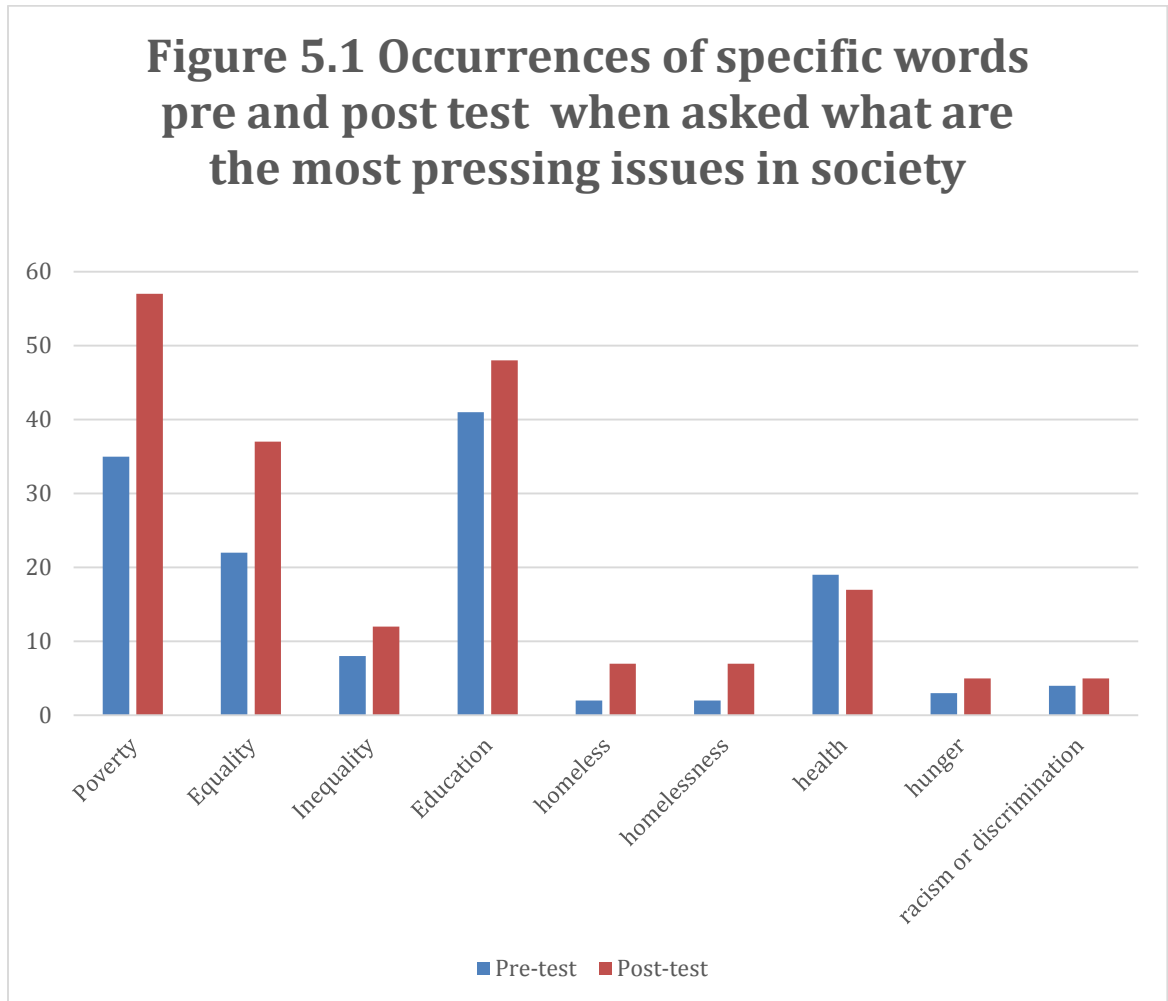
could be that the curriculum of the CIVIC 101 class does teach and engage students in discussions about the nature of participatory democracy, including concepts such as social justice versus charity model of volunteering, as well as different types of citizens paralleled on Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) model, and thus this may mitigate their interest in what seems to be simply volunteering in a soup kitchen. This will be explored further with in-depth interviews with students, a review of their reflection papers, and a discussion with CIVIC 101 instructors. Of course, another reason for the differences is because the respondents completed the second survey with more haste since it was the end of the semester, and thus they were not paying close attention.

Another section of the survey asked students what they found to be essential for democracy. When comparing pre- and post-tests, there were few differences. Most students, in general, found that civil liberties and an educated public that is involved in the community and a free market are essential for democracy. However, only one-third found that socioeconomic equality was essential for democracy. These responses suggest that indeed they envision a more active and participatory style democracy, but one in which socioeconomic equality is not vital. There was some change in the question of whether a public that is highly involved in the community and politics essential for democracy, in which approximately 57% responded yes during the pre-test and over 61% responded yes during the post-test.

Table 5.12 What is Essential for Democracy? Student Responses						
	Pre-Test Yes	Post-test Yes	Pre-Test No	Post-test No	Pre-Test Maybe/Not sure	Post-test Maybe/Not sure
Q5 pre/ Is socioeconomic equality essential for a democracy?	33%	32%	36%	38.00%	31%	29%
Q6 pre/ Are civil liberties (protection from government interference with your life) essential for democracy?	75%	71.40%	7.50%	9.00%	17.25%	19.20%
Q7 pre/ Is an educated public on most of the issues essential for a democracy?	83%	80.40%	6.70%	5.10%	10.20%	14.10%
Q8 pre/ Is a public that is highly involved in the community and in politics essential for a democracy?	56.50%	61.20%	14.10%	16.50%	28.60%	22.40%
Q9 pre/ Is a free market essential for democracy?	52.50%	53.70%	15.70%	14.90%	31%	31.40%

The next question asks, “what issues do you think to be the most pressing or important issues for society to address.” Many of the students gave a range of responses, including poverty, equality, homelessness, inequality, environmental issues, education, hunger, etc. Some mentioned foreign relations, others mentioned gender equality, jobs, and a host of

other issues. A word count of words that may be mentioned related to the Lindy Center’s main pillars of economy, education and hunger, as well as other topics instructors said they discuss, reported the following:



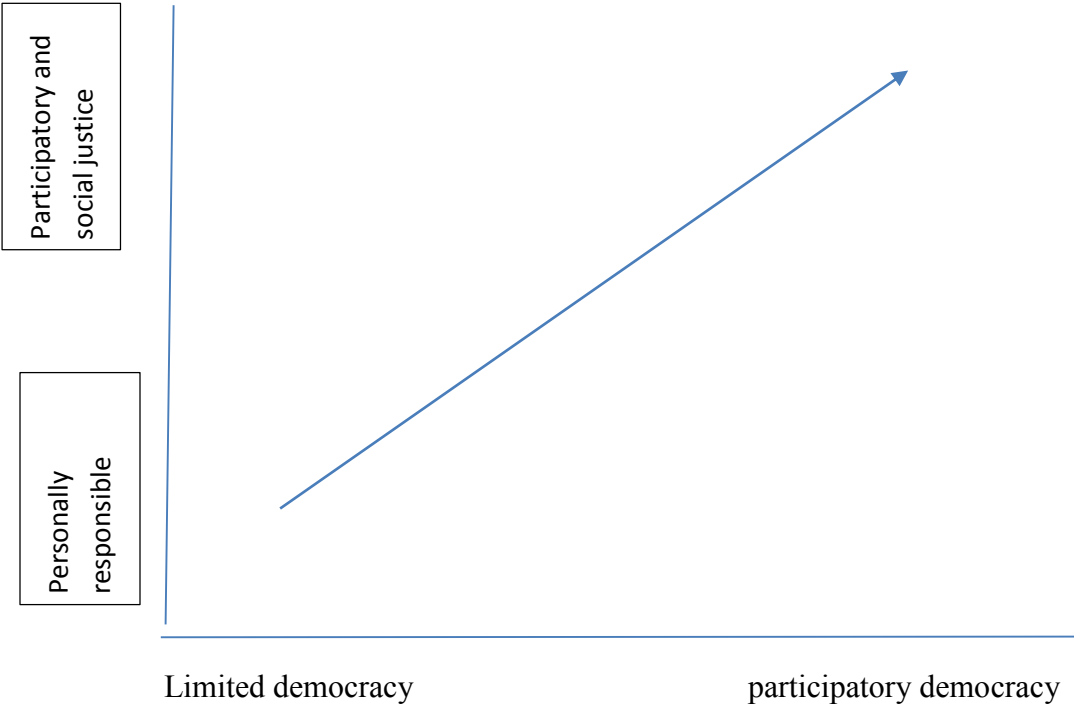
Education, poverty and equality were words that had the greatest frequency and increased the most from the pre to post test. This suggests that indeed the program impacted the prevalence of student thinking on these topics. However, other issues, such as homelessness and poverty, did not increase much. Many instructors noted how the importance of discussing racism or discrimination, and these specific words appeared very few times in this answer. Some students also wrote gender equality and gay rights, but the answers were few.

Students were also asked about social media and civic engagement and how often they used it. Over forty percent (43%) of the students of the larger sample set (335), reported that they have used social media to join a cause or an organization, whereas a little over 20% (22%) said they used social media to express or share political viewpoints. It is interesting to note that students use social media to join a cause, promote a cause or solicit for a cause rather than to express or share political viewpoints. In fact, participation in a cause outflanked the expression of a political viewpoint by 20%. This could be another area of research to explore in terms of how young adults use social media for civic and political engagement.

Do Ideas About Democracy Translate into Participation?

One of the overarching questions of this research is what ideas do first-year college students bring to the table when they walk in the classroom door, specifically those attending a diverse, urban university? To what extent do students adhere to a limited, proceduralist notion of democracy versus a more substantive, participatory notion? Also, if they do possess a more participatory notion of democracy does that necessarily mean they will participate in a more participatory, social justice oriented way in society? To what extent do their thoughts about democracy influence the way they may expect to participate in the future? These questions were tested by looking at whether there is a statistical relationship between their ideas about democracy, ideas that may be expected to correlate with one another, and whether or not there was a relationship and their expected future participation.

Figure 5.2 Charting Types of Democracy with Types of Citizens



To test this hypothesis, correlations were conducted between a question (Q2e) on the first part of the survey that asks whether people should be politically active to collectively change power structures with forms of participatory democratic activity. The Likert scale question from the first part of the survey is:

Q2e pre/ A society in which persons are politically active and encouraged to collectively try to change power structures in society, although it may upset the norms or status quo in society. ---- A society in which persons may disclose politics, but do not collectively organize to overturn the prevailing power structures, although the dominant system of power will remain even if conditions improve.

Table 5.13: Correlation Between Question Q2e and Expected Future Participation:

Expected future participation	Correlation coefficient
Q4j pre/ Engage in a protest or march for civil rights	0.186021234
Q4k pre/ Engage in collective efforts to improve public education system	0.120126442
Q4l pre/ Understand and work to combat some of the root causes of poverty in the U.S.	0.122928534
Q4m pre/ Engage in collective efforts to change dynamics of power in the workplace	0.136211156

The correlations, *Pearson's R*, show a positive relationship between their answer to the

Likert scale question and their desire to engage in democracy in participatory ways.

A few t-test were also performed also to see if there was a suggested relationship with this question and expected future civic engagement.

Table 5.14: Participatory Democratic Mindset and Expected Future Civic Engagement

Expected future participation	T-test results
Q4j pre/ Engage in a protest or march for civil rights	6.32027E-12
Q4k pre/ Engage in collective efforts to improve public education system	0.701496503
Q4l pre/ Understand and work to combat some of the root causes of poverty in the U.S.	0.057255062
Q4m pre/ Engage in collective efforts to change dynamics of power in the workplace	0.001083945

There was a slight statistical relationship, as demonstrated by the t-test, for the expected future participation of engaging in a protest or march for civil rights and engaging in collective efforts to change dynamics of power in the workplace. However, when t-tests were conducted comparing the above mentioned question to what should occur in a democracy as well as future expected participation, Questions 3 and 4 of the survey, all showed a relationship of some statistical significance or a p-value of less than 0.05, except for promotion of a strong workers party, express political views or promote causes/social movements on social media, volunteering in a soup kitchen, engage in

collective efforts to improve the public education system, and understand and work to combat some of the root causes of poverty in the U.S.

What inferences can be concluded from this data exploration? Ideas may matter, but to an extent. Students may bring ideas that show an affinity for participatory democracy to the classroom, but their ideas do not always translate in strong support for activities that one may predict would occur in a participatory democracy. This strengthens the argument for institutions and norms, especially through universities, to institutionalize an education for a participatory democracy, harnessing and activating students' fledgling participatory democratic ideas.

Section V: Variations in Groups on Conceptualizations of Democracy

International v. Domestic students

Some of the factors that may influence the outcomes discussed in Section 2 above may be due to demographic differences between students. A t-test was applied to see if there are differences between the 87 international students and 238 domestic students. Many of the t-test results reported a difference of statistical significance. International students did tend to favor privacy a bit more at the expense of national security (Q2a), the common good at the expense of individual choices (Q2b) and socioeconomic equality with high taxes (Q2c), on the first set of the survey's data. However, these differences, despite having some significance, were minimal.

In terms of ideas on what a democracy needs, the t-test results between the two groups showed the following differences:

Table 5.15 Variations in Conceptualizations of Democracy, International versus Domestic Students			
	International students	Domestic students	t-test
Q3c pre/ Protection of one's privacy from government interference	1.52	1.85	0.0006
Q3e pre/ Encouragement of Civic Engagement	1.59	1.86	0.04
Q3h pre/ Passage of laws that promote socioeconomic equality	1.85	2.27	0.0021
Q3i pre/ Redistribution of wealth and resources in society, usually from rich to poor	2.62	3.08	0.003
Q3j pre/ Limits on individual earnings, so no one earns too much or too little	3.32	3.81	0.001
Q3l pre/ Promotion of a strong workers' party (a labor backed party)	2.17	2.56	0.00056
Q3l pre/ Promotion of a strong workers' party (a labor backed party)	2.16	2.56	0.00055
Q3m pre/ Promotion of anti-consumerism	2.6	3.2	1.46E-05

The largest difference in the chart above was promotion of anti-consumerism at a .6 spread followed by limits on individual earnings at .49, so no one earns too much or too little. Over 40% of international students agreed and strongly agreed that anti-consumerism should be promoted, versus 15% of domestic students.¹¹⁵ Only a little over 10% of international students disagreed with the promotion of anti-consumerism, whereas close to 30% of national students disagreed. The exact breakdown is depicted in the table below:

Table 5.16 Students' Responses to whether or not anti-consumerism should be promoted in a democracy				
	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Did not answer
International Students	41.38%	44.83%	11.49%	2.30%
Domestic Students	12.90%	56.05%	28.63%	2.42%

Visually, about half of both samples were neutral on this subject, but the amount of students supporting anti-consumerism is much greater among foreign than domestic students.

As for limits on earnings, 51% of international students agreed or were neutral on this topic compared to 36% of domestic students. Still 50% of international students disagreed there should be limits on earnings and 64% of US students said the same. Over 50% of international students agreed there should be a redistribution of wealth from rich to poor compared to 37% of domestic students. Also, close to 80% of international students favored the passage of laws to promote socioeconomic equality compared to 64% of domestic students.

Some of the reasons for these differences may be related to other countries' political and economic backdrop that differs from the U.S. Many students may come from countries that have a more activist state that may have limited income or passed larger policies towards socioeconomic equality. Studies show policies that promote economic equality are highly valued worldwide. For instance, in a study of democratic perceptions in South Korea pre and post-democratization in the late 1980s, most respondents viewed government efforts and policies to promote economic equality after the transition negatively, judging a democratic regime change not “solely in terms of what happened to their constitution and political institutions,” but also “in terms of the

substantive policy outcomes from which they have personally benefited” (Chu, et al, 48, 2008). Secondly, as for anti-consumerism, this movement and ideology has become more prevalent abroad in terms of leaders more favorable to policy objectives and the discourse of anti-consumerism, compared to politicians in the U.S. Thirdly, the U.S. may be the unequal Western developed country in terms of wealth distribution, but many of these students come from developing countries that have greater amounts of wealth inequality and starker cases of abject poverty. Many of the students in the sample come from China, which reportedly has increased inequality despite economic advances in recent years.¹¹⁶

There were also differences of statistical significance of future expected participation.

Table 5.17 International v. Domestic Students in Future Expected Participation

	International student	domestic	t-test
Volunteering in a soup kitchen	2.07	2.41	0.013
Be part of a Parents/Teachers Organization (i.e., Home and School and Association)	2.26	2.93	6.77E-06
Be part of a sports club (ie soccer club, bowling league, football team)	1.77	2.1	1.60E-02
Organize a Food Drive	2.36	3.05	1.18E-06

run a community meeting	2.36	3.23	4.03E-10
speak in front of your town council	2.72	3.39	9.66E-06
engage in a protest or march for civil rights	2.51	3.17	1.09E-05
engage in collective efforts to improve public education system	1.96	2.5	0.000171531
understand and work to combat some of the root causes of poverty in the U.S.	2.31	2.63	0.015
Engage in collective efforts to change the dynamics of power in the workplace	2.23	2.8	4.83E-06

Here too, on expectations of future civic engagement, there were some significant differences. On all indicators of future expected participation, the international students reported a greater likelihood to participate. The widest gap and averages for international and domestic students occurred in expectation on running a community meeting followed by organizing a food drive, then trailing by speaking in front of town council and then engaging in protest or march for civil rights.¹¹⁷

Table 5.18 Percentage of International and Domestic Students that Agree or Strongly Agree they are likely to partake in the following political or civic activity

	International Students	Domestic Students
Run a community meeting	56.32%	27.02%
Organize a Food Drive	59.77%	33.47%
Speak in front of your town council	40.23%	23.79%
Engage in a protest or march for civil rights	54.02%	29.84%

International students ranked significantly higher, in terms of the percentage of those that were likely to participate in running a community meeting, organizing a food drive, speaking in front of your town council and engaging in a protest or marching for civil rights.

Table 5.19 International v. Domestic Students on views of Socioeconomic Equality and Social Media

	International students	Domestic students	T-test
Is socioeconomic equality essential for a democracy?	1.28	1.38	0.005
How often have you used social media to express or share political viewpoints?	2.16	1.9	0.016

As displayed in the above chart, international students agreed slightly more with the statement that socioeconomic equality is essential for democracy, and they tended to express political viewpoints on social media a little more. However, both groups showed lackluster usage of social media to express political opinions as response 1 and 2 referred to not at all and not very often, respectively.¹¹⁸ There were reported differences of social media usage that statistically showed it may not be just by chance.

The differences in international versus domestic students may be due to their different types of political socialization. Over 50% of the international students in this survey identified as being from China, and Shi (2008) points out that Chinese citizens have been “indoctrinated” by a type of “socialist democracy” since 1949 and the rise of Mao (213). Socialist democracy is perceived superior to bourgeois democracy, because it serves the majority and strips the rights from those who are potential threat to this stabilization (213). This type of democracy favors a ruling class that serves the people but does not succumb to Western style pluralism or separation of powers which are seen as

“tools used by the bourgeoisie to hoodwink the majority” (213, referencing Mao 1949). In the East Asian Barometer survey of the 2000s, when asked what is the meaning of the democracy, Chinese respondents were far more likely to view democracy in populist terms of “for and by the people” compared to other countries’ respondents (Chu, et al. 2008,12)¹¹⁹. The East Asian Barometer (EAB) also revealed Chinese students demonstrating an affinity for Western style of democracy, with approximately one-quarter of them finding democracy also means “freedom and liberty” and “political rights, institutions and processes” (Chu, et al. 2008, p. 12).

Gender

How did genders differ in their orientation to democracy? In the dataset of 335, there were 163 males, 169 females, 1 non-binary, 1 genderless and 1 respondent provided no answer. For the first part of the survey, there were some slight differences of significance in terms of males favoring privacy over national security a little more than females, and females favoring the “common good” a little more than protection of individual liberty.

In terms of what a democracy should have women and men differed with significance on the following questions:

Table 5.20 Male v. Female responses on What a Democracy Should Do

	Q3d pre/ Promotion of a free market	Q3e pre/ Encouragement of civic engagement	Q3h pre/ Passage of laws that promote socioeconomic equality	Q3i pre/ Redistribution of wealth and resources in society, usually from rich to poor	Q3j pre/ Limits on individual earnings, so no one earns too much or too little	Q3l pre/ Promotion of a strong workers' party (a labor backed party)	Q3m pre/ Promotion of anti-consumerism
Male average	1.644172	1.92638	2.386503	3.156442	3.815951	2.539877	3.092025
Female average	1.798817	1.585799	1.940828	2.775148	3.56213	2.319527	2.869822
TTEST	0.04922	0.0003	0.000271	0.006084	0.077445	0.041161	0.05279

The largest difference was found in women favoring more socioeconomic equality than men.

In terms of future expected participation, men and women differed with some significance on a number of indicators. Women reported they were more likely to recycle, volunteer in a soup kitchen, be a member of a home and school association, organize a food drive, run a community meeting, fight poverty and engage in collective efforts to change the dynamics of the workplace. Men reported that they were more likely to be a member of a sports club, such as a soccer team, bowling league, etc.¹²⁰

Race and Ethnicity

The survey revealed some variations in responses among persons identifying with different races and ethnicities. However, answering a closed-ended question from a

specific set of options about identity makes it difficult to fully discern how a person identifies in terms of their race, ethnicity and heritage. The survey did follow the format of the U.S. Census and presented an abridged version of choices possible. It did exclude, however, a separate question about whether or not respondents identified as Hispanic or non-Hispanic, but asks “in general” how respondents describe themselves. The options presented were a) White; b) Black/African-American; c) Latino/a, d) Asian, 3) and In some other way (please describe _____). The numbers were strikingly low in terms of how many people identified as black and Latino, only 8.06% and 3.88% respectively. Close to 6% identified with multiple racial and ethnic categories.

For those students who identified as either black, African American, Latino/a, or some other way including black, African American, Latino/a in part, 57 responses in total, there was a difference from the rest of the population with some statistical significance on five indicators. In fact, the largest difference was seen with students identifying as African American, black and Latino/a favoring the passage of laws that promote socioeconomic equality, and the second largest difference is their tendency to support a government that taxes more to implement policies to bring about socioeconomic equality.

It is interesting to note that many in this subgroup identify as being an international students as well. Seven out of the 27 persons identifying as African American or Black alone are international students from other countries including Kenya, Mali and Nigeria. Six of the 13 Latino/a respondents also identify as being international students from Latin America. Thus, only 5.97% identify as U.S. nationals and African American and/or black and only 2.1% identify as being Latino/a and a U.S. national.

When this subgroup of students that identified as black or African American and Latino/a was compared to those that just identified as White, there also were differences of statistical significance, and the margins were wider than above. Ethnic and racial minority students supported socioeconomic equality and the redistribution of wealth in society at higher rates than white students. They also supported policies that favored the common good, and they were much more likely to organize a food drive, run a community meeting, and engage in collective efforts to change the dynamic of the workplace. There was also a difference in socioeconomic background, with whites earning more.

Asians

One-third of the students identified as Asian, with 55% of them identifying as international students with 44% of them being from China. When comparing Asians to the rest of the population we see Asian students are more likely to participate in society on all indicators, from those activities that may be described as personally responsible to the more social justice, participatory activities.

Table 5.21 Asian Students' Expected Future Engagement

	Q4d pre/Volunteering in a soup kitchen	Q4e pre/Be part of a Parents/Teachers Organization (ie Home and School and Association)	Q4g pre/Organizing a food drive	Q4h pre/Run a community meeting	Q4i pre/Speak in front of your town council
Average Asians	2.15	2.30	2.39	2.53	2.86
Average Rest	2.40	2.97	3.10	3.24	3.40
TTEST	0.04592	0.00000	0.00000	0.00000	0.00012
Difference in Means	-0.25	-0.67	-0.71	-0.72	-0.54

	Q4j pre/Engage in a protest or march for civil rights	Q4k pre/Engage in collective efforts to improve public education system	Q4k pre/Engage in collective efforts to improve public education system	Q4l pre/Understand and work to combat some of the root causes of poverty in the U.S.	Q4m pre/Engage in collective efforts to change dynamics of power in the workplace
Average Asians	2.67	2.08	2.09	2.31	2.29
Average Rest	3.17	2.49	2.49	2.63	2.80
TTEST	0.00047	0.00175	0.00182	0.00906	0.00002
Difference in Means	-0.50	-0.40	-0.40	-0.32	-0.51

The greatest differences between Asian students and the rest of the population are in participatory, leadership styles of action such as organizing a food drive and running a community meeting. There are also significant differences in being part of a parent-teacher organization, engaging in a civil rights march, or protesting and promoting

workplace democracy, with Asian students reporting they would be more likely to participate in these activities. These findings are very similar to the aforementioned differences revealed between domestic and international students.

As for socioeconomic or class differences, comparison and t- tests were run to evaluate if there were significant variations between those that earn below and above \$100,000. There were differences of significance on a number of variables. Out of 335 students, 152 answered that their families earn \$100,000 or less and 142 earn more than \$100,000 or less. Others answered somewhere in between the two groups, whereas a number refrained from answering the question. On the Likert scale question in the first section of the survey that asks whether democracy should confer socioeconomic equality, those from a family of less earning potential favor higher taxes for policies to promote socioeconomic equality.

Table 5.22 Students from Different Economic Backgrounds Opinions about Democracy and Socioeconomic Equality

Q1 pre/ How do you define/describe democracy?	Q2c pre/ A government that implements policies to bring about socioeconomic equality although persons are taxed at high rates ---- A government that taxes at low rates, and allows for large amounts of socioeconomic inequality.
100,000 and below	2.67
100,000 and above	3.22
TTEST	0.00002
Mean Difference	-0.56

On the other questions, the two groups responded with significant difference on the following:

Table 5.23 Opinions of Students from Different Economic Backgrounds about what a Democracy Should Do

	Q3d pre/ Promotion of a free market	Q3h pre/ Passage of laws that promote socioeconomic equality	Q3i pre/ Redistribution of wealth and resources in society, usually from rich to poor	Q3j pre/ Limits on individual earnings, so no one earns too much or too little	Q3k pre/ Promotion of an active, participatory citizenry	Q3m pre/ Promotion of anti-consumerism
100,000 and below	1.83	1.83	2.58	3.35	1.78	2.81
100,000 and above	1.58	2.45	3.33	4.06	2.15	3.16
TTEST	0.00489	0.00000	0.00000	0.00000	0.00078	0.00241
Mean Difference	0.25	-0.62	-0.74	-0.72	-0.36	-0.35

Redistribution of wealth and socioeconomic equality tend to show the largest spread. On all of the indicators shown above, those students from families that earn less than \$100,000 support policies and practices most associated with a participatory democracy. The lower-income students did show less support for a free market, but the contrast is minimal. In terms of participation, as revealed by the data presented below, those from wealthier families tended to engage in personally responsible and communitarian activities more such as voting and being a member of a sports club, where those earning less expressed greater interest in the activities within a participatory and social justice oriented framework.

Participation show the more affluent tend to vote more (Page, et al 2013;

	Q4a pre/ Voting	Q4f pre/ Be part of a sports club (ie soccer club, bowling league, football team)	Q4j pre/ Engage in a protest or march for civil rights	Q4k pre/ Engage in collective efforts to improve public education system	Q4k pre/ Engage in collective efforts to improve public education system	Q4l pre/ Understand and work to combat some of the root causes of poverty in the U.S.	Q4m pre/ Engage in collective efforts to change dynamics of power in the workplace
100,000 and below	1.71	2.20	2.80	2.18	2.18	2.33	2.43
100,000 and above	1.35	1.87	3.20	2.49	2.49	2.72	2.81
TTEST	0.00088	0.01349	0.00505	0.01353	0.01446	0.00093	0.00103
Mean Difference	0.36	0.33	-0.40	-0.31	-0.31	-0.39	-0.38

McElwee, 2014; Fulwood III, 2014). Yet, those from economically modest families are more likely to participate in political and civic activity that challenges the status quo and support policies that redistribute wealth. This may not be surprising and strengthens theoretical arguments presented in this research project from scholars such as Botwinick, Bachrach, Pateman, Freire, MacPherson and others. Although this research project may just offer a sliver of empirical data compared to larger datasets, it does open a tiny window to peer into thoughts, expectations and desires for political and civic policies and participation across economic segments in society.

Section VI: Democratic Ideas v. Democratic Action

Another question related to the above findings is whether or not persons who strongly agree with ideas designated as more participatory may be more likely to contribute to democracy in participatory ways. When looking at correlations between variables, whether or not one feels that passage of socioeconomic equality should be part of democracy does tend to correlate positively and significantly for all activities in the survey, such as recycling, organizing a food drive, and running a community meeting except for voting, being parts of a sports club and speaking in front of the town council. In fact, speaking in front of the town council does not reveal any significant relationship except with those who found civic engagement should be part of a democracy. This relates to the question as to whether or not thought patterns about democracy are any indicator of participation in society. Interestingly, when comparing correlations¹²¹ those that find the promotion of a free market should be part of a democracy show relationships of significance only with the activities of voting, expressing political views or promote causes/social movements on social media, and being a part of a parents/teachers organization (i.e., Home and School Association). The correlations are smaller correlations as the Pearson's R in this case between support of the free market and these activities are less than .2 on all three. Yet, they all show significance.

In terms of those students who displayed an affinity for deliberation or policies enacted for the "common good," they also display a significant positive relationship of the likelihood to a number of activities in the future including voting, volunteering a soup kitchen, organizing a food drive, engage in collective efforts to improve the public education system, understand and work to combat the root causes of poverty and engage

in collective efforts to change dynamics of power in the workplace. Those that support policies for the common good also seem to support recycling (Pearson's $R = 0.1223$, $p = .0212$), while those that support deliberation are more closely aligned with expressing political views or promote causes/social movements on social media (Pearson's $R = 0.1584$, $p = 0.0036$). This expression of views on social media also correlates with passage of laws that promote socioeconomic equality (Pearson's $R = 0.1145$, $p = .0362$), but it does not show a significant relationship with those that find a redistribution of wealth in society is necessary in a society. In fact, this latter idea only reveals a significant relationship with volunteering in a soup kitchen (Pearson's $R = .2130$, $p = .0001$), organizing a food drive (Pearson's $R = .1594$ and $p = .0034$) and with the last four activities of engaging in protest for civil rights, collective action for better education, understanding and working to combat poverty and working to change dynamics of the workplace. The strongest correlation was between those that favor a redistribution of wealth was understanding and combatting poverty with a Pearson's R of 0.3220 and $p = 0.000$. This suggests that indeed those that may favor a redistribution of wealth and resources in society do tend to engage in activities most closely aligned with fighting poverty. For those that may have supported limits on individual earnings, they may also be likely to understand and combat poverty (Pearson's $R = 0.2522$, $p = 0.0000$), engage in a protest for civil rights or attempt to transform workplace politics. However, they may be less likely to vote, or those that vote may not as be likely to support this goal for democracy as there is a significant negative correlation of Pearson's R equals -0.1181 with a p -value of 0.0307 . The same is true of volunteering in a sports league where there appears a negative relationship (Pearson's $R = -0.1555$, $p = 0.0043$).

What these correlations reveal is that support for radical components of democracy -- such as socioeconomic equality, limits on earnings, promotion of a strong workers' party and promotion of anti-consumerism -- do not show significant relationship with voting. It raises the question as to whether radical, participatory mindset diminishes the importance of the foremost activity of liberal democracy, such as voting. The correlations bring us back to one of the central questions of the research as to whether participatory democracy is compatible with liberal democracy, and, if participatory democracy only represents radical elements such as redistribution of wealth, anti-consumerism, is this the radical democracy that should be pursued today? If these transformative ideas about society do not form a strong relationship with basic democratic mechanics such as voting, how can or should this be reconciled? Is there an ontological tendency to support radical ideas, including those that inevitably should substitute oppression for inclusiveness, at the expense of abandoning procedure altogether? Does the future of participatory democracy call for a post-liberal democracy without elections, in favor of more direct, participatory behavior free of any democratic machinations? Or is there a way to build a relationship of significance between affinities for both radical, transformative substance and procedures? Indeed, the promotion of an active, participatory citizenry did correlate with some significance to voting (Pearson's $R=0.1380$, $p \text{ value}=0.0115$). It is this finding that supports the notion of a post-liberal democracy with the liberal component still embedded (Wolff 2013; Arditì 2008) as "democracy does not stop at the gates of its liberal incarnation," but carries it with it (Arditi, 73).

Another way to look at potential differences in democratic ideas with future expected participation is to treat persons who answered similarly on one question as a group and run a t-test examining for significance in responses. Here a t-test was conducted to see if those students that strongly agreed with the statement “passage of laws that promote socioeconomic equality” should occur in a democracy. This was a sample of 106 students. They did report differences of significance in the Likert scale descriptions of what a democracy should have where they mildly preferred a government that passes laws for the common good as compared to their counterparts and they predictably sided with a government that implements policies to bring about socioeconomic change.

In terms of what should be included in a democracy, it seems that those who favor passage of socioeconomic policies may also find these values, such as civic engagement, policies for the common good and protection of one’s privacy from government interference more valuable than their counterpart.

Table 5.25 Students in Favor of Socioeconomic Equality Views of Democracy

	Q3c pre/ Protection of one's privacy from government interference	Q3e pre/ Encouragement of civic engagement	Q3f pre/ Deliberation (reasoning on the merits of public policy) among persons	Q3g pre/ Policies enacted for the "common good", or for the society overall, and the encouragement of citizen input	Q3h pre/ Passage of laws that promote socioeconomic equality
In favor of Socioeconomic equality Average	1.62	1.55	1.68	1.46	1.00
Nonsocioeconomic equality average	1.83	1.84	1.98	2.10	2.68
T-Test	0.02588	0.00317	0.00120	0.00000	0.00000
Difference in means	-0.20	-0.30	-0.30	-0.63	-1.68
	Q3i pre/ Redistribution of wealth and resources in society, usually from rich to poor	Q3j pre/ Limits on individual earnings, so no one earns too much or too little	Q3k pre/ Promotion of an active, participatory citizenry	Q3l pre/ Promotion of a strong workers' party (a labor backed party)	Q3m pre/ Promotion of anti-consumerism
In favor of socioeconomic equality average	2.21	3.12	1.59	2.21	2.67

Nonsocioeconomic average	3.29	3.94	2.16	2.54	3.12
T-Test	0.00000	0.00000	0.00000	0.00277	0.00012
Difference in means	-1.09	-0.82	-0.57	-0.33	-0.45

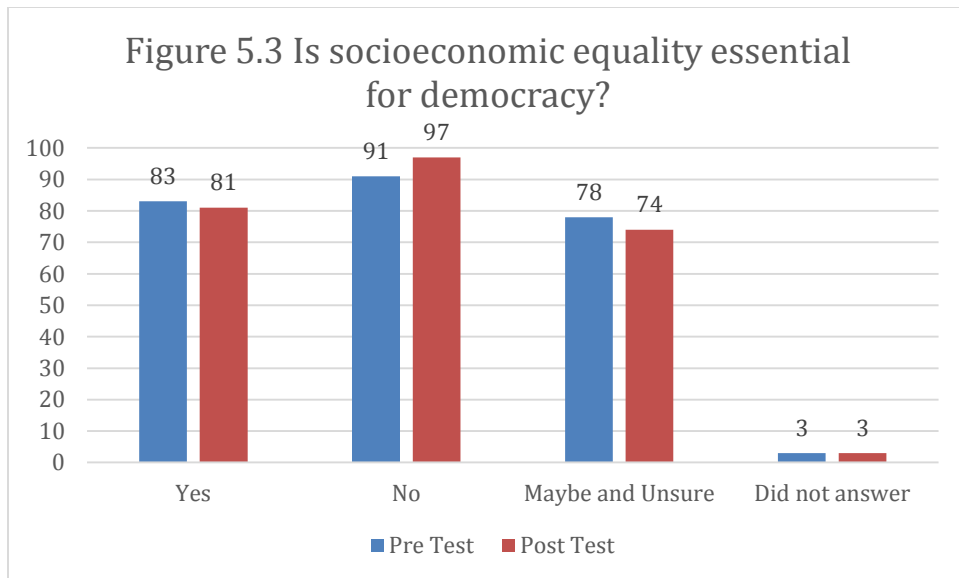
In terms of activities, it is most likely to be true that, again those who strongly agree with the passage of socioeconomic laws, also demonstrate a greater affinity for participating also be likely to participate in the following ways:

Table 5.26 Students in Favor of Socioeconomic Equality Expected Future Engagement

	Q4c pre/ Express political views or promote causes/social movements on social media	Q4d pre/ Volunteering in a soup kitchen	Q4g pre/ Organizing a food drive	Q4j pre/ Engage in a protest or march for civil rights	Q4k pre/ Engage in collective efforts to improve public education system	Q4k pre/ Engage in collective efforts to improve public education system	Q4l pre/ Understand and work to combat some of the root causes of poverty in the U.S.	Q4m pre/ Engage in collective efforts to change dynamics of power in the workplace
Socioeconomic equality Average	2.21	2.07	2.52	2.68	2.08	2.09	2.18	2.25
Non socioeconomic average	2.65	2.44	3.03	3.15	2.48	2.48	2.68	2.80
T-Test	0.00162	0.00366	0.00018	0.00112	0.00225	0.00281	0.00004	0.00001
Difference in means	-0.44	-0.37	-0.51	-0.47	-0.40	-0.39	-0.50	-0.54

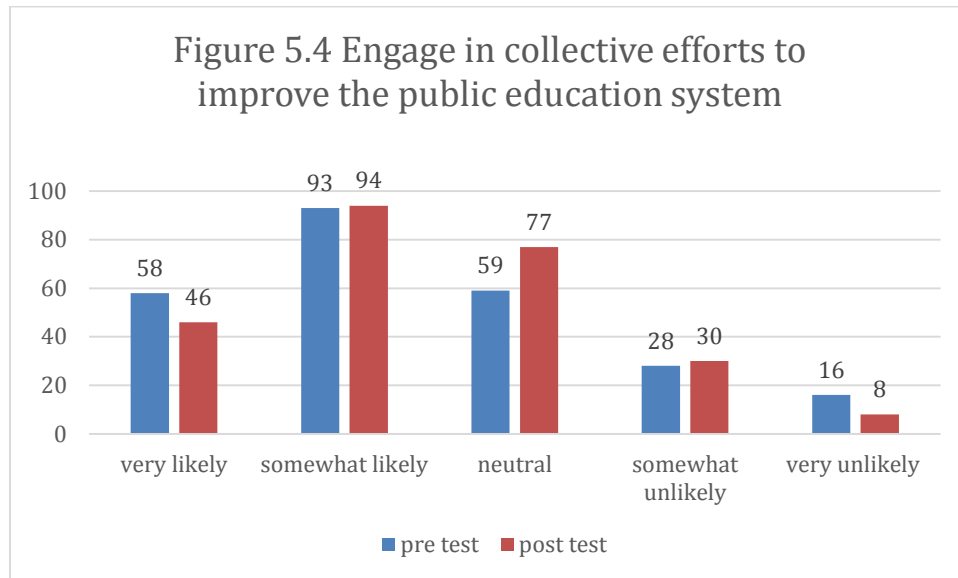
Engaging in a workplace revolution or organizing a food drive seem to display the greatest difference and likelihood that differences in ideas may predispose someone to engaging in these activities. Interesting, activities such as voting or engaging in common forms of associational life such as sports clubs or the home and school association did not reveal p-values of significance.

When comparing if there was any change on the pre and post-test, there did not seem to be much change at all in terms of this question. Students that favored socioeconomic equality prior to the class did so after the class as well.



Many of the students volunteered in the public education system, where they witnessed first-hand the disparities of public education in the city versus the suburbs of the US where many of them are from. Some of the international students also discussed the grim realities of the Philadelphia public education system, where it became apparent students lagged behind their peers in reading, math and other disciplines compared to

peers elsewhere. Thus, did participation in this program change some the mindsets as to whether they would engage in collective efforts to improve the public education system?



Interestingly, more students tended to be neutral on this question after the class than prior. There was a slight drop on either extremes, and they tended to move to the center. The question is where did those that answered on the extremes move to?

In terms of understanding and working to fight poverty, the numbers were approximately the same pre and post-test. There was a very slight increase in the negative response to it, but overall, students' predictions of future expected participation did not change. Data from the qualitative interviews with students and instructors should shed additional light on the impact of class itself in altering ideas about democracy and impacting future expected participation.

Conclusion

This chapter surveyed the empirical data to support the primary argument of the dissertation. It first explored students' conceptualizations about democracy, and found that most students do perceive democracy in procedural terms at 44%, but close to 40% perceive it in deliberative and participatory ways. Thus, many students are coming into college envisioning a participatory style of democracy for society. The answers to the second part of the survey about what a democracy should do fortify these findings as the students agreed in substantially greater amounts with statements aligned with participatory democracy versus minimal, procedural definitions of democracy. For instance, over 40% found democracy should foster deliberation and over 50% agreed democracy should include politically active persons working to change the status quo, versus 28% finding democracy does not need to promote deliberation and close to 13% finding collective action to change the power structures in society unimportant.

The results in the first and second section were tempered a bit by the third section in which students answered that what should transpire in democracy should conform overwhelmingly to a liberal, procedural and republican view of democracy. Close to 100% in the sample of students that compared pre and post-test agreed protection of freedom of speech and to choose what one wants to do with one's life should occur in a democracy, whereas 67% percent reported an active, participatory citizenry to change inequalities was important, a trait associated with participatory democracy. Fifty-two percent called for a strong workers' party, another characteristic of participatory democracy (MacPherson 1977; Botwinick and Bachrach 1992). Only a little over 20 percent called for the promotion of anti-consumerism.

How can these findings be interpreted? It may be that young college students are still showing an affinity for the goals and ideals of participatory democracy, but they are uncertain about how to carry them out in practice. They are also showing a recognition that liberal democracy cannot be abandoned in pursuit of a participatory democracy. The last section examines students' responses based on demographic data and with various groups students may identify. Overall, the data reveal students that identify with groups that are currently disadvantaged or those that have been historically marginalized, whether it be international, class, race, ethnicity, or gender, showed greater support for those concepts, values and activities most associated with participatory democracy, such as backing civil rights protests, collective action to upend status quo and promotion of anti-consumerism. Differences were noted between international and domestic students which may suggest that students are politically socialized in participatory ways in other countries, such as those from China¹²². Hajnal and Lee (2011) point out that immigrant and racial and ethnic minorities "are especially likely to have concerns that are peripheral to the national partisan discussion" (23). They may have been politicized in their country of origin, and whether they come from fledgling democracy, an authoritarian state or communist country, they may hold "alternate ideological orientations" that "may cut orthogonally to the liberal- to-conservative continuum that separates the two parties" (23). In this case, they may not identify with any party. Differences in race, ethnicity, gender¹²³ and economic background also reveal a not-surprising awareness that participatory democratic principles and practices may be the best pathway to achieve a more egalitarian and democratic society.

How can these pre-existing ideas about participatory democracy be culled, embraced and nourished so that ideas can be transformed into practice? One interesting tentative finding¹²⁴ is that students taking a high school government class or AP class did not evidence any impact on their thought processes or expected future civic engagement. This tentative finding at first glance seems to dampen the argument education is essential to fostering democratic sensibilities and capacities, but in actuality it emboldens the argument that what type of education and how one receives education matters in educating for democracy. This finding about students taking an AP class or high school government class may be due to having lackluster teachers or poorly designed classes, or it could suggest high school government classes in general are not structured in a way to foster ideas and future engagement for a participatory democracy. Students may have adopted their pre-existing viewpoints from other experiences. Thus, education can still be regarded as an ideal to unleash and harness these ideas by students, but it ultimately may require a more experiential, transformative educational experience.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION AND ANALYSIS: PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

“The times call for visionary leadership that locates education for democracy as a focal point of educational study, reflection, and practice. The moment in history also calls on us to embrace a comprehensive and contemporary vision for civic learning that includes knowledge, skills, values, and the capacity to work with others on civic and societal challenges. Investing in these forms of learning will increase the number of informed, thoughtful, and public-minded citizens and better prepare them to contribute to public life. The gravitational pull, however, is exactly in the opposite direction – to democracy’s peril.” (p. 6)

“If we want a vigorous, participatory, and pluralist functioning democracy, the power to create the enabling educational environment ‘conducive to those ends’ is available. It is time to act upon those transformative possibilities.” (p. 67)

“[U]nlike liberty, civic knowledge and capability are not bestowed by birth. They are hard won, through education at all levels and through taking seriously the perspectives of others. Democratic insight and competence are always in the making, always incomplete.” ([p. 69)

Excerpts from *A National Call to Action: A Crucible Moment: College Learning and Democracy’s Future*. By the National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Education (2012)

Faced with tremendous wealth inequality, entrenched structural racism, polarized politics and other factors that are corrosive to democracy, we have reached a “crucible moment” for higher education in its commitment and ability to develop an informed, engaged and participatory citizenry. Federal government, by virtue of the fact that it recently funded and helped establish the National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Education, recognized the importance of higher education during these pivotal times in providing the most effective, powerful, pervasive civic education it possibly can for our nation’s college graduates. This research project, examining how an

urban university educates for democracy and normatively calling for an education for *participatory democracy*, represents a small but sincere contribution to this endeavor.

In its *Call to Action*, the National Task Force (2012) finds civic engagement should be empowering benefiting society at-large, where the community “is a resource to empower and be empowered by” and knowledge should be acquired on “legacies of partnering, intercultural competencies, arts of democracy, multiple vantage points [and] multicultural[ism]” (p. 60). These goals and principles can be attained, according to the Task Force, through pedagogies such as intergroup dialogue and deliberation, service learning and collective civic problem solving (55-63). Indeed, civic education should capture these goals and principles of civic engagement and implement them through transformative pedagogies, so that civic engagement, which as mentioned, interrelates and overlaps political engagement, can promote persons to participate in decision-making and with authority structures, or to participate in “doing” democracy (13), in all spheres of their lives. As stated almost 70 years ago by President Truman’s Commission on Higher Education in 1947, education for democracy should bring forth “a fuller realization of democracy in every phase living” (19). This progressive and perhaps unprecedented federal initiative for the time period was in response to the extensive *de jure* and *de facto* segregation and extensive racism. In fact, it directly stated that no longer could the country continue to be “half-slave, half-free” as “education that liberates and ennobles must be made equally available to all” (1947, 101). Although civil rights laws have changed since 1947, there are still widespread manifestations of deep-rooted racism and ascriptive hierarchies as well as ominous economic inequalities (Task Force, 62). In calling for higher education to educate for a participatory democracy and

recognizing the debilitating effects of neoliberalism and ascriptive hierarchy, this author agrees with Truman's commission that democracy should occur "in every phase of living."

In addition, this is one of the few studies on university-based civic engagement initiatives that explicitly defines democracy according to participatory democratic theory. The Task Force relies on a definition of democracy, albeit indirectly, that calls for collective problem solving for the common good (3). Colby, et al (2007) define democracy incorporating various approaches; they find democracy is a combination of liberal, pluralist definitions as well deliberative and participatory notions. Democracy is all the theories wrapped into one, according to them. Gutmann's (1987) theory of democratic education is participatory in design, and suggests it rests upon a more deliberative and participatory theoretical framework. This research project recognizes the importance of all definitions of democracy, but normatively defends the primacy of participatory democratic theory over the other theories. Participatory democracy builds upon the foundations of liberal and deliberative democracy without abandoning them as well as other liberal and republican variants of democracy.

This work applied a normative theoretical framework of how higher education should prepare students for a participatory democracy, a democracy that calls for equality in decision-making, greater democratization in all of life's arenas, and a recognition of the pernicious effects of neoliberalism and ascriptive hierarchy. It examined how Drexel University's service-learning, experiential civic education program educated for participatory democracy explicitly and implicitly and how students conceptualize democracy, whether they – as first-year college students and members of the millennial

generation—embrace the participatory democratic mindset. This conclusion will first briefly review lessons learned from the literature on civic education in higher education. It will review and present additional analyses of what Drexel University Lindy Center for Civic Engagement’s CIVIC 101 class has accomplished in terms of fomenting civic actors for a participatory democracy, and what may be some shortcomings or room for improvement. This chapter will also review how the first-year Drexel students who are also members of the millennial cohort view democracy and prospects for them being or evolving into participatory democratic agents. In addition, the chapter will return to participatory democratic theory and provide one last defense of why this theory provides the best guidepost for conceptualization and actualizing democracy today. It contributes to the discussion of the purpose and relevance of participatory democratic theory by recommending an increased focus on neoliberalism and ascriptive hierarchy today, and urging heightened, and hopefully ardent, attention to be placed on the field of civic education, especially at the level of higher education. Recommendations for future research and programmatic changes to the CIVIC 101 class will be weaved throughout this chapter, concluding with some final thoughts.

Educating for a Participatory Democracy at the University- Some Lessons Learned From the Literature

Again, I chose to study civic education at the university levels because college is a critical time in students’ lives, both for preparing them for adulthood, developing a sense of “moral and civic responsibility,” (Colby, et al, 2000, xxi), and realizing ethical and social justice issues connected to democracy. In addition, there has been national research suggesting students tend to adopt more social-activist outlooks if they attend a college that embraces social-activist viewpoints (Sax 2000, 13).

First, an overview of higher education for civic engagement was presented, recognizing how civic engagement has been a longstanding goal in higher education for over a century, and gained some note during the progressive era during the time of John Dewey and Jane Adams Hull House. As Allison Rios Millet McCartney notes, Dewey pointed out educating for democracy required learning about “social relationships and control” and developing the “=habits of the mind which secure social changes without introducing disorder” (Rios Millet McCartney 2013, 9).¹²⁵ Dewey’s perspective pushed the boundaries of the traditional view of the university as purely developing their intellect with Western literature and philosophy but “in an educational environment unfettered by political conflicts and disagreements” (Rios Millet McCartney 2013, 9).¹²⁶ More recently, over the past thirty years, there has been increased attention on volunteering, service learning, and civic engagement in higher education.

This chapter, which presented an overview of youth civic engagement and the university as a civic actor as well as its efforts to promote participation through service-learning and other initiatives, provides a backdrop of how well universities perform in this area. There has been substantial change throughout the years, from focusing on volunteering in the 1980s to service learning in the 1990s to a shift to civic engagement after 2000 (Battistoni 2013). However, it is still questionable as to whether this embrace of civic engagement, sometimes a catch-all term for involvement in society, truly includes political engagement as well (beyond just voting). Are civic engagement drives still largely associated with increased volunteering or do they provoke students to understand the larger power structures that have them volunteering in after-school program or a soup kitchen in a first place? Do they engage students in a way that fosters

participation in decision making in all of society's venues? A review of the literature suggests more programs should not divorce the political from civic engagement, but rather strive to view the terms interchangeably. This will help programs in service learning and civics to create more "participatory" and "social justice-oriented" students as they relate their experience in and outside of the classroom to systems of domination that perpetuate inequalities. Yet, more could still be done to enhance the political efficacy of students, politicize them and nourish an affinity for greater democratization in their lives. Susan Searls Giroux finds that "universities too often appear removed from the discourse of public values and the ideals of a substantive democracy at a time when it is most imperative to defend the institution against an onslaught of forces that are often as ant-intellectual as they are anti-democratic in nature" (Searls Giroux 2012, X).

Drexel University's Lindy Center for Civic Engagement CIVIC 101 Program – Successes and Recommendations

As stated previously in this dissertation, The Lindy Center for Civic Engagement and its first year civic engagement program is an attempt to be the "most civically engaged university in Philadelphia," according to John Fry, the President of Drexel University. The CIVIC 101 class is the "freshman requirement for civic engagement, establishing the culture at the start of the Drexel experience" (Fry, 2015). The program has enlisted almost all first-year students in one credit class to spend ten hours in the field volunteering with a local nonprofit while the other remaining hours are in the class discussing themes and concepts pertaining to democracy and civic engagement. Through qualitative interviews with program and university administrators, instructors and

students, Chapter 4 presents a case study of the CIVIC 101 program examining how it educates first-year college students for a democracy.

The CIVIC 101 class does bring a tremendous amount of awareness, exposure and interest to the importance of civic engagement and volunteering, which likely leads to future political and civic engagement, including and beyond volunteering (Campbell 2000; Flanagan and Galloway 1995; Putnam 2000). It introduces students to important urban problems including poverty, substandard conditions of public education, gentrification, and racism. The class also teaches students that it is important to be active and critical participants in society, by calling them as well as aiding them to reflect on their experiences in ways they may have not done so in the past. A number of instructors and student reflection papers revealed that this has been an “eye opening” experience for many students in terms of learning more about problems plaguing the Philadelphia community, systems of privilege and power and the overall importance of being civically and politically engaged. The Drexel CIVIC 101 program may not be unique to higher education as many universities are carrying out civic education initiatives, especially among first-year students. However it is original in its design, in terms of the activities employed week-by-week, especially in the new curriculum and in the fact that it is mandatory for almost all first-year students at Drexel University. In addition, the results of Chapter 4 reveal that it is making a significant and commendable effort in truly inspiring and initiating students to begin a path of lifelong civic engagement.

Educating for a participatory democracy?

How well does the Lindy Center's CIVIC 101 class educate for a participatory democracy, albeit mostly implicitly? If we apply the suggested criteria for a university participatory democratic civic engagement course outlined in Chapter 1, on a scale of 1 to 10, the CIVIC 101 class would most likely receive a 6 for its ability to empower students to be involved in the local community, work towards collective problem solving, assess civic initiatives from various actors such as the university, nonprofits and others, and to be cognizant about the dynamics of power and privilege in society. These values, captured in many of the readings and examples of participatory democracy, contribute to a more substantive notion of democracy where equality in decision-making occurs throughout society recognizing these processes as vital to combatting racial, economic, gender and other inequalities. The Drexel CIVIC 101 class is not just a volunteer program where students volunteer in a soup kitchen, feel-good and leave. Although it does not explicitly set-forth an agenda to educate for a participatory democracy, it does strive to push students beyond being simply personally-responsible citizens, and inspires them to be participatory and social-justice oriented (Westheimer and Kahne 2004), two types of citizens exemplifying a participatory democracy.

Applying the suggested criteria for a university participatory democratic civic engagement course outlined in Chapter 1, the following is an assessment of how well the CIVIC 101 class performed as well as some recommendations:

- *Participatory in design and execution* -- Indeed, the current manifestation of CIVIC 101, was created through participatory methods. Instructors and Program administrators convened in collaborative work sessions during the summer of

2015 to carefully consider and review each segment of the current curriculum. Although students were not physically present at these meetings, their input and reflection papers did inform the changes. Hence, since its inception in its current manifestation was participatory in design. Instructors and Lindy Center administrators met in the summer of 2015 to carefully consider and revise each segment of the current curriculum. Student evaluations and their reflection papers did inform the curricular changes. The course design process, thus, has grown increasingly participatory over the years since its inception in 2012 (Appendix B). One recommendation would be to include student representatives, as well as community members, to the curriculum design committee. In addition to end of the quarter student evaluations, it may be useful to host program open discussions or meetings with community members, students, instructors and administrators as well. The Lindy Center Staff do host very informative and thorough training sessions where instructors share different pedagogical tactics and approaches to effectively conveying the material. A future meeting may include all of the program's participants, representatives from each constituency about what works and what could be improved upon in the course.

- *Pedagogies that are participatory and experiential*— The interviews with the instructors, a review of the syllabi, and a general discussion of the program's history and foundational purpose (Appendix B) reveal that the CIVIC 101 course is exemplary of utilizing innovative participatory and experiential pedagogies. The new curriculum participatory epitomizes exemplary in-class experiential classroom experiential practices and designs, and the new curriculum has aimed

to create a more student-centered program. Students engage in hands-on, discussion based activities as well as in-class reflection exercises. The program strives for students to bring their personal experience to the classroom to share with others. At times, with activities that asked for students to take a stand on an issues where their responses were measured on Likert scale, after students individually read articles and reflected about a topic on Blackboard, students engage in higher levels of deliberation.

- *Foster collective action for public problems-* The syllabus defines civic engagement as collective problem solving, and students are introduced to this concept as they serve at various nonprofits. In fact, the classes on universities as civic actors and nonprofits as civic actors reifies the notion of community-based organizations collaborating with various community members. In discussions on gentrification, or charity v. social justice model of volunteering, students analyze to what extent there are asymmetrical power relationships in community-based work. For these reasons, the class does stimulate interest in collectively solving public problems. However, since it is only a one-credit course, and students are volunteering instead of being part of an ongoing collaborative project, this class falls short of actually offering students the opportunity to engage in collective action. Some students do volunteer at the Dornsife Center for Neighborhood Partnerships—a center that brings the university together with neighborhood partners and residents in offering programming for the community sustainability--but due to the time limitations and the nature of the programming, it falls short of what may be described as collective action. Some recommendations are to

increase student awareness of other programs on campus that may work collectively with community members either in Philadelphia, elsewhere or abroad. The Lindy Center could continue to discuss, research and experiment with ways collective action on public problems could be achieved, ensuring equality in participation and voice. For instance, town hall meetings in the Drexel Dornsife's Center for Neighborhood Partnerships on local community problems and issues may be an initial step toward collaborative work.

- *Develop political and civic knowledge of students and participants-* The CIVIC 101 class certainly introduces students to the concept of civic engagement and the importance of developing a lifelong commitment to civic engagement. It also increases students' knowledge of issues such as the university's civic role in society, gentrification, institutionalized racism and discrimination, poverty, disparities in education, and economic inequality. However, it is only a one-credit course, so students may learn more about their site-specific issues. In the former curriculum, pre-Fall 2015, instructors were given more autonomy in designing their own assignments, so some professors, such as myself, required students to research an issue/problem relevant to their service site and brainstorm possible action routes to solve the problem, whether it via institutional policy, public policy, individual action or collective action. The new curriculum requests students to chart their civic pathway for their final project, including what values and experiences influenced their past, current and future potential civic activity. This restructuring of the assignments was an attempt to make the class more student-centered, and thus the take-away of this shift is that students leave with

increased knowledge of their own civic identity. In a one-credit, ten-week course this is a realistic, yet admirably ambitious, expectation of students' knowledge to be attained by participating in the course. Suggestions for increasing the civic and political knowledge of Drexel students would be for the Lindy Center to continue partnering with various departments and professors on service-learning and other experiential initiatives. The Lindy Center could offer and host additional speakers and workshops on campus, including experts and groups to engage students on issues of racism, discrimination and economic inequality. Finally, similar to Tufts Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE) and the University of South Carolina's National Resource Center for First Year Experience and Students in Transition, the Lindy Center could establish a research/resource center on civic engagement initiatives for urban universities with hopefully a normative bent toward fostering a participatory democracy.

- *Adhere to a participatory democratic theoretical framework-* The overarching concept of the course is participatory in essence because it is premised upon the belief that civic engagement is beneficial for democracy, hence calling for students to become more civically engaged. The former and incipient curriculum called for students to become “active participants” in a pluralist democracy. It mentioned “political efficacy” as one of the course goals. The current course goads students in “pursuing a “civic pathway”, where they significantly develop their civic engagement “efficacy, identity and agency.” The syllabus explicitly states, “this course is a starting point.” Both curricular directions call for greater

participation in society, and the most recent course design does explicitly mention students will “critically examine... power structures and the concepts of privilege.” Undoubtedly, a civic engagement course constructed with a participatory democratic lens should include explicit calls for increased participation and greater understanding of societal inequalities. Thus in some ways, the CIVIC 101 class is designed with tacit insight from participatory democratic theory. However, the curriculum could expand by including some of the following ideas: students will learn the importance of become active participants in decision-making structures throughout their lives; students will critically examine what it means to participate in a democracy; students will understand the differences and similarities between civic and political engagement; students will learn and engage in collective problem-solving with community members; students will learn the importance of furthering democratization in their professional and personal lives.

In addition, one critique of the discourse and language presented in the new syllabus is that the word “political” has been omitted. In an interview with Catherine Fuller (2016), Assistant Director for Community-Based Learning, she stated:

We certainly didn’t intentionally exclude the word “political”; political participation is a huge part of civic engagement, even if this specific word is missing from the syllabus. We have had conversations about how to best facilitate politically charged conversations around gentrification or privilege because, as you say, the content is inherently political.

She points out that not including the word “political” may have been an oversight. In fact, instructors are trained to teach students that one area of civic engagement is “political engagement and deliberation,” and instructors can define political engagement as they desire. Obviously conventional forms of political action such as voting or volunteering on a political campaign are highlighted. In fact, the CIVIC 101 Blackboard Site contains an easy-to-use voter registration link called Turbo Vote. The program is certainly dedicated to fostering both civic and political engagement, but it is recommended that future syllabi do not shy away from the term “political” but reference directly and more than once. In addition, the program’s instructors may benefit from deliberating among themselves about the differences and similarities between civic and political engagement. As an instructor in the program, I explicitly describe politics to broadly refer to the access and distribution of power, a ubiquitous process in society.

- *Encourage students and participants to democratize society’s institutions*—This is in part was achieved in discussions about economic and social equality, the nature of university-community collaborations, and the effectiveness of nonprofits and other themes, but the program does not explicitly call for students to promote participation in decision-making and aid in the democratization of their school, community, workplace, home and elsewhere. The former syllabus did include a reading specifically about workplace democracy, but removal of this article was an initial curricular change prior to fall 2015. From personal experience, it was hard for students to quickly comprehend workplace democracy and engage in a critical assessment of the subject. However, more time and dedication towards

creating a classroom activity around workplace democracy is conceivably achievable for the CIVIC 101 class. One recommendation would be to reintroduce this topic for part of week 9. Why is this so imperative? Given that Drexel is a co-op university where most students spend a large portion of their undergraduate years working for an organization or business related to their career, and also given the fact that students are volunteering for local nonprofit organizations which may be their first exposure to non-profit management and effectiveness, it is critical that students recognize the impact of working in environments that are non-hierarchical, transparent, participatory versus hierarchical, closed, command-oriented systems. Workplace democracy and democratization in general should be an indispensable element of the course¹²⁷.

- *Foster values of nondiscrimination and nonrepression*, and highlight negative effects of *neoliberalism and institutionalized discrimination*. The program does address these topics and values specifically with classes dedicated to power and privilege and gentrification. The syllabus states that students will “critically analyze” concepts such as “power structures and the concept of privilege.
- *Embrace and instill concepts of a holistic definition of civic engagement*, as presented by some scholars such as Jacoby (2009), explicated in Chapter 2. This includes acquiring civic and political knowledge, expressing empathy in engagement, developing a sense of social justice, as well nurturing civic and political efficacy and agency.

The instructors’ interviews also revealed that the course goals and objectives, as outlined on the syllabus of promoting students to be civically engaged, socially

responsible and possessing a greater sense of political efficacy now and as they embark on their professional lives, are being achieved. These objectives lay the foundation of a participatory democracy, but as aforementioned some critical components of this theory are not explicitly addressed in the syllabus. Taking steps to reference principles of participatory democracy in the syllabus would lead to a greater institutionalization of those goals, and thus greater inclination for students to adopt a more participatory democratic lifestyle.

One other critique that perhaps should be discussed briefly again is the fact that this is a one-credit course taught by a few regular faculty but mostly adjunct faculty and employees of residential and student life. A more concerted effort to institutionalize civic education would be to at least require this course to be 2 credit and require students to take a follow-up civic class later in their college career. The second course could require a greater academic component, more direct collaboration with the community and a connection to the students' majors. The Lindy Center does offer a certificate in civic engagement and regularly works with various faculty in integrating service-learning components in their classroom. However, a required follow-up course would further institutionalize Drexel's civic engagement mission.

Impact of CIVIC 101 and Students' Conceptions of Democracy

Did students' participation in the CIVIC 101 course change the way they perceived democracy, their future expected participation and their understanding of what it means to be civically and politically engaged? Over 300 students were presented with a survey asking them to rank ideas about civic and political engagement and democracy overall. As a result, two completed datasets were formed – one consisting of 335 pre-

tests, administered at the beginning of class and 255 pre and post-test surveys that were exact matches. Twelve students met for more in-depth interviews, and over 15 sets of reflection papers were analyzed.¹²⁸ The results to this overarching question varied. The close-ended, quantitatively oriented, pre and post-test surveys produced no large difference in opinions toward democracy or future expected participation as a result of taking this course. It could be that the one-credit, ten week course is just not enough time to show significant change on important lifelong political, social and economic values. Or it could be that changes in students' perceptions of democracy and what it means to be engaged are difficult to capture in a close-ended, 10-15 survey filled with choices and Likert scale. One finding that showed some statistical significance was for students that were more extreme on saying democracy definitely needs or definitely doesn't need socioeconomic equality, many moved to the center. This suggests the program may have had a de-radicalizing effect on students' perceptions, and raises questions as to whether a participatory-inducing effect of the program was less polarization and heightened dialogue, discussion and consensus on issues.

In terms of how students conceptualize democracy, the study revealed interesting differences among how students identified. Large differences exist between international and national students with international students expressing more concern for socioeconomic inequality and anti-consumerism. In addition, many of the international students claimed they would more likely participate in more participatory ways -- such as collective effort to improve education and workplace democracy -- in the future. What might account for this? First, as discussed in Chapter 5, anti-consumerism in discourse and policy has a much larger presence in many countries besides the United States.

Secondly, the majority of international students in the CIVIC 101 class are from China. Recognizing that political and civil liberties are restricted in China, does this mean students from China may have a predilection towards viewing democracy in more participatory terms due because they are hungering for more participation after being starved of democracy? Are their expectations about future civic or political engagement overly ambitious? Or are they answering the survey in ways they think I, the administrator of the survey would like them to respond, because in their views, the U.S. is considered more democratic than China? This is an area that warrants more investigation and research and not just in the differences between international and domestic students, but also in how to educate for a participatory democracy in a diverse classroom. Pedagogies for a participatory democratic education should be inclusive not leaving anyone out of the dialogue. To what extent are international students from China fully being included in class discussions? What can the domestic students learn from the international students, and vice versa, in terms of civic engagement? This is another area to explore.

Stark differences in conceptualizations of democracy were also found between those who identified as females versus males, and those that identified as black, African American or Latino in the US. Females, blacks, African Americans and Latino/a all displayed an understanding in more radical, participatory ways. This may suggest that persons who identify with a group that has been historically marginalized may likely view democracy in minimalist, procedural terms as not enough. Feeling the ramifications of oppressive inequalities may shape a more substantive understanding of democracy, as

members of these groups may recognize procedural, liberal democracy's equality of opportunity does signify equality of outcomes.

Some other interesting findings include that those who took AP Government and other government related classes in high school did not have impact on their understanding of democracy. This suggests that formal classroom training about government, which undoubtedly incorporates civics, is not enough to change the civic mindset. This strengthens the argument and need for keeping a civic education class separate from other disciplines, even those, such as government, that are related. Another recommendation may be to restructure the Advanced Placement courses. In fact, at least one, if not a few students mentioned their AP teacher had an impact on whether they learned a substantial amount about US Government in high school. In a new book entitled *Civic Education in the 21st Century*, Gooch and Rogers (2015) find there is a paradoxical inverse relationship between civic education courses and civic participation; more civic education classes did not translate in greater amounts of civic participation. Their findings suggest that nature, design and delivery of the course materials matters and thus more attention should directed to the creation of engaging, experiential pedagogies for civic education.

Although participation in the CIVIC 101 class did not change their ideas on the quantitative surveys, but the responses on open-ended answers, qualitative interviews and reflection papers did show some change. Students reported greater levels of empathy after witnessing gross inequalities in the city of Philadelphia; others were appalled by the deplorable state of public education; and others reported being surprised by urban blight.

Did students fundamentally find liberal and participatory democracy to be compatible? This study found that there may be an ontological disconnect in ideas expressed by those surveyed in preferences for a procedural, liberal version of democracy versus a substantive, participatory form. There is some statistical significance between those persons that recognized the critical issue of socioeconomic inequality and the likelihood that they would participate in more participatory forms of democracy. However, were elections minimized? Not exactly, as 70% of students that identified strongly with the idea that democracy needs socioeconomic equality also believed voting is important. Yet, this is not 100% and 80% of students who strongly agree the free market is important supported voting. The difference suggests that ideas may impact how youth plan to participate in the future. As Dalton (2016) and others points out (Gilman and Stokes 2014), Millennials are more likely than other generations to support an activist government, but are less likely to vote or engage in other conventional forms of political activity. This necessitates a pause for reflection; it is important to ensure voting is regarded as essential to democracy and how one can adopt a participatory democratic framework without abandoning procedural democracy. More qualitative research is needed for further assessment, but it's important to both theorists and practitioners to recognize liberal and Dahlian conception of democracy cannot be jettisoned for the participatory, action-oriented and social-justice view. The two are mutually interrelated. Post-liberal, as some point out (Arditi 2008; Wolff 2013) is not beyond liberalism. Rather, it is a new approach with liberalism as its backbone. How can this connection be discussed and experienced in civic education classes at the university level? Developing more

sophisticated, complex dialogue about what democracy is and could be is another recommended area of research.

In addition, if millennials, as Dalton (2016) and others mention (Gilman and Stokes 2014), are more likely than other generations to support an activist government, but are less likely to vote or engage in other conventional forms of political activity, such as contacting public officials, attending public meetings, collaborating with neighbors and joining unions (Gilman and Stokes 2014, 58), what does this suggest for the prospects of an emerging participatory democracy? This raises some important questions for the quest to promote a participatory democracy but also for participatory democratic theory itself. For instance, participatory democratic theorists place a lot of emphasis and weight on unions being the vehicle to foment and institutionalize workplace democracy, a core component of participatory democracy. Although Millennials appear to be internalizing many values associated with participatory democracy, such as a disdain for economic and social inequality and increased tolerance, how can these values become enduring or institutionalized if millennials shun organizations such as unions or even voting? While participatory democracy calls for deepening of democratization, it does not ignore the importance of the fundamental form of participation in a society such as voting. This suggests more qualitative research should be performed to find out why, for instance, young adults are joining unions less. Some research suggests millennials hold a highly favorable view of unions (Winograd and Hais 2011), whereas other scholars note there may not be opportunities for millennials to join unions, especially with the current career path entailing numerous

changes and transitions and not an image of long term union membership (Sankin 2013). This could be an area for future research.

Finally, this study is about universities educating students for democracy. How about students that may not attend the university? Does this study imply that all students should go to college? I am of the persuasion that all persons should attend some form of higher education, whether it is a 2-year, 4-year or multiple year program. Another recommendation or additional area of study would be how can the diversity of universities in the United States, and worldwide, develop civic education programs from a participatory mindset? I strongly encourage the development of a database or a comparative study to see how many universities have similar programs as Drexel's CIVIC 101 class and how colleges define democracy as well as civic and political engagement. As mentioned in the introduction, do most programs focus strictly on civic engagement instead of being involved in participatory or political ways?

Why Participatory Democracy Now? One Last Defense

It is ever more pressing for a new, reformulated democratic theory to meet the exigencies of the gross inequality in the U.S. where 80% of the population owns 11% of the wealth (Domhoff 2013)¹²⁹ and by current estimates, the top 1% will have more wealth than the remaining 99% by next year (Oxfam Issue Briefing 2015). For developed countries, tax and transfer policies have mitigated some of this inequality, but the U.S. lags in this area compared to its European counterparts (Economist, 2013). Participatory democracy cannot promise the enactment of palliative transfers, and indeed participation without changed supported by institutions is not enough (Mattson 2003). However, participatory democracy provides an aspiring model for persons to participate to ensure

equality of opportunity allowing the possibility for the equality of outcomes. The diminishment of economic inequality and expansive involvement of the populace form a dialectical relationship in which the progress charted on one end induces progress on the other and vice versa. Participatory democracy offers a framework to not only enrich democracy and socioeconomic equality but also popular sovereignty as well, an essential ingredient of any democracy.

Deliberative democratic theory, calling for massive deliberation by citizens, institutions and leaders, is a step in the right direction, but it only goes so far. Deliberative democratic theorists discount empirical examples reinforcing participatory democrats claims; they don't reveal their own internal weaknesses; they may spark more friction and less collective action if deliberation is not accompanied by discussion of underlying structural imbalances (Warren 1992), and some may argue they disguise themselves as participatory democrats only to lack a conviction for "any fundamental social or personal transformation" (Hauptmann 2001, 399).

Participatory democracy is not some utopian ambition discarding liberal democracy. Instead, participatory democracy rests and emerges from liberal democracy, reinforcing it in the process. Equality of opportunity has always been a fundamental component of liberal democracy as a path towards equality of opportunity. Hegemonic conceptualizations of liberal democracy divorce the equality of opportunity from democracy to meet the dictates of a market economy, and this bifurcation has been widened during the neoliberal era. This fixation with equality of opportunity being divorced from equality of outcomes, conceals the fact that without equality of outcome it is nearly impossible to reach equality of opportunity and vice versa. How can there be

equality of opportunity when wealth inequality multiplies enervating the middle class? Equality of opportunity, in its current popular appeal and understanding, is a veneer for liberal democracy masking its true aspirations. Liberal democracy or “the democratic process is packed to the hilt with substantive values,” as Dahl (1989, 164) recognized. It is participatory democracy, in its recognition and call for the dialectical relationship between equality of opportunities and outcomes that can support the true goals of liberal democracy. In fact, many participatory democratic theorists mentioned in this project, did not abandon liberal democracy in their call for participatory democracy (Pateman 1970, 2012; Bachrach and Botwinick 1992). The problem with solely supporting liberal democracy, is that the theory, as Pateman (1983) describes it, tends to veer and buttress liberal individualism and *de jure* political equality at the expense of concealing prevailing inequalities and marginalizations in society (214). Thus support for participatory democracy does not supplant realistic, practical democratic values for utopian ones, but instead it builds on vital existing principles and requirements of liberal democracy to envision a greater potential for democracy to eradicate society’s ills.

Some Concluding Thoughts and Recommendations

More research should be performed on how participatory democratic theory, although still changing, may offer the most adequate and versatile framework for studying democracy today. Along with studying participatory theory alongside deliberative, republican and other approaches theoretically, more empirically grounded theory should be explored whether it is case studies, ideas, and educational practices or some other phenomenon embracing the spirit of participatory democracy. In fact, as this dissertation attempts to demonstrate, participatory democratic theory should be applied

not only to theories of democratic education, as formulated by Gutmann (1987), but also to theories and studies of how to educate students for democracy. This includes applying a participatory democratic theoretical lens to the study of experiential pedagogies.

The second chapter delved into the writing by some of the pioneers of radical participatory democracy, especially Paolo Freire, to better understand how they charted a course of transformative education. Despite recognizing the shortcomings of these theories' deterministic nature, still argues that participatory democratic theory as applied to educational pedagogies, can elucidate the insights and contributions of Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. A participatory democratic pedagogy would agree with Freire that the "banking method" or merely professors depositing of information into students' heads, serving as receptacles, is a type of authoritarian, rote learning that suppresses empowerment or real progress. Education where there is a dialectical relationship between student and instructor, learning together and one that weaves in personal experience, coupled with critically analyzing and questioning the subjects' understudy through dialogue, writing and presentation, is one that offers the most promise for political and civic empowerment. It is through this dialectical process itself that substantive goals, such as challenging the dominant neoliberal paradigm, emerge. Thus, viewing Freire through a participatory democratic lens, highlights the importance of the process of democratic decision-making in reaching his end goal of the oppressed overcoming their oppressors. Freire may not have seen it this way as perhaps he would argue that participation in decision-making and authority structures would inevitably be co-opted. Perhaps he was right, but the fact that there has been real change and progress, not only in the field of civic education but in other areas that have adopted participatory

democratic values—such as some municipal budgeting schemes—proves increased access to decision making does make an impact. Still, Freire and pedagogical apostles should not be discarded. The contributions of Freire, Shor and other radical and poststructuralist writers of education, offer tremendous insight on how to design and teach a civic engagement course for a participatory democracy.

In terms of the Lindy Center for Civic Engagement's CIVIC 101 program, the case study of the class as well as the larger role and structure of the center within the university (see Appendix B) is in many ways educating for a participatory democracy. It is a valuable empirical example because its practices engage students in participatory and leadership roles dealing with important issues in society such as poverty, education and economic development. It could become a more robust empirical example if some of participatory democracy's tenets are endorsed more explicitly rather than implicitly.

More research should be conducted on how different students learn to be civically engaged and how pedagogies can engage them all equally. The differences between international and domestic students was the most surprising. How can we engage international students more effectively, especially when many tend to be shy and reticent in the classroom? Why are they more likely to endorse a participatory vision of democracy? What can domestic students learn from the international students and vice versa? In fact, more research should be conducted on identity politics overall and how that is changing the landscape of democratic theory and praxis. This is especially important as an increasing number of people in the U.S. are identifying as multiracial (Davenport 2014).

There should also be more research on how ontological ideas about society may feed into types of civic and political engagement. This is especially important in those that may tend to support a liberal, minimalist version or a more substantive, participatory notion, but fail to realize the interconnection between the two. More research can aid in finding the right balance between the two ends of the democratic spectrum without abandoning liberal democratic precepts, especially in light of the rise of what many scholars term “post-liberal” democracies (Arditi 2008; Wolff 2013). How are current situations worldwide changing Millennials’ and others’ perceptions on democracy to an extent that is conducive for building strong, liberal participatory democracies?

The study of democratic theory does not have to be confined to the realm of democratic theory. As many scholars are already doing, and as this research project has done with the field of education, research should be opened up to literature from a variety of fields including education, economic development, sociology, and elsewhere. In terms of political science, while this research focused mostly on research in political theory and civic education, I would be remiss not to point out that much of my learning on the subject stemmed from the field of comparative politics, especially the study of democratization among countries. Political theorists are also turning towards comparative politics in their theorizing on democracy, pointing to empirical evidence of democracy in practice.¹³⁰ Thus, comparativists, political theorists, Americanists and others should work closer together in bridging the gap between empirical and normative theory.

Previous years in the field of democratic theory -- particularly the decades of the 1960s and 1970s -- have not been particularly kind to empirical research, especially its survey research component. Dryzek and Berejikian (1993) note that during the 1960s and

1970s democratic empirical theory “seemed to run out of energy” and while some like Dahl changed their minds on “actual and desirable democratic orders”, there lacked a new approach to theory to replace survey dominated approach of the 1950s and 1960s (49). Yet, as theorists then turned to the more abstract theorizing, the language became more esoteric. Dryzek and Berejikian (1993) note:

The alienation of *political* theory may be bad enough; but the alienation of *democratic* theory is worse because, ironically, any theorist of democracy is presumably postulating some measure of equality across speakers and listeners (however small this measure may be for liberal constitutionalists). (49)

Expressing John Dewey’s sentiments, Dryzek and Berejikian (1993, 49), found “the cure of the ailments of democratic theory is more democratic theory.”¹³¹ Mixing empirics with theorizing will ultimately make participatory democratic theory more participatory as it will enhance inclusivity and show greater integration of real-life examples of persons participating. This case study of the Lindy Center’s CIVIC 101 program is one such example and a call to continue to use participatory democracy as a framework for studying civic education, especially those programs that aim to empower, liberate and transform society.

Overall, the Lindy Center’s CIVIC 101 program is on the pathway to educating students for a participatory democracy. Many of the experiential activities and pedagogies employed, as discussed earlier in this chapter, have been participatory in nature. Many of the issues raises, such as systems of power and privilege and gentrification, are issues one would expect in participatory democratic civic education course, especially one that is housed within an urban university. While some of the curriculum discourse does teeter on being apolitical, as it left out words such as

inequality, power dynamics, contestation, social justice and other descriptive or strong terms when considering what is meant by political. Politics is important to participatory democratic theory, as it is premised on the idea that greater participation is likely to redistribute power. However, the CIVIC 101's republican identification with democracy is participatory in nature and a starting point for a budding participatory democratic curriculum. In addition, many Millennials – little over 50%-- envisioned democracy in participatory democratic ways. Yet, almost the other half of students still viewed democracy in mostly liberal/procedural terms. Therefore, progress is being made towards embracing participatory democratic values and practices in education, but more still needs to be done.

In addition to Drexel, how can other universities in this neoliberal climate where students are treated as consumers and universities are increasingly run as businesses, be convinced that implementing civic engagement courses in this participatory democratic framework is a sound decision? This research study provides evidence that service-learning, dialogue, student-centered approaches to education where they are engaged with their local communities provides students with incomparable benefits and experiences to learn about themselves, their surroundings and what it means to be engaged. A program inspired by participatory democracy, promoting students to participate in decision-making with authority structures at all societal levels, and to further values of non-repression and nondiscrimination, is critical at this historical juncture where the US has the highest level of wealth inequality in the western developed world and continues to deal with deep-rooted racism and discrimination. The dictates of the corporate cultures and the demands it places on universities may bias university administrators against such

programs, viewing them as not lucrative and unattractive to students influenced by the demands of the marketplace. However, this is why it is all the more pressing to develop civic education at the university level. Educating for a participatory democracy, following a similar blue-print outlined in this research, will help foster greater amounts of social responsibility, toleration, empathy, awareness of political decisions being made at every level in society and political and civic efficacy and willingness to participate in society. The more students are transformed in this way, the greater the likelihood they will heed the demands of their civic and political community instead of the market community. For example the venture capitalist student leader in chapter 4 will focus civic engagement efforts towards building social capital for human development, or how people can collectively enhance capabilities for all, instead of collective efforts to spur economic growth. With these types of civic programs, participation in decisions about power distributions and improvements in society will become the norm instead of an infrequent occurrence. As Drexel President John Fry explains, “If we can get people to agree on which goals serve the most people the best, and create a baseline of opportunity and support for everyone, all the other tasks of a democracy will follow” (Fry 2015). Optimistically, those goals will be for the education and actualization of a participatory democratic society.

ENDNOTES

¹ Rogers (2015) in the first chapter of a new book entitled *Civic Education in the 21st Century; A Multidimensional Approach* (eds Rogers and Gooch), points out three major issues serve as the impetus for focusing on civic education today—widespread civic illiteracy, lack of formal civic education, especially at the collegiate level, and a decline in civic and political engagement.

² This study discusses participatory democratic theory as it evolved in the U.S. since the 1960s. There were ancient and modern precursors, from Aristotle to Rousseau, to the recent modern participatory democratic theory in the U.S.

³ The theoretical framework was developed through ongoing online discussions with Dr. Heath Fogg Davis. I thank him greatly for his tremendous insight in helping me to develop and build a stronger, clearer theory for this case study.

⁴ These are a list of goals outlined in two versions of the syllabus from 2011 until 2016. In later chapters, I will briefly discuss how the two syllabi changed.

⁵ Close to sixty percent of the students that completed the pre and post-test (sample set of 255) answered in their post-test responses that democracy should include: “A society in which persons are politically active and encouraged to collectively try to change power structures in society, although it may upset the norms or status quo in society.” For the larger sample set of responses of 335 students, 54% answered this way.

⁶ Millennials is a loosely defined demographic that is generally considered to encompass those born from the early 1980s until shortly after the turn of the 21st century.

⁷ This does not overlook the tension that exists between communitarian and liberalism in general. The normative position here is that participatory democracy, building on a developmentalist framework supported by communitarians, ultimately is still a strong adherent of liberal democracy. Agreeing with ideas set forth by Pateman (1970;2012) and MacPherson (1966; 1977), as well as being influenced by other scholars (Bachrach and Botwinick 1992; Sen 1999; Nussbaum 2010; Appadurai 2004 and Marx (1867)[1906], among others), this project presents a defense of participatory democracy with what I may term, a liberal, emancipatory communitarian perspective, if one were to equate the “general will” or “common good” as the principle that participatory democracy should endeavor to allow and provide for the development of capabilities (MacPherson 1977; Pateman 1970). This is rudimentary and is an area that can be explored further in future projects.

⁸ Hence, the strong focus on workplace democracy in many of the writings (Pateman 1970; Bachrach and Botwinick 1992).

⁹ In fact, some studies of university civic engagement projects and the programs themselves have been explicitly guided by the intellectual framework of participatory democratic theory (Spiezio 2009), but others have been nebulous in their definition of democracy. For instance, some define the requirements of democracy by listing conventionally presumed requirements such as informed citizenry and mutual collaboration (Ehrlich 2000), whereas others, as Boyte and Kari (2000) point out, tend to gravitate to either a liberal procedural perspective focused on political or civil rights or a communitarian perspective emphasizing collective action for the common good (40-41). Others have attempted to approach educating for democracy from a holistic and inclusive view of democracy, defining it in liberal, procedural terms *as well as* republican, deliberative and participatory terms (Colby, et al, 2007, 7). This dissertation takes the normative position of defining democracy in participatory democratic terms. This project, therefore, is mostly unique in its approach to apply participatory democratic theory to better understand university based civic education.

¹⁰ Barbara Jacoby in fact says: “It offers a ‘big tent’ that allows individuals and initiatives representing a range of perspectives to gather beneath it for the purpose of creating a cohesive whole that advances responsibility for the common good.” As previously mentioned and alluded to in chapter 2, working toward the “common good” could be seen as a goal of participatory democracy, but I take the position that it is more accurately situated as a goal of the republican, developmentalist conception of democracy as described by authors such as Barber, Sandel, Etzioni and others. The argument that participatory democracy rests and relies upon liberalism as well as calls for contestation of the status quo makes it more difficult to argue that striving for the common good is the best depiction of the goals of participatory democracy.

¹¹ Civic and political engagement are used interchangeably and I take the position, as stated in the definition of civic and political engagement, that they do overlap. This is not to deny that used alone they may connote distinct meanings. In fact, civic engagement seems to conventionally and minimally be used to suggest persons taking action to promote the “common good,” whereas political engagement is any type of action that is political, with political meaning the distribution of power in society broadly defined. The definitions will be elaborated upon later in the paper, but one example of this discussion is whether or not playing soccer is civic as well as political engagement. Despite some arguing it is neither, the Corporation of Community and National Service (2011) measures participation in sports as an indicator of civic health. Participating in a sports teams is considered to improve the common good of the community build civic and social capital. As for political engagement, prima facie, playing soccer does not seem to achieve conventional political ends, but the actual act of playing undoubtedly is political as there is always fluctuations of power on the field. In addition, many times sport leagues and clubs engage in direct political action outside the game and practice. These ideas about political and civic engagement, as well as a longstanding affinity with the feminist mantra of the “personal being political” color of political and civic engagement throughout the research.

¹² This understanding of the dialectical relationship between these various components stemmed from long, theoretical discussions with Dr. Aryeh Botwinick, who has written extensively on the subject of participatory democracy, with the notable publication written by him and his colleague Peter Bachrach. Peter Bachrach and Botwinick, Aryeh. 1992. *Power and Empowerment: A Radical Theory of Participatory Democracy*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

¹³ Another way to understand the “structural presence of equality” or inequality is the aforementioned historic *Citizens United* (2010) which loosened campaign finance regulations to allow unfettered soft money funneled to what is now called “super pacs” which support candidates through various ways without directly contributing to the campaign. This watershed relaxing of campaign financing regulations has been criticized in making elections more unequal in terms of political participation. Liz Kennedy (2015) argues that *Citizens United* unleashed more “big money” permitting “a wealthy elite few to overpower other voices to an unprecedented degree at all levels of government” and further eroding sovereignty. In terms of “structural presence of equality” in terms of civic engagement, or persons abilities to affect the common good, and lack thereof, is manifested by the unequal public school system and general economic disparities.

¹⁴ There are pockets, and perhaps even larger currents of participatory democracy, but the question is to what extent they are widespread and enduring. One institutional form of participatory democracy are municipal participatory budgeting projects worldwide inspired by a successful model started in Porto Alegre, Brazil. In terms of protests and social movements, the world witnessed a massive collective resistance to the concentration of corporate wealth with Occupy Wall Street, but the fervor waned and according to its founder, it was a “constructive failure;” meaning that it taught something about the nature of protests and what needs to be done to enact enduring change. Black Lives Matter is a movement that started in 2012 after the acquittal of Trayvon Martin’s murderer to speak out against the “virulent anti-Black racism that permeates our society,” and to “(re)build the Black liberation movement” (Black Lives Matter website).

In addition, participatory democracy as briefly aforementioned and as will be detailed later in chapter 2 is more than just protest and social movements, but it calls for a democratization of the entire society. Democratizing the workplace and challenging social justice at all levels would be emblematic of participatory democracy.

¹⁵ The generational categories that the Corporation for Community and National Service (2011) examine include Older Adults ages 65 and older, Baby Boomers born 1946-1964, Generation X born 1965-1981 and Millennials born 1982 and thereafter.

¹⁶ These are general trends. In fact, Generation X discussed politics second most frequently behind baby boomers, when the Corporation for Community and National Service presented data on civic engagement among Older adults, baby boomers, generation X and Millennials.

¹⁷ They state “From the early work of Merriam and Gosnell (1924) to today, literally thousands of cross-sectional surveys have indicated that turnout rates climb with years of formal schooling.” (174). They reference, Merriam, Charles E. and Harold E. Gosnell. 1924. *Nonvoting, Causes and Methods of Control*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

¹⁹ They reference Nie, Junn and Stehlik-Barry and Campbell 2009. Nie, N.J. ,Junn, J. &Stehlik-Barry, K. (1996) *Education and Democratic citizenship in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press and Campbell, D.E. (2009). Civic engagement and education: An empirical test of the sorting model. *American Journal of Political Science*, 53 (4), 771-786.

²⁰ They reference Jankowski (1992). Not listed in the bibliography, but presumable is this piece: Jankowski, M. (1992). Ethnic identity and political consciousness in different social orders. *New Directions for Child Development*, 56, 79-93.

²¹ In other research, Sherrod, as well as other scholars, approach real and potential civic engagement from youth from a positive youth development (PYD) approach which examines both the internal and external assets youth possess to promote positive outcomes rather than prevent negative ones (Sherrod 2006; Sherrod *Online resource*). Youth have needs, and “youth differ not in individual qualities such as resiliency but in the extent to which their needs are met by the resources in their environment” (2006, 59).

²²Millennial Civic Index. 2013. file:///C:/Users/Office/Downloads/114kcf11573%20(1).pdf Accessed August 31, 2014. Referenced August 31, 2014. Referenced footnote #1. The Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (2012). *At least 80 Electoral Votes Depended on Youth*. Available at <http://www.civicyouth.org/at-least-80-electoral-votes-depended-youth/?%3E>

²³The Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement. <http://www.civicyouth.org/at-least-80-electoral-votes-depended-on-youth/> Accessed August 31, 2014

²⁴ For instance, in the Civic Culture, Almond and Verba displayed extensive data that showed persons with higher education felt more satisfaction when they went to the polls (244).

²⁵ Schudson (2006) also believes that the state of youth civic engagement is misdiagnosed largely by dominant studies about the decline in social capital and associational life by scholars such as Putnam (2000) and Skocpol (2003) premised on narrow definitions of effective engagement. For instance, he points out that their conventional definition of membership in groups requires face-to-face meetings, cross-cutting class encounters, grassroots with chapters organized in towns, subsisting on unpaid volunteers or very few paid staff members, and maintaining a stable organizational structure to name just a few of the requisites (pg. 595). Schudson argues that this definition of an ideal association does not leave space, and in fact denigrates, newer forms of groupings that may not be enduring or require in-person contact, but are also worthy of generating civic change and engendering engagement. Some of the types of organizations and movements he lists include groups aimed at local goals, such as the NIMBY or not-in-my-backyard movement against perceived negative developments close to home, such as the disposal of low-level

radioactive waste (Kearney 1993); groups that emerge during crises but may be ephemeral such as Occupy Wallstreet; groups driven by professional staff such as the many activist nonprofits in D.C.; individual activist agendas that challenge actions in the courts instead of building movements of solidarity; the rise in apolitical self-help organizations (596). He is not opposed the organizations that Putnam and Skocpol endorse, but he finds they “should not exhaust our civic imaginations” (596). Other forms of organizations “should be honored and their advantages exploited because, first, they suit the individualistic and pluralistic society that we have increasingly become; and second, they are in fact capable of generating social connection, civic benefit and moral claims upon the state” (596, Schudson).

²⁶ The Corporation for Community and National Service (2012) pointed out that there has been a slight surge in voting among most age groups, including Millennials. See <http://www.volunteeringinamerica.gov/>. However, Millennials fell short of meeting the national average volunteer rate in 2012 of 26 percent (Corporation for Community and National Service 2012). Interestingly, most groups started to increase in volunteer rates since 2007. There was a surge after 2002, and then a levelling off until about 2007 and then trends of increased volunteering. Millennials and Older Americans, though, in 2012, fell below the national average at about 23% and 25% respectively. Baby Boomers and Generation Xers surpassed the volunteering numbers at about 27% and 30% respectively.

²⁷ See footnote 2 in Millennial Health Index which references. “Youth volunteering rate much higher than in the 1970s and 1980s.” CIRCLE, May 3, 2011. <http://www.civicyouth.org/youth-volunteering-rate-much-higher-than-in-the-1970s-and-80s/>

²⁸ See note 50 where they reference “Kirby, Marcelo and Kawashima-Ginsberg, “Volunteering and College Experience” (see note 14), p. 7-8” Emily Hoban Kirby, Karlo Barrios Marcelo, and Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg, “Volunteering and College Experience,” CIRCLE Fact Sheet, August 2009, www.civicyouth.org

²⁹ Of course, though, “a college graduate is 4 to 5 times more likely to engage in civic activities, such as volunteering, discussing political issues and voting.” (Millennials Civic Health Index. 2013. What is the Millennials CHI? May 13, 2013. Mobilize. Org, <file:///C:/Users/Office/Downloads/114jbcfl978.pdf>, Accessed August 31, 2014).

³⁰In a longitudinal study that compiled over 2000 survey questions about political knowledge from the second half of the twentieth century, Delli Carpini and Keeter (1996) found that while people did possess some rudimentary facts about government and political issues, only half of the population could answer 4 out of 10 questions correctly. Negatively, though, people lacked knowledge of equally important information such as being able to discern the difference between a conservative and liberal, substantive policy issues of the day and an understanding of individual and collective rights (1996).³⁰ In addition and somewhat surprisingly, Delli Carpini and Keeter’s data revealed knowledge levels remained stagnant over the past fifty years. Thus, the authors surmised that despite gains in education and the dissemination of media that should allow for the attainment of more political knowledge, there are equally potent opposing forces hampering the acquisition of information. Delli Carpini and Keeter find having a decent amount of political knowledge depends on a mix of ability, motivation and opportunity, but the larger socioeconomic structural inequalities in society still continue to serve as obstacles (1996).³⁰

³¹ In this particular case, the majority said government spends more on foreign aid (5), but this is a common misperception among adults overall. (CIRCLE 2013; Sachs 2005).

³² This stems from Flanagan and Gally’s study (1995) where they present findings of a study by Anderman and Johnson (1993) of what news events youth retained from Whittle Communication’s Channel One in US high schools. They found girls were more likely to remember stories on health issues, such as AIDS, while boys were more likely to remember stories about state and international affairs. In conventional ways of thinking, as well as in typical political socialization literature, this may suggest that boys have more political knowledge than girls. However, Flanagan and Gally point out “in light of the

public health hazard that AIDS poses, we would be hard pressed to conclude that an understanding of AIDS is less politically relevant than knowledge of international affairs.”

³³ The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) Civic Education Study, the “largest and most rigorous study of civic education ever conducted internationally has conducted research on 90,000 14-year-olds and 50,000 17- to 19-year-olds globally (IEA Civic Education Study). The studies gathered data on students’ attitudes and behaviors and in general examined an array of items including how students defined and understand the concept of citizenship and education, and whether males and females, as well as those from different socioeconomic values, differ in civic values and attitudes (Amadeo, et al, 2002, 24-25). In the U.S. national report of the IEA’s study of 90,000 14-year-olds worldwide, the research found that over 80 percent of 14 year olds found freedom of speech, voting, civic engagement were important (National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), xvii). In terms of their perceptions of government’s role in society, over 80% found that the government should be responsible for keeping prices under control, and close to 90 percent said the government should ensure equal political opportunities for men and women, providing free basic education and healthcare, maintaining peace and order and providing a sufficient standard of living for older persons (NCES, xviii). Close to 60 percent also found that government should ensure an adequate standard of living for the unemployed (NCES, xviii). In general, at this young age, students demonstrated an affinity for both procedural requirements of a liberal democracy as well as notions of more substantive democracy, in which there is equality of participation and outcomes. How do these ideas change over time, and does specific coursework, such as an experiential civic engagement program, change or build upon those ideas?

³⁴ Plato asserted that education leads the development of a citizen, and in fact, those most educated were left to the affairs of the state, the philosopher kings and guardians. Aristotle also found that education should be the means to the development of a good life and citizenry, not as an end in itself. In Book Eight of *Politics*, he writes “The citizen should be molded to suit the form of government under which he lives” (Aristotle, Book VIII). This is because the “the character of democracy creates democracy, and the character of oligarchy creates oligarchy; and always the better the character, the better the government.” (Book VIII).

³⁵ Rousseau lambasted the true intentions of the university, arguing that its purported attempt to educate men for society was nothing but a veneer for an education geared to educating man alone. Higher education was only “fit to turn out hypocrites always professing to live for others, while thinking of themselves alone”(Rousseau, 2004)

³⁶ Jefferson favored “education to representation as democracy’s guarantor” (Barber, 1999, p. 136), Franklin linked to the “cultivation” of the “best capacities” (Best, 1962, p. 129),³⁶ and Mill found that the government should ensure education for everyone (Mill, 1991, p. 65). Dewey, who became renown during the early 20th century’s progressive era, contended that education is a “necessity of life,” because it is a growth process that aids in the “the continual re-adaptation of the environment to the needs of the living organisms (Dewey, 1944, p. 2).” Education promoted mutual, shared interests as well as communication and understanding between social groups, which are two elements that comprise a democratic society (Dewey, p. 87). Education nurtured the intelligence needed in a society to improve institutions and achieve happiness in a constantly changing society (Baradat, 2011, 112). Persons are changing themselves and are in constant flux, and education should be considered as a holistic and ongoing process, according to Dewey, not as a means to an end. He wrote “If I were asked to name the most needed of all reforms in the spirit of education, I should say: ‘Cease conceiving of education as mere preparation for later life, and make of it the full meaning of the present life’”(Dewey, 1893, 660). Dewey concludes, education should be part of everyday life.

³⁷ This was presented a conference that was supposed to turn into a book, but according to email correspondence with the author, it never came to fruition. The best citation: Mattson K (1999). Higher Education and Civil Society in Virginia Hodgkinson (ed.) *Civil Society in the United States*, New York: Ford Foundation, pp.1-44.

³⁸ Kerr described the type of university that has emerged in the 20th century as a type of “multiversity” (2001). The multiversity was larger, more complex and inclusive, comprised of many communities, adaptive to changes with modernization and technology and more research focused. In many ways the multiversity is still shaping universities today, and it has been guided by four main ideas (Fallis 2007). These ideas are “the university as a place of undergraduate liberal education for the elite; the university as a place of graduate education and basic research; the university as a place of professional schools; and the university as a place of accessible education and applied research” (Fallis 2007, 18).

³⁹ The Presidents of Brown, Georgetown and Stanford launched the coalition in 1985 in an effort to dispel the myth that college were products of a self-absorbed “me” generation with disregard for their community. In fact, they found the college age cohort were involved and enjoyed volunteering. As of 2015, there are 1,100 college and university presidents who are members of Campus Compact and strive to achieve a number of goals in including promoting community service, improving This renewed interest as well as projects such as Campus Compact has heightened awareness and efforts toward civic engagement.

⁴⁰ Many universities strive to serve their communities as well develop civic capacities in its students. Hahn (2003) discusses how universities serve as “economic anchors” for their surrounding community by offering jobs and training for local residents, supporting nearby businesses, facilitating community service projects, partnering with community based organizations and civic groups and offering a host of other opportunities to revitalize and generate revenue for the community. Some practices may backfire, especially in communities that need to gain the trust of the university and those fearful of gentrification, lack of long-term programs or reduced local tax base due to a university’s tax-exempt status. However, Hahn (2003) and colleagues point out a number of best practices in how universities contribute to local communities, including helping local businesses, providing training, and offering free educational classes to neighborhood members.

⁴¹ She presents six expressions of citizenship to better understand the how students can learn through various strategies of civic engagement. The first is “exclusionary” marked by a type of gated academic boundaries in which community is defined as one’s own and students receive a traditional curriculum. This is civic disengagement (5). The second is entitled “oblivious” typified by “drive-by” service-learning opportunities where students are mostly observers. He/she may serve, but cultural capacities are not widened. This is civic detachment (5-6). The third is entitled “naïve” in which a student may serve but will be unaware of the historical, political and cultural backdrop of the place and persons being served. This leaves the student with a lack of a good understanding of the community service project (6). The next type is called charitable in which students see the service as helping the people and the service, rather than empowering them. She presents six expressions of citizenship to better understand the how students can learn through various strategies of civic engagement. The first is “exclusionary” marked by a type of gated academic boundaries in which community is defined as one’s own and students receive a traditional curriculum. This is civic disengagement (5). The second is entitled “oblivious” typified by “drive-by” service-learning opportunities where students are mostly observers. He/she may serve, but cultural capacities are not widened. This is civic detachment (5-6). The third is entitled “naïve” in which a student may serve but will be unaware of the historical, political and cultural backdrop of the place and persons being served. This leaves the student with a lack of a good understanding of the community service project (6). The next type is called charitable in which students see the service as helping the people and the service, rather than empowering them.

⁴² Lounsbury and Pollack (2001) find that this was aided by increased enthusiasm by the US government for service learning starting in the 1960s and 1970s effort to engage students in anti-poverty work in communities as it was perceived “students could be productive foot soldiers in the war on poverty”.

⁴³ The CIVIC 101 class does not directly involve the faculty with students in the service-learning or volunteer experiences with local nonprofits in Philadelphia. However, Lindy Center for Civic Engagement does coordinate other community-research projects with faculty where faculty and students may be serving in the community collectively.

⁴⁴ Owen (2000) found that service learning programs that incorporate political usage of the internet enhance political learning since the media tends to be an important agent of political socialization. In addition, some efforts at service-learning present an image of the process as value-neutral, devoid of politics, but Donahue

(2011) argues that it is always infused with values as “students learn moral or ethical lessons whether or not they were intended by the instructors.” Volunteering at a homeless shelter will send a message that participating on the issue may be more important than just debating homelessness (Donahue 2011).

⁴⁵ In a footnote, they point out historically personally responsible notions of citizenship did not necessarily have to be narrow and conservative; in fact, Thoreau presented an image of citizenship that was both personally responsible and called for collective action (29). Yet, current discussions of citizenship tend to conceptualize it in terms of “charity, personal morality, and the efforts of individuals rather than working to alter institutional structures through collective action.” (29).

⁴⁶ They presented two case studies-- the Youth in Public Service in Madison, Wisconsin and the Bayside Students for Justice in California. The participatory program, Madison County Youth in Public Service, engaged high school students in public service projects that required them to do primary research on a particular local problem and then offer viable solutions. For instance, one group surveyed residents to see if they would prefer curbside trash pickup by the county. The students did additional research such as phone interviews, a cost analysis and examined charts of housing growth to better understand the cost and growth of trash and environmental implications. At the end of the project, the students work was instrumental in creating policy change in this area and in fact setting up this curbside collection. Other projects in this program examined potential jobs for those incarcerated 90 days or less; others developed a five year plan for the fire and rescue department. The authors conclude the learning experiences were tremendous inculcating a sense of pride, political efficacy and empowerment in the students, and they learned how government agencies operate and work together. However, the program lacked a component to engage students in a critical discussion of the social justice realm pertaining to their issues. They left the program with an excellent grasp of governmental institutions and the process of creating change, but they did not consider issues such as whether prisoners are paid a fair wage, why certain residents may reject higher income tax for schools, or other questions that addressed issues of fairness, equity and treatment of citizens, or the ideological positions of various policy proposals (9-13). In fact, this program did not affect their interest in political activity or their commitment to work for justice. Nor, did it change their intention to work for justice or their perceptions of whether problems such as poverty were the result of structural versus individual factors (13). The other program, Bayside Students for Justice, in an urban high school on the West Coast focused primarily to create a social justice oriented citizen teaching students how to deal and work transform larger problems of inequality and injustice (14). For example, some students examined how SAT exams may be biased and poor indicators of future student success whereas others studied child labor worldwide and then engaged in efforts to make students and school officials aware of the practices, especially as they pertained to the garment industry (held school assemblies on global child labor practices, especially in the garment industry (14). Most importantly, they learn that social change is the product of collective efforts (17). When comparing the two programs, Bayside outflanked the Madison County Youth in Public Service program in terms of political efficacy and understanding structural as well as individual explanations for poverty (19). However, it lagged behind in gaining a better understanding of personal responsibility, knowledge of as well as social capital for community development gaining a greater sense of leadership (19).

⁴⁷ For instance, a program carried out in Madison, Wisconsin tended to promote a personally responsible type of engagement along with teaching students how to navigate government institutions (Westheimer and Kahne 2004). It may have been the largely middle-class, homogenous community that tended to promote this personally responsible, slightly participatory type of citizenship. Another program in the urban community of Bayside, California tended to create more social justice oriented students who were steeped in the discourse of injustice and inequalities, since they were exposed to more of these in their community (21). Westheimer and Kahne point out that when the student groups exchanged ideas, the Director at Madison said if her superintendent heard what some of the students at Bayside were saying about the issues, she would be fired (21). Thus, “context matters” and “the ways that contexts shape both the constraints placed on teachers and the curriculum’s impact on students clearly deserves extensive study” (21). From their findings, Westheimer and Kahne (2004) stress “politics and the interests of varied groups are often deeply embedded in ways we conceptualize and study efforts to educate for democracy” (22).

⁴⁸ The alternative to charity based work, or an extension of it, is “solidarity work,” where volunteers see themselves as equals to those they are helping (Heldman 2011). They witness how privilege plays a role in society and impacts their standing in the socioeconomic hierarchy; develop a sense of empathy or “see a part of themselves in the person they are working with”; recognize their work is to improve the situation of those they are helping and themselves; and “understand they are working for their own liberation from systems of supremacy that they unconsciously uphold through their everyday actions” (Heldman, 36).

⁴⁹ As for more current analysis of practices and content of civic education in the classroom, Torney-Purta, et al’s (1999) examination of data from the IEA civic education survey of 28 countries finds that despite calls for more “engaged” or experiential pedagogies, the classrooms are still teacher centered where civic education relies mainly on “knowledge transmission” (p. 174). As for the topics most covered, history, human and citizen’s rights and environmental concerns, top the list while international and social welfare topics are at the bottom (p. 158). This questions whether youth in college are receiving important information about society, and if they are contributing in a participatory manner.

⁵⁰ In fact, in 2012, the National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement wrote a *National Call to Action: A Crucible Moment: College Learning and Democracy’s Future* calling for higher education to refocus its energies on educating students for democracy. It calls on higher education “to embrace civic learning and democratic engagement as undisputed educational priority for all of higher education,” as higher education can serve as one of the “defining sites for learning and practicing democratic and civic responsibilities.” Civic responsibilities can be defined as “*active participation in the public life of a community in an informed, committed, and constructive manner, with a focus on the common good.*” (Gottlieb and Robinson 2006, 16)

⁵¹ Schaeffer (2013) presents a middle ground on Rousseau’s opinion about people’s ability to make sound judgements. She argues that his middle ground can be seen in the method he employed in *Emile*, calls upon the reader to reconsider issues throughout the book calling for them to be reflective. “[H]e cultivates a model of good judgment that calls for a more reflective stance than most commentators acknowledge—one that, to be sure, necessarily involves some degree of seduction by chimeras or illusions (of which the figures of Emile, and seven of the “natural man,” are examples), but simultaneously entails critical awareness of their chimerical quality and the hold they have on us.” (Introduction). She elaborates at the end of the Introduction, “[w]hat is fundamental to the development of the capacity for judgment is a form of engagement that is neither wholly absorbed by nor utterly detached from the object of reflection.”

⁵² Dewey (1916) goes on to illuminate how his theory is one where education is the primary agent to liberate persons for social change, which is different than previous, historical philosophies about the ideal society. For instance, Plato, expressed similar conceptions of the ideal society, but his main social unit was class instead of the individual, thus compromising his theory (116). In the 1700s, the main social unit does become the individual but it was devoid of an agent of change and relied on Nature (115-116). In the 1800s, the “national state” emerged as the agent of change, which circumscribes the ideal of social progress and coordination.

⁵³ Functionalism is similar to the approach found in radical theories of pedagogy set forth by Freire, Shor, McKlaren and others, which also teeter on being too deterministic. Freire and others present good ideals to strive for, but they don’t present democratic means for attaining them. Their call for the liberation of the oppressed from their subjugators and their mapping out of a transformative pedagogy for doing so, is commendable, but it fails to support or provide a democratic process for reaching these goals. It does not entertain the idea that disagreement and discord, and its messiness -- foundational aspects of democracy-- including the honoring of disagreement and discord, in reaching and perhaps altering the goal or original conceptualizations of societal inequalities is imperative for civic liberation. Otherwise, as Freire suggests, the marginalized or oppressed run the risk of becoming future oppressors.

⁵⁴ There has been critique of democratic theorists such as Gutmann and Dewey that they present equivocal liberal theories of education that are unable to provide sound guidance and practical recommendations for curriculum. In a sense, they are a fall into the same trap as Rawls’ for supporting nonconsequentialist idea of fair democratic practices without capturing or heeding biases and systems of exclusion undergirding existing “democratic” values and structures. This may be similar to critique of Rawls’ theory of justice that

it reproduces foundational inegalitarian ideas and systems of power by pretending underlying values of justice and social contract are naturally just and fair. For instance, that Rawls divorces human dignity and freedom economic standing in the capitalist system is ontologically flawed (Doppelt 1981). In addition, Pateman critiques him and other social contract theorists for not revealing the system of subjugation built into the original social contract principles, which inevitably influenced modern day contracts of marriage, surrogacy and prostitution (Pateman 1988; see Huang, Mab reference). In many ways, this critique can be extended to liberal democratic theories of education, such as those espoused by Dewey and Gutmann, for not adequately systemic socioeconomic and political inequalities. However, Gutmann's critique of theories that are too "philosophical" recognizing that people disagree over ideals of freedom, and her focus on nonrepression and nondiscrimination, demonstrates a conscious recognition of larger systems of inequality impacting the democratic process and everyone's ability to participate. Participatory democratic theorists, including Pateman, MacPherson, Bachrach and Botwinick, starkly note and start from the premise that capitalist relations of production are inextricably intertwined with systems of racism, sexism and other forms of ascriptive hierarchy. This point contributes to the defense of the importance and relevance of participatory democratic theory today, especially when considering how to educate for a democracy. (I am indebted to Dr. Heath Fogg Davis for pointing out this critique of liberal democratic theory.)

⁵⁵ Gutmann does not outwardly advocate for a participatory democracy, but she does mention the importance of deliberation and equal participation in general for a democracy, essential qualities of a participatory democracy as is described in this chapter by participatory democratic theorists.

⁵⁶ Pateman (1970) in her book *Participation and Democratic Theory* elaborates further how theories of associational life or social pluralism are more participatory than "so-called classical theory of democracy" as they emphasize the linkage between associations and the government, but "they say nothing about the authority structures of those associations,"(pg. 44)

⁵⁷ His theory of strong democracy focuses on how participation, civic virtue and political activity are central values within a democracy (Barber 25, 1984 [2003]).

⁵⁸ Barber discusses three ways to describe politics in the US—realist, anarchist and minimalist. Anarchism emphasizes "privacy, freedom and the absolute rights of the individual" (9), realism focuses on the "art of power" and "to whatever ends it is exercised" and a minimalist version that is concerned with tyranny of the majority, distrusting individuals and state power (pg. 15-20).

⁵⁹ The explosion in participation and radical political activity was not just endemic to the United States; persons were participating more worldwide. "Large groups of people who have been outside of politics are demanding entrance into the political system" (Almond and Verba, 1963 2) In order to sustain a democratic, participatory political system requires a certain type of political culture, according to Almond and Verba (1963, 3). In their typology of three systems, the U.S. embraced the participant political culture in which the participant was oriented to the entire system, including the political and administrative structures and had a role in the input as well as output parts of the system (p. 18). They tended to see themselves in an "activist" role and they varied in their opinions towards the state. It differed from the parochial or subject system in which the former was dominated by lack of specialization and focus on tradition, and the latter views persons as passive members of the system despite possessing opinions (17-18). Thus, at this time, the U.S. seemed to embrace a culture congruent with a more participatory democratic system.

⁶⁰ Similar to hegemony of realism and liberalism in the field of international politics, the minimal, liberal proceduralist version of democracy as set forth by Schumpeter and by Dahl has tended to dominate the field of democratic theory with participatory democracy being seen developed in reaction to it as well as its own interpretations of current society. Of course, many would argue that the ideas of a "minimalist" conception of democracy harkened back to Plato, Aristotle as well as Madison (Wolin, 1993).

⁶¹ Cobb and Elder (1971) present an agenda-building theory of democracy that is quite similar to participatory democratic theory in that they call for widespread participation in the agenda building process. They critique modern democratic theory for not producing social change, but rather depicts "a

politics of accommodation that permits incremental response to new demands and slow but ordered social change” (pg. 912).

⁶² Yet Steve Smith points out in his discussion of Rousseau’s *Social Contract* that Rousseau is very skeptical of direct democracy unless the climate and environment is perfectly ripe for that type of democracy.

⁶³ Hilmer (2010) presents a great “genealogy” of participatory democracy tracing its roots and fundamental forms since the mid-20th century until present day. As part of his discussion, he points out institutions refer to the “sectors” of participatory democracy which include those places less conventionally thought of as political, including the home, classroom, neighborhood and of course workplace (p.46). Participatory democratic theorists evaluate all the places democracy is further democratized in the economic, civic and social realm (p.46). Hilmer (2010) points out that some of these “non-political” sectors may be the focus for participatory democratic theorists, some also devote attention, albeit often less, to the mode of participatory democracy in these locales including deliberation, voting and collective decision-making (p. 46).

⁶⁴ This diagram stemmed from discussions about participatory democracy with Dr. Botwinick, Professor of Political Science, Temple University.

⁶⁵ See Lawless and Fox (2015) for a discussion of why young people are not running for office and their proposed initiative of Youthlead to encourage more contenders.

⁶⁶ An example of this may be various feminist movements in the United States, from the first-wave focus on suffrage to the second wave’s focus on greater equality in work and over body, which have all achieved much success and carried out in the spirit of participatory democracy but have often been criticized for being exclusionary of minority, lesbian, and other women. Third wave feminists’ focus on intersectionality and inclusiveness is a response to the exclusionary aspects of second wave feminism.

⁶⁷ He references Dewey in his description of strong democracy and being a way of life. “Because democratic politics makes possible cooperation and an approximation of concord where they do not exist by nature, it is potentially a realm of unique openness, flexibility, and promise. It is in fact the quintessential realm of change that, while it is occasioned by conflict and by inadequacy of man’s higher nature, becomes the occasion for mutualism and the superseding of his lower nature. This is perhaps why John Dewey was moved to call democracy not a form of associated life but “the idea of community life itself.” (footnote, John Dewey, *the public and its problems* (new York: holt, 1927, pg. 148), pg. 119

⁶⁸ A good explanation of this communitarian vision of democracy is presented at GW’s Communitarian platform, <http://www.gwu.edu/~ccps/platformtext.html>. Amitai Etzioni, founder and director the Communitarian Network. Benjamin Barber would be labeled a communitarian and is found within Etzioni’s *The Essential Communitarian Reader* (1998).

⁶⁹ Sandel (1996) also argues that a minimalist liberal vision of democracy is ontologically flawed in that it perceives individuals as independent and unencumbered in every aspect of their life. A minimalist liberal vision of democracy places primacy on the preservation of liberty and a neutral state to protect the unfettered choices of individuals. The ontological shortcoming as seen with various forms of liberalism -- Kantian and utilitarian -- is that the self is seen as unembedded, not influenced by larger structural, familiar or any societal patterns or institutions (1996, 8-17). There is no sense of belonging to a particular place. Kantian liberalism does go beyond utilitarianism in its focus of the individual’s capacity to choose, but it still seen as independent of any attachments or goals it may have (12). Is this true? Are persons merely blank slates not having ties to anything outside themselves or aspirations of their own? Sandel argues that persons do have moral and political obligations that supersede the “unencumbered” self, with one of the greatest historical examples being Robert E. Lee, who defected from the Union Army on the eve of the Civil War to defend his state of Virginia despite his personal conscience. His allegiance and commitment to Virginians and their state became more important than personal ideals and commitment to the Union. It

is precisely these civic ties and loyalty to something other than oneself that are ignored and denied in a minimalist liberal conception of democracy, which contributes to a thriving civil society, one that is built on civic and political participation, public service, social capital and other aspects of civic engagement.

⁷⁰ Sandel (1996) He presents an interesting and intriguing discussion of the reluctance on behalf of a number of men at the Constitutional Convention to adopt the Bill of Rights. Many, such as Hamilton and Rush, did not find them necessary. Madison also was not an initial supporter of them, but politically wanted to appease the anti-federalists. His did though, attempt to insert his own moral convictions about the protection of liberal rights, in the first draft as he specified that states as well as the federal government would be prohibited from abridging civil liberties, such as the freedom of speech. This draft could not pass, in part because the motivation of the Anti-Federalists was protection of territorial and state sovereignty, not necessarily individual rights. Madison conceded, and the Bill of Rights were written to just apply to the federal government. Even despite these changes and concessions, still many Anti-federalists were opposed the format that the Bill of Rights passed. Sandel (1996) does note that it would not be until 1868 with the 14th Amendment that Madison's vision of the national government ensuring states did not violate persons rights would finally be considered (27-37).

⁷¹ In addition, how did world politics impact the favorability of participatory democracy? Did participatory democratic theory also lose favor as others were theorizing and wrestling with what made a durable or "consolidated" democracy abroad, especially those countries transitioning to democracy? Was participatory democracy too idealistic or far-fetched? How did the literature on democratic transitions impact democratic theory overall?

⁷² Stokes (2002) points out that a radical view of deliberative democracy would call for an extremely inclusionary citizenry including permanent residents, asylum seekers, refugees and others in the deliberation process (41)

⁷³ Mansbridge et al (2012) in their book *Deliberative Systems* present a more radical transformational view of deliberation. They examine the diversity of deliberation and how it is carried out in all levels of society's institutions, associations and vast array of "sites of contestation" partaking in political work, not just in legislatures and citizen town hall assemblies which had often been the focus of previous work of deliberative democracy (1-2).⁷³ As such, they recognize that marginalized groups may act outside the parameters of what is deemed acceptable deliberation -- reasoned, civil, and dispassioned dialogue -- in reaction to being denied equal access to the political playing table and hence a way to get their voice heard. In an earlier work on deliberative democracy, Mansbridge (1993) argued similarly that "everyday talk" in places such as homes and workplaces where friends and family meet may also be sites of unconventional utterances lacking thoughtful reflection but are "often necessary as means to the end of approaching both liberty and equality in deliberation" (223). "Sometimes only intensity in opposition can break down the barriers of the status quo," she argues as members of subordinate groups are often ignored until they express a "battering ram of rage." Iris Marion Young (2000) contributes to this expansive conceptualization of deliberation in her examination of how forms of democratic communication can become more inclusive faced with structural inequalities and culturally pluralistic society. Viewing deliberation as a means of collective problem solving among diverse individuals in a polity, she finds conventional "norms of deliberation" that "implicitly value certain styles of expression as dispassionate, orderly, or articulate," limit what is deemed reasonable and can carry "exclusionary implications" (2000,6-7). She calls for expanding the scope of deliberation to include diverse groups' "public address," "rhetoric" or ways arguments are formulated and reasoned, including modes of communication outside of reports and tabloids, such as street theater and placards, and "narrative" in how it shares experiences and meaning for groups that not have sufficient common understanding of a particular topic being deliberated (2000, 7).

⁷⁴ Mutz (2006) discovers that that the affinity between deliberation and participation may be much weaker than originally sensed, as those groups that tend to be participatory have much lower levels of deliberation. One of the conundrums in making this assessment is being able to define deliberation. For instance, she points out Gutmann and Thompson (2004) and others suggest for Habermas' idyllic vision the "ideal speech situation," then "political discussion must take place among citizens of equal status who offer reasonable, carefully constructed, and morally justifiable arguments to one another in a context of mutual

respect” (Mutz, 4). Others find this process should eventuate into a consensus, and others point out that defining what actually constitutes deliberation should be very expansive (Mansbridge 1999). If a researcher attempts to seek out a deliberative scenario that meets all of these conditions, “then one is left with a near empty set of social interactions to study” (Mutz 2006 5). These all encompassing definitions is what makes it difficult to study deliberative democracy empirically. She takes adopts a middle of the road formula for defining deliberation by focusing on what she finds to be one important and shared characteristic of all of the definitions, that is “people be exposed to oppositional political perspectives through political talk,” and she refers to this minimalist definition with terms such as “cross-cutting exposure” or “diverse political networks” (6). Yet, even with this definitions, she finds that participatory behaviors are more likely to erupt among less deliberative situations, where persons tended to be similar in political viewpoints. Thus, “Like-minded people can spur one another on to collective action and promote the kind of passion and enthusiasm that are central to motivating political participation,” describes Mutz (2006, 3). Thus it may be difficult to galvanize participation among cross-cutting segments of society.

⁷⁵ “[C]ontemporary theories of deliberative democracy are often described as participatory because they involve citizens deliberating about collective ends,” notes Hilmer, but although it may be a “necessary element of participatory democracy, it is not, as often implied, a sufficient condition” (Hilmer, 2010, 47). Interestingly, it is hard to find in the literature whether the more recent emphasis on deliberative democracy, perhaps since the 1990s, which has become somewhat known as the new “participatory” democratic theory, was solely a critique of the presumed utopianism of participatory democracy or whether perhaps it was forced to some degree to recreate itself as the new “participatory” theory as the participatory democratic theory seemed to wither. Many scholars argue that deliberative democracy is not enough which will be discussed later (Pateman 2012; Hilmer 2010) and some even find that deliberation in social networks of diverse ties squelches participation (Mutz 2006). Hilmer (2010) provides a short overview of arguments for why participatory democracy faltered. Some highlight the utopianism and complexity of the theory whereas others, like Mansbridge (1999 ref in Hilmer 2010, p. 49) argued that it could not be captured, nor was it desired to be captured, by political studies. Thus Hilmer succinctly describes the success of deliberative democratic theory which rightly argues that deliberation is a form of participation, but notes it may have come at the expense of participatory democratic theory (50). Participatory democratic thought has been mostly relegated to the university (ref Lacey 2008 in Hilmer 2010, 50). Thus, Hilmer eloquently notes: “In short, participatory democratic theory endures as the slowly fading afterglow of an ideal of democratic politics which had a brief actualization, but little real lasting effect on political reality.” (50).

⁷⁶ Warren (1992) poignantly notes deliberation expands democracy, and increased dialogue and discussion may expose injustices that may aid in ameliorating structural power imbalances, but it could also strengthen conflict in the long run if it ignores underlying distributive injustices (21).⁷⁶ Persons from diverse races and classes can deliberate, but it could provoke greater clashes rather than understanding if longstanding inequalities are not addressed in those discussions. Even in moments of “moral outrage” over a situation, if ““deep and honest”” communications are not forged, more and reactionary “moral outrage” will occur resulting in ““acquiescence, not inspired solutions”” to large problems (Friedman 2016, ref Seidman).

⁷⁷ In David Harvey’s (2005) *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, he defines this political economic paradigm as one that emerged in the 1970s and 1980s that calls for the advancement of human progress by “liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade” (2). The purpose of the state is to preserve these practices but once they are secure the state’s presence should be kept to a minimum.

⁷⁸ He expands on his definition of the left, but saying “the basis for this resistance has been a belief in the possibility of a postcapitalist future and an alternative society, generally called “socialism”: a fairer society, intent on satisfying people’s real needs, and a freer society, focused on creating the conditions for the effective exercise of freedom” (44).

⁷⁹ As Wendy Brown describes it, liberal democracy is a system where the following occurs: civil liberties equally distributed and protected; a press and other journalistic media minimally free from corporate ownership on one side and state control on the other; uncorrupted and unbought elections; quality public

education oriented, *inter alia*, to producing the literacies relevant to informed and active citizenship; government openness, honesty, and accountability; a judiciary modestly insulated from political commercial influence; separation of church and state; and a foreign policy guided at least in part by the rationale of protecting these domestic values” (2005, 51).

⁸⁰ Giroux (2014) also offers a concise definition of neoliberalism as a system that supports “Economic Darwinism that promotes privatization, commodification, free trade and deregulation,” and it “privileges personal responsibility over larger social forces, reinforces the gap between the rich and poor by redistributing wealth to the most powerful and wealthy individuals and groups,” and it “privileges the entrepreneurial subject while encouraging a value system that promotes self-interest if not unchecked selfishness” (1).

⁸¹ Wendy Brown furthers this discussion by pointing out how liberal democracy has morphed into a type of liberal, capitalist democracy, simultaneously hindering and supporting participatory democracy. Liberal democracy has supported participatory democracy because of its allowance of space for contestation⁸¹, but since the 1960s and 1970s supporters of participatory democracy criticized it for “its hypocrisy and ideological trickery buy also for its institutional and rhetorical embedding of bourgeois, white masculinist, and heterosexual superordination at the heart of humanism” (Brown, 2005, 53).

⁸² Brown describes it as:

[N]eoliberalism is not simply a set of economic policies; it is not only about facilitating free trade, maximizing corporate profits, and challenging welfarism. Rather neoliberalism carries a social analysis that, when deployed as a form of governability, reaches from the soul of the citizen-subject to education to practices of empire. Neoliberal rationality, while foregrounding the market, is not only or even primarily focused on the economy; it involves *extending and disseminating market values to all institutions and social action*, even as the market itself remains an instinctive player (Brown 2005, 39)

⁸³ Otherwise defined as: “the structures, policies, practices, and norms resulting in differential access to the goods, services, and opportunities of society by “race.” (Jones 10). It is what has to consistent disadvantages in the legal system, economy and society at large including healthcare, education, etc. Jones eloquently notes: “ It is important to note that the association between SES and “race” in the United States has its origins in discrete historical events, but persists because of contemporary structural factors that perpetuate those historical injustices. In other words, it is because of institutionalized racism that there is an association between SES and “race” in this country.” (10).

⁸⁴ For instance, the Porto Alegre participatory budget process in Brazil has garnered international attention as an urban public policy that effectively engages its citizens (Pateman 2012), and various studies, including a comprehensive, comparative analysis of 8 cases in Brazil demonstrate the process’ ability to deepen democracy as well as drawbacks (Wampler 2007). By increasing participation among wide sectors of society, especially those that may have been historically marginalized due to socioeconomic status or gender, the participatory budgeting process has effectively increased participation (Pateman 2012; Piper 2014).

⁸⁵ This does not preclude the recognition of the persistent and hegemonic neoliberal framework that shapes society.

⁸⁶ As of Fall 2015, the program changed to provide a more uniform curriculum for the CIVIC 101 class. The impact this new curriculum has on students has yet to be examined or measured. This will be briefly mentioned in the chapter.

⁸⁷ For information about the history of Drexel University, the Lindy Center for Civic Engagement and the CIVIC 101 program please see Appendix B.

⁸⁸ Drexel is one of the few universities in the country that operates on the quarter system and offers students the opportunity for a co-op option where after taking a full and continuous workload freshman year, they alternate six month employment with six months of full-time study. At any given quarter, and upward of 1000 or more students may be participating in the class. The class syllabus states that the intention of this class is to foster civic participation in a pluralist democracy, and its objectives are to increase students' civic capacities, or likelihood to engage now and later their professional lives, as well as to instill a sense of political efficacy. Do the instructors educate for a participatory democracy? Do they employ radical pedagogies that call for students to truly develop into active participants in their society contesting the dominant power structures? These are some of the questions asked in this study.

⁸⁹ Drexel's Dornsife Center is a university based community center located at 36th and Spring Garden, a few blocks away from Drexel's campus. It hosts a variety of educational and economic development related programs for community members. Once a month, it hosts a community night with activities and food. As for the other nonprofits, there are at least 30 partnerships that students can choose from, and the list keeps expanding since I started working with the program a few years ago.

⁹⁰ Drexel's Center for Civic Engagement, later named the Lindy Center for Civic Engagement after a local philanthropist and community activist, first started in 2003. It focused primarily on promoting civic engagement among Drexel students by calling for mandatory volunteer hours at an organization of their choice. The organization could be one located in West Philadelphia, the community of Drexel University, or it could be with their church back in their small hometown of Virginia, for instance. Documentation was required to prove successful completion of hours, thus inevitably students' participation rested a bit on an honor system. In addition, actual commitment to the local community was not the main thrust nor was it being measured. Then in 2008, the program redeveloped its first year civic engagement program, along with expanding the initiatives of the center itself, refocusing its energies to contributing to Philadelphia and more specifically West Philadelphia. It was around this time that CIVIC 101, as it is known today, was launched.

⁹¹ In April 2011, Philip Lindy donated \$15 million to Drexel University's Lindy Center for Civic Engagement to promote social responsibility and public service through experiential and community based learning. In 2008, he founded and funded the Lindy Scholars program, an initiative in which Drexel students mentor and tutor West Philadelphia students (Elkin 2013).

⁹² This is a program where Drexel students mentor and tutor students in West Philadelphia.

⁹³ The Center historically focused on promoting civic engagement among Drexel students with mandatory volunteer hours, but this was initially carried out by students choosing to volunteer with the organization of their choice. Thus, not all students would volunteer with Philadelphia area nonprofits. Instead, students could volunteer with their church back home in Virginia or any state or country they were from if it was approved (Bartch, participant observation). As of December 2015, Catherine Fuller, Assistant Director, Community Based Learning for Drexel University's Lindy Center for Civic Engagement, said the CIVIC 101 has almost achieved 100% participation of students in the various colleges and departments at Drexel University. To the best of her knowledge, only the Westphal Arts and Design photography students did not take the class (Fuller 2015). Engineering students did not immediately join the program, but as of the summer of 2014 more engineering students have participated, especially in a CIVIC 101 course tailored specifically for their major where students volunteer in promoting STEM, Science Technology, Engineering and Math, throughout the city to Philadelphia public school students as well as to museum goers. Johnson Kebea, Jennifer. Interview by Cathy Bartch. Personal Interview. Drexel University. July 3, 2014.

⁹⁴ These observations stemmed from instructor interviews as well as participant observation. For instance, Jennifer Breevort designed a class on using art for social justice, where I centered a large part of a class period on the difference between charity v. social justice and how it related to their service.

⁹⁵ Myself and other instructors invited Philadelphia City Councilpersons. I, along with the assistance of my TAs, invited a number of Drexel student activists including a Syrian activist against the Assad regime, a student who started a nonprofit to help underprivileged children in India, and a student who participated in a women's empowerment organization in West Philadelphia.

⁹⁶ Much of the teaching on "civic pathway" seems very similar to the ideas found in the literature on political socialization. In this new curriculum, instructors have autonomy on how to design the prompt on the first reflection paper or assignment, but the final assignment is uniform and compulsory on civic pathway. The earlier syllabus allowed instructors to write and design their own assignments. Most did assign reflection papers, but some allowed students to do visual or in-class presentations.

⁹⁷ This banking method reinforces the system of oppression because "knowledge is a gift bestowed by those who consider themselves knowledgeable upon those whom they consider to know nothing" (Freire 1970 [2005], 72) and thus "[p]rojecting an absolute ignorance onto others, a characteristic of the ideology of oppression, negates education and knowledge as processes of inquiry" (72). The teacher "justifies his own existence" in the manner in which he renders students opposite himself "considering their ignorance absolute" (72). The students also fail to recognize that they also educate the teacher (72). True "knowledge emerges only through invention and re-invention, through the restless, impatient, continuing, hopeful inquiry human beings pursue in the world, with the world, and with each other" (72)⁹⁷. Freire calls for the "problem-posing" education as opposed to the "banking method" as the "problem posing" favors dialogue, promotes critical thinking and creative change in persons (83-84).

⁹⁸ These practices were before the Fall 2015 changes. Some of these informed the new curriculum, and revised or similar practices such as civic engagement checklist, researching nonprofits and the community, Likert scales, etc are still being used.

⁹⁹ She references Astin's (1993) *What Matters in College?: Four Critical Years revisited*.

¹⁰⁰ Habitat for Humanity Restore has since moved to 2318 Washington Avenue, Philadelphia, PA 19146, an area in South Philadelphia. However, at the time of the interviews and for the first few years of the program, it was located in the Kensington section of the city.

¹⁰¹ The reason they may not have achieved pushing past a "charity" or "personally responsible" notion of volunteering early in the quarter may have been due to class discussions about larger systems of inequality occurring in the second half. In addition, it may have been a result of the nature of the reflection paper prompts that I offered them for the first assignment.

¹⁰² The instructor, in coordination with the TA, have more autonomy for how they want to design the 9th week. Often the instructor may provide recommended readings.

¹⁰³ Drexel operates on the quarter system which means classes run for 10 weeks for four quarters throughout the year. Data collection was heaviest in Spring 2014 collecting data from a variety of instructors. Over two hundred students were collected this term. Then forty additional students were collected in fall 2014 and 70 additional students in the winter 2015.

¹⁰⁴ See survey in the Appendix.

¹⁰⁵ The averages from the dataset that recorded all 375 persons that completed at least a pre or post-test was 18.7 for pre-test and 18.9 for the post-test was for 330 responses. Some did not respond to age.

¹⁰⁶ This percentage was bridged in fully completed post and pre-test with 48% being male and 49% being female, and it was slightly reversed in the post-test with 50% being male and 48% being female. For the purposes of this study, it will rely mostly on the 335 pre-tests unless otherwise noted. When the full surveys are discussed, then the demographics will be based off at the 257 sample.

¹⁰⁷ Typical courses included American Government, AP Government, History, Honors Government, International Politics, Government and Economics, Comparative Government

¹⁰⁸ These comments also reflect support for libertarianism. In fact, many of the students support a libertarian ideology. Libertarian ideology does focus on freedom and does seem to be in favor of a more procedural view of democracy, although in recent years we have seen libertarian supporters engage in direct democracy with passage of marijuana legalization referendums and initiatives. Libertarians are quite participatory, but not in the same way as participatory democrats as captured by the theorists. Libertarians support an unfettered free market, where participatory democratic theory highlights the problems with unregulated capitalism.

¹⁰⁹ The breakdown on the “hazy” responses—or those that left it blank, presented an unclear answer or did not know—31% of international students answered this way and 20% of domestic students.

¹¹⁰ In some cases, students were indecisive and marked between 2 and 3. These were included in percentages of agree, but these were left out or as is for the averages. They were not coded to 2.5, for instance. When running regressions, though, as it was required to input a number in every cell, they were coded 2.5, etc.

¹¹¹ Dr. Constance Flanagan astutely pointed out that there was a slight change toward a more participatory outlook about what should occur in a democracy from the pre-test and post-test, except on perceptions on participatory action to change inequalities and support for a worker’s party as the responses on these two indicators remained stagnant.

¹¹² United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, January 23, 2015, *Economic News Release: Union Members Summary*, <http://www.bls.gov/news.release/union2.nr0.htm>, Accessed March 21, 2015. Although the current rate is 11.1, the public sector’s union membership is 35.7% and the private sector’s is a mere 6.6%. It could be that many of the students are children of teachers or other persons that work in the public sector and thus they may more likely support unionization. On the other hand, perhaps it could be attributed to the large number of international students in the classes. Comparatively, worldwide, the U.S. lags in unionization. In fact a report by Schmitt and Mitukiewicz (2011), shows how the U.S. has the least union membership and union coverage, or employees covered by union contracts, compared to 21 other OECD countries (5). <http://www.cepr.net/documents/publications/unions-oecd-2011-11.pdf>, Accessed March 21, 2015

¹¹³ The survey design included express political views or promote causes/social movements in social media in the first section in the middle of items that were more personally responsible activities. As this type of action could be deemed more participatory and social justice oriented, it was not included in finding the average of personally responsible activities. It also, though, was not included in the other tallies either.

¹¹⁴ See footnote above

¹¹⁵ Altogether there are 335 responses. 87 are clearly noted as international, of the 248 domestic students, 6 identified as U.S. and international and 4 did not answer. These ten responses are included in the 248 of domestic student responses.

¹¹⁶ Kaiman, Jonathan. “China gets richer but more unequal.” July 28, 2014. <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jul/28/china-more-unequal-richer> Accessed March 22, 2015

¹¹⁷ For 65 students that answered “strongly agree” on the above Likert scale question, a two-tailed T-Test did not reveal any difference in answers on future expected participation that suggested it was a real difference, not by chance, except in the 65 students being a little less likely to be involved in a sports club, soccer, football team, or bowling league.

¹¹⁸ While students strongly agreeing with the more participatory form of democracy used social media less with an average of 3.51 compared to the other students with an average of 3.91 (an answer of 3 was

“often”; 4 “very often” and 5 “all the time”), the “participatory” students were more likely to use social media and express political viewpoints on social media as well.

¹¹⁹ Close to 30% of Chinese respondents found democracy meant “for and by the people” compared to 17 percent of Taiwanese respondents and less than 10% of respondents from the countries of Hong Kong, Korea, Mongolia, Thailand, Philippines and Japan. While also demonstrating an affinity for Western style conceptualizations of democracy, highlighting the importance of “political rights, institutions and processes”, less than five percent felt democracy meant “social equality and justice” (12). Over 30% of Koreans and Mongolians responded that “social equality and justice” were part of the meaning of democracy (Chu, et al. 2008, p. 12).

¹²⁰ The greatest differences in future expected participation were for volunteering in a soup kitchen and engaging in collective action to change the dynamics of the workplace in which women said they were more likely to participate in both activities at an average .47 spread. The T-tests for all of the differences between female and male did show some significance.

¹²¹ The correlations were found on Stata, a statistical program that allows for multiple correlations simultaneously.

¹²² International and national students tend to produce the biggest difference in responses, with international students expressing more concern for anti-consumerism and socioeconomic equality, as well as suggesting their future participation may be more closely aligned with a conception of radical participatory democracy. The anti-consumerist values is not surprising as many researchers have pointed out how anti-consumerism prevails more forcefully abroad than in the United States (Schor 2011; Stearns 2006; Weir 2007). This may be due to historically being more prone to consumerism than Europe and other parts of the world (Habermas 2014). This may also be due to fewer social movements in the U.S., a small narrative about anti-consumerism (Bennett and Toft 2009) and a deep, historic commitment to laissez-faire economics. Bennett and Toft (2009) note how in one particular anti-consumer campaign, the fair trade campaign, U.S. efforts to promote fair trade focus primarily on choices of consumers and large organizations to buy and sell fair trade products, whereas in the UK, the consumer choices are important, but the narrative is much larger. It includes “more radical social justice scripts about inequality, injustice, and sustainable development policies” (256). The authors add that these narratives encourage persons to go beyond just being socially responsible in their purchases, but rather encourage them to “organize their towns, schools, and offices or contact their member of parliament, the U.K. trade minister, or the president of the European Union to advocate trade justice policies.”

¹²³ Females and males displayed differences in their beliefs about democracy and future expected participation, with females showing more support of socioeconomic equality as being a core principle of democracy. This raises questions as to why there are gender differences in the approach to democracy. Could it be from the way women are socialized (Jenkins 2013), or could it stem from the longstanding gender gap in political identification in the US (Mueller 1988) which could be the result of institutional factors and socialization?

¹²⁴ Another tentative finding is that students that did identify strongly with a democracy needing socioeconomic equality did not show any significant relationship with voting. It could be they equally support voting, and in fact, close to 70% strongly agree that voting is important. However, for those that support the free market, close to 80% strongly agree voting is important. This is about a 10% difference. The findings suggest that ideas do matter in how youth plan to participate in the future. However, it may call for a pause or concern to ensure that voting is still regarded as essential to democracy and how efforts to promote a participatory democracy may politicize persons without giving up on procedural democracy.

¹²⁵ Rios Millet McCartney references Dewey’s “Education as Necessity of Life” in *Democracy in Education*.

¹²⁶ Rios Millet McCartney references the president of the University of Chicago, Robert Maynard Hutchins, idea, as she explains, “that education should be centered instead of individual intellectual development immersion in Western literature and philosophy” (2013, 9).

¹²⁷ In fact when analyzing the question how likely they would be to “engage in collective efforts to change dynamics of power in the workplace, on a whole, without differentiating between different segments of the student survey population, 43% out of 332 students responded “very likely” or “somewhat likely” with another 43% reporting “neither likely nor unlikely” and close to 15% marking “somewhat unlikely or very unlikely.” Thus, over 85% did not respond negatively to the idea of workplace democracy and almost half showed support. Yet, only 13% responded with enthusiastic support or very likely. In addition, literature about workplace democracy found that education mattered in materializing “spillover effects” from the political practices in the workplace to the real world. This study focuses on *how* university students are educated for a democracy – with democratic pedagogies that include dialogue, deliberation, practices in the community and with political issues. The workplace democracy findings can also shed light on how and why some experiential, transformative learning practices may be more conducive for developing a participatory mindset and practices overall as well as encouraging support for democratizing the workplace in the future. For instance, Drexel’s CIVIC 101 program did for some time dedicate at least a large part of a class to the discussion of grassroots democracy in the workplace accompanied with a ready by Sally Helgesen (1996) “Leading from the Grassroots.” In the new pilot program launched since Fall of 2015, there are directed activities and assignments to promote students’ thoughtful consideration of their future “civic pathway” and how it may be carried out with their individual profession which also could be linked to the democratization of work. Finally, the literature on workplace democracy raises questions as to the real, measured effects taking place in the area of political efficacy and action and this same question can be shared with the study of pedagogies and practices to educate for a participatory democracy.

¹²⁸ While many more reflection papers were read as participant-observer, 17 students granted permission to use their reflection papers in this dissertation.

¹²⁹ See, <http://www2.ucsc.edu/whorulesamerica/power/wealth.html>. Accessed April 11, 2015

¹³⁰ For instance, Pateman’s 2012 address to APSA stressing the importance of participatory democracy, relies a strong empirical example from Brazil with Porto Alegre’s participatory budget process.

¹³¹ They apply a reconstructive approach to theory, allowing subjects to develop the subjects to be studied themselves, to construct from the ground up their ideas about democracy.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A- SURVEY

Title of the research study: “Revisiting democratic theory from the ground up: How students in an urban civic education program envision democracy and what it means to be engaged”

Name and Department of investigator: Cathy Bartch, M.A., student investigator; Kevin Arceneaux, Ph.D., Principal Investigator, Temple University, Department of Political Science.

This study involves research. The purpose of the research is to help better understand the nature of civic engagement education.

What you should know about a research study:

- Someone will explain this research study to you.
- You volunteer to be in a research study.
- Whether you take part is up to you.
- You can choose not to take part in the research study.
- You can agree to take part now and later change your mind.
- Whatever you decide, it will not be held against you.
- Feel free to ask all the questions you want before and after you decide.
- ***By signing this consent form, you are not waiving any of the legal rights that you otherwise would have as a participant in a research study.***

The estimated duration of your study participation is **10-15 minutes for survey, 30 minutes for an individual interview.**

The study procedures consist of **surveys and interviews.**

The reasonably foreseeable risks or discomforts are **very minimal. It will require some of your time and input about yourself, your beliefs about democracy and civic engagement.**

The benefit you will obtain from the research is knowing that you have contributed to the understanding of this topic **as well as thinking more about the topics of democracy and civic engagement as it relates to your CIVIC 101 course.**

Please contact the research team with questions, concerns, or complaints about the research and any research-related injuries by e-mailing Cathy Bartch at ceb58@drexel.edu .

This research has been reviewed and approved by the Temple University Institutional Review Board. Please contact them at (215) 707-3390 or e-mail them at: irb@temple.edu for any of the following: questions, concerns, or complaints about the research; questions about your rights; to obtain information; or to offer input.

Confidentiality: Efforts will be made to limit the disclosure of your personal information, including research study records, to people who have a need to review this information. However, the study team cannot promise complete secrecy. For example, although the study team has put in safeguards to protect your information, there is always a potential risk of loss of confidentiality. There are several organizations that may inspect and copy your information to make sure that the study team is following the rules and regulations regarding research and the protection of human subjects. These organizations include the IRB, Temple University, its affiliates and agents, Temple University Health System, Inc., its affiliates and agents, the study sponsor and its agents, and the Office for Human Research Protections.

Signature Block for Capable Adult

Your signature documents your permission to take part in this research.

DO NOT SIGN THIS FORM AFTER THIS DATE



Signature of subject

Date

Printed name of subject

Signature of person obtaining consent

Date

Printed name of person obtaining consent

- 1) How do you define/describe democracy? Please write your answer here. If you need more room, please use the back of questionnaire.

- 2) Please read the paired opposing statements. Please mark on the continuum where you may place yourself.
A democracy should have the following:

A government that affords you much privacy, but may not provide strong national security for everyone.

— — — — —

A government that *does not* afford you as much privacy, but does provide strong national security for everyone.

A government that passes laws that benefit the “common good” in society (or the good of society as a whole), but it may limit some individual choices

— — — — —

A government that *does not* pass laws to limit individual choices, but “common good” of the society (or the good of society as a whole) may not be achieved

A government that implements policies to bring about socioeconomic equality, although persons are taxed at high rates

— — — — —

A government that taxes at low rates, and allows for large amounts of socioeconomic inequality

A government and society that encourages everyone to deliberate (reasoning on the merits of public policy), but may require a great deal of time, preparation and education of its citizens and stall the policymaking process



A government and society that ensures free and fair elections to choose hopefully wise and educated persons to make decisions on the citizens' behalf, but many citizens may not have a solid grasp of the issues or knowledge of the candidates

A society in which persons are politically active and encouraged to collectively try to change power structures in society, although it may upset the norms or status quo in society.



A society in which persons may discuss politics, but do not collectively organize to overturn the prevailing power structures, although the dominant system of power will remain even if conditions improve.

3) In a democracy, the following should occur:

	Agree Strongly	Agree Somewhat	Neither Disagree or Agree	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Strongly
Protection of freedom of speech					

Personal freedom to choose what he/she wants with one's life					
Protection of one's privacy from government interference					
Promotion of a free market					
Encouragement of civic engagement					
Deliberation (reasoning on the merits of public policy) among persons					
Policies enacted for the "common good", or for the good of the society overall, and the encouragement of citizen input					
Passage of laws that promote socioeconomic equality					
Redistribution of wealth and resources in					

society, usually from rich to poor					
Limits on individual earnings, so no one earns too much or too little					
Promotion an active, participatory citizenry that works to change inequalities					
Promotion of a strong workers' party (a labor backed party)					
Promotion of anti-consumerism					

4) How likely is it that you will do the following in the future:

	Very Likely	Somewhat Likely	Neither Likely nor Unlikely	Somewhat unlikely	Very unlikely
Voting					
Recycling					
Express political views or promote causes/ social movements on social media					

Volunteering in a soup kitchen					
Be part of a Parents/Teachers Organization (ie Home and School Association)					
Be part of a sports club (ie soccer club, bowling league, football team)					
Organizing a food drive					
Run a community meeting					
Speak in front of your town council					
Engage in a protest or march for civil rights					
Engage in collective efforts to improve the public education system					
Understand and work to combat some of the root causes of					

poverty in the U.S.					
Engage in collective efforts to change dynamics of power in the workplace					

What is essential in a democracy? Please circle yes, no, maybe or not sure to the following questions:

- 5) Is socioeconomic equality essential for a democracy?
 - a. Yes No Maybe Not sure

- 6) Are civil liberties (protection from government interference with your life) essential for democracy?
 - a. Yes No Maybe Not sure

- 7) Is an educated public on most of the issues essential for a democracy?
 - a. Yes No Maybe Not sure

- 8) Is a public that are highly involved in the community and in politics essential for a democracy?
 - a. Yes No Maybe Not sure

- 9) Is a free market essential for a democracy?
 - a. Yes No Maybe Not sure

- 10) What issues today do you think to be the most pressing or important for society to address?

- 11) How often do you use social media? (Social media defined as facebook, twitter, etc?)

Not at all not very often often very often all the time

12) How often have you used social media to express or share political viewpoints?

Not at all not very often often very often all the time

13) How often have you used social media to join in a cause or an organization, promote a cause or an organization or solicit members for a cause or an organization?

Not at all not very often often very often all the time

14) Thinking about your experience volunteering in Philadelphia as well as your student participation in the UNIV 101 class, have your thoughts about democracy, role of the government, socioeconomic equality and inequality changed? Please take a moment to explain.

Please answer the following demographic data (*adapted from the U.S. Census format*):

- 1) What is your age:
- 2) Gender:
- 3) In general, how would you describe yourself? (Please feel free to check all that apply and specify if you like)
 - a. White
 - b. Black or African-American
 - c. Latino/a
 - d. Asian
 - e. In some other way (please describe _____)
- 4) Are you an international student?
- 5) Where are you from? (ie U.S. State, city, country, world city)

6) Your major: _____

7) Have you taken any government and/or American government course at the high school and/or university level? _____ What course was it?

8) Please circle the following yearly income bracket for your family:
a. Under \$50,000 b) \$50,000-100,000 c) 100,000-200,000
d) over 200,000

APPENDIX B

HISTORY of DREXEL UNIVERSITY, LINDY CENTER AND CIVIC 101

Drexel's History and Community

Drexel University is located in West Philadelphia in an area known as University City, which is also home to the University of Pennsylvania and Drexel University, two universities just blocks apart from one another. Originally created in 1891 as the Drexel Institute of Art, Science and Industry, it launched its co-op program in 1919, in which students interchange periods of full time employment with academic study.¹ This co-op experience has defined the university as a professional and innovative university, equipping students with not only academic skills but pragmatic, real-life experiences to take away after graduation. In fact, according to the graduating class of 2013, 94 percent of students have found their experience helpful to their career path, and 38 percent secured employment with a former co-op employer before graduation (Drexel website).²

As most universities are “economic anchors” in their local communities, whether it is by providing employment and/or education and training to local residents, helping local businesses with the purchase of goods and services, contributing to local real estate ventures or a host of other activities (Hahn, et al 2003, 1), Drexel has developed its own supportive or “anchoring” relationship with the City of the Philadelphia and West Philadelphia.

Philadelphia, the hub of the fifth largest metropolitan area in the United States and the largest city in the state of Pennsylvania, is over 134 square miles and has a population of 1.5 million (Census)³. In terms of demographics, 78% are 18 and older, 45.5% are white alone and 44.2% are Black or African American alone.⁴ A little over 13% are Hispanic and close to 7% are Asian.⁵ The per capita income for 2013 was \$22,279 compared to \$28,502 for Pennsylvania, and the median household income was \$37,192 compared to \$52,548 for the entire state.⁶ More than a quarter of the population, 26.5%, live below the poverty level compared to approximately 13% of the entire state.⁷ According to the Philadelphia City Planning Commission, there are twelve different regions with West Philadelphia being situated towards the lower left, bordering the regions of Upper North Philadelphia, Lower North Philadelphia, Center City, South

¹ Currently, students engage in a six month rotation of co-op work alternating between academic work. Since Drexel is on the quarter system with 10-week quarters, students may take two continuous quarters to fulfill a co-op assignment.

² Drexel website, <http://www.drexel.edu/about/outcomes/>, accessed January 8, 2015

³ U.S. Census. <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/42/42101.html> (Accessed January 9, 2015)

⁴ U.S. Census, <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/42/42101.html> (Accessed January 9, 2015)

⁵ U.S. Census, *ibid.*

⁶ U.S. Census, *ibid.*

⁷ U.S. Census, *ibid.*

Philadelphia and Southwest Philadelphia (Philadelphia City Planning Commission 2004, 15-17).

West Philadelphia consists of 14.2 square miles of residential area across the Schuylkill River with more than 200,000 persons or close to 14% of the city's population, residing in the area's 21 neighborhoods.⁸ Some of the neighborhoods include Overbrook, Spruce Hill, Parkside, Mantua and Powelton, the latter two in close proximity to Drexel and where has centered some of its community outreach and service efforts. West Philadelphia reached its population peak in the 1950s and then lost a large portion of its population with the flight of the middle class to the suburbs after World War II. The greatest influx of population occurred in the first half of the 20th century with the Great Migration of the African Americans from the rural south to the urban north. In fact, in 1920, African Americans comprised less than 7 percent of the area compared to 75 percent today.⁹

West Philadelphia is also home to many institutions including city hospitals, churches and universities, such as Drexel and University of Pennsylvania. In fact the presence of the University of Pennsylvania and Drexel University. In fact, it is deemed an "innovation district" where "leading-edge anchor institutions and companies cluster with start-ups, business incubators and accelerators"¹⁰ Drexel has taken on a prominent role as a leading university in this district as well as well as a member of the larger West Philadelphia and Philadelphia community.

The Origins of the Lindy Center for Civic Engagement and CIVIC 101

Drexel's Lindy Center for Civic Engagement, has been growing, expanding and reimagining itself at great speed and with tremendous skill and effectiveness to promote civic engagement and leadership among students as well strengthen relationships with community based organizations and residents over the past few years. The center is committed to inculcating a sense of social responsibility and promoting public service among students, faculty and professional staff through community based experiential learning opportunities. As stated on its main website, the mission of the Center is:

Drexel University's Lindy Center for Civic Engagement promotes the ideals of social responsibility and public service by facilitating community based experiential learning for students, faculty, and staff. Through collaborations with the community, we improve the public good on the local, national, and global levels while enriching the scholarship and

⁸ University of Pennsylvania. West Philadelphia Community History Center. http://www.archives.upenn.edu/histy/features/wphila/history/history_tc.html (Accessed January 9, 2015).

⁹ University of Pennsylvania Archives. West Philadelphia Community History Center. "West Philadelphia: the Basic History Introduction: http://www.archives.upenn.edu/histy/features/wphila/history/history_tc.html (Accessed January 9, 2015).

¹⁰Brookings Institution cited in *The State of University City* 2014/2015. Mark Bergeiser, Executive Director.

character of Drexel through enhanced education (Lindy Center for Civic Engagement Website, accessed January 11, 2015)

As part of its mission and vision, it sponsors a number of opportunities for student leadership, scholar and service, but a cornerstone of the center, which has witnessed exponential growth since 2011, has been the CIVIC 101 class, a first year experiential civic engagement course for Drexel students where students learn about civic and political engagement in pluralistic democracy through direct service coupled with reflection, scholarly reading, writing exercises, and discussion in an academic setting. It has developed more than 30 ongoing partnerships with community based organizations and currently has become a requirement for almost all first year students at Drexel University.¹¹ How did the Lindy Center develop at a seemingly astonishing rate into such a “powerful” institution for civic engagement, if not exceptional? What and who was the inspiration behind it all? What have been some of the challenges as well as fortuitous events and actions that have led to its success?

The Lindy Center originated from the Center for Civic Engagement initiated in 2003 as part of Drexel Honors College, largely due to the vision of Mark Greenberg, the former Provost and Senior Vice President of Academic Affairs at Drexel University.¹² Like its predecessor, the Center for Service Learning, it did manage the students service experience,¹³ but the requirements for students was much different than the current CIVIC 101 class. Students were required to volunteer 5 hours at a location of their choice, whether it be at a soup kitchen in Philadelphia or their church back home in Virginia, as part of a 2 credit required UNIV 101 course which was designed to facilitate the transition to college life and teach them essentials such as how to use the library, the location of the registrar, and the importance of being civically engaged. However, there was no real oversight of the student’s volunteer experience except for having a document

¹¹ As of July 2014, Jennifer Johnson Kebea, the Interim Director of the Center, noted that almost all of various colleges and Deans were on board in requiring their students to participate in this program, except for Engineering and some students in Westphals’ College of Arts and Entertainment. However, more Engineering students have been taking part in the CIVIC 101 course tailored specifically for their major where students volunteer in promoting STEM, Science Technology, Engineering and Math, throughout the city to public school students as well as to museum goers. Johnson Kebea, Jennifer. Interview by Cathy Barch. Personal Interview. Drexel University. July 3, 2014.

¹² Information learned from Dougherty, Dan, PhD, Director of the Honors Program, Associate Dean of the Pennoni Honors College, former Director of the Lindy Center. Interview by Cathy Barch. Personal Interview. Drexel University, June 30, 2014 as well as Editorial Board, July 11, 2014 “In Appreciation of Mark Greenberg” *Triangle* <http://thetriangle.org/op-ed/editorial/appreciation-mark-greenberg/> accessed January 11, 2015

¹³ Service Learning as a name was dropped since older administrators and professors familiar with the Center for Service Learning, going back to 1998, did not look favorably at what it produced. It generally conjured up negative connotations, according to Dan Dougherty, PhD, former Director of the Lindy Center. Dougherty, Dan, PhD, Director of the Honors Program, Associate Dean of the Pennoni Honors College, former Director of the Lindy Center. Interview by Cathy Barch. Personal Interview. Drexel University, June 30, 2014

signed to verify the five hours was completed, and the program lacked substantial, established relationships with community partners. While the course did have persons from the Center for Civic Engagement visit classes to discuss the importance of civic engagement for class period, there was no sustained scholarly as well experiential, discussion based attention to the topic of civic or political engagement.¹⁴ As Lucy Kerman, Vice Provost, University and Community Partnerships, described it, in UNIV 101 the idea was that students learned about items such as computers, the location of the registrar's office, and "oh, they ought to know how to do civic engagement" (Kerman 2014). It may not have been an afterthought, but it appeared as something ancillary, just another component of the freshman experience. Dan Dougherty, former Director of the Lindy Center and currently Director of the Honors Program as well as the Associate Dean of the Pennoni Honors College echoed this dissatisfaction with the earlier program noting it was very narrow and only required a 5 hour commitment (Dougherty 2014). He said the following:

As far as the students' volunteer service, there was very little that I would call sort of quality civic engagement experience. There was really no civic education. There were some sort of ongoing, longstanding partnerships with community groups, but not the best partnerships as far as being mutually beneficial. (Dougherty 2014).

Many of the changes to the first year program and the Center itself did not appear until 2008 when Dan Dougherty became the fourth director, but the longest serving director of the Center for Civic Engagement, later in 2011 to be renamed the Lindy Center for Civic Engagement in response to Philanthropist Phil Lindy's generous contribution of \$15 million to Drexel University and his commitment to civic engagement (Dougherty 2014; Johnson Kebea 2014; Kerman and Orris 2014; Elkin 2013).¹⁵ Dougherty's vision for the center, which included an overhaul of the first year program, was much more ambitious than what the center had previously attempted to achieve. "[M]y vision for the center was to be everything a center a center like that could be," to offer more than a first year course, but include student leadership opportunities, civic education curriculum, a minor in civic engagement, support for faculty service-learning endeavors and other initiatives (Dougherty 2014). He adds, "I would like to think that my role as a Director that I facilitated that direction, and I worked with a great set of staff and colleagues, who each had influence in their own way." In fact, when he reorganized the staff, he delegated each staff member to be in charge of one of the major component of the center's mission. There was someone responsible for student leadership, community partnerships, academic programs and so forth.

¹⁴ Johnson Kebea, Jennifer. Interview by Cathy Barch. Personal Interview. Drexel University. July 3, 2014.

¹⁵ Elkin, Michael. July 1, 2013. "Philanthropist, Communal Activist Phil Lindy Dies at 83" *Jewish Exponent*. <http://jewishexponent.com/philanthropist-communal-activist-phil-lindy-dies-at-83> Accessed January 11, 2015.

Initially, though, Dougherty claims, that he and the center were largely engaged in “mending fences,” assuring the university community that things had improved compared with five years prior (Dougherty 2014). “If they said five years ago we had this problem, we wanted to assure them we were not in the same place we were then,” said Dougherty (2014). They were examining other universities, assessing their own capacity, and they were well resourced. In addition, they had the support of Provost Mark Greenberg so, according to Dougherty, “we had a lot of things going in the right direction” (2014).

The idea for CIVIC 101 to be its own independent component separate from the UNIV 101 that oriented first year students to college life in general, arose out of Middle States Accreditation in 2012 according to Dougherty (2014). There was an 18 month to 2 year planning process, and “people took a hard look at UNIV 101, and the determination was that it wasn’t working.” (Dougherty 2014). He sat down with Jennifer Johnson Kebea, his Dean, and proposed the CIVIC 101 course as well as the idea of developing a minor or certificate in civic engagement. In fact, in terms of academic aspirations expressed by Dougherty, he argues that it should be become a department like other departments in the university. CIVIC 101 was then created in very much the spirit and same design that it’s being offered and taught today; first year students commit to 8-10 hours with a community based organization that is one of the 30+ partners of the Center as well as read scholarly articles about civic engagement, engage in class discussion and write two reflection papers about the experience and class topic. Since the restructuring of the program and the center, the relationships with the community partners have also improved. Although there are fewer, Dougherty explains that “now the relationships are much deeper.” In addition, the new CIVIC 101 program was not just about volunteering and going home at night without giving the action a second thought. Dougherty realized the importance of students becoming knowledgeable of the social issues relating to their place of service. “If you were going to work at a homeless shelter,” he explains, it was important that “you understood homelessness and poverty in a way that you could be informed,” and that you “came and felt a little more empowered to be active members” of the group (Dougherty 2014). The knowledge should not just stop at awareness, but the goal has been for the student to truly become knowledgeable about the issue pertaining to the service site, whether it be hunger, homelessness, educational disparities, or some other problem, and learn how the issue plays out as well as brainstorm possible solutions (Dougherty 2014). Dougherty (2014) admits “this is a lot to get out for a one credit class,” but “there is going to be no place else in the university that they will be exposed to this.”

Lucy Kerman, Vice Provost for University and Community Partnerships heralds Dougherty’s leadership as being integral to the Center’s metamorphosis. “What Dan did was really understood the potential not only to fulfill a civic engagement requirement but to really tap into the student leadership and the potential of students who stake a civic engagement class as a freshman, and the extent to which students get excited about the process of civic engagement and use that as part of their experience” (Kerman and Orris 2014). It is during his time at the Lindy Center that the course emerged as its own course. “Over the years, it has become almost a methodology, and it has become much more important and singular with a unit that has its own credit, reflection piece, etc,” describes Kerman (Kerman and Orris 2014).

Under President Fry, The Lindy Center also was strategically placed in the Office of University and Community Partnerships which reports directly to the President. This differs from many other universities that may house their civic engagement center and initiatives in Student Life or an academic college. This suggests a sweeping gesture to elevate the university's civic engagement initiatives to a position of prominence, suggests Lucy Kerman, Provost of University and Community Partnerships and supervisor of the Lindy Center staff as well as Keith Orris, Senior Vice President for Corporate Relations and Economic Development. "It is a powerful commitment" to civic engagement and it "reflects a particularly urban focus mission of this university," comments Kerman (Kerman and Orris, 2014). Orris adds, "When John [Fry] agreed to the enhanced vision and strategic vision, [he] hired Lucy and her position was placed in the provost office which was strategies," and he notes many universities have it located either on the academic or administrative side but not as reporting directly to the President (Kerman and Orris, 2014). Even before John Fry arrived, it became a lot more than the idea that students should just know how to do civic engagement. Referring to the Univ 101 course, "[T]he growth of the Center for Civic Engagement reflects recognition this wasn't the same as learning how to go to the registrar's office, it really was sort of a fundamental part of citizenship the University was trying to teach." (Kerman and Orr, 2014).

Besides strategically position the Center and civic engagement programs, the Center is also funded directly from the University's operating budget.¹⁶ Lindy donated \$15 million in 2011, but this was to the University in general, and in recognition of his generosity and dedication to civic engagement efforts, the center was named after him. He also helped create the Lindy Scholars Program as well to help fund the Lindy Scholars Program and now the current President Fry. Unlike other universities that may house their civic engagement center in Student Life or an academic college, this positioning in which the center, supervised by Provost Lucy Kerman, reports directly to the President was emblematic of Drexel's commitment to civic engagement and making it an important part of the university's mission (Kerman and Orris, 2014).

Lindy Center Community-based Partnerships

As for the partnerships, overall the Center's relationships with community based partners have deepened and heightened mutual respect and collaboration between one

¹⁶ Lindy donated the \$15 million, but this was to the school in general as well as to help fund the Lindy Scholars program, operated out of the Lindy Center but program Lindy directly had input in designing in which students work with Philadelphia public school middle school students. In addition, there is also the Lindy Institute for Urban Innovation which "fosters informed civic engagement while creating, analyzing, assessing, and disseminating pioneering solutions for urban issues around the globe." The Lindy Institute For Urban Innovation, Drexel University, Website, "Mission".

<http://drexel.edu/lindyinstitute/mission/overview/>. Accessed January 11, 2015. Yet, many of these programs were named after Lindy due to his very generous \$15 million donation to the school and his involvement in civic engagement initiatives.

another. Now the Center has upward of 40 sustainable partnerships with community based organizations in which students in the CIVIC 101 class volunteer each quarter. The amount of students they serve each year are approximately 3,000. The service sites historically have centered around three main pillars of homelessness and hunger, education and community development. Respectively, some of the organizations working the Lindy Center and the student volunteers include Lombard Soup Kitchen, Broad Street Ministries, Manna, Philabundance and People's Emergency Center; the U.S. Dream Academy, Squash Smarts and other after school programs; and Habitat for Humanity Restore, Uhuru and other organizations contributing to local development. Some miscellaneous organizations include Books through Bars, Mount Moriah Cemetery and Saturdays for Seniors.

What makes for a good service site and placement of students? When asked this question, current director of the Lindy Center, Jennifer Johnson Kebea remarked that the students are still "episodic volunteers" so "we need to find partners that are willing to work with a high volume of students in that particular way" (Johnson Kebea 2014). The partners also need to be aware of some of the challenges that come along with the fact that these are first year volunteers and a little less than enthusiastic being required to do service. "There needs to be a willingness to work with students where they are at," Johnson Kebea says (2014). She adds, "Some of the best partners view themselves as co-educators like they totally view themselves as in it with us to care about these issues of social concern."(2014).

Of course, there are some logistical considerations in terms of forming partnerships. First, the organization needs to be able to handle a high volume of students on a rotating basis, and second, those organizations that require lengthy clearances and background checks are not eligible. Third, students like to volunteer at places that are easy to get to via transportation. Also, Johnson Kebea finds that students seem to prosper the most when they can interact with the most people. They tend to really enjoy themselves when they are "mentored and managed in the process"(Johnson Kebea 2014). In fact, sometimes they receive critiques from places where students lack direct contact with the population they are serving. For instance, Philabundance, a thriving and renown organization for combatting hunger, often have students packing a lot of boxes. Jennifer comments, "Philabundance does a great job of saying the impact of their work, but if they didn't do that then I could see how one could be disappointed" (Johnson Kebea 2014). Since some may be unaware of how to manage volunteers, "we talk with them about ways in which they can effectively utilize students" adds Johnson Kebea (2014). The center does assess student satisfaction at each of the sites (Johnson Kebea 2014).

Who benefits the most from the relationship building between the community based organizations and the center? Are the organizations in the driver's seat in terms of expressing their needs, or does the university goad the terms of the relationship with its focus on students' personal development and its expertise on community capacity building? Kerman and Orris note that they have witnessed many of the community based organizations to be very happy, satisfied and dependent with the volunteers, especially those that may be more grassroots and financially struggling (2014). However, Dougherty notes there could be a "double edged sword" when it came to community

based capacity building by the university. “We weren’t the be-all and end-all, but we were part of it,” especially “when it came to students [the volunteers] freeing up staff to do other things,” says Dougherty (2014). However, he warns, there is some hazard when interaction involved community organizations that desperately needed human capital. He explains:

That is why they are contacting us—We are a big university and we can help them. At the same time these organizations were often the least capable being able to handle that relationship. Having students know what they were doing, why they were doing it and getting something out of it, meant something as well. (Dougherty 2014)

Thus, it really depends on whether the organizations can manage the students and have enough for them to do, according to Dougherty, and the size of the organization didn’t matter. It was about whether the organization could offer more than just “busy work,” such as “stocking shelves or something,” but rather provide “ways that students can become exposed to what the organization really does” (2014). To improve the relationships, the center hosted community dinners to thank community partners and assessed what worked and what did not as well as disseminated surveys to measure the quality of the relationship.

One fun and novel tactic that seemed to work and improve the relationship between the organizations and the center, was an activity modeled after speed dating between the community organizations and the Drexel community scholars (DCS). Each site that has UNIV 101 volunteers also contains a student called a Drexel Community Scholar that helps manage the relationship, assist with the volunteering and serve as a liaison between the students and the community organization. Instead of deciding how to pair each DCS with a service site, Brianne Tangney, the former Assistant Director for Community Partnerships, orchestrated a mutual selection process, like speed dating, for students and the organizations (Dougherty 2014). Again, at the end of each term, the center would find out what worked and what needed improvement at dinners hosted for the community leaders. Importantly, the dinners reinforced the notion that the community organizations are a partner and have a say in the process (Dougherty 2014).

So, why was the Lindy Center able to expand so much in such little time? An analysis of its history suggests it was a combination of good timing, along with astute decisions by leaders taking advantage of institutional opportunities. Prior to 15 years ago, the University found itself in a dire financial situation and it was the work of President Papadakis, pushing the University to transform itself into a residential campus as well as a more intensive research institution that generated a tremendous amount of physical and financial growth (Kerman and Orris 2015). John Fry invested in it further, taking it to the next level, according to Kerman and Orris. The switch from a primarily commuter school to residential campus provided an opportunity structure for the civic engagement commitment to take roots and blossom. “When we were a commuter school, the thought of a civic engagement strategy itself, just didn’t make sense,” explains Orris. However, with many students living on campus or nearby, it not only made sense but perhaps the new focus was largely needed to build better community ties. “When you do become a residential campus, there are some negative consequences because in the end college

students typically don't usually make the best neighbors—different rhythms and different schedules,” Orris notes (Kerman and Orris 2014). Thus, it was a combination of institutional openings and needs coupled with decision makers committed to the goals of civic engagement making important decisions at the right time. Dan Dougherty and his staff, along with Jennifer Johnson Kebea, laid the foundation for the initial vision of making civic engagement an integral part of the Drexel students' learning. John Fry, as well as Kerman, Orris and other administrators, recognized place matters within an organization and strategically placed it central university office reporting directly to the provost and president. While it was named after a very generous benefactor, its funding does not rely on charitable donations; its funding stems from the operations budget making it a priority budget item, not ancillary.

Finally, besides the CIVIC 101, the Lindy Center embarked on expanding on outreach and programs in a number of areas simultaneously. As Johnson Kebea highlights, there are four main pillars: academic and civic engagement, student leadership and development, community partnerships and volunteerism. The horizons of the academic and civic engagement are much wider than CIVIC 101 as the center spends a large amount of time promoting and sponsoring experiential community based courses throughout various disciplines on the campus. They present workshops for faculty interested in teaching such a course and they collaborate with faculty who may bring some existing ideas. This has been a step away from decentralizing service learning opportunities towards greater centralization without, though, restricting the autonomy and creativity of the various departments' initiatives.¹⁷ Student leadership and development goes beyond the first year course and recruiting teaching assistants, who certainly become student leaders, but it is also about running the Drexel scholars program, recruiting for Drexel community scholars and offering a host of other rewarding opportunities where students can gain leadership skills. The community partnerships also extends beyond the first year course, as often the center, members of Drexel faculty and administration will meet with various community partners to discuss not only capacity building for their organizations but general economic development issues. One example of this was the collaborative partnership that applied for the Mantua, a neighborhood of West Philadelphia bordering Drexel University to be designated as a promise zone by the federal government. President Obama did designate it as a promise zone¹⁸ which signifies it will receive priority consideration for grants and loans and other financial resources from the federal government. Finally, the four pillar, volunteerism, does not only invite students to volunteer when they like and at locations of their choice, but it encourages faculty, administrators and other employees to volunteer in the community.

¹⁷ Hahn, et al (2003) point out that one of the challenges of Universities serving at “economic anchors” for the surrounding community is the decentralization of efforts. As for the community based experiential courses, some of them have been having biology students work in middle schools, having students take a philosophy or literature course and serve in a hospice.

¹⁸ See the following articles: <http://www.nbcphiladelphia.com/news/politics/Philadelphia-to-Be-Designated-as-White-House-Promise-Zone-239236101.html>, <http://drexel.edu/now/archive/2014/January/Philadelphia-as-a-Promise-Zone/>. The latter article points out that the promise zone is an initiative led by the White House with support from federal agencies, including the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, U.S. Department of Agriculture, U.S. Department of Education and U.S. Department of Justice.

Overall, the Lindy Center for Civic Engagement, embodies values and the mission centered on service as set forth by Drexel's founder, Anthony J. Drexel. "[W]e are exceptional in having had values of engagement embedded in that mission since day one," says President John Fry (2015). Anthony Drexel "specifically tailored his institute to the working class in Philadelphia, an audience rarely served by higher education before that" (2015). President Fry embraces Drexel's vision and adds:

To me, a civically engaged university, one that values public service, expresses this through all dimensions of its activities—in the academic enterprise, including research and practice with a social purpose; in the leadership and volunteer efforts of students; and in the way the institution conducts business and makes investments. (Fry, 2015).

The Lindy Center for Civic Engagement is an ambitious, concerted and grand effort towards creating a civically engaged university.

APPENDIX C

PEDAGOGICAL APPROACHES AND ACTIVITIES IN CIVIC EDUCATION: PRACTICES OF CIVIC 101 INSTRUCTORS PRIOR TO FALL 2015

Activity	Description Activity	Purpose of Activity	Instructor(s) that use activity
Mapping Project	This activity requires students to use a large timeline documenting any interaction they had for the past 48 hours	To create awareness that little actions have a civic impact	Dana D’Orazio Cathy Bartch (TA Irena Acevedo carried it out)
Civic Engagement Checklist	Giving students a list, of varied lengths, with potential civic engagement activities asking what is and is not civic engagement.	To have students question more fully what is an isn’t civic engagement.	Most instructors (list vary in length)
Graffiti walls	Flip chart around posted around the room asking students to directly write something about a topic, like what is civic engagement	This is an exercise to get students moving and requiring individual participation	Jen Breevort
Likert Scales	Reading statements such as agree and disagree and then having students move to a different corner of the room, in which each corner would signify agree, disagree, maybe,etc	An activity aimed at getting students to physically move while taking a stand. It helps students share opinions with others.	Jen Breevort Dana D’Orazio
Phones/Tweets	Use of phones to look up information; writing of tweets (mainly to put on blackboard)	Hands on activity to engage them in thinking about	Jennifer Breevort

		civic engagement	
Researching their community	Using computer/ phones to look up their own community and see what people are doing there	Hands on activity relating civic engagement back to students' own community. Understanding civic infrastructure.	Dana D'Orazio
Nonprofit funding	This activity requires to consider the various ways nonprofits are funded and how they leverage those funds. It also calls for them to calculate how much money they are donating in this program if there were to be paid \$20 an hour.	Understanding how nonprofits are funded and decisions nonprofits make in funding.	Jennifer Breevort
Art and Civic engagement	Students will engage in activities, ranging from a likert scale to designing their own artistic glue for the social movement	Understanding art as civic engagement, how art may be used for intentional and non-intentional activism, understanding how art can be the "glue" behind social movements, explore different type of artistic "glue" glue for social movements	Jen Breevort

Online Ted Talks/ Interview/ Videos/ Short documentaries	Students will visually engage with some topic on civic engagement through a video	It allows students to gain a deeper understanding of the civic engagement topics as well as some empirical knowledge.	Jen Breevort Dana D’Orazio Jeff Knowles Cathy Bartch
Movie Lists			Jen Breevort
History of Philadelphia Lecture	Students will be introduced to a political, social and economic historical overview of Philadelphias	It gives students an understanding of the city and how its current social, political and economic situation	Jeff Knowles
Newspaper articles/discussions	Students read current news articles about local, national and international events	It gives students an understanding of important issues in the news and how they relate to current events.	
Personal Mission Statement	Introduce students to how they may develop their own civic engagement mission statement	Encourages students to explore what values matters to them most when it comes to civic engagement	Jen Breevort Dana D’Orazio
U.S. Citizenship Test	Students take a practice citizenship test.	This is to introduce students to the civic and political	Gabby Mora

		questions required to know to become a citizen in the U.S.	
Shark Tank: Making your best nonprofit/initiative	Students will break into groups, except for the shark tank group, and they will choose an issue that is of importance to them. Then they will design a hypothetical or initiative that will help combat that problem.	This is to help students explore issues related to their service such as hunger, homelessness as well as other issues and how best to combat them. Others are designated the shark tank comprised of entrepreneurs, business persons and federal government officials	

APPENDIX D

NEW CURRICULUM FOR THE DREXEL UNIVERSITY LINDY CENTER CIVIC 101 CLASS SINCE FALL OF 2015

Although much of the research for this project was conducted prior to the fall of 2015, Drexel Lindy's Center did make substantial changes to the program that were first applied in September/October of 2015. The changes included streamlining and requiring CIVIC 101 instructors to carry out the same curriculum across the board. The previous course design did have uniform readings, but the new syllabus contains readings, activities, online discussion board prompts and assignments that are consistent across classes. Catherine Fuller, Assistant Director of Community-Based Learning, noted that changes were made so there could be greater certainty students were receiving a similar experience across campus (2015-2016). Specifically, she stated the main reasons for updating the curriculum were as follows:

- “Ensure a consistently strong experience for all students;
- Standardizing the curriculum allows us to better evaluate its effectiveness and whether the desired learning outcomes are being reached;
- Ensure that the curriculum reflects changes in the field of civic engagement;
- Fill what we identified as gaps in the curriculum, based on instructor feedback (desire for a structured reflection model, conversation on power/privilege)” (Fuller 2016).

The new design was the result of a number collaborative working sessions with instructors and program administrators. As a result all students are exposed and are required to be active participants on the following topics, to be carried out in this sequence:

- Week 1 and 2: What does it mean to be civically engaged? Students are often provided a list of potential and imaginative ways of being civically engaged from voting, volunteering, participating on a sports team, to attending a community meeting and they consider individually, as well as with peers, how they may be civically or politically engaged. The type of civic engagement are situated in four categories of Social Connectedness, Community Engagement and Public Service, Political Deliberation and Action, Diversity and Social Justice. Students are also introduced to a definition of civic engagement as “working to make a difference in community life through collective public problem-solving. Individuals must develop the knowledge, skills, values and motivation to do this work effectively” (CIVIC 101 Instructor Lesson Plan/Week1, Winter 2016). In week 2, instructors introduce students to the concept of civic pathway, or the process of being civically engaged over one's life as well as the D-I-E, the description, interpretation and evaluation model. Students are required to post a news article about a problem in the community, country or world and apply this model in their discussion. In addition, students act out a small skit about a hypothetical situation at an education-based service-site.

- Weeks 3 and 4- Students begin to volunteer, so only half attend the physical class. If they attend week 3, then they service at their local nonprofit on week 4. This helps in creating a small, more intimate class of about 15-20 persons maximum. The topic of these two weeks is gentrification. Students discuss ways that universities may serve as economic and civic actors in their community, and then examine the pros and cons of gentrification as a result of the presence of a university such as Drexel in an urban community. Instructors are encouraged to focus on the discussion on Philadelphia, especially West Philadelphia, and one of the assigned readings relates to the impact Drexel, Penn and Temple have had on their surrounding communities. They watch a short film on gentrification and are asked to take stand on issues in a Likert scale activity.
- Weeks 5 and 6 – After introducing students to the concept of the university as a civic actor, these weeks focus on how area nonprofits as well as social responsible businesses contribute positively to society. In small groups, students research a local nonprofit online related to one of the following areas: Social Business (ie Schmeat It, United by Blue), Art/Film (ie Neighborhood Films, Mural Arts) , Tech or web-based strategies (iCitizen or MilkCrate), Play/Sports (Connor Barwin or Playworks), Legal System (Juvenile Law Center or Drexel’s Law Clinic at Dornsife Center) , and product-based strategies (Tom’s or Warby Parker). They quickly research the goal, mission and activities of these organizations for short in-class presentations. Some instructors, such as myself, design the activity as a type of “non-profit shark-tank” in which one group is told they represent a group of individuals who would like to donate, award or fund \$1million to the nonprofit of their choice. Students choose a role as either a philanthropist, an entrepreneur, a celebrity, or a government bureaucrat that dispenses grant money. They discuss criteria they may use for what makes an effective non-profit, and at the end of the presentation, they make their decisions.
- Weeks 7 and 8 center on the topic of power and privilege. Students are required to complete two readings on this topic, including reviewing a power/privilege chart by Paul Kivel. Before class, they post a newspaper article that demonstrates, in their opinion, some of the concepts discussed in the readings. Students also engage in activity designed by the Lindy Center about their own identity. They are asked to list five or more personal identifiers and consider who they may situate themselves within structures of power, what may be some prevailing stereotypes about power/privilege that have affected them, and how can they use their reflection on identity to inform their civic engagement work. Students are encouraged to share their reflection in small groups as well as with the larger groups.
- Weeks 9 and 10 – In these two weeks, the instructor and the teaching assistant have more autonomy in how to conduct class, although the last week is dedicated to student presentations on visual assignments on the topic of civic pathways.

Instructors have often incorporated guest speakers, including Drexel Students involved on campus for these two weeks, and also provided deeper discussions on civic engagement.

Overall, the new curriculum has been welcomed by the instructors, as many have mentioned they appreciated the guidance offered by the Lindy Center and have found the curriculum to be well-developed provoking substantive deliberation and critical reflection on civic and political engagement. The Lindy Center is currently conducting a university-wide assessment of the new curriculum.