University of Northern Iowa
UNI ScholarWorks

Honors Program Theses | Student Work

2006

Educating Students to be Better Citizens: Effects of Service-Learning Courses on Civic Attitudes and Engagement

Aubree Rae Johnson
University of Northern Iowa

Let us know how access to this document benefits you

Copyright ©2006 Aubree Rae Johnson
Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.uni.edu/hpt

Recommended Citation

Johnson, Aubree Rae, "Educating Students to be Better Citizens: Effects of Service-Learning Courses on Civic Attitudes and Engagement" (2006). *Honors Program Theses*. 638.
https://scholarworks.uni.edu/hpt/638

This Open Access Honors Program Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Student Work at UNI ScholarWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in Honors Program Theses by an authorized administrator of UNI ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact scholarworks@uni.edu.

Offensive Materials Statement: Materials located in UNI ScholarWorks come from a broad range of sources and time periods. Some of these materials may contain offensive stereotypes, ideas, visuals, or language.

EDUCATING STUDENTS TO BE BETTER CITIZENS: EFFECTS OF SERVICE-LEARNING COURSES ON CIVIC ATTITUDES AND ENGAGEMENT

A Thesis

Submitted

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Designation

University Honors

Aubree Rae Johnson

University of Northern Iowa

May 2006

Institutions of higher education play an important role in society by providing individuals with knowledge and skills to prepare them to be productive citizens. Today, we often think in terms of economic productivity – for instance, it is well-known that more education often leads to better and higher-paying employment opportunities. Because of this growing economic necessity, more people than ever are attending colleges or universities.

However, educational institutions are more than a means to an economic end; they also have an important role to play in civic and community life. According to Colby, Ehrlich, Beaumont, and Stephens (2003):

> If today's college graduates are to be positive forces in this world, they need not only possess knowledge and intellectual capacities but also to see themselves as members of a community, as individuals with a responsibility to contribute to their communities. They must be willing to act for the common good and capable of doing so effectively. If a college education is to support the kind of learning graduates need to be involved and responsible citizens, its goals must go beyond the development of intellectual and technical skills...They should include the competence to act in the world and the judgment to do so wisely (p. 7).

In recent years, there has been a growing effort among institutions of higher education to acknowledge the role they play in serving the public good. For instance, the Association of American Colleges and Universities (AAC&U) and Campus Compact, a coalition of over 900 college and university presidents whose main purpose is to help students develop the values and skills of citizenship, have each issued official statements in recent years that recognize civic engagement as a primary mission for higher education (Chambers, 2005, p. 16; Schneider, 2005, p. 135). Many colleges and universities have responded to this call by implementing programs to encourage civic engagement. One of the most popular approaches has been to implement service-learning courses.

The Commission on National and Community Service (cited in Waterman, 1997, p. 2) has defined service-learning as a method:

a. under which students learn and develop through active participation in thoughtfully organized service experiences that meet actual community needs and that are coordinated in collaboration with the school and community;
b. that is integrated into the students' academic curriculum or provides structured time for the student to think, talk, or write about what the student did and saw during the actual service activity;
c. that provides students with opportunities to use newly acquired skills and knowledge in real-life situations in their own communities; and
d. that enhances what is taught in school by extending student learning beyond the classroom and into the community and helps to foster the development of a sense of caring for others.

Service-learning courses are designed to achieve several positive outcomes for students. For instance, programs aim to enhance learning, promote personal growth, and provide service to the community. Whether or not service-learning courses achieve these goals is beyond the scope of this paper. What is of interest is whether or not service-learning programs can achieve the goal of fostering the development of civic engagement, responsibility, and other values of democratic citizenship, as many programs claim.

Why focus on democratic outcomes? According to Benson, Harkavy, and Hartley (2005), service learning can be defined as: "an active, creative [pedagogy] that integrates community service with academic study in order to enhance a student's capacity to think critically, solve problems practically, and function as a lifelong moral, democratic citizen in a democratic society" (p. 189). Given this definition of service-learning, it follows that "service-learning should work to develop strategies and actions to help fulfill the democratic promise of

America's colleges and universities in particular and the democratic promise of American society in general. We should, therefore, evaluate service-learning by the extent to which it actually advances democracy in our classrooms, communities, and society" (p. 190).

That is what this paper aims to accomplish – the evaluation of service-learning's effectiveness at encouraging students to participate in democratic citizenship. In the first section, we will explore the idea of civic engagement and its significant for democracy. Then we will examine the democratic mission of education and how schools can best encourage democratic participation. Finally, we will look specifically at service-learning by examining programs in place, reviewing studies of their effectiveness, and identifying elements that contribute to a program's success.

Exploring Democratic Civic Participation

The following sections will explore the concept of civic engagement and the current state of civic life in America. Is civic engagement declining, and if so, should this be a concern? Some forms of engagement, such as volunteering for private charities, are widespread in American society, while other activities, such as voting and participating in collective political action, have declined in the last few decades. As we will see, the discussion about civic engagement ultimately centers around concerns for democracy. Because of this concern for democracy, we need to consider not just civic engagement itself, but what kinds of engagement are the most conducive to democracy. Out of this context, we will then turn to the role education can play in encouraging democratic civic engagement.

Civic (Dis)Engagement

> American democracy is at risk. The risk comes not from some external threat but from disturbing internal trends: an erosion of the activities and capacities of citizenship. Americans have turned away from politics and the public sphere in large numbers, leaving our civic life impoverished. (Macedo et al., 2005, p. 1)

The above description is puzzling, because Americans have always had a unique quality of civic life. When Alexis de Tocqueville observed American life, he was struck by the fact that "Americans of all ages, all conditions, and all dispositions constantly form associations" (Tocqueville, 1990, Vol. 2, p. 106), both politically and in every day life. Tocqueville recognized how important civic engagement was in American society, as it contributed to what he saw as vibrant democratic life: "The most democratic country on the face of the earth is that in which men have, in our time, carried to the highest perfection the art of pursuing in common the object of their common desires and have applied this new science to the greatest number of purposes" (Vol. 2, p. 107).

Tocqueville distinguished between political and non-political associations: "The political associations that exist in the United States are only a single feature in the midst of the immense assemblage of associations in that country" (Vol. 2, p. 106). Clearly, not all forms of civic involvement are political – for instance, tutoring another student or being personally committed to recycling are forms of involvement that contribute to the community, but they are not actions explicitly connected to public policy issues or "intended to result in broad social or institutional change" (Colby et al., 2003, p. 19).

However, it may be impossible to think about civic engagement without considering political engagement, a "particular subset of civic responsibility that has been the focus of substantial concern in recent years" (Colby et al., 2003, p. 18). In fact, Macedo et al. (2005) "do not draw a sharp distinction between 'civic' and 'political' engagement because [they] recognize that politics and civil society are interdependent: a vibrant politics depends on a vibrant civil society" (pp. 6-7). They define civic engagement broadly to include "any activity, individual or collective, devoted to influencing the collective life of the polity" (p. 6).

When groups of college and high school students were questioned about civic engagement attitudes during a study, their responses revealed that many defined civic engagement as "voting" (Schneider, 2005, p. 139). Although civic engagement "encompasses a host of behaviors in addition to voting" (Johnson, Hays, & Hays, 1998, p. 4), "civic engagement most obviously includes voting" (Macedo et al., 2005, p. 7). Voting is an important activity if one is to be civically engaged. Unfortunately, voting has declined in recent decades, especially amongst young people.

Voting in elections, whether presidential, congressional, or local, has declined by about a quarter over the last forty years. For instance, 62.8 percent of voting-age Americans voted in the 1960 presidential election, but only 48.9 percent voted in 1996 (Putnam, 2000, pp. 31-32). These declines are even more significant considering many barriers to voting have been removed – registration requirements have relaxed, and following the civil rights movement, many disadvantaged Americans were finally able to freely exercise their right to vote. This decline in voting is troubling, because "not to vote is to withdraw from political community" (p. 35). Voting embodies the democratic principle of equality – one person, one vote.

The decline in voting is the "most visible symptom of broader disengagement from community life" (Putnam, 2000, p. 35), but it is not the only measure of civic engagement. Much attention in recent decades has been given to the decline of other forms of civic engagement. Skocpol and Fiorina (1999) note that:

> American civil society may also be weakening. Many commentators point to an erosion in those forms of communal and associational life which are organized neither by the self-interest of the market nor by the coercive potential of the state. Americans are participating less in many kinds of shared endeavors, from unions and political parties to religious groups and other sorts of voluntary membership organizations. (p. 2)

Polls show that many Americans agree with this assertion that civic engagement has declined. But could this just be attributed to nostalgia? Maybe civic engagement hasn't really declined, or maybe people are engaged in new ways (Putnam, 2000, p. 25).

Robert Putnam (2000) addresses these questions by attempting to document the decline of civic engagement. In his book *Bowling Alone*, he argues that "for the first two-thirds of the twentieth century there was deep engagement, but for the last few decades, we have been pulled apart from each other" (p. 26). Putnam makes this argument by measuring social capital – "the connections among individuals – the social networks and norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them," and argues that "civic virtue is most powerful when embedded in dense network of reciprocal social relations" (p. 19).

Putnam claims that with the exception of voting, American rates of political participation compare favorably with other democratic countries. However, compared to our own past, political participation appears to have declined in recent decades (p. 31). Putnam examined the Roper polls, which have surveyed Americans on their activities since the 1970s, to study trends in civic engagement. Activities of interest in the polls included partisan activities (attending a political rally or speech, working for a party, running for office), communal participation (attending town meetings, serving as an officer of an organization or as a committee member), and public expression (signing a petition, writing to an elected official, making a speech, or writing to a newspaper). Putnam found that "the frequency of virtually every form of community involvement measured in the Roper polls declined significantly, from the most common – petition signing – to the least common – running for office" (p. 41). Furthermore, Putnam found that "the forms of participation that have withered most noticeably reflect

organized activity at the community level," while actions that can be taken alone by individuals (for instance, writing a letter) have declined the most slowly (pp. 44-45).

Putnam suggests that perhaps this decrease in political participation can be attributed to alienation, declining confidence, or cynicism (p. 46). After all, this decline in participation occurred in the years during and following the Vietnam War and the Watergate scandal. So he also examined forms of non-political engagement to see if there were similar declines.

Like in Tocqueville's time, Americans are more likely than citizens in other countries to be involved in voluntary associations – PTAs, recreation groups, professional organizations, charities, etc. (Putnam, 2000, p. 48). But over this quarter century, although the number of voluntary associations has tripled, the average membership is roughly 1/10 as large – in other words, there are more groups, but many of them are much smaller (p. 49). Many new organizations are headquartered in Washington, are staffed by professionals, and are not member-centered or locally based (pp. 50-51). Frequently, the only act of membership consists of writing a check or reading a newsletter; active face-to-face involvement has fallen. According to Putnam: "Members have ties to common symbols, leaders, ideals, but not to each other" (p. 52).

Has engagement declined, or just changed?

Despite the decline in political participation and involvement in voluntary associations, Putnam observed several "countertrends" that may suggest that civic engagement has not declined, merely changed form. For instance, 40 percent of Americans claim to be involved in a small group that meets regularly and provides support and caring for members, such as church groups or book clubs (pp. 148-149). However, Putnam cautions that although "such groups surely contribute to civic engagement and social capital...there is little evidence that they have

grown in numbers that would significantly offset the civic decay of the past several decades" (p. 150). On the other hand, participation in self-help/support groups, such as Alcoholics Anonymous, has "unquestionably grown" in recent years (p. 150). These groups provide health and emotional benefits to members and can serve people who are disconnected from more conventional social networks. However, membership in self-help groups is not closely related with regular community involvement such as voting, volunteering, or working on community problems, as are more traditional civic associations (p. 151).

Some argue that although traditional forms of engagement have declined, today more voices can be heard, and public interest groups working for the good of society have grown. The last third of the 20th Century may be described as a time of declining involvement, but it can also be characterized by great social movements – for blacks, women, gays and lesbians, animals, the environment, etc. However, "most social historians agree that as an organized, grassroots effort, the civil rights movement was receding by 1970, and the women's movement began to decline with the defeat of the Equal Rights Amendment in 1982" (Putnam, 2000, p. 155). On the other hand, "the 1990s saw much activity by gay and lesbian activists and pro-lifers" (p. 165). Putnam concludes: "Grassroots social protest may well be as common today as during the 1960s and 1970s, and tolerance for such protest is clearly up. However, I know of no evidence that actual participation in grassroots social movements has grown in the past few decades to offset the massive declines in more conventional forms of social and political participation" (pp. 165-166). Furthermore, Putnam sees the environmental movement, frequently cited as a successful example of civic association in today's world, as illustrative of his claim that membership in organizations now mostly consists of writing checks and reading newsletters.

Likewise, Skocpol (2003) sees "diminished democracy" in the transformation of America's civic life. Although "Americans are finding new ways to relate to one another" (p. 221) through social movements, advocacy groups, small groups, and volunteering, "too many valuable aspects of the old civic America life" – such as shared democratic values, fellowship across class lines, civic mobilization, and public trust – "are not being reproduced or reinvented in the new public world run largely by professional trustees and memberless organizations" (p. 222). Today's advocacy groups are "staff-heavy," "focused on lobbying," and "managed from the top" – even when claiming to represent ordinary Americans (p. 224). Furthermore, groups are no longer motivated to advocate broad values and speak to broad constituencies; today groups identify and promote specific issues that appeal to more sophisticated populations (p. 226).

Particularly after 9/11, there has been widespread patriotism and a spirit of volunteerism, which are often seen as important to good democratic citizenship. However, this does not solve the problems of civic disengagement in America. First, "the link between patriotism and service on the one hand and democratic ideals on the other is a tenuous one...Most nations, not only democracies, would welcome programs that promote patriotism and voluntary service" (Westheimer & Kahne, 2003).

Skocpol (2003) also sees a problem she calls "doing-for instead of doing-with" (p. 227). According to her, volunteer activities involve people in "doing-for" activities – feeding the needy, tutoring children, etc. – rather than "doing with" fellow citizens as ongoing members of a shared group. She argues that volunteering cannot substitute for the "central citizenship functions that membership federations performed. Volunteers do not form as many reciprocal ties as members; they are normally not elected to responsible leadership posts; and they are

unlikely to experience...a sense of brotherhood or sisterhood and fellow American citizenship" (pp. 227-228).

The fact that community service has increased while political engagement has declined suggests that involvement does not foster democratic norms (Colby et al., 2003, p. 8). In fact, an emphasis on volunteerism may actually hurt democracy – many volunteers see community service as an "alternative" to politics. For instance, one study found that only 32 percent of 18 to 24 year olds voted in the 1996 Presidential election, while 94 percent agreed that "the most important thing I can do as a citizen is to help others." As Kahne and Westheimer (2003) put it: "This vision being promoted is one of citizenship without politics or collective action – a commitment to individual service, but not to democracy."

Some "civic conservatives" are fine with this – they believe that families, churches, and voluntary groups at the local level can more effectively address social problems than the government can (Skocpol & Fiorina, 1999, p. 4). However, this approach may not allow us to adequately address large-scale problems requiring collective initiative: "Volunteers can help the elderly cope with daily difficulties, but it took Social Security to reduce the proportion of senior citizens living in poverty from one in two to fewer than one in eight" (Kahne & Westheimer, 2003).

Can civic engagement be detrimental?

Putnam (2003) recognizes that social capital can have a "dark side" (p. 351). Clearly, not every group works to foster democratic values. The KKK may represent a social network, but that does not mean it contributes positively to community life. Even less hostile groups can impose conformity and create social division (p. 352); for instance, American clubs and churches are often racially segregated (p. 358).

Some have observed that although the 1950s was characterized by vibrant community life, it was also characterized by intolerance. As civic engagement has declined in our country, it has been accompanied by an increase in tolerance. This prompted Putnam (2000) to ask: "Can it be a coincidence that as social capital has crumbled, tolerance has increased? Is there not, in short, a kind of iron law linking social capital and intolerance, so that the decline of social capital is simply an inevitable concomitant of the rise of tolerant individualism?" (p. 354). However, he dismisses this claim and argues that "...individuals who are more engaged with their communities are generally *more* tolerant than their stay-at-home neighbors, not less...the more people are involved with community organizations, the *more* open they are to gender equality and racial integration (p. 355).

Another argument against civic engagement centers around ideas of equality: People with certain resources may be better equipped to have their voices heard. "Social capital, particularly social capital that bonds us with others like us, often reinforces social stratification...Generally speaking, the haves engage in much more civic activity than the have-nots. Thus, strengthening the social and political power of voluntary associations may well widen class differences" (Putnam, 2000, p. 358). However, Putnam contradicts this claim by pointing out that "in terms of the distribution of wealth and income, America in the 1950s and 1960s was more egalitarian than it had been in more than a century...[T]hose same decades were also the high point of social connectedness and civic engagement...Conversely, the last third of the twentieth century was a time of growing inequality *and* eroding social capital" (p. 359).

Macedo et al. (2005) point out additional problems with civic engagement. Many people do not have strong feelings on many issues and would prefer to spend their time on non-political activities, or they feel that the costs of participating outweigh the benefits. Furthermore,

participation can cause people to feel frustrated at inefficacy, disharmony, or powerlessness. In addition, some believe that elites are more competent to govern, and worry that more widespread popular engagement could undermine good governance. Finally, citizens sometimes mobilize to defend an unfair privilege or to deny other citizens their basic rights (pp. 10-12). However, he responds to many of these concerns by pointing out the necessity of engagement in order to maintain democracy.

Relationship between civic engagement and democracy

Macedo et al. (2005) believe that promoting active citizen engagement is essential to American democracy. First, civic engagement enhances the quality of democratic governance. Citizens feel the effects of policies. When they make their preferences known through their participation (voting, sending letters to Congress members, attending town meetings), relevant information is brought up, and the quality of public decision making is improved (p. 12). Second, democratic government is legitimate only when the people as a whole participate in their own self-rule. When groups of citizens are less active than others, their interests are not being articulated and responded to – the reality of self-rule becomes doubtful, and legitimacy of the political order is threatened (p. 13). Third, there is no such thing as perfectly wise, good elites who can be trusted to advance the common good – they need to be accountable to the people as a whole. This will prevent elites from just protecting their own interests (p. 12). Finally, participation can enhance the quality of citizens' lives. Their involvement in public affairs can educate them and allow them to expand their understanding and develop their capacities (p. 4). In sum: "Accountable, effective, and legitimate government requires substantial civic and political engagement by the 'people themselves'" (p. 13).

Similarly, Putnam (2000) argues that voluntary associations and the social networks of civil society (social capital) contribute to democracy in two ways – external effects on the larger polity, and internal effects on participants. The external effects are that individuals are allowed to express their interests and demands on government and to protect themselves from abuses of power. Political information flows, public life is discussed, people are united, and views are given shape and clarity. Internally, voluntary associations give members a sense of cooperation and public empathy and teach them practical skills – how to run meetings, write letters, organize projects, etc. (p. 338).

When Tocqueville observed American life, he was struck by the "zealous interest" that citizens showed in public affairs. He attributed this interest in public affairs to the fact that everyone "t[ook] an active part in the government of society" (Tocqueville, Vol. 1, p. 243). Americans seemed to appreciate how their own private good was tied to the good of the whole, and they could work for the common good (and thus their own good) by being actively involved in public life. "A man comprehends the influence which the well-being of his country has upon his own; he is aware that the laws permit him to contribute to that prosperity, and he labors to promote it, first because it benefits him, and secondly because it is in part his own work" (p. 242).

Tocqueville suggested that "...the most powerful and perhaps the only means that we still possess of interesting men in the welfare of their country is to make them partakers in the government. At the present time civic zeal seems to me to be inseparable from the exercise of political rights..." (p. 243). Thus, when citizens pull away from public life, the quality of democratic self-government may suffer.

Tocqueville argued that civic engagement and voluntary associations are vital to maintaining democracy:

> There are no countries in which associations are more needed to prevent the despotism of faction...than those which are democratically constituted. In aristocratic nations the body of the nobles and the wealthy are in themselves natural associations which check the abuses of power. In countries where such associations do not exist, if private individuals cannot create an artificial and temporary substitute for them I can see no permanent protection against the most galling tyranny... (Vol. 1, p. 195)

Democracy depends on equality – one person, one vote. In aristocratic societies characterized by inequality, people are bonded together through social ties and a sense of duty or obligation. But in a democracy where everyone is equal, strong social ties can be replaced with individualism, and people withdraw from public life and focus on private affairs. Tocqueville sees this as dangerous, because when citizens no longer associate, they do not work together to address common problems; they simply turn to the government for solutions (Vol. 2, pp. 94-103, 108). Without associations to check abuses, the government may become more powerful, perhaps leading to despotism. "If men living in democratic countries had no right and no inclination to associate for political purposes, their independence would be in great jeopardy..." (p. 107). Thus, if we care about democratic self-government, we should be concerned about the decline in civic associations and engagement.

Education's Democratic Mission

Colleges and universities are in a strong position to help "reinvigorate the democratic spirit" (Colby et al., 2003, p. 8). Most political and civic leaders are college graduates, and the general public is increasingly attending college. It has been recognized that civic engagement generally doesn't bloom until middle age (Putnam, 2000, p. 18). Because college is the last stage of formal education for most Americans, the experiences individuals have in college may determine their engagement in the future (Colby et al., 2003, p. 5). The argument that schools

have an important role to play in encouraging democracy is strengthened when we consider the democratic mission of education.

Philosophers of education have repeatedly argued that a central goal of education, and higher education in particular, is to prepare students to serve the community (Rocheleau, 2004, p. 3). "Educators of earlier periods considered knowledge, morality, and civic action to be thoroughly interconnected and believed that higher education should promote them as mutually reinforcing aspects of preparation for life" (Colby et al., 2003, p. 26). The belief that education can serve democratic ends is also strongly rooted in American tradition, which "is evident in the calls of prominent Revolutionary figures for education that would foster republican ideals and virtues necessary for supporting the new democratic experiment" (Colby et al., 2003, p. 26). For instance, Thomas Jefferson argued in favor of a basic universal education for males to prepare them for democratic citizenship. Furthermore, Jefferson argued that more advanced education should be provided for those who would become civic leaders and government officials (Rocheleau, 2004, pp. 3-4).

Battistoni (2000) argued for schools to encourage democracy because of the idea that citizenship is something that needs to be *learned*: "Democratic citizenship and the arts of self-government are not things we know innately. Like reading, writing, and mathematics, they are qualities acquired through the learning process" (p. 30). Battistoni goes on to argue that the place this learning should occur is in the school:

> Most civic qualities cannot be learned in private spheres like the family or workplaces, and while these places and others, such as churches, voluntary associations, and the media all play roles in young people's civic development, it is schools that provide the unique environment to balance the development of individuality, autonomy, confidence, and knowledge with the strengthening of the public self through dialogue (including dialogue with adults), decision making, and cooperative learning. (p. 30)

Throughout American history, the importance of education for democratic citizenship is clear. The original rationale for public schools was to educate youth for citizenship, and the early colonial colleges were founded out of a need to provide the new settlements with a class of educated men and professionals that would enable the new society to survive (Chambers, 2005, p. 13). As the country expanded, American leaders expressed their vision of education's public service role in the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, which declared "religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged" (Chambers, 2005, p. 13).

Service to society was the founding purpose of land-grant universities, established by the Morrill Act of 1862 (Benson et al., 2005, p. 192). The model for these public-serving universities was the University of Wisconsin in Madison. The "Wisconsin Idea" emphasized using academic resources to improve the lives of citizens across the state, and "rested on the conviction that students and university-trained experts could apply themselves to the problems of modern society and make democracy work more effectively" (Zieren & Stoddard, 2004, p. 30). The urban research universities, beginning with Johns Hopkins, America's first modern research university, also made service to society their main goal. For example, Daniel Coit Gilman, the first president of Johns Hopkins, expressed the view that universities should "make for less misery among the poor, less ignorance in the schools, less bigotry in the temple, less fraud in business, and less folly in politics" (cited in Benson et al., 2005, p. 193).

In the last century, however, higher education institutions have experienced many changes that "have had profound and lasting effects on undergraduate education, including its capacity to educate for moral and civic development" (Colby et al., 2003, p. 28). A "core" curriculum centered on the classics and liberal arts studies has been replaced by specialization in

a major discipline (p. 29). "Because civic issues and moral questions in real-life contexts are inherently interdisciplinary, the disciplinary structure of the curriculum is not well suited to facilitate the kind of integrative thinking these complex problems require" (p. 37). Faculty interests have also become more specialized, and faculty are generally less interested in teaching general education courses and more interested in teaching in their specific research areas. However, in many schools, general education courses are expected to be the main way to achieve the learning goals of liberal education, including civic development, and the lack of faculty interest in teaching these courses make their goals difficult to achieve (p. 34). Furthermore, civic development is often considered to be a "labor intensive" teaching strategy, and there is little incentive for faculty to learn these strategies, as more and more emphasis is placed on research productivity (p. 35).

Furthermore, there is concern that higher education is "forgoing its role as a social institution and public role in society and is functioning increasingly as an industry" (Kezar, 2005, p. 23). For instance, publicly funded institutions are now encouraged to privatize some activities, "becoming for-profit entities with economic engines and with private and economic goals rather than public and service goals" (p. 24). "Production" of workers seems to have become the goal of higher education, leading to growing partnerships between higher education and the corporate sector (p. 25). Furthermore, "competitiveness, efficiency, and cost effectiveness have become the overriding criteria in decision making" (p. 27) in higher education institutions.

While there may be benefits to these changes – contributions to economic growth, supporting job creation, etc. – Kezar (2005) points out that if higher education wishes to maximize these economic benefits, "the social and public benefits should be bolstered so as not

to be lost" (p. 26). Because the social and public benefits were the original rationale for publicly funded education, she argues that as we downplay these benefits, public support drops, reflected in the declining state financial appropriations:

> There is a fundamental decline of the public sphere in American life, and this decline has been accompanied by a lowering of regard for the institutions that have been most significant in creating and maintaining the public sphere. None of these institutions are more prominent than higher education...To gain public support, we must insist on the academy's importance to a democratic society...We must make it clear that a healthy, dynamic public sphere is essential to the well-being of the nation and that public and private higher education is essential to the well-being of the American public sphere. (Kezar, 2005, p. 9)

Similarly, Longanecker (2005) points out: "When schools focus on serving privately beneficial economic development, they may also provide an excuse for diminishing public investment in them" (p. 66).

How can education achieve its democratic mission?

Today the concerns that educational institutions are losing their civic focus are beginning to be addressed. A "new academy" perspective is spreading among colleges and universities, which emphasizes "engaged learning" – how students can use their knowledge, individually and collectively, to analyze and solve significant problems in the larger community (Schneider, 2005, p. 127).

Schneider (2005) acknowledges that "it remains an open question whether or not this 'civic turn' will fulfill its potential" (p. 128). Although the movement has many influential proponents, including college presidents, scholars, and national educational associations, it faces challenges – for instance, persuading faculty and students of the importance of civic education.

Nevertheless, proponents of the new academy, who insist on the value of civic education, believe that through coursework or experiential education, students will become more civically engaged, now and in the future (Caputo, 2005). However, there is disagreement over what

approach should be utilized to best achieve civic outcomes, creating difficulties in designing the curriculum.

For instance, there is debate over what it means to be a "democratic citizen." For some, it is about protecting liberal notions of freedom, for others, about encouraging equality. Some focus on the realm of civil society, while others look at free markets. Some define citizenship as volunteering, while others emphasize participating in the political process by voting, protesting, campaigning, etc. However, when it comes to designing curriculum, these goals do not always go together; activities related to one vision of democratic citizenship may not be compatible with another vision (Kahne & Westheimer, 2003).

Thus, we need to clarify what we mean by a democratic citizen. Because we have already established the relationship between engagement and democracy, and decided that focusing on volunteering could actually be detrimental to democracy, we will take the approach offered by Kahne and Westheimer (2003) by defining democratic citizenship as something "more than good deeds" – while programs that focus on service and character-building may be valuable, they are insufficient for supporting democracy.

Furthermore, there is debate over what the desired outcome of civic engagement is. Caputo (2005) offers various perspectives:

> Is it a citizen who has a better understanding of her or his world and thus is better able to be involved knowledgeably when such involvement is desired? Or is it a citizen who, because of various experiences and in-class education, is better able to understand, analyze, and influence public policy decisions when he or she chooses to but is not required to be active on all issues or on all levels at all times? Or is it increased political and social awareness that would then lead to a life entwined with advocacy and engagement in every aspect of one's life?

Because of these different conceptual perspectives on defining democratic citizenship or determining the democratic outcomes, some have emphasized certain skills that many agree are

desirable for democratic citizens to possess. Thus, programs can be designed to encourage the development of these skills.

The ability to connect knowledge to analysis of social issues is an important skill for decision making. Having knowledge of democratic processes and issues and knowing how to attain and use information are also important (Kahne & Westheimer, 2003).

Democratic participation is not an activity done by individuals; it requires collective action. Thus, communication skills are essential. Students need to learn how to work in groups, speak in public, form coalitions among varied interests, listen to others, and respect differences (Kahne & Westheimer, 2003; Kezar, 2005, p. 45).

In recent years, educators have emphasized the importance of diversity to enhance the democratic and social goals of higher education. "Learning to understand and respect people of different backgrounds and beliefs is a central dimension of being a responsible citizen" (Colby et al., 2003, p. 39). Students need to learn to interact with different types of people. The ability to work with others and respect and negotiate the claims of people with different backgrounds and interests is critical to being "civically literate" (Kezar, 2005, pp. 45-46).

Gutmann (1987) argues that the democratic purpose of education is to allow citizens the chance to share in self-consciously shaping the structure of their society – what she calls "conscious social reproduction" (p. 46). In order to participate in conscious social reproduction, citizens must have the ability to deliberate. Thus, the core political purpose of education is to develop "deliberative character" (pp. 51-52):

> The development of deliberative character is essential to realizing the ideal of a democratically sovereign society...People who give careful consideration to the morality of laws can be trusted to defend and to respect laws that are not in their self-interest, at the same time as they can be expected to oppose laws that violate democratic principles, and ultimately to disobey them, if necessary, with the intent of changing them by appealing to the conscience of the majority. (p. 52)

While others have emphasized cultivating democratic values of tolerance, respect for individual and group identities, moral character, etc., Gutmann believes that "higher education should not be necessary for inculcating basic democratic virtues, such as toleration, truthtelling, and predisposition to nonviolence. If adolescents have not developed these character traits by the time they reach college, it is probably too late for professors to inculcate them..." (p. 173). However, colleges and universities still have an important role to play in preparing students for democratic life: "[L]earning how to think carefully and critically about political problems, to articulate one's views and defend them before people with whom one disagrees is a form of moral education to which young adults are more receptive and for which universities are well-suited" (p. 173).

If these are skills desirable for democratic citizens – communication, deliberation, using knowledge to analyze and solve problems – how can these skills best be taught?

According to Putnam (2000), "knowledge about public affairs and practice in everyday civic skills are prerequisites for effective participation" (p. 405). However, he reports that, according to the disappointing "civics report card" issued by the U.S. Department of Education, elementary and high school students lack the necessary knowledge about public affairs. So, he argues that improved civics education in school should be part of our strategy – not just "how a bill becomes a law," but "How can I participate effectively in the public life of my community?" (p. 405).

However, Gutmann (1987) is skeptical of this approach. She argues that when students who have taken courses designed to improve their knowledge of political institutions, processes, and rights are tested for political knowledge, political interest, sense of political efficacy, political trust, and civic tolerance, the findings "offer strikingly little support for the impact of

the curriculum" (p. 105). Furthermore, she argues that political knowledge, trust, and efficacy would not be the most important results of such courses; rather, an increase in the ability to reason, collectively and critically, about politics is more essential to democratic citizenship. "Schools that fail to develop this capacity [for critical deliberation] do not foster democratic virtue even when their students demonstrate the highest degree of political trust, efficacy, and knowledge" (pp. 106-107). However, it is unclear that the ability to deliberate is cultivated in such civics courses, because it is very hard to measure using surveys.

Another approach has been to adopt the teaching of "classics" to the curriculum. When the college curriculum began to emphasize major fields, there was a movement for general education to balance disciplinary specialization (Colby et al., 2003, p. 30). Many schools began requiring humanities classes focused on Western civilization, hoping to associate these classes with notions of freedom and democracy. One goal was to expose students to a "common body of knowledge and set of skills designed around the great ideas of Western heritage, nourishing a common culture and sense of citizenship" (p. 31).

However, "as curricular flexibility and specialization among both students and faculty continued to grow, eventually most general education courses were cut back or dismantled" (Colby et al., 2003, p. 32). Required Western civilization classes lost popularity, and those that remained often focused on history or literature, not democracy or civic education. General education courses are expected to be the main way to achieve many goals of liberal education, including moral and civic development. However, as we've seen, faculty often lack the interest in teaching general introductory courses and would rather teach in their specific field for upper-level students (p. 34).

Furthermore, the fact that civics and classics courses are usually taught traditionally, focused around lecture and discussion, may contribute to their problems. Although these traditional methods may help students develop some skills for democracy (for instance, through class discussion, during which students must articulate their views and defend their positions, students can practice their critical thinking and communication skills), some educators feel that these traditional strategies are not adequate to achieve the civic goals of education. As a result, some faculty have been developing teaching strategies that actively engage students in their learning and provide complex experiences to develop students' capacities (pp. 44-45). One such strategy is service-learning.

The idea that community service should be part of the educational curriculum can be traced back to the ideas of John Dewey. Dewey argued that knowledge is acquired through real world experience, and that students can best learn ideas, theories, and facts not through memorization or lectures, but through experiential education that provides real life contexts to give ideas meaning. Furthermore, experiential education gives students the opportunity to test theories and solve problems so that they can respond intelligently to future challenges.

Dewey also considered collective, democratic decision making to be the most sensible way to resolve social conflicts. Dewey can be called a "participatory democrat" who encouraged active citizen participation to identify social problems and propose solutions. He believed that this active participation contributed to healthy, productive community life.

Service-learning is "Deweyan," as it tackles real social problems and requires students to apply ideas studied in the classroom to hands-on, real world problem solving tasks (Rocheleau, 2004, p. 6). Furthermore, we have established that service-learning programs have been implemented with the goal to achieve democratic and civic outcomes, of which Dewey would

approve. If we are to embrace Deweyan service-learning, we should keep in mind how to best achieve democratic participation:

> If service-learning is to foster problem solving and democratic social engagement, it should involve more than students devoting time to useful or well-intended community service tasks, such as picking up garbage or delivering food to the needy. Rather, progressive educational thought suggests that students should be involved in the process of defining the problem to be solved, thinking through solutions, and working with others to achieve a commonly acceptable result. (Rocheleau, 2004, p. 8)

Service-Learning: Preparing Students for Democratic Citizenship?

Recall that service-learning can be defined as a form of learning in which community service is incorporated into academic coursework. Service-learning is distinguished from other service experiences in the sense that service-learning involves the "intentional integration of service and learning and the reciprocal nature of both the service and the learning among all parties in the relationship: students, the community, and the academy" (Jacoby, 1996, xviii). The hyphen in service-learning is important, as it symbolizes the relationship between service and learning and indicates that both goals are of equal importance (Jacoby, 1996, pp. 5-6).

Although there is a vast variety of different programs that could be considered "service-learning," a "typical" course might consist of studying academic course material, participating in a service activity, reflecting on the experience, and connecting the experience to the course material. Colorado State University's Premedical Service Learning Seminar serves as an example of a course following this format: First, students study the history and biology of the HIV-AIDS disease. Then students serve in nonprofit agencies focused on prevention and treatment of AIDS. Through this experience, students work with patients, health care providers, social workers, and other community members. Students reflect on their service activities by keeping journals, writing papers, and discussing issues in class. Finally, students prepare a

presentation combining knowledge from their experience with research on health care issues (Jacoby, 1996, pp. 126-127).

Through courses such as this, it is hoped that students will achieve civic gains. How? First, some argue that there is value in service itself (Lisman, 1998, p. 24). Society needs volunteers to provide public services, and by providing services, students are engaging in public life. It is also believed that as students learn about society and participate in it, they are more likely to stay involved and engaged in later life. Increased engagement may in turn lead to better public policy discussion and decisions, which improves the quality of democracy (Caputo, 2005). Furthermore, through service, students can understand systemic causes of social problems and be motivated to work for social and political change (Lisman, 1998, p. 42).

Service-learning can also help instill the skills necessary for citizenship, discussed above. For instance, service-learning can help students develop critical thinking skills – when lectured, students are "passive receptacles of information" (Lisman, 1998, pp. 34-35), but when participating in community service experiences, students have the opportunity to assess the needs of an organization, make practical decisions, think about consequences and responsibilities, and draw connections about how the service project relates to topics in the course. Service activities can also help people cultivate both leadership and teamwork skills and allow students to gain a more comprehensive understanding of diversity (Lisman, 1998; Jacoby, 1996).

Thus, service-learning seems like a great approach to encourage civic engagement – in theory. However, "most of the support for service learning comes from educators' beliefs and experiences, rather than from research" (Myers-Lipton, 1998, pp. 244-245). Before declaring service-learning to be a miracle cure to solve all of society's problems, research supporting service-learning's effectiveness needs to be established:

> The growth in service-learning programs and courses within higher education has increased the need for empirical evidence about its effectiveness and impacts. Without evidence that service-learning has positive effects on student development and well-being, there is little objective rationale for integrating service into curricula. (Gray et al., 2000)

Service-Learning Studies

Astin and Sax (1998) looked at the effects of service participation on students, not specifically service-learning. They argued that before schools begin expanding service programs, including service-learning, research needs to be done on how students are affected by service experience. They looked at measures of civic responsibility, academic development, and life skills using data from five consecutive Cooperative Institutional Research Program (CIRP) Freshman Surveys and through a follow-up survey, the 1995 College Student Survey. Astin and Sax found that all of their 34 outcome measures were positively influenced by service activity. For instance, all 12 civic responsibility outcomes in their study (including willingness to help others who are in difficulty, commitment to help promote racial understanding, intention to serve the community, and desire to influence social values) were all positively influenced by service participation. Furthermore, when students were asked why they engaged in service, three of the top four reasons involved civic responsibility and service to others – "to help other people," "to improve my community," and "to improve society as a whole" (the other, "to feel personal satisfaction"). Astin and Sax argued that their results provide proof that participation in service activities has positive effects on students' civic responsibility.

Gray, Ondaatje, Fricker, and Geschwind (2000) supplemented Sax and Astin's research findings by focusing specifically on service-learning courses among colleges and universities. They reported the results from a three-year evaluation (1995-1997), during which RAND collected data using a survey of over 1300 students from 28 institutions with LSAHE grants

(Learn and Serve America, Higher Education). They compared two groups of students in the 28 institutions – students enrolled in a service-learning course, and students enrolled in a similar course without a service component. Since LSAHE grants were awarded competitively, it is likely that students from these schools were involved in strong service-learning programs. Thus, the findings of this study "provide a profile of service-learning within those institutions that are among the most committed and involved."

Respondents were asked about the effects of the course in four areas – academic skills, professional skills, life skills, and civic participation. The study found that in the areas of civic participation and life skills, the service-learning courses were perceived as more influential than the comparison group courses. However, no differences were found between groups for academic and professional skills. And even though they found statistically significant effects for civic and life skills, their models accounted for only about 7 percent of the variance – meaning that many other factors besides the service-learning course also affected students' responses.

Although the results lend only "partial support" to proponents of service-learning, the researchers concluded that at the least, service participation appears to bring no harm to students. Despite what some have argued, no evidence was found that these courses were less rigorous or "easy A's." And students actually viewed the courses very favorably, expressing a high level of satisfaction. Furthermore, Gray et al. argue that the "results reflect the uneven implementation of service-learning in higher education. As more students are exposed to 'best practices' in service-learning, we expect stronger impacts to emerge."

However, the results for Parker-Gwin and Mabry's study (1998) were not as positive. They analyzed data from a survey completed by students who had participated in three different types of service-learning courses at Virginia Tech – "placement-service optional" courses

(students could volunteer at an organization if they wished, in order to partially fulfill the course requirement), "placement-service required" (all students were required to participate in service activity at a community organization), and "consulting model courses" (the entire class worked in teams to complete a community project).

Parker-Gwin and Mabry's survey (which included pre-course and follow-up questionnaires) asked questions about students' attitudes toward community service, citizenship, and social responsibility. The study also examined students' responses on whether service participation affected their interest in the course, improved their analytical and problem-solving skills, or enhanced their critical-thinking ability.

Parker-Gwin and Mabry found that:

> Contrary to expectations, service-learning students held slightly less favorable attitudes toward community service at the end of the semester than at the beginning. These findings suggest that instructors should not expect students' attitudes to become more favorable after only one semester of service-learning. (p. 284)

They explained this finding by arguing, "At the beginning of a course, students may be somewhat naively excited about what they believe they can accomplish...As a consequence, if the service does not make these students "feel good," they may hold less favorable attitudes than before their service" (p. 284). However, on a positive note, they also found that "self-oriented motives" for volunteering for community service significantly declined after taking the service-learning course – students assigned less importance to developing skills or enhancing their resumes. Furthermore, students in consulting courses reported that their critical-thinking ability and analytic and problem solving skills had increased slightly over the semester (p. 286).

This study also found that *requiring* students to serve can have a negative effect. Students who were required to participate in service declined more on measures of Personal Responsibility and Importance of Community Service than students enrolled in optional service

courses. In addition, a study by Stukas, Snyder, and Clary (1999) found that requiring students to volunteer may undermine their future intentions to volunteer, and mandatory service may also reduce students' interest in the activity. However, they found that these effects occur only in students who initially expressed that they were unlikely to freely volunteer. These students were more likely to report future intentions to volunteer if their service was optional. Students who were initially inclined toward volunteering reported greater future intentions to volunteer, regardless of the context. These findings have implications for designing service-learning courses and suggest that educators should think carefully when planning to require service of students. However, Stukas, Snyder, and Clary suggest that the possible negative effects of mandatory service can be mitigated or avoided if the course allows students more freedom to design and implement their service activities, rather than have a service project chosen for them.

Myers-Lipton (1998) conducted a study examining a comprehensive service-learning program. The two-year program included four courses, such as Facilitating Peaceful Community Change and Community Problem Solving. Each course included a service-learning lab that met for two hours a week; in addition, students participated six hours a week in community places such as the homeless shelter. During the labs, students reflected on their service experience and discussed challenges and solutions with other classmates. In addition, the program included a summer service-learning experience working at a community development center in Jamaica.

Myers-Lipton used experimental and control groups in his study. The experimental group consisted of students in the comprehensive service-learning course. There were two control groups – one made up of students who participated in service activities, but not as part of a service-learning program, and the other consisted of a random sample of the general student population. Myers-Lipton administered a pretest to the experimental and control groups before

the service-learning program began, and later administered two post-tests: one after the summer experience, and another at the end of the two-year program.

His results showed that students in the comprehensive service-learning course became more concerned about civic responsibility and civic behavior over the two-year experiment, while the two control groups both became somewhat less concerned during the same time. These results support the idea that comprehensive service-learning programs can be a way to increase students' civic responsibility.

Although results have been somewhat mixed, overall there is indication that service-learning can have positive impacts on students' civic attitudes. Furthermore, the quality of the course does make a difference. Researchers have identified several characteristics that contribute to the effectiveness of service-learning courses.

First, the service activity should be clearly connected to course content. This provides students with knowledge that relates to service experience, and in turn, the service should enhance understanding of course content. Second, is the importance of reflection, whether through journal writings, class discussions, papers, or presentations. This encourages students to think critically about their service and examine the issues associated with it. Finally, duration is important. Very short periods of service appear to have little or no effect on the students. Students need enough time in the community to learn about the civic process involved and to form ideas about public problems and solutions (Myers-Lipton, 1998; Hepburn, 2000).

Evaluating the Research

Researchers have noted problems in the existing research on service-learning and have made suggestions for future studies. First, there is a greater need for longitudinal research. Many of the changes observed in students after taking courses might only be short-term effects.

Thus, there is a need to conduct follow up studies a few years after the program. Second, service-learning could benefit from more qualitative analysis to understand not just *if* a change occurred but *why* the change occurred. We also need more studies that determine whether service-learning has an effect on *behavior*. Frequently, surveys on the subject of service-learning ask respondents about their beliefs or intentions, which are less concrete and more vulnerable to bias (Myers-Lipton, 1998).

When we're studying whether or not service-learning programs are effective at encouraging civic values, it is important to note how citizenship or civic responsibility is defined in these studies. The studies that I looked at seemed to emphasize ideas about caring for others, having a sense of social responsibility, wanting to volunteer in the future – and they paid less attention to political engagement, which, as we've discussed, is an important component of civic engagement, especially when we consider our democratic goals.

As we've defined civic engagement, we mean "more than good deeds." As we've seen, the focus on volunteer service alone is insufficient for supporting democracy. Democracy requires people to be self-governing, to express their demands on government, and to protect themselves from abuses of government. Furthermore, the focus on volunteering can actually be detrimental to democracy, as many volunteers might see their service activity as an alternative to politics. In addition, service projects alone do not allow us to address large-scale societal problems that require collective action.

Although citizenship requires "more than good deeds," it is still a difficult concept to define. Thus, some have settled on identifying skills that students need to be better democratic citizens – critical thinking, communication, using knowledge to analyze issues, etc. Here, service-learning shows promise. Perhaps the best way for students to develop these skills is to

practice them in a community setting. However, the effects of service-learning courses on these skills are difficult to measure. Most of the data on service-learning has been collected through surveys, which rely on self-reports from students. You can ask a student, "Do you think your communication skills have improved?," but the results would be subjective. Furthermore, even if service-learning courses are effective at developing certain skills, there is no guarantee that these skills would translate into civic participation – only that if students decide to participate, they might have better communication and critical thinking skills.

I'd be interested in seeing more research done on the political effects, if any, of service-learning, because I'm not sure if I'm convinced that having students volunteer at a homeless shelter necessarily causes them to want to vote in the next election or to write to their elected officials. And, as we've seen, the concerns about declining voter participation and other forms of political involvement play a prominent role in our civic disengagement discussion. If service-learning is to be effective at reconnecting college students with political affairs and traditional forms of political involvement, students need to see the links between their direct service activities and institutional and policy questions.

Kahne and Westheimer (2003) addressed this concern by studying several programs that they describe as "programs that teach democracy." For instance, the following project was part of a high school government course, but it can serve as a model of service-learning that emphasizes political action:

> The Frederick County Youth Service League is part of a high school government course that places students in internships in local county offices, where they undertake substantive, semester-long projects…One group we observed investigated the feasibility of curbside recycling in the county by conducting phone interviews, examining maps of the city's population density, and analyzing projected housing growth and environmental impacts. Another group identified jobs that prisoners incarcerated for less than 90 days could perform and analyzed the cost and efficacy of similar programs in other localities. Other students identified strategies to increase immunization rates for children, and still

> others examined the availability of adequate affordable housing in their county. In all of these projects, the students took responsibilities that required interpersonal, work-related, and analytic skills. These experiences also provided an up-close look at the ways in which government organizations interact with the public and with private businesses in formulating policies that affect the community.

The surveys that Kahne and Westheimer conducted showed that students involved in this program who previously had little interest in public affairs and government experienced a considerable attitude change as the result of the program. They found statistically significant increases in students' "ability and desire to understand and act on pressing social needs, in their willingness to devote time to addressing these needs, and in their confidence in being able to act on their beliefs as a result of their participation in these programs." Student interviews supported the survey findings. For instance, more than 50 percent of the students identified "lack of involvement in the community" as a community problem. One student remarked, "I think if more people were aware of what has happened in the government, we wouldn't have as many problems, because they would understand that people do have an impact."

Overall, studies seem to support that service-learning, if it's done right, can have positive effects on civic attitudes. There's something to be said about "learning by doing." Perhaps the best way for students to learn to be democratic citizens is to practice. However, when designing these courses, it is important to keep in mind what the ultimate goal is. If we are concerned about the quality of democracy and how best to promote and maintain it, then we need to think about what kinds of service experiences would best achieve these goals.

As more of these courses are offered and more research is conducted, we'll have a better idea of the effectiveness of service-learning, as well as gain practical knowledge of how to make these courses more effective.

References

Astin, A., & Sax, L. (1996). How undergraduates are affected by service participation. *Journal of College Student Development, 39*, 251-263.

Battistoni, R. M. (2000). Service Learning and Civic Education. In Mann, S., & Patrick, J. J. (Eds.), *Education for civic engagement in democracy: Service learning and other promising practices* (pp. 29-44). Bloomington, IN: ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education.

Benson, L., Harkavy, I., Hartley, M. (2005). Integrating a commitment to the public good into the institutional fabric. In Kezar, A. J., Chambers, T. C., & Burkhardt, J. C. (Eds.), *Higher education for the public good* (pp. 185-216). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Caputo, D. A. (2005). A campus view: Civic engagement and the higher education community. *National Civic Review, 94*(2), pp. 3-10. Retrieved February 20, 2006, from Infotrac Expanded Academic database.

Chambers, T. C. (2005). The Special role of higher education in society: As a public good for the public good. In Kezar, A. J., Chambers, T. C., & Burkhardt, J. C. (Eds.), *Higher education for the public good* (pp. 3-22). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Colby, A., Ehrlich, T., Beaumont, E., & Stephens, J. (2003). *Educating citizens: Preparing America's undergraduates for lives of moral and civic responsibility.* San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Galston, W. A. (2003). Democracy and civic engagement: Civic engagement and political participation. *Phi Delta Kappan, 85*(1), p. 29. Retrieved February 20, 2006, from Infotrac Expanded Academic database.

Gray, M., Ondaatje, E., Fricker, R., & Geschwind, S. (2000, March/April). Assessing

service learning: Results from a survey of "Learn and Serve America, Higher Education." *Change, 32*, 30-39.

Gutmann, A. (1987). *Democratic education.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Hepburn, M. A. (2000). Service learning and civic education in the schools: What does recent research tell us? In Mann, S., & Patrick, J. J. (Eds.), *Education for civic engagement in democracy: Service learning and other promising practices* (pp. 45-59). Bloomington, IN: ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education.

Jacoby, B. (1996). Service-learning in today's higher education. In Jacoby and Associates, *Service-learning in higher education* (pp. 3-25). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Johnson, T. J., Hays, C. E., & Hays, S. P. (Eds.) (1998). *Engaging the public.* Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Kahne, J., & Westheimer, J. (2003). Democracy and civic engagement: What schools need to do. *Phi Delta Kappan, 85*(1), p. 34. Retrieved February 20, 2006, from Infotrac Expanded Academic database.

Kezar, A. J. (2005). Challenges for higher education in serving the public good. In Kezar, A. J., Chambers, T. C., & Burkhardt, J. C. (Eds.), *Higher education for the public good* (pp. 23-42). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Lisman, C. D. (1998). *Toward a civil society: Civic literacy and service learning.* Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey.

Longanecker, D. (2005). State governance and the public good. In Kezar, A. J., Chambers, T. C., & Burkhardt, J. C. (Eds.), *Higher education for the public good* (pp. 57-70). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Macedo, S., Alex-Assensoh, Y., Berry, J. M., Brintnall, M., Campbell, D. E., Fraga, L. R., et. al. (2005). *Democracy at risk: How political choices undermine citizen participation, and what we can do about it*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

Myers-Lipton, S. (1998). Effect of a comprehensive service-learning program on college students' civic responsibility. *Teaching Sociology, 26*, 243-258.

Parker-Gwin, R., & Mabry, J. (1998). Service learning as pedagogy and civic education: Comparing outcomes for three models. *Teaching Sociology, 26*, 276-291.

Payne, D. A. (2000). *Evaluating service-learning activities and programs*. Lanham, MD: The Scarecrow Press.

Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Rocheleau, J. (2004). Theoretical roots of service-learning: Progressive education and the development of citizenship. In Speck, B. W., and Hoppe, S. L. (Eds.), *Service-learning: History, theory, and issues* (pp. 3-21). Westport, CT: Praeger.

Schneider, C. G. (2005). Liberal education and the civic engagement gap. In Kezar, A. J., Chambers, T. C., & Burkhardt, J. C. (Eds.), *Higher education for the public good* (pp. 127-145). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Sherman, R. F. (2004). The promise of youth is in the present. *National Civic Review, 93*(1), pp. 50-56. Retrieved date from Infotrac Expanded Academic database.

Skocpol, T. (2003). *Diminished democracy: From membership to management in American civic life*. Volume 8 in the Julian J. Rothbaum Distinguished Lecture Series. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.

Skocpol, T., & Fiorina, M. P. (Eds.). (1999). *Civic engagement in American democracy*.

Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

Stukas, A., Snyder, M., & Clary, E. (1999). The effects of "mandatory volunteerism" on intentions to volunteer. *Psychological Science, 10*, 59-64.

Tocqueville, A. de. (1990). *Democracy in America* (Vols. 1-2) (H. Reeve, Trans.). New York: Vintage Books. (Original work published 1835-1840).

Waterman, A. S. (Ed.). (1997). *Service-learning: Applications from the research.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Westheimer, J., & Kahne, J. (2003). Democracy and civic engagement: Reconnecting education to democracy – democratic dialogues. *Phi Delta Kappan, 85*(1), p. 8. Retrieved February 20, 2006, from Infotrac Expanded Academic database.

Zieren, G. R., & Stoddard, P. H. (2004). The Historical origins of service-learning in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: The transplanted and indigenous traditions. In Speck, B. W., and Hoppe, S. L. (Eds.), *Service-learning: History, theory, and issues* (pp. 23-42). Westport, CT: Praeger.