STOCKTON UNIVERSITY | WILLIAM J. HUGHES CENTER FOR PUBLIC POLICY

"Midwife to Democracy:" Civic Learning in Higher Education

October 2016

Jennifer Forestal, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor of Political Science
Stockton University
101 Vera King Farris Drive
Galloway, NJ 08205

STOCKTON UNIVERSITY
NEW JERSEY'S DISTINCTIVE PUBLIC UNIVERSITY

"Midwife to Democracy:" Civic Learning in Higher Education

Dr. Jennifer Forestal, Stockton University

"… whether this educative process is carried on in a predominantly democratic or non-democratic way becomes therefore a question of transcendent importance not only for education itself but for its final effect upon all the interests and activities of a society that is committed to the democratic way of life." –John Dewey, 1937

Executive Summary

This report investigates the best practices in contemporary civic learning and describes the state of civic education programs in institutions of higher education. In drawing its conclusions and making recommendations, the report draws from the civic learning literature developed in K-12 systems; reports from the United States Department of Education, the Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools, the National Center for Learning and Civic Engagement, Campus Compact, and the American Association of State Colleges and Universities; literature on engaged pedagogy in political science; and established works in democratic theory.

The report finds that there are six components to effective civic learning, including:

- Instruction in basic facts, building civic knowledge
- Skills in applying those facts and discussing and evaluating real-world issues and events
- Cultivation of democratic values
- Practice in democratic situations
- Connection between students and their communities
- Institutional support

While many institutions of higher education incorporate one or two elements of effective civic learning into their curriculum, the report also finds that most programs are varied, if not uneven. Keeping in mind the potential challenges of implementing curriculum changes, the report nevertheless proposes three distinct strategies for integrating civic learning into an institution's curriculum requirements in a rigorous yet organic way. Recommendations include:

1. Implement a "Civics Across the Curriculum" graduation requirement, modeled after the successful "Writing Across the Curriculum" programs at many colleges and universities nationwide.
2. Introduce a separate "Civics" certificate, minor, or major program that is open to all students, but is not required for graduation.
3. Introduce a one-semester required civics course for all graduates as part of a general education curriculum.

"Midwife to Democracy:" Civic Learning in Higher Education

I. Why Civic Learning?

Democracy, as Dewey tells us, is a way of life— "a form of associated living, a conjoint communicated experience" (Dewey 1916). It requires, for its success, "the participation of every mature human being in formation of the values that regulate the living of men together" (Dewey 1937, 217). This model of democracy has deep roots in American political life, echoing Jefferson's hope that every citizen would feel "that he is a participator in the government of affairs, not merely at an election one day in the year, but every day" (Jefferson 1905). More recently, democratic theorists like Benjamin Barber, Jane Mansbridge, and David Mathews have expanded on Jefferson's vision, describing democracy as, respectively, a "participatory process of ongoing, proximate, self-legislation," as a "deliberative system," and as a "citizen-centered ecosystem" (Barber 1984; Mansbridge 1999; Mathews 2014) Despite their differences, these are all pictures of democracy as a pervasive set of practices that extend deep into the lives of citizens and that influence their very habits, attitudes, and behaviors—not just on Election Day, but every day.

But an active and engaged citizenry is no easy feat. This expansive picture of democracy requires citizens that are equipped with the knowledge necessary to consider the difficult choices presented as part of public life and to make the best decisions they can. They must also possess the requisite skills of deliberation, negotiation, and collaboration that are at the heart of democratic politics as a collective enterprise. And, finally, these citizens should be guided by democratic values—of, for example, tolerance, justice, respect, and cooperation—that will prepare them to actively and meaningfully fulfill their obligations. Engaged citizenship, in other words, goes far beyond the formal requirements of birth or naturalization. If we are to fill the roles that Jefferson, Dewey, and other democratic theorists laid out, we need far more, and more conscious, preparation.

Evidence shows, however, that we are failing in this preparation. Lacking the requisite knowledge, skills, and values of civic life, many citizens are turning away from politics altogether. Low levels of political knowledge are widespread among American adults. In a 2011 report by the Annenberg Public Policy Center,

only 38% of adult citizens could name all three branches of the U.S. government; a third (33%) could not name any ("New Annenberg Survey Asks: 'How Well Do Americans Understand the Constitution?'" 2011). And these low levels of knowledge in adulthood reflect similarly low levels while in school. In 2010, in a decline from earlier years, only 24% of graduating high school seniors scored at the proficient or advanced level in civics; over one third (36%) scored below the basic level (National Center for Education Statistics 2011). And this is not just a problem on the national level. Recent work by the Hughes Center indicates that more than half of New Jerseyans could not name a single Supreme Court Justice. Furthermore, 62% did not know how many justices serve on the Supreme Court (Wharton and Avery 2015). And this dearth of civic knowledge extends from institutional questions to include a lack of knowledge about basic civil rights and liberties. Only 29% of New Jersey respondents identified freedom of speech as one of the freedoms guaranteed by the First Amendment; the number of respondents aware of the other protected freedoms—of religion, assembly, and the press—was much lower. And 10% of New Jersey adults surveyed could not name or were not sure about *any* of the freedoms guaranteed in the First Amendment (Wharton and Avery 2015).

This lack of knowledge is reflected in a similar lack of civic skills and, ultimately, civic activity. In 2007, the United States ranked 139th in voter participation out of 172 world democracies; only 10 percent of U.S. citizens contacted a public official in 2009-10 (McCormick Tribune Foundation 2007). Such inactivity is perhaps unsurprising, as studies show a significant downward trend in levels of public confidence in American political institutions, particularly Congress (Kopicki 2011). And this lack of confidence in the formal institutions of government is reflected in declining levels of participation in informal civic associations, the traditional sources for developing the kinds of social capital required for democratic citizens to work across differences in the name of common goals (Putnam 2000).

And the effects of this decline in civic engagement are compounded in locations, like Southern New Jersey, that are marked by lower incomes, wages, and wealth. Higher incomes are associated with quality of life factors like educational attainment and civic engagement. Following this pattern, opportunities to

develop civic skills, particularly in high school, are disproportionally available to wealthier students (Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement 2010). As most counties in Southern New Jersey rank at the bottom of indicators for poverty, unemployment, educational attainment, and health outcomes, the picture of civic involvement in Southern New Jersey is a dire one (Sloane 2015).

All of this paints a pessimistic picture; it seems that the prospects are dim for the kind of vibrant and active democratic citizenry that Dewey and Jefferson hoped to create. But there are signs that this trend might be reversing. Recognizing the power of education in shaping citizens' habits, attitudes, and behaviors, many states have introduced legislation intended to develop the competencies of democratic citizens by bolstering civic education programs in public K-12 educational systems. Arizona, for example, requires that high school seniors pass a citizenship test prior to graduation (Wilson 2015). And New Jersey's own Assemblyman Troy Singleton plans to introduce a bill that would allow school districts to add a graduation requirement that seniors pass the same 10-question civics test taken by applicants for US citizenship (Auditor 2014).

While there has been a renewed interest in the role of education in shaping active and responsible citizens, this is in many ways a reinvigoration of the longstanding civic mission of public education in the United States. Many state constitutions, including Massachusetts, California, and Texas—as well as several other states that predate the United States Constitution—explicitly reference the close connection between the "general diffusion of knowledge" and the "preservation of the rights and liberties of the people" (Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools 2011, 10–11). Alexis de Tocqueville, writing in 1830, reflected on the impact of this emphasis on the civic mission of schools by noting that in America "education as a whole is directed directed toward political life" (Tocqueville 1969, 304–305). The 1947 report from the President's Commission on Higher Education clearly articulates the role of schools in developing citizens (Truman 1947). And, as recently as 2014, the Massachusetts Board of Higher Education voted to add a civic learning and engagement outcome to the agenda for public higher education in Massachusetts; in so doing, they added metrics that specifically referenced developing a well-informed and engaged citizenry in addition

to preparing students for workforce development (Study Group on Civic Learning and Engagement for the Massachusetts Board of Higher Education 2014).

And there are indicators that this renewed investment in education is working. Effective civic learning increases one's civic knowledge and develops the requisite civic skills and attitudes, builds 21st century skills like cooperation, media literacy, news literacy, and knowledge, improves school climate by connecting young people with their communities, teaches teamwork and respectful dialogue, lowers drop-out rates, and fosters an appreciation for diversity (Guilfoile and Delander 2014; J. E. Kahne and Sporte 2010; Torney-Purta and Wilkenfeld 2009; Wilcox 2011). A 2011 survey shows that taking a civics or government course in high school or college predicts one's level of civic knowledge ("New Annenberg Survey Asks: 'How Well Do Americans Understand the Constitution?'" 2011); this finding is echoed in Wharton and Avery's (2015) findings that New Jersey adults who had even a single course that discussed the Constitution and the Supreme Court had dramatically higher scores.

Moreover, young people who are more active in and knowledgeable about their communities are more likely to want to improve those communities through better government, voting, political discussion, and other civic activities than their less engaged and knowledgeable counterparts (Delli Carpini and Keeter 1996; Guilfoile and Delander 2014; Milner 2006). Students engage in civic learning activities are more likely to vote and discuss politics at home. They are four times more likely to volunteer and work on community issues; they are more confident in their ability to speak publicly and communicate with their elected representatives (Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools 2011). These findings are again supported by recent Hughes Center work that shows that New Jersey adults who studied US government or civics in school were more likely to vote in recent elections and to participate in civic activities like contributing to a political candidate or campaign, writing to a newspaper or public official, and signing a petition (Wharton and Avery 2015). Effective civic education, in other words, can help to promote civic equality by increasing civic activity (including voter turnout) and closing the gaps created by income and wealth disparities.

Much of the work done in creating effective civic education programs has to date focused on K-12 systems. But, of course, many students continue their education beyond high school. As a result, institutes of higher education can—and should—play a significant role in continuing and expanding the efforts and gains in civic learning made in primary and secondary schools. Though this is not a new claim it has nevertheless gained increased visibility in recent years. Recognizing that "civic learning and democratic engagement are add-ons rather than essential parts of the core academic mission" of many colleges and universities, the United States Department of Education recently released *A Crucible Moment*, a report that recommended five priorities intended to integrate civic learning throughout curricula (U.S. Department of Education 2012). Following this report's release, a growing number of colleges and universities have begun to develop new initiatives that incorporate civic learning more fully into their curricula. Drawing on and synthesizing these various approaches, this report shows the state of civic education programs in higher education. It outlines six components of effective civic learning: instruction in basic facts, skills in applying those facts to real-world situations, the cultivation of civic values, practice in democratic situations, a connection between students and their communities, and institutional support. After introduction each of these elements in section II, section III takes up each of these components and examines the ways in which various institutions have, to date, implemented them. In so doing, the report draws from a variety of experiences in order to identify "best practices" for each of the necessary components. Finally, in section IV, the report concludes with three separate recommendations for how institutions of higher education might draw on these best practices and integrate civic learning more deeply into their curricula.

II. Components of Civic Learning

The related terms "civic learning," "civic education," and "civic engagement" are plagued by multiple definitions (Jacoby 2009). In this report, following the convention of the 2014 report by the Massachusetts Board of Education, we take "civic learning" to be an umbrella term which includes all practices that engender "knowledge, skills, values, and competencies that citizens in a democracy need to

carry out their civic responsibility" (Study Group on Civic Learning and Engagement for the Massachusetts Board of Higher Education 2014). These are capacious categories and ones that include not only a familiarity with political life and practices in the United States, but—recognizing the increasingly connected context within which 21st-century citizens act—are categories that also include a global perspective, introducing students to other cultures and societies and developing their understanding of the relationships that undergird politics in a global age. A "civic education program," in our understanding, will take a sustained, programmatic approach to students' civic learning. In order to fully develop the widest range of democratic capacities, effective civic learning has five key components. Successful civic education programs, in other words, will incorporate all of the following in a systematic and deliberate way:

Instruction in basic facts, building civic knowledge

At a most basic level, high-quality civic education programs should have a positive impact on students' civic knowledge by providing classroom instruction in government, history, law, democracy, economics, and geography (Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools 2011, n. 64; Guilfoile and Delander 2014; Meirick and Wackman 2004). Through intensive, directed, and sustained study, students should gain familiarity with key texts that outline the underlying principles and debates in democratic theory. Likewise, students should develop a broad understanding of key democratic movements in order to analyze and evaluate the application of those principles in real historical circumstances. In addition to basic facts regarding government structures, laws, key historical figures and events, and geographies, however, effective civic education programs should also build students' cultural competencies by introducing students to the diverse cultures, histories, and religious traditions that have shaped the United States and other societies. In so doing, students will be prompted to consider the development of their own identities and reflect on the influences on their own values, assumptions, and responsibilities to the wider public (The National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement 2012). Through this instruction in basic facts, students will not only gain knowledge of the political systems in which they live, but will also be well-equipped to critique and change the system in light of their familiarity with the various levers available to

influence society (Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools 2011; Guilfoile and Delander 2014; The National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement 2012; Vercellotti and Matto 2010).

The positive effects of this component of civic education are evident in numerous studies. Political knowledge is an important precondition for civic participation; the civic knowledge gained through classroom instruction has been shown to increase students' confidence in, and inclination toward, active civic engagement over the long term (Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools 2011, n. 26, 67; Guilfoile and Delander 2014; Milner 2006). In addition, young people who know more about government are more likely to vote, discuss politics, contact the government, and take part in other civic activities than their less knowledgeable counterparts (Delli Carpini and Keeter 1996; Guilfoile and Delander 2014; Milner 2006).

Skills in applying those facts and discussing and evaluating real-world issues and events

Despite the importance of building student's civic knowledge, civic learning consists in more than just the provision of basic facts about democracy. In order to be effective citizens, students must also have the skills to *apply* those facts in order to discuss and evaluate real-world issues and events. Effective civic education programs, in other words, not only build civic knowledge but also foster the development of civic *skills*. These include, for example, critical thinking, "speaking, listening, collaboration, community organizing, public advocacy, and the ability to gather and process information"(Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools 2011, n. 9)

Key among the civic skills required for democratic participation are the abilities to appreciate diversity, exchange ideas, and come to collective decisions after sincere deliberation and debate. Critical thinking, collaboration, and public advocacy are also important skills, as are, crucially, the skills of argumentation—speaking, listening, and gathering and processing information. Democratic interactions are often characterized by conflict—disagreement, particularly on controversial issues of public concern, is a permanent characteristic of public life (Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools 2011). In order to be effective citizens, then, students must be taught how to engage with these issues—and the underlying disagreements—in objective and engaged ways. In order to cultivate civic skills and teach students to handle

disagreements civilly, civic education programs should incorporate classroom discussions of current issues that resonate with students; in so doing, these programs will encourage debate and reflection while also acknowledging that while differences of opinion are not wrong, students must nevertheless be able to defend their opinions in dialogue with others (Guilfoile and Delander 2014; Hess 2009; Youniss 2011).

In order to ensure that students practice developing civic skills—not just that such debates are happening, in other words, but that they are *productive* opportunities for civic learning—instructors should ensure that these classroom discussions are carefully planned and moderated so that students are made to feel comfortable speaking no matter what their perspective may be (Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools 2011; Guilfoile and Delander 2014; The National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement 2012; Torney-Purta and Wilkenfeld 2009). The most effective instructors will therefore use a variety of discussion models, develop firm ground rules to insure productivity and inclusivity, provide relevant background material, and aim to foster students' cultivation of their *own* perspective on the issues at hand (Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools 2011; The National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement 2012).

Like increases in civic knowledge, the development of civic skills has demonstrated positive effects on students' overall civic engagement. Students with civic skills are more likely to act confidently and effectively when participating in civic activities (Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools 2011). Civic skills and civic knowledge go hand-in-hand; when students are given opportunities to build skills in speaking, listening, and formulating arguments, for example, they are more likely to have greater interest in politics, to continue their political discussions outside of the classroom, and to be politically mobilized (Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools 2011; Feldman et al. 2007; Guilfoile and Delander 2014; Hess 2009; McDevitt 2008). Likewise, the inclusion of civic education in students' college experience has been shown to expand citizens' capacity to engage in politics by developing the skills and knowledge required to identify their preferences, understand political processes, and pursue their interests (Hillygus 2005).

Cultivation of democratic values

But merely having the requisite civic knowledge and civic skills is insufficient for developing a fully engaged citizenry. Instead, effective civic learning also cultivates students' civic *dispositions*; it introduces students to the values of responsible engagement and political motivation that encourage and sustain civic activity throughout one's life (Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools 2011). In general, a college education is shown to alter students' values, goals, and attitudes; knowing this, institutes of higher education are well-positioned to consciously orient students towards those values and attitudes that support civic engagement (Colby et al. 2003). While the list of "proper" civic values is contested, at a minimum these include a respect for freedom and human dignity, empathy, tolerance, social capital, a sense of justice, ethical integrity, and an enlarged sense of civic responsibility (Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools 2011; Colby et al. 2003; The National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement 2012).

As with civic knowledge and skills, the cultivation of civic values is linked to positive outcomes in civic engagement. By contributing to the development of a "political or civic identity," the maturation of one's civic values can help to keep individuals engaged in political life long after their structured civic learning experiences end (Colby et al. 2003). In addition, engaging students in developing their civic values can help to increase students' feelings of political efficacy—the belief that "it matters what they think and do civically and politically and that it is possible for them to make some difference" (Colby et al. 2003; Gutmann 1996; Haidt 2001). This has a significant impact on civic engagement, as it is widely accepted that increasing feelings of political efficacy are positively correlated with increased levels of engagement (Almond and Verba 1963; J. Kahne and Westheimer 2006; Pasek et al. 2008; Rosenstone and Hansen 1993).

Practice in democratic situations

In order to turn students' civic knowledge, skills, and values into the lifelong habits and attitudes of democratic citizens, students must also gain practice working in democratic situations as part of a structured civic learning experience. More than simply participating in carefully moderated class discussions, in other words, students should be exposed to the ways in which civic skills, knowledge, and values are deployed in ways that have sustained and meaningful effects in their communities (Campaign for the Civic Mission of

Schools 2011; Levinson 2012). By immersing students in democratic experiences that mimic real-world contexts, students come to see how to embody their skills, knowledge, and values as well as how to learn from and respond to the kinds of successes and failures which are commonplace in political life (Guilfoile and Delander 2014)

In these democratic situations, students are able to apply the knowledge they gain in more traditional classroom experiences. Effective civic education programs should therefore make use of pedagogical strategies that incorporate simulations of democratic situations like voting, trials, legislative deliberation and diplomacy (Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools 2011; Guilfoile and Delander 2014). But these practices need not be confined to the classroom. Indeed, studies indicate that robust civic education programming will also include co-curricular activities that invite students to put their skills and knowledge to work in areas of interest to them (Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools 2011). The addition of extracurricular activities to a program of civic education heightens the stakes of participating in a way that more closely mimics real-world political exchanges; in removing these experiences from the classroom environment they become all the more meaningful for students (Guilfoile and Delander 2014).

The positive effects of this kind of practice are once again evident. Participation in extracurricular clubs and activities in high school is a high predictor of students' civic participation, with some studies placing it higher than more traditional factors like education and income (Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools 2011, n. 37; J. E. Kahne and Sporte 2010). Participation in simulations like mock trials and mock elections has been similarly linked to increased proficiency in civic skills such as public speaking, collaboration, analytical and critical thinking, and formulating arguments (Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools 2011; Guilfoile and Delander 2014; Youniss 2011). The benefits of this participation, for both academic and civic outcomes, are compounded when students regularly participate in extracurricular activities in which they are able to practice these skills and make a habit of civic action (Kuh 2008; Study Group on Civic Learning and Engagement for the Massachusetts Board of Higher Education 2014). By engaging students in democratic situations that are focused on issues with real consequences, these civic

learning experiences integrate knowledge, skills, and values with practical experiences that develop students' interest in, familiarity with, and confidence in public problem-solving and collective action (The National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement 2012).

Connection with community

In addition to gaining practical experience in democratic situations through co-curricular activities a crucial element of students' development as active and engaged citizens involves cultivating deeper and richer connections with their communities. Effective civic education programs, in other words, will also incorporate a variety of campus-community partnerships, community engagement, and/or service-learning elements through which students come to have a more meaningful sense of their communities. Building on the knowledge, skills, values, and practice that students develop in the curricular and extracurricular spaces on campus, the community engagement component of civic learning once again extends and deepens students' confidence and familiarity with civic situations in a way that continues to foster the development of student's civic identities (Youniss 2011).

Of course, as with extracurricular involvement more generally, not all service-learning and community engagement services this purpose as effectively. Instead, this aspect of civic learning is best understood as an example of what Harry Boyte calls "public work:" a "sustained effort by a mix of people who solve public problems or create goods, material or cultural, of general benefit" (Boyte 2004, 5) In contrast to charity or service activity, public work "leads to people seeing themselves as the co-creators of democracy, not simply as customers or clients, voters, protestors, or volunteers" (Boyte 2004, 5). Instead of volunteerism, in other words, effective community-based civic learning must therefore be explicitly tied to course assignments that give context and weight to students' experiences and emphasize the civic outcomes (Guilfoile and Delander 2014; Schamber and Mahoney 2008). Service-learning and community partnerships that are built into a larger civic education program must therefore be purposefully designed to clarify students' understanding of the hard work of democratic citizenship, to show students that they are well-

equipped to participate in public life in a sustained and meaningful way, and to foster an appreciation for the rewards of such participation (Boyte 2004, 2014; Youniss 2011)

As with other aspects of civic education, studies show that service-learning and campus-community partnerships have significant positive effects on students' development. Effective service-learning is linked to increases in academic and community engagement, educational aspirations, and the development of 21st–century skills such as critical thinking and information literacy (Baumann 2012; Guilfoile and Delander 2014). Students who engage in service-learning at the middle- and high-school level demonstrate significant and positive increases in community engagement, as well as civic skills and dispositions; one study show that the positive effects of service-learning linked to classroom-based civic learning on students' civic participation is greater than the effects of both neighborhood and family (J. E. Kahne and Sporte 2010; Meyer 2006).

Though relatively straightforward to explain, these five components of civic learning can be implemented in a variety of combinations and through a number of different approaches. In the following section, we take each element again in turn and show how specific institutions of higher learning have incorporated these elements into their curricula through a variety of civic education programs.

III. Approaches to Civic Education Programming

In recent years, due in large part to increasing visibility and support from institutions like the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and the U.S. Department of Education, a growing number of colleges and universities have begun to build civic education programs into their curricula. Though all of these programs share the same goal of preparing students to be active and engaged citizens in a global context, programs vary widely in both content and approach. All of these programs, however, incorporate one or more of the five elements of civic learning discussed above. To that end, this section takes up each element in turn to show how different institutions have put it into practice. In the final

section, then, we build on these observations in order to provide three general approaches for implementing comprehensive civic education programs in institutions of higher education.

Instruction in basic facts, building civic knowledge

The instruction in basic facts of civic life is by far the most common approach to incorporating civic learning into higher education. Nearly all institutions offer instruction not just in facts of democracy, but also in key disciplines such as history, political science, law, economics, and geography. It is this aspect of civic learning to which educators and policymakers tend to pay the most attention. States like Florida and Washington, for example, require instruction in basic civic knowledge in their K-12 school systems (Guilfoile and Delander 2014). And this dedication to building civic knowledge is reflected in faculty approaches as well; almost all faculty interested in incorporating elements of civic learning into their courses view the instruction in foundational knowledge about politics and democracy as a key learning outcome (Colby et al. 2007). More than rote memorization, however, the most effective mode of instruction includes a more interactive and interdisciplinary pedagogical strategy. Faculty whose goal is to increase civic knowledge often work to incorporate current events into the classroom discussion so that students learn to make sense of current political issues and events in light of their foundational civic knowledge (Guilfoile and Delander 2014).

At a minimum, some institutions build basic instruction of civic knowledge into their graduation requirements. At Illinois State University, for example, first-year students are required to take COMM 110, an introductory public speaking course; the course not only includes instruction in political content but also requires that students complete assignments that connect course concepts to current political issues (Hunt 2010). Similarly, Wayne State University (MI) and California State-Los Angeles both require that students take an introductory course in American government; the course introduces students to foundational civic knowledge and is intended to prepare students to be active participants in democratic life (Colby et al. 2007). Alternatively, many schools that offer First-Year Experience seminars, such as Kennesaw State University

(GA) and Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis, include some instruction in civic knowledge as part of these seminar experiences (Hunt 2010).

Skills in applying those facts and discussing and evaluating real-world issues and events

As with the instruction in basic civic knowledge, many institutions also work to develop students' civic skills by applying their knowledge to real-world events. As discussed above, many faculty are quick to incorporate real-world issues and events into their classroom discussions and course assignments. Often such discussions occur organically, but many civic education programs will also build such opportunities for discussion into the curriculum intentionally; the most effective programs will incorporate these strategies in courses across the disciplines. Unlike instruction in basic facts, the development of civic skills is cross-disciplinary; faculty in every discipline can easily work to develop students' civic skills by connecting their disciplinary-specific content with broader institutional, historical and political frameworks or by explicitly addressing the public policy implications of course content (Colby et al. 2007).

This is evident in the variety of approaches taken at a number of universities across the nation. At Ferris State University (MI), for example, faculty teaching in disciplines as varied as Construction Management, Journalism, Sociology, Social Work, and Education all connected their own disciplinary content with the civic skills required to discuss and advance students' own public issue agendas (Hunt 2010). Pedagogically, instructors take a variety of approaches in providing opportunities for students to develop these civic skills; one of the most common approaches is to incorporate discussions of political issues on the local, national, and international level (Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools 2011). With careful guidance and scaffolding throughout the process, students work to research these issues, develop feasible solutions to address them, and share their results with other members of the community; as a result, students develop skills of critical inquiry, analysis, and reasoning, in addition to skills in communication and collaboration (Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools 2011; Guilfoile and Delander 2014; The National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement 2012).

In addition to the examples discussed above, we can also see this approach at work at Illinois State University, where the development of civic skills is introduced in a deliberate and deliberately interdisciplinary manner through the required 14(LinC) Seminar. A one-credit course taught by instructors from a variety of disciplines, the course is consciously designed to develop students' understanding of civic awareness and political engagement in the specific contexts of the institution, surrounding community, and nation (Hunt 2010). Another common approach is evident in campus partnerships with the *New York Times*; at the Ohio State University, the required biology course for non-majors asks students to find current events in the newspaper and ask the question "What science do we need to learn to make an informed decision about this issue, and where and how do we learn it?" The goal of such an assignment is to develop skills of political and information literacy that will be useful to active citizens (American Democracy Project 2005).

Cultivation of democratic values

As we have seen, however, comprehensive civic learning must also foster students' civic values in addition to their civic skills and knowledge. One of the most common ways of approaching instruction in civic and democratic values is to focus on the development of students' political identity (Colby et al. 2007). As a part of Duke University's Service Opportunities in Leadership (SOL) program, for example, students are asked to reflect on their "public self;" similarly, students in the Mills College (CA) Institute for Civic Leadership focus on their "leadership identity" while participating in the program (Colby et al. 2007). In addition to these longer and more intensive co-curricular institutes, however, instructors of individual courses can also incorporate this approach to civic learning. In courses at Wayne State University (MI), for example, students created a policy agenda for the surrounding community. Through the process of formulating this agenda, students were made to debate issues of concern; in so doing, students were pushed to clarify, articulate, and defend their own priorities and values (Colby et al. 2007). And these more traditional classroom activities are often augmented with co-curricular opportunities like guest speakers and panel discussions. Speakers who are active in public life and who can speak to the important role of civility,

respect, and tolerance serve as excellent examples of the ways these values play crucial roles in public life (Boyte 2001; Colby et al. 2003).

In addition to clarifying students' own ethical positions, approaches to civic learning that emphasize democratic values help to foster students' sense of political efficacy, increasing students' motivation to participate in political life. Through the discussion of current issues and events, students come to understand politics as something "close to home;" they recognize and reflect upon their own role in public life (Colby et al. 2007). In formal classroom settings, instructors can organize class activities in a manner that exemplifies democratic values of tolerance and civility. In many courses at Berea College (KY), for example, faculty require students to participate in collaborative exercises such as group presentations and peer mentorship in order to cultivate habits and attitudes of cooperation and tolerance (Liazos and Liss 2009). Likewise, using the classroom as a model for democratic dialogue has similar effects; assigning students to moderate both the tone and content of class discussions more consciously incorporates students into the *process* of deliberation and inculcates habits of good citizenship (Colby et al. 2007; Liazos and Liss 2009). As part of the CIVICUS program at the University of Maryland, moreover, instructors deliberately allow tensions to arise in the course of class discussions in order to convey to students the kinds of conflicts and tensions that arise in the course of ordinary political life as well as to teach students how to manage those tensions in productive and civil ways (Colby et al. 2007).

Practice in democratic situations

But despite positive advances gained through these more traditional approaches to civic learning—instruction in civic knowledge, skills, and values—this again is insufficient. Instead, as discussed above, civic education programs should also incorporate opportunities for students to gain experience in democratic situations. It is through this kind of practice that students are exposed to "real-life" situations and are able to learn *when* and *how* to use specific civic skills in certain contexts; just as not all knowledge is always equally applicable in all situations, so too must students learn to deploy their civic skills and values in a manner consistent with any given setting (Colby et al. 2007).

Among the most common sites for this kind of learning are co-curricular and extracurricular activities like Model UN and Mock Trial (Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools 2011; Colby et al. 2007). Simulations such as these allow students to act in ways that are often impossible in more traditional student experiences, but that nonetheless foster an interest in politics and help to develop important civic skills that students will use throughout their lives (Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools 2011). In addition, student participation in school governance and youth advisory councils—particularly in programs that facilitate schoolwide democratic deliberation, not just for the few elected student representatives—gives students a voice in the management of their own campus community while also helping to build civic skills (Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools 2011; Guilfoile and Delander 2014). Many campuses are likewise host to organizations like Democracy Matters, which trains students to work on pro-democracy reforms that are selected and organized by students (Colby et al. 2007). Other schools, such as Illinois State University, the University of Illinois, and Kennesaw State University, run simulations of civic situations like mock trials, mock debates, and mock elections—often in conjunction with major election cycles—in order to build students' interest and confidence in political institutions (Rascati 2010).

While co-curricular and extracurricular activities are often the most widely-used means of affording students the opportunity to practice democratic situations, faculty can also bring such activities into the classroom. As a requirement of Kennesaw State's "Campaigns and Elections" course, students must organize and stage a mock debate and election (Rascati 2010). In the "Social and Environmental History of California" course at California State University, Monterey Bay, students engage in a political research and action project that focuses on a California social and environmental issues of the student's choosing (Colby et al. 2007). Likewise, at Sorensen College (VA), faculty developed an exercise in which students simulated the Virginia Assembly; as a result of their participation in this simulation, students reported a heightened sense of urgency that forced them to pay closer attention to the content of the lessons (Colby et al. 2007). Similarly, the University of Virginia-Charlottesville runs a thirty-day residential summer program in which students connect instruction in basic facts about democracy with experiential programs—such as guest

lectures, panel discussions, workshops, and a mock state assembly session—in order to practice their skills of political engagement (Colby et al. 2007).

Connection with communities

In addition to providing on-campus opportunities for students to practice engaging in democratic situations, the most effective civic education programs also deliberately connect students' on-campus experiences with off-campus engagement in their communities. The incorporation of community partnerships and service-learning opportunities is therefore a crucial element of civic learning. As always, however, effective community engagement should be linked to formal curriculum and classroom instruction to ensure that students see such work as part of the cohesive development of their civic identity and not simply isolated incidents of "charity" or "community service" work (Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools 2011; Guilfoile and Delander 2014). Instead, high-quality service-learning will be deliberately structured around opportunities for students to analyze and solve community problems by applying the knowledge and skills they develop in the classroom (Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools 2011).

In order to ensure that such community engagements remain centered on civic learning outcomes, institutions like the University of Minnesota have developed specific categories for "civic learning courses." As one of these courses, the upper-level political science course "Practicing Democratic Education" included both a one-semester course in conceptions of citizenship as well as two-semester practicum in which students put learning to work as coaches in the Public Achievement program; as coaches, students helped middle-school students research and develop political action plans around issues of concern in their own schools (Colby et al. 2007). Similarly, courses at Berea College (KY), Portland State University, San Francisco State University, and American University all include service components that are deeply connected with classroom instruction in a variety of topics (Colby et al. 2007).

Classroom connection is crucial for service-learning to be effective civic education, but can take a variety of forms. In the "Student Voices" model developed by the Annenberg Public Policy Center, students survey their communities, bring the results back to the classroom, and deliberate with classmates and the

instructor—in so doing, this model transforms individual concerns or issues of interest into collective problems (Bennett 2007). Similarly, the Project Citizen curriculum developed by the Center for Civic Education draws these connections between individual and community that is largely dependent on the structured classroom experience and emphasis on civic learning rather than community service (Fry and Bentahar 2013).

While service-learning courses are not uncommon, they are often run at the will of individual faculty members; more often than not, such opportunities are isolated from one another and it is the responsibility of the student to search out such courses and identify civic outcomes. But schools that are deeply committed to fostering civically-engaged students can instead develop more robust and cohesive programs that span multiple semesters in order to scaffold and direct students' civic learning throughout their college careers. Programs vary in both time and intensity, however, from four-year required coursework to short summer programs. At Wagner College (NY), the "Civic Innovations" program consists of coursework that spans all four years of students' college careers; the program encourages departments to develop courses in partnership with community organizations in order to provide the two-fold effects of achieving civic engagement outcomes in students while also helping agencies address the needs of disadvantaged youth on Staten Island. As a result of their participation in the program, students report more confidence in their ability to engage in community problem-solving, an increased sense of responsibility to the community, and better communication skills and strategies (Freedland and Lieberman 2010). Similar programs exist at other universities. The University of Pennsylvania's Civic Scholars program is a four-year structured certificate program in which students take courses that teach civic skills while they also engage in community service in areas of interest to them ("Civic Scholars Program Requirements" n.d.). Likewise, the Citizen Scholars program at University of Massachusetts-Amherst, is a two-year interdisciplinary program that includes five courses and a minimum of 60 hours of community service each semester. Courses emphasize community problem-solving, policy formulation and implementation, and other practical skills that students make use of in the service component (Colby et al. 2007).

The importance of institutional support

In addition to the five elements of civic learning outlined and discussed above, any successful civic education program will also include an integral *sixth* component—institutional support. Lacking this support, initiatives that may work to implement the five previous elements might exist on campus, but will likely not be effective as a comprehensive and robust *program* of civic education.

There are a variety of forms that institutional support should take. On the most basic level, the preparation of students to be active and engaged citizens must be an institutional priority; it should be evident as such in the institution's mission statement. As a result of this commitment, institutional executive leadership should explicitly promote civic learning and engagement; civic education programs must be supported with adequate and appropriate staff and resources as a result (Goldfinger and Presley 2010). In order to coordinate curricular, extracurricular, and off-campus activities, there should be a coordinating body of some kind. Most importantly, there must be institution-wide definitions of high-quality civic learning and engagement (Study Group on Civic Learning and Engagement for the Massachusetts Board of Higher Education 2014). At the University of Minnesota, for example, the requirements for a designated "civic learning" course are clear: "a civic learning course puts its students into a constructive endeavor with ongoing communities outside the university…The course relates civic engagement/civic learning to the academic field that sponsors the course. The course requires students in a setting of their peers to reflect on the implications of the course endeavor both for the community and for the sponsoring academic field" (American Democracy Project 2005). And definitions such as this must also be supported with university-wide benchmarks and rubrics that faculty can use to assess student outcomes in civic learning (Study Group on Civic Learning and Engagement for the Massachusetts Board of Higher Education 2014).[1] Finally, there should be institutional support in the form of grants and fellowships, as well as tenure and promotion guidelines, for faulty working on the scholarship of engagement. Absent these incentives, any institution will

[1] For an example of a Student Learning Framework rubric, see (Study Group on Civic Learning and Engagement for the Massachusetts Board of Higher Education 2014).

have a hard time recruiting faculty to dedicate time and resources as part of a comprehensive civic education program (American Democracy Project 2005; Goldfinger and Presley 2010).

IV. "Civics Across the Curriculum:" three approaches to civic learning

Because civic learning is such a multi-faceted and complex endeavor, it is perhaps no wonder that institutions of higher education have taken varied, if not uneven, approaches to incorporating civic education programs into their curricula. Programs range from optional, unrelated courses, to a required one-semester course, to selective four-year scholars programs. The most common approach however, if a school incorporates civic learning at all, is to incorporate civic outcomes into the institution's general education requirements—whether through a required course or series of courses, or merely as another distribution requirement. And yet, as research shows, the best and most effective programs will engage all aspects of the university and approach the problem of civic learning from across all disciplines—not merely in one or two general education requirements. Furthermore, these programs all understand the outcome of civic learning to be a more fully-embodied understanding of students' participation in public life (Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools 2011).

As recent attempts at curricular changes at Harvard and Duke show, however, there is no single, identifiable, and easy way to implement interdisciplinary general education requirements such as those that form the basis of effective civic learning (Flaherty 2016). Instead, each individual institution must account for the unique goals, mission, and culture of their community in order to design a program that reflects those goals and is best poised to succeed. Evident in efforts to inject a civic literacy emphasis into California State-Monterey Bay's curriculum, additionally, the embrace of civic education programs is often an uphill battle; successful efforts must overcome institutional challenges such as lack of perceived legitimacy for civic learning, departmental resistance, and faculty inexperience (Pollack 2014).

Keeping in mind these potential challenges, we propose three different strategies for integrating civic learning into an institution's curriculum requirements in a rigorous yet organic way. While any instruction in

civics is better than none, it is clear from our research that sustained, structured, and interdisciplinary programs of civic education are most effective at providing the desired civic learning outcomes. To that end, the proposals are presented below in the order of rigor. The first, "Civics Across the Curriculum," model is therefore to be strongly preferred; the second variation, the introduction of a separate Civics program (whether major, minor, or certificate), is less effective. The final suggestion, a required course or courses in civics instruction, is the least effective. Of course, resources and support vary widely both inter- and intra-institutionally—the "best" civics program for any given institution, in other words, will depend on the judgment of that institution's strengths, resources, and campus culture.

Proposal 1: "Civics Across the Curriculum"

Drawing on the best practices outlined above, we strongly recommend implementing a "Civics Across the Curriculum" (CAC) graduation requirement designed to imitate the "Writing Across the Curriculum" (WAC) programs that many college and universities already have in place.[2] In the WAC model, writing is understood to be "an integral part of the learning process throughout a student's education, not merely in required writing courses but across the entire curriculum" (Cox et al. 2014). WAC programs recognize that writing is "highly situated" and that it will look and feel different depending on one's field of study. As a result, many WAC programs include two sets of requirements: in addition to more traditional courses in writing instruction—such as composition and information literacy—students must also take writing-intensive courses within their major disciplines. In these disciplinary-specific writing courses, students are asked to deploy and practice writing skills in ways that are more closely aligned with the specific problems, issues, and techniques that affect their disciplines ("The WAC Clearinghouse" 2016).

Building on the WAC model, a more specific CAC program would include two types of civics-designated courses. C1-designated courses would be courses in which civics is the *subject matter* of the course. This would likely include courses in Economics, History, Law, Political Science, Criminal Justice, and other

[2] Institutions with WAC programs include, for example, George Mason University, Appalachian State University, Auburn University-Montgomery, Bridgewater State College, Clemson University, Colorado State University, Columbia College (SC), and Stockton University.

subject areas which form the foundation of one's civic knowledge. By contrast, a C2-designated course would be a course that focuses on disciplinary or interdisciplinary content and uses civic skills, values, and practice in democratic situations as *pedagogical strategies* or *modes of assessment*. These C2 courses would be intended to build skills and provide opportunities for students to develop the habits and experiences of engaged citizens while focusing on the specific public issues of interest to members of their disciplines. Before graduating, then, students would be required to take some combination of C1 and C2 courses; the specifics of number and type should be left to each institution as they see fit.

Though adding another requirement to student's already demanding coursework is potentially worrisome, this proposed CAC requirement merely codifies practices that are already taking place on many campuses. As discussed above, courses that include simulations, problem-based exercises, and moderated discussions—in addition to more traditional courses in subject areas like history, economics, political science, and criminal justice—are common among the yearly course offerings of many colleges and universities; likewise, many institutions already host numerous service-learning and community engagement opportunities. In cases such as this the necessary components for a robust interdisciplinary civic education program already exist on campus—the work of a CAC program is simply to combine them in a more structured and cohesive program that identifies *for students* how these diverse experiences all contribute to their identity as a citizen and member of a given community.

In addition to the civic learning outcomes and structured learning experience that a CAC program provides, there are a number of benefits to incorporating a CAC program into an institution's curriculum. Many of the components for a CAC program, for example, overlap—and respond to—requirements for the Carnegie Classification as an "institution of community engagement." The framework for documenting this classification are two-fold: schools must show "Foundational Indicators" and "Categories of Engagement" in order to gain the Carnegie classification (Driscoll 2008). A CAC program would provide evidence of "institutional commitment" to civics by building infrastructure, strategic planning, and faculty development efforts around community engagement. Likewise, a CAC program explicitly addresses the "curricular

engagement" requirement in its conscious and deliberate inclusion of pedagogies that deepen civic learning and enhance collaboration between the institution and its community partners. By giving structure and meaning to these existing practices, a CAC program lends credibility and rigor to civic learning experiences both on- and off-campus.

Proposal 2: interdisciplinary Civics program

A comprehensive CAC program is the most effective approach to adding civic learning to a school's core curriculum and thereby ensuring each graduate receives comprehensive and sustained instruction in civics. But as we noted above, comprehensive curriculum changes can be notoriously difficult to introduce. As a less wide-ranging alternative, then, college and universities could introduce a separate Civics program that is open to all students but that is not required for graduation. This program might take the form of a certificate or learning community, or even a separate minor or major field of study; in any event it would be structured over multiple semesters of study and would result in students receiving official recognition for their program of study. Following the model of successful programs at Duke University, Mills College (CA), and the University of Pennsylvania, a Civics program might include a required entry-level "Introduction to Civics" course as well as a senior capstone seminar; in addition, students would be required to take an additional number of courses that would combine instruction in civic knowledge, skills, and values, with application in real-world democratic situations. In order to highlight the connection with community, this program would likely also include a required service component in which students apply their classroom instruction to problem-solving in a community area of their choosing; this could take the form of internships or service-learning opportunities as long as these experiences were closely tied to more formal classroom instruction that clarifies and extends the learning outcomes of students' experiences.

Many college and universities have already introduced programs along these lines, though again implementation varies widely across institutions. Indiana University, for example, offers a certificate in Civic Engagement and Responsibility; so, too, do the University of Alaska-Anchorage (Civic Engagement), University of Georgia (Civic Engagement), University of Illinois (Civic Leadership), and the University of

Wisconsin-Parkside (Community-Based Learning). As a more involved alternative, other schools offer minor programs with a similar emphasis; these include Allegheny College (PA) (Values, Ethics, and Social Action), Auburn University (Community and Civic Engagement), Cabrini College (PA) (Social Justice), Illinois State University (Civic Engagement and Responsibility), Metropolitan State University-Twin Cities (Civic Engagement), and Montclair State University (NJ) (Civic Engagement). Finally, a select number of schools offer a full major program in civics education; these include Alverno College (WI) (Community Leadership) and Guilford College (NC) (Community and Justice Studies), while others like Salt Lake Community College, the University of Pennsylvania, and University of Massachusetts-Amherst offer Civic Scholars programs (Brammer et al. n.d.)

Proposal 3: Required course in general civic education

Though the addition of a dedicated Civics program is likely easier to implement than a sweeping graduation requirement like the proposed CAC program, there is nevertheless some concern that such a program would end up siloed, attracting only those students already interested in civic learning and engagement instead of fusing civic learning into all aspects of the campus community. As a third alternative, then, we recommend that, at a minimum, college and universities introduce a one-semester required civics course for all graduates as part of a general education curriculum. Such a course could take the form of a required First-Year Seminar or senior capstone course that is oriented towards issues of civic learning and engagement; alternatively, and making use of existing resources, the course might be housed in Political Science and students would merely be required to take an "Introduction to Politics" or "Introduction to American Politics" course before graduation.

The benefits of this approach are clear: it is much easier to organize a single course than it is a sustained, multi-year program. And by imposing this course as a graduation requirement, institutions would ensure that *all* students receive *some* instruction in civics before they enter the workforce. At the same time, however, this remains a relatively thin approach to civic learning. Incorporating the multiple dimensions of civic learning in a single course is a monumental task. And no matter how well-implemented, without the

sustained practice, both in- and outside of their disciplines and classrooms, students are not likely to develop the comprehensive view of civic activity that will sustain high levels of engagement throughout their lives. At the same time, as discussed above, even this limited instruction in civics is likely to lead to increased civic knowledge, awareness, and activity once students graduate ("New Annenberg Survey Asks: 'How Well Do Americans Understand the Constitution?'" 2011; Wharton and Avery 2015).

V. Conclusion

The three approaches outlined above are not intended to be the final word on civic education programs in colleges and universities. Instead, the three recommendations presented above are based on the existing research and "best practices" that have been implemented to date; in this way, they are meant to contribute to and extend the current conversations taking place around civic learning. Civic learning has only recently regained visibility in institutions of higher education; much work remains to be done in the realm of assessment and experimentation in order to develop pedagogical strategies and curricular approaches that will best deliver the civic learning outcomes our democracy requires. As new technologies make it increasingly easier for citizens to gather information and influence public discourse, we may yet realize the participatory democracy to which Jefferson, Dewey, and others aspired. But this will require adequate preparation on the part of citizens if we are to keep alive that vibrant spirit of democracy. In this, education—particularly public institutions of higher education—remains our most promising avenue.

Works Cited

Almond, Gabriel, and Sidney Verba. 1963. *The Civic Culture*. New York: SAGE Publications.

American Democracy Project. 2005. *Democracy and Civic Engagement: A Guide for Higher Education*. Washington, DC.

Auditor, The. 2014. "N.J. Lawmaker Wants High School Students to Take the Citizenship Civics Test." *NJ.com*.

Barber, Benjamin. 1984. *Strong Democracy: Participatory Politics for a New Age*. Berkeley: University of California

Press.

Baumann, Paul. 2012. *NCLC Schools of Success Network Shows That Service-Learning Quality Matters*. Denver: Education Commission of the States. http://www.ecs.org/clearinghouse/01/05/09/10509.pdf.

Bennett, W. Lance. 2007. "Civic Learning in Changing Democracies: Challenges for Citizenship and Civic Education." In *Young Citizens and New Media: Learning Democratic Engagement*, ed. P. Dahlgren. New York: Routledge, 59–77.

Boyte, Harry C. 2001. "A Tale of Two Playgrounds: Teaching a Different Kind of Politics and the Obstacles." In *Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association*, San Francisco.

———. 2004. *Everyday Politics: Reconnecting Citizens and Public Life*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

———, ed. 2014. *Democracy's Education: Public Work, Citizenship, and the Future of Colleges and Universities*. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press.

Brammer, Leila, Rebecca Dumlao, Audrey Falk, Elizabeth Hollander, Ellen Knutson, Jeremy Poehnert, Andrea Politano, and Valerie Werner. *Core Competencies in Civic Engagement*. North Andover, MA, MA.

Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools. 2011. *The Guardian of Democracy: The Civic Mission of Schools*. Silver Spring, MD: Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools.

Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement. 2010. CIRCLE Fact Sheet *Civic Skills and Federal Policy*. Medford, MA.

"Civic Scholars Program Requirements." *University of Pennsylvania*. http://www.vpul.upenn.edu/civichouse/civicscholars/programrequirements.php (May 18, 2016).

Colby, Anne, Elizabeth Beaumont, Thomas Ehrlich, and Josh Corngold. 2007. *Educating for Democracy*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Colby, Anne, Thomas Ehrlich, Elizabeth Beaumont, and Jason Stephens. 2003. *Educating Citizens: Preparing America's Undergraduates for Lives of Moral and Civic Responsibility*. New York: Jossey-Bass.

Cox, Michelle, Susan Chaudoir, Michael Cripps, Jeff Galin, Jonathan Hall, O. Brian Kaufman, Suzanne Lane, Mary McMullen-Light, Mya Poe, Teresa Redd, Lori Salem, Christopher Thaiss, Marty Townsend, and Terry Myers Zawacki. 2014. *Statement of WAC Principles and Practices.* http://wac.colostate.edu/principles/statement.pdf.

Delli Carpini, Michael X., and Scott Keeter. 1996. *What Americans Know about Politics and Why It Matters*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Dewey, John. 1916. "Democracy and Education." In *John Dewey: The Middle Works, Vol. 9, 1899-1924*, ed. Jo Ann Boydston. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.

———. 1937. "Democracy and Educational Administration." In *The Later Works of John Dewey, Volume 11: 1935-1937*, ed. Jo Ann Boydston. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 217–25.

Driscoll, Amy. 2008. "Carnegie's Community-Engagement Classification: Intentions and Insights." *Change* 40(1): 38–41.

Feldman, Lauren, Josh Pasek, Daniel Romer, and Kathleen Hall Jamieson. 2007. "Identifying Best Practices in Civic Education: Lessons from the Student Voices Program." *American Journal of Education* 114(November): 75–100.

Flaherty, Colleen. 2016. "Rethinking Gen Ed." *Inside Higher Ed.* https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2016/03/10/undergraduate-curricular-reform-efforts-harvard-and-duke-suggest-theres-no-one-way.

Freedland, Cassia, and Devorah Lieberman. 2010. "Infusing Civic Engagement Across the Curriculum." *Liberal Education* 96(1): 50–55.

Fry, Sara Winstead, and Adil Bentahar. 2013. "Student Attitudes towards and Impressions of Project Citizen." *Journal of Social Studies Education Research* 4(1): 1–23.

Goldfinger, Johnny, and John W. Presley, eds. 2010. *Educating Students for Political Engagement: A Guide to Implementation and Assessment for Colleges and Universities*. New York: American Association of State Colleges and Universities.

Guilfoile, Lisa, and Brady Delander. 2014. *Guidebook: Six Proven Practices for Effective Civic Learning.* http://www.ecs.org/clearinghouse/01/10/48/11048.pdf.

Gutmann, Amy. 1996. "Democratic Citizenship." In *For Love of Country*, ed. Joshua Cohen. Boston: Beacon Press, 66–71.

Haidt, J. 2001. "The Emotional Dog and Its Rational Tail: A Social Intuitionist Approach to Moral Judgment." *Psychological Review* 108(4): 814–34.

Hess, Diana. 2009. *Controversy in the Classroom: The Democratic Power of Discussion*. New York: Routledge.

Hillygus, D. Sunshine. 2005. "The Missing Link: Exploring the Relationship Between Higher Education and Political Engagement." *Political Behavior* 27(1): 25–47.

Hunt, Stephen K. 2010. "Curricular Activities." In *Educating Students for Political Engagement: A Guide to Implementation and Assessment for Colleges and Universities*, eds. Johnny Goldfinger and John W. Presley. New York: American Association of State Colleges and Universities, 46–62.

Jacoby, Barbara. 2009. "Civic Engagement in Today's Higher Education: An Overview." In *Civic Engagement in Higher Education: Concepts and Practices*, ed. Barbara Jacoby. New York: Jossey-Bass, 5–30.

Jefferson, Thomas. 1905. "Thomas Jefferson to Joseph C. Cabell: 2 Feb. 1816." In *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson, Vol. 14*, eds. Andrew A. Lipscomb and Albert Ellery Bergh. Washington, DC: Thomas Jefferson Memorial Association, 421–23.

Kahne, Joseph E., and Susan E. Sporte. 2010. "Developing Citizens: The Impact of Civic Learning Opportunities on Students' Commitment to Civic Participation." *American Educational Research Journal* 45(3): 738–66.

Kahne, Joseph, and Joel Westheimer. 2006. "The Limits of Political Efficacy: Educating Citizens for a Democratic Society." *PS: Political Science and Politics* (2): 289–96.

Kuh, George D. 2008. *High-Impact Educational Practices: What They Are, Who Has Access to Them, and Why They Matter.* Washington, DC.

Levinson, Meira. 2012. *Making Civics Count: Citizenship Education for a New Generation*. Cambridge, MA:

Harvard Education Press.

Liazos, Ariane, and Jan R. Liss. 2009. *Civic Engagement in the Classroom: Strategies for Incorporating Education for Civic and Social Responsibility in the Undergraduate Curriculum*. New York.

Mansbridge, Jane. 1999. "Everyday Talk in the Deliberative System." In *Deliberative Politics: Essays on Democracy and Disagreement*, ed. Stephen Macedo. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 211–39.

Mathews, David. 2014. *The Ecology of Democracy*. Dayton, OH.

McCormick Tribune Foundation. 2007. *Civic Disengagement in Our Democracy*. Chicago.

McDevitt, Michael. 2008. *Spiral of Rebellion: Conflict Seeking of Democratic Adolescents in Republican Countries*. http://www.civicyouth.org/PopUps/WorkingPapers/WP_68_McDevitt.pdf.

Meirick, Patrick, and Daniel Wackman. 2004. "Kids Voting and Political Knowledge." *Social Science Quarterly* 85(5): 1161–77. http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.0038-4941.2004.00269.x/abstract.

Meyer, S. 2006. *Texas Center for Service-Learning: Evaluation of K-12 SCP and CHESP Programs*. Denver: RMC Research Corporation. http://www.servicelearning.org/library/resource/6924.

Milner, Henry. 2006. *The Informed Political Participation of Young Canadians and Americans*. http://www.civicyouth.org/PopUps/WorkingPapers/WP60Milner.pdf.

National Center for Education Statistics. 2011. *The Nation's Report Card: Civics 2010*. Washington, DC.

"New Annenberg Survey Asks: 'How Well Do Americans Understand the Constitution?'" 2011. *Annenberg Public Policy Center*. http://www.annenbergpublicpolicycenter.org/new-annenberg-survey-asks-how-well-do-americans-understand-the-constitution/.

Pasek, Josh, Lauren Feldman, Daniel Romer, and Kathleen Hall Jamieson. 2008. "Schools as Incubators of Democratic Participation: Building Long-Term Political Efficacy with Civic Education." *Applied Developmental Science* 12(1): 26–37.

Pollack, Seth. 2014. "'[Social] Justice for All [Undergraduate Degree Programs]': Institutionalizing Critical Civic Literacy in the Undergraduate Curriculum." In *Civic Learning and Teaching: Bringing Theory to Practice*, ed. Ashley Finley. Washington, DC, DC.

Putnam, Robert D. 2000. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Rascati, Ralph. 2010. "Co-Curricular Approaches to Political Engagement." In *Educating Students for Political Engagement: A Guide to Implementation and Assessment for Colleges and Universities*, eds. Johnny Goldfinger and John W. Presley. New York: American Association of State Colleges and Universities.

Rosenstone, Steven J., and John Mark Hansen. 1993. *Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in America*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company.

Schamber, Jon F, and Sandra L Mahoney. 2008. "The Development of Political Awareness and Social Justice Citizenship Through Community-Based Learning in a First-Year General Education Seminar." *The Journal of General Education* 57(2): 75–99.

Sloane, Kelly E. 2015. *Economic Indicators and Quality of Life in Southern New Jersey*. Galloway, NJ.

Study Group on Civic Learning and Engagement for the Massachusetts Board of Higher Education. 2014. "Preparing Citizens: Report on Civic Learning and Engagement." (March).

The National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement. 2012. *A Crucible Moment: College Learning and Democracy's Future*. Washington, DC. https://www.aacu.org/sites/default/files/files/Crucible_508F.pdf.

"The WAC Clearinghouse." 2016. *Colorado State University*.

Tocqueville, Alexis de. 1969. *Democracy in America*. ed. J.P. Mayer. New York: HarperPerennial Modern Classics.

Torney-Purta, Judith, and Britt S. Wilkenfeld. 2009. *Paths to 21st Century Competencies Through Civic Education Classrooms: An Analysis of Survey Results from Ninth-Graders*. Silver Spring, MD: Amaerican Bar Association Division for Public Education and the Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools Consortium.

Truman, Harry S. 1947. "Statement by the President Making Public a Report of the Commission on Higher Education." *The American Presidency Project*. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=12802.

U.S. Department of Education. 2012. *Advancing Civic Learning and Engagement in Democracy: A Road Map and Call to Action*. Washington, DC, DC.

Vercellotti, Tim, and Elizabeth C. Matto. 2010. *The Classroom-Kitchen Table Connection: The Effects of Political Discussion on Youth Knowledge and Efficacy*. http://www.civicyouth.org/featured-the-classroom-kitchen-table-connection-the-effects-of-political-discussion-on-youth-knowledge-andeffiacy.

Wharton, Linda J., and James Avery. 2015. *Understanding the United States Constitution and the Supreme Court: A Survey of New Jerseyans*. Galloway, NJ.

Wilcox, Kristen C. 2011. "The Importance of Civic Responsiblity in Higher Performing Middle Schools: An Empirical Study." *Education and Urban Society* 43(1): 26–41.

Wilson, Reid. 2015. "Arizone Will Require High School Students to Pass Citizenship Test to Graduate." *The Washington Post*.

Youniss, James. 2011. "Civic Education: What Schools Can Do to Encourage Civic Identity and Action." *Applied Developmental Science* 15(2): 98–103.