

THE CIVIC SPECTRUM

How Students
Become Engaged
Citizens

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Center for Civic Participation

A study for the Kettering Foundation

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PREFACE

BERNIE RONAN'S *The Civic Spectrum: How Students Become Engaged Citizens* comes at a critical time in the effort to strengthen the role of higher education in a democracy. In the last 20 years, higher education institutions have begun to pay a great deal of attention to the civic engagement of college students. By now, nearly every campus around the country has an office or program devoted to service learning, community partnerships, and related activities. Many institutions have made great strides in integrating these activities into the curriculum to reinforce learning in the classroom. Nevertheless, proponents of civic engagement in higher education are now reporting a certain sense of “drift” or “stalled momentum,” or of having reached a “plateau.”¹ In my view, this goes beyond simply needing to do more or scaling up existing efforts. Rather, the plateau reflects a *conceptual* impasse. In other words, something is missing from the concepts of civic engagement that currently dominate the field. Ronan's paper offers a way out of this impasse by beginning with a robust conception of citizenship and theorizing the kind of education that will enable students to flourish as citizens.

A key issue in the sense of impasse in higher education is the lack of consensus over whether and how civic engagement efforts should be directed toward outcomes that can be considered “political.” Higher education institutions are hesitant to understand their work as political, for fear of compromising the strict neutrality that many believe is required by their academic mission. Furthermore, even though students may want to work through and improve the political system, they are often more inclined to make a difference at an individual level due to their

frustration with a system that they see as distant or inflexible. Seeking the broadest possible support for their efforts, higher education leaders, faculty, and practitioners may be hesitant to alienate students and others who are more comfortable seeing civic engagement in non-political terms. As one student reported in a recent focus group study, “Policy and politics is this thing that’s hard to move; it’s very easy to get fed up and just turn to something like volunteer work.”² Reinforced by signals they receive from their institutions, students may, ironically, see civic engagement as an alternative to politics, and they may come away from their experiences with even less confidence in their capacities as citizens.

Ronan’s “spectrum” approach to civic learning offers an ingenious conceptual (and strategic) solution to this problem. To address the challenge, Ronan develops a framework with three distinct dimensions of civic learning—“head,” the faculties of judgment and deliberation; “heart,” the ability to identify with others; and “hands,” the capacity for action. In large-scale and complex societies, Ronan argues, these skills cannot be developed *ex nihilo*. Rather, each of these dimensions must be conceived as a continuum, allowing students to gradually develop the skills they need to flourish as citizens of political communities. This framework provides a meaningful place for all forms of civic engagement, including those that begin from apolitical perspectives and motivations. Ronan genuinely values these forms of civic engagement as developmentally necessary for students who have not yet had to confront the difficulties of political communities. However, Ronan’s framework also reminds us that such efforts are critically insufficient for the task of preparing young people to make a difference in and through democratic politics. Without trivializing nonpolitical forms of civic engagement, Ronan makes the case that young people need more if they are to fully flourish as citizens.

The central insight that underlies the logic of Ronan’s spectrum is that politics is inherently complex. Influenced by thinkers like Aristotle and Hannah Arendt, Ronan begins with a concept of *political* community. In contrast to families or tribal societies, he conceives political communities as diverse, open to conflict, and routinely forced to make difficult choices. Citizenship is not political in the narrow sense of partisan advocacy, but rather in the broader sense of dealing with difference and making difficult decisions. To prepare students

for citizenship in a large-scale and multicultural society, civic education must be political in this sense. The concept of political community thus helps to identify what is missing from the dominant forms of civic engagement. Ronan's framework suggests that civic engagement efforts be directed toward complex problems through experiences of collective decision making and cooperative action across differences. Such experiences are not typically part of efforts that are framed in nonpolitical ways, such as volunteerism or charity. The civic spectrum provides a clear rationale and coherent criteria for new forms of engagement that might have more impact on the civic life of communities and on students' sense of agency.

Ronan's work is also important because it highlights the developmental aspects of learning. As a developmental framework, the civic spectrum recognizes the importance of beginning with students where they are, but also of connecting them to a robust conception of citizenship. Incidentally, Ronan's approach does the same thing for institutions. His framework provides a language that enables community colleges to build on existing efforts within higher education, but also to move institutions beyond their current impasses. The civic spectrum is, in effect, a theory of change for civic learning.

—Derek W. M. Barker

Notes

1. John Saltmarsh, Matt Hartley, and Patti Clayton, *Democratic Engagement White Paper* (Boston: New England Resource Center for Higher Education, 2009).
2. Abby Kiesa et al., *Millennials Talk Politics: A Study of College Students' Political Engagement* (College Park, MD: Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement [CIRCLE], 2008).

DEVELOPING CITIZENS ALONG THE CIVIC SPECTRUM

Remember that it is no chance matter we are discussing, but how one should live.

— Socrates, in *The Republic*

STUDENTS ARE BORN CITIZENS, and students become citizens. From a legal perspective, children born in the United States are automatically citizens of this country. In this sense, citizenship occurs at a specific point in time, and certain rights of citizenship are acquired at 18 years of age. Yet becoming a citizen—in contrast to having the legal status of citizen—does not happen automatically. Becoming a citizen takes time. Students must develop the knowledge and skills to truly act as citizens. Educational institutions are central to that process. Viewed in this way, individual teachers become partners in a process that unfolds over many years in a student’s academic career. The courses they teach and the experiences they encourage contribute incrementally to the eventual and cumulative result: students who have become citizens.

As citizenship education builds over time, a student grows in both knowledge and civic capacity. The skills of citizenship outlined below begin to develop early in life, so in that sense parents are the first teachers of citizenship; in turn they hand off to teachers the responsibility for developing in their children the prudence and insight needed for effective citizenship. Civic experiences in schools and colleges build on each other; they are cumulative and developmental. Taking a high school course in civics is valuable and vital to the growth of knowledge; the learning that occurs in that civics class lays the groundwork, for example, for an essay a student may eventually write on a policy issue in a college government class. Kids Voting leads to voting “for real” when a young person turns 18. Similarly, executing a high school community-service project might motivate a student to work on a political campaign when he gets older.

All of these valuable and important civic experiences occur along a spectrum of incremental value in developing student-citizens. The growth of young people as citizens, mirroring moral and emotional growth, will continue throughout their lives and require ongoing support and nurturance.¹

Citizenship has always involved complexity. The issues that citizens face come from the world, and are resolved in the world, a complex place. Political activity involves dealing with complex problems, which requires the practical intelligence to embrace complexity and to deliberate on the issues. It also entails engaging these issues with others, forging bonds in common pursuit of public action, and discovering a shared identity despite profound differences. Finally, citizenship culminates in action taken in the world amidst a bewildering array of complex, large-scale institutions. These three dimensions or skills of citizenship, framed in this paper as involving the head, heart, and hands, develop over the course of a student's academic career, and through civic activities in the community. This developmental process occurs along a spectrum of increasing complexity and intensity.

The rich array of academic courses including the humanities, as well as civics (in high school) and political science (in college), along with students' real-world experiences in applying what they have learned, should ideally result in a student-citizen who, as Martha Nussbaum writes, is "an active, reflective, critical, and empathetic member of a community of equals, capable of exchanging ideas on the basis of respect and understanding with people from many different backgrounds."² This paper examines these citizenship skills, with particular application to the role of community colleges, both as agents of democracy in their own cities and towns, and as developers of agents of democracy in their student-citizens.

The P-20 Continuum

A "civic spectrum" of developing knowledge and skills depends upon and argues for what has come to be called "P-20"—the educational system linking early childhood, preK-12, community college, and university, viewed as a seamless whole.³ As students move along this continuum during their years of schooling, their path should not be disrupted by disconnects built into the system by the separate governance, policies, and practices of the providers at the various stages. The P-20 policy goal is to link the sectors so that students advance along the

educational pipeline as efficiently as possible, their knowledge and skills growing as they move along, and eventually resulting in certificates or degrees that empower them to be both effective citizens and productive employees. Community colleges are positioned between K-12 and the university, with a stake in the productivity of both sectors. When viewing the civic spectrum described below in relation to the educational continuum that is P-20, one can see that high school civics should ideally build to and align with college government and political science classes, and the experiences of high school students in service learning or clubs that encourage volunteerism ought to be linked with and contribute to more robust and engaging civic work during a student's college years.

The P-20 ideal and the civic ideal are therefore congruent: schools and colleges should partner to link instruction and experiences that bridge a young person's academic career to achieve the cumulative learning required for effective citizenship. Such P-20 partnerships would, for example, enable students in the lower division of postsecondary education to begin civic work in their communities that would follow them into their upper division; faculty would come together as civic colleagues across the arbitrary boundaries of separate institutions, linked by the common experiences of students in their institutions who are engaged in civic work where their schools and colleges reside. At each stage of the P-20 continuum, teachers would assess what students have learned in the previous stage, what they have experienced, and how those experiences are significant to their growth as citizens. Education for citizenship is a "vast and complex subject," which should engage students in learning about the world through history, geography, and multicultural studies, as well as religious studies, law, and philosophy—all interacting in increasingly sophisticated curricula as children mature and their education progresses.⁴ Since the time of Thomas Jefferson, the missions of K-12 and higher education systems have dovetailed when it comes to preparing young people for citizenship,⁵ which should be reflected in the civic work of students as they move through their programs of study.

THE SPECTRUM OF CITIZENSHIP: HEAD, HEART, AND HANDS

CITIZENSHIP, embodied in civic engagement and participation, includes both the theoretical study of policy issues and the learning that has traditionally passed for civic education, as well as the practical pursuit of public action in a variety of settings. Civic education blends the realms of what the Greeks called *theoria* (“theory”—concepts and reflection) and *praxis* (“practice”—experience and action). Through the course of their education, students move from the theoretical to the practical and back again, and learning occurs in both realms. One faculty member who works with service learning as a pedagogy, for example, cites the difference between what students learn theoretically, by reading a book about how nonprofits deal with a scarcity of funds, versus the first-hand learning that comes when they volunteer for a nonprofit that is actually dealing with such resource scarcity.⁶ Formal education has not typically emphasized learning in the realm of practice as much as theoretical learning, as exemplified in such periodic calls for greater focus on traditional civics instruction as former Justice Sandra Day O’Connor’s decrying students’ relative lack of factual knowledge about government and how it works.⁷ Conversely, we note the growing popularity among high school and college students of volunteerism and service learning, which exemplifies the educational value students find in community service and civic engagement. As Robert Bellah has observed, “where service learning is integrated into course work, where it is done together with others, and above all, where it takes place in the context of ongoing reflection about the meaning and value of the work, it can have life-changing consequences.”⁸

The focus on theoretical aspects of citizenship is changing, however. The view of what comprises citizenship and civic life reflected in the recent report issued by the Corporation for National and Community Service and the National Conference on Citizenship, for example, is broader than traditional categories. This report, which defines civic engagement as being

about the participation in and building up of one's community, measures America's performance on a civic scale in terms of both political and nonpolitical behaviors. It takes into consideration activities that can be done alone (such as voting) or with others (such as volunteering or political action), as well as activities that can be performed in either formal or informal settings—all of which have a mutually reinforcing effect on one another. The report assesses our nation's civic life in terms of service and volunteerism, participation in groups, connection to information and current events, social connectedness, and political action.⁹

Civic engagement results in the acquisition of citizenship skills that complement theoretical concepts learned in the classroom. Civic learning actually engages all aspects of the human person—the *head*, through thinking, judging, deliberation, and advocacy; the *heart*, through empathy and care for the beneficiaries of one's civic action, as well as through friendship with those co-involved in the public work; and the *hands*, through voting, acts of service, and collaborative political action. These three aspects can be viewed along a spectrum of skills development—a civic spectrum, which, taken as a whole, reveals how different dimensions of the human person overlap, interact, and develop through civic work and in the growth of citizens. The pedagogies of the academy, with their emphasis on cognitive learning, may not adequately provide students with the skills to analyze and synthesize policy issues in a conflict situation, though such an understanding of policymaking is crucial to developing students' ability to engage in the political life of their communities. Discovering, through service learning and political engagement, that citizens working together in public action can make a difference in a community's quality of life provides a lifelong lesson for students moving through the civic continuum. Importantly, that lesson often leads students to increased political participation in the future.¹⁰ As Pericles told the citizens of Athens in his famous funeral oration, their public action should prompt them to “fall in love” with their city; Athenian citizens viewed the interaction of head, hands, and heart in civic life as, in the words of Martha Nussbaum, a “complex matter involving the whole soul.”¹¹ We must see the development of the whole person in citizenship, not just intellectual formation. As Harry Boyte argues for this more holistic view of citizenship, “we need a lot of public soul and public muscle in America today.”¹² Thus, adapting three-fourths of the traditional motto of 4H Clubs—head, heart, and hands—to the process by which citizens develop provides a helpful framework within which to view that development. In fact, two aspects of the 4H program as it has been practiced in

America for decades—the role of clubs in the inculcation of skills and the role of practical experience in the acquisition of knowledge¹³—are, as we will see, also relevant to the process of becoming citizens.

Head: Acquiring Savvy

This civic spectrum hinges on a more robust understanding of citizenship, which can be gleaned from unpacking the vocabulary itself. *Civis*, the Latin word from which we get our word *citizen*, is also the root of the word *city*. Cities and their citizens in turn build *civilization*, another cognate of *civis*. We can see how this has unfolded over the millennia by analyzing another ancient Greek word: *polis*. This word also means “city,” but with more complex connotations. According to Robert Bellah, “the ancient Greek word *polis*, from which comes a rich variety of modern words, for example, in English, ‘politics,’ ‘policy,’ ‘police,’ and others, meant simultaneously city, state, society, and community, so that we have no modern word that really translates it.”¹⁴ Ultimately, head, hands, and heart are all involved in the building up of the polis, the city, which the Greeks believed was the end, or purpose, of public life. In fact, ancient Greeks thought that humans were by nature *zoon politikon*, “civic” or “political animals.”¹⁵ The polis is the world, what Hannah Arendt refers to as “the space of appearance” in which great deeds are done and great words are spoken¹⁶—the realm of politics and public life in its richest sense.

In 19th-century America, Alexis de Tocqueville found this “polis-life” in the countless associations that citizens in this new country pursued, which he viewed as the primary engine for American democracy.¹⁷ As he wrote in *Democracy in America*, “Americans of all ages, all stations in life . . . are forever forming associations . . . religious, moral, serious, futile, very general and very limited, immensely large and very minute.”¹⁸ Through these many associations, Americans learned how to interact politically with others, to speak and act in pursuit of a common goal. Tocqueville saw that, for Americans, “knowledge of how to combine is the mother of all other forms of knowledge.”¹⁹ As citizens learned how to work together, they acquired this political skill that Tocqueville labeled “knowing how to combine,” which enabled them to build a political community in that part of the young republic where they were associating with other Americans. The practical experience in this open, less-structured polity and society enabled them to acquire democratic habits, which Thomas Jefferson had argued were essential to human development.²⁰

This type of knowledge, acquired through associations in 18th-century America and embodied in what the Greeks called *phronesis* (prudence or practical wisdom), is the quintessential political virtue. *Phronesis*, rich with connotations, has also been translated as “judgment,” which unpacks a further dimension of its meaning for us. According to Bellah, “judgment in this use of the term involves a sense of proportion, of larger meaning, of what a situation requires, at once cognitively and ethically.”²¹ A French term, *savoir faire*, is akin to this concept, meaning literally, “knowing how to do.” On the frontier they called it “savvy,” twisting the French into an American slang term that connotes the same meaning, the knowledge of how to do things in the world. *Savoir faire* has taken on a narrower meaning as a virtue of sophisticates, but its etymological meaning is “practical wisdom,” knowing what to do in a human situation, especially one involving the complexity of working with others in public action. It is the ability to make judgments about what to do in the polis.

According to Aristotle, “Practical wisdom is concerned with action.” It “issues commands, its end is to tell us what we ought to do, or not do.”²² It is *phronesis*—savvy—that is cultivated and built up along this part of the civic spectrum. Civic engagement is about the growth of practical wisdom in individuals, their ability to make prudent judgments to advance public action. Like all the intellectual virtues, practical wisdom is learned by both study and doing, by merging theory and practice. “*Phronesis* is an intellectual virtue,” writes Alasdair MacIntyre, “but it is that intellectual virtue without which none of the virtues of character can be exercised. . . . We become just or courageous by performing just or courageous acts; we become theoretically or practically wise as a result of systematic instruction. Nonetheless these two kinds of moral education are intimately related.”²³

Phronesis can also be called “insight,” but it is insight, or judgment, that individuals acquire through and in the presence of others. It is a worldly thing, not something that happens in isolation or through some gnostic vision, which is why it has also been called “prudence.” Though the word *prudence* has come to suggest an almost timid quality, in our terminology it connotes political insight, or sagacity. Arendt sees prudence as rooted in common sense, “which the French so suggestively call the ‘good sense,’ *le bon sens* (since it) discloses to us the nature of the world insofar as it is a common world. . . . Judging is one . . . activity in which this sharing-the-world-with-others comes to pass.”²⁴ Practical wisdom is therefore a moral virtue with political implications;²⁵ it is learned through experiences in the public arena, in the city. It is what Crittenden calls “judgment in practice,” since it is developed through practice,

which forms character, “because repeated behaviors ... lead to the formation of habits, which are themselves moral virtues.”²⁶ Boyte terms it “wisdom,” since it is indeed a wise person who is able to frame and guide action with concepts that integrate information, and who is thereby able to fulfill public values and purposes—to contextualize and prioritize public action.²⁷ Such virtue is clearly of importance to employers, whose success depends on individuals with savvy and prudential judgment. Civic work builds crucial employability skills, and a flourishing economy requires many of the same skills that support citizenship.²⁸ Civic skills are work skills, and the intellectual domain of both skill sets includes the ability to communicate effectively, organize resources for work, think critically, and make collective decisions. Pitting preparation for citizenship against preparation for a career is a false choice. From the perspective of building knowledge of how to do things in the world, it is fallacious to distinguish between internships in for-profit companies on the one hand, and community service in nonprofits on the other.²⁹ Private work and public work increasingly resemble each other, due in part to the changing nature of work itself. Arguing that citizenship is the work of the academy, or conversely, that training for work does not teach citizenship, ignores the potential for developing savvy through both academic and occupational experiences of working with others in common pursuit of a goal.

Practical wisdom is concerned with *public* knowledge. The National Issues Forums (NIF)³⁰ refers to public knowledge as that which comes about when citizens deliberate about what is of concern to them, and together determine a course of action. Issues forums implicitly distinguish this public knowledge from the expert opinions of academics or administrators about what should be done. This public knowledge is socially constructed by citizens in order to generate sound judgments about what should be done in politics.³¹ What Boyte calls a “democratic politics of knowledge” requires a “deep, if unromantic, respect for the talents and intelligence of ordinary people.”³² A principle means by which citizens generate this public knowledge is through deliberation, which Aristotle described as reflecting “a collective wisdom not found in any single individual’s ruminations.”³³

Deliberation both builds public knowledge and is integral to the development of phronesis, since taking action is the goal of deliberation. Organizations like National Issues Forums, Everyday Democracy, Public Agenda, *AmericaSpeaks*, the National Coalition on Dialogue and Deliberation, the Deliberative Democracy Consortium, Public Achievement, and others³⁴

foster deliberation that leads to public action. Such organizations build citizens, since learning how to deliberate well is crucial to developing the skill that citizens rely upon, phronesis. According to Aristotle, “It is the mark of one who has practical wisdom that he has deliberated well . . . (since) one who is good at deliberating is capable of aiming in accordance with calculation at the best for man of things attainable by action.”³⁵ As with an archer, deliberation teaches aim, the ability to hit the mark in human situations. Students need opportunities to weigh options for action against what they hold dear; such opportunities, by teaching students how to “aim,” foster practical wisdom. As Michael Sandel puts it, “we become good at deliberating only by entering the arena, weighing the alternatives, arguing our case . . . in short, by being citizens.”³⁶ Deliberation also teaches one how to deal with complexity, by forcing in Socratic fashion the rigorous investigation of alternatives. It fosters a respect for those with whom one deliberates, a willingness to view them not as opponents but as colleagues searching to discover common ground in a world shot through with complexity and difference.³⁷

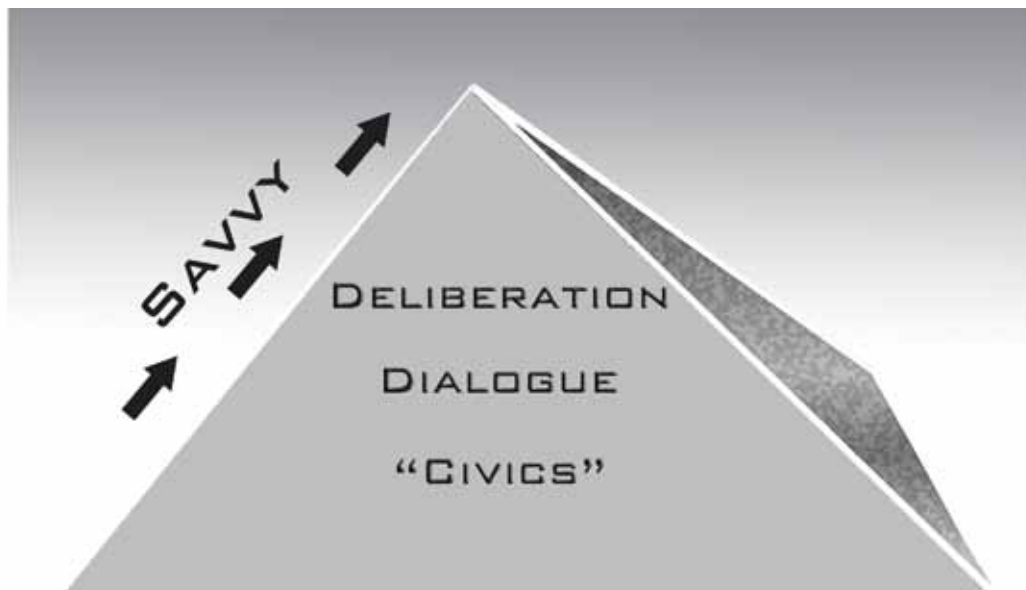


Figure 1: The Civic Spectrum—Head

So as we see in Figure 1, intellectual formation for citizenship entails the incremental advance of savvy along the civic spectrum. Beginning at one end of the spectrum, the traditional civics curriculum—the content knowledge of how government works, how elections are held, and

how legislation is passed—provides a solid starting point for the growth of intellectual skills. (The relative location of skill-building actions along the gradient of the spectrum is neither valued nor normative. All civic activities are valuable in building up skills; however, some impart more savvy than others. This differential is illustrative rather than definitive.) Students can gain this knowledge by reading texts or through classroom instruction. Savvy increases even more through dialogue, the interaction between people in debate or discussion, which builds more robust intellectual civic skills. Deliberation is the epitome of the intellectual and political process whereby savvy, or *phronesis*, can be acquired. Deliberating about what citizens should do in the world—whether at the level of a campus club deciding what volunteer project to undertake, or a student discussion about the values at stake in a policy change, or even a family discussion about politics around the dining room table³⁸—is a civic act that builds a polis, what Plato dubbed a “city in speech,” for those who are involved, for however long they are involved. Even today, the “sharing of words and deeds,” which was the original reason for creating the city-state, provides the context for citizens acting together, the context for politics.³⁹

The practical wisdom that is so essential to citizenship, inculcated through deliberation, hinges on perception, the ability to collaborate with others in reading a situation and determining what action is required. Mary Parker Follet characterized this type of perception when she said that science can teach us whether a snake is poisonous, but science can't tell us what to do when a snake is crawling around the floor in our midst; that takes collective discussion and perception.⁴⁰ Seeing the development of perception or savvy as the quintessential intellectual skill of citizenship prompts us to look beyond civics and political science classes to the humanities more broadly and to other areas to see how a “liberal education” is essential to the growth of citizens. The humanities teach students to examine issues critically and in a global context, to empathize with others by viewing issues from their point of view.⁴¹ Writing practiced across the curriculum throughout a student's academic career can help to instantiate this skill (which Crittenden marvelously terms “thoughtfulness”), since writing inculcates *phronesis* in diverse educational settings in schools and colleges.⁴² Socrates held that the ability to become a reflective citizen exists in all of us,⁴³ but that it is the special role of education to “educate” it.

Heart: Friendship in the City

Thomas Jefferson thought that the greatest problem the young republic would face was not in discovering what principles or values to rally around in order to build a polity; it was what he termed “affection,” the need to have a feeling of belonging to a common political community.⁴⁴ The citizenship vocabulary we have employed so far in this paper—*practical wisdom* and *virtue*, not to mention Latin words like *civis* and Greek words like *polis*—may sound dissonant to 21st-century American ears. Now, to further jar the ear and to provoke thinking, we consider the term *friendship* in relation to citizenship. Aristotle discusses friendship at length in his treatise on politics; in fact, he states boldly that friendship “holds cities together.”⁴⁵ Friendship accomplishes this by “equalizing” citizens, by forming them into a community of different-but-equal partners engaged in common, public work.⁴⁶ Viewed in this light, politics is “nothing more than a great project for encouraging civic friendship among all members of society.”⁴⁷

According to Aristotle, every association involves friendship,⁴⁸ a notion which would not have surprised Tocqueville, since he found myriad associations across America that were forged by this political type of friendship arising from citizens working together around some shared interest. These civil associations, as he called them, in turn paved the way for and taught Americans how to forge political associations held together by the glue of political friendship; both types of association afforded citizens the opportunity to discover what was good for them, to “acquire a capacity to pursue great aims in common.”⁴⁹ These associations, or political communities, bound participants together in a type of friendship based on their mutual advantage as fellow citizens despite their differences, a bond shaped by what they shared, which in turn prompted them to take action together.⁵⁰ Such associations moved citizens along a continuum, through which they acquired the capacity for public action; our quest as educators today should be to foster and provide rich associational life for students in which they can similarly learn to be citizens by forging bonds of political friendship that result from and foster public action. The social connectedness at stake here is often built up through informal groups, whereby citizens learn the value of working with others on more formal

pursuits.⁵¹ As in the associations Tocqueville wrote about in the 19th century, so too in the 21st-century educational institution, political friendship in pursuit of a common purpose enables speaking and acting together, “the sharing of all in the common project of creating and sustaining the life of the city.”⁵²

This use of the term *friendship* is clearly different from its most familiar definition, but it is important to see the similarities as well. Political or civic friendships, as well as the interpersonal friendships with which we usually associate the term, involve the human disposition to care about the good of those with whom we share some interest or activity. Friendship involves “mutual benevolence mutually recognized.”⁵³ Civic friendship has less to do with the familiarity and affection by which we choose our friends, and more to do with the mutual benefit that disposes us to help those with whom we share the action or concern that binds us.⁵⁴

Fostering these political bonds likewise encourages growth in a uniquely American form of practical wisdom, which Tocqueville termed “self-interest rightly understood.” He saw associations as the place where citizens discover what is “good” for them; while this good begins with self-interest, it quickly moves to something else: “self-interest rightly understood.” He coined this phrase to describe what he saw happening everywhere in America, “where private advantage does meet and coincide with the general interest . . . and in the end one comes to believe that . . . by serving his fellows, man serves himself, and that doing *good* is to his private advantage (emphasis added).”⁵⁵ What this Frenchman found in his travels was that the core aim of our new country was not for citizens to refrain from pursuing their individual interests, but for citizens to see that it was in their individual interests to pursue the common good.

Self-interest rightly understood is public spirited and capable of self-sacrifice, for it sees that all citizens have an interest in their fellows; it is self-interest that takes the long view and sees common advantage in working together. Clearly, however, the process of arriving at a shared sense of public advantage is conflict-laden, not conflict-free. This type of sharing does not mean that dissension disappears, for, as Aristotle noted, “Living together and sharing any human concern is always difficult.”⁵⁶

Civic or political friendship, like personal friendship, involves the discovery that what is good for others is also good for me. It enlarges my sense of what is good for me; the good of the other becomes my good too.⁵⁷ Participation in these political associations develops in citizens a fairly extensive and often powerful sense of mutual concern, a desire to do what is good for

others, not for one's own sake but for the sake of others.⁵⁸ These feelings of civic friendship are essential ingredients of citizenship, and they evidence themselves in civic life through concord, or like-mindedness, about what serves the common good. Citizens, even though they may disagree, nonetheless come to agreement about the practical issue of what should be done, and the friendship that arises as a result reflects the intensity and the nature of the issue or activity that has brought them together.⁵⁹

The public partnership forged through what Aristotle calls "civic friendship" is based on and grows out of an inner partnership: that between the person and himself. For a friend is "another self," and the affection shown to the other self grows out of the love each person has for her own self. These civic friendships are but a reflection of the unanimity and care that each person feels for herself, and conversely, it is through our friendships that we learn what it is to wish for and do good for ourselves.⁶⁰ The person must fundamentally be in agreement, in concord, with her "self"; she must be friends with herself, and out of that bond grows the broader civic friendships found through citizenship. For no citizen belongs solely to herself; all belong to the city.⁶¹ This internal agreement is discovered every day through thinking, through the "soundless dialogue of me with myself" in which I am a "two-in-one" who experiences a "friend" in this self I talk to when I think.⁶² This is why, in the part of the civic spectrum that depicts intellectual development, the dialogic aspect of talking with another is seen as an interim development of the skills of citizenship. The dialogue I have with another mirrors the soundless dialogue I have with myself in thinking every day, and it schools me in the deliberative skills I need, which broaden the interaction from one-on-one to the multitude found in the city.

Tocqueville saw educational institutions as crucial to imparting this enlightened form of self-interest, and the term *rightly understood* connotes clearly that citizens, whatever their age, have to be taught how to understand the common good, how to know their community and the interdependence they have with it. Through these associations, "by dint of working for the good of his fellow citizens, he in the end acquires a habit and taste for serving them."⁶³ The good human life, the life we encourage in our students, is a life lived with and toward others, and friends enhance our ability to act. One becomes an individual only through interacting with others in the common search for what is good for all, for what is the common good; while individuals create the polity, they do so by engaging others in the common work of understanding their interests and deliberating about what is best for them to do.⁶⁴

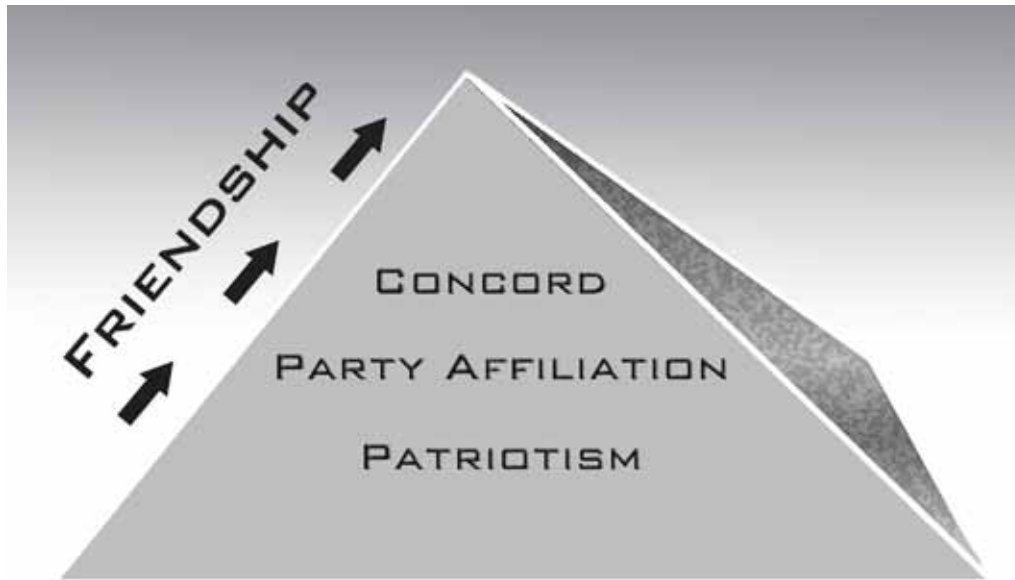


Figure 2: The Civic Spectrum—Heart

Figure 2 shows that in the second aspect of citizenship—“heart”—concord is the epitome of civic friendship, embodied in citizens coming to agreement about public actions to take in the city. These bonds of friendship are also found in less intense form in patriotism—the feeling of love and pride, the bond that citizens have with their country. Civic friendship is evidenced in greater complexity in the bonds of affiliation that link members of political parties, who see themselves aligned with others in standing for certain political principles and working to elect particular candidates who share their beliefs. Each of these affective levels, while varying in intensity of feeling—of heart—involves *philia* (friendship). Developing citizens, therefore, calls on all who are involved in this important work to recognize and value this affective dimension of civics. We must provide students with opportunities to learn how to become civic friends.

Hands: Freedom through Action

The savvy acquired through deliberation and the good will and other-mindedness that come through civic friendship culminate when citizens take action in the world. The work of citizens’ hands—public action—is the real focus of politics. We deliberate and gain practical wisdom and form bonds of friendship in order to get things done in the world. Taking action in the world likewise lies along a gradient of the civic spectrum.

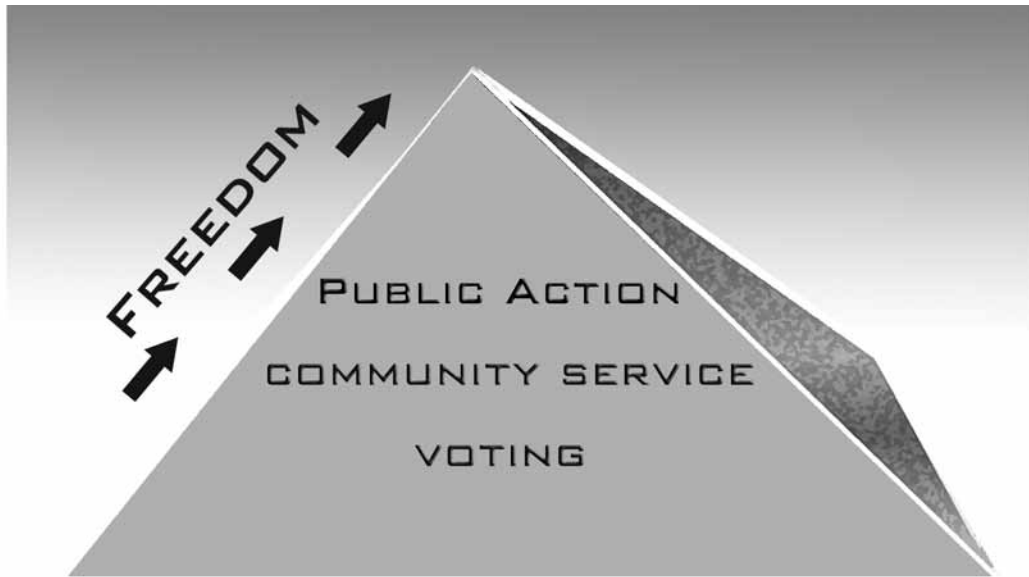


Figure 3: The Civic Spectrum—Hands

As seen in Figure 3, voting—choosing representatives or deciding a ballot measure—is the most basic way in which citizens act. Community service is a somewhat more complex form of action, since it entails some level of organization and often engages people in acting with others in some project or activity that impacts the world. George Mehaffy, of the American Association of State Colleges and Universities (AASCU), argues that community service falls along a continuum,⁶⁵ which articulates the connection that should exist between service and public policy and moves students with intentionality along the continuum from volunteer service *toward* political engagement and activism on the public policy issues at stake in their service. His continuum, from volunteering to advocacy, speaks to the connection between active service and theoretical engagement through analysis, leading to political activism. Making this connection is one of the institutional intentions of AASCU’s American Democracy Project (ADP), which links over 230 state colleges and universities in knowledge, skills, experiences, and reflection that promote civic engagement.⁶⁶ In a parallel effort at the community college level, the Community College National Center for Community Engagement’s online *Journal for Civic Commitment* outlines efforts by college faculty to enhance service learning by using it as a vehicle for developing students’ political skills.⁶⁷ Educators must give greater attention to this nexus between service and political advocacy, between participation and the

knowledge and skills—not to mention the motivation—needed for political engagement, in order to bridge the gap that often exists between volunteering and political involvement.⁶⁸ Finally, at the apex of the “hands” dimension of citizenship, we find public action. Citizens act individually through voting, constructively through acts of service, and collaboratively, or politically—as a polity—through public action.

Although the default civics curriculum in our schools may be instruction in “How a Bill Becomes a Law,” civic education that includes public action through engagement across the multiple levels of governments and their nonprofit partners serves to broaden and enrich the curriculum. Students might, for example, study how a school board functions while at the same time becoming involved in school district activities; they might learn how federal statutes find their way into policies and procedures in their own city and determine what they can do about it. They could learn how a nonprofit organization implements employment policies and find out how those policies impact their own volunteer service; they might investigate the connection between city ordinances and safety in one’s neighborhood and what that means for block-watch activity. Certainly any of these courses of study would be as productive of civic skills as would be a focus on formal state or federal legislative processes. The vast majority of students will not actually get involved in the state legislative process; their civic involvement will more likely be to interact with their local school board, to petition their city government for services, or to become involved in the work of a nonprofit agency. Understanding the cycle through which policy development takes place provides students with a better understanding of government overall, which then allows them to find and negotiate their own place in the vast array of governments of the 21st century. As Thomas Jefferson observed, the goal of civic life in the American republic entails “making every citizen an acting member of the government . . . in the offices *nearest and most interesting* to him”⁶⁹ (emphasis added).

Just as the spectrum of citizenship development spans a student’s academic career from pre-K through graduate school, so also can civic engagement and learning take place at any level of government, often involving nonprofits that are agents of and partners in government at every level. Educational institutions need to focus more on the connection between nonprofit organizations and the governmental agencies with which they partner, linked by

the common policy issues that the nonprofits were created to address. Engaging students, for example, in deliberating about these policy issues in the context of their own work at a nonprofit increases their theoretical knowledge about the real, practical work they are engaged in. It also enables them to see the impact of their volunteer work on policy outcomes, as well as the political implications of these policy outcomes at stake in the mission and work of the nonprofit agency. The dearth of service-learning programs that purposefully prepare young people for active participation in the political system is regrettable, given the reality that the issues at stake in public policy decisions are quite compelling to students. More significant, habits of policy involvement formed at an early age are more likely to continue into adulthood.⁷⁰

What characterizes public action in the world is freedom, and political freedom is a spatial construct. The polis, as we have seen, is that space “between men and women, which is the world”; it is the space that citizens create where they can speak and act together, and the end result of this acting in concert is freedom.⁷¹ Here too, our customary vocabulary fails us, since the word *freedom* in this sense does not mean “free will”; rather, it has to do with “beginning,” which is another translation of the verb *to act*.⁷² And while voting is a free act, and doing service in the community is as well, the fulfillment of political action takes place when citizens work in concert, when they deliberate about a course of action and then, in concord, act together. It is this ability to act, to launch an entirely new enterprise and to start something that never existed before, that so struck Augustine of Hippo: “That there could be a beginning, man was created, before whom there was nothing.”⁷³ Humans are the source of freedom because they are themselves beginnings. They have an almost miraculous ability to start things, to act together in harmony so that the world they have created sees something new that wasn’t there before and will last beyond their own leaving. This is the meaning of *politics*: this freedom to act anew that comes from the fact that every human being, simply by being born into a world that was there before him and will be there after him, is himself a new beginning. *Freedom*, then, is synonymous with *beginning*.⁷⁴ This miraculous ability to begin, in these spaces humans create, is manifest in the nearly countless worldwide projects of Public Achievement.⁷⁵ The teenagers and young adults who launch these new beginnings are, in a very real sense, giving birth to freedom.

A term that resonates more with our contemporary sense of what is at stake in political action is *power*. In contrast to *force* or *strength*, here *power* connotes what emerges when humans act in concert on some political project.⁷⁶ In this sense of the term, power bespeaks the kinetic essence of political freedom: the ability to move something forward, to get something done. Power is that intangible quality, unlike the more tangible qualities of force or strength, that springs up among citizens whenever they act in concert in the polis, and which also vanishes whenever they disperse.⁷⁷ Viewed negatively, the denuding of our public spaces, our “cities,” has gone hand-in-glove with the disappearance of freedom and power from our lives as citizens. Viewed more positively, it is a rebirth of freedom and a rediscovery of political power that are made possible when our educational institutions develop these civic skills in students who will live and work together in our cities.

So citizenship development is about empowerment—educators and their civic partners must empower students to act, to deliberate about what should be done, and to freely do it. This dimension of citizenship is clearly more dynamic than the traditional model of civics education taught in our schools and colleges.

HAPPINESS: THE MORAL DIMENSIONS OF CITIZENSHIP AND THE ROLE OF EDUCATION

OUR DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE cites “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness” as unalienable rights. This reference to happiness may sound odd to our modern ears, but for Thomas Jefferson, steeped as he was in classical thought, the term was eminently appropriate for inclusion in our country’s foundational document. Jefferson’s language suggests that for him, as for Aristotle, happiness was the end of human affairs.⁷⁸ The term *happiness* meant for them “blessedness, prosperity . . . the state of being well, and doing well in being well.”⁷⁹ Jefferson would have agreed with Aristotle that *happiness* meant “activity in accordance with virtue,” not a state of mind but a way of being that was typified by thriving, or flourishing. The “pursuit of happiness” meant the pursuit of the good life; again, not what we have come to mean by “the good life,” but rather a life spent in pursuit of the good. The polis exists for the sake of human flourishing, to enable humans to pursue the good, to act nobly and well.⁸⁰ As Alasdair MacIntyre explains, “The virtues are precisely those qualities the possession of which enable an individual to achieve happiness . . . for what constitutes the good for man is a complete human life lived at its best, and the exercise of the virtues is a necessary and central part of such a life, not a mere preparatory exercise to secure such a life.”⁸¹ The intimate connection between happiness and virtuous action was seen by Thomas Jefferson, who observed, “Happiness is the aim of life, but virtue is the foundation of happiness”; and by Benjamin Franklin, who wrote, “virtue and happiness are mother and daughter.”⁸² For Jefferson, happiness was not the result of some private activity or a state that came about

through amassing wealth or pursuing pleasure, but a public activity that was at the heart of politics, which, as Sandel so aptly states, is “not the kind of thing we can do at home.”⁸³

As students develop their skills along the civic spectrum, with the requisite mix of conceptual knowledge and practical experience, growth occurs in both virtue and practical wisdom, and the two are related. As Aristotle said, “virtue makes us aim at the right mark, and practical wisdom makes us take the right means.”⁸⁴ This is why he stressed the connection between the word for “moral virtue” (*ethike*), and the word for “habit” (*ethos*),⁸⁵ famously noting that one becomes just by doing just acts and brave by doing brave acts—in the same way that one becomes a lyre player by playing the lyre.⁸⁶ Virtues are habits; they take time. They unfold first in the family and then over the course of a P-20 education, as long as teachers provide opportunities for students to practice them. Such habits are about morality; they concern what we would call right and wrong, which is, after all, what the good life is about. Students need instruction and experience in such virtuous activity that is not episodic, but intentional and consequential, and that engages them in things that matter.⁸⁷ It is the cultivation and use of these virtues in the polis that enable citizens to pursue happiness. Indeed, this cultivation is the whole purpose of the polis.⁸⁸ Virtues like practical wisdom are needed for citizenship and the life of the polis, and political life in turn fosters these virtues. Thus it is incumbent on educators and their partners to construct opportunities for students to be engaged and to take action that develops the skills of citizenship outlined in this paper. Observing quite dramatically how crucial this habituation in virtue is to learning to be good, to becoming a citizen, Aristotle wrote, “It makes no small difference whether we form habits of one kind or of another from our very youth; it makes a very great difference; or rather, it makes *all* the difference.”⁸⁹

Education is, therefore, a moral enterprise. What the Greeks called politics, what we here call citizenship, is about learning how to live a good life, and the “main job of politics is to educate children in such a way that they will become capable of leading good lives.”⁹⁰ Education and political science have been so sanitized of morality in the modern age that discussions of values, of what is good for humans, have been marginalized in the classroom. Even trends like character education often have more to do with the instrumental value of increasing discipline in schools than they do with the growth of citizenship. But if one would ask any young person engaged in a community-service project or involved in a political campaign, they would likely

state what would have been clear to their fellow citizens engaged in the countless associations Tocqueville discovered all across frontier America: their actions involve the good, their engagement is about what is best for them and their fellow citizens, something they hold dear, and they cherish those with whom they are doing it. The person of practical wisdom who is learning to become a citizen is a person who is concerned with friendship, justice, courage, moderation, generosity, and the other virtues.⁹¹

If growth on the civic spectrum depends on the development of virtues and practical wisdom, then it is important for those qualities to be embodied in the institutions through which students pass during their academic career. Students learn about democracy by acting democratically,⁹² so their high schools and colleges must “walk this talk.” This is not a new idea. More than 75 years ago, a group of colleagues from American high schools who were engaged in a comprehensive effort called The Eight Year Study to reform education and its relation to democracy, stated, “The high school in the United States should be a demonstration, in all phases of its activity, of the kind of life in which we as a people believe.”⁹³ This is what colleges engaged in the American Democracy Project call “institutional intentionality,” the active and deliberate provision of experiences and structures that promote democracy and enable students to learn about it by living it.⁹⁴ Crittenden argues for what he calls “democratic schools,” that the deliberative and dialogic practices we have discussed must be embodied in schools through democratic practices.⁹⁵ As Kettering Foundation president David Mathews posits, colleges and universities ought to have “an understanding of citizenship that is implicit in nearly everything they do, including the kind of education they provide to undergraduates, the kind of leadership they champion in leadership programs, and the services they offer to their communities.”⁹⁶ Educational institutions, as “way stations” and providers on the civic continuum, must be characterized by the virtues and the practical wisdom they seek to impart to the budding citizens who are their students, and must engage their students in the pursuit of the good that leads to happiness. As guides in the acquisition of virtue, teachers are stewards of the good—a trust they are given by the parents who enroll their sons and daughters in secondary and postsecondary educational institutions. High schools and colleges should be cities in which students can act in concert, as citizens in the making, and can learn the virtues of citizenship.

CITIZENSHIP AND COMMUNITY COLLEGES

COMMUNITY COLLEGES PLAY A PIVOTAL ROLE in the building up of citizens. Since their creation in America over a century ago, community colleges have worked in each generation to meet the educational needs of their communities, forging new “social contracts” and expanding their mission to address these changing needs. Confronting the economic, environmental, and political issues we face today—both locally and globally—community colleges are called to civic responsibility, to what could be called “civic agency,” by becoming agents of democracy in two ways:

- by imparting skills that enable *students* to be active civic agents, engaged in the work of democracy in their communities and
- by *acting themselves* as civic agents in their communities, to collaboratively address community issues.

Across institutions, according to the civic spectrum framework, community colleges should engage in the work of promoting democracy, modeled after the American Democracy Project of AASCU. The intent should be P-20 in scope, linking community colleges with AASCU institutions in collaborative civic engagement work across lower division and upper division, in order to bridge civic skills development with local civic work spanning students’ collegiate

careers as they transfer from lower to upper division. Such efforts should reach in turn to the K-12 level, with community colleges and their K-12 partners working collaboratively in projects like Public Achievement to build civic agency into the fabric of their communities and to inculcate civic skills in the students who participate. Like their AASCU counterparts, community colleges are “stewards of place,” institutions whose mission is delivered in and responsive to the local communities from which their students come and to which the majority of them return to live and work as citizens. They are civically responsible for the places in which they operate and should be beacons of citizenship, addressing the challenges their communities are confronting and engaging their students in this work.

Within institutions, the goal is for community colleges to undertake a range of curricular, cocurricular, and extracurricular projects and activities to develop the citizenship skills of their students and to develop their own capacity to act as civic agents in their communities. As we have seen, the development of citizenship skills in the head, heart, and hands of students is ultimately congruent with the goals of a liberal education. For too long in our schools and colleges, the growth of citizens has been left almost exclusively to the civics teacher or political science professor. Yet all college personnel need to be co-involved in our students’ development as citizens, as well as in the flourishing of our colleges as “cities,” vibrant with the virtues of citizenship.

Community colleges can build citizenship skills along the civic spectrum by activities such as

- encouraging students both to register to vote and to vote;
- providing political education and analysis of policy issues facing communities;
- offering service-learning and community-service projects and activities;
- organizing student clubs and student governments;
- modeling deliberative democracy in courses and community partnerships; and
- participating in public work through civic partnerships with community organizations.

CONCLUSION: “NEW PEOPLE”

THE ANCIENT GREEKS did not refer to their youth as “young people”; they called them *neoi*, “new people,” viewing them not in terms of chronological age, but in terms of their relation to the polis that existed before they came and would last beyond their leaving. As unschooled youth, these “new people” were not yet considered fully as citizens, and their preparation for entrance into that world they were new to was of paramount importance, both to them and to the polis. As in ancient Athens, today’s youth do not yet have the *phronesis* and attendant virtues required for full participation as citizens. But the civic continuum of experiences and instruction offered in P-20 educational institutions should enable these young people to acquire such capacities through habit-forming lessons and activities over the course of their educational careers.

The civic spectrum outlined in this paper is progressive and cumulative, but for students it is only a first step on the lifelong path of citizenship. So as educators and their partners at every level strive to engage students in acquiring the skills of citizenship, the civic spectrum entails much more than intellectual formation; it is to be pursued in many settings beyond

the halls of government—in clubs, churches, classrooms, athletic fields, nonprofits, and workplaces. These settings are ideally smaller in scale, as the Greek polis tended to be small—in part because the human affections of civic friendship do not reliably extend too far.⁹⁷ So while a modern city may be huge, a polis, a political association in which the work of citizenship can be pursued, should be smaller. These arenas are what David Mathews terms the “wetlands” of our democracy, those informal gatherings and ad hoc associations that support and sustain our institutional politics, where people grapple with the meaning of their everyday lives and forge political connections and networks.⁹⁸ Viewed in terms of citizenship rather than political science, politics is principally found in these “free, horizontal interactions among equal citizens, and only secondarily (in) their vertical relationships with politicians or the state.”⁹⁹ Wherever rich associational life can be fostered for students, and adults can assist them in reflecting on the virtues and skills they acquire through their involvement, citizens will be prepared for speech and action in the world, for beginning.

Graduation from college provides an occasion to celebrate a nearly pristine form of this special human ability to begin. We recognize that the graduates’ education has equipped them with knowledge, skills, and a deepening of their moral agency, enabling them to be true and effective agents in the world, to begin new things, and thereby to reveal their own human excellence and sense of responsibility for others.¹⁰⁰ Our valedictory to these new people as they leave our schools and colleges—indeed, our hope for ourselves and the world they will join—should be that famous saying of the ancient Greeks who were confident that their citizens, once trained in the virtues and skills of the political life, now filled with *phronesis* and skilled in friendship, could build cities in speech and action everywhere they went: “Wherever you go, you will be a *city!*”¹⁰¹

NOTES

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- ³ Jim Zaharis and Bernie Ronan, *P-20: An Approach to Integrated Learning* (Greater Phoenix Leadership, 2002).
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- ⁵ Terry Cooper, *An Ethic of Citizenship for Public Administration* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1991), 83. For discussion of these ideas, see also Thomas Ehrlich, ed., *Civic Responsibility and Higher Education* (Phoenix, AZ: American Council on Education Oryx Press, 2000).
- ⁶ Dari Sylvester, “Service Learning as a Vehicle for Promoting Student Political Efficacy,” *Journal for Civic Commitment* 14 (spring 2010), <http://www.mesacc.edu/other/engagement/Journal/Issue14/Sylvester.pdf> (accessed February 25, 2011).
- ⁷ Sandra Day O’Connor and Lee H. Hamilton, “A Democracy without Civics?” *Christian Science Monitor*, September 17, 2008.
- ⁸ Robert Bellah, “Education for Justice and the Common Good,” in *The Robert Bellah Reader*, ed. Robert Bellah and Steven Tipton (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 445.
- ⁹ Corporation for National and Community Service and the National Conference on Citizenship, *Civic Life in America: Key Findings on the Civic Health of the Nation* (Washington, DC., September 2010), 2.
- ¹⁰ Sylvester, *Service Learning*, 2, 3.
- ¹¹ Martha Nussbaum, *Love’s Knowledge* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 81-83.
- ¹² Harry Boyte, *Information-Age Populism: Higher Education as a Civic Learning Organization* (Council on Public Policy Education, 2002), 17.
- ¹³ For more information about 4-H clubs and their history of providing opportunities for applied learning, see <http://www.4-h.org/about/4-h-history/> (accessed July 31, 2010).
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- ¹⁵ A.W. Price, *Love and Friendship in Plato and Aristotle* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 194.
- ¹⁶ Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 25.
- ¹⁷ Corporation for National and Community Service and the National Conference on Citizenship, *Civic Life in America*, 5.
- ¹⁸ Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, trans. George Lawrence, ed. J.P. Mayer (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, Doubleday, 1969), 513.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 517.
- ²⁰ Cooper, *An Ethic of Citizenship*, 57, 84.
- ²¹ Bellah, “Education for Justice,” 423.

- ²² Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. David Ross, revised by J. L. Ackrill and J. O. Urmson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1925), 1143a.
- ²³ Alasdair MacIntyre, *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1984), 154.
- ²⁴ Hannah Arendt, "The Crisis in Culture," in *Between Past and Future* (New York: Viking Press, 1969), 221.
- ²⁵ Michael Sandel, *Justice: What's the Right Thing to Do?* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2009), 199.
- ²⁶ Jack Crittenden, *Democracy's Midwife: An Education in Deliberation* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2002), 110.
- ²⁷ Boyte, *Information-Age Populism*, 13, 11.
- ²⁸ Nussbaum, *Not for Profit*, 10.
- ²⁹ "Preparing for Citizenship or a Career—A False Choice," *Agents and Architects of Democracy*, Program #3 (CD-ROM, American Association of State Colleges and Universities, Society for College and University Planning, and the Center for Democracy and Citizenship, August 29, 2010).
- ³⁰ For information about National Issues Forums (NIF), see <http://www.nifi.org>; for a discussion of "public knowledge," see David Mathews and Noëlle McAfee, *Making Choices Together: The Power of Public Deliberation* (Dayton, OH: Kettering Foundation, 2003), 15, http://www.kettering.org/media_room/publications/making_choices_together (pdf, accessed March 4, 2011).
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- ³² Boyte, *Information-Age Populism*, 6.
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- ³⁴ For more information, see National Issues Forums at <http://www.nifi.org>; Everyday Democracy at <http://www.everyday-democracy.org/en/index.aspx/>; Public Achievement at <http://www.augsburg.edu/cdc/publicachievement/index.html>; Public Agenda at <http://www.publicagenda.org>; *AmericaSpeaks* at <http://americaspeaks.org>; National Coalition for Dialogue and Deliberation at http://www.thataway.org/?page_id=2; The Deliberative Democracy Consortium at <http://www.deliberative-democracy.net/index.php> (all accessed February 26, 2011).
- ³⁵ Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1141b.
- ³⁶ Sandel, *Justice*, 199.
- ³⁷ Nussbaum, *Not for Profit*, 51.
- ³⁸ Corporation for National and Community Service and the National Conference on Citizenship, *Civic Life in America*, 7.
- ³⁹ Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 196.
- ⁴⁰ Boyte, *Information-Age Populism*, 5; and Nussbaum, *Love's Knowledge*, 44.
- ⁴¹ See Martha Nussbaum, *Cultivating Humanity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997); *Love's Knowledge*; and *Not for Profit*, as well as Boyte, *Information-Age Populism*, for further discussion of the role of higher education in building up the full range of knowledge and skills required for citizens. See also Michael Smith, Rebecca Nowacek, and Jeffrey Berenstein, eds., *Citizenship across the Curriculum* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010).
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- ⁴⁹ Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 520.
- ⁵⁰ Bernard Yack, *The Problems of a Political Animal—Community, Justice and Conflict in Aristotelian Political Thought* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 29.
- ⁵¹ Corporation for National and Community Service and the National Conference on Citizenship, *Civic Life in America*, 7.
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- ⁵³ Robert Sokolowski, *Phenomenology of the Human Person* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 268.
- ⁵⁴ Yack, *Problems of a Political Animal*, 35, 36, 42, 45.
- ⁵⁵ Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 525.
- ⁵⁶ Aristotle, *The Politics and the Constitution of Athens*, trans. Steven Everson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 1263a; and Yack, *Problems of a Political Animal*, 2, 7, 120.
- ⁵⁷ Robert Sokolowski, "Phenomenology of Friendship," in *The Review of Metaphysics* (March 1, 2002): 4, 5.
- ⁵⁸ Yack, *Problems of a Political Animal*, 120, 34.
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- ⁶⁰ Lorraine Pangle, *Aristotle and the Philosophy of Friendship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 170; and Diana Fritz Cates, *Choosing to Feel: Virtue, Friendship and Compassion for Friends* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997), 54.
- ⁶¹ Aristotle, *The Politics and the Constitution of Athens*, 1337a.
- ⁶² Arendt, *The Promise of Politics*, 20.
- ⁶³ Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 513.
- ⁶⁴ Cooper, *An Ethic of Citizenship*, 136.
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