ABSTRACT

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Three trends have been evident in civil society for at least the past two decades: a gap in civic participation between young people with college experience and those without; increasing investment in college student civic participation by higher education institutions; and a narrowing of opportunities for all Americans to participate in civic life. This last point, some believe, is leading to a smaller, more homogenous and privileged group directing civic life, particularly nonprofit organizations, jeopardizing their democratic role. No research has attempted to bring all of these dynamics into conversation. This exploratory research begins to fill this void. By interviewing participants in one multi-year collegiate civic engagement program, we learned the skills, values and identity as "active citizens" graduates took into nonprofit work. Results suggest that lessons from trainings and civic activities within the program impacted the career choices that graduates made and how they conceive of their work.

DEMOCRATIC IMPLICATIONS OF CIVIC ENGAGEMENT IN HIGHER
EDUCATION THROUGH GRADUATES WHO WENT ON TO NONPROFIT
WORK

By

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Chapter 1: Introduction

For democracy to wholly fulfill its promise, it requires broad participation. Yet this broad participation has not yet been fully manifested in the United States, even with continued efforts to expand civil rights. Civic infrastructure has dwindled in America along economic and racial lines – and higher education, as a sector, has attempted to step in and fill that vacuum. For decades, institutions of higher education have wrestled with the role of campuses as leaders in communities, both in knowledge creation and in industry. Some efforts have resulted in increased interest in the civic and democratic work of nonprofits. Ultimately, however, are these democratic efforts by institutions of higher education actually promoting broader civic participation?

Many times in my career within the civic engagement field, I have been at events where I have heard the sentiment that "this nation faces significant societal challenges, and higher education must play a role in responding to them" (Saltmarsh, Hartley, and Clayton 2008, 3). This was one of the motivations for a White House event in 2012 entitled "For Democracy's Future: Education Reclaims Our Civic Mission."[1] Bringle, Games, and Malloy lay out specific suggestions for how this can occur and conclude with a vision that "campuses must consider how they cannot only develop their own capacity to be more connected to communities, but also determine how they can facilitate the strengthening of communities and the institutions in the nonprofit sector. In this way, higher education will have a positive influence on the

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[1] U.S. Department of Education. "Civic Learning and Engagement in Democracy." *U.S. Department of Education*. Accessed on July 15, 2012. http://www.ed.gov/civic-learning.

nonprofit sector as an important element of the democratic process" (1999, 202).

Too often, though, this focus on nonprofits fades within discussions of outcomes of higher education civic engagement. Students working in partnership with nonprofits is a major topic of discussion (Jacoby 2003; Worrall 2007), as is – to a lesser extent – building the capacity of nonprofits through student activities. The overall conversation about higher education now includes more about post-graduation, via alumni engagement and conversation about the "civic professional," which has motivated discipline-specific service-learning and other programs (Peters 2004). Yet, institutions' measurement of such goals has not caught up. While alumni are a new focus of programmatic outcomes, it usually manifests as a narrow focus on behaviors. In addition, rarely is there a connection made between opportunities for and outcomes of student civic engagement and employment specifically within the *nonprofit* sector.

The work of nonprofits is sorely needed. Nonprofits are often the site or source of democratic opportunities for those not within a school context. In the influential study about civic participation, *Voice & Inequality* (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995), the authors write: "Our analysis makes clear that education functions in each of these ways: training workers, preparing citizens, and transmitting social class across generations. And in all three capacities – not only in transmitting social class – educational differences beget participatory inequalities" (514). Nonprofits are one sector that can leverage and promote broader democratic participation. Every year,

higher education engages students in civic activities which research has shown makes them more likely to be interested in jobs in the nonprofit sector.

This project attempts to bring together conversations on higher education civic engagement and on inequality of civic participation. Inequality is not a completely rare subject within the conversation about civic engagement within higher education. Many faculty and practitioners have voiced concern over what can be perceived as unequal or non-reciprocal relationships between institutions and community organizations (Stoeker and Tryon 2009; Pompa 2005). Others have addressed how undergraduates can learn about issues of justice through engagement (Megivern 2010; Mitchell 2007; Boyle-Baise and Binford 2005; Wade 2001). These are critical conversations to have, though they primarily focus on that which happens during the college years, not what students do post-graduation. There is a need for opportunities to be more accessible, especially among youth not on a campus or on a traditional college track. How do we know if alumni are contributing to the democratic renewal of which we speak?

As a result, this project seeks to further understand the influence of civic engagement efforts by institutions of higher education by looking into whether it is good for democracy for a pipeline to exist from higher education to the nonprofit sector. To do so, the specific focus of this research is to understand: How do alumni who participated in intensive civic programs and went into the nonprofit sector view themselves as civic actors? What lessons do these alumni take from a program into

employment decisions, and their subsequent nonprofit work? How do the lessons

affect that work?

Ultimately, this is an investigation at multiple intersections within American life and at the intersections of several academic disciplines, both sites a focus of American Studies. Increasingly, American Studies scholars have engaged the idea of the "public" in the lives of Americans (Shaffer 2008; Cuff 2004). In her discussion of "citizenship in the everyday," Ruiz (2008) suggests "as American studies scholars, we interrogate, deconstruct, historicize, and explore the multivalent dimensions of 'American' identities within the nation-state, across the hemisphere, and throughout the world" (2). Critical to understanding the concept of democracy and the public from a cultural standpoint is how power and identity play a role. In doing this, we will test previous research that "civic reformers held … a concern with the preservation of their own class power rather than the promotion of popular democracy" (Baker 2007, 1200).

This cultural lens has recently been brought to higher education civic research (Thornton and Jaeger 2006), and Kecskes (2006) uses cultural frames to understand partnerships. In fact, the American Studies Association (ASA) has recently been funding community partnerships such as this (American Studies Association 2009). The more specific title Ruth Wilson Gilmore would have given her presidential address to the ASA was "Universities and Unions: Institutions with Meaning for the People" (2011, 245), and Kelley suggests that Gilmore "is demanding that we pay

attention to institutions and their concrete dimensions" (2011, 269). And so we will look at institutions and how what happens in institutions of higher education every day impacts the identities of those within it. Research on how young people see themselves as civic actors shows that their identity is influenced, among other things, by someone's demographic background, whether or not they have had civic role models, opportunities the individual has or has not had, and what those opportunities have been.

To do so, we will start with the broad situation and research on higher education, the nonprofit sector, and the space in between these two sectors (chapter 2). To understand these relationships we will focus in on one civic program within a higher education institution, during a five-year period, and understand the history and development of the program, as well as explain the methodology of this research (chapter 3). The following section explains the findings from interviews with participants of the program who went on to work in the nonprofit sector (chapter 4). In doing so, we will try to understand how the program played a role in the development of graduates' civic and political identities and how that has influenced their work at nonprofits.

Definitions

Over the course of this document, the terms "civic participation" and "civic engagement" will be used interchangeably. These terms will be used to describe a broad range of activities, including "any action that affects legitimately public matters

(even if selfishly motivated) as long as the actor pays appropriate attention to the consequences of his behavior for the underlying political system" (Levine 2007, 13). Examples of what this includes (but is not limited to): working with neighbors to address a community problem, voting, working on an electoral campaign, participating in informal or formal discussions about issues, boycotting a company you do not agree with, contacting a public official. Not included in this definition would be an activity where the participant is engaged in a situation affecting only them.

Assumptions

A central assumption of this work is that democracy is most effective when there is broad and fair representation in participation among the American populace, needing the participation of a diverse and representative group. A second assumption is that participation is not a decision or action that takes place in a vacuum. People are influenced, whether or not they know it, by who and what they interact with in their life – or don't interact with, which is equally important. One element of potential influence is through institutions, like higher education, as we will discuss later.

A final core assumption, which helps to locate myself within this research, is that I believe promoting civic participation is an important role for higher education, but that we must be self-reflective to make sure we are having the intended impact. I have always believed deeply in the transformative power of education (formal and informal) and in the related importance of a collective process to create the

communities in which we want to live. While a college student, I became convinced of higher education institutions' role as community institutions, and as impacting more than who works or enrolls there. I was drawn to work in this area, which I still believe holds a vast amount of potential.

While doing so, I read an article by Theda Skocpol (around 2004), which introduced another tension into my professional work that I hadn't thought about before: that maybe, in effect, we were helping to develop democracy in a way that only benefited some. I entered graduate school still believing deeply in the role of higher education in transforming communities, but wanted to wrestle with this question, which formed this thesis idea.

As I continued to work on this project, my professional life became increasingly focused on research with and about youth who do not have college experience, and the massive gaps in the opportunity to engage. The difference between the two types of personal narrative was palpable, as the access to resources and opportunity was dramatically different. This reinforced my interest in the actual democratic role of higher education and urgency for how we can improve.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter will attempt to bring together previously detached conversations: the intersection of inequality of civic participation, changes in civic infrastructure and the role of nonprofits, as well as higher education's efforts to promote civic engagement. This conversation needs to happen if higher education continues to frame itself as an agent of a diverse democracy (Campus Compact 1999), or as having "a larger purpose" related to democracy (Saltmarsh and Hartley 2011). The process will ask exploratory questions about what graduates are doing in civic life and who are today's emerging nonprofit employees and leaders—who they are, what assumptions, norms and beliefs they bring with them from higher education, and what impact that may have on civic life.

Inequality of civic participation

The influential 1995 book *Voice and Equality*, meticulously presented the extent to which some Americans have more say in U.S. society than others. Verba et al. wrote about "a systematic bias in representation through participation. Over and over our data showed that participatory input is tilted in the direction of the more advantaged groups in society…the voices of the well-educated and the well-heeled--and, therefore, of those with other politically relevant characteristics that are associated with economic and educational privilege--sound more loudly" (512). The participation difference, they found, was more pronounced in participation related to public policy and elections.

As recent as 2010, this finding has been reinforced by civic participation data. The national Civic Health Index of 2010 (Corporation for National and Community Service and National Conference on Citizenship) showed that those with more formal education were more likely to be involved with activities that affected the problems, laws and policies of a community, state, and nation. This included voting, participation in a group, non-electoral political activities, or working with neighbors to fix a community problem.

A valid methodological question is whether or not these surveys pick up the actions of all people – or are biased towards a particular culture and/or type of participation. As a result of qualitative research by the Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (Godsay et al. 2012), in 2009 the Census Current Population Survey begun asking about additional types of participation (National Conference on Citizenship 2009), which have been referred to as "helping" or "neighboring" behaviors. Contrary to other methods of engagement, helping behaviors were consistently engaged in across the U.S. population, regardless of income. However, there is disagreement on the "civic" nature of such activities. While certainly representing a form of participation, such behaviors are likely not to directly influence policy and elected officials (though one can argue they may indirectly affect policy, as policymakers may be less aware of issues in a community because of these behaviors). While researchers are getting better at fully capturing people's actions, some actions are much more likely to be heard directly by those with decision-making roles and to have a direct impact on social structures – and this

is where inequality of participation is most extreme (Verba et al. 1995).

Multiple arguments have been forwarded for why civic participation has declined over the past 40 years suggesting differing reasons why an inequality of participation exists (these will be discussed in the next section). The need for greater civic participation and a stronger democracy makes a focus on young people effective. "Civic engagement is essential to sustaining our democracy, as youth learn the pragmatics of citizenship through participation" (Youniss and Levine 2009, 1). What happens at a young age solidifies habits and behaviors (Flanagan, Levine, and Settersten 2009). However, the fact that these inequalities exist among youth highly correlated by education (Nover et al. 2010; Kirby, Marcelo, and Kawashima-Ginsberg 2009; Levinson 2007) raises concern about the health and future of democracy. Verba et al. (1995) explained the myriad reasons why educational experience was related to civic participation, including skill-development, opportunity for recruitment and promoting interest in politics. "These data suggest that the long-term structural relationship between education and activity is unlikely to change" (437). As a result, it is important not only that opportunities be more equally distributed, but also that those youth with opportunities learn the value of and promote broad engagement, or this dynamic will not change.

Participation has not been as unequal as it is today (Flanagan, Levine, and Setterston 2009). As a result, we look to the research on nonprofits, central actors in promoting democratic participation, to understand these changes.

Nonprofits Central to Civic Changes

There seem to be two major schools of thought with respect to why participation has declined – those who focused on interpersonal life (interaction with neighbors, families; most exemplified by Putnam 2000), and those who focused on how institutions work (nonprofits, unions, government, schools). Since the focus of this research is institutions – nonprofits and higher education – we'll look at the arguments about how institutions have influenced both the historic changes in how Americans participate and the ongoing inequity of participation.

In *Democracy in America*, Alexis de Tocqueville said, "For much of our history, civic associations served as the 'great free schools of democracy'" (1969, 1191, quoted in Andrews et al. 2010). The National Commission on Civic Renewal (1997) talked about "civil society" being the third sector of U.S. society, a "network of voluntary associations and activities that has long been thought to constitute a principal source of America's distinctiveness and strength" (39). Yet, the opportunities for engagement in this aspect of American life have decreased over the last 40 years.

In her presidential address to the American Political Science Association, Theda Skocpol (2004) laid out her argument for how civic life changed from supports for member-focused, cross-class interactions across geography, to professionalized organizations. This type of civic association, she found, have decreased in membership or moved to a model where a "member" is much less actively involved than previous eras (2002, 2003). Examples of these organizations include: AFL-CIO,

PTA, Free Masons, American Legion, Woman's Missionary Union (Skocpol 2003).

New organizations, she argued, are much more likely to be run by those with a large

amount of formal education who were seen as an expert on a particular topic

(professionalization).[2] Brulle (2000) provided evidence of the "oligarchy" that

Skocpol spoke of within environmental organizations in the U.S.

Skocpol pointed out that there is one place in American civic life where this type of

large civic association with an active membership, where leaders are built from

within, were not significantly in decline: conservative circles (2004). Minkoff et al.

(2008) also showed that "federated" organizations (those with national, state and local

networks) still existed, though they made up half the size of the "national"

(centralized) and "nonmember" organizations. Examples that Minkoff et al. included:

Federated – League of Women Voters, Americans for Tax Reform, P-FLAG;

National/Non-member: Trial Lawyers for Public Justice, the National Campaign for a

Peace Tax Fund, and the Eagle Forum (537).

Andrews et al. (2010) studied the Sierra Club and its local affiliates to understand

what worked in the federated, networked context (the context which Skocpol argued

has declined). They concluded that organizations "with more committed activists, that

build organizational capacity, that carry out strong programmatic activity, and whose

leaders work independently, generate greater effectiveness across outcomes" (1191).

The authors worried that the overall changes to civic leadership and what they found

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[2] For more evidence that "charity" work has long been an activity wrought with power dynamics and led by those with more means and power, see *The Soft Cage* by Christian Parenti.

as effective have "differences [that] are the principal reason many argue that a trend replacing civic associations with professional advocacy or service providers is eroding valuable civic infrastructure" (1193, citing works by Weir and Ganz 1997; Putnam 2000; Skocpol 2003; Walker 2009).

Berry's (1999) longitudinal analysis showed that 'citizen groups' not only were successful at raising issues for policy and press discussion, they were sometimes successful against corporate opponents on particular issues. He focused on a similar type of 'citizen groups' as Skocpol and others. He defined 'citizen groups' as, "lobbying organizations that mobilize members, donors, or activists around interests other than their vocation or profession" (2). Some of the examples that Berry gave are: the National Resources Defense Council, National Organization for Women, Christian Coalition, Consumers Union, Greenpeace, Common Cause.

But why has this transition happened? Is it because a large network is not needed to be effective, as Berry's work suggested? Skocpol argued that as the twentieth century moved forward, fewer people were interested in belonging to organizations that were often segregated by gender and race. Both Skocpol (2004) and Brady (2004) found evidence that wider gaps in economic stability and income is at least one dynamic that affected a change in civic participation: "Increasing income inequality might operate in contradictory ways by reducing the wherewithal for lower income people to participate but simultaneously increasing their motivation to become engaged" (Brady, 697-698).

Throughout my review of research focused on broad changes in civic life, nowhere have I seen any reference to higher education's actual or potential role in these changes, except McCarthy and Zald's 1973 article. They speculated that AmeriCorps*VISTA and "the many volunteer programs of universities…serve as a training ground for those who would make social movement activity a life career, while at the same time suggesting the possibility of such careers" (15). Yet Skocpol's core argument about a new, professionalized, highly educated staff of civic associations begs the question of the past, current and future role that higher education plays.

In order to understand a potential role of higher education, we first need to look further at the organizations at the center of these civic changes: nonprofits.

The Current Nonprofit Sector

However, most of the organizations that were the focus of researchers looking at long-term changes in civic life were nonprofits (with the exception of labor unions, but membership has decreased in unions as well), organizations with 501(c)3 or 501(c)4 tax status. Their tax status puts them in the third sector of which the Commission wrote, which makes up civil society. Nonprofits remain a central point of engagement. While nonprofits contribute to civil society, they are not all of it. Civic life is made up of the efforts of many people and different types of organizations playing a role (National Commission on Civic Renewal 1997, 39).

Recent efforts around "social entrepreneurship," for-profits for good, and government attempts at promoting participatory decision-making have broadened and blurred the lines between sectors. But of note is that there has been a rather dramatic increase in the number of nonprofits over the past 40 years. While this paper is not an argument about what type of organization impacts civil society the most, it is taking a stance that nonprofits play a large role, and that this rise should be interrogated.

As Shelley Cryer (2008) explains, nonprofits are distinct for a number of reasons, which include that they are "mission driven" and "exist to serve some public benefit" (11). Clearly, many organizations fall into this category. As a result, in order to focus as much as possible for the purpose of this paper, we'll look at employment at nonprofits, not including those who work at hospitals and higher education.

Many nonprofits have multiple functions, which makes it difficult to specify a set number that play a specific role. For example, the same organization that provides after school programs for children may also have adult education and community engagement opportunities. The National Center for Charitable Statistics at the Urban Institute, using Internal Revenue Service (IRS) data, categorized nonprofits into one of twenty-six categories of activity/purpose.[3] In total there were 959,700 nonprofit organizations registered in 2010 – and 624,111 of these organizations have income of over $25,000 per year, and thus file IRS paperwork annually. To provide a sense for

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[3] "Number of Registered 501(c)3 Public Charities by NTEE Activity/Purpose," Urban Institute, accessed March 20, 2012, http://nccsdataweb.urban.org/PubApps/nonprofit-overview-sumRpt.php?v=ntee&t=pc&nteeList=lastStatic3.

how the purposes break down, of the twenty-six, here are the categories most

applicable to promoting civic engagement, as well as the largest categories:

Table i: Number of Registered 501(c)3 Nonprofit Organizations in Select Categories

501(c)3 Activity/Purpose Category	Number of Registered Nonprofits on Oct. 22, 2011 w/income over $25,000	April 2010	August 2008	May 2006
Civil Rights, Social Action & Advocacy	3,869	3,918	3,494	2,063
Community Improvement & Capacity Building	31,853	31,859	26,195	11,346
Public & Societal Benefit	16,059	16,077	12,883	2,072
Mutual & Membership Benefit	2,031	2,035	1,780	497
Arts, Culture & Humanities	79,431	79,449	70,174	34,810
Education	113,520	113,444	95,034	48,795
Recreation & Sports	61,382	61,413	46,600	19,938
Human Services	64,845	64,700	54,169	38,796

Source: Data from *"*Number of Registered 501(c)(3) Public Charities by NTEE Activity/Purpose," Urban Institute*, http://nccsdataweb.urban.org/PubApps/nonprofit-overview-sumRpt.php?v=ntee&t=pc&nteeList=lastStatic3.*

Many of the 501(c)3 categories more than doubled between 2006 and 2011. Along

with this increase in the number of organizations, between 1998 and 2008 "adjusting

for inflation, revenues of reporting nonprofits grew 40 percent, expenses grew 49

percent, and assets grew 44 percent" (Wing, Roeger, and Pollack 2010, 2). While the

number of 501 (c)4 organizations decreased between 1998 and 2008, their revenue

doubled to about $72 billion.[4]

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[4] "501(c)4 Social Welfare Organizations," Urban Institute, accessed April 1, 2012, http://nccsdataweb.urban.org/PubApps/nonprofit-overview-segment.php?t=c4.

Using federal Bureau of Labor Statistics data, the Johns Hopkins Nonprofit Economic

Data Project reported that in 2010 nonprofits employed 10.5 million people. Half of

these jobs are in the health area, 13% in education and 11% in "social services"

(Salamon, Geller, and Sokolowski 2011). The researchers also pointed out that this

amount of nonprofit jobs put the nonprofit sector only behind manufacturing and

retail in number of jobs. That situated the nonprofit sector as a critical national

employer, even excluding health care and education institutions. Unlike other areas of

the U.S. economy, nonprofits generally survived the recent recession well (Salamon,

Geller, and Sokolowski 2011). "When asked about actual changes in staff size in

2010, 34 percent of nonprofits surveyed said their staff size increased, 42 percent saw

no changes in staff size, and 24 percent experienced a decrease in staff size"

(Nonprofit HR Solutions 2011, 3).

Next we will turn to who is taking these jobs. Demographics on the full nonprofit

sector workforce are hard to find. The Brookings Institution surveyed nonprofit, for-

profit and federal government workers in 2002 in order to compare their relative

happiness and attitudes about where they work. The survey also compares the

demographic make-up of the workforces, showing significant differences between the

sectors. The nonprofit sector workforce has the most formal education among the

three. The numbers below represent the full nonprofit sector including, when

appropriate, hospitals and private higher education.

Table ii: Formal Educational Experience by Sector, 2002

	Nonprofit	For Profit	Federal Government
High School Diploma, Equivalent or Less	13%	39%	23%
Some College, College graduate or vocational school	51%	56%	59%
Post-graduate training or professional schooling	34%	6%	19%

Source: Data from Light, Paul C. 2003. The Health of the Human Services
Workforce. Brookings Institution.
http://www.brookings.edu/views/papers/light/NonprofitTopline.PDF

Problems With the Changes in Civic Life

Does it matter if there are more nonprofits (of all types) than there were five or

twenty years ago? It is not the existence of many nonprofits that has gained most

criticism (the exceptions are INCITE and Alexander below), but the way in which

nonprofits operate. This criticism lies with the representation of the American

populace in such organizations (or the lack thereof), and the resulting impact on

nonprofit work. The critiques focus on the increased percentage of employees who

are highly educated, using strategies that do not maximize the voices of those not like

them. This suggests an answer to why these changes matter: those who end up in

nonprofit employment are not seeking broad democratic engagement, or the

structures are not set up to promote democratic engagement, beyond the

organization's staff.

Central to this concern is that "those who express political voice – by voting or by

speaking up or in other ways -- are more likely to have government policies that pay attention to their needs and preferences. In this sense, political voice represents a general capacity to achieve many goals" (Verba et al. 1995). If nonprofits promoting broad engagement no longer exist as much, as Skocpol found, or are no longer set up to promote broader engagement, their democratic nature and role is in question. (In addition to the organizations stated earlier, Skocpol included Common Cause and the American Legion.)

McCarthy and Zald's 1973 article also outlined the increase in "professional movement organizations," and argued that this type of organization leads to less broad participation. These organizations have staff and external funding, and make "attempts to impart the image of 'speaking for a potential constituency'" for whom they advocate within the political system (20). The authors suggested that the increase in funding for social change work from "elites," i.e. sources (like foundations) besides those affected by a particular issue, led to less volunteer leadership and more staff leadership. They also connected this development to the increased reliance on "mass media" for messaging and communications.

Similarly, Skocpol's (2004) argument about the changes to civic life concluded with worry over the increased reliance on experts, expert culture and highly educated staff. The argument revolves around the concept of a "member" of national associations. She shares evidence (in the figure below) that the membership of current national civic associations is highly educated in most cases. Judis (1992) made a similar

argument as Skocpol about the formation of professionalized organizations that leave many regular citizens outside of the democratic process, about "doing for" instead of "doing with" (Skocpol 2003, 227). Judis, however, focused on the rise of "pressure groups" in Washington, DC, rather than the decline of civic associations, as Skocpol does. Both joined McCarthy and Zald and argued that reliance on grants from external sources reduced the need to engage with members. "By their nature, grants from foundations make an organization's staff less dependent upon members or constituents for organizational decisions, but as sociologist J. Craig Jenkins has argued, foundations also have encouraged professionalization" (Judis 2000).

Figure i: College and Postgraduate Members of U.S. Advocacy Groups

College and Postgraduate Members of U.S. Advocacy Groups
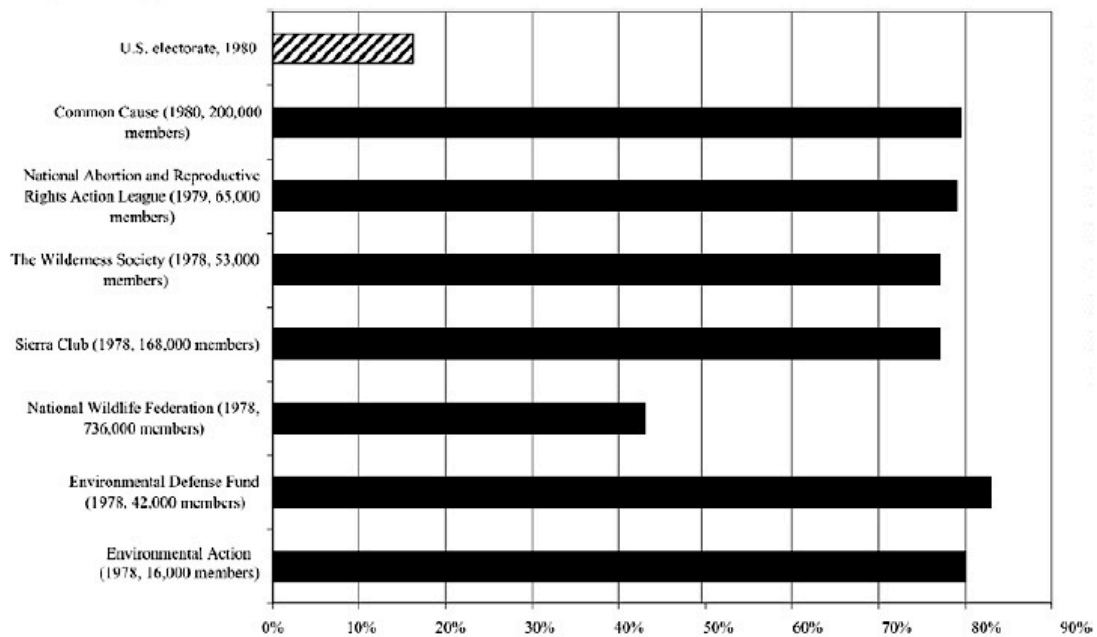
Sources: Rothenberg 1992; Mitchell et al. 1979, Shaiko 1999.

Source: Skocpol. (2004). Voice and Inequality: The Transformation of American Civic Democracy. Perspectives on Politics, 2(1), 3-20.

Building on Skocpol's work regarding membership, and looking at a similar type of organization as McCarthy and Zald, Gibson (2006) tested Verba's findings in an organizational context – that those who use their political voice get policies that are best for them. Gibson found that large advocacy nonprofits are now more focused on "postmaterialist" issues. These are ""quality of life" issues, rather than materialist or basic economic concerns" (14). These issues, she argued, are not necessarily in line with the claims of these organizations to "represent the underrepresented." While Berry's work found that professionally-run civic organizations can be successful against well-funded corporate opponents, he also found that that these wins were largely around these quality of life issues (Berry 1999). While these changed national organizations may still be successful on issues, the process does not include nor directly benefit theose with the lease voice, means and power in society.

Writing on the political left and right has used the term "nonprofit industrial complex" to describe problems perceived in the sector. Alexander (2007) wrote of such a complex in The Weekly Standard. He gathered evidence of the size of the nonprofit sector and argued, from a politically conservative perspective, that the sector has grown too large. "Nonprofit" in this case is defined broadly, according to the tax code, so it includes academia, health care and foundations. He weaved together arguments about the politicized work of these institutions and how "for-profit firms have discovered ways to do business in areas in which nonprofits once grew fat and lazy".

Ironically, the authors of *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded: Beyond the Non-Profit Industrial Complex* (Incite! 2007) came from an entirely different ideological position but came to a similar conclusion about the size of the sector. They saw tension in how social service groups ended up supporting that which they are working against because of *how* the sector works. In particular, they suggested funding opportunities may promote the dilution of messaging and activities, those in nonprofit jobs may work to sustain an organization rather than erase the need for the organization, and the tax status of many nonprofits does not allow them to often participate in activities related to policy and elections.

The concept of the nonprofit industrial complex was the subject of a panel at the 2009 American Studies Association annual conference. Kate Boyd connected this notion of "owning-class control," specifically the reliance on foundation funding, to specific employment trends: advanced degrees, valuing expert culture and professionalization (Boyd 2009). Relevant to Gibson's findings, Boyd also argued that with this process comes the "disarticulation of systematic inequalities to single issue" focus instead.

While this systemic view is helpful to understand decreased participation by Americans as a whole, it is not necessarily the most helpful in trying to figure out how decisions are made or how to change these dynamics. We'll look even closer at the sector in the next section, for this purpose.

Who Works in the Sector? How Do They Get There?

Core to the civic changes presented here is the make-up and actions of the nonprofit workforce – particularly those making organizational and programmatic decisions. If we are going to be looking at the impact of the nonprofit workforce, we need to look more at who is in these positions and how those employees got to those positions. Given its civic role, is it a workforce that is representative of the American population?

As noted above, the nonprofit sector employs more people with advanced degrees than other sectors (as of 2002). Though, at the same time Ballard (2005) points out that "74.5% of graduates who enter the nonprofit workforce graduated with educational debt. This is a higher portion than those entering the private sector or government" (2). This may be indicative of changes in nonprofit recruitment or the economy, or that those who need financial aid to attend college see more importance in the mission-oriented work of the sector.

However, the nonprofit sector struggles with diversity. The National Urban Fellows used several data sources to assess the racial and ethnic diversity of leaders in government, nonprofits and philanthropy (2012). They reported that 88% of executives at the nonprofits they researched are white. The Urban Institute took a look specifically at California's nonprofit employees to see how and if they represent the diversity of the state (De Vita, Roeger, and Niedzwiecki 2009). They found an over-representation of non-Hispanic whites in leadership positions. In addition, the

Nonprofit HR 2011 Employment Trends Survey found that over two-thirds of responding organizations reported, "attracting qualified persons of color was their greatest ethnic diversity challenge" (11). "The composition of respondents' staff was predominately white, as the median percentage of white staff was 80 percent" (15). What makes that more problematic is the over-representation of larger nonprofits in the latter sample, suggesting that nonprofits with more capacity are less diverse.

The make-up of the nonprofit workforce has been a topic of conversation within the sector and outside, including a White House conversation on the topic in 2011.[5] Paul Schmitz and Kala Stroup – who at the time both led organizations focused on building a nonprofit workforce – concluded that "building the next generation of leadership must mean making more deliberate efforts to develop leaders who are people of color or who come from other groups not well-represented among nonprofit leadership, confronting the power and privilege that exists in the nonprofit world…" (2005).

Cryer's work helps to illuminate the process of gaining nonprofit employment. Cryer (2004) provided insight into what nonprofit recruitment is like and how a diverse and representative nonprofit workforce may be achieved. A participant shared that "'[Diversity] has been an issue everywhere I've worked for 25 years.' However, he found that once an organization establishes a reputation for having a diverse staff, it has a snowball effect" (2004, 14). In a 2011 survey of nonprofits, one of the five

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[5] "Strengthening Nonprofit Leadership Together | The White House," The White House, accessed March 20, 2012, http://www.whitehouse.gov/blog/2011/11/22/strengthening-nonprofit-leadership-together.

central findings is "It's still 'who you know' when it comes to nonprofit recruitment" (Nonprofit HR Solutions 2011). This may be because the top two recruitment strategies that the 450+ nonprofits reported were a "formal network of colleagues/nonprofits" and "informal network of colleagues/friends" (8). Next on the list were the web version of the local paper and Craigslist. The authors also suggested that nonprofits could do more recruiting on college campuses based on how much was reported in their survey and the satisfaction level with doing so.

Additionally, Cryer's research regarding recruitment and retention in the nonprofit sector included feedback from organizations that staff positions were most often filled through networking, rather than intentional outreach, to career centers, for example, on campus or otherwise. This research also showed that college campuses are still a long way from fully integrating nonprofit work into the opportunities and counseling they provide to students, reinforcing the "who you know" system of nonprofit employment.

Even though Cryer finds that college career centers are not doing the best job educating students about nonprofit opportunities, college graduates are finding their way to nonprofit jobs. One reason may be the rise of nonprofit management degree and certificate programs (Mirabella and Wish 2001), like those run by the Nonprofit Leadership Alliance (formerly American Humanics). In addition, Warchal and Ruiz (2004) suggest that higher education service-learning can have something to do with finding out about nonprofit work, as many of the alumni who they surveyed were

offered employment at their service site. Pompa's (2005) case study reports that that

employment is a long-term goal of their college civic program and has taken place in

her service-learning project focused on the criminal justice system.

How else might people find nonprofit work? The release of Cryer's work was

preceded by the rise of websites like Idealist.org, which provide a database of

nonprofit jobs and internships, and began in the late 1990s.[6] Idealist also began

running career fairs across the U.S. focused on "doing good," which included many

nonprofits. They also developed a program called Idealist on Campus, which

provided opportunities for engaged students to network and find out about related

careers. Idealist itself is also a nonprofit, which increases the complexity of this

question – does a job site almost solely focused on nonprofits publicize opportunity to

more people, ghettoize nonprofit jobs, or both?[7]

In addition, one has to wonder whether or not the lengthening of Americans' work

lives may, indirectly, be increasing the number of people creating their own nonprofit

jobs. In *Working Across Generations*, a central finding is that individuals from the

Baby Boomer generation are not leaving nonprofit jobs at a formerly traditional

retirement age (Kunreuther, Kim, and Rodriguez 2008). As a result of this, and as a

result of leadership differences they cite, younger workers do not feel able to move up

and offer new ideas in current organizations. This could have the effect of pushing

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[6] Idealist. "About: A Brief History of Idealist." *Idealist.org*. Accessed on July 15, 2012.
http://www.idealist.org/info/About/History.

[7] "2010 IRS Form 990 for Action Without Borders, Inc." *Guidestar*.org, Accessed July 5, 2012,
http://www2.guidestar.org/FinDocuments/2010/133/836/2010-133836763-074a7bab-9.pdf.

younger people to create new organizations, and thus their own jobs (data which could not be found).

Until now, connections to nonprofit work cited have been focused on colleges, or people with access to resources to start their own organization. Few systemic opportunities exist as a pipeline for a more diverse nonprofit workforce, making access to capital or higher education experience a default prerequisite for nonprofit jobs. Opportunities like Public Allies and other AmeriCorps programs can do the opposite – provide those not necessarily on a college campus with access to training, experience and support to start nonprofit and civic-oriented careers (these were also the target of Congressional budget cuts). While many organizations have begun leadership programs for underrepresented groups, those are often for those who have already found themselves in a nonprofit job (ex. Service-Learning Emerging Leaders Initiative, National Urban Fellows).

Intentional or not, higher education is situated at the center of civic changes and the nonprofit workforce. Those with higher education experience are more likely to participate in civic life and have their voice heard by decision-makers. They are also over-represented in the nonprofit workforce. As a result, we must look to this system to understand more about its role.

Post-Graduate Impact of College Civic Programs

As a sector, higher education often proposes to graduate "future leaders" and "active citizens" – but does this rhetoric, or how it operationalizes, contribute to democratic participation, or make participation less democratic? Does the individual-focused rhetoric disregard any macro-level impact that higher education has?

While campuses have begun working to remain in contact with alumni of their civic-related programs, to help them stay engaged so that they may act as resources to current students or simply to track participation (Campus Compact 2010), what kind of alumni participation and what that participation means is less clear. Recently, a new initiative has launched called Citizen Alum, which aims to "an opportunity to harness the talents of alumni to help students and to become partners in campus life.[8] If higher education institutions propose to be agents of a diverse democracy (Campus Compact 1999), then we must consider more closely the influence of graduates on civic life after graduation.

Civic opportunities and infrastructure within higher education have been increasing rather dramatically over the past thirty years. The civic role of higher education was not a new concept. As Jacoby writes, "The concept of college and university outreach is as old as American higher education itself" and "took firm root with the creation of the land-grant universities in the nineteenth century (Jacoby 2009, 13). However, it was over the past thirty years that several pieces of infrastructure developed in

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[8] Kamp, Karin. "Citizen Alum: Bringing Alumni Back into the Action." 2011. Accessed July 5, 2012. http://democracyu.wordpress.com/2011/12/12/bringing-alumni-back-into-the-action/.

support of this purpose (Jacoby 2009). Campus Compact is one such source of that

infrastructure – it is "a national coalition of more than 1,100 college and university

presidents…dedicated to promoting community service, civic engagement, and

service-learning in higher education".[9] (Full disclosure: the author was employed by

Campus Compact from 2002 to 2005). Campus Compact's membership (which is

dues-based) has dramatically increased over the past two decades, indicating that

more campuses are committing financial resources to their commitment in this area.

(Campus Compact 2006; See Figure ii below for growth from 1985-2006.)

Additionally, another source of infrastructure is the American Democracy Project, an

initiative of the American Association of State Colleges and Universities, started in

2003 and has 240 participating campuses.[10]

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[9] "Campus Compact." Accessed December 8, 2009. http://www.compact.org/.

[10] "About Us - American Democracy Project." Accessed July 5, 2012.
http://www.aascu.org/programs/ADP/.

Figure ii: Growth of Campus Compact Membership, 1985-2006
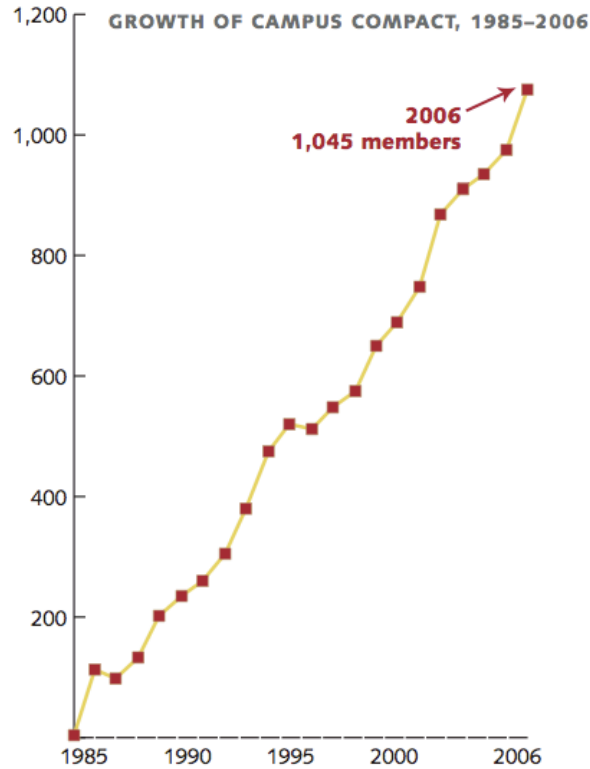
Source: Campus Compact, A Season of Service: FY2006.
Providence, RI: Campus Compact.

The vast increase in Campus Compact member schools yields a corresponding

increase in alumni who have been exposed to some element of civic participation.

Those alumni who participated in volunteering and community service, service-

learning, or some "diversity-related" activities during college end up with a higher

likelihood of being civically engaged after graduation (Misa, Anderson and

Yamamura 2005), where we will now turn. This interest has been increasing.

Students entering one of the elite schools studied in the "College & Beyond" work in

1989 were more than twice as likely than those entering in 1976 to say that college

had "a great deal" of impact on an "active interest in community service" (Bowen and Bok 1998, 212).

Sax, Astin and Avalos (1999) focused, in particular, on the effect that volunteering during college can have on activities after graduation.[11] The study used longitudinal data from individuals across the country, surveying them once when they enter college, once when they would likely have been leaving college, and once nine years after the first survey. At the end of the project, the dataset held over 12,000 graduates from over 200 campuses. The results indicated that the level of volunteering in college has a positive relationship to volunteering post-graduation. The researchers found that this trend remained after comparing the data to the amount of volunteering before college, showing "that the "habit" of volunteering persists over a relatively long period of time" (196; a finding supported for young adults generally by Oesterle et al. 2004).

The specific coupling of volunteer service with curricular material (service-learning) was also a focus of the Higher Education Research Institute's work. A 2006 report by Astin et al. found that service-learning and volunteering have an effect six to ten years after graduation, but that the service-learning opportunity had an effect beyond volunteering on civic leadership, charitable giving, and overall political engagement.

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[11] "Volunteer work" is used to ask participants about their behaviors and is not defined.

Others have found similar results (Smedick 1996; Fenzel and Peyrot 2005). In her study of alumni of schools in the Appalachian College Association, Johnson (2004) found that "the relationship between collegiate participation in activities and alumni behavior is substantially stronger than the relationship between pre-college variables and alumni behavior. What happens during college, then, does make a difference" (180).

Service and service-learning are not the only activities that led to post-graduate civic outcomes, though. Pascarella et al. (1988) showed that "social leadership" experiences in college have a positive and direct impact on civic involvement after college (nine years later) (427; Black women were an exception to this, where the relationship was positive yet not statistically significant like other groups; the authors do not dig into this difference, though it may be a result of varying civic dispositions at the start of college). By this the authors meant "involvement with peers ("president of one or more student organizations," "served on a university or departmental committee," "edited a school publication," had a major part in a play " (418). Warchal and Ruiz inquired about "civic leadership" activities after graduation. Contrary to what they expected (and what Sax, Astin and Avalos found), the existence of a service-learning experience was not more likely to predict leadership activities than other undergraduate experiences with service. In addition, Misa, Anderson and Yamamura (2005) find, "a number of diversity-related college environments were also significantly associated with the [civic] outcomes" (22). The examples the

authors cite for a diversity-related environment included: an ethnic studies course, cross-racial interaction, and attending cultural awareness workshops.

At the same time, it is of note that civic experiences did not have an effect on the civic values of "pluralistic orientation" (Astin et al. 2006). In addition, a commitment to promoting racial understanding is an outcome with volunteer experience only, since it seems to increase the "the likelihood that they will discuss their experience with other students" (93).

These findings raise concern that civic experiences can lead students to civic life without an orientation to broadening participation. Service-learning efforts in particular have been criticized for being apolitical and contributing to fewer people being involved in democratic processes (Crenson and Ginsberg 2002, as cited in Koliba 2004). How may experiences like those cited influence student and graduate decision-making about jobs? To understand how this may or may not happen, we need to look more at what research says about what engaged students do after graduation.

Campus Civic Experiences and Employment

Employment decisions have not been a focus of much civic research. This may be, at least partially, because college experiences are multi-faceted and pinpointing what it is that may directly cause interest in nonprofit employment would be a massive project.

While there have been developments in efforts to build awareness about nonprofit jobs (such as the Nonprofit Leadership Alliance; Idealist.org; Cryer 2004), it's still a more diffuse experience than a private sector job search. Bowen and Bok (1998) show that in 1990 those at "academically selective" schools in the "College & Beyond" study (which included Tufts) were more likely to choose not-for-profit work than a broad, national group of graduates in the 1990 Census (although, for C&B, this includes academia). Research is needed to compare students who have differing campus experiences to understand what leads to the pursuit of nonprofit jobs.

Past research has shown that students who participated in and/or self-selected into campus-based civic experiences were more likely to choose "service-related" occupations (what fits into this category differs by study). These students may have had civic motivations in the first place, and/or saw these opportunities as a way to gain nonprofit job experience, if they are already so inclined. Likely, the campus civic experiences these exposed students to jobs they did not know existed. The main point is, though, that college civic experiences increase the likelihood of both voluntary civic activities and nonprofit work. "The fact that service-learning seems to enhance post-college civic leadership is noteworthy because many higher education institutions are explicitly committed to cultivating "future leaders" (Astin et al. 2006, 80).

Astin et al. (2000) found that service-learning increased students' efficacy and community service, particularly course-based, heightened the chances that a student

will choose a "service career".[12] Eyler and Giles (1999) found course-based service-learning strengthened a student's interest in a service career.[13] They also found that service-learning had an impact on students views of the import of working within the political system to create change.

Like Astin et al, Villalpando (1996) found that alumni were more likely to pursue service careers if they were civically engaged in college. Unlike the other studies, Villalpando focused in on a comparison of Chicano/a students and white students. He defines ""other" value-orientation" as "represent[ing] an embrace and demonstration of outwardly directed, unselfish values and behavior" (16). Examples included: participating in community action programs, influencing social values, helping others in difficulty, involve in programs to clean up environment, promoting racial understanding, influencing the political structure (19). The sample of white students who he looked at were less likely to be interested in pursuing service career than the Chicano/as, but increased their interest more during college. He does not find that "the degree of "other" value orientation at the time of graduation from college" is related to choosing a service career, for the white students and the Chicano/as (96). He also finds an indirect effect on service career choice of taking an Ethnic Studies course or discussing racial/ethnic issues on Chicano/as' choices. In this study a service career could include: college teacher, lawyer, nurse, physician, social worker, elementary and secondary teacher (49).

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[12] Defined as choosing "elementary, secondary or college teacher, clergy, forester/conservationist, foreign service, law enforcement, school counselor, and principal" (21)
[13] The survey item was "It is important to me personally to have a career that involves helping people."

Findings about college experiences impacting civic career choice are reinforced by other research on "social leadership" (Pascarella et al. 1988), tutoring (Smedick 1996), community service and service-learning (Fenzel and Peyrot 2005). Warchal and Ruiz (2004) focus in on service-learning and employment the most, asking whether or not the type of service (requirement of community service, service-learning, a combination, none) and the quality of a service-learning experience impact the likelihood for alumni to gain employment in "service-related" fields (88). Survey methods are used to gain information from 124 alumni, who range dramatically in age. The authors find that a third of service-learning participants are offered jobs from their partner organization, and that service-learning participation generally increased the likelihood that someone will have a related job available to them.

However, research tells little about the details of such "service" careers and what graduates are trying to achieve. One glimpse into this is that "motivations reflect an intent more towards '*doing/helping'* at a local level than they do towards fundamentally *changing* society or laws" (Vogelgesang and Astin 2005, 4). The qualitative focus of Mitchell, Visconti, Keene and Battistoni (2011) will deepen our understanding of how post-graduate engagement happens and why. Their research focuses specifically on three multi-year, cohort-based civic engagement programs. The research completed here uses this programmatic focus, as well as a focus on the ways in which the specific culture of a campus program (Thornton and Jaeger 2006) can impact a student's engagement.

A much deeper approach is needed to gain insight into the impact of higher education on civic life and democracy. If civic opportunities in higher education result in increased interest in nonprofit jobs, does that work for or against the call for diversity in the nonprofit sector? Without such pipelines in other venues, does this create a default to a stratification of knowledge and opportunity? One way to approach a deeper analysis is to look at the civic identity of students in higher education civic programs or of alumni in nonprofit jobs.

Civic Identity

Civic identity, a person's conception of themselves as a civic actor (or not), is a developmental process (Youniss, McLellan and Yates 1997). As a result of the significant role of institutions (Youniss and Hart 2005), the choices that higher education makes can affect this development. The decisions that higher education institutions make about what and how student opportunities will be provided can be "normatively loaded" with respect to a type of civic participation (Dudley and Gitelson 2003, 266).

Much literature has been devoted to this process by the age of eighteen (Rubin 2012; Watts and Guessous 2006; Westheimer and Kahne 2004), but Erikson's oft-cited work suggests that college is a central time for identity-development (1968, as cited in Grimstead 2007). The college and post-college periods are important because the "transition to adulthood" has been lengthened and, thus, young adults are still developing civically into their twenties (Flanagan, Levine and Settersten 2009).

Paul Light, a seasoned scholar of nonprofit life and public service, has recently argued that higher education "acts as a gatekeeper into the world of public leadership and plays a crucial role in shaping student attitudes about public service of all kinds" (2011, 221). This and Verba et al.'s argument that the correlation between civic participation and educational experience is not likely to change, puts more weight on the significance of higher education's civic choices. The experiences that Smith (2011) recounts about college provide one example of such choices: "For me and many friends of mine, what we kept hearing was: You're the future. People cannot always do for themselves. The answer to the world's problems is more smart people with more resources—like you" (236). Longo and Gibson (2011) propose that the leadership and civic missions of higher education be reframed so that leadership includes being "adept at transcending the self, reaching out, and working with others in a larger community or external setting" (248). This is a change from rhetoric about "future leaders" and "active citizens" towards more focus on the quality and democratic nature of those leaders and actions. Yet, do current educational opportunities endeavor to create leaders and participants with civic identities predisposed to seek out broad, *shared* participation?

An appropriate answer to this question is "It depends." However, the research on post-graduate civic life is mostly a focus on activities (the research about which we saw above), rather than on identity. The work of Mitchell et al. (2011) will fill this space in regard to the effect of intense, cohort-based programs. As a result, to some extent this paper will rely on research about youth younger than college age in order

to illuminate the different influences and identities. As we'll see, research on how young people see themselves as civic actors shows that this identity is influenced by someone's demographic background, whether or not they have had civic role models, trust in others and in governments, individual and collective efficacy, opportunities the individual has or has not had, and what those opportunities have been.

College itself, as a whole experience, does seem to have an effect on making graduates more likely to participate in civic life (Carnegie Foundation and CIRCLE 2006), though whether this is a function of those who get to college or other factors is not clear. Research on youth civic identity often finds that identity construction or formation depends what individuals have been involved with: "Participation adds social meaning to identity by providing specific information about being a civic actor along with like-minded others in the building of society" (Youniss, McLellan, and Yates 1997, 626). Based on program evaluations, Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) typology shows how civic programs can have embedded ideologies and messages about what it means to participate in civic life. The evaluation shows how these choices impact youth outcomes. They cite three types of programs: those that develop personally responsible citizens, participatory citizens, and justice-oriented citizens. In the same way the choices that college civic programs make, whether deliberate or not, may have an impact on the civic identity of student participants.

Chowdhry's assessment of students' civic responsibility finds that students who are active in community service and advocacy have a heightened sense of civic

responsibility, when compared to those in identity-based organizations and to those who have not participated in any of these organizations (2010, as cited in Youniss, McLellan and Yates 1997). For Cammarota (2008), participation is the beginning of a process, which he has witnessed amongst Latino/as in Tucson, Arizona: "When they attempt to change their lived reality, they learn to see that reality and themselves differently. A pedagogy of praxis built on active cultural organizing produces a deeper, more personal learning experience than pedagogies based on the informal rebellious acts of students, or non–praxis oriented, passive, classroom-based pedagogies" (2008, 48). Political activism at a young age continues on into adulthood (Youniss and Hart 2005, citing multiple studies). Yet, recent studies indicate that college students do not necessarily identify most with political engagement (Vanada 2010; Kiesa et al. 2007).

Researchers are increasingly pointing out that attempts to educate and mobilize youth civically needs to take into consideration the massive diversity of young people's experiences, especially in regards to immigration (Abu El-Haj 2009; Maira 2008; Rubin 2007; Junn 2004). Hurtado (2007) lays out a theoretical link between "students' learning and democratic skills," but finds that "there are multiple constructions of citizenship in education, but absent from most operational definitions is the notion of what it means to be a citizen in a multicultural society" (189-190). Grimstead's (2007) in-depth interviews with students and recent graduates who are white and "activists for Africa", indicates that participants' self-knowledge of privilege, in the context of multicultural, global society, informed their activism at

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differing levels. But not all of them connected this privilege to the systemic problems they were trying to address: "This implies that racial identity development and racial justice ally development varies among social justice activists for Africa. They may have little or no understanding of how race plays in…Social justice activists may appear to have good intentions, but they could simply desire to be heroes, longing for the feeling that goes with saving someone or fixing something" (306-307).

In addition, Youniss and Hart (2005) discuss how economic status, specifically poverty, can have a negative effect on civic development. Henry's (2005) investigation of Bucknell University's service-learning program finds that participation helps develop understanding of "racial, language, and class privilege" (53). Henry interprets one participant's "focus on social justice can also be understood as an operationalization of working-class values aimed at the disenfranchised in her particular environment" (63). Furthermore, "The real education of the service-learning assignment came from their reflections on what they shared with their service-learning partners. In fact, their identity…largely arose from the fact that they shared some important characteristics with the service-learning site, namely a similar class-background and feelings of isolation and lack of personal value" (64).

Other research has also found the background of young people to be a factor in the construction of a civic identity (or not). Gimpel, Lay and Schuknecht (2003) find that Latino and African-American youth have less "internal efficacy" than white youth, all else being equal. By this Gimpel et al. are referring to "the perception that one has the

necessary resources and knowledge to have an impact on the political process" (17).

Vanada's (2010) interviews of Asian-American college students and international

students from Asia indicate that ethnicity did not factor directly into civic

engagement. Ueda's (1999) work to specifically historicize and contextualize civic

development of second generation Americans provides insight into the importance of

community institutions in the civic identity development process.

Childers' (2006) investigation of youth civic identity provides more insight into the

impact of a more connected world, and reinforcing the "doing for" ethic brought up in

Skocpol and Grimstead's work. He thinks youth are becoming less local, more global,

and more distant from helping the communities in which they live: "Few people

today are learning the skills needed to negotiate living in contiguous communities, the

sorts of communities in which people actually live" (93). Childers uses the phrase

"cowboy citizenship" for American youth: "Always above the law, always relying on

himself, the American cowboy is a social construction that two presidents of the past

twenty-five years—Ronald Reagan and George W. Bush—have gladly embraced.

While the cowboy icon may be good for fighting Indians, outlaws, and (more

recently) terrorists, his usefulness as a model for civic identity is less certain. Here is

why: A cowboy has no home" (239). The author concludes that a model of

engagement emphasizing a "sense of togetherness" and " local connections, social

trust, and civic organizations" is needed to reduce this (251). Research on civic

engagement in higher education has not yet gotten to graduates' civic identities, and

how programs and rhetoric may lead to a "cowboy" orientation or something else.

In addition, discussions of civic identity often ignore how it can play out in employment, which is unfortunate given the expansion of civic sector organizations. More research is needed to understand what kind of effect that college alumni are actually having before we can entirely cheer higher education's civic efforts. My research will serve to connect these conversations, trying to understand how a university's program affects students' civic identity, and how that translates into civic work in the nonprofit sector. Is higher education's work making the civic sector more or less democratic? This study will contribute to this gap in research, as this study's participants indicate that the program of which they were a part did influence how they viewed their role as educated professionals and "active citizens" and the strategies they used in their work.

Chapter 3: Background and Methodology

Civic opportunities for students on college campuses can come from at least a few locations: student groups, external organizations, and institutional offices created for the purpose of providing students with civic opportunities. In order to understand the relationship between higher education civic engagement and nonprofit work, this research focused on institutionally supported civic programs in higher education. This means programs funded and staffed by institutions, rather than partially affiliated groups (e.g. Greek organizations) or student-run organizations. While the research explained previously addresses the long-term impact of such programs, few contextual details are included, nor are details about how the college experience impacts graduates' employment. In particular, this research focused on the graduates who went through such a program and decided to work in the nonprofit sector after graduation.

The Case, In Brief

Civic-focused programs supported by higher education institutions can take many forms. Among other variables, the level of curricular integration varies; as does the formality of the program; as well as the level of partnership with external, local organizations; and time-commitment involved might range from a weekend to 4 years. As such, this exploratory study focused on one civic program, in order to concentrate on its impact on a group of alumni. This research is a case study of one program over the course of five years.

The case study approach was chosen to understand to a greater extent how the context

of a particular program and the culture of that program influence the individuals in it.

Practitioners and scholars have written about a "culture of engagement" that can

develop or be developed on a campus (Campus Compact 2005). Others have

documented regional and/or cultural distinctions.[14] Case studies are helpful to

understand these processes, as they are often used to "understand complex social

phenomena," especially when the activities have already taken place (Yin 2009, 4).

Polin and Keene recently called for increased detail in assessing higher education

civic programs in order "to construct this more complicated and detailed story about

our students' intellectual, social and moral development" (2010, 31). In the context of

larger social influences, this individual-focus and attempt to understand power fit

these questions within the realm of cultural studies (White and Schwoch 2006).

The Tisch Scholars program is the cornerstone of the Jonathan M. Tisch College of

Citizenship and Public Service at Tufts University (Medford, MA). (Full disclosure:

author is currently an employee of Tisch College at Tufts University). A unique

structure for promoting civic engagement, the College is specifically tasked to work

with other colleges within the University and faculty across Tufts' three campuses,

regardless of discipline.

The Tisch Scholars program, however, is an opportunity for undergraduates from

across the University to participate in an in-depth, multi-year, group opportunity to

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[14] "Demographics and Settings | National Service-Learning Clearinghouse." Accessed on June 14, 2012, http://www.servicelearning.org/topic/demographics-settings.

learn about "active citizenship" and lead civic projects. The program has changed in several ways since its inception in the fall of 2000, which will be explained below.[15]

The creation of Tisch College was a unique event in higher education, as it remains a model few other campuses have taken on or achieved. This deliberate commitment makes it a very interesting case in the context of the larger research question here, but also because core actors at Tisch College in its inception wrote that

> Ultimately the impact of Tisch College will be measured by its success
>
> in educating new generations of active citizens and producing new
>
> knowledge about active citizenship. In ten, twenty, and thirty years,
>
> will greater numbers of Tufts graduates be more effective leaders for
>
> community change? Will our democracy reflect the benefit of
>
> increased citizen participation? (Hollister, Mead and Wilson 2006, 53)

Sources

Three forms of data provide insight into the program's impact on students:

> A) 60-minute interviews with two Tisch College staff members,
>
> B) 60-minute interviews with thirteen Tisch Scholar alumni, and
>
> C) Relevant information to historicize and contextualize the campus
>
> engagement and program formation

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[15] "News." 2000. *Tufts Magazine Online*. Accessed on May 15, 2012, http://www.tufts.edu/alumni/magazine/fall2000/news/news1.html.

All materials related to these interviews were approved by the University of Maryland

Institutional Review Board (IRB). The IRB approval memo can be found in

Appendix A.

Staff Interviews

The staff interviews were critical to understanding the history and intended vision and

effects of the program. Interviewing program staff both provided insight into

institutional goals for having such a program, as well as provided insight into how

individual staff might influence the program content and implementation. These

interviews were semi-structured, and an interview protocol guided the conversations.

While the Tisch Scholars program coordinator has changed since the inception of the

program, the senior staff at Tisch College have remained the same for most of the

time the program has existed. As a result, two interviews with senior staff were

geared towards program structure and changes, perceptions of the goals and outcomes

of the programming and what they hoped resulted from the program.

These interviews were conducted over the phone, consent was obtained, and one was

recorded (because of a technical glitch with the other, detailed notes were taken).

Alumni Interviews

Interviews were conducted with Tisch Scholars program alumni who went on to work

in a nonprofit at some point since graduating. These interviews were intended to gain

insight into why they had applied for the program; their previous experiences with civic and political life; what they specifically did in the program; and how they now look back on the experience and think it impacted them.

The Alumni Sample

Those who graduated between 2004 and 2009 were the focus of this project. The smaller window of time allows for the more specific contextualization. Those graduates who had two years of experience with the nonprofit sector, but have since moved on were also eligible. There are organizations that technically fit into nonprofit status, but are atypically large and represent sectors in and of themselves. Therefore, graduates working in hospitals or in higher education were not be included. Those alumni who worked as an Americorps*VISTA were included.

Given the goals of this research, a purposive sample was chosen in collaboration with Tisch College staff. Other activities had prompted the staff to gather a comprehensive list of Tisch Scholars alumni. In addition, these alumni were surveyed (unrelated to this research) soon before the beginning of this project, and had been asked about current and past employment. As a result, this provided an initial list of approximately twelve Tisch Scholars alumni who had any experience working in the nonprofit sector. In addition, I shared this list with one of the staff members who I interviewed, who added several names of Tisch Scholars alumni who had worked in a nonprofit at some point, but were not on the list (presumably, this is because they did

not respond to the survey that Tisch College had sent). This resulted in a list of twenty-one alumni.

The resulting list of alumni was emailed by one of the Tisch staff members who I interviewed (see appendix B for the text of this email). The text of the email was drafted for this staff member, who suggested edits. The email directed interested & willing recipients to email me (at my Tufts email address). Those who did not respond to the initial email were sent a follow-up email from me (see appendix C for the text of this email).

The graduate interviews were semi-structured and lasted from fifty-five minutes to an hour and a half (Bernard 2006). Each individual interview time was determined via email conversation. An interview protocol guided the conversations, but did not limit them (see appendix E for the detailed protocol). The protocol was developed based on both the exploratory research question, as well as pieces of previous research (most specifically Gibson 2006 and Westheimer and Kahne 2004).

Westheimer and Kahne (2004) was used to construct questions about graduates' concept of citizenship and how they think social problems should be addressed. This model designates three types of citizens: "personally responsible citizen," "participatory citizen" and the "justice-oriented citizen." See Figure iii below for more explanation of this model. An attempt was made to obtain the original protocol that Westheimer and Kahne used, but unfortunately the protocol was not available.

The narrative reported by the authors implied interview questions used, which were then integrated into the protocol for this study.

The interview protocol covered the following areas, and generally moved in chronological fashion:

- *Experience with civic engagement prior to college*
- *College choice*
- *Experience with civic engagement in college and* Specific Experience of the Tisch Scholars Program *-including how found Tisch Scholars program*
- *Overall college experience – other activities*
- *Post-graduate employment-*What do you hope the impact is of your work (short-term and long-term)?
- *Perception of current role as "active citizen"*
- *Perception of how social problems are best addressed*—how did the program contribute to this perception?
- *Demographic information*—how the graduate identifies in terms of gender, race, ethnicity, socio-economic status, area of study in school.

The phrase "active citizenship" was used in the interview because that is and was the language most often used in the program. This was explained to each interviewee so they knew any activities within the realm of civic/political life were to be discussed.

My role as a staff member of Tisch College required 'reflexivity' (Corbin and Strauss 2008) in trying to account for how that may have influenced respondents. The initial email to alumni included:

> I am writing to invite you to participate in a graduate research project being undertaken by Abby Kiesa, a graduate student who is also a staff member of CIRCLE, which you may know is now housed under Tisch College.

At the beginning of each alumni interview, I also explained that: while I do work at Tisch, this project is separate; and that I had committed to report findings to staff at

Tisch College, but without names. This explanation was an effort to create a space where alumni felt they could reflect honestly and in detail. However, there was still room for respondents to have kept what they may have deemed negative reflections on the program from me, as a Tisch staff member.

Historical Context

Historical research was done to understand any particularly extraordinary circumstances that may have affected the campus while a student was there that may have affected them or informed their civic work. This information was pursued through the alumni interviews and information on the development of the program.

Analysis

As an exploratory study, the analysis is primarily thematic. A coding scheme was developed that included literature-based codes, recollections of that which came up more than once in the interviews, and open-coding (Corbin and Strauss 2008) in what the alumni report about their experiences (see Appendix F for final list of codes).

The theoretical framework of Westheimer and Kahne (2004) was used as an analytic model to understand graduates' concept of citizenship and how they think social problems should be addressed. The framework was used to understand: How the graduates describe their program experiences, their current work and what they see as important for "addressing social problems."

Figure iii: Westheimer and Kahne's Model

Kinds of Citizens

Personally responsible citizen	Participatory citizen	Justice-oriented citizen
Description		
Acts responsibly in his/her community	Active member of community organizations and/or improvement efforts	Critically assesses social, political, and economic structures to see beyond surface causes
Works and pays taxes		
Obeys laws	Organizes community efforts to care for those in need, promote economic development, or clean up environment	Seeks out and addresses areas of injustice
Recycles, gives blood		
Volunteers to lend a hand in times of crisis		Knows about democratic social movements and how to effect systemic change
	Knows how government agencies work	
	Knows strategies for accomplishing collective tasks	
Sample action		
Contributes food to a food drive	Helps to organize a food drive	Explores why people are hungry and acts to solve root causes
Core assumptions		
To solve social problems and improve society, citizens must have good character; they must be honest, responsible, and law-abiding members of the community.	To solve social problems and improve society, citizens must actively participate and take leadership positions within established systems and community structures.	To solve social problems and improve society, citizens must question, debate, and change established systems and structures that reproduce patterns of injustice over time.

Source: Westheimer, Joel, and Joseph Kahne. 2004. "What Kind of Citizen? The Politics of Educating for Democracy." *American Educational Research Journal* 41 (2) (January 1): 237–269.

A concern raised in the literature is that the increasing presence of highly-educated staff in nonprofits leads to a greater focus on non-immediate needs in society ("post-materialist"). As a result, in addition, to keep track of the issue areas that students worked on while at Tufts, and around which they currently work, the issue frameworks that Gibson (2006) employed were used.

Alumni interviews were coded using Nvivo, a qualitative data analysis software. Themes were identified through a review of interviewer notes and patterns in the number of times a code or sub-code was used. Interviewer notes provided for some level of additional analysis within a code or sub-code. These notes also allowed for looking at the trajectory of each participant and across participants.

Program Context

Tufts University is a medium-sized private institution of higher education.[16] Tufts has three campuses in the Boston area and one in France. The main undergraduate campus is in Medford, MA. Tufts is often described in University materials as a research university, and is described as having "very high research activity" in the Carnegie Classification system.[17] This system also describes the institution as more selective and highly residential.

The 'Vision Statement' for Tufts University has 'Citizenship' as one of six primary components:

As an institution, we are committed to improving the human condition

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[16] "Get to Know Tufts," Tufts University, Accessed on March 25, 2012, http://www.tufts.edu/home/get_to_know_tufts/.

[17] "Tufts University." *Carnegie Classifications | Institution Profile*, accessed on March 29, 2012, http://classifications.carnegiefoundation.org/lookup_listings/view_institution.php?unit_id=168148&start_page=institution.php&clq=%7B%22ipug2005_ids%22%3A%22%22%2C%22ipgrad2005_ids%22%3A%22%22%2C%22enrprofile2005_ids%22%3A%22%22%2C%22ugprfile2005_ids%22%3A%22%22%2C%22sizeset2005_ids%22%3A%22%22%2C%22basic2005_ids%22%3A%22%22%2C%22eng2005_ids%22%3A%22%22%2C%22search_string%22%3A%22tufts+university%22%2C%22level%22%3A%22%22%2C%22control%22%3A%22%22%2C%22accred%22%3A%22%22%2C%22state%22%3A%22%22%2C%22region%22%3A%22%22%2C%22urbanicity%22%3A%22%22%2C%22womens%22%3A%22%22%2C%22hbcu%22%3A%22%22%2C%22hsi%22%3A%22%22%2C%22tribal%22%3A%22%22%2C%22msi%22%3A%22%22%2C%22landgrant%22%3A%22%22%2C%22coplac%22%3A%22%22%2C%22urban%22%3A%22%22%7D.

through education and discovery. Beyond this commitment, we will strive to be a model for society at large. We want to foster an attitude of "giving back," an understanding that active citizen participation is essential to freedom and democracy, and a desire to make the world a better place.[18]

This language is also present in how the University describes the teaching that occurs there. The teaching approach emphasizes the global and "to think outside the textbook and ask the big questions that really matter."[19]

The Tufts Undergraduate Student Body

As much as possible data has been identified from the time in which alumni participants would have been attending Tufts. In the 2004-2005 academic year tuition and fees at Tufts was $39,998 and increased by ten thousand dollars in the subsequent five years (Tufts University Office of Institutional Research and Evaluation 2009). Comparatively, this is an expensive institution to attend. The National Center for Education Statistics reports that the average price of attending a private, nonprofit, 4-year institution in the U.S. in 2008-09 was $31,401 before financial aid (Knapp, Kelly-Reid and Ginder 2011). According to the University website, "Tufts meets 100% of the full demonstrated need of all admitted students".[20] However, only 40% of undergraduates at Tufts receive need-based aid, and this was the same in 2007-2008 (Tufts University Office of Institutional Research and Evaluation 2009).

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[18] "Vision Statement - Get to Know Tufts." *Tufts University*, accessed on March 25, 2012, http://www.tufts.edu/home/get_to_know_tufts/vision_statement/.

[19] "Teaching Philosophy - Mission & Strategy - Get to Know Tufts," *Tufts University*, accessed on March 25, 2012, http://www.tufts.edu/home/get_to_know_tufts/mission_strategy/teaching_philosophy/.

[20] "Tuition & Aid · Tufts University Admissions Department" *Tufts University*, accessed on March 25, 2012, http://admissions.tufts.edu/tuition-and-aid/.

Between 2004-2009 consistently about two-thirds of Tufts entering undergraduates

are from outside of New England (Tufts University Office of Institutional Research

and Evaluation 2009). Over the same period, each year 83% of undergraduates were

part of the College of Arts & Sciences.

Table iii: Selected Demographics of Tufts Undergraduates, Fall 2004 and 2008

	Fall 2004	Fall 2008
Non-Resident Alien	6%	5.6%
Black, NH	7%	6.6%
Native American or Alaskan Native	<1%	0.3%
Asian or Pacific Islander	13%	13.1%
Hispanic	8%	6.5%
White, NH	56%	54.7%
Other or Unknown	10%	13.3%

Sources: *Tufts University Fact Book 2004-2005*. 2005. Medford, MA: Office of Institutional Research and Evaluation; *Tufts University Abridged Fact Book 2008-2009*. 2009. Medford, MA: Office of Institutional Research and Evaluation, accessed on March 29, 2012, http://provost.tufts.edu/institutionalresearch/files/FactBook2008-09Abridgedapril09update.pdf.

Tufts' commitment to this area led the Office of Institutional Research & Evaluation

to focus on civic-related outcomes in students and graduates. A longitudinal study of

Tufts students showed that civic activities impact efficacy and attitudes about

participation (Wilson et al. 2006). In fact, 77% of 2008 graduates greatly or

moderately agreed that their education helped "develop an awareness of social

problems."[21] This number was 79% 2007 graduates and 75% for the class of 2009.[22]

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[21] "Class of 2008 Senior Survey Results - Office of Institutional Research." *Tufts University*. Accessed on March 25, 2012, http://provost.tufts.edu/institutionalresearch/class-of-2008-senior-survey-results/.

Seniors at Tufts are more likely to report that they often or very often participate in a community service project, though the rate of participation of sophomores in 2006 almost doubled when they were seniors in 2008 (Terkla and Schreiner 2009). When aggregated, 57% of the students in the classes of 2005 through 2008 reported participating in civic engagement while at Tufts. Modeling done by Tufts Office of Institutional Research shows that the campus environment has an impact on civic values and beliefs, an indirect effect on activities, but the increased values lead to increased engagement (Billings, Terkla, and Reid 2009). In this research 'civic values and beliefs' includes self-efficacy and leadership ability (Billings and Terkla 2011a; self-assessed answers). That Tufts students have civic efficacy and see themselves as leaders is significant as not all youth do (Godsay et al. 2012).

Tisch College

With its creation in 1999, the University College for Citizenship and Public Service (UCCPS, now Tisch College) was charged with developing a campus environment that promotes "active citizenship". The aim was to "create a virtual college that would integrate values and skills of active citizenship in all fields of study" (Hollister, Mead and Wilson 2006, 40).

Shortly after the creation of UCCPS, Tufts alumni and founders of eBay, Pierre and Pam Omidyar, gave $10 million to the project (Hollander et al. 2011). Six years later,

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[22] "Class of 2007 Senior Survey Results - Office of Institutional Research." *Tufts University*. Accessed on March 25, 2012, http://provost.tufts.edu/institutionalresearch/class-of-2007-senior-survey-results/; "Class of 2009 Senior Survey Results - Office of Institutional Research." *Tufts University*. Accessed on March 25, 2012, http://provost.tufts.edu/institutionalresearch/class-of-2009-senior-survey-results/.

in 2006, Tufts Trustee and hotel chain owner, Jonathan Tisch, gave $40 million to endow the now-named Jonathan M. Tisch College of Citizenship and Public Service.

That same year, those at the center of the new college's work wrote that "primary elements of our approach have been to integrate active citizenship in courses across the entire curriculum and extra-curriculum, to support civic engagement research, and to develop an enduring set of community partnerships. We approached our work as a process of culture change—to build a broadly shared ethos of citizenship and public service" (Hollister, Mead, and Wilson 2006, 41). This breadth and broad mandate distinguished the Tufts plan from other campus-based strategies. Yet some guidelines were established: "we aim to build *intensive* civic engagement capacity among 5 percent of students, faculty and alumni; to build *general* civic engagement capacity among 35 percent of each of these groups; and to build *basic* civic engagement capacity among 100 percent of the groups" (Hollister, Mead and Wilson 2006, 42). Similar to other campuses, these goals would be met through the engagement of several constituencies: Tufts faculty, students, local off-campus partners and Tufts alumni.

A key feature of the Tisch College plan surrounded the concept of "Tufts' host communities" (Hollister, Mead and Wilson 2006, 49). Tufts University has three campuses and the communities in which each campus is geographically situated are considered the "host communities". Specifically, this means the town of Somerville, MA; Medford, MA; and the Chinatown area of downtown Boston, MA. While the term 'host' seems to imply somewhat of a temporary or non-core sense, it is also

explained as how Tufts operationalizes "dedicat[ion] to being an active, responsible neighbor".[23] Part of the mandate of the College is that half of engagement would happen in these communities (Hollister, Mead and Wilson 2006).

During the development of this cross-disciplinary college, simultaneous to the idea of half of Tufts engagement focused on hyper-local communities, Tufts' president was casting a wider vision for the institution's engagement. In 2005, then-President Bacow convened higher education leaders from around the world regarding civic engagement. This is an extreme example of the many roles that Tufts plays, as a locally-committed institution and as a participant and leader in conversations about the role of higher education in civic life in the U.S. and around the world.

One thread throughout this vision is the common language. At some point in the development Tisch College decided to use the language of "active citizenship" to describe what the ultimate goal is for students and alumni. The language that an office, program or center uses is a critical piece of the culture of engagement they create. Language choices seem to be informed by the campus mission and culture generally, faculty dialogue about teaching and learning, and other situational factors. Some schools refer to their work as 'civic engagement', 'community-based learning', 'service-learning', while others (often private and/or religious schools) who have a more specific mission may use 'social justice' or 'social change.'

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[23] "Host Communities." *Jonathan M. Tisch College of Citizenship and Public Service*. Accessed on June 6, 2012, http://activecitizen.tufts.edu/communitypartnerships/host-communities/.

In the case of Tisch College, the "goal with students is to develop knowledge, skills and values that will make them effective, engaged citizens. We use the term "citizen" not in its traditional meaning of who does and does not get to vote in elections, but in the broader meaning of a person who works with others to build stronger communities and societies" (Hollister, Mead and Wilson 2006, 44). This seems to be both homage to mid-twentieth century dialogue about civic duties (Dalton 2008) and an active re-framing of the word 'citizen'. In fact, the Tisch College website specifically includes the question "Do I have to be a U.S. citizen to be an active citizen?"[24] The answer draws a sharp distinction between legal citizenship and their definition of active citizenship: "Anyone who takes responsibility for building stronger, healthier, and safer communities is an active citizen".

When the College was formed, the founders were thinking about their influence on students post-graduation. The all-disciplinary approach of the College, to infuse civic lessons and skills throughout all curricula, was part of the attempt to brand Tufts as a campus that graduates engaged young people. The vision was also more specific, including that their work would be successful if "there is a dramatic increase in the number of alumni involved in elective politics, from serving on local school boards to the U.S. Senate. Similar jumps are evident in the number of alumni who are incorporating civic values and skills in their lives as business women and men, and as staff and board members of nonprofit organizations" (Hollister, Mead and Wilson 2006, 48).

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[24] "Frequently Asked Questions." *Jonathan M. Tisch College of Citizenship and Public Service*. Accessed on June 7, 2012, http://activecitizen.tufts.edu/about/frequently-asked-questions/.

As an institution Tufts supports this goal in another way, via the Tufts Loan

Repayment Assistance Program. This program focuses on helping Tufts graduates

who take "comparatively low-paying nonprofit and public sector jobs to pay back

their educational loans" (Hollister, Levine and Wilson 2008, 21). This applies to

graduates who are "employed full time by a public sector or nonprofit (501c3 or

equivalent) organization".[25] This is unique and significant in at least two ways: 1)

because it's financial assistance not forgiveness, indicating that the institution has

committed or raised funds for this purpose, and 2) it represents support for whole

sectors.

Learning Outcomes

This level of intentionality also exists in the area of programming, as learning

outcomes are intended to drive program decisions and activities. Learning outcomes

have been a part of larger conversations among those who run civic-specific programs

in higher education, in part because programs are pressured to justify how they

directly contribute to institutional goals. In particular, civic programs that operate

outside of formal courses, or are both curricular and co-curricular, are often pressured

more to show their impact on students, and sometimes on communities (the equality

of student and community outcomes is an ongoing tension within the field).

At Tisch College the outcomes center on the goal of graduating "active citizens."

> An effective Active Citizen is a person who understands the obligation
> and undertakes the responsibility to improve community conditions,

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[25] "Loan Repayment Assistance Program." *Tufts University*. Accessed on June 12, 2012,
http://lrap.tufts.edu/faqs.asp.

build healthier communities and address social problems. He or she understands and believes in the democratic ideal of participation and the need to incorporate the contributions of every member of the community. Active citizenship can and must take place in the workplace, through political participation, and in the private, public and nonprofit sectors. Communities can be geographic, interest-based and even "virtual" and are local, national and global. (Jonathan M. Tisch College of Citizenship and Public Service 2012)

Specifically, there are twelve outcome areas that fit under Civic Knowledge, Civic Skills or Civic Values. The value and knowledge outcomes areas are tied to the concept of "democratic societies" and are a thread throughout them. This focus on democracy is significant as the outcome areas make apparent the need to work with others as part of 'effective' active citizenship. Kirlin's review of literature on civic skills provides an interesting comparison point (2003). The Tisch outcomes related to skills cites leadership ("Inspires or facilitates others to build democratic societies") and cultural competency ("Functions effectively in a pluralistic society"), neither of which are in Kirlin's review (Jonathan M. Tisch College of Citizenship and Public Service 2012, 2-3). The inclusion of these two areas is not surprising. Diversity has been a long-standing conversation within higher education: two national journals exist on the topic generally: Diverse Issues in Higher Education and the Journal of Diversity in Higher Education. It is also something that became more of a focus at Tufts during the period of focus in this research with the creation of the Office of Institutional Diversity in 2006.[26] Lastly, universities often want to boast about how they graduate leaders and about the alumni who end up as leaders. This focus on

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[26] "Home - Office of Institutional Diversity." *Tufts University*. Accessed on July 4, 2012, http://diversity.tufts.edu/.

leadership is built into the program this study looked at, which will be addressed later.

Not said explicitly in the Tisch civic skill outcomes is collective decision-making, which is a whole skill area for Kirlin (2003) and, more recently, the National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement (2012). Some of this difference may be explained by looking at the skill examples that Tisch College gives, some of which focus on collective processes, including "facilitates effective stakeholder involvement", "facilitates constructive dialogue with peers, faculty and community members" and "works effectively as a member of a team" (Jonathan M. Tisch College of Citizenship and Public Service 2012, 2). At the same time, two of the above examples fall under the Tisch leadership outcome, thereby conceptually situating students and graduates as different from other members of a civic initiative, who would facilitate the decision-making to occur.

The Tisch Scholars program

The first program that the then-UCCPS began, and currently Tisch College's most intensive program, is the Tisch Scholars for Citizenship and Public Service. The program was instituted through the grant from the Omidyars and has consistently had one Tisch College staff member devoted solely to the program (with others advising and helping in other ways). The student section of the Tisch website describes the program as "an innovative leadership program that develops core civic skills over several years, Tisch Scholars are leaders for civic engagement and catalysts for

change."[27] According to one staff member interviewed, the vision for the program was to be a "highly selective program for students who had the most capacity to be leaders…and catalysts for change." While components of the program have changed over time, one overall goal has not, that the Scholars "function as ambassadors and organizers to elevate the civic development of their fellow students" (Hollister, Levine and Wilson 2008, 21).

Currently students apply to the program once they are already at Tufts, mostly in their first year (sophomores can apply if not studying abroad).[28] In previous years, including when some study respondents participated, students were contacted before accepting to attend Tufts or once committed but not yet on campus. The program then runs through students' senior year at Tufts.

The program takes place mostly outside of courses, with a couple of exceptions. Incoming Scholars take 'Education for Active Citizenship' (E4AC), a one-credit, semester-long course run by a Tisch College staff member, or community member. In addition, staff shared with me that Scholars are now required to satisfy course requirements by picking from a multi-disciplinary list. E4AC did not exist when the program began, but began in about the third year. According to staff, the course focuses on a series of topics, including theories of social change, the intersections of race, class, privilege and cultural identity, nonprofits and government structures, and

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[27] "Tisch Scholars for Citizenship and Public Service." *Jonathan M. Tisch College of Citizenship and Public Service.* Accessed on June 13, 2012, http://activecitizen.tufts.edu/students/scholarsprogram/.
[28] "Tisch Scholars Program - FAQ Page." *Jonathan M. Tisch College of Citizenship and Public Service - Tufts University.* Accessed March 27, 2012, http://activecitizen.tufts.edu/?pid=1048.

"anything you might think of that might be preparation for entering a community and working in a way to create change successfully."

After taking E4AC, the following year students spend 8 hours per week at pre-set community-based projects. "The project always meets a community-defined need.[29] For example, a few of the community-identified needs that interviewees discussed included: a photography class at a local charter school, a resource guide for immigrants in one of the host communities, a publication at a local youth organization and organizing adult education courses. The year after that, most often students' senior year, they design own project or do an academic thesis related to active citizenship. Not all students create a new project. Some student-initiated projects continue from one year to another, and a rising senior can take the lead from a graduating student.

In addition to the community-based activities, all Scholars (across years) attend an annual retreat and weekly meetings that act as an opportunity for training and discussion. Lastly, senior Scholars currently go on an alternative break trip as a group, to do a community-based project somewhere else during a school break. This program component began with the 2011 graduating class who spent ten days working in an "undeveloped" area of Jamaica at "local schools and clinics and on other community-identified projects" ("Senior Tisch Scholars Complete Service Learning Trip to Jamaica." February 2011).

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[29] "Tisch Scholars Program - FAQ Page." *Jonathan M. Tisch College of Citizenship and Public Service - Tufts University*. Accessed March 27, 2012, http://activecitizen.tufts.edu/?pid=1048.

Students have access to financial resources to support their projects, but how they get these funds has changed over time. Currently, if students want funds for project, they have to apply for them. Staff explained that at the beginning of the program Scholars received $10,000 for projects or for personal needs. The second year instituted a policy where $4,000 of it would be intended for community projects, and student would have to apply for the funds. This model continued into the third year, although by this point Tisch College staff were aware and concerned that the $6,000 not intended for community projects off-set financial aid that eligible students received. In future years funding for community projects would continue to be by application only and would require submitting a budget. After about the first four years the non-community-funding for students was no longer given.

Tufts' institutional focus on active citizenship has leveraged a variety of resources towards that end, including in order to assess and evaluate the Tisch Scholars program. The Office of Institutional Research (OIR) has been a core partner in this assessment work, as they have in the institution-wide assessments related to civic outcomes.

OIR staff have reported that the Scholars program has an overrepresentation of white students, when compared to the overall Tufts population, and an under-representation of Engineering students (Billings 2010). They also report that, Tisch Scholars have a higher likelihood to assume leadership positions than students not in the program

during their time at Tufts. The authors note four areas where this hold true: Tufts-specific, community, political, advocacy/activism (Billings and Terkla 2011b).

Tisch College has also collected information from community partners about the Scholars project. In doing both surveys and focus groups, the College heard generally positive feedback about the contributions of Tufts to organizations (Hollander et al. 2011), where the authors "define the benefit to the community organizations as an increase in capacity that is provided by Tufts students and other support from Tufts" (181). Partners reported that "Tufts students came into the community well prepared to work with their constituents in a respectful and culturally competent manner", yet a similar area also came up as a challenge: "ensuring that all students come to the community culturally and professionally prepared" (181).

More assessment is needed to understand what level of impact Tufts is having, specifically through this flagship program. At the formation of Tisch College, Hollister, Mead and Wilson suggested that an indicator of Tufts' success will be in the answer to this question: "Will our democracy reflect the benefit of increased citizen participation?" (2006, 53) Hollander et al. report that the Scholars program "is very effective at identifying and developing service leaders, but there is no evidence that it increases service rates across the campus" (180). This research took-up another element of this challenge to understand how and whether the Tisch Scholars program prompts alumni to work democratically.

Chapter 4: Results

Participants were very civically engaged in high school. Yet the Scholars program provided them with a way to do more than participate in a program that someone else ran, they could do more and take more responsibility. This leadership and ownership was an important factor to bring students into the program. It is also what many said was an effect of the program – learning new skills and having the experiences of leading projects (seven started programs or events, two created nonprofits, and one a business). For the most part, these Scholar alumni have ended up doing national- and international-level work. Those working locally have a leadership component, as they are in funding or capacity building. They all talk about wanting to have a positive impact in their professional work. As a result, in many ways, the vision of the Scholars program to invest in their future leadership has been fulfilled.

Participant Characteristics

The 13 alumni interviewed participated in the full Scholars program, one of the participants dropped out the program before finishing. Five identify as male and eight as female. Eight identify as White, two bi-racial, one African-American, and one each from Central and South America (both international students). Five of the alumni participants are Jewish. Three described their experience growing up as working class, while most of the rest said that their family was upper-middle class when they were growing up.

Additionally, the eventual academic programs this group participated in at Tufts varied, and were primarily social science and humanities majors, including: International Relations (three), Anthropology, Peace and Justice Studies, Political Science, Sociology, Community Health.

Civic Experiences Before College

Scholars come to the program with different experiences, but as a whole not dramatically so. A common theme in the lives of these alumni prior to college was a high level of involvement, and in many cases, leadership. A great deal of this involvement was civic, and these activities were most often extracurricular. Almost all participants did local, community-based direct service. Examples of activities included homeless outreach, Key Club, playing music at senior homes, and tutoring. Other activities were awareness-building groups (peer educators, Gay Straight Alliance), sports, and law or election-related activities, like mock trial and debate. Two went on international volunteer trips and two were in credit-bearing programs similar to Scholars when in high school. One participant talked about his activities prior to college in this way: "Most of my volunteer work [before college] was pretty much direct service…it was very much like 'I'm saving the world by delivering turkeys.'"

Other civic influences before college include parents, as several specifically mentioned the example that an engaged parent set for them. This occurred through a professional career, volunteer activities, discussion at the dinner table or ongoing

messages. More than one of the Jewish students mentioned the concept of "tikkun olam" (which translated means "repairing the world") as something that was a valued part of their upbringing that was valued by people who they respected.[30]

Many said that the influence of pre-college activities was learning, and often learning about issues. In this way programs served as a source of influence. This ranged from seeing how others experience the world, to understanding the complexity of problems, to seeing that solutions can also have unintended consequences. For one participant, it allowed a deeper analysis: "It reinforced what interested me but also…gave me more…opportunity to examine that and to go deeper, not just like 'oh, we're gonna go volunteer at a soup kitchen' but 'oh, like, why is there hunger and homelessness and what are different organizations doing in this city to deal with it and how is that effective.'"

Several spoke of what it was like to grow up in the geographic community that they did, and how that influenced how they approached civic life. The majority did not mention the community in which they grew up impacting their civic life before college, or that it was in their immediate community in which they were engaged. One woman described herself as essentially a local community organizer before college. Another spoke of the large amount of environmental activism going on in the community where she grew up.

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[30] "About Hillel." *Hillel: The Foundation for Jewish Campus Life*. Accessed on July 4, 2012, http://www.hillel.org/about/default.

Only a couple of the alumni talked about experiencing injustice or directly

experiencing a social issue in their lives before college that they saw as relating to

their college experience. One alum put experience with a systemic problem this way:

> People could have access to certain things and some people don't. And
> to me is that access to dignity...I am part of people that haven't had
> access or have been access taken away from them...but I don't know
> how to access resources, and that's what I started to learn one step at a
> time. I knew the more I learned that the more I could help...I wanted to
> go to college to learn how to gain that access and provide that access.

A common theme across participant interviews was access to consistent engagement

opportunities. These opportunities often seemed formally organized, through a school

program or church, and two had intensive high school service-learning opportunities.

For a few these activities were framed in the context of being about where they

specifically lived, but most did not mention a specific context.

Participants' Tufts Experience

"In general people are very hard-working, dedicated and involved. Everyone seems to

be double or triple-majoring and doing ten activities." This was a sentiment

frequently voiced by alumni participants. Most participants viewed the student body

at Tufts as participating in many non-course-related activities, and passionate about

what they were doing. To one alum, the intersection of civic work and courses was an

institution-wide message and clear part of their Tufts experience:

> They [faculty and staff] focused on making sure students took their
> studies seriously but applied what they were learning in the classroom
> to make change in the community or work in the community....at
> Tufts that you're not just here to learn but you're here to learn stuff
> that you can then make change somewhere...you have to take that
> with a grain of salt because I surrounded myself with like-minded

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> people, which wasn't hard at Tufts, but all of my friends were doing
> amazing things for, you know, communities...

Participants were able to name major influences on the campus culture rather easily. In their view, Tufts' Medford campus (the undergraduate campus) culture was largely defined by the students' civic activities and the institution's message about the importance of active citizenship. With the donation from Jonathan Tisch in 2006, it's not surprising that some thought it grew while they were there: "While I was at Tufts the focus on active citizenship grew. So I think it was definitely something that was characteristic of people at Tufts. Most people I knew…were engaged in that in some way. But it definitely grew by the time I was a senior."

The only exception to this was the self-identified "professional activist," who found Tufts to be "very apathetic" when it came to some causes. However, the assessment may be more applicable to advocacy than other forms of engagement:

> Besides certain pockets Tufts is very apathetic. I remember tabling for
> Amnesty and being like 'will you sign this petition to like stop
> genocide in Darfur?' which actually is like a not totally non-
> controversial issue, but you know, issues that seemed really non-
> controversial, and having people coming up to me and say 'you know,
> I want to run for political office, I can't sign this, what if I have to
> defend it down the line?' And I'm going 'well, you defend it down the
> line, because you believe it!'

However, this sentiment or experience is not incompatible with a civic culture. In fact, this is a potential indication that the culture attracts those more interested in civic strategies that work within established systems and/or do not challenge power.

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Equally as strong a response to the civic culture was that Tufts was an environment that was internationally focused. The presence of the Fletcher School on campus was regularly named as a major cultural influence, which was likely exacerbated by the existence of an International Relations undergraduate program. One participant described this international influence like this: "That kind of international theme was really strong at Tufts...it was really strong in the sense that it affected I think what issues students were interested in, it affected some of the opportunities on campus, and it really I think affected the way people would look at issues. That was really big in the culture, that reverence for all things international, all things kind of foreign."

Participants also consistently referred to the Scholars program as being indicative of Tufts' liberal and/or Democratic-leaning environment. Several factors make this not surprising, including that Tufts is a small liberal arts college in an urban area of a heavily Democratic state. The existence of such an environment may have spurred those who do not agree to overcompensate. When asked about the Tufts campus culture, several participants mentioned a conservative publication on campus that published commentary on campus activities and caused controversy. (One example shared was a parody of Islamic Awareness Week, which the publication called Islamic Fascist Week.) In addition, the progressive activist who participated felt that conservatives were much more visible on campus until the end of her time there.

Lastly, participants also spoke of the Scholars program being more diverse than the overall student body. This was primarily a commentary on the racial and ethnic make-

up of the student body, and to a lesser extent about students' economic background.

There was a general sense that Tufts was an affluent place, and this is something that

a couple of participants from low-income backgrounds found challenging:

> My high school's very, very diverse, there were people from everywhere, and from all different socio-economic levels. To go from a world like that to a school like Tufts, which is generally pretty privileged, ah, was challenging. Socially but academically as well. I worked really hard in high school and got good grades and took hard classes…I was playing catch up - in writing skills, in research skills...it was a challenging experience for me to be myself and succeed in an environment where very few people shared my background.

No other challenges to the culture at Tufts during this time were mentioned more than

once. Five participants recalled a challenge of the Tufts culture when asked. Other

challenges mentioned by one participant included balancing activities, not being close

to family and lack of full, campus-wide support for major events.

Motivations for Program Participation

Participants found out about the program in many different ways. This is not a

surprise as recruitment changed over time. Some were invited specifically by Tisch

College, and then when recruitment strategies became broader, speakers at service-

focused orientations or meeting a then-current Scholar became more prevalent.

For all of the interviewees the program provided an opportunity to continue or deepen

ideas they had been thinking about. Several explicitly remember thinking that the

Scholars program would help them make sense of what they had previously been

involved with, to "further explore" their interest in engagement, or "go beyond" what

they had already done. For example, one participant said "…It seemed like a step

beyond all the volunteering opportunities through the [name of organization].

…There was this community that was a special…I remember the posters...having the

opportunity to really pursue what you're interested in."[31]

In addition to this, most of the participants liked the idea of doing this learning with a

group of students. For some, the Scholars program was an opportunity to find their

own "niche" at Tufts:

> I was kind of floating, and like 'where's my niche?' and then I get this
> and it's kind of like 'oh, I can really make this, I can really make
> something of this for me and use it not just as an opportunity to learn
> more but also to really explore my passions and to build a community
> for myself at Tufts.'

Being a part of a community and continuing to think about engagement were two

pieces that were often accompanied by additional rationale. Several interviewees

mentioned that the prestige of the program, the fact that it was about leadership, was

attractive to them and influenced their decision to apply. One participant, who was

comparatively less civically involved before college, said, "I'm competitive and

wanted to be accepted into a competitive program."

The funding that was made available to Scholars was also a draw, and many found

out about it through the program marketing. The access to funding to do community

work was influenced by several participants' interest in having ownership and

control, which the funding and program structure could provide. Some were surprised

by this and that motivated them: "At that point there was essentially unlimited

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[31] Name of organization was omitted.

funding for whatever program or project you were interested in doing...and that piqued my interest...that opportunity to do that as just a college student, you know, who would give me money otherwise? ... That really would have let me have control over what I was doing." Another said "I like the opportunity to use Scholars for what I wanted it for, just to get funding when I needed it for my projects, which wouldn't have been available otherwise, and to be part of a broader community of Tufts students who are all engaged in the community outside of Tufts." For a few of the participants the funding allowed them to do civic activities in lieu of other activities or a job.

Control and responsibility were key for others. Referring to the senior year project component, one participant said "what really attracted me to it was the idea of being able to do a project that would be mine for a full year." Another person connected their own ability to control a project and impact when asked why they applied to the program: "More of an impact and have more control of it, and kind of have more ownership of it. Do something that I wanted to do and have it be more of a responsibility."

For those who participated in this study, the Scholars program was both an opportunity for them personally and a way to continue doing some sort of civic work. Prior experience with civic programs may have made the opportunity for leadership and project development of particular significance.

Culture of the Scholars Program

Hearing Scholar alumni talk about the program provides the opportunity to piece

together what the culture of the program was like, what it felt like to participants. The

result is both a collective intellectual experience (via regular meetings), as well as an

often-individualized practical experience.

Community needs and respecting community assets was a theme participants

recalled. This was almost solely framed as a message from program staff. For

example, this alum recalled the focus on needs as distinguishing the program from

other (maybe one-time) opportunities:

> [Scholars] wasn't just community service and it wasn't just
> volunteering because there was that leadership piece and there
> was…what we learned a lot about was, okay, you can't just walk into a
> community and take charge…you have to make connections with that
> community and you know that's part of what Tisch was trying to
> do…to get us involved in the community was trying to set up these
> relationships with these different organizations and places so that the
> work you did wasn't these weird sort of one-off things, it was actually
> contributing to something or was a need in the community.

At the same time, the focus on leadership *and* community need also led to what some

participants saw as challenges. For the most part, these challenges were around

relationships with community partners:

> It was a challenge to be someone who belonged to the Tufts
> community who was a student who was only there for a few more
> years and was taking on a leadership position...many people in the
> community were skeptical about this. Maybe they didn't agree with
> students taking on such strong positions, knowing that they would
> leave soon. So, managing relationships with people outside Tufts was
> hard.

One Scholar identified a need for collaboration amongst nonprofits working in a

particular issue area and envisioned a senior year project focused on trying to build

relationships among nonprofits in the area. This led to a similar challenge with

relationships as mentioned above, which this alum attributed to organizations either

not wanting to change, think critically about their strategies, or not wanting to follow

the lead of a student:

> There were some organizations who were really excited to work with
> other organizations…There were other organizations, a small number,
> but these small number…were very, very set in their ways, that I felt
> like were very set in their ways, and didn't really have an interest in
> talking to anybody else…and I can only imagine that those were for
> kind of political and establishment reasons that, you know, they're
> NGOs that have been around for a long time, you know, decades and
> decades and decades and they've always done things their own way
> and they think their own ways is working just fine…I was able to talk
> with all of them, but some of them were more receptive than others,
> and those that weren't receptive, I got the feeling that they didn't really
> have want to hear what a 22-year-old kid from Tufts had to tell them
> about how to run their [category] programs…I was never trying to
> change the way they ran their programs. I was never trying to change
> the structure of their overall project or program. I just wanted to find
> ways to collaborate between organizations and to create connections
> between organizations. So I had to learn how to present myself and my
> project in a kind-of politically sensitive way...it was something that
> was really, really frustrating because, um, you know, as a self-
> described idealist in a lot of ways, seeing this great community need
> not being met just because organizations are kinda stuck in their way
> and have to do things you know X,Y, and Z because they've always
> done things X, Y and Z is, is really frustrating.[32]

Many interviewees recall intense, separate conversations about how to make an

impact and about diversity. Many recalled a discussion of an article about Teach for

America as an example of how they collectively wrestled with the best way to have

an impact (only a couple used the phrase 'justice' or 'social justice'). For one

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[32] The specific issue area was omitted.

participant the regular meetings were a place to talk about how his community work

connected to policy. The community strengths lense and how to make an impact

collided for one participant through discussion:

> One of my most vivid memories, is, I remember we sat around and we
> had a discussion about Teach for America, and it was pretty
> controversial discussion. But I remember, um, so before 'oh, Teach for
> America that's a great program!" And then I remember reading this
> article and kind of understanding the complexities of like power and
> social class and how things are organized and use of resources and
> elitism and understanding, um, kind of the disempowerment that can
> happen from you know a program like Teach For America. It's not a
> horrible program but I remember that was huge for me….really
> affected the way I thought about approaching problems, namely
> looking to the community, looking to solutions that the community
> members had already created, looking to the community's strengths. I
> had never thought about looking to a community's strengths when
> addressing, like, how you help them. Like, you know, you're helping
> them, they don't have strengths. But actually realizing, no, they do and
> using that. That was pretty big for me.

When I asked participants to reflect on what they felt like the program taught them

about active citizenship and the best way to address social problems, many cited

broad ideas (one said "too broad") and almost all talked about how anyone can be an

active citizen. This is an exchange with an alum on the subject of Tisch's perceived

leaning towards more community service:

> Participant: That is smart if you want to be funded...it's not an activist
> campus.

> Interviewer: Is it implicit that Tisch College had to do direct service?

> Participant: I don't know that they had to or that they chose to, I think that
> it's certainly easier to do direct service at Tufts. Community service is a
> huge, huge draw and interest of the Tufts community and something that a
> lot of people do. I think that Tisch College did more than community
> service. Tisch College is a lot more strategic and thoughtful about what
> they did, or what we did, or what they do, than [another organization].

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Only one project these participants worked on through the program focused on policy, advocacy, or anything related to the political system (another alum referred to an activity she wanted to do but didn't get assigned to; through the Tisch Active Citizenship Summer program, a few alumni who were interviewed gained experience with policy, more on this program later).

Similar to the discussion of Teach for America, another story I heard often was what was referred to as 'Upstream Downstream.' A poignant moment in the program for many participants was the message from staff about needing people upstream, preventing problems from occurring, as well as people downstream dealing with the results of the problem. To the Scholar alumni this story was indicative of needing active citizens doing many different things, not just one or two. It also exposed some to the idea of 'root causes,' and dealing with the source of a problem, rather than solely the symptoms.

Many participants reflected on how highly they valued the different perspectives that came with a diverse group of students. The diversity of the group was directly connected to learning from others' perspectives. "It was helpful to see what different people's interests were and perspectives were based on what their backgrounds were." A couple participants admitted to not thinking about it at the time ("I want to say from a privileged perspective that it was what it was, I didn't have to be affected by it, if that makes sense"), and half said that there was diversity in the Scholars program when they were there. "We did a lot of activities around [socioeconomic status] and

that was something that I noticed, because being at a private school like Tufts there's a lot of pretty rich kids, and that definitely wasn't the case in the Tisch College community." One participant reached the same conclusion, but thought the amount of discussion was too much: "I am now thoroughly convinced that a group of five people who all come from different backgrounds will come up with better solutions to problems than five people with similar backgrounds...in part because of the Scholars program. However, I am now more adverse to all of the diversity workshops and stuff like that...in part because I had to go through so much of it, and I also think there are other interesting issues to talk about."

Yet, not everyone thought the group was diverse. There was general consensus that the program was not ideologically diverse, in terms of political ideology and that participants leaned left politically. Others felt that the program was not racially and ethnically diverse, economically diverse or diverse in terms of gender. One participant reflected on a conversation about privilege at a Scholar retreat and how more diversity would have deepened the conversation:

> I'm more comfortable talking about my feelings of privilege or experiences with like race or religion in a group of people who are more similar to me.…in order to have like a deeper discussion and learn more it's better to have a more diverse group because it really stretches you more...it was good to have some diversity but I don't think we had as much as ...we could have had a deeper discussion and learn more if there had been more diversity.

All participants were highly complimentary of other Scholars. Synonyms for the term 'amazing' were used quite often to describe what other Scholars did while

students. One alum spoke about how this specifically impacted their learning

experience:

> One of the strongest parts of the Scholars program is the people who are in the program….I learned so much…in a lot of different ways from the other people who were in the program. The people in the program specifically do come from a pretty diverse range of backgrounds…they did really honestly incredible things in high school, they did really incredible things at Tufts...thinking about what my friends in that program have done since graduation, they've gone on to do really incredible things, so being in that community of people…was really helpful and was very impactful. Everything from [indecipherable] being inspired to do…really amazing things…to learning about different techniques and methods being used to accomplish certain things…to hearing the difficulties that they've had…in their own avenues.

This seemed to motivate people, particularly with respect to the senior Scholar

projects, and set a bar for what a successful project could look like. One participant

reflected on complicated feelings about a project, which in the least include not

feeling as though they met the expectations:

> In the end I created a good poster, but...I kid you not my poster was da bomb, like, it was a good poster, but I kinda knew, I was like: 'I am a phony.' You know and that's really, that hurts, 'cause there are a lot of Scholars that do really amazing work and so it's kinda like but you always have that, like I know I have heard that from other Scholars saying 'oh, my project isn't that good.' And it, I don't know, I guess it happens.

The discussions provided a collective experience, while the other activities were often

more individual with very individualized attention. Scholars were assigned a project

in their first two years of the program based on their interests. Sometimes this was

with other students, including non-Scholars. For a few these placements were a

struggle, including for one particular person for whom the placement "wasn't going in

the direction I wanted it to and it wasn't really this big project." This person was able

to do another project to finish out the year, but it did not fit into the box of a "big project" they had direction over.

The senior Scholar projects, something many looked forward to, required meeting with an advisor, a time when many said they learned a great deal wrestling with their projects and how to make an impact. Roughly half of the participants ended up starting something new, an organization, event or program. Most of the projects seemed to be focused on education or some sort of basic concern (using Gibson's scale).

Being situated within Tisch College (or, prior to the name change, University College) provided access to other information and opportunities. Specifically, three participants took advantage of a program at Tisch called Active Citizenship Summer. Tufts students can apply for funds to do active citizenship-related activities over the summer. Participants used this opportunity, sometimes in more than one summer, to do mostly international service (all three), but also included the opportunity to work with youth in the local area, policy advocacy. This allowed students to do civic activities that, in some cases, they would not otherwise get paid for or be able to do at all. One of the participants who was from a working class family recalled that the "summers for me were some of the most developmental times that I've had in my life."

Self-Reported Effects of Scholars Program

Participants were asked what they felt were the effects of the Scholars program on them. Many were looking for the opportunity to be part of a community, which they ended up finding. In addition, most people mentioned a skill, value or experience that has helped or stayed with them.

By far, the most often-cited effect was the acquisition of skills through Scholars activities and projects. While at the time the reporting and documentation requirements of the program seemed unnecessary, many alumni reflected that those skills have been helpful in their careers. These were skills that some, once-graduated, realized they could use in a job after college, like the alum who said the program developed "skills to access resources, basically. So a lot [of] the reporting skills that I had to do, that I used after, that I never had to use before...the reporting skills of my project, that was great because it gave me that discipline of reporting what I was doing and keeping track of what I was doing and what I was spending. It gave me the ability to write proposals for grants or projects that I wanted to do." For another alum, critical thinking skills and related strategic planning were important lessons from Scholar projects: "It was important for me because I went through the exercise of even trying to think about how you get to root causes, how do you understand root causes, and I had not gone through that exercise in that depth before." Another participant reflected on learning about organizations through Scholars, and that "[in] college I did a lot of theoretical studies about and reading and studying about issues,

but I think Tisch was where I could actually learn skills...really helped prepare me for later work."

Access to new civic or leadership experiences was a large effect of the program. For some this was experience around a particular issue that became a passion and a job. For others, the experience was something they could point to as an indication of their value and abilities. Upon reflection, for example, an alum said: "I had never been given as much responsibility before as I was given as a Tisch Scholar. Suddenly, I was basically given so much money that I had a lot to handle." Similarly, another talked about the direct influence of Scholar experiences on helping gain employment:

> When I was interviewing after college, having that experience and leading and having the responsibility and organizing other people and managing a budget and all of those sort of experiences…just the experience that it gave me, was invaluable. And, honestly, I think that it was the reason why I got the job that I got after school…that program that I ended up doing my senior year especially, because it really reflected what I am passionate about or interested in, it also gave me the opportunity to get involved in that in a more meaningful way and to sort of do exactly what I wanted to do instead of trying to take something else and make it apply to what I wanted.

Five Scholars' experiences contributed to learning what they did not want to do after college. In particular, several cited learning about what they called inefficiencies of nonprofits through Scholars activities. These are also alumni who are no longer working in the nonprofit sector (or were looking to leave), and was more likely to come up with the male interviewees (four of five men). One participant explained that "by being in the field and working with community organizations helped me realized that that was an area that I feel I would be more frustrated in than I would like and

that I feel that I would be most impactful not working in that area. …I don't know that I could've gotten to the same conclusions by the end of senior year if I hadn't have directly worked in, in the field with community organizations." Others talked about seeing how inefficient nonprofits are. One alum, who ended up seeking "socially responsible" for-profit work after an un-related life change, connected his experience in Scholars as similar to experiences perceived to be inherent to the nonprofit sector:

> Participant: This gets back a little bit to what I talked about in my experience in the Scholars program what I described as navel-gazing, which I don't want it to sound too disparaging, but it's just sort of the best phrase, is nonprofits are often very caught-up in their own little world. That's my experience, some of them are great.
>
> Interviewer: What does that mean, nonprofits are caught up in their own little world?
>
> Participant: You are so worried about pleasing everybody that you never really get anything done. …it's absolutely driven by the fact that they need to please people to get paid, you know....and this is not always the case, but you have issues where you think your leadership of the nonprofit thinks you should do X but your biggest donor wants you to do Y, well, what do you do? So maybe you go and you take the middle ground but that only leads to a halfway job of success. So you run into all these sorts of challenges because of the financial structure and the need for donations that you don't run into with a for-profit company.

The data do not allow for a full gender analysis of this dynamic, and it's not something for which we can generalize about all men in the program because of the sampling frame. For these four men there was something about the *process* of nonprofit organizations' work with which they had a negative experience. This seemed to center around the concept of inefficiency preventing having the most impact possible. For the alum above, the financial structure created the involvement of various stakeholders, which, in his view, distracted from the work. A few

participants had developed an analysis that the private sector can have a broader and larger influence than any nonprofit or coalition could. The concept of social entrepreneurship, however, received a great deal of attention during this period, and a couple of the interviewees mentioned a related campus competition, so it may very well be several intersecting circumstances that led to this dynamic, one of which was their experiences with nonprofits while in the program.

Participants also believe that the program instilled values that they carry with them. The message about community need and assets mostly got through to participants regarding Scholars projects, and some after graduation: "You have the control and sort of the responsibility to come up with something that is wanted, needed, that you can do that ideally is sustainable. And having that…onus on you as an individual and as a college student to figure that out…that has actually shaped…how I approach things now." It was not clear how or if this message about community needs and strengths was a framework carried into post-graduate activities for Scholars not doing locally based work as no one discussed it.

The program was intentional about putting this message about reflecting on how others may perceive you into personal perspective for Scholars. For one of the bi-racial alumni, whose pre-college civic experiences had primarily been in her neighborhood, this was an exercise in learning about how privilege functions in different ways:

> Participant: One thing I did realize when I was going to Tufts is
> immediately you kinda, you have this label on you…as a Tufts student, as

a private-educated student, what that means and one thing that I realized is how to deal with that privilege in my work...it's sort of funny because I'm like 'What do you mean privilege?' But it's odd, you know, because people talk about whiteness or whatever and they talk about the privilege, and then like to actually kind of see yourself, to almost be transformed kinda, you know, according to, like, class. Getting that label, it's really a little bizarre to me but it's something that I became aware of and affects the way I work.

Interviewer: So it was the program that really helped you think through that?

Participant: Yeah, yeah, no definitely was the program, 'cause when you're talking about, especially hearing…older Scholars and then examining privilege and for instance examining…Teach for America and the idea that it was started by I think, like, Ivy League people but then realizing the effect [indecipherable]...I go to this school, it's really expensive and they make a point to make you realize that because they know you're going to be dealing with community members...

The other value that was discussed by several participants was that anyone can be an active citizen in any sector/field in which they work. This was a major message of the program, and indicative of Tufts' overall approach to engagement by discipline. An alum reflected that "The biggest thing I got from Tisch is not necessarily that you should work in a certain sector, I think it was more…being aware of your impact in the community. It was similar how Tufts was, we need to know how we're affecting, we're this huge institution, we're kind of taking away a bit from the community…how can we kind of give back, and being aware of that….I don't necessarily think I felt a pressure from Tisch to try and go in a certain way, um, but it definitely made me aware of…I'm not just gonna work for whatever's gonna pay me more, I'm going to work for the [organization] I feel the best working at."[33]

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[33] Descriptor omitted.

This value of being able to contribute to strengthening communities in a variety of ways came as a change for another Scholar alum: "I came with a strong feeling against charity and now I'm completely opposite. Although charities are not efficient, I do think that charities are a good way to be engaged."

Post-Graduate Employment

This program and institutional message makes it unsurprising that the fields in which participants find themselves vary. The alumni participants had all worked at a nonprofit at some point since graduation. One similarity for the majority of participants is employment on a national level or in a leadership position. The program did impact participants' job search, and all of the participants, in one way or another, have a civic aspect to their current employment.

Many participants reported that past active citizenship work and, in some cases, specifically their Scholars project, informed their job search and prospects. How participants ended up getting a job was very relationship-based. In most cases it was through some sort of network connection, from partners in Scholar activities (not Tufts staff), a faculty member, or family and friends. None of the participants mentioned help from Tufts' Career Services.

The idea of working in a nonprofit organization was something that came up in different ways. Two participants knew that they wanted to work in a nonprofit. For

one it was because nonprofits meant working for "social justice," and for the other

nonprofits were doing the type of work she wanted to do:

> Those were the orgs that I saw that were doing what I wanted to do. I
> wanted to make a difference on policy that would help progressive
> causes and help low-income people and that work seemed to happen
> from community-based orgs or nonprofit orgs. The internships I had in
> college were at nonprofit orgs so that was what I knew. I had one part-
> time job at a for-profit company and I really didn't like it, actually.

As mentioned previously, several had experiences that led them to look at other

venues, and did not only want to work in a nonprofit organization. They wanted to do

work that contributed to making a positive impact on people's lives, but not through a

nonprofit. These organizations, to them, were inefficient. This is how one participant

described why he wanted to work at the intersection of business and social

responsibility: "The ability to affect a lot more people than what a charity can, or

what a nonprofit can...they use too many resources that don't go to the people that

actually need them. I feel that a business model is more efficient at that and more

accountable to achieving its goal."

One participant talked about this as a gap in the Scholars program: "People are drawn

to nonprofits but I've seen a lot of people get very jaded very quickly after school in

nonprofits, and they have their own challenges that I don't know that the Scholars

program necessarily prepares people for. I don't know that the Scholars program can,

per se, but it was another thing that I feel like I, looking back, didn't really see in the

Scholars program." The others who talked about inefficiencies in nonprofits did not

make this connection back to a programming gap, but they also did not mention any

discussion of the topic at all in the program. One male participant who felt strongly about this area pursued nonprofit consulting positions after graduation, but did not end up with a job in the area. Another participant who felt this same way thought he wanted to run for office, and moved to a state where he felt he could make a difference, but did not end up liking it there. He moved again with the intention of embedding in the community and running for office, but after almost a year of focus on participating in the community (unpaid) with that intention, felt he needed to pursue employment.

For several participants the job search process was not focused, as they did not have a clear sense for the specific type of organization or position they were looking for, and as a result applied to many jobs. A few mentioned that they really did not know what specifically they wanted to do for employment after graduation. National service was a first step for three participants, who went into more specialized service programs. This meant a program where they provided a particular expertise to clients or the organization, like navigating the law or bringing the idea of 'social enterprise' to a nonprofit.

Today participants are in the nonprofit, public and private sector, and all but one see themselves as directly doing work that has a positive impact in their professional lives. The one exception to this is a participant who had felt she had "kind of done my time" by participating in Scholars and then in a nonprofit job for two years. Outside of professional life she is involved but said, "I don't need it to be everything, that I

can have it be part of my life but not all of my life." At the same time, it looks like

her career may get back to the public sector:

> This summer I'm going to be working for a firm. Which is, if you had asked
> me, you know, like, before I went to law school if I'd ever work for a big
> corporate law firm I'd be like 'Hells, no! That's not what Tisch taught me,
> that's not where my life plan was going. But…that's where I'm going now.
> And for me [it] was kind of like working in this firm will give me the best
> tools to be a better lawyer and a lot of people at least in the US Attorney's
> office they all worked in firms for 5 or 6 years and were able to switch over to
> the public sector...they want people that have that firm experience and can
> bring that in.

Two Scholar alumni work for the federal government, two work for funding entities,

two are in law school, two are in international development (one nonprofit, one

hoping to get a job in the private sector), and two work for large national nonprofits.

Two are working on a local level doing program administration, and both intend to go

to graduate school very soon. The issue areas on which they're working or have

worked seemed to be split between what Gibson called 'basic concerns' and 'quality

of life' issues. The work of those working on basic concerns mostly fell into:

economic development, health care and poverty. However, in several cases this was

difficult to judge, as some jobs were about process, like policy, funding and

democracy-building. When possible these were categorized by the ultimate goal of

such work.

Ultimately, Scholar alumni who had any experience with the nonprofit sector did not

necessarily stay there. All see their lives as personally or professionally committed to

making positive change and/or being an active citizen. Many find themselves working

at a broad level, not local, and sometimes with significant influence (one alum writes talking points for a federal agency Secretary).

Current Thinking about Responsibility as an Active Citizen

The interviews attempted to get at how alumni view their work and their role in civic life in a variety of ways. For example, participants were asked about how they view their responsibility as an active citizen now, how they see their own experiences impacting their role, and what they want to be the impact of their work. One consistent theme was that they believe there are many ways to be an active citizen, and have not limited themselves to a sector or field or strategy. This seems to be an ongoing influence of the Scholars program.

This area of questioning around the alumni's sense for their role now as an active citizen was intended to gauge how the participants see their role in civic life. Do alumni see their role as doing good things in their individual life, participate in civic activities and help others do so, and/or to trying to change systems? Are they trying to achieve both in some combination? The Westheimer and Kahne framework (2004) was a guide in the analysis. Their answers seemed more individually focused than the issues they are working on ("What gives my life meaning"), or were very broad ("help make the world a better place...finding a way that I can have an impact on making the world better"). One participant boiled his responsibility down to personal satisfaction: "Sometimes in the Tisch program we would talk about active citizenship as giving back to your community, and I never felt that, I never felt the need to give

back, ah, for something you've been given. But I do feel that it's what makes me

happy and, ah, that's why I do it, you know, that's my motivation." Another

participant explained:

> It's just something that I always want to be a part of my life. I think
> that it's I feel like it's my responsibility that, it's something that I care
> about and would be happy always working to improve my community,
> so in that way it becomes my responsibility to do so because there are
> a lot of people who don't necessarily have the opportunity to do so, to
> feel like they have a voice and I feel like I do so it's important. Yeah,
> it's just um, yeah, it's what I care about.

At the same time, participants want the result of their work to be broad. Eight

responses were focused on policy- or system-level influence. While participants'

responsibility is a participatory one, for the most part, they have thought about what

causes problems and want the results of their work to influence many people through

systems and be far-reaching. For one of the participants working in a national

nonprofit advocacy organization, this level of work was sometimes a challenge, being

far from what was perceived as "actual communities":

> One of the challenges for this job is, although there is an organizing
> piece…we're in DC and we're very…wonky, we're a little detached
> from the people. We do say we are for the people…everyone is very
> liberal and very progressive and we want…everyone to be empowered
> and we want to see the gap between the wealthy and the poor
> close…but we're in like this little bubble in DC. So, it's kind of
> artificial…that's one of the problems I have – that disconnect from the
> actual communities that we're trying to help...it doesn't make life very
> interesting, you know, 'cause it's like I'm trying to get these meetings,
> but what do these meetings really mean, you know? And policy is such
> a game, it's very like, it's draining.

As was previously mentioned, few participants used the language of justice or social

change at all during interviews. It's unclear whether that is the result of use of the

term active citizenship in programming, or if students who are attracted to that language self-select out of applying to the Scholars program. The response of one of the participants who came from a lower income background was one of the few who did make that reference, in relation to how they view their work:

> I do work for an organization that tries to promote justice and tries to work for…those that are disenfranchised and tries to empower people but for me…a lot of the work I'm doing now is more around…my family. I don't know if that makes any sense. …I always have these ideas 'Oh, maybe I should volunteer, maybe I should do something,' but for me it's actually been about trying to help out…my nieces and nephew, trying to make sure that they are on the right track. That's kind of how at least I'm an active citizen, I believe at the fullest at this point, is my work with my family making sure that my sister is empowered and that my niece, advocating for her in the schools.

This was also one of three alumni interviewed who talked about activating others: "As an AC one of your roles is to make people be active citizens...like leadership. That is one thing I took away, the importance of kind of activating people to think a certain way, not to think a certain way, but to be empowered…" Another alum talked about being an inspiration to others, which seems more indirect. For most their role as an active citizen was a more individual journey. If done again, the question should likely accompany an explicit question about role in civic life, or democracy.

How Participants Think Own Characteristics Impact How They View Role as Active Citizen

To try to learn more about how alumni view their role in civic life, I asked, "How do you think who you are, and your specific experiences, thinking about your own race, gender, and/or class, have impacted your thinking about active citizenship?" Most

participants were able to answer this question in some way. It's another area where

the Jewish concept of *tikkun olam* came up:

> The fact that I felt very advantaged in my own life growing up that I
> didn't have to face problems that a lot of other people did made me
> feel like that was unfair and that like I wanted to try to change that
> situation so that other people could be as happy as I was. …I had a lot
> of support from the liberal community that I grew up in. And in terms
> of the religious values that I learned growing up in Hebrew school
> were always very supportive of caring about other people.

Several participants reflected on their own privilege (most often this was economic

privilege). For most, though, their reaction was not to "do for others," but rather to

work within established systems to try to change them. One example of this is a

white, male respondent who seemed to have thought about this a great deal and had

resolved to "use" his privilege:

> I'm very cognizant of the fact that I'm a white male...I realize that
> there's a lot of benefit in that in our society. I wanna use that benefit to
> make change…a lot of the reason I'm in DC and, you know, put on a
> suit everyday is because I realize that because I'm white and male I can
> have an impact, and that's not to say that, you know, someone who's
> not white and male can't…I have a certain privilege in that sense, and
> can use that in a way to make change. …particularly when I was
> lobbying, you know, I may have very different opinions than the other
> white males in the room, but because I was a white male I was in that
> room and able to say those opinions. For me it was a really cool thing
> about DC and something that I still really like and always cognizant of
> in my dealings, just understanding that I have some access that others
> don't and you know I can use my access that I've been given to do
> good.

In some ways this is a sophisticated analysis of how to work within systems. But, it's

also devoid of any analysis of representation within a democracy and broadening

whose voices are heard. He very well may be able to have a significant influence on

the issue(s) on which he's working, but the process of how he is doing so could

reinforce other social issues. This seems to be a continuing tension between individual success and impact and reflection on how that success may work against other goals, say of broader and more representative participation.

The Role of Graduate School

For many, they are in a place of having gained some initial professional experience and have seen how some strategies to make impact have worked (or not). This has often resulted in internal conversations about how to make more of an impact, or how to work at a more macro level that will make local level efforts more successful. This is explicitly why six (out of 13) have pursued graduate school (all Masters level or law school). Graduate school would not only provide more skills, in their view, but also an expertise they see as critical to having more influence and impact. The two who have chosen law school see their future degree both as gaining expertise and as opening doors for them in the future: "I also think that I can have a larger impact if I can have a more professional degree. This expertise and background...I think that I can have a greater impact by having that expertise. I don't think that just my personality and other things like that lend me more to being like, 'I know this and I can help you in this way' rather than 'I just have this experience'...you can go between the private, public and nonprofit sectors more easily..."

Discussion

The Tisch Scholars program during this period recruited and attracted students engaged in civic life in some way, and who wanted to do more and wanted to

understand more about how to be engaged and make a positive impact on people's lives. The program provided new opportunities to take on leadership roles, help develop strategies to meet community needs, and gain concrete skills used in future work.

In many cases, upon reflection, the program provided the responsibility or depth the alumni said were seeking. The group meeting format, alumni reported, often provided the opportunity to go deeper and learn new things. It also created a high bar for participants, who described other Scholars in laudable ways. The programmatic experience exposed participants to strategies to strengthen communities, emphasizing a broad frame. A few participants saw this breadth, or lack of specificity, as a detriment, and wished they had been exposed to more (i.e. social entrepreneurship, government work, activism).

These programmatic experiences contributed to how Scholar alumni approached their job search and employment generally. The Scholar activities exposed participants to various types of jobs, issues and organizations—both that they would end up interested in and not. When asked about their first job search process, no one mentioned Tufts' Career Services office. Alumni have found themselves, nevertheless, using other contacts, and in rather high-level positions three to seven years out of college. The over-arching career-related message that the alumni remember is that someone can be an active citizen in any sector or field. This is a message of the program that comes through rather clearly in conversations with

Scholar alumni. Two Scholar alumni work for the federal government, two work for funding entities, two are in law school, two are in international development (one nonprofit, one hoping to get a job in the private sector), and two work for large national nonprofits. Those who have switched sectors or pursued graduate school have done so to gain skills, skills that will heighten their individual impact and/or provide employment flexibility.

These conversations make me curious about the potential influence of the language and phrases programs employ. As mentioned previously, for the most part, "active citizenship" was used because that was the language of the program, though that choice was shared with interviewees. In hindsight, asking about this language may have been a great entry-point into participants' current thinking. During my analysis process, past research into the role of language was sought out but not found.

The programmatic emphasis on community strengths and needs is one that several alumni reported is a lesson that has stayed with them, though how they operationalize that concept in their current work was not always obvious. There seemed to be tension between individual active citizenship to make an impact and a more representative democracy. The alumni see their role and responsibility as an active citizen a personal journey, but the impact they seek is broad. For example, the effects of Scholars' projects seem to teach more about how individuals make decisions about problem-solving strategies than about democracy (iterations of democracy appear often in the Tisch College learning outcomes). For these alumni who went into the

nonprofit sector, one of the most attractive elements about the program was the ability to do their own project. It was more about an individual with an idea, access to resources and wanting to learn, than about community problem-solving.

At times, this seemed to catch students in the middle of tough situations. The student who wanted to reduce duplication of services may have found an opportunity to bring organizations together, but the way the project came about made it a very difficult situation for him and organizations to navigate, seemingly with trust lacking on both sides. Running long-term programs is hard work and guiding civic development is something that often happens informally. Yet, the senior Scholars project frame – to meet a community need – was likely not enough structure to ensure students and communities have support. The longer-term result may be exemplified by the white, male alum who spoke in depth about his privilege clearly internalized the discussions of which he was a part. His decision to "be in the room" with other white males may impact the issue on which he is working, and forward his career, but it may not make the system more democratic. On one hand, someone might ask: can we ask individual young people to struggle with such a systemic problem? If we are truly to graduate people prepared to strengthen democracy, I'm not sure it's avoidable.

Saltmarsh and Hartley (2012) encourage institutions to embrace and facilitate *democratic* engagement. As much as students learn from process, implicit lessons are not enough. After reflection on his own experience, Smith (2011) suggests asking, "How do we teach tension?" Koliba's response to a similar tension (specifically about

service-learning but with broader applicability) is for engagement "to play a positive role in balancing out the trends toward the privatization of citizen action, [where] service-learning practitioners need to bring a certain measure of transparency and intentionality to their work" (66). Here are some proposals for this intentionality for programs that teach how to engage in civic life:

- Engage those off of campus (including and especially other youth) as intellectual collaborators with students,
- Reframe leadership and civic achievement as a more collective and democratic concept, where impact happens because of collaboration,
- Provide students with a framework to reflect on individual professional decisions (potentially that of a "democratic professional," Olson and Dzur 2004), and/or
- Discuss and teach about working democratically after graduation

A first step in this direction may be a continued push to help students interested in the intersection of work and civic life make sense of the routes they want to take, and what they might mean (this could also be a role of civic-oriented alumni groups). Few Scholars mentioned opportunities like this, and in hindsight, some suggested the program could have been a place to discuss more about the realities of post-graduate work. In the case of the Scholars program, this type of discussion could have provided students with the opportunity to wrestle with their own perceptions of nonprofit organizations and for-profit businesses.

The Tisch Scholars program is an example of a higher education civic engagement program situated at the intersection of an institution's desire to produce leaders and the institution's democratic role. How Tufts and other higher education institutions respond to this intersection and tension may not be with a formula used in other

fields. The Scholars program succeeds at equipping participants with new

opportunities and skills, which they report employing towards broad, mostly issue-

based goals. Yet much more is asked of institutions that seek to strengthen democracy

through these programs and those who they graduate. This research suggests that

more work is required towards this end.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

Many scholars have documented the decline in civic participation in the United States, and higher education as a sector has tried to mobilize itself to respond. Even though research pointed to college civic programs leading to increased civic-oriented employment, higher education's role in the changes to the nonprofit sector and resulting decline has not been interrogated. As a result, this research was a small but initial step in doing so by looking at the civic experiences, values and identities that graduates take into nonprofit work.

While this project is bounded by a specific context, not about the entirety of higher education, it can act as a prompt for reflection on the specific civic mission of other institutions, "best practices" and program models in the field. Participants' program experiences did impact the decisions they made and the way they see themselves in professional life, indicating that – at least from the perspective of participants – civic values, knowledge and skills can be retained over time. The alumni in this study reported that "active citizenship" is, indeed, a large part of their lives professionally, in multiple sectors.

Yet, this civic identity was often quite individual in nature. This could be another impact of this specific program, which emphasized more individualized activities in its core structure. It was not clear how messages about community strengths and community-identified needs translated to professional work, and only a few participants talked of a responsibility to engage others in civic life post-graduation.

In her presidential speech Ruth Wilson Gilmore called for "de-individualizing undergraduate education" (2011, 262). Longo and Gibson (2011) call for higher education to teach leadership in a new way, where people are "adept at transcending the self, reaching out, and working with others in a larger community or external setting" (248). One way to do this could be to re-conceptualize programmatic work that promotes strengthening communities and meeting community needs as collective, democratic ventures. Doing so could give students and alumni a more effective framework in which to think about their undergraduate and post-graduate work more broadly, as well as to think more critically about their particular role in it.

Given the bounds of this case study, further research will help clarify these relationships in different contexts. Of particular interest are community colleges, public schools and institutions or programs with a high percentage of first-generation students. In addition, it would be helpful to know how similarly intensive programs more focused on specific types of engagement (e.g. political engagement, engagement for social justice), or using other language (e.g. civic engagement, justice), impact the professional work of graduates. (The role of language in civic development generally is also a potential area to pursue.) And to what extent is the institutionalized nature of a given program a factor – might a student-run program have a different effect?

Understanding how civic identity development impacts professional work could be understood to a greater extent with a longer-term project. More conversation with

alumni could lead to further understanding of how various lessons (community strengths and needs, in the case of Tisch) operationalize at different levels and sectors. Speaking with students and reconnecting as alumni at different times after graduation could do a lot to understand how the intellectual and organizational skills learned in college help graduates make decisions within the work they choose to do in order to have an impact on the world.

As touched on briefly in this study, further exploration may also lend more understanding of how gender may or may not impact how lessons are learned and translated to professional work. One way of looking at this dynamic is through how youth view leadership. A place to start this particular exploration is with the Girl Scout Research Institute's findings on differing motivations for leadership, which found that "boys are more likely to be motivated by the desire to be their own bosses, (38% vs. 33%), make more money (33% vs. 26%), and have more power (22% vs. 14%)" (2008, 13).[34]

This study began by asking whether civic efforts by institutions of higher education promote democracy through creating a leadership pipeline into the nonprofit sector. Though that question is far from being fully answered, this study finds promise in the ability of higher education civic engagement programs to positively influence the civic skills and values of graduates entering the nonprofit sector, while also advising that programs wrestle with how to prepare those same students for post-graduate work in a way that encourages broader democratic participation.

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[34] Thanks to Sheri Parks for bringing this to my attention.

Appendices

Appendix A
University of Maryland Institutional Review Board Initial Approval Memo

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD

Initial Application Approval

To: Principal Investigator, Dr. Jo Paoletti, American Studies
Student, Abby Kiesa, Tufts University

From: James M. Hagberg
IRB Co-Chair
University of Maryland College Park

Re: IRB Protocol: 11-0048 - Tisch Scholars Program Alumni Post-Graduate Experiences

Approval Date: February 11, 2011

Expiration Date: February 11, 2012

Application: Initial

Review Path: Expedited

The University of Maryland, College Park Institutional Review Board (IRB) Office approved your Initial IRB Application. This transaction was approved in accordance with the University's IRB policies and procedures and 45 CFR 46, the Federal Policy for the Protection of Human Subjects. Please reference the above-cited IRB Protocol number in any future communications with our office regarding this research.

Recruitment/Consent: For research requiring written informed consent, the IRB-approved and stamped informed consent document will be sent via mail. The IRB approval expiration date has been stamped on the informed consent document. Please note that research participants must sign a stamped version of the informed consent form and receive a copy.

Continuing Review: If you intend to continue to collect data from human subjects or to analyze private, identifiable data collected from human subjects, beyond the expiration date of this protocol, you must submit a Renewal Application (http://www.umresearch.umd.edu/IRB/renewal%20app.html) to the IRB Office 45 days prior to the expiration date. If IRB Approval of your protocol expires, all human subject research activities including enrollment of new subjects, data collection and analysis of identifiable, private information must cease until the Renewal Application is approved. If work on the human subject portion of your project is complete and you wish to close the protocol, please submit a Closure Report (http://www.umresearch.umd.edu/IRB/closure%20app.html) to irb@umd.edu.

Modifications: Any changes to the approved protocol must be approved by the IRB before the change is implemented, except when a change is necessary to eliminate an apparent immediate hazard to the subjects. If you would like to modify an approved protocol, please submit an Addendum request (http://www.umresearch.umd.edu/IRB/addendum%20app.html) to the IRB Office.

Unanticipated Problems Involving Risks: You must promptly report any unanticipated problems involving

...umd.edu/human/protocols/.../letter   1/2

(Appendix A, Continued)

risks to subjects or others to the IRB Manager at 301-405-0678 or jsmith@umresearch.umd.edu

Additional Information: Please contact the IRB Office at 301-405-4212 if you have any IRB-related questions or concerns. Email: irb@umd.edu

The UMCP IRB is organized and operated according to guidelines of the United States Office for Human Research Protections and the United States Code of Federal Regulations and operates under Federal Wide Assurance No. FWA00005856.

1204 Marie Mount Hall
College Park, MD 20742-5125
TEL 301.405.4212
FAX 301.314.1475
irb@umd.edu
http://www.umresearch.umd.edu/IRB

Appendix B

Initial Email to Potential Interviewees

Dear _____,

I hope this email finds you well. I am writing to invite you to participate in a graduate research project being undertaken by Abby Kiesa, a graduate student who is also a staff member of CIRCLE, which you may know is now housed under Tisch College. Abby is seeking to explore the impact of the Scholars Program on those who graduate from Tufts and go on to work in a nonprofit.

I'm writing to you because I know that at some point since you graduated you have worked in a nonprofit. Although some of you have participated in either our longitudinal study and/or a survey sent by Tisch College in the summer of 2010, this research by Abby is a different effort. Participation would mean a 75-minute phone interview and a 30-minute follow-up interview one to two weeks later. Abby's report to us would not include names.

To participate, please email Abby at abby.kiesa@tufts.edu. She'll get back to you to schedule time.

Thank you so much. I look forward to hopefully seeing you at the Tisch X Ten alumni celebration on April 8.

Warm regards,
[omitted name]

Appendix C

Follow-up Email to Potential Interviewees from Ms. Kiesa

Dear _____ (name of invitee),

I'm writing to follow-up on the email you recently received from [omitted name] at Tisch College. I'm a graduate student working with her to understand the impact of the Tisch Scholars program.

In the next month I'll be interviewing alumni of the Scholars Program who graduated in 2009 or before. I'd love to speak with you and learn about your post-graduation employment and how you have (or haven't) utilized what you learned in the Scholars Program.

Please let me know if you have about an hour and a half in the next month (and if so, when would be the best time). As stated in [omitted name]'s email, please note that names will not be used in the report-out of these interviews.

I look forward to hearing from you – Thank you,
Abby

Text for Electronic Consent Form for Alumni Participants

Project Title	Tisch Scholars Program Alumni Post-Graduate Experiences
Purpose of the Study	*This research is being conducted by **Dr. Jo Paoletti and Abigail Kiesa** at the University of Maryland, College Park. We are inviting you to participate in this research project because you are an alumni of the Tisch Scholars Program, have worked in a nonprofit organization, and graduated in 2009 or before. The purpose of this research project is understand what Tisch Scholars Program alumni take to nonprofit work from their experience with the program.*
Procedures	*The procedures involve a 75-minute phone interview and a short follow-up phone interview a couple weeks later. Interviews will be audio-recorded.*
Potential Risks and Discomforts	*There are no known risks in participating in this research study.*
Potential Benefits	*There are no direct benefits to you. The study results will be used to provide insight and to benefit the program through an improved understanding of the impact of the Tisch Scholars Program.*
Confidentiality	*Any potential loss of confidentiality will be minimized by keeping communication and audio-recordings on password-protected computers. Names will not be used during audio-recording. Your name will not be included on collected data other than the consent information. As a result, a code will be placed on collected data and through the use of an identification key, the researcher will be able to link your information to your identity. Only the researcher will have access to the identification key.* *If we write a report or article about this research project, your identity will be protected to the maximum extent possible. Your information may be shared with representatives of the University of Maryland, College Park or governmental authorities if you or someone else is in danger or if we are required to do so by law.*
Right to Withdraw and Questions	*Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You may choose not to take part at all. If you decide to participate in this research, you may stop participating at any*

	time. If you decide not to participate in this study or if you stop participating at any time, you will not be penalized or lose any benefits to which you otherwise qualify. *If you decide to stop taking part in the study, if you have questions, concerns, or complaints, or if you need to report an injury related to the research, please contact one of the investigators, at: Dr. Jo Paoletti jpaol@umd.edu, 104 Holzapfel Hall, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742, 301-405-5974; Abigail Kiesa, abby.kiesa@tufts.edu, 301-405-8261.*
Participant Rights	*If you have questions about your rights as a research participant or wish to report a research-related injury, please contact:* **University of Maryland College Park** **Institutional Review Board Office** **0101 Lee Building** **College Park, Maryland, 20742** **E-mail: irb@umd.edu** **Telephone: 301-405-0678** *This research has been reviewed according to the University of Maryland, College Park IRB procedures for research involving human subjects.*
Statement of Consent	*Your signature indicates that you are at least 18 years of age; you have read this consent form or have had it read to you; your questions have been answered to your satisfaction and you voluntarily agree to participate in this research study. You will may print a copy of this consent form.* *If you agree to participate, please click "I Agree/Consent" below.* *___ I Agree/Consent* *___ I Do NOT Agree/Consent*
Electronic Signature and Date	*If above you consented to participate in the study, please type your name as a signature (this page will be kept separately from your other data to protect your privacy)*

Appendix E

Alumni Interview Protocol

Prior to the scheduled phone call each participant will be sent the link to Survey Monkey, which will have the consent form (to be signed, upon approval, electronically, as detailed on the attached consent form). These phone interviews will be recorded for the purpose of analysis after the fact. In order for the recording to occur, both parties will call into a private conference call number, which requires a passcode to enter the call. Clarifying questions will be asked when it is not clear the interviewee's specific answer.

Upon both parties calling in:
- Greet interviewee and confirm that the call is scheduled to last 90 minutes and will be recorded
- Turn on audio recording
- Give a brief overview of project
- Confirm that the interviewee understands what the research is about and has already seen and electronically signed the consent form
- Ask the interviewee if they have any questions about the project. If so, answer them, if not, move on to the interview questions.

What Were Experiences and Thinking Before Tisch Scholars Program
- How did you pick Tufts University? What factors influenced your decision to go there for college?
- What were you involved in prior to college? Were you a part of any groups?
- What would you say your experience with "active citizenship", social change work, civic engagement was prior to college? (What did they do? When and why did they do it?)
- What impact do you think these pre-college activities had on you? What did you learn?

- Describe the atmosphere on campus at Tufts when you were there. What were the high points? Do you think there were challenges for you?
- How did you end up finding out about the Tisch Scholars Program?
- What were you involved in other than the Scholars program?

Specific Experience of the Tisch Scholars Program
- If you can think back and try to recall what you may have been thinking at the time, why do you think you applied to the Scholars Program?
- How would you describe what you did in college in the Scholars Program?
- How did the program affect you?
- Do you remember there being diversity in the program? How did that affect you?
- Looking back, what did the Scholars program teach you about citizenship?
- How do you think the program specifically contributed to your development?
- How do you remember the program specifically helping you think through the best way to address social problems?
- How do you remember the program specifically helping you think through education, race, ethnicity, gender, class in the context of "active citizenship"?
- How did your experience in the program affect your overall college experience?
- What in the program was challenging for you? Why do you think that was the case?

Current Thinking
- At this point, what do you think is your responsibility as a citizen?
- What social issues are important to you now? What do you think causes this/these issues? What do you think are the best ways to respond to them?
- What has influenced this thinking?
- Do you think participating in the Scholars program impacted your attitude or knowledge about these issues? What part(s) of the program?

- How do you think your specific experiences, thinking about your own sexuality, race, gender, and/or class, have impacted your thinking about citizenship?

Employment/Work

- How did you think about "work" when you were a student? What did you think you might want to do when you graduated? (specify sector)
- How did you find your first job? Did you apply to a lot of jobs?
- How would you describe the work you are doing now?
- What kind of knowledge, skills or values are necessary to do your job?
- What's exciting/compelling to you about your work?
- What would you say are some challenges you have faced in your work?
- What do you hope the impact is of your work (short-term and long-term)?

Demographics
- How do you identify in terms of race and ethnicity? Gender?
- How would you describe your economic situation when growing up?

- Is there anything that we have not covered that you think is relevant to our conversation?
- Turn off recording
- Thank the interviewee

Appendix F

List of Codes Used

Code	Sub-code	Sub-code	Sub-code
BestAddressSocialProb			
CauseSocialProb			
ChallengeAtTufts			
	Balance School and Work		
	Culture of Going Out		
	Not Close to Friends Fam		
	Tufts Affluence		
CivicImpactPreCollege			
CurrentJobArea			
	Direct Service		
	For Profit		
	Funding		
	Law		
	Policy		
Diversity			
	Didn't think about		
	Not fully		
		Not Fully, RaceEthnicity	
		Wasn't there, economic	
		Wasn't There, Gender	
		Wasn't there, political	
	Was there		
FirstJobExp			
	ACinformed		
	Applied to Many Jobs		
	Didn't Know What Wanted To Do		

Code	Sub-code	Sub-code	Sub-code
	Knew Wanted to Work in NP		
	Scholar Project Informed		
	Worked there before		
	Year of Service		
HowFindTisch			
	A Scholar		
	Flier		
	Invited before decided Tufts		
	Invited once at or decided on Tufts		
	Other		
	Tisch Event		
HowGetJobs			
	Career Center Help		
	Cxn from Scholar Activities or Project		
	Faculty Help		
	Family or Friends Help		
	Online research		
	Other		
	Started Own Org		
IssuesCare			
	Basic Concerns		
		Economic development	
		Health Care Access	
		Hunger	
		Jobs Employment	
		Poverty	

Code	Sub-code	Sub-code	Sub-code
		Welfare Reform	
	International		
		Basic Concerns	
			Economic development
			Health Care Access
			Hunger
			Jobs Employment
			Poverty
			Welfare Reform
		Quality of Life	
			Consumer Protection
			Education
			Environment
			First Amendment
			Gun Control
			Money Taxes
			Nuclear Disarmament Peace
			Repro Rights
			Science
	Quality of Life		
		Consumer Protection	
		Education	
		Environment	
		First Amendment	
		Gun Control	
		Money Taxes	
		Nuclear Disarmament Peace	
		Repro Rights	
		Science	
IssuesEmployOn			

Code	Sub-code	Sub-code	Sub-code
	Basic Concerns		
		Economic development	
		Health Care Access	
		Hunger	
		Jobs Employment	
		Poverty	
		Welfare Reform	
	International		
	Quality of Life		
		Consumer Protection	
		Education	
		Environment	
		First Amendment	
		Gun Control	
		Money Taxes	
		Nuclear Disarmament Peace	
		Repro Rights	
		Science	
OtherTuftsActivities			
	Awareness		
	Community Organizing		
	Leadership position		
	Music AndOr Theater		
	Other service volunteer		
	Policy Elections		
	SGA		
	Sports		
OwnDemogAC			
	Oppression Injustice		

Code	Sub-code	Sub-code	Sub-code
		Directly Motivates	
		Give Back	
		Motivates Indirect	
		Other	
	Other		
	Privilege		
		Directly Motivates	
		Give Back	
		Motivates Indirect	
		Other	
Past Jobs			
PreCollegeCivicInfluence			
	BePartofCommunity		
	Can be Fun		
	GiveBack Contribute		
	HowMadeMeFeel		
	Learning		
	Low-income background		
	Privilege		
	WhoWhere		
		Civics or government class	
		Exp with CBO's	
		Extracurr	
		Friends	
		Other Family	
		Parent	
		Religion	
		Required or part of a class	
PreCollegeInvolvement			
	Awareness		

Code	Sub-code	Sub-code	Sub-code
	Community Organizing		
	Follow News		
	Fundraising		
	Music AndOr Theater		
	Policy AndOr Elections		
	Service		
	SGA		
	Sports		
ProgAddressSocProbs			
	Didn't Address		
	Didn't pick		
	Other		
	Upstream downstream		
ProgChallenge			
	Balancing Time		
	Project		
	Sustainable Project		
ProgEffect			
	AC doesn't just mean service		
	Career related		
	Community to be part of at Tufts		
	Multiple Strategies		
	New Experiences Opportunities		
	Nonprofits ineffective		
	Skill communication		
	Skill critical thinking		
	Skill Organization		
	Skills General		

Code	Sub-code	Sub-code	Sub-code
	Value community assets		
ProgTeachAC			
	AC doesn't just mean service		
	Anyone Can Should		
	Community assets		
	Individual responsibility		
	More AC is better		
	Upstream downstream		
ScholarActivities			
	Coordinate others' service		
	Course on Inequality		
	Course on race		
	Curriculum		
	Direct service		
	Event		
	Other		
	Research		
ScholarsProject			
	Coordinate others' service		
	Curriculum		
	Direct service		
	Event		
	Other		
	Research		
	Start Launch Begin		
ScholarsProjectArea			
	Basic Concerns		
		Economic development	
		Health Care Access	

Code	Sub-code	Sub-code	Sub-code
		Hunger	
		Jobs Employment	
		Poverty	
		Welfare Reform	
	International		
	Quality of Life		
		Consumer Protection	
		Education	
		Environment	
		First Amendment	
		Gun Control	
		Money Taxes	
		Nuclear Disarmament Peace	
		Repro Rights	
		Science	
Switched Sectors			
TuftsCulture			
	Academic Rigor		
	Civic		
	International and IR		
	Other		
	School Spirit		
WantImpactofWork			
	Community-level		
	Individual-level		
	Policy-level		
	System-level		
WhyGradSchool			
WhyScholarsProg			
	Community of people		
	Continue Civic		
	Do civic with stipend		

Code	Sub-code	Sub-code	Sub-code
	Money for projects		
	Other		
	Stipend		
WhyTufts			
	Civic		
	International		
	Liberal Arts		
	Location		
	Not First Choice		
	Other		
	Size		
YourResponsibility			
	Justice Oriented		
		Change systems	
		Critically assess	
		Injustice exists	
		Root causes	
	Participatory		
		Help to coordinate	
		Take leadership within established systems	
	Personally responsible		

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