

ABSTRACT

Title of Document: EXPLORING THE EFFECTS OF SOCIAL
PERSPECTIVE-TAKING AND SOCIO-
CULTURAL ISSUES DISCUSSIONS ON
COLLEGE STUDENTS' CIVIC IDENTITY

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Colleges and universities have a long-standing tradition of preparing students to be civically engaged (Colby, Beaumont, Ehrlich, & Corngold, 2007; Jacoby, 2009; Kezar, 2002). In response to a decline in civic engagement among college students and the greater American public, colleges and universities began offering a wide array of civic engagement efforts designed to increase students' involvement in civic life (Jacoby, 2009). These efforts, such as service-learning, volunteering, and community service opportunities are prolific within higher education. However, the extent to which these civic engagement efforts effectively engage elements of diversity remains mostly unexplored (Dunlap & Webster, 2009; Hero, 2007; Hurtado, 2001, 2003, 2006).

The primary research question in this study examined the role of social perspective-taking and socio-cultural issues discussions on college students' civic identity, while the secondary research question examined whether these relationships varied by race. Using 45,271 cases from the 2009 Multi-Institutional Study of Leadership, structural equation modeling was used to explore a model that included four

latent variables: social change behaviors, socio-cultural issues discussions, social perspective-taking, and civic identity. Results from the primary research question showed positive, moderate relationships of social change behaviors on civic identity, social change behaviors on socio-cultural issues discussions, socio-cultural issues discussions on social perspective-taking, and social perspective-taking on civic identity. Weak, positive relationships were found for social change behaviors on social perspective-taking and socio-cultural issues discussions on civic identity. These results indicate that the direct effect of the relationship between engaging in social change behaviors on students' civic identity is much stronger than the indirect effects derived from including socio-cultural issues discussions and social perspective-taking. In addition, engaging in social change behaviors did not predict social perspective-taking and engaging in socio-cultural issues discussions did not predict civic identity. The secondary research question explored the differences by race in the structural paths in the model. This analysis showed significant variant paths between students of color and White students on every path except social change behaviors to socio-cultural issues discussions.

EXPLORING THE EFFECTS OF SOCIAL PERSPECTIVE-TAKING AND SOCIO-
CULTURAL ISSUES DISCUSSIONS ON COLLEGE STUDENTS' CIVIC IDENTITY

by

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Chapter One: Introduction

Background of the Study

American colleges and universities have a long-standing tradition of preparing students to be active and engaged members of society (Colby, Beaumont, Ehrlich, & Corngold, 2007; Jacoby, 2009; Kezar, 2002). In fact, finding a college or university mission statement without explicit connections to such democratic purposes would be rare (Jacoby, 2009). “As long as there have been colleges and universities in this country, there has been a commitment at the heart of the curriculum to preparation for what we might call civic engagement” (Lawry, Laurison, & VanAntwerpen, 2006, p. 7). The United States’ oldest colleges and universities were founded for the purpose of creating an educated and engaged citizenry, albeit one that was tied to different denominations of the Christian faith (Mathews, 2000). Land-grant institutions played an important role in the civic mission of higher education with the establishment of the Morrill Act in 1862. Their mission was to produce knowledge that would be beneficial in solving real world problems in agricultural and rural life (Boyte & Kari, 2000). Higher education institutions that followed after this critical time in the history modeled themselves after the noble purposes of fostering an engaged citizenry for all of society (Mathews, 2000).

Despite a historical and contemporary mission of preparing students to be engaged members of society, many have argued that higher education has drifted away from this mission. Civic engagement scholars Boyte and Hollander (1999) argued, “Whereas universities were once centrally concerned with ‘education for democracy’ and ‘knowledge for society,’ today’s institutions have often drifted away from their civic

mission” (p. 7). Although the reasons behind drifting away from civic aims are debatable, many people have pointed to the industrial revolution and increased specialization as the nexus of vocational aims supplanting civic aims (Boyte & Hollander, 1999; Boyte & Kari, 2000). Putnam (2000) studied the decline of civic engagement in the latter half of the 20th century and points to dwindling membership in formal and informal community organizations (e.g., Kiwanis clubs, bowling leagues) as the impetus for declining civic participation. Whatever the true reasons, a marked shift away from civic engagement since higher education’s inception has been noted and is nearly indisputable (Colby et al., 2007).

Even more, today’s colleges and universities have a much less clear commitment to civic engagement. “The modern universities’ relationship to citizenship was (is) less evident, more puzzling, and *perhaps* more contentious” (Talcott, 2005, p. 3). Despite this fragmentation, some evidence exists that the last two decades have seen resurgence in acting upon higher education’s commitment to civic engagement (Jacoby, 2009; Kellogg Commission, 1999). The Kellogg Commission of the National Association of Land Grant Colleges and Universities report, *Returning to Our Roots* (1999), called on higher education to become more community-focused and to bolster opportunities for community-based learning and engagement for students. Efforts to increase civic engagement have dramatically increased across college campuses during the last two decades, as evidenced by the prominence of service-learning, community partnerships, and engaged scholarship (Jacoby, 2009). Jacoby (2009) outlined major civic engagement initiatives in higher education, including several prominent associations, foundations, projects, and research projects that are all aimed at bolstering students’ civic identity; that

is, one's collective sense of knowledge, attitudes, values, and actions related to civic engagement.

These initiatives provide important evidence of a civic engagement renewal in higher education and have been shown to be increasing civic engagement among college students to varying degrees in the last two decades. For instance, voting, an oft-cited measure of civic engagement, has increased among college students, as evidenced by the 2008 election of President Obama (Godsay, 2010). Voting rates have continued to climb in mid-term elections the last two cycles as well (Godsay, 2010). Another key indicator of students' increased civic engagement is the abundance of hours spent volunteering. Campus Compact, a prominent organization specializing in fostering civic engagement in young people, reported that students at their member institutions participated in 366 million hours of community service during the 2008-2009 academic school year, which was a marked increase from previous years (Cress, Burack, Giles, Elkins & Stevens, 2010). By almost any measure, students are reporting increases in civic engagement over the last two decades.

Given that a wide array of initiatives and actions are in place to foster civic engagement in higher education, several efforts have been made to classify them. To better understand the multitude of actions under the "big tent" (Jacoby, 2009) of civic engagement, Jacoby (2009) argued that civic engagement constitutes knowledge, skills, and action. Eyler and Giles (1999) offered a useful taxonomy to classify civic engagement efforts as well: political participation (e.g., voting, holding public office), participation in voluntary associations (e.g., volunteer groups), and the generation of social capital (e.g., connections with and between individuals and groups). While

colleges and universities foster civic engagement efforts across all three levels in Eyler and Giles's (1999) taxonomy, only contemporary civic engagement efforts have expanded and focused on the generation of social capital. "Civic engagement requires working collaboratively and productively with others who may be different from ourselves to address common issues and to achieve common purposes" (Dunlap & Webster, 2009, p. 140). Thus, civic engagement is a broad construct with many different attitudes, activities, and actions associated with it.

Colleges and universities foster civic engagement through a broad range of programs and services within all three levels of Eyler and Giles's (1999) taxonomy with explicit links to helping achieve the institutional mission of civic engagement. These efforts meant to foster civic engagement among college students are wide-ranging. Living-learning communities, community-based projects and research, academic courses that have a civic engagement component, community service projects, and service-learning initiatives are common efforts that have gained significant traction in higher education in recent years that are explicitly aimed at fostering civic engagement (Jacoby, 2009).

Within the broad goal of fostering civic engagement, colleges and universities engage in efforts to increase the capacity for college students to work in a diverse society. Such explicit connections between diversity and civic engagement are sparse, but increasing (Hurtado, 2006). Mirroring the rest of society, higher education is witnessing an increasing diversity among the student population. The cultural diversity of students currently enrolled in higher education is increasing dramatically. Within the last decade, the percentage of racial and ethnic minority students rose from 25 to 30 percent, while the

proportion of White students shrank from 68 to 59 percent (Ryu, 2010). The increase in students of color is one of the fastest growing segments of the student population in higher education, and this trend is expected to continue for the foreseeable future (Ryu, 2010). Thus, efforts to increase civic engagement that build students' capacities to work effectively in an increasingly diverse society are paramount. Many have argued that higher education plays a critical role in fostering civic engagement because it is an environment where students learn to work with people who are different from themselves and share differing views (Gutmann, 1987, 1989; Hurtado, 2006, 2007). These efforts are less frequent and often implicit, however (Hurtado, 2006). Nonetheless, they are critical to fulfill the historic and vitally important civic mission of higher education.

Tracing the Beginnings of a Decline in Civic Participation

As much as the renewed commitment to civic engagement is in response to increased diversity in the United States, it is likely also partially in response to a decline in civic participation as well, particularly among college students (Colby et al., 2007). In his seminal book, *Bowling Alone*, Putnam (2000) chronicled the decline of civic participation in the United States. In his extensive study, he showed that participation in civic affairs, such as voting, working with others to solve community problems, and membership in civic associations (e.g., Parent-Teacher Associations, Knights of Columbus) had dwindled greatly in the last thirty years. Interestingly, these declines were greatest among those with more education. Following up on his original study, Putnam (2007) showed that communities of greater racial and ethnic diversity were the same communities that displayed lower level of civic engagement. Faced with increased diversity, people tend to “hunker down” and engage less in their communities (Putnam,

2007). The resulting effect was that civic engagement dwindles and fewer people work for the betterment of the community.

College students have mirrored the participation of the greater population and have been accused of being less civically engaged than past generations. Some studies have shown that students value self-interests more so than group interests, meaning that they value personal gratification and advancement more so than previous generations (Kellogg, 2001). Others have illustrated that college students disavow civic participation in a political sense (a measure frequently cited under the umbrella of civic engagement) because they view political engagement as inaccessible, corrupt, and ineffective (Kiesa et al., 2007). Instead, as shown in *Millennials Talk Politics* (Kiesa et al., 2007), college students opt for experiences such as volunteering and service-learning in lieu of traditional political engagement endeavors, although they do not view these efforts as civic or political. Colby et al. (2007) found similar results, as they chronicled the dwindling political participation of college students, particularly those endeavors that have direct connections to the formal political processes in the United States. Both of these studies point toward a shift in the nature of civic engagement in college students.

Civic Engagement and Intercultural Competence as Vaunted Learning Outcomes

Learning to function effectively in a diverse society depends on the types of diversity experiences students have and the quality of these interactions (Pike & Kuh, 2006). Many civic engagement efforts designed to help students operate effectively in a diverse society have expanded significantly on college campuses in the last several years, such as intergroup dialogues (Zúñiga, 2003; Zúñiga, Nagda, Chesler, & Cytron-Walker, 2007) and many service-learning initiatives (Jones & Abes, 2004; Strait & Lima, 2009;

Stoecker & Tryon, 2009). Finding ways to integrate both civic engagement and diversity efforts collectively on campus has taken on increased significance. Community service, service-learning, intergroup dialogues, and classroom-based experiences are ways in which colleges and universities have invested in increasing the civic engagement of its students that have gained significant traction in higher education in the past decade. These experiences seek to engage students in a community context for the purposes of increasing civic engagement. The transformative and developmental power of these experiences to build students' civic identity are directly tied to two key moderating components, which are the ability for students to consider multiple perspectives and have effective conversations about and across differences (Hurtado, 2007; Jones & Abes, 2004; King & Baxter Magolda, 2005).

The current study is situated in a larger body of emerging literature on fostering civic engagement in light of increased diversity in higher education. As mentioned earlier, efforts to increase civic engagement in higher education have taken on a renewed focus in the last two decades (Jacoby, 2009). Further, explicit efforts to foster civic engagement and engage matters of diversity are limited in higher education (Hurtado, 2006). To meet these demands, both curricular and co-curricular efforts have increased in the past two decades designed to help students engage across differences (Schneider, 1998). Prominent examples of these efforts include collaborative learning, intergroup dialogues, diversity education, experiential learning, and multidisciplinary and integrative learning. These experiences help students work together more effectively across differences because they help students gain an understanding and appreciation of

differing strengths others bring to groups, an understanding of others' life experiences and perspectives, and exposure to collaborative problem solving.

Although higher education has always had civic engagement as a primary aim, only recently have they begun substantial efforts to measure and assess it. Even so, the extent to which colleges and universities have studied civic engagement is limited (Association for American Colleges & Universities, 2005), especially those civic engagement outcomes related to students functioning effectively in a diverse society (Hurtado, 2007). Driven by the increasing globalization and internationalization of higher education, outcomes related to diversity and civic engagement have become urgent priorities for higher education (Gurin, Dey, Hurtado, & Gurin, 2002). Much of the available data related to outcomes of diversity initiatives stem from the affirmative action court case at the University of Michigan, where educators were forced to defend and legitimize the role of diversity in admissions, including those outcomes relating diversity and civic engagement (Hurtado, 2006, 2007). One of the most compelling arguments for increased attention to fostering learning outcomes related to diversity and civic engagement stems from the University of Michigan affirmative action case of 2003. A rarely cited case brief from a group of *Fortune 500* companies stated that students who have an appreciation of diversity:

are better prepared to understand, learn from and collaborate with others from a variety of racial, ethnic and cultural backgrounds; demonstrate creative problem solving by integrating differing perspectives; exhibit the skills required for good teamwork; and demonstrate more effective responsiveness to the needs of all types of consumers. (University of Michigan, 2000, para 6)

This statement, along with other studies (Gurin et al., 2002; Hurtado, 2006; King & Magolda, 2005) underscores the importance of understanding the process of fostering civic engagement outcomes related to diversity in contemporary higher education. If students are to be effective and engaged citizens in an increasingly diverse world, efforts and studies that examine the intersections of civic engagement and diversity are pressing needed, especially those efforts focused on social perspective-taking and socio-cultural issues discussions.

Social Perspective-Taking

Social perspective-taking, or the ability to take another person's point of view (Franzoi, Davis, & Young, 1985; Underwood & Moore, 1982) and/or accurately infer the thoughts and feelings of others (Gehlbach, 2004), is an increasingly important learning outcome in higher education, which undergirds the capacity for intercultural competence in civic engagement. Social-perspective taking has been found to contribute to a broad range of leadership outcomes that are closely related to developing students' civic identity (Dugan & Komives, 2010). King and Baxter Magolda (2005) proposed a developmental model of intercultural maturity, which positions the ability to consider and incorporate others' perspectives as a desirable and necessary learning outcome for someone who is at a mature level of development. Their model showed how having an understanding of others' perspectives serves as the foundation for cognitive, intrapersonal, and interpersonal learning outcomes, such as cognitive complexity, the ability to see the world from different cultural frames, having an integrated sense of self in relation to the world, and the capacity to engage in meaningful relationships across differences and understand social stratification and systems. Although implicit in many

learning outcomes, King and Baxter Magolda's (2005) model illustrated how social perspective-taking undergirds many contemporary learning outcomes in higher education. Social perspective-taking is also the foundation for dialogue programs in higher education, as understanding others' perspectives is positioned as the dominant learning pedagogy in these experiences (Zúñiga, 2003).

Thus, social perspective-taking may be a necessary component to respond to calls for increased civic engagement among college students, especially considering the increasing diversification of society. Students' ability to work effectively with those who differ from themselves is at the core of community and developing a civic identity. Further, it could be argued that social perspective-taking undergirds most learning outcomes in higher education (King & Baxter Magolda, 2005).

Discussions of Socio-cultural Issues

Social perspective-taking most often occurs during dialogue or conversation with others. These discussions, when centered on social and cultural issues, are sometimes referred to socio-cultural issues discussions (Dugan & Komives, 2007; Inkelas, Vogt, Longerbeam, Owen & Johnson, 2006) and pertain to the frequency with which students engage with their peers around a set of compelling social and cultural issues, including diversity, religion, social justice, and political affairs. Discussions about socio-cultural issues are a critical component of working together across differences and social perspective-taking because they are an active form of understanding differences and assume skills in listening, understanding various perspectives, and reaching a more informed perspective. Simply learning information about different perspectives is insufficient because civic engagement is itself an active process that requires working

collaboratively toward a common goal. Schuster (1989) argued, “The possession of information cannot be the defining characteristic of cultural literacy” (p. 540). Further, Hoopes (2000) articulated, “The critical element in the expansion of intercultural learning is not the fullness with which one knows each culture, but the degree to which the process of cross-cultural learning, communication, and human relations [has] been mastered” (p. 20). Thus, active participation in discussions about socio-cultural issues remains a necessary element in learning to function effectively in a diverse society. Explicit connections to engaging in socio-cultural issues discussions and a heightened sense of civic engagement among students have been substantiated in research (Dong, 2005; Sax, 2004). Several studies have shown the powerful relationship that one’s peer group has on first-year to senior-year increases on a wide array of civic measures, including the likelihood of voting (Sax & Astin, 1998), commitment to working on social problems (Sax, 2000), and stronger identification with a political orientation (Antonio, 1995, Astin, 1993).

Racial Differences in Social Perspective-Taking and Socio-cultural Issues

Discussions

The ways in which students experience social perspective-taking and discussions about differences have been shown to differ between students of different races. Intergroup dialogue programs offer the clearest picture of these differences. In a review of outcomes from intergroup dialogues, which are structured and sustained dialogues that occur between two groups that have a history of conflict, Dessel and Rogge (2008) stated that self-reported changes in social perspective-taking occurs more often with White students than students of color. One possible reason for this phenomenon is that White

students are often forced to confront unexplored questions of White privilege for the first time during these dialogues, which causes them to engage differently (Gurin, Nagda, & Lopez, 2004; Wise, 2004). This phenomenon indicates that the ways in which White students engage in conversations about and across differences vary from those of students of color. Two quantitative studies about intergroup dialogues corroborated this evidence. Nagda, Kim, and Truelove (2004) and Nagda and Zúñiga (2003) found that students of color rated dialogues as more valuable and thought more positively about the dialogue than did White students.

These findings related to intergroup dialogues parallel other research that showed White students tend to learn and change the most when engaging in dialogue about difference with students of color (Hu & Kuh, 2003). Hu and Kuh (2003) used a wide array of statistical techniques (e.g., hierarchical linear modeling, correlations, multiple regression) and data from The College Student Experience Questionnaire (CSEQ), which includes 53,756 undergraduate responses at 124 American four-year colleges and universities. Similarly, Pascarella, Palmer, Moye, and Pierson (2001) found that White students benefitted more in regard to critical thinking than students of color from exposure to people from diverse backgrounds. Their research examined the net effect of ten diversity experiences on critical thinking outcomes for 3,840 students at the end of their first and third years at 18 four-year institutions and five community colleges. These studies, in addition to those examining outcomes from intergroup dialogues mentioned earlier, have shown the disparities in how students from different racial backgrounds experience social perspective-taking and conversations about and across differences.

Definition of Key Terms

Several key terms are used in this study that warrant definition. These terms are often used interchangeably in the literature and even used in contradictory ways depending on the author(s). The following is an explanation of the key terms that are used in the rest of this study and the meanings I have ascribed to them.

Civic Engagement

Civic engagement, although not directly operationalized in any of the variables in this study, appears frequently throughout the review of the literature, and thus, the discussion and implications. Civic engagement lacks an agreed upon definition, but it is generally considered to be the “broad tent” (Jacoby, 2009) under which civic attitudes and behaviors fall. Although there is no agreed upon definition of civic engagement in the literature, it is important to have an understanding about how I think about the term. In lieu of creating my own definition, I have adopted the definition from the Coalition for Civic Engagement and Leadership (2005). They defined civic engagement as:

Acting upon a heightened sense of responsibility to one’s communities. This includes a wide range of activities, including developing civic sensitivity, participation in building civil society, and benefiting the common good. Civic engagement encompasses the notions of global citizenship and interdependence. Through civic engagement, individuals—as citizens of their communities, their nations, and the world—are empowered as agents of positive social change for a more democratic world. (para. 1)

Civic Engagement Efforts

“Civic engagement efforts” is another term that is used in this study, which is meant to depict actions and initiatives that are meant to bolster students’ civic identity. A broad number of curricular and co-curricular programs and initiatives are contained within this term, such as community service, service-learning, volunteering, and intergroup dialogues.

Civic Identity

The dependent variable in the current study is students’ civic identity. Civic identity is a term that is infrequently used in the literature, but is used here to denote one’s knowledge, attitudes, values, and actions regarding civic engagement. Identity is something that one actively constructs and makes meaning of in an ongoing manner and comprises three dimensions of development – cognitive (i.e., knowledge, decision-making), intrapersonal (i.e., values, self-understanding), and interpersonal (i.e., relationships, working with others) (Baxter Magolda, 2001). The citizenship scale from the 2009 Multi-Institutional Study of Leadership (Dugan & Komives, 2007, 2009) was used as a measure of students’ civic identity, which includes 11 items related to the students’ beliefs, responsibilities, efficacy, values, and participation related to civic engagement.

Civic Responsibility

Civic responsibility is one of the measures contained in the dependent variable in the current study. Civic responsibility is an attitudinal measure of obligation toward serving or creating change in one’s community. The formal definition proposed by Komives, Lucas, and McMahon in *Exploring Leadership* (2007) is used in this study: “A

sense of personal responsibility individuals should feel to uphold their obligations as part of any community” (p. 20).

Social Perspective-Taking

Social perspective-taking can be defined as the ability to take another person's point of view (Franzoi et al., 1985; Underwood & Moore, 1982) and/or accurately infer the thoughts and feelings of others (Gehlbach, 2004). This definition was used in the creation of the social perspective-taking scale on the Multi-Institutional Study of Leadership (Dugan & Komives, 2007) and was, thus, used in the current study.

Socio-cultural Issues Discussions

Socio-cultural issues discussions is a term broadly used to depict conversations about and across differences. In this study, socio-cultural issues discussions is a scale from the Multi-Institutional Study of Leadership that is used with permission from the National Study of Living Learning Programs (NSLLP) (Inkelas & Associates, 2004, 2007), which measures the frequency with which students engage with their peers outside the classroom around social and cultural issues related to diversity and multiculturalism. While these conversations happen both inside and outside of the classroom, this scale only asks students to comment on the frequency with which they engage in conversations outside of the classroom. Questions on the socio-cultural issues scale relate to differences of values, lifestyles, human rights, politics, and religion.

Leadership

Although definitions of leadership vary widely, the MSL defined leadership as, “a purposeful, collaborative, values-based process that results in positive social change” (Dugan & Komives, 2007, p. 9). An important distinction of this definition of leadership

is that it defines leadership as a process, not something necessarily linked to a positional leadership role. Further, the MSL leadership definition places value on leadership that is relational and process-oriented.

Citizenship

Citizenship is a term that is often used to denote federally granted rights related to nationality. However, in this study, citizenship is used to denote a much broader concept irrespective of federal policy. The definition used in the Social Change Model of Leadership (Higher Education Research Institute [HERI], 1996) is used in this study: Citizenship is the process whereby an individual and the collaborative group become responsibly connected to the community and society. To be a good citizen is to work for positive change on behalf of others and the community. The citizenship scale (Dugan & Komives, 2007) is used as the dependent variable (as a proxy for students' civic identity) in this study and comprises several measures, all of which better illuminate how citizenship is considered in this study. Chapter Three contains the full citizenship scale.

Social Change Behaviors

A latent variable in this study, social change behaviors, is a scale in the MSL that depicts those experiences that students actively engage in that relate to bringing about social change (e.g., performing community service, taking part in a protest, rally, or march). In the MSL, social change behaviors were defined as “taking an active role in making a difference for the common good” (National Clearinghouse for Leadership Programs, 2009, p. 2).

Situating the Current Study

The Multi-Institutional Study of Leadership (MSL)

The 2009 Multi-Institutional Study of Leadership (MSL) was used as the data set for the current study. The MSL is a large empirical study of 101 college campuses and 115,582 usable cases across the United States that examined the leadership development of college students with a particular emphasis on how college experiences foster leadership development (Dugan & Komives, 2009). The theoretical foundation of the MSL is the Social Change Model (SCM) of Leadership (HERI, 1996), which depicts leadership as a collaborative, values-based, and relational process that results in positive social change. The SCM contains eight unique values: Consciousness of Self, Congruence, Commitment, Common Purpose, Collaboration, Controversy with Civility, Citizenship, and Change. These values are grouped at the individual level (i.e., Consciousness of Self, Congruence, Commitment), the group level (i.e., Common Purpose, Collaboration, and Controversy with Civility), and the societal level (i.e., Citizenship). The interaction of these seven values results in an eighth value: Change. The SCM depicts change as resulting in “a better world and a better society for self and others” (HERI, 1996, p. 22). The Social Change Model was developed by a small group of leadership educators called the “ensemble” as a theoretical model that would conceptualize leadership for social change in a relational, values-based way (HERI, 1996).

The MSL seeks to measure the Social Change Model of Leadership through a revised and reduced version of the Socially Responsible Leadership Scale (SRLS), which was a scale developed by Tracy Tyree in her doctoral dissertation research designed not

only to measure the Social Change Model of Leadership, but also to better understand the process of developing socially responsible leadership in college students (Tyree, 1998). The SRLS is the core of the MSL and is used in conjunction with several other scales either developed by the MSL research team or borrowed from other instruments, all of which are used with the intention of better understanding the process of leadership development (Komives, Dugan, & Segar, 2006). A full discussion of the MSL, including the individual scales, can be found in Chapter Three.

Problem Statement and Research Questions

The ability to work effectively across differences and become an engaged citizen are two vaunted outcomes of higher education listed in almost every institutional mission statement in the United States (Hurtado, 2006, 2007; Jacoby, 2009). These two aims of higher education undergird most learning outcomes related to complexity in the cognitive, intrapersonal, and interpersonal domains (King & Baxter Magolda, 2005). Working across differences has been depicted to represent a range of concepts, most notably working with someone of a different race, and to a lesser extent, socio-economic status (Hurtado, 2006, 2007). Becoming an engaged citizen has varying depictions as well, with an important element being a strong sense of one's civic identity, which is characterized as the knowledge, attitudes, values, and actions associated with acting upon one's sense of civic responsibility. Acting upon one's sense of civic responsibility often requires that students work collaboratively across various dimensions of difference. Having an understanding of those differences is critical and is often facilitated through interventions such as intergroup dialogues and service-learning experiences. The degree to which understanding these differences matters in developing students' civic identity is

often theorized, but rarely studied (Hurtado, 2006, 2007). Empirical evidence linking considering others' perspectives and civic identity is sparse (Dong, 2005; Sax, 2004), despite being an important outcome of higher education. Thus, the purpose of this study is to analyze the direct, indirect, and total effects of social change behaviors, social perspective-taking, and socio-cultural issues discussions on students' civic identity. These effects were disaggregated and analyzed by race, resulting in separate models for students in each racial category. Thus, the primary research question guiding this study is: What are the direct, indirect, and total effects of social perspective-taking and discussions about and across difference on the civic identity of students who are involved in social change behaviors? The secondary research question is: Do these direct, indirect, and total effects differ when examined by race?

Methodological Overview

To answer the research questions, structural equation modeling was employed. Structural equation modeling is a methodology that explores the relationships between different types of variables, but it is particularly well suited to explore latent variables such as the four variables in the current study (i.e., social change behaviors, perspective-taking, socio-cultural issues discussions, citizenship scale) (Kaplan, 2009). Structural equation modeling can be thought of as a combination of factor analysis and path analysis (Kaplan, 2009; Klem, 2000). This methodology illuminated the relationships between various elements of social change behaviors, social perspective-taking, socio-cultural issues discussions, and students' civic identity (as operationalized by the citizenship scale on the MSL). A further explanation of structural equation modeling can be found in

Chapter Three under the discussion of data analysis, including a graphical depiction of the relationships between these variables.

Significance of the Study

The current study is situated among a burgeoning movement of civic engagement in higher education, as discussed earlier and in more detail in Chapter Two. This study serves four unique and significant purposes. First, this study better illuminates the relationships between social change behaviors, social perspective-taking, discussions about and across differences, and students' civic identity, which are mostly conceptual relationships in the literature. The methodology employed in this study allows for an examination of the relationships between the different measures on scales related to social change behaviors, social perspective-taking, discussions about and across differences, and students' civic identity, which will be a unique contribution to the literature. Second, this study further examines the development of civic identity, contributing to a small but expanding literature base that explicitly names this as a construct. Exploring the role that social perspective-taking and discussions about and across differences play in the development of civic identity is vital given the increased importance of preparing students to be effective citizens in an increasingly diverse and global society (Hurtado, 2007; King & Baxter Magolda, 2005). Next, campuses are still plagued with issues around differences in race (King & Baxter Magolda, 2005; Tatum, 1997). Social perspective-taking and discussions about and across differences are both thought and proven to create better relationships between people with differing backgrounds and experiences (Zúñiga, 2003; Zúñiga, Nagda, & Sevig, 2002). Having a better understanding of the role that social perspective-taking and socio-cultural issues

discussions play in students' civic identity will help educators to more effectively structure experiences aimed at increasing students' capacities to take on others' perspectives.

Also, this study contributes to an expanding literature base on the role that race plays in civic engagement and the development of civic identity. As Hero (2007) argued, despite being a powerful mediator in civic engagement research, race is mostly overlooked. This study seeks to understand the different relationships between social-perspective-taking, conversations about and across differences, and civic identity development across students from different races. Examining different racial groups in this analysis will also illuminate important racial differences that exist, but are often ignored by classifying students of color collectively. A report from the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and the Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (2006) underscored the importance of disaggregating data on the basis of race when studying the development of civic engagement. Given the large number of usable cases in the 2009 MSL data set, examination of several different racial groups will be possible.

Further, the methodology used in this study examines the relationships between the different measures contained on the social change behaviors, social perspective-taking, socio-cultural issues discussions, and citizenship scales. As Gelbach (2004) argued, social perspective-taking is not a unidimensional construct, but it is often treated as such. This study provides a more nuanced view of the various elements that make up the different scales and their relationships to the development of students' civic identity. Finally, this study illuminates the strength of the relationship between two critical

elements of higher education's mission (i.e., civic engagement and working effectively with others in a diverse society), which should be of keen interest for the broad number of constituencies who are working within higher education to develop students' civic identity.

Summary

Colleges and universities have both a historical and contemporary commitment to fostering civic engagement in the lives of students (Colby et al., 2007; Jacoby, 2009; Kezar, 2002). Responding to a decline in civic participation (Putnam, 2000), institutions of higher education have begun rethinking their commitment to civic engagement. A renewed commitment to civic engagement has gained significant traction in the last twenty years, as evidenced by a proliferation of curricular and co-curricular programs and initiatives designed to develop students' civic identity. A student's civic identity can be thought of as the knowledge, attitudes, values, and actions associated with acting upon one's sense of civic responsibility. Development of a civic identity is an understudied phenomenon that has been shown to develop differently based on a number of factors, including race (Jones & Abes, 2004; Jones & Hill, 2003; Rowan-Kenyon, Soldner, & Inkelas, 2007). Two important elements that have been shown to be important components of efforts designed to foster civic engagement and build students' civic identity are social perspective-taking and conversations about and across differences. The current study examines both of these variables in relation to students' civic identity and how these models differ by race. Structural equation modeling (Klem, 2000) is the methodology that was employed, and data from the 2009 MSL (Dugan & Komives, 2007) was used.

Chapter Two: Review of Literature

The review of the literature begins by introducing the concept of identity development in general, and civic identity development more specifically, which serves as the theoretical frame for this study. Research related to the development of civic identity is then explored. The extent to which students are engaged in civic engagement efforts is examined next, relying heavily on data from the Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE). Next, literature on the changing demographic of higher education is presented, followed by a discussion of civic engagement efforts related to living in a diverse democracy. A review of the literature of socio-cultural issues discussions and social-perspective taking comes next. Particular attention is paid to racial differences in the development of civic identity given the secondary research question in the current study. A summary of the literature review concludes the chapter.

Theoretical Frame

The theoretical frame for the current study directly ties to the dependent variable – students’ civic identity. Identity theory has a rich history in the development of college students (Evans, Forney, Guido, Patton, & Renn, 2010), beginning with Erikson (1950), who regarded identity formation as the greatest challenge in adolescence. Identity theory hinges on self-definition or social construction, meaning that an individual actively constructs an identity in a historical and contemporary context (Evans et al., 2010). Student affairs literature commonly depicts identity as, “one’s personally held beliefs about the self in relation to social groups (e.g., race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation) and the ways one expresses that relationship” (Torres, Jones, & Renn, 2009,

p. 577). Further, one's social identities (e.g., race, class, gender, ability status) are intertwined and of varying salience depending on time and context (Abes, Jones, & McEwen, 2007).

Identity development is thought to occur across three dimensions: cognitive, intrapersonal, and interpersonal (Baxter Magolda, 1992, 2001; Kegan, 1994). The cognitive dimension relates to the meaning-making capacity that a person creates and uses to make sense of information and create knowledge. The intrapersonal dimension relates to one's values, beliefs, and sense of self. The interpersonal dimension encompasses relationships with and views of others. A strong, integrated sense of one's identity encompasses many different identities (e.g., race, class, gender) across these three dimensions. Hallmarks of a strong, integrated identity across these dimensions include: cognitive (i.e., tolerating ambiguity, ability to think critically, make judgments of truth on internal definitions); intrapersonal (i.e., strong sense of values and morals, making decisions based on one's own values and beliefs); interpersonal (i.e., mature relationships, intercultural competence) (Baxter Magolda, 2001; Kegan, 1994). Thus, one's collective sense of one's identities across these three dimensions influences how one views the world, one's sense of self, the relationships one might have, and actions one might take.

Among the many different identities that may be salient to an individual is civic identity, which incorporates the knowledge, attitudes, values, and actions associated with acting upon one's sense of civic responsibility. In much the same way that elements of one's social identities (e.g., race, class, gender, ability status) (Evans et al., 2010) may be important or salient, so, too, might one's civic identity. Knefelkamp (2008) argued that

civic identity is, “an identity status in its own right—one that can become as integral to individual identity as race, ethnicity, gender, nationality, or any other deeply claimed aspect of self” (pp. 1-2). Moreover, students’ civic identity—the dependent variable in this study—contains elements of all three dimensions of identity formation (i.e., cognitive, intrapersonal, interpersonal). Students’ knowledge and beliefs about civic engagement comprise the cognitive dimension, their attitudes and values map onto the intrapersonal dimension, and their actions relate to the interpersonal dimension.

Civic Identity as a Developmental Process

Baxter Magolda’s (2000, 2001) work on the development of self-authorship illustrated the dynamic process of identity formation that young adults go through from relying on external formulas for guidance to developing an internal foundation, which is a decision-making mechanism that relies on one’s own attitudes, beliefs, and ideas as opposed to one’s decisions being dictated by outside influences. She found that an experience that challenges students’ current way of being and thinking —like many civic engagement efforts—can be an impetus for development. Jay (2008) also argued that civic engagement efforts, when done well, offer students the chance to become, “consciously aware of how their identity affects others and how their perception of others is shaped by their identities” (p. 260). Both Baxter Magolda’s (2000, 2001) and Jay’s (2008) work illustrated the importance of engaging with others about elements of difference to prompt reflection and growth in one’s civic identity.

Thus, development of identity across the three dimensions (i.e., cognitive, intrapersonal, interpersonal) depends on interactions with others. “This influence of the other contributes to the social construction of identity; in other words, the context and

interactions with others—including other people, societal norms, and/or expectations that evolve from culture—influence how one constructs one’s identity” (Torres et al., 2009, p. 577). Thus, considering identity development in the context of civic engagement offers a chance to more thoroughly examine the development of civic identity, which receives little attention in the literature although it is an identity that many students are exploring and describe as salient (Colby et al., 2007; Kiesa et al., 2007).

Development of Civic Identity

The ways in which students develop and construct a civic identity is a multifaceted process. Attending college is often a time for accelerated identity exploration and formation (Evans et al., 2010). The same is true for the development of one’s civic identity. “The adolescence-youth era is particularly opportune for shaping the development of identity with its civic component” (Youniss, McLellan, & Yates, 1997, p. 621). Colleges and universities have a vested interest in preparing civically engaged students (Colby et al., 2007; Jacoby, 2009; Kezar, 2002). Broadly speaking, civic identity comprises one’s collective sense of knowledge, attitudes, values, and actions related to civic engagement.

Few scholars have articulated what constitutes civic identity. Youniss et al. (1997) argued that civic identity must contain three elements: (1) engagement with the collective, (2) an awareness of both political and moral components of society, and (3) an understanding of how to be both critical and supportive of society. Knefelekamp (2008) posited that civic identity contains four important assumptions: (1) civic identity develops in concert with others, (2) civic identity is not the same as, but is deeply connected to, complex moral and ethical development, (3) civic identity is a holistic identity containing

many aspects of identity development, and (4) civic identity is a deliberately chosen and repeated act. These two definitions show the importance of knowledge, attitudes, values, and actions in the overall construct of civic identity, as well as the role of social perspective-taking and conversations about and across differences in its development.

Although studies examining outcomes related to civic engagement are abundant, research that explores the development of civic identity as a construct is scant. However, within the last decade, there have been some studies that have shown important linkages between civic engagement and identity development (Eyler & Giles, 1999; Jones & Abes, 2004). These studies examined the relationships between participating in civic action and the self-reflection that often ensues when civic engagement efforts expose students to others who are different from themselves. Civic experiences often prompt dissonance for students if they are forced to think about particular dimensions of their identity about which they may not otherwise think (Baxter Magolda, 1999, 2004). In their analysis of eight students who had completed a service-learning course, Jones and Abes (2004) found that participating in service-learning had an enduring influence on their identities, most notably the construction of a more integrated identity. A more complexly integrated identity was evidenced by greater cognitive complexity in thinking about self and relationships with others. Youniss and Yates (1997) found similar results in their study of high school students who participated in civic engagement efforts. Similarly, Vogelgesang and Astin's (2000) study of college students who participated in a service-learning course showed that service-learning can influence career goals and aspirations, as it did for all of the participants in their study. Another study of 3,680 college students showed the importance of high school involvement and pre-college motivations for

service were important factors in the development of students' civic identity (Bryant, Gaston Gayles, & Davis, 2011). Colby et al. (2007) suggested that one's sense of efficacy to enact change and internal motivations (e.g., responsibility towards others, commitment to change) are important components of civic identity. These studies, however, mostly examine the role that service-learning has on particular elements of what is sometimes called students' civic identity, which is only one aspect of the broad range of social change behaviors in which students participate that are thought to influence civic identity.

Some studies have shown that participating in civic engagement efforts has little effect on students' civic identity. For instance, after controlling for other factors, including pretests for self-efficacy, several studies have shown little or no increase in self-efficacy for engaging in civic matters and making a difference, which is an important component of students' civic identity (Eyler & Giles, 1999; Hudson, 1996; Sax, 2000). In fact, Miller (1997) found a decrease in self-efficacy through use of multiple regression, which might suggest a regression-to-the-mean effect as opposed to a decline in self-efficacy. These studies are limited to measures of self-efficacy, however, which is only one component of civic identity.

Racial Differences in Developing Civic Identity

While relatively few studies have examined civic identity as a construct, even fewer have examined the development of civic identity in the context of race. In their study of 24 college students who participated in community service in college (12 of whom continued their involvement in college while the other 12 did not), Jones and Hill (2003) found that the ways in which students develop their civic identity varied by race.

For the African Americans in the sample (n=5), the ways in which they described their civic identity was quite different from their White peers since their cultural heritage, “made it impossible for them to pull out that one aspect of who they are and hold it up for scrutiny” (Jones & Hill, 2003, p. 533). They concluded, “Our research suggests that how students understand, construct, and engage in community service is influenced by the socially constructed identities they bring to the experience” (p. 533). Similarly, a multi-institutional study found that African American students had higher levels of sense of civic responsibility than their White peers (Dong, 2005). A national study of students participating in living-learning programs also showed that the development of a civic identity differed by race (Rowan-Kenyon et al., 2007).

Summary of Theoretical Frame

Identity development theory has a rich historical and contemporary significance for student affairs and higher education because identity development is often accelerated during college (Evans et al., 2010). Identity development is a dynamic process that occurs between the self and the environment and is commonly thought to occur across three dimensions: cognitive, intrapersonal, and interpersonal. Among the many identities that may be important or salient for an individual is civic identity, which can be thought of as the knowledge, attitudes, values, and actions one has toward civic engagement. Civic identity development is an understudied construct, but some studies have shown that engaging with others in civic engagement efforts (e.g., service-learning) spurs its development (Colby et al., 2007; Jones & Abes, 2004; Vogelgesang & Astin, 2000; Youniss & Yates, 1997). How civic identity develops across race is an important consideration in the development of civic identity, as studies have shown that it varies by

race (Jones & Hill, 2003; Rowan-Kenyon et al., 2007). Although the literature articulating and studying this construct is scant, the degree to which one understands others' perspectives and engages in conversations about and across differences has been shown to contribute to its development. Thus, identity development is a useful frame for considering development of civic identity.

Civic Engagement among College Students

How civically engaged are today's college students? The answer to this question depends largely upon which measures are considered to be related to civic engagement. Overall, college students are typically cast as uninterested, apathetic, and disenfranchised with the civic and political sphere (Boyte & Kari, 2000; Colby et al., 2007; Ehrlich, 2000; Sax, 2000). However, this narrative has been frequently challenged. In the most thorough and robust examination of how college students think about their participation in the civic arena, *Millennials Talk Politics* (Kiesa et al., 2007) showed that college students are in fact civically engaged, but in ways that look differently from previous generations. Drawn from a sample of 386 college students who were enrolled at four-year institutions in 2006 and 2007, a report from the Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE) showed that today's college students are more engaged than previous generations of young people, but that they are much more likely to be involved in local community efforts to work on social problems as opposed to formal and traditional civic engagement efforts such as voting, keeping abreast of state and federal policy, and working through governmental channels to enact change. While the reasons for this shift in action is open to speculation, many believe that students have chosen volunteering and service over formal politics because they feel as though they can

make more of a difference in this realm and because they view it as less corrupt and more accessible (Kiesa et al., 2007; Sax, 2000). Despite the shift in the nature of civic engagement efforts in which college students are engaged, CIRCLE's research showed that students' civic participation is increasing in relation to past generations.

Research on Civic Engagement Outcomes

Attending college is often considered a valuable opportunity to build students' civic identity, and several studies have shown that college attendance is positively associated with increased civic engagement among college students (Astin, 1993; Sax, 2000). On the whole, significant evidence exists that shows attending college has far-reaching and lasting effects on college students. Related to change that occurs during college, studies have shown that college has a positive effect on college students' knowledge, skills, and interests in promoting the general welfare of their communities (Kuh, Hayek, Carini, Ouimet, Gonyea, & Kennedy, 2001; Villalpando, 1996). With few exceptions (Stage & Williams, 1990), studies have consistently shown a positive relationship between attending college and service to one's community. Further, college attendance has been positively correlated with a belief that students can make a difference in their communities (Astin, 1993; Sax, 2000; Sax & Astin, 1997). In a study of the influence of college on students' civic engagement, Knox, Lindsay, and Kolb (1993) found that attending college was related to involvement in a variety of civic activities, even after controlling for gender, race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and pre-college attitudes and values. However, studies of this nature are few, show only a modest impact, and do not disaggregate by racial or ethnic differences (Pascarella &

Terenzini, 2005). Further, few of these studies look at longitudinal outcomes of college experiences on civic engagement or the development of civic identity specifically.

However, despite a considerable amount of evidence about the lasting effects of civic engagement on college students, a fragmented view exists related to their perceptions of civic engagement. Some have argued that most students do not come to college looking for and placing high value on the civic commitments still espoused in campus mission statements, which thus mitigates the extent to which students are civically engaged (Schneider, 1998). Citing data from the Cooperative Institutional Research Program's (CIRP) annual freshmen survey, Schneider (1998) pointed to fifty years of research that showed a steady decline in first-year college students' interest in political issues and developing a personal philosophy of life. These are values that CIRP researchers argue correlate to involvement in civic activities. Astin (1993) the lead researcher on the CIRP, concluded, "Most institutions have simply not put their 'citizenship' and 'service' commitments into practice" (p. 9). However, despite some evidence to the contrary, the literature suggests that today's college students are more civically engaged than their predecessors, which is promising for those who seek to bolster the civic engagement among college students. Limitations exist in the literature regarding the unexamined differences in outcomes of civic engagement efforts across lines of differences in race, class, and gender, in addition to scant research that examines the magnitude of relationships variables between civic engagement efforts and their outcomes. The literature also lacks studies that examine mediating or confounding variables that affect students' civic identity.

Studies that have examined the long-term effects of changes in students' civic attitudes and behaviors have shown quite strongly that they persist post-graduation (Astin, 1996; Villalpando, 1996). In examining several studies that looked at the long-term effects of civic participation post-college, Pascarella and Terenzini (2005) remarked, "The results are strikingly consistent across a broad array of outcome measures... that changes in civic attitudes in behaviors that occur in college endure post-graduation" (p. 330). This literature base shows that college attendance and civic engagement are positively related; however, questions of the magnitude of these relationships and the specific pedagogical elements that led to those outcomes remain largely unanswered (Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005).

Civic Engagement Efforts in Higher Education

Specific civic engagement efforts that college students engage in that have rapidly expanded in the last decade are examined below, including the outcomes of these initiatives that relate to civic engagement. The efforts reviewed here are hardly the only efforts in which college students participate that contribute to the development of their civic identity, but they do represent a wide array of initiatives that have rapidly expanded in higher education in the last decade. For the purpose of this review, community service, service-learning, intergroup dialogues, and curricular experiences are examined because of their proliferation in the past decade and their explicit connections to engaging issues of diversity – an important connection that will take on significant importance later in this literature review. Although there are many other curricular and co-curricular experiences that seek to foster civic engagement and build students' civic identity (e.g., community-based learning, living-learning communities), the aforementioned examples

are the only ones examined here given the considerable empirical research that has been done on them, their prominence in higher education, their explicit connections to engaging issues of diversity, and the important role they play in building students' civic identity. Also, although these four experiences are not included in the structural equation model for the current study, most civic outcomes in the literature stem from these experiences and they are common interventions designed to build students' civic identity, so they are highlighted here. Further, these four experiences include social perspective-taking and socio-cultural issues discussions as common pedagogical components, which are two variables in the current study.

Community Service

Community service is likely the most often advocated type of civic engagement in higher education (Lawry et al., 2006) and can be thought of as altruistic efforts that take place within a community for the purpose of improving the common good. The strong tendency to equate community service and civic engagement likely stems from the long-standing history between community service and higher education (Jacoby, 2009). Gaining prominence in the 1960s, higher education's commitment to community service greatly increased with the establishment of the Peace Corps and Volunteers in Service to America, both federally funded programs aimed at increasing the amount of community service performed by college students. Even before these high-profile initiatives, many student organizations (e.g., fraternities and sororities, honor societies) performed community service for as long as they have been established (Jacoby, 2009). Community service on college campuses received a significant boost from the federal government in the 1990s when President George H. W. Bush signed the National and Community

Service Act in 1990 and when President Bill Clinton created the Corporation for National and Community Service. Today, as a result of these federal programs and myriad state and local initiatives, students participated in 366 million hours of community service during the 2008-2009 academic school year (Cress et al., 2010).

Service-Learning

Service-learning and community service are often muddled in the literature despite important distinctions. Astin and Sax (1998) defined service-learning as traditional community service activities that are paired with the addition of a learning component that integrates community service with academic learning. Jacoby (1996) also posited that reciprocity, or the mutual benefit and learning that occurs between the community and the student, differentiates community service and service-learning. She defined service-learning as, “a form of experiential education in which students engage in activities that address human and community needs together with structured opportunities intentionally designed to promote student learning and development” (p. 5). Service-learning occurs in both the curricular and co-curricular realms, but happens more often in curricular settings as part of an academic course (Jacoby, 2009).

Service-learning has been shown to be positively correlated with a wide array of outcomes that span cognitive, intrapersonal, and interpersonal domains (Keen & Hall, 2009). These outcomes included greater cognitive complexity, increased cognitive thinking skills, a more integrated sense of self in relation to others, increased competence about diversity issues, and greater confidence in working with diverse others (Keen & Hall, 2009). Some of the most consistent findings from studies on service-learning are reduced biases, dispelling of stereotypes, and an increased tolerance for diversity among

students (Eyler & Giles, 1999). Service-learning provides an opportunity to learn from people in the community who are different from oneself, which fosters an appreciation and understanding of diversity (Boyle-Baise, 2002).

Service-learning has been shown to be related to other outcomes as well, like those found by Astin and Sax (1998). They found that those undergraduates who participated in service-learning had a higher sense of civic responsibility. A qualitative study found that students who participated in extensive service-learning opportunities through AmeriCorps were more “other-oriented” (Einfeld & Collins, 2008, p. 103), while yet another study found higher cognitive outcomes for those who participated in service-learning (Vogelgesang & Astin, 2000). Service-learning has also been shown to lead to greater civic engagement (Einfeld & Collins, 2008; Eyler & Giles, 1999; Keen & Hall, 2009). Keen and Hall (2009) argued that connections between co-curricular service-learning and the development of civic identity remain largely unexplored. Community service and service-learning have been shown in numerous studies to have significant positive effects on students’ civic attitudes (Astin, 1993; Sax & Astin, 1997; Villalpando, 1996), including students’ sense of civic responsibility (Astin & Sax, 1998; Sax & Astin, 1997), but the specific pedagogical practices within service-learning that led to these outcomes also remain largely unexplored.

Intergroup Dialogues

Intergroup dialogues can be defined as a, “face-to-face facilitated conversation between members of two or more social identity groups that strives to create new levels of understanding, relating, and action” (Zúñiga, 2003, p. 9). Many higher education institutions offer intergroup dialogues, although the structure varies by campus.

Intergroup dialogues bring together two groups that have a history of conflict (e.g., White students and students of color, heterosexual students and gay/queer students). These dialogues are sustained over the course of several weeks and are led by co-facilitators who guide the dialogue and design the overall experience. Many intergroup dialogues are credit bearing, but several are not. Intergroup dialogues follow a specific model that can be characterized by a four-stage design: creating an environment for dialogue, learning from others' experiences, exploring conflicts and multiple perspectives, and moving from dialogue to action (Zúñiga, 2003). Intergroup dialogues have been shown to foster several learning outcomes, including an increased ability to take another's perspective, cognitive growth, a commitment to action, and an increased sense of civic responsibility (Yeakley, 1998; Zúñiga et al., 2002). Further, discussing social issues and socializing with students from another racial or ethnic background (both components of intergroup dialogues) have been shown to positively impact elements that might be considered part of students' civic identity (Gurin et al., 2004; Sax, 2000).

Curricular Experiences

The formal curriculum, or more specifically the general education curriculum, has always had preparing students for lives of engaged citizenship as its intent (Sax, 2000). Designed to expose students to a wide array of disciplines, thoughts, and ideas, the general curriculum at most colleges and universities seeks to prepare students to function effectively in a diverse society. As Jacoby (2009) argued, most civic engagement initiatives occur in a curricular setting in higher education. Colleges and universities have implemented civic engagement in the classroom in a number of ways, including infusing civic engagement into general education, adding service-learning courses,

engaging community problems as part of class projects, and community-based undergraduate research, to name a few. Capstone experiences are another way that civic engagement is fostered in curricular settings. Institutions are increasingly offering capstone courses for students toward the end of their undergraduate careers, which focus on integrated learning and applications to community settings (Brown & Benson, 2005). These efforts to include issues of civic engagement in the classroom have taken place across all disciplines, and continue to expand (Jacoby & Hollander, 2009).

Changing Landscape of Compositional Diversity in Higher Education

The major civic engagement initiatives highlighted earlier, and the many more that happen on college campuses, have occurred in a context that boasts significant cultural diversity. This context deserves its own special consideration because of the dramatic change in the landscape of higher education in the last decade and the predicted continued demographics shifts of students attending college. Demographics of college students are rapidly shifting, with marked increases in students of color attending college. A 2010 report on student demographic information from the American Council on Education (Ryu, 2010) showed:

- Colleges and universities became more diverse during the past decade; the minority share of the student body rose from 25 to 30 percent and the percentage of White students shrunk from 68 to 59 percent. Mirroring past years, minority enrollment during this period became more concentrated in two-year colleges compared with four-year institutions (36 and 26 percent, respectively).
- Enrollment rates for traditional college-aged White students increased from 31 percent in 1988 to 45 percent in 2008—the largest increase—while rates for

young African Americans rose from 22 to 34 percent. Latinos had the smallest increase over this timeframe, from 17 to 28 percent.

- From 1997-2007, the number of enrolled minority students of any age grew from 3.6 million to 5.4 million (52 percent) while the number of white students increased from 9.7 million to 10.8 million (12 percent). Among minority students, Latinos had the largest gains, both in growth rates and in absolute numbers, followed by African Americans.

These data highlight the rapidly increasing diversity of students of color in higher education. Such diversity data, like those presented above, are often referred to as compositional or structural diversity (Milem, Chang, & Antonio, 2005). In extensive research on the topic of structural diversity, Hurtado, Clayton-Pedersen, Allen, and Milem (1998) found that compositional diversity (called structural diversity at the time) is essential but insufficient to achieving learning outcomes related to diversity measures. Such diversity does not ensure the fulfillment of desired learning outcomes, but is a necessary precursor. Pike and Kuh (2006) also found that compositional diversity creates the conditions in which students can and do interact with a diverse group of peers. Thus, civic engagement efforts need to be examined in the context of increased diversity on college campuses.

Civic Engagement and Diversity

Although much has been written separately about civic engagement and diversity, literature examining both concepts in relation to one another remains sparse (Hero, 2007; Hurtado, 2006). “Oftentimes diversity and race issues are conspicuously absent from discussions about learning and civic education” (Hurtado, 2007, p. 187). Despite

predominantly being examined separately, the civic engagement movement and the diversity movement have progressed in parallel, but in fragmented ways (Hurtado, 2006). Increasing the overlap between the two movements is what Hurtado (2006) sought to do in her work entitled, *Preparing College Students for a Diverse Society*. She examined the cognitive, intrapersonal, and interpersonal affects of cross-cultural interactions. She found, “students who reported positive, informal interactions with diverse peers had higher scores on measures of more complex thinking about people and their behavior, cultural and social awareness, and perspective-taking skills” (Hurtado, 2006, p. 191). The study also depicted increases in democratic outcomes, including interest in poverty issues, concern for the public good, and an increased commitment to civic engagement. If increased compositional diversity is correlated with increased conflict as Putnam (2007) has found, the need to build students’ capacities to work effectively across those differences becomes undoubtedly important. Rhoads (1997) also argued strongly for considering civic engagement in light of increased diversity and multiculturalism. “The challenge of a democratic society committed to cultural difference is the struggle to build community across the cultural borders that a truly democratic vision promotes” (p. 177). Creating a democratic society rests squarely on the ability to consider oneself in relation to others, as Hurtado (2007) and Rhoads (1997) both argued.

Research examining the effects of diversity in higher education is relatively young considering that the majority of the research stems from the University of Michigan affirmative action court case that occurred in 2003 (Hurtado, 2006). Seeking to provide supporting evidence for the legitimacy in considering race in college admissions, research showing the positive effects of student body diversity on learning outcomes

rapidly expanded in the early 2000s. However, the learning outcomes that were examined were mostly focused on the cognitive dimension. The resulting ruling from the University of Michigan court case in June 2003 affirmed the contention that increased diversity of the student body increases student learning and prepares students to work in an increasingly diverse workforce (Hurtado, 2003). However, many studies have shown that compositional diversity is necessary but insufficient in addressing issues related to creating an inclusive environment, achieving learning outcomes related to diversity, and helping students work effectively across these differences (Hurtado, 2003). Other studies have shown the positive correlations between interactions with diverse peers and civic engagement outcomes (Gurin et al., 2002; Hurtado, 2001).

Considerations of Race in Civic Engagement

But, do students from different racial backgrounds experience diversity-related experiences such as interactions with diverse peers and intergroup dialogues similarly? The literature that examines racial differences between White students and students of color tips in the direction of differing experiences across racial lines. Gurin et al. (2002) highlighted several studies that showed that when separate analyses were conducted for racial groups, students of color respond differently to diversity experiences than do Whites. However, most research on civic engagement does not examine outcomes by race.

Considering the historical and contemporary civic mission of higher education, the need for collective action in civic engagement, and the increasing diversity of college students, finding ways to help students engage in civic engagement efforts in a way that helps them consider the perspectives of those different from themselves becomes

paramount. “Civic engagement requires working collaboratively and productively with others who may be different from ourselves to address common issues and to achieve common purposes” (Dunlap & Webster, 2009, p. 140). As Putnam (2000) stated, “Race is such a fundamental feature of American social history that nearly every other feature of our society is connected to it in some way” (p. 279). Further, he argued, “Race is the most important embodiment of the ethical crosscurrents that swirl around the rocks of social capital in contemporary America” (p. 154). These statements underscore the critical importance of examining race alongside civic engagement. In a follow-up analysis of his original study in 2000 in which he analyzed historical data from the General Social Survey to illustrate declining membership in civic organizations, Putnam (2007) found that the greater compositional or structural diversity in a community, the less civically engaged the people in that community were across a host of civic engagement measures, including joining formal civic associations, volunteering, and working informally to solve community problems. Using data from the 2000 Survey of Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey and hierarchical linear modeling from one large national data set and 41 smaller community samples, Putnam’s (2007) research empirically illustrated that communities that are racially and ethnically diverse were less civic than homogenous communities. People who live in more diverse communities are less likely to vote, trust others, volunteer, give to charity, and work together to address community problems. Putnam (2007) pointed to a general unease that many Americans feel toward people of different cultures. In fact, he argued that people tend to “hunker down” (i.e., participate less in the public sphere) when faced with increased diversity (p. 2). Hero (2007) corroborated these findings in his extensive study on racial diversity and

community engagement. He argued, “racial diversity continues to shape American politics, including its civic inclinations...” (p. xiii). Through his thorough analysis utilizing a wide array of quantitative methodologies, he concluded that higher racial diversity was associated with lesser and less equitable political and civic processes. He contended that future research should examine “how and why race continues to have so much impact on American politics” (p. 184).

Engaging students across racial differences is a complex but educationally rewarding endeavor and one that is gaining traction in higher education because of the increased diversity of students coming to college and the commitment to fostering engaged citizens who can work effectively in a diverse society. In the concluding remarks on a comprehensive report on Intergroup Dialogues, which hold the aforementioned aims as its central learning outcomes, the authors argued:

We live in a society rent by major social divisions and social inequalities. People of different races, ethnicities, genders, religions, sexual orientations, and socioeconomic classes often live in different worlds, are ignorant of or cautious with one another, and sometimes engage in serious and sustained conflict. Continuing and, in some cases, rising levels of intolerance and discrimination undermine efforts to achieve a diverse democratic society. (Zúñiga et al., 2007, p. 89)

The above quotation provides an apposite framing of the importance of the need to understand others in light of increased diversity to increase civic engagement. In their extensive study of civic responsibility in higher education that included site visits to several campuses, Ehrlich and Associates (2000) found that every campus they visited

was wrestling with what it means to foster civic engagement in an increasingly diverse society. However, intentional efforts designed to foster civic engagement in a diverse society were few and largely aspirational. Thus, engaging students across differences in fostering civic education remains a vaunted learning outcome in higher education.

However, understanding the landscape of efforts designed to achieve these outcomes is difficult. Chang (1996) found increasing interactions across race benefit all students. As mentioned earlier in this literature review, higher education has witnessed a proliferation of efforts designed to help students work more effectively with those different from themselves and take collective action on community problems. In order to facilitate effective collective action, a focus on understanding others must happen first. In their chapter on fostering intercultural competence through civic engagement, Dunlap and Webster (2009) offered four recommendations for helping students work collaboratively with diverse others in civic engagement efforts: providing a thorough introduction to the community, working to dispel stereotypes, engaging systems of social factors, and developing trust. Zúñiga, Williams, and Berger (2005) argued that little is known about how participating in diversity-related experiences influences what might be considered students' civic identity. Further, they contended, "Identifying the action outcomes of student engagement with diversity is critical to our understanding of the potential and promise of curricular and co-curricular diversity-related activities" (p. 660). These studies and suggestions underscore the importance of understanding others' perspectives, often referred to as social-perspective-taking, discussions about and across differences, and their connections to students' civic identity.

Social Perspective-Taking

As highlighted in the literature on civic engagement and diversity, the ability to understand others' perspectives is of paramount importance. The success of civic engagement efforts is directly tied to understanding others' perspectives, as argued by Dunlap and Webster (2009). This is often referred to as social perspective-taking. Commonly defined as the ability to take another person's point of view (Franzoi et al., 1985; Underwood & Moore, 1982) and/or accurately infer the thoughts and feelings of others (Gehlbach, 2004), social perspective-taking is a necessary precursor to effective civic action and is the crux of community service, service-learning, intergroup dialogue programs (Zúñiga, 2003), and curricular initiatives designed to build students' civic identity. Despite some generally agreed-upon understandings of the term social perspective-taking, there are problems associated with the definition. As Gelbach (2004) contended, treating social perspective-taking as a unidimensional construct has limitations. He defined social perspective-taking as a complex aptitude and provides a taxonomy of different dimensions of social perspective-taking. Intended to guide future research in social perspective-taking, Gelbach's (2004) taxonomy organized and reviewed existing literature that relates personal and situational characteristics to one's ability to engage in social perspective-taking. Goleman (2010) also argued for considering the multidimensionality of social perspective-taking. He posited that social perspective-taking contains elements of both cognitive empathy (i.e., knowing what another person feels) and emotional empathy (i.e., feeling what another person feels).

The ability to consider and understand others' perspectives is important given the increasing diversity in higher education and its role in creating social change through

various civic engagement efforts (e.g., service-learning, intergroup dialogues). “Today’s college graduates must be prepared to work and live in a global context where being well-informed about and open to the perspectives of others is critical” (Dey & Associates, 2010, p. 21). Drolet, Larrick, and Morris (1998) claimed, “A common, almost proverbial, belief in our culture is that unnecessary conflicts could be resolved if only individuals would consider the needs and wants of their opponent” (p. 25). In *Our Underachieving Colleges* (2006), Bok argued that college students are lacking in their capacities to understand and engage with others who are different than themselves in relation to matters of civic engagement.

As part of their *Core Commitments: Educating Students for Personal and Social Responsibility* project, The Association of American Colleges & Universities (AAC&U) released a report examining the campus climate for social perspective-taking (Dey & Associates, 2010). As part of their multi-year study, researchers surveyed 23,000 undergraduate students and 9,000 campus professionals (faculty, academic administrators, and student affairs staff) at 23 institutions. Their research showed that several aspects of campus culture foster social perspective-taking, including discussion-based classrooms, information and unstructured interactions with peers, community service, and service-learning initiatives. “Overall, it was apparent that college campuses played a major role helping students develop their ability to appreciate the perspectives of others” (p. 18). This report by AAC&U, the first comprehensive examination of the landscape of social perspective-taking on college campuses, highlighted several important findings. Most notably, as students progressed through college, they reported increases in their ability to learn from diverse perspectives, support their own

perspectives, and critically analyze others' perspectives. This finding underscores the notion that higher education is a viable entity for increasing the ability for students to consider others' perspectives. The researchers also found that nearly three-fifths of students (58.4 percent) and more than three-fourths of campus professionals (77.3 percent) strongly agreed that helping students recognize the importance of taking seriously the perspectives of others should be a major focus of their campuses. The AAC&U report also highlighted significant gaps in the perceptions of how often students, administrators, faculty members, and student affairs professionals advocate for the need to respect others' perspectives.

Another set of compelling findings from the AAC&U report (Dey & Associates, 2010) centered on the differences in social perspective-taking reported by students of different races. Compared to White students (30.9 percent), more students of color (36.6 percent) strongly agreed that their campus made helping students recognize the importance of taking seriously the perspectives of others a major focus, with a difference of almost six percentage points. In addition, more students of color (69.5 percent) strongly agreed that they came to college respecting diverse perspectives, compared to White students (59.8 percent).

Several studies have shown the importance of social perspective-taking in achieving a wide array of outcomes. In an extensive data mining study of the experiences of students in a sustained service-learning program, Keen and Hall (2009) showed that taking the perspective of another person who is perceived to be different held "particular developmental power" (p. 70). Using a series of correlations, Keen and Hall (2009) illustrated that social perspective-taking was positively related to over half of the

outcomes they were measuring, which included cognitive, intrapersonal, and interpersonal dimensions. Chang (1996) found that positive engagement with someone from a different background was associated with increased self-confidence.

Social perspective-taking is thus a vital practice to fostering civic engagement and building students' civic identity. "One major obstacle to developing a critically engaged society is the narrow purview built into each individual's cultural perspective, world view, and identity" (Tamiko Halualani, 2010, p. 41). Schneider and Knefelkamp (as cited in Schneider, 2000) developed a model of experiential learning from Kolb's (1984) Experiential Learning Model, which has reflecting on experiences from multiple standpoints as the first step. Tamiko Halualani's (2010) quotation and Schneider and Knefelkamp's model (as cited in Schneider, 2000) aptly captured the importance of social perspective-taking in developing students' civic identity.

Efforts Aimed at Fostering Social Perspective-Taking

Specific experiences that have been shown to foster social perspective-taking are important to consider. The AAC&U report (Dey & Associates, 2010) on social perspective-taking discussed earlier showed that students who participated in activities such as community service or service-learning were more likely to report gains in increased ability to engage in social perspective-taking. Schneider (1998) examined college experiences that have been empirically shown to engage students across difference and found four broad categories: (1) collaborative learning that helps students gain an appreciation for the differing and complementary strengths that diverse individuals bring to a group, (2) experiential-based service-learning designed to create an intensified awareness of students' own life experiences and those of others, (3) project-

based learning that teaches students to work in diverse teams to frame, address, and propose solutions to significant problems, and (4) multidisciplinary and integrative learning that fosters exploration of the relationships and complementarities among ideas, epistemologies, and communities. Hurtado (2003) found in a study of ten institutions that diversity courses can be “an appropriate and available educational solution for institutions interested in improving their students’ commitment to the larger public good” (p. 29). In the same study, Hurtado also found that service-learning and community service efforts are also viable mechanisms to achieve the same outcomes.

Outcomes of Social Perspective-Taking

Although social perspective-taking is a vaunted and desirable outcome that has been shown to be an important pedagogical component to build students’ civic identity, it also produces several other important outcomes. Hurtado (2003) found through a comprehensive study of ten four-year colleges and universities that positive and meaningful interactions with peers who differ from oneself are consistently significant predictors of cognitive, social, and democratic outcomes. Her report is likely the most comprehensive study linking interactions across diversity and learning outcomes. Several outcomes are important to consider. She found that campus initiatives such as intergroup dialogues and service-learning experiences that facilitate student interaction with diversity promote development of cognitive, social, and democratic skills. Experiences that engage diversity issues directly have a consistently positive effect on the majority of the educational outcomes. She also found that service-learning and intergroup dialogues have an impact on specific outcomes related to sense of civic responsibility and aptitude in working with cultural differences. Students who had

positive interactions with diverse peers had greater cultural awareness, interest in social issues, self-efficacy for social change, a belief in the importance of creating greater social awareness, perspective-taking skills, and concern for the public good. Students who experienced negative interactions with diverse peers had several negative outcomes, including lower self-confidence in leadership, cultural awareness, self-efficacy for social change, perspective-taking, concern for the public good, and the importance of civic contributions. All of these dimensions Hurtado found point toward a less developed civic identity among those who had negative interactions with diverse peers.

Another important finding from Hurtado's (2003) study that is directly tied to the achievement of the aforementioned outcomes was that students are likely to revert to familiar and solidified positions when encountering conflict. This was evidenced by findings that showed statistically significant lower scores on outcomes for students who experienced negative interactions with peers different from themselves. Hurtado's study showed the myriad positive outcomes associated with positive interactions with others who are different from oneself. "Moreover, the results show the tremendous benefits that can be achieved in creating diverse learning environments that prepare students for citizenship in a complex, and increasingly diverse society" (p. 5). Further, Hurtado argued, "Students who have the capacity to develop a more complex societal perspective, exhibit perspective-taking skills, and the capacity to evaluate complex social problems are better prepared to take on social roles as decision-makers and negotiators of different perspectives (p. 5).

Socio-Cultural Issues Discussions

One way to foster social perspective-taking is through discussions about and across differences. These discussions span many topics, including politics, religion, race, and nationality, and engage two or more people who hold differing social identities or hold varying viewpoints. Further, they can occur within formal settings (e.g., intergroup dialogues, classrooms) or informal settings (e.g., during leisure activities). Sometimes referred to as socio-cultural issues discussions, conversations about and across differences hold tremendous power for learning about differences. The term socio-cultural issues discussions refers to a scale from the National Study of Living Learning Programs (NSLLP) (Inkelas & Associates, 2004, 2007). This scale, which is discussed in greater detail in Chapter Three, contains questions related to the frequency in which students engage in conversations about and across political, racial, social, and cultural differences outside of the classroom.

A number of studies have examined the vital role of socio-cultural issues discussions on civic engagement outcomes. Several of these studies have used the socio-cultural issues scale developed by the NSLLP. The 2007 NSLLP included 22,519 respondents from 33 different institutions in the United States. In examining the national data set for the 2007 NSLLP (Inkelas & Associates, 2007), the researchers found that non-STEM majors in living-learning programs engaged in socio-cultural issues discussions more frequently than their STEM major peers. The national data set also showed that students in their comparison sample exhibited more frequency of socio-cultural issues discussions in 2007 than the comparison sample in 2004 (Inkelas & Associates, 2007). Using data from the 2006 MSL ($n = 48,118$ undergraduate students

from 52 institutions) and the socio-cultural issues discussions scale, Hershey (2007) found that socio-cultural issues discussions contributed above and beyond pretests for diversity and other environmental variables across six outcomes. Her research also showed that White students engage in conversations about and across differences less frequently than their peers.

Many other studies have examined the role of socio-cultural issues discussions in achieving student outcomes. Foremost among them was Astin's (1996) study of academic service-learning experiences and the powerful predictive role that informal discussions about differences had on a wide array of civic engagement outcomes. In a survey of 790 college students, Keen and Hall (2009) found the critical importance of discussions about difference related to a host of civic outcomes. Hurtado's (2005) research on the important pedagogical components of curricular campus experiences that most effectively predicted student development outcomes showed that dialogue across difference was the most important among the pedagogical components she examined. In their study of 4,269 students living in a residence hall system at one institution, Inkelas and Weisman (2003) found that co-curricular discussions with peers of socio-cultural issues were a strong positive predictor of intellectual engagement among nearly all of their participants (Inkelas & Wiseman). Sax (2004) and Dong (2005) both showed that discussions about and across differences were positively linked to increases in civic engagement. In a longitudinal study of 84 first-year college students at the University of Wisconsin, Madison (2003) and then again in their senior year (2007), Klofstad (2010) found that those students who discussed political and civic matters in their first year were more likely to be civically engaged in their senior year. Klofstad's (2010) study also

showed that students who engaged in “civic talk” with their roommates were 38 percent more likely to get involved with voluntary civic organizations.

These studies show that powerful influence of discussions about and across differences on a wide variety of student development and civic engagement outcomes, including civic identity. Using a variety of methodological approaches, the literature suggests the critical importance of such discussions. These studies also point to differences between how often White students and students of color engage in these discussions and the disparity of outcomes these two groups achieve as a result of these discussions. However, these studies are limited in both number and the lack of examination across racial differences.

Racial Differences in Social Perspective-Taking and Socio-cultural Issues

Discussions

Studies that have examined racial differences in social perspective-taking and discussions about and across differences show important distinctions. Both social perspective-taking and socio-cultural issues discussions have been shown to differ between students of different races in numerous studies, particularly studies of intergroup dialogue programs. Dessel and Rogge’s (2008) comprehensive review of outcomes from intergroup dialogues showed that self-reported changes in social perspective-taking occurred more often with White students than students of color. Intergroup dialogues often force White students to confront unexplored questions of White privilege, which can cause them to engage differently in the dialogues and may explain these differences (Gurin et al., 2004; Wise, 2004). This phenomenon also indicates that the ways in which White students engage in conversations about and across differences vary from students

of color. Two quantitative studies about the outcomes of intergroup dialogues corroborated this evidence. Nagda et al. (2004) and Nagda and Zúñiga (2003) found that students of color rated dialogues as more valuable and had more positive experiences with the dialogues than did White students.

These findings related to intergroup dialogues are not the only research that showed that White students tend to learn and change the most when engaging in dialogue about difference with students of color. Hu and Kuh (2003) used a wide array of statistical techniques (e.g., hierarchical linear modeling, correlations, multiple regression) and data from The College Student Experience Questionnaire (CSEQ), which includes 53,756 undergraduate responses at 124 American four-year colleges and universities to show that interactional experiences across races tend to have greater effects on White students than students of color. Similarly, Pascarella, Palmer, Moye, and Pierson (2001) found that White students benefitted more in regard to critical thinking than students of color from exposure to people from diverse backgrounds. Pascarella et al.'s research examined the net effect of ten diversity experiences on critical thinking outcomes for 3,840 students at the end of their first and third years at 18 four-year institutions and five community colleges. These studies, in addition to those examining outcomes from intergroup dialogues mentioned earlier, show the disparities in how students from different racial backgrounds experience social perspective-taking and conversations about and across differences and help make the case for examining civic engagement outcomes by race.

Summary of the Literature

Higher education's commitment to civic engagement began with the inception of higher education in the United States, and continues today. The recent resurgence of efforts aimed at fostering civic engagement in the last two decades has highlighted the importance of expanding and improving upon these efforts in order to more effectively build students' civic identity. A student's civic identity can be described as the knowledge, attitudes, values, and actions associated with civic engagement. Civic identity is an important identity for many students in much the same way that other social identities may be salient. Higher education is witnessing a proliferation of experiences intentionally designed to develop the civic identity of students, most notably the expansion of community service, service-learning, intergroup dialogue programs, and classroom-based experiences. These co-curricular and curricular experiences all point toward higher education's commitment to fostering civic engagement in students. Although a verifiable and substantiated positive relationship has been found between college attendance and civic engagement, the empirical studies examining these outcomes remain largely limited to correlational studies. Further, the magnitude of the relationships between civic engagement efforts and learning outcomes remains largely unexplored (Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005). Moreover, the construct of civic identity remains mostly unarticulated and thus largely understudied in the literature (Knefelekamp, 2008). Also, as shown in the literature, the ability to take on others' perspectives and engage in socio-cultural issues discussions are important and largely unexplored capacities in civic engagement literature.

Mirroring the increase in civic engagement efforts on campuses is the rapidly increasing diversity of students, particularly with students of color (Ryu, 2010). These trends are projected to continue for the foreseeable future. Increasing diversity among students in higher education is a celebrated outcome, as it increases opportunities for all students; however, as shown by Putnam's (2007) work, increases in diversity in communities leads to less civic engagement across a host of measures, including community participation and working together to solve community problems. Hurtado (2003) also found that when encountering conflict, as so often happens in civic engagement efforts, students often revert to solidified and unwavering positions.

Social perspective-taking and socio-cultural issues discussions are ways to mitigate negative issues that arise in civic engagement efforts and have been linked to several important learning outcomes related to cognitive complexity, fostering civic engagement, and interpersonal relations (Hurtado, 2003). Social perspective-taking is also seen as an effective way for students to work together more effectively across differences. Further, social perspective-taking is often seen as a critical mediating component for civic engagement efforts (Dunlap & Webster, 2009). The extent to which students are able to and engage in considering others' perspectives when engaging in civic engagement efforts such as solving a community problem or working for social change is generally believed to be associated with positive outcomes of the civic engagement effort (Hurtado, 2007). However, this connection remains largely unexplored (Dey & Associates, 2010; Hurtado, 2003). Socio-cultural issues discussions are a common way to understand other perspectives, which has been linked to a number of important and necessary outcomes for building students' civic identity. These studies

show the important influence of socio-cultural issues discussions on a wide variety of student development and civic outcomes. Like studies of social perspective-taking, studies about socio-cultural issues discussions are limited in number and the lack of examination across racial differences. These studies also tend to examine formal experiences that promote discussions about differences, and focus much less on informal conversations.

Chapter Three: Methodology and Methods

The purpose of this chapter is to present the methods and procedures used in the current study. First, the research questions are restated with the corresponding hypothesis, including justification for that hypothesis. Next, the design of the study is introduced including the sampling strategy, variables, measures from the survey instrument, data collection and instrumentation procedures, and methodology. The conceptual framework guiding the study follows, including a graphical representation of the proposed model. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the methods employed and limitations of the study.

Description of Study

Research Questions

The purpose of this study was to analyze the direct, indirect, and total effects of social change behaviors, social perspective-taking, and socio-cultural issues discussions on students' civic identity and to explore whether these effects differ among different races. This study utilized Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) as a methodology, as it is well suited to examine the relationships between latent variables and scales (Klem, 2000), which are all of the variables in this analysis.

Hypothesis

The central hypothesis of the study was that there would be no statistical differences between the models of various racial groups as they relate to the relationships between social perspective-taking, socio-cultural issues discussions, and civic identity (as measured in the citizenship scale of the socially responsible leadership scale [SRLS] explained below). This null hypothesis is in line with Zúñiga et al.'s (2005) study that

showed no statistically significant differences in motivation to promote social justice or reduce their own racial biases between students of color and White students and Lee's (2005) study that showed no difference in outcomes resulting from service-learning across racial differences of students. However, this hypothesis differed from several studies that illustrated that students of color respond differently than Whites to diversity-related experiences (Fischer, 2007; Gurin et al., 2002). This hypothesis also differed from the results of another study that showed students of color showed a significant increase in social perspective-taking as compared to their White peers who participated in an intergroup dialogue (Nagda, Kim, Moise-Swanson, & Kim, 2006). Also, Dong (2005) found that the development of civic responsibility differed by race. Finally, this hypothesis is in contrast to the report from the Association of American Colleges and Universities (Dey & Associates, 2010), which showed that White students and students of color view the climate for social perspective-taking on campus differently.

Study Design

This *ex post facto* study is a secondary analysis of data collected through the 2009 administration of the Multi-Institutional Study of Leadership (MSL). To investigate the research questions, I used Structural Equation Modeling (SEM). SEM is a statistical technique that examines the relationships between variables, including latent variables (Klem, 2000). SEM is well suited for social and behavioral science research because it deals with variables that are not easily observable or measurable, such as self-efficacy, motivation, or in the case of this study, civic identity, socio-cultural issues discussions, social change behaviors, and social perspective-taking. Path analysis, a similar methodology to SEM, deals strictly with relationships between observed variables (Klem,

2000; Mueller, 1996), and was thus not used for this study. SEM is, in essence, an analysis of co-variance structures (Klem, 2000), and it was used in this analysis because it allows for analysis of both the direct and indirect contributions of variables in the model to the dependent variable of interest. This study used confirmatory modeling to verify relationships that are proposed in the literature on civic engagement, social perspective-taking and socio-cultural issues discussions, namely that social perspective-taking undergirds civic engagement outcomes. Using confirmatory modeling served two purposes: validating the measurement models and fitting the structural models. Confirmatory factor analysis ascertained if the observed variables in the hypothesized model loaded properly on the latent constructs. In addition, this process illuminated covariate relationships among the latent constructs. I chose to use SEM and confirmatory factor analysis because they test the composition and structure of important latent constructs (i.e., civic identity, socio-cultural issues discussions, social perspective-taking, social change behaviors) and the paucity of research that examines these constructs in combination. Further, SEM is an underutilized methodology in college impact literature (Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005).

Discussion of Sample

Sample. Data from the Multi-Institutional Study of Leadership (MSL) was used in this study (Dugan & Komives, 2007, 2009). The 2009 data set from the MSL comprised 101 different US institutions that represented a wide array of institution types. To solicit participating institutions, electronic invitations to apply for participation in the study were sent to several higher education listservs, including those hosted by the National Clearinghouse for Leadership Programs (NCLP), Association of Leadership

Educators, Student Leadership Programs Knowledge Community (NASPA) and the Commission on Student Involvement in the College Personnel Administrators, International (ACPA). Anecdotal evidence exists that those who received the emails via listservs forwarded the invitation on to other listservs or colleagues directly. Participating campuses paid approximately \$3,000 to offset the expenses accrued in administering the study. Some campuses received scholarships to further offset their study-related expenses. A full list of the 101 participating institutions can be found in Appendix A.

Number of subjects. Campuses less than 4,000 enrollment surveyed their entire student population; those that did not were asked to identify a sufficient comparison sample of at least 500 students. Larger institutions used simple random samples and tested them for representativeness against other institutional random samples at 95% confidence intervals. If an institution had an enrollment over 4,000 students, they were asked to provide a sample of students from the undergraduate population, thus creating a simple random sample. Institutions were also asked to oversample by 70% in consideration of the 30% return rate typical of web-based surveys (Couper, 2000). If the campus population was less than 4,000 students, the entire student body was sampled.

Over 337,000 students received the invitation to participate in the MSL (both the random and comparison samples), of which 115,632 students completed the instrument, yielding a 34% response rate. Other standard data cleaning techniques were used to prepare the dataset for distribution and analysis, including the removal of duplicate or manipulated cases and outliers (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007), resulting in a final number of 115,582 cases for the national study. Cases removed from the dataset did not vary

significantly from those that were retained across the demographic variables of race, gender, or class standing (Dugan, 2008). Further data reduction efforts were required for the purposes of the current study. Since only half of the national sample received the social perspective-taking scale as part of a sub-study, those cases that did not include this variable were removed. Further, those cases that did not complete 90% of the remaining three latent variables used in this study (i.e., social change behaviors, socio-cultural issues discussions, civic identity) were also removed. Finally, those cases that did not include a racial category were also removed. Removed cases did not vary significantly from those that were retained based on race. After removing these missing or incomplete cases, the final number of cases used in the current analysis was 45,271.

Students self-identified their race and other demographic information in the MSL. Participants were also given the opportunity to further describe their race through sub-questions, which would allow them to further identify their ethnicity. For example, a participant who identified as Asian or Asian American would be given the opportunity in a subsequent question to identify as Chinese or Filipino, for instance. Sub-racial categories were not used in this analysis, however, because of the extensive number of structural equation models such an analysis would produce. Descriptive statistics of the racial categories are listed in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1

Sample Size by Race

Scale	Total Number of Cases (n)	Percentage (%)
White / Caucasian	33,475	73.94
Asian American / Asian	3,546	7.83
Multiracial	3,534	7.81
African American / Black	2,394	5.29
Latino / Hispanic	1,838	4.10
Middle Eastern	278	0.61
American Indian / Alaska Native	206	0.46
Total	45,271	100

Instrument, Variables, and Measures

Instrument. The MSL was created and launched in 2006 by the MSL research team, which was comprised of graduate students, staff members, and one faculty member at the University of Maryland, College Park. The MSL was distributed as a web-based survey in collaboration with the Survey Science Group (SSG) located in Ann Arbor, MI. Experts in designing and distributing online surveys, SSG assisted with issues that occur in collecting data using an online survey, such as avoiding spam filters, creating accurate logic patterns, and suggesting incentives to fill out the survey. These measures were aimed at increasing response rates. SSG assisted campuses in seeking IRB approval, transmitting their sample, and designing their custom questions.

Pilot testing for the 2009 MSL was conducted in October 2008 with a sample of 3,000 students from the University of Maryland. A total of 660 students completed the pilot test, which resulted in a 22% response rate. The pilot test helped establish inter-rater reliability (Mertens, 2005) for the instrument. The social change behaviors, social perspective-taking, and revised citizenship scales (three scales in the current study) were shown to be reliable (Komives, 2009a). Construct validity was also established for the revised version of the Socially Responsible Leadership Scale (SRLS-R3) by determining positive correlations between it and other instruments based on related leadership theories (i.e., The Leadership Practices Inventory, Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire) (Komives, 2009c).

The resulting 2009 MSL consists of 40 questions taken from the 2006 MSL, select scales from the National Study of Living Learning Programs (Inkelas & Associates, 2004, 2007), as well as additional subscales (e.g., spirituality, mentoring, campus climate) developed by the MSL research team (Komives, 2009b). A Crowne Marlow test of social desirability was also used in the pilot test (Dugan & Komives, 2009).

Institutions were responsible for providing student email addresses and descriptive information to the SSG. This information allowed the SSG to send personalized emails to each student. In several cases, invitations to participate in the study came from prominent members of the administration on campus (e.g., president, vice president for student affairs), which were thought to lend credibility and familiarity to the study with the ultimate goal of bolstering response rates.

Variables and Measures. A full discussion of the variables and measures contained within them follow. Reliabilities are reported within each scale. Table 3.2 contains a summary of the Cronbach alpha reliabilities for each of the scales for the national study, and Table 3.3 includes a list of the Cronbach alpha reliabilities for each scale by race for the current study.

Civic Identity. Civic identity is measured using the citizenship scale of the Socially Responsible Leadership Scale (SRLS-R3) (Dugan & Komives, 2009; Tyree, 1998). The SRLS is a scale originally designed by Tyree (1998) to operationalize the Social Change Model of Leadership (HERI, 1996), which depicts leadership as a relational and collaborative endeavor that results in change. Using eight values (the eight C's) (i.e., consciousness of self, congruence, commitment, common purpose, collaboration, controversy with civility, citizenship, change), the SRLS was originally a 103-item scale designed to measure these eight values. Reduced to 68 items for the first version of the MSL (Dugan & Komives, 2007), the SRLS-R3 (Komives, 2009a) was used in the 2009 MSL and contains 40 questions.

The citizenship scale is used as one of the eight scales used to operationalize the Social Change Model of Leadership (HERI, 1996; Tyree, 1998) and is comprised by 11 items. This scale is used as a proxy for students' civic identity because it comprises knowledge, attitudes, values, and actions related to civic engagement. The original scale was established through confirmatory factor analysis (Tyree, 1998). Each measure is scored on a 1 – 5 Likert scale, with 1=Strongly Disagree, 2=Disagree, 3=Neutral, 4=Agree, and 5=Strongly Agree.

1. I believe I have responsibilities to my community
2. I give time to making a difference for someone else
3. I work with others to make my communities better places
4. I have the power to make a difference in my community
5. I am willing to act for the rights of others
6. I participate in activities that contribute to the common good
7. I believe I have a civic responsibility to the greater public
8. I value opportunities that allow me to contribute to my community
9. It is important to me that I play an active role in my communities
10. I volunteer my time to the community
11. I believe my work has a greater purpose for the larger community

The citizenship scale, which is the dependent variable, has a Cronbach alpha reliability rating of .91 for the national data set and the current study (Dugan & Komives, 2009).

Social Perspective-Taking Scale. Social perspective-taking, as it is defined in the MSL, is the ability to take another person's point of view (Franzoi et al., 1985; Underwood & Moore, 1982) and/or accurately infer the thoughts and feelings of others (Gehlbach, 2004). The social perspective-taking scale was created by members of the MSL research team by adapting a previous version of a similar scale developed by Franzoi et al. (1985). The social perspective-taking scale is comprised of eight measures (listed below), which are scored on a 1 – 5 Likert scale, with 1 = Does Not Describe Me Very Well and 5 = Describes Me Very Well. The Cronbach alpha for the 2009 social perspective-taking scale was .82 (Dugan & Komives, 2009), and .79 for the current study.

1. I often have tender, concerned feelings for people less fortunate than me
2. Sometimes I don't feel very sorry for other people when they are having problems. (Reverse Scoring)
3. I try to look at everybody's side of a disagreement before I make a decision.
4. I sometimes try to understand my friends better by imagining how things look from their perspective.
5. Other people's misfortunes do not usually disturb me a great deal. (Reverse Scoring)
6. I believe that there are two sides to every question and try to look at them both.
7. When I'm upset at someone, I usually try to "put myself in their shoes" for a while.
8. Before criticizing somebody, I try to imagine how I would feel if I were in their place.

Socio-Cultural Issues Discussions Scale. The socio-cultural issues discussions scale was used with permission of the NSLLP (Inkelas & Associates, 2004, 2007). This scale examined the frequency with which students engage with others outside of class in discussions about social and cultural issues in a typical school year. The scale is comprised of six measures (listed below), which are scored on a 1 – 4 Likert scale, with 1 = Never, 2 = Sometimes, 3 = Often, and 4 = Very Often. This scale had already been tested for reliability and validity for the purposes of the NSLLP study (Cronbach alpha of .86). Content validity was established through a review of scales and items by 15 living-learning program administrators. Construct validity was established through factor analysis. Both the national MSL and current study Cronbach alpha levels for this scale were .90 (Dugan & Komives, 2009). Students were asked to respond with how frequently they engaged in these conversations with others outside the classroom. The six stems that comprise the scale are as follows:

1. Talked about different lifestyles/customs
2. Held discussions with students whose personal values were very different from your own
3. Discussed major social issues such as peace, human rights, and justice
4. Held discussions with students whose religious beliefs were very different from your own
5. Discussed your views about multiculturalism and diversity
6. Held discussions with students whose political opinions were very different than your own

Social Change Behaviors Scale. The social change behaviors scale was established by members of the MSL research team at the University of Maryland through an extensive literature review and pilot testing. Particular attention was paid to those active behaviors that related to bringing about social change given the focus of the SCM, which undergirds the MSL. The scale is thus comprised of ten items designed to understand this process. This scale asked students to indicate the frequency in which they engaged with the ten items listed below on a Likert scale (1 = Never, 2 = Sometimes, 3 = Often, 4 = Very Often). The Cronbach alpha level for the social change behaviors scale was .90 for both the national and current study.

1. Performed community service
2. Acted to benefit the common good or protect the environment
3. Been actively involved with an organization that addresses a social or environmental problem
4. Been actively involved with an organization that addresses the concerns of a specific community (ex. Academic council, neighborhood association)
5. Communicated with campus or community leaders about a pressing concern

6. Took action in the community to try to address a social or environmental problem
7. Worked with others to make the campus or community a better place
8. Acted to raise awareness about a campus, community, or global problem
9. Took part in a protest, rally, march, or demonstration
10. Worked with others to address social inequality
11. I believe my work has a greater purpose for the larger community

Table 3.2

Cronbach Alpha Reliabilities for National Study MSL Scales

Scale	Previous Reliability	MSL Pilot Reliability	MSL 2006 Reliability	MSL 2009 Pilot	MSL 2009 Pilot2	MSL Pilot
Citizenship	-	.92	.77	.92	.93	.91
Socio-Cultural Discussions	NSLLP .86	.90	.90	.92	.89	.90
Social Change Behaviors	-	-	-	.91	.92	.90
Social Perspective Taking	-	-	-	.79	.82	.79

Note. Reliability levels taken from Komives, 2006, 2009b.

Table 3.3

Cronbach Alpha Reliabilities for Current Study by Race

Scale	Social Change Behaviors	Socio-Cultural Discussions	Social Perspective-Taking	Civic Identity
All Races	.904	.900	.794	.913
White / Caucasian	.899	.899	.799	.912
Asian American / Asian	.911	.899	.776	.914
Multiracial	.914	.902	.792	.914
African American / Black	.916	.913	.753	.912
Latino / Hispanic	.921	.908	.764	.917
Middle Eastern American	.905	.921	.803	.907
Indian / Alaska Native	.909	.920	.820	.920

Validity and Reliability

Content validity was also used by a group of expert raters who had particular expertise in the subject areas contained in the various SRLS scales. Construct validity was bolstered by confirming the theoretical relationships between the relationships of the variables contained in this study (Dugan & Komives, 2010). As mentioned previously, confirmatory factor analysis was used in the current analysis to supplement the exploratory factor analysis that was done during the creation of the social perspective-taking scale. Also, because structural equation modeling was employed for this analysis, construct validity was ensured given the use of testing latent measures in SEM. This is commonly referred to as confirmatory factor analysis (Klem, 2000). This data analysis

procedure follows up the original exploratory factor analysis that was conducted in the creation of the scales on the MSL. Data regarding construct validity, such as factor loadings and measurement error can be found in Chapter Four in Figures 4.1 – 4.8.

Data Analysis

Methodology

This study utilized Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) as a methodology, as it is a methodology allows for the examination of relationships between latent variables and scales (Kaplan, 2009; Klem, 2000). A latent variable is an unobserved variable or factor, which is inferred through a mathematical model (Klem, 2000). The latent variables included in this study are measured with the social change behaviors, social perspective-taking, socio-cultural issues, and civic identity scales. SEM can be thought of as a combination of factor analysis and path analysis because it explores both the validity of the items that make up latent variables (factor analysis) and the complex relationships between different variables (path analysis) (Kaplan, 2009; Klem, 2000). SEM can also be thought of as an analysis of co-variance structures (Klem, 2000). I chose SEM as the methodology because it allows for analysis of both the direct and indirect contributions of variables in the model to the dependent variable of interest (Klem, 2000), which in this case is students' civic identity (as measured by the MSL citizenship scale). This analysis also used confirmatory modeling, which seeks to verify relationships that are proposed in the literature on engaging in social change, social perspective-taking, socio-cultural issues discussions, and students' civic identity, which were discussed in Chapter Two. Confirmatory modeling served two purposes in this analysis: validating the measurement model and fitting the structural model. Confirmatory factor analysis showed if the

observed variables in the hypothesized model load properly on the latent constructs. In addition, this process illuminated co-variate relationships among the latent constructs. Goodness of fit indices (Klem, 2000) for the scales and model comparisons were explored and are reported in Chapter Four. Table 4.3 presents a summary of the various goodness of fit indices for the current study. The choice to use SEM and confirmatory factor analysis was made because they test the composition and structure of important latent constructs (i.e., social change behaviors, social perspective-taking, socio-cultural issues discussions, civic identity).

This study examined eight different structural equation models (i.e., seven different racial categories and an omnibus model), which differ only by the population on which the model is based. Populations were examined separately based on race, as indicated by the racial categories on the MSL survey (Dugan & Komives, 2009). Depictions of race do not fit neatly into categories, which is problematic for any quantitative study that necessitates the treatment of race as something that can be categorized. However, this tension is inevitable in quantitative research. To help alleviate this tension, the current analysis avoided lumping all students of color into one category. Instead, six subcategories were used for students of color, which allowed for a better understanding of the unique experiences of students of color. The structural equation model in this study examined White students and six categories of students of color as the subjects. Although differences exist among the ethnicities of White students, they were treated as one group and were the largest group in the sample (n=33,475). The six other racial subcategories include Asian American/Asian (n=3,546), Multiracial (n=3,534), African American/Black (n=2,394), Latino/Hispanic (n=1,838), Middle

Eastern (n=278), and American Indian/Alaska Native (n=206). Students who did not indicate a race were excluded in the analysis. Those students who indicated more than one race were classified as Multiracial.

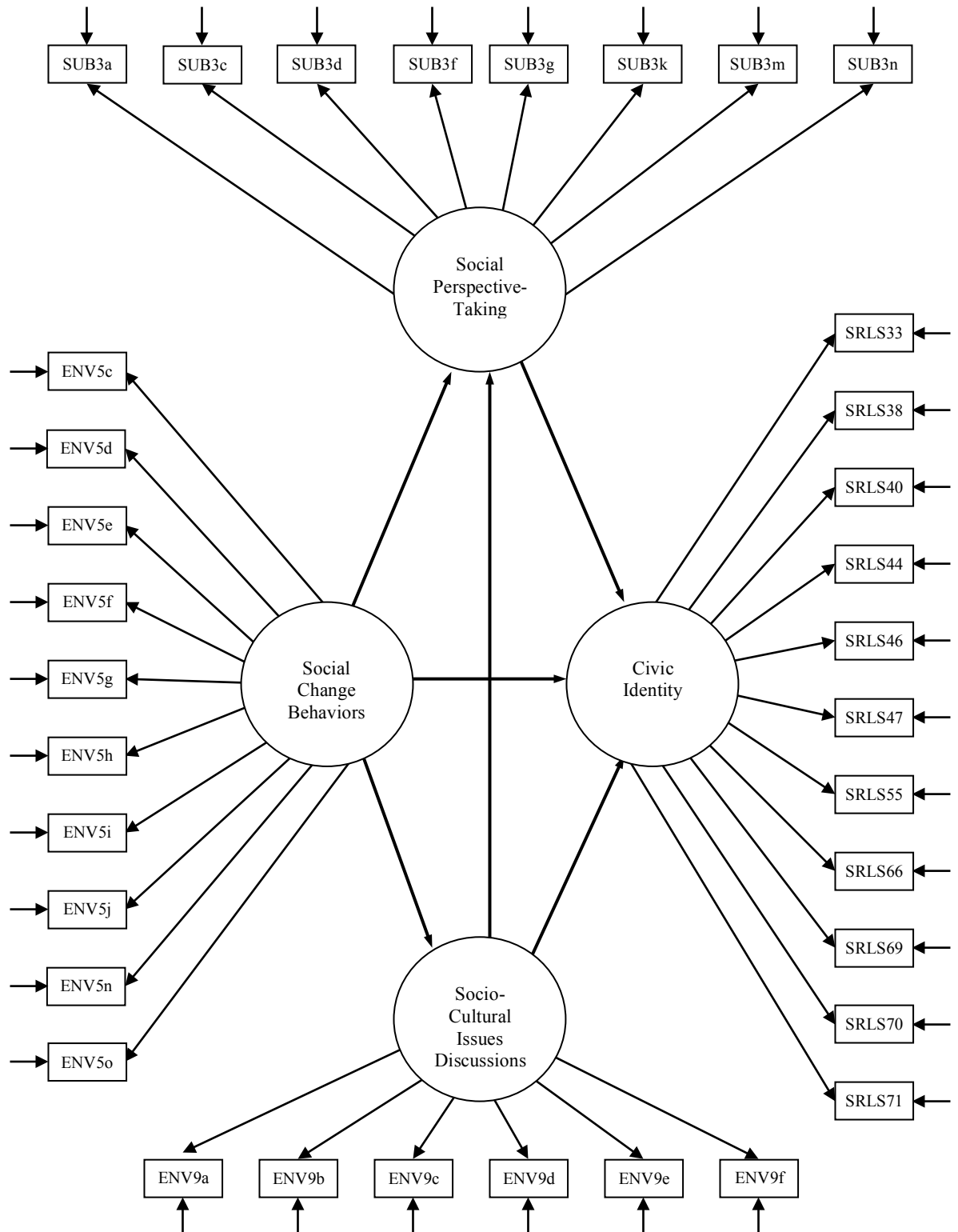
Students self-identified their race and other demographic information in the MSL. Participants were also given the opportunity to further describe their race through sub-questions, which would allow them to further identify their race or ethnicity. Sub-racial categories were not used in the current study, however. Table 3.1 shows the sample size for the current study by race.

Graphical Model

Figure 3.1 is the graphical model for the current study. It contains four latent variables – social change behaviors, socio-cultural issues discussions, social perspective-taking, and the citizenship scale, which are represented by circles. Variable names for the various items that make up each scale are listed below each latent variable and are depicted by rectangles. Directional arrows show the hypothesized relationships between the variables, which illustrate both direct and indirect relationships between the three independent variables (i.e., social change behaviors, socio-cultural issues discussions, social perspective-taking) and the dependent variable (i.e., civic identity). Models for each racial group are included in Chapter Four, including a cross-racial analysis model comparing the six students of color racial groups to White students.

Figure 3.1

Structural Equation Model Measuring Students' Civic Identity



Limitations of the Study

The current study contains several limitations, which may mediate the utility of the findings and implications for practice. First, several variables were left out of the proposed model that have been shown to be influential in several of the relationships between the variables. For instance, several collegiate experiences (e.g., residence halls, studying abroad) have been shown to have strong correlations with students' civic identity and their capacities to consider others' perspectives. Elements of pedagogical practices (i.e., social perspective-taking, socio-cultural issues discussions), not specific experiences, were not the focus of this study and were thus excluded. Further studies should examine the role that social perspective-taking and socio-cultural issues discussions have in these experiences and the resulting effects they have on students' civic identity. Another limitation, which stems from the first, is that institution type could have an effect on the variables being studied. Students who attend institutions that have an ethos of service (e.g., Jesuit), for instance, might differ in their attitudes and behaviors, as several studies have shown (Astin, 1996; Keen & Hall, 2009; Sullivan, 2000). However, many studies have shown that institutional characteristics are mostly unrelated to civic and community attitudes when researchers accounted for the culture and kinds of activities meant to foster intercultural understanding (Astin, 1993, 1996; Knox et al., 1993). Next, social change behaviors, social perspective-taking, socio-cultural issues discussions, civic identity, and race are incredibly complex topics that have had myriad studies conducted on them in their own right, let alone trying to examine these concepts in concert with one another. This study illuminated particular aspects of the relationship between these constructs, but further analysis will be necessary to either

corroborate or refute them. Finally, the socio-cultural issues discussion scale, which is used in this study, asks students to report on conversations they have had outside of the classroom. The rich learning about and across differences that occurs inside the classroom is no doubt important, but is beyond the measures contained in this study. However, a recent study showed that cross-racial interactions that occur out of class are more influential and meaningful for students, as opposed to those interactions that happen within the classroom, thus underscoring the importance of examining cross-racial interactions outside of the classroom (Lowe, Byron, Ferry, & Garcia, 2011).

Summary of Chapter

This purpose of this study was to analyze the direct, indirect, and total effects of social change behaviors, social perspective-taking, and socio-cultural issues discussions on students' civic identity and to explore if these effects differ among races. Using structural equation modeling (Klem, 2000) and data from the 2009 Multi-Institutional Study of Leadership, this study sought to understand the relationships between social change behaviors, social perspective-taking, socio-cultural issues discussions, and students' civic identity. My hypothesis was that there would be no statistical differences between the six different student of color racial groups and White students as it relates to the development of civic identity. How I chose to treat the data—and the individual items that comprise the latent variables—was also discussed. A graphical model and limitations of the study concluded the chapter.

Chapter Four: Results

The purpose of this study was to analyze the direct, indirect, and total effects of social change behaviors, social perspective-taking, and socio-cultural issues discussions on students' civic identity and to explore whether these effects vary among different races. Data from the 2009 Multi-Institutional Study of Leadership (MSL) were used in this analysis. After removing 70,311 missing and incomplete cases, 45,271 cases were analyzed. Using structural equation modeling (SEM) to explore the relationships between four latent variables (i.e., social change behaviors, socio-cultural issues discussions, social perspective-taking, civic identity), both confirmatory factor analysis and structural models for each of the seven racial categories and an omnibus model were conducted. The central hypothesis of this study was that the structural paths between the latent variables for the different racial groups would be invariant. Although aligning with similar research that showed no racial differences in students' motivation to promote social justice or reduce their own biases (Zúñiga et al., 2005) and Lee's (2005) study that showed no difference in outcomes resulting from service-learning experiences engaging racial differences, this null hypothesis was not retained. Significant differences between the six racial groups for students of color and White students were found in five of the six structural paths in the model.

This chapter begins with an analysis of the latent variable mean scores to provide greater context for the variables and structural paths in the study. Goodness of fit indices for each structural equation model, which indicate the tenability of the structural equation models, are presented next. No issues with model fit were found that would prohibit analysis. Next, results from both the confirmatory factory analysis and the structural

paths for group models are presented. Models for the seven racial groups (i.e., White/Caucasian, Asian American/Asian, Multiracial, African American/Black, Latino/Hispanic, Middle Eastern, American/Indian/Alaska Native) follow, as well as an omnibus model that includes all participants in the study. A discussion of the direct, indirect, and total effects on civic identity is included for each racial group. Next, results from comparing the structural models for each of the six students of color racial groups to White students is presented. Summaries of these comparisons can be found in Figure 4.9 and Table 4.6. A summary of results concludes the chapter.

Latent Mean Group Differences

An initial exploration of latent means and differences between racial groups was conducted to provide a better understanding of latent variable mean scores. Mean differences were tested using Tukey-Kramer, which is recommended when comparing groups with vastly different sample sizes like those in this study (Klem, 2000; Pallant, 2007). A comparison of students of color as one group and White students was first conducted, which yielded significant mean differences ($p < .001$) for the social change behaviors, social perspective-taking, and civic identity scales, but not the socio-cultural issues discussion scale. Effect sizes (eta squared) based on the means tests showed small effects for the social change behaviors and civic identity scales, and a medium effect size difference in the social perspective-taking scale. Table 4.1 shows the results of this omnibus mean differences test.

Since the omnibus test showed significant differences between the means of students of color collectively when compared to White students, an additional analysis was performed to examine mean differences between the six students of color racial

groups and White students. Table 4.2 contains the full results from this analysis. This analysis shows that each of the six students of color racial groups differed significantly ($p < .001$) from White students on each of the four latent variables. Effect sizes based on the mean tests were reported using eta squared. Effect sizes were mostly small to medium based on eta squared analysis (Pallant, 2007); however, Black/African American students yielded a large effect size difference from White students on the social perspective-taking scale. When examined as a collective group, students of color showed no statistically significant differences on the socio-cultural issues discussions scale, but when examined individually, all six students of color groups had statistically significant different mean scores than White students. Mean differences for each of the four latent variables are highlighted in Table 4.2. A discussion of the latent mean differences for each variable is discussed below.

Table 4.1

Mean Group Comparisons between White Students and Students of Color

	White / Caucasian n=33,475		People of Color (aggregate) n=11,796	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Social Change Behaviors	2.03	0.73	2.10*	0.79
Socio-cultural Issues Discussion	2.75	0.75	2.75	0.79
Social Perspective-Taking	3.70	0.61	3.77**	0.61
Civic Identity	3.81	0.58	3.84*	0.60

* small effect size (eta squared)

** medium effect size (eta squared)

***large effect size (eta squared)

^a Social change behaviors and socio-cultural issues discussions scales based on four point Likert scales

^b Social perspective-taking and civic identity scales based on five point Likert scales

^c all significant at $p < .001$

Table 4.2

Latent Mean Group Comparisons of Students of Color to White Students

	Asian American / Asian		Multiracial		African American / Black		Latino / Hispanic		Middle Eastern		American Indian / Alaska Native		White / Caucasian	
	n=3,546		n=3,534		n=2,394		n=1,838		n=278		n=206		n=33,475	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Social Change Behaviors	2.05*	0.75	2.12**	0.79	2.20**	0.75	2.04*	0.81	2.09*	0.82	1.97*	0.75	2.03	0.73
Socio-cultural Issues Discussion	2.62**	0.74	2.87**	0.77	2.76*	0.79	2.76*	0.81	2.90**	0.83	2.55**	0.82	2.75	0.75
Social Perspective-Taking	3.67*	0.58	3.78**	0.62	3.88***	0.59	3.80**	0.60	3.79**	0.67	3.87**	0.65	3.70	0.61
Civic Identity	3.77*	0.58	3.85*	0.61	3.95**	0.60	3.85*	0.62	3.88**	0.64	3.85*	0.63	3.81	0.58

* small effect size (eta squared)

** medium effect size (eta squared)

***large effect size (eta squared)

¹ Social change behaviors and socio-cultural issues discussions scales based on four point Likert scales² Social perspective-taking and civic identity scales based on five point Likert scales³ all significant at $p < .001$

Social Change Behaviors

The social change behaviors scale is a four point Likert scale, which asks students to report on how often they have engaged in a set of social change behaviors while in college (1 = Never, 2 = Once, 3 = Sometimes, 4 = Often). When compared to White students, ($M = 2.03$, $SD = .73$), all six racial group means were significantly different ($p < .001$) on their composite score for the social change behaviors scale. Multiracial students ($M = 2.05$, $SD = .75$) and African American/Black students ($M = 2.20$, $SD = .75$) both had medium effect size differences compared to White Students. Small effect size differences were found for Asian American/Asian ($M = 2.05$, $SD = .75$), Latino/Hispanic ($M = 2.04$, $SD = .81$), Middle Eastern ($M = 2.09$, $SD = .82$), and American Indian/Alaska Native students ($M = 1.97$, $SD = .75$). American Indian/Alaska Native students were the only group that had a smaller mean than White students on the social change behaviors scale.

Socio-Cultural Issues Discussions

The socio-cultural issues discussions scale is a four point Likert scale, which asks students to report on how often they have engaged in conversations about and across differences in the last school year (1 = Never, 2 = Sometimes, 3 = Often, 4 = Very Often). Compared to White students, ($M = 2.75$, $SD = .75$), all six racial group means were significantly different ($p < .001$) on their composite score for the socio-cultural issues discussion scale. Four groups had medium effect size differences when compared to White students on this scale, including Multiracial ($M = 2.87$, $SD = .77$), Asian American/Asian ($M = 2.62$, $SD = .74$), Middle Eastern ($M = 2.90$, $SD = .83$), and American Indian/Alaska Native students ($M = 2.55$, $SD = .82$). Of these four groups,

both Asian American/Asian and American Indian/Alaska Native students had smaller means than White students. African American/Black ($M = 2.76$, $SD = .79$) and Latino/Hispanic students ($M = 2.76$, $SD = .81$) showed small effect size differences when their mean scores were compared to White students.

Social Perspective-Taking

The social perspective-taking scale is a five point Likert scale, which asks students to reflect on how well a series of statements describes them related to considering others (1 = Does Not Describe Me Well, 5 – Describes Me Very Well). The social perspective-taking scale showed the largest effect size differences of the four scales. When compared to White students, ($M = 3.70$, $SD = .61$), all six racial group means were significantly different ($p < .001$) on their composite score for the social perspective-taking scale. Four groups had medium effect size differences when compared to White students on this scale, including Multiracial ($M = 3.87$, $SD = .62$), Latino/Hispanic ($M = 3.80$, $SD = .60$), Middle Eastern ($M = 3.79$, $SD = .67$), and American Indian/Alaska Native students ($M = 3.87$, $SD = .65$). African American/Black students ($M = 3.88$, $SD = .59$) had a large effect size difference from White students – the only large effect size group difference for any variable. Asian American/Asian students ($M = 3.67$, $SD = .58$) showed a small effect size difference when their mean scores were compared to White students. Asian American/Asian students had the only smaller mean than White students of the six students of color racial groups.

Civic Identity

The civic identity scale asks students to think about the most effective group of which they are part and respond to a series of statements on a five point Likert scale (1 =

Strong Disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Neutral, 4 = Agree, 5 = Strongly Agree). When compared to White students, ($M = 3.81$, $SD = .58$), all six racial group means were significantly different ($p < .001$) on their composite score for the civic identity scale. Two groups had medium effect size differences when compared to White students on this scale, including African American/Black ($M = 3.95$, $SD = .60$) and Middle Eastern students ($M = 3.88$, $SD = .64$). Asian American/Asian ($M = 3.77$, $SD = .58$), Multiracial ($M = 3.85$, $SD = .61$), Latino/Hispanic ($M = 3.85$, $SD = .62$), and American Indian/Alaska Native students ($M = 3.85$, $SD = .63$) showed small effect size differences when their mean scores were compared to White students. Asian American/Asian students had the only smaller mean than White students of the six racial categories.

Goodness of Fit Indices for Individual and Cross Racial Group Models

Structural equation modeling relies of goodness of fit indices to discern the usefulness and tenability of a given model. Goodness of fit indices for structural equation modeling are not measures of validity; rather, they refer to the ability of a model to reproduce the data (Klem, 2000). Hundreds of goodness of fit indices exist in structural equation modeling, and they are a source of ongoing debate in the literature (Klem, 2000; Mueller, 1996; Raykov & Marcoulides, 2000). A consensus on which indices should be reported for a model does not exist, but there is some agreement that several indices should be reported. As such, I have chosen to report four fit indices for each group model: Chi-square (X^2), root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA), standardized root mean square residual (SRMR), and the p value. Chi square is the standard fit index, which measures the difference between the observed and model covariance matrices; however, Chi square is susceptible to increased Type I error for

models with large samples (usually more than 200-400 cases). Chi square illustrates the correlations between variables within the model, which is useful in judging the tenability of a model (Klem, 2000). Higher Chi square values are generally associated with better fit. RMSEA is calculated using a non-centrality parameter of the variance within the model. Good models usually have a RMSEA of 0.05 or less, while models with RMSEAs greater than 0.10 are said to have poor fit (Klem, 2000). SRMR is the standardized difference between the observed covariance and predicted covariance. A value of less than 0.08 is accepted as a good fit, while a perfect fit is 0. Finally, a p value is calculated using sample size and the Chi square, which shows the probability of obtaining a test statistic greater than the observed value. A p value of 0.01 was used for this study given the large sample size and the increased likelihood of finding significance in the models. Taken together, these measures provide a robust picture of the fit of the structural equation models in this study. These overall fit indices indicate no significant issues with fit for the models. Table 4.3 contains a summary of the goodness of fit indices for the individual models, as well as an indicator (CFI) for the cross-group model comparisons. Cross-group comparisons, which are discussed in the next section, boast the same goodness of fit indices, but also include a comparative fit index (CFI). This measure compares the existing model with a null model, which assumes the latent variables in the model are uncorrelated. CFI statistics range from 0 to 1, with 1 being a perfect fit for comparison.

These goodness of fit statistics show no issues with model fit for any of the individual racial group models or the cross-group comparison analyses. The Chi square statistics and thus the corresponding p values ($p < 0.01$) were all shown to be significant,

which was likely influenced by the large sample sizes in many of the groups. The root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) statistics were slightly elevated for a good fit (less than 0.05), but still within the accepted range (less than 0.10) (Klem, 2000). With all values less than the standard of 0.08, the standardized root mean square residual (SRMR) showed a good fit for each model. The CFI statistics, which measures model group comparison with a number between 0 and 1, showed no issue with model group comparison since results were from 0.90 to 1.00. Table 4.3 summarizes the goodness of fit statistics.

Table 4.3

Goodness of Fit Indices for Racial Group Models

Goodness of Fit Statistic	X ²	df	RMSEA	SRMR	p value	CFI
All Races	84654.62	521	0.060	0.051	p < 0.01	---
White / Caucasian	64811.30	521	0.061	0.052	p < 0.01	---
Asian American / Asian	6536.19	521	0.057	0.059	p < 0.01	0.99
Multiracial	6849.57	521	0.059	0.053	p < 0.01	0.99
African American / Black	4090.15	521	0.053	0.058	p < 0.01	1.00
Latino / Hispanic	3796.57	521	0.058	0.058	p < 0.01	0.99
Middle Eastern	1238.62	521	0.070	0.062	p < 0.01	0.90
American Indian / Alaska Native	1132.46	521	0.076	0.061	p < 0.01	0.98

Note. The CFI test statistics indicates a level fit between the various students of color models and White students

Direct, Indirect, and Total Effects on Civic Identity for Racial Groups

The following results show the direct, indirect, and total effects on civic identity for the omnibus model (all races) and each of the seven racial groups (i.e., White students group and six students of color groups). Each model contains one direct effect (i.e., social change behaviors on civic identity) and three indirect effects, which are (1) social change behaviors and socio-cultural issues discussions on civic identity, (2) social change behaviors and social perspective-taking on civic identity, and (3) social change behaviors, socio-cultural issues discussions, and social perspective-taking on civic identity. Significance levels are reported based on the tenability of the models, which are based on the goodness of fit statistics reported in the previous section. While there is some disagreement for quantifying the strength of the paths derived in a structural equation model (Chin, 1998), I have chosen to use Cohen's (1998) suggested ranges of values less than 0.2 being considered weak, 0.2 and 0.5 being considered moderate, and larger than 0.5 being considered strong. Total effects are reported for each group, which is the sum of both the direct and indirect effects on civic identity. The total effects for each model were positive, significant, and strong (except for American Indian/Alaska Native students who had only a moderate total effect). The indirect effects for each model were non-significant, positive, and weak. The direct effects for each model varied and are reported for each group. Table 4.4, which begins the next section, presents a summary of the direct, indirect, and total effects for each racial group. Table 4.5 shows the total variance explained (R^2) in civic identity for each model and is presented directly after Table 4.4. Next, models depicting the confirmatory factor analysis and structural paths for each racial group and the omnibus model are presented. Models for the omnibus (Figure 4.1),

White/Caucasian (Figure 4.2), Asian American/Asian (Figure 4.3), Multiracial (Figure 4.4), African American/Black (Figure 4.5), Latino/Hispanic (Figure 4.6), Middle Eastern (Figure 4.7), and American Indian/Alaska Native (Figure 4.8) groups are presented after Table 4.5 and before the discussion of the direct, indirect, and total effects.

Table 4.4

Direct, Indirect, and Total Effects on Civic Identity by Race

Scale	Direct		Indirect		Total Indirect	Total Effects (Direct and Indirect)
	SCB→ CIVICID	SCB→ SCID→ CIVICID	SCB→ SPT→ CIVICID	SCB→ SCID→ SPT → CIVICID		
All Races	0.46	0.04	0.03	0.04	0.11	0.57
White / Caucasian	0.48	0.03	0.04	0.04	0.11	0.59
Asian American / Asian	0.33	0.08	0.03	0.06	0.17	0.50
Multiracial	0.49	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.12	0.61
African American / Black	0.40	0.06	0.04	0.06	0.16	0.56
Latino / Hispanic	0.43	0.06	0.02	0.04	0.12	0.55
Middle Eastern	0.42	0.04	0.01	0.06	0.11	0.53
American Indian / Alaska Native	0.28	0.05	0.03	0.06	0.14	0.42

Note. All coefficients are standardized

Note. All direct effects were moderate (Cohen, 1998)

Table 4.5

Total Variance Explained of Civic Identity for Racial Groups

Scale	Total R ² on CIVICID	Percentage of Variance Explained
Omnibus (All Races)	0.33	33%
White / Caucasian	0.45	45%
Asian American / Asian	0.47	47%
Multiracial	0.49	49%
African American / Black	0.51	51%
Latino / Hispanic	0.45	45%
Middle Eastern	0.31	31%
American Indian / Alaska Native	0.17	17%

Figure 4.1

Omnibus (All Races) Model

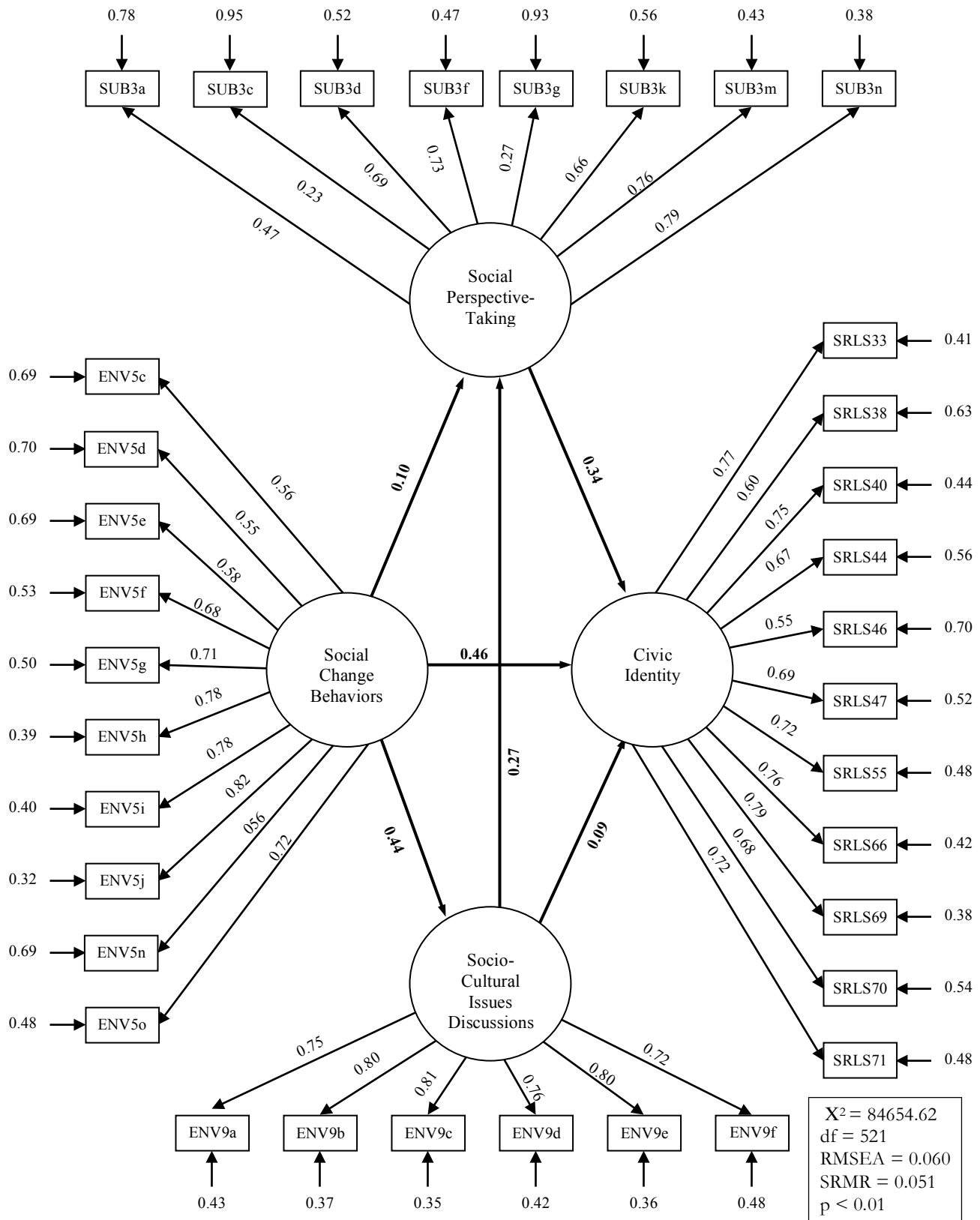


Figure 4.2

White/Caucasian Group Model

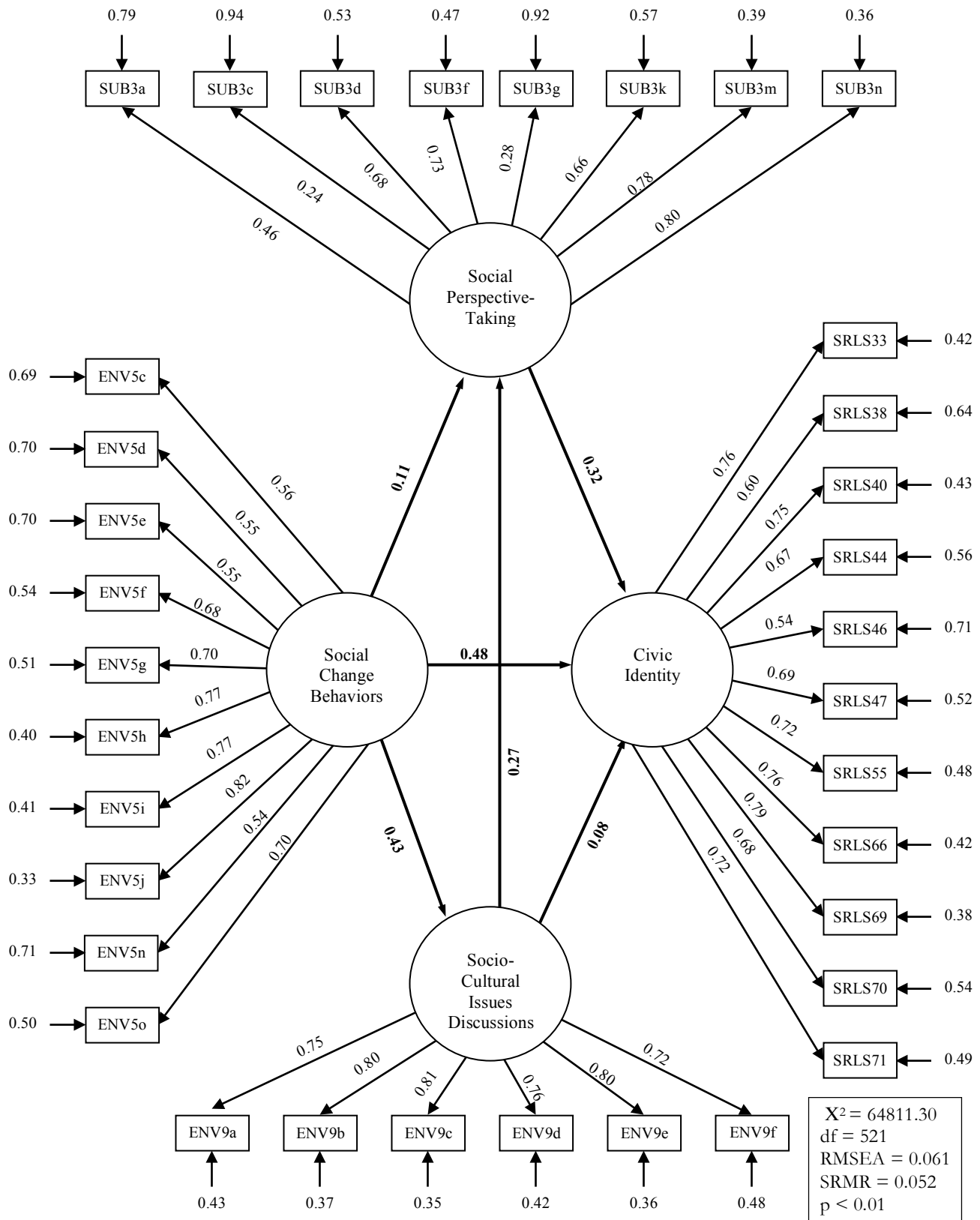


Figure 4.3

Asian American/Asian Group Model

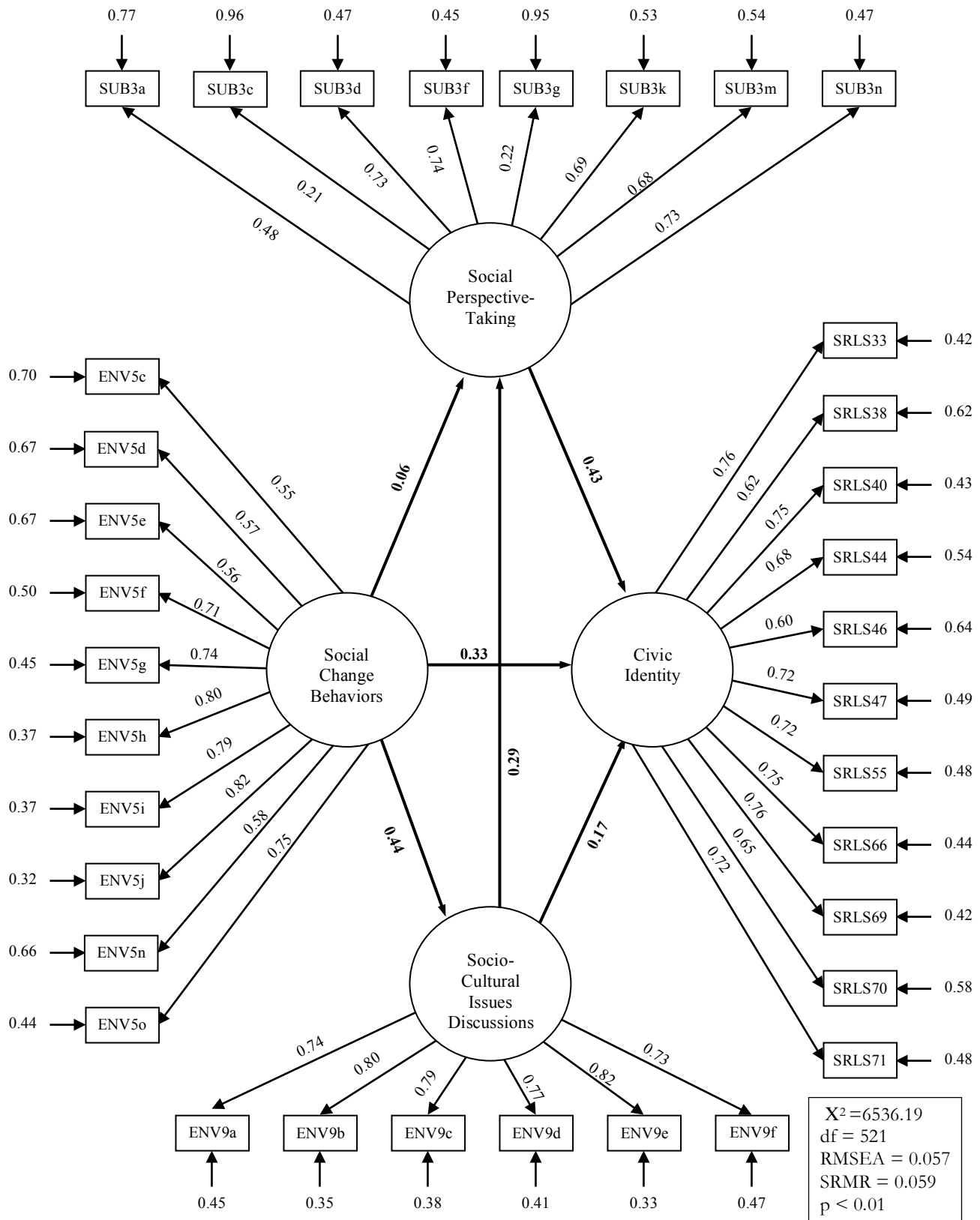


Figure 4.4

Multiracial Group Model

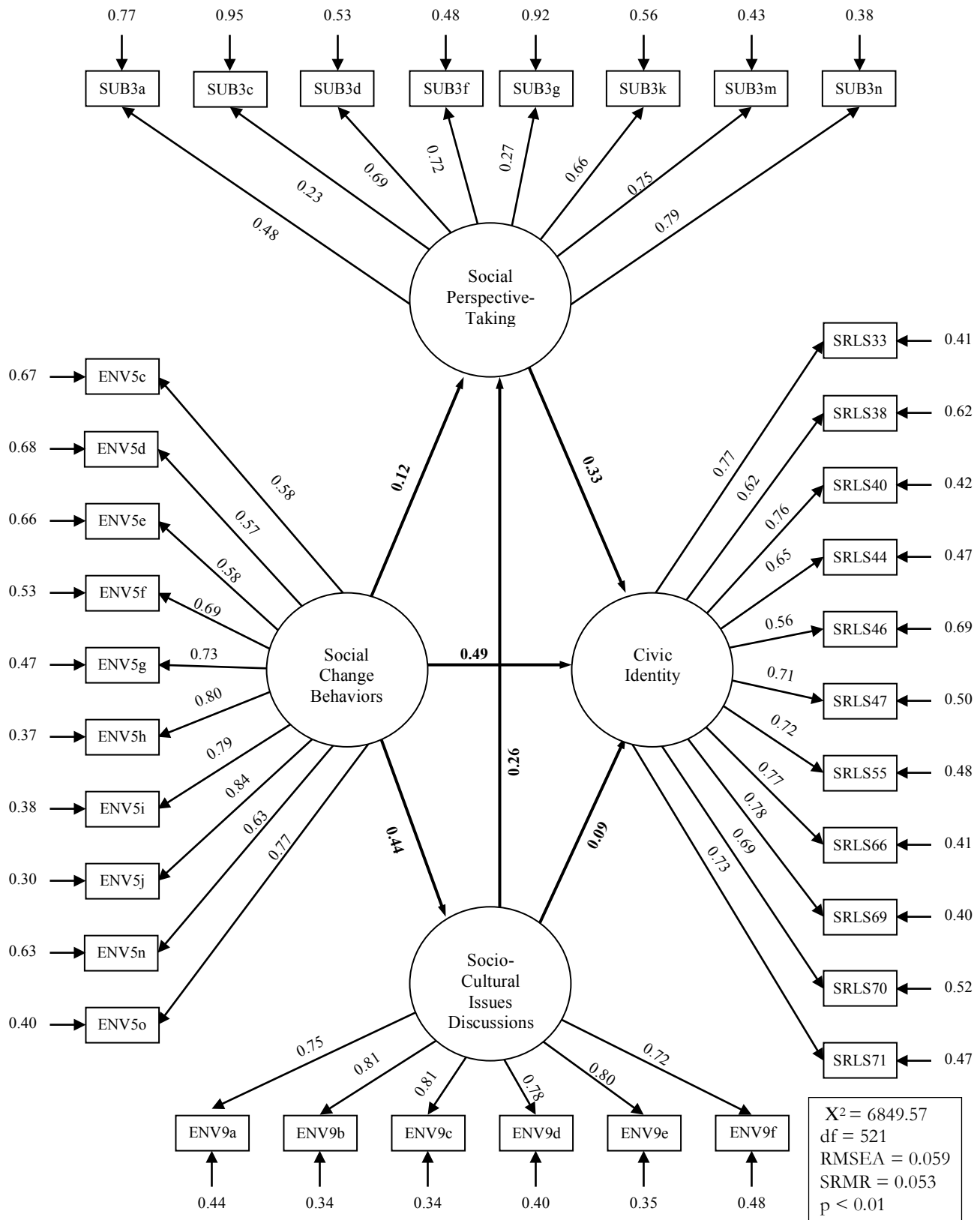


Figure 4.5

African American/Black Group Model

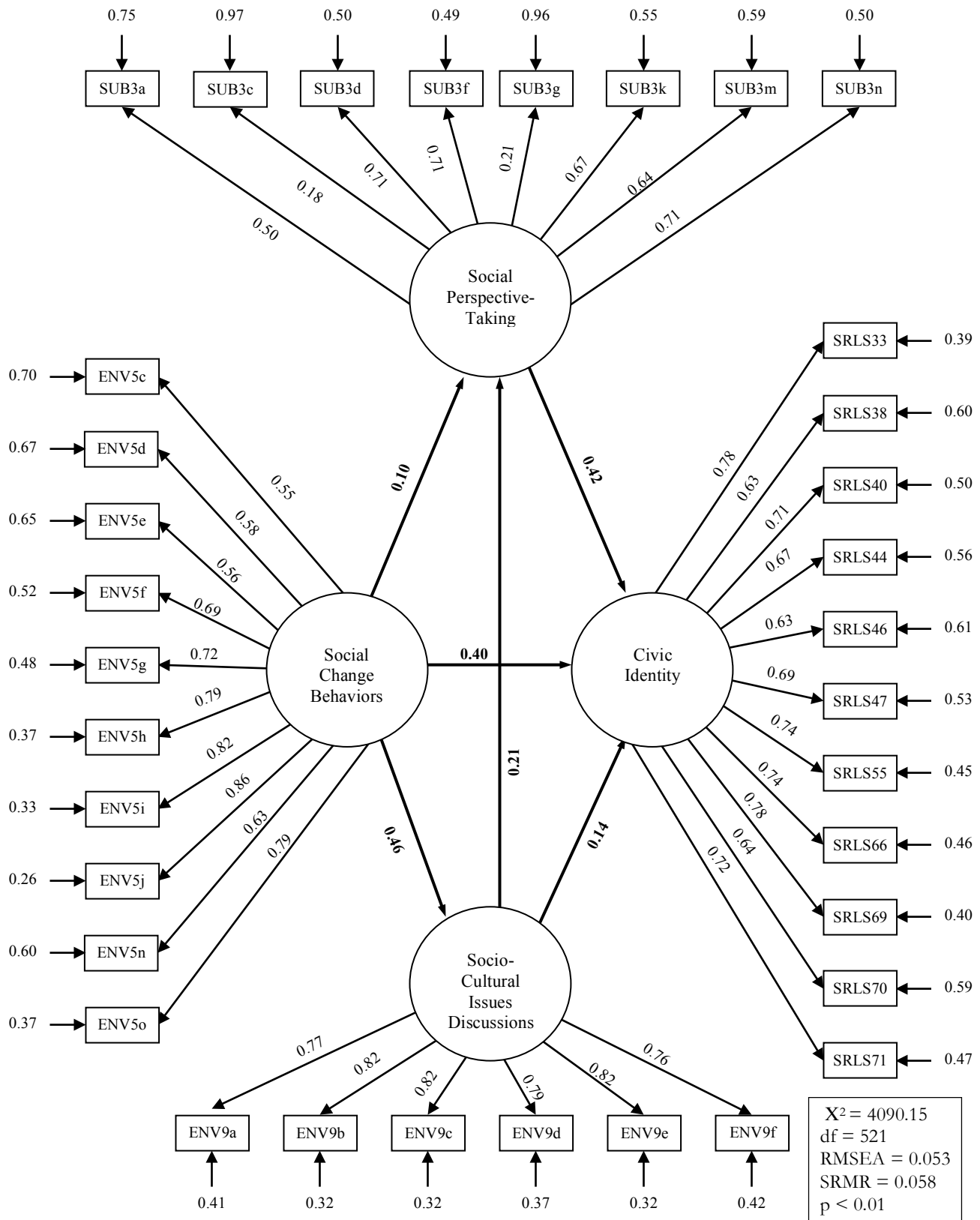


Figure 4.6

Latino/Hispanic Group Model

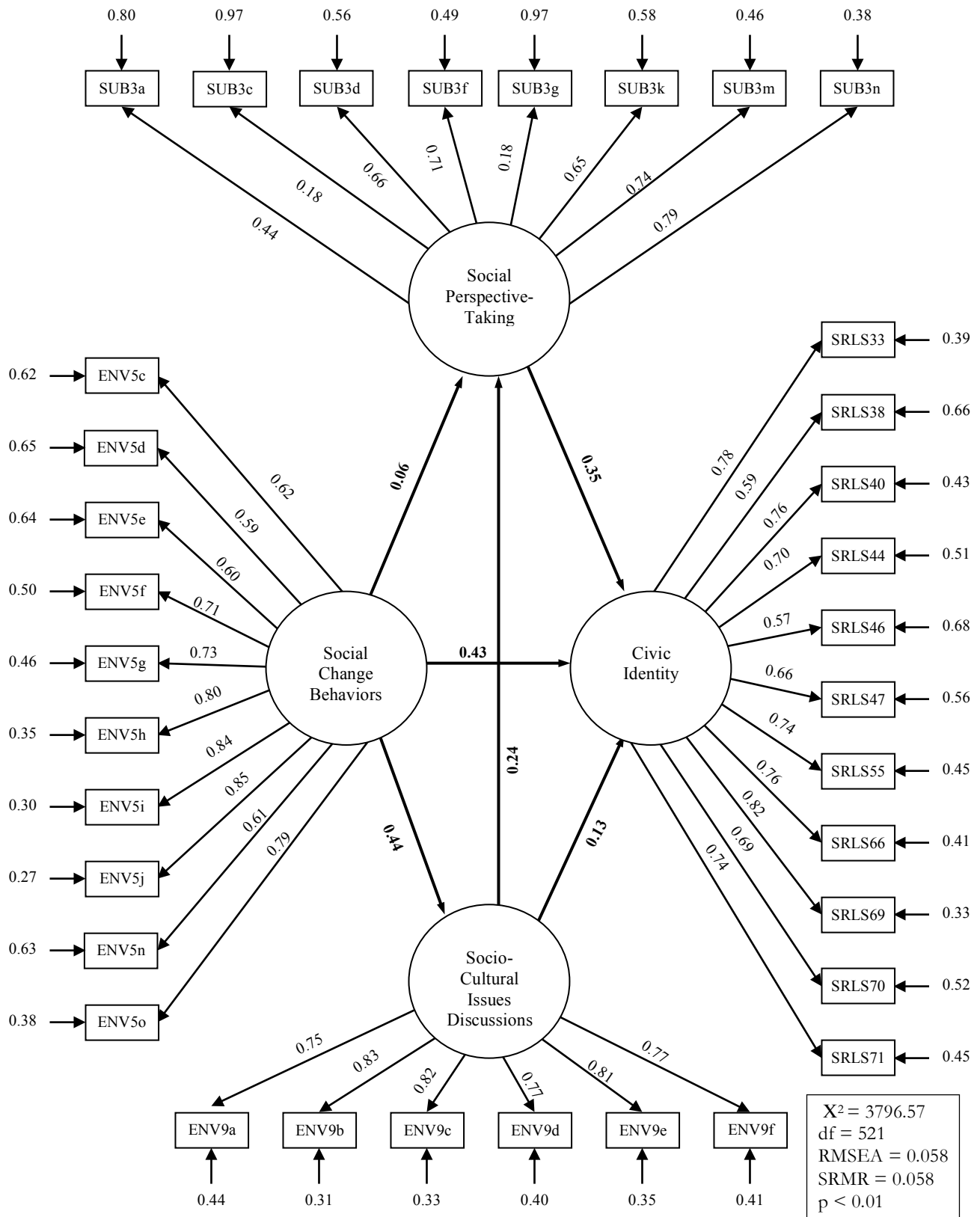


Figure 4.7

Middle Eastern Group Model

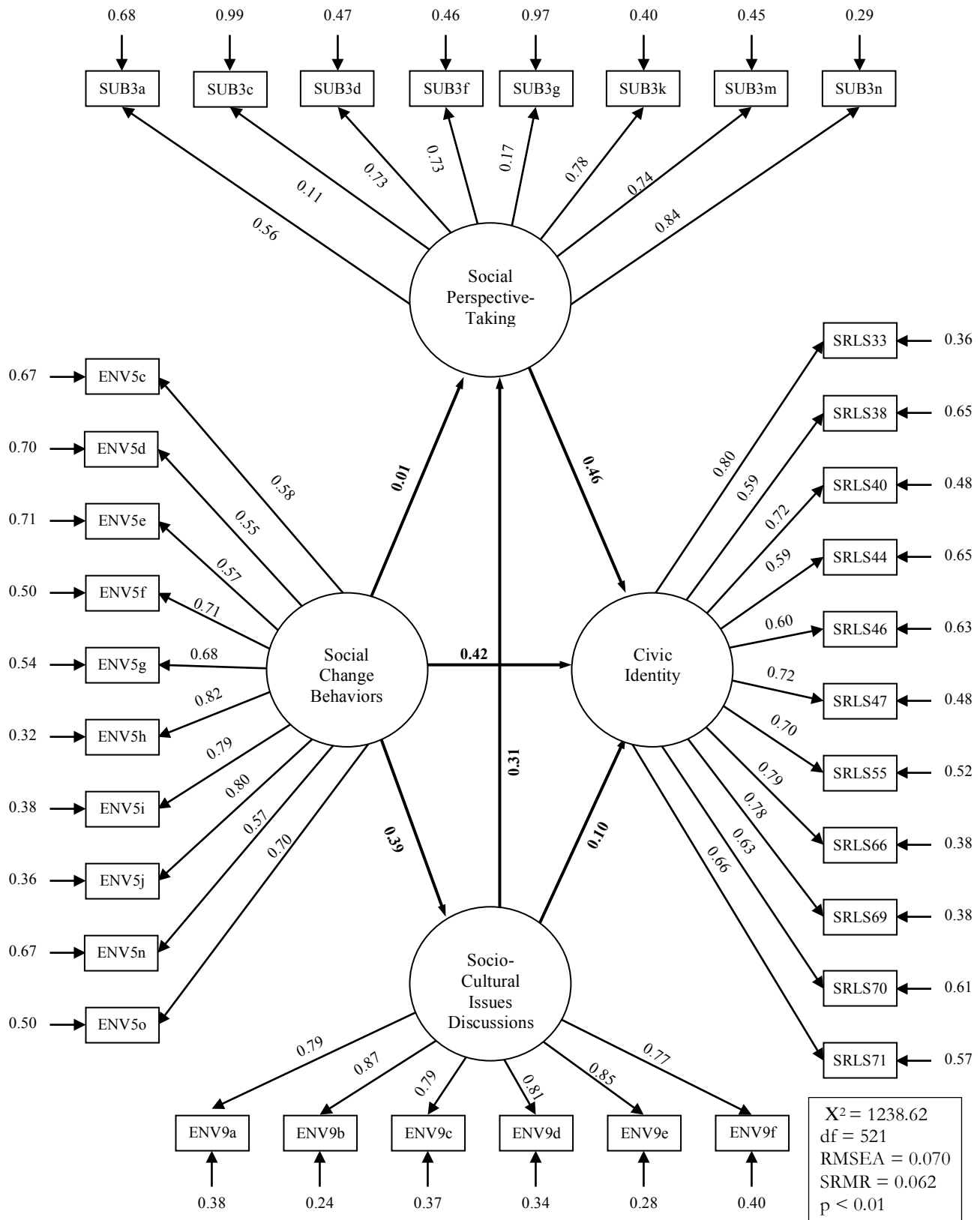
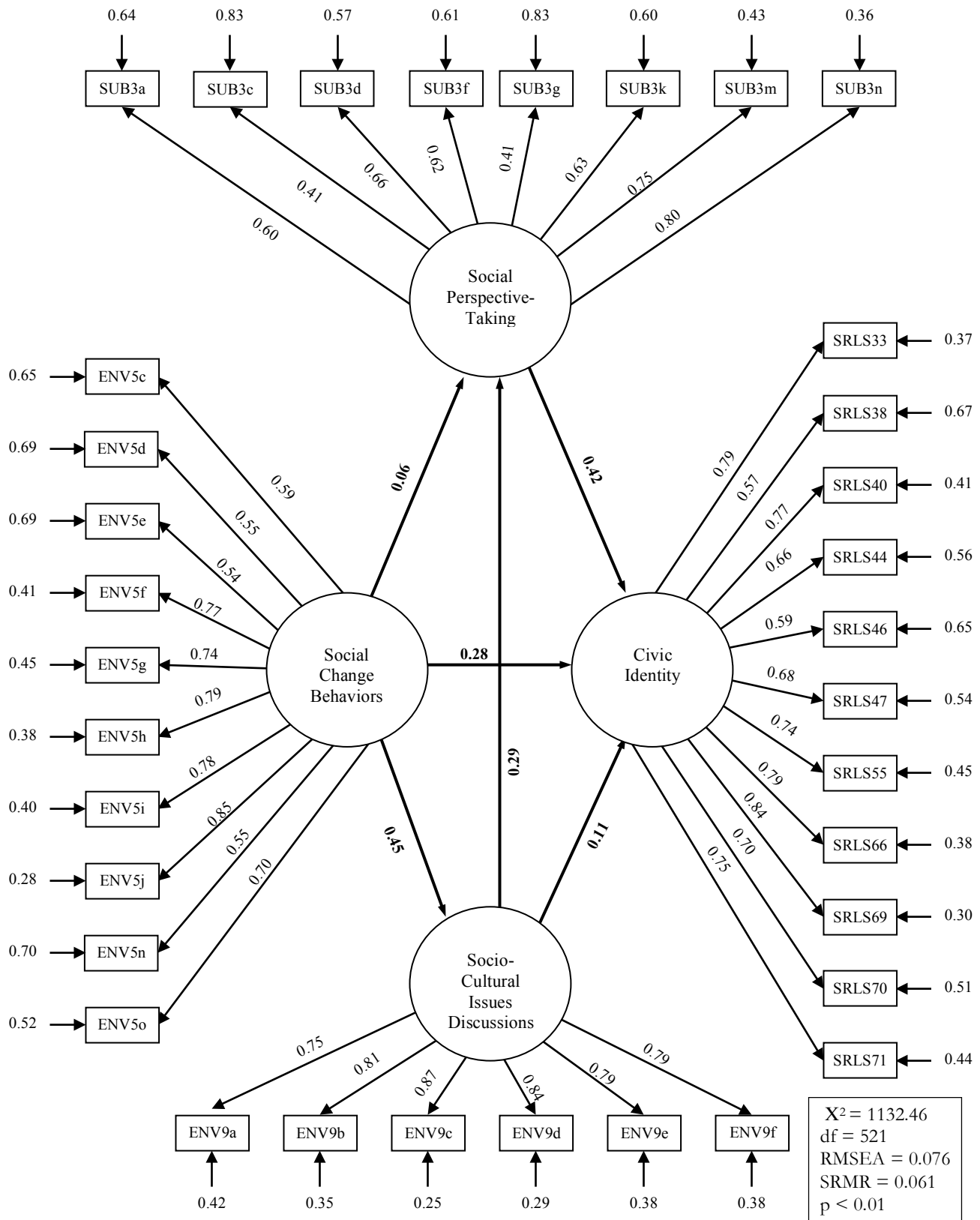


Figure 4.8

American Indian/Alaskan Native Group Model



All Races (Omnibus)

Variance Explained. The total explained variance (R^2) in civic identity for the omnibus model was 0.33, or 33% of the total variance.

Direct Effects. The direct effect on civic identity from social change behaviors yielded a positive, significant, and moderate $\beta = 0.46$.

Indirect Effects. Three non-significant, positive, and weak indirect effects on civic identity were found for the omnibus model. First, social change behaviors and socio-cultural issues discussions had a $\beta = 0.04$. Next, social change behaviors and social perspective-taking had a $\beta = 0.03$ on civic identity, while social change behaviors, socio-cultural issues discussions, and social perspective-taking had a $\beta = 0.04$.

Total Effects. The total direct effect for the omnibus model was $\beta = 0.46$ and the total indirect effects (i.e., the sum of the individual indirect effects) were $\beta = 0.11$. Thus, the total effects for the omnibus model were $\beta = 0.57$.

White/Caucasian

Variance Explained. The total explained variance (R^2) in civic identity for the White/Caucasian model was 0.45, or 45% of the total variance.

Direct Effects. The direct effect on civic identity from social change behaviors yielded a significant, positive, and moderate $\beta = 0.48$.

Indirect Effects. Three significant weak indirect effects on civic identity were found for White/Caucasian students. Social change behaviors and socio-cultural issues discussions had a $\beta = 0.03$. Social change behaviors and social perspective-taking had a $\beta = 0.04$ on civic identity, while social change behaviors, socio-cultural issues discussions, and social perspective-taking had a $\beta = 0.04$.

Total Effects. The total direct effect for the omnibus model was $\beta = 0.48$ and the total indirect effects were $\beta = 0.11$. Thus, the total effects for the White/Caucasian model were $\beta = 0.59$.

Asian American/Asian

Variance Explained. The total explained variance (R^2) in civic identity for the Asian American/Asian model was 0.47, or 47% of the total variance.

Direct Effects. The direct effect on civic identity from social change behaviors yielded a positive, significant, and moderate $\beta = 0.33$, which was the lowest path across the seven racial groups.

Indirect Effects. Three significant and weak indirect effects on civic identity were found for Asian American/Asian students. Social change behaviors and socio-cultural issues discussions had a $\beta = 0.08$. Social change behaviors and social perspective-taking had a $\beta = 0.03$ on civic identity, while social change behaviors, socio-cultural issues discussions, and social perspective-taking had a $\beta = 0.06$. The total indirect effects ($\beta = 0.17$) were the highest of the seven racial groups.

Total Effects. The total direct effect for the omnibus model was $\beta = 0.33$ and the total indirect effects were $\beta = 0.17$. Thus, the total effects for the Asian American/Asian model were $\beta = 0.50$.

Multiracial

Variance Explained. The total explained variance (R^2) in civic identity for the multiracial model was 0.49, or 49% of the total variance.

Direct Effects. The direct effect on civic identity from social change behaviors yielded a positive, significant, and moderate $\beta = 0.49$. This path was the largest direct effect on civic identity for any of the seven racial groups.

Indirect Effects. Three significant and weak indirect effects on civic identity were found for Multiracial students. Social change behaviors and socio-cultural issues discussions had a $\beta = 0.04$. Social change behaviors and social perspective-taking had a $\beta = 0.04$ on civic identity, while social change behaviors, socio-cultural issues discussions, and social perspective-taking had a $\beta = 0.04$.

Total Effects. The direct effect for the omnibus model was $\beta = 0.49$ and the total indirect effects were $\beta = 0.12$. Thus, the total effects for the Multiracial model were $\beta = 0.61$. This was the largest total effect for the seven racial groups.

African American/Black

Variance Explained. The total explained variance (R^2) in civic identity for the African American/Black model was 0.51, or 51% of the total variance.

Direct Effects. The direct effect on civic identity from social change behaviors yielded a positive, significant, and moderate $\beta = 0.40$.

Indirect Effects. Three weak and significant indirect effects on civic identity were found for African American/Black students. Social change behaviors and socio-cultural issues discussions had a $\beta = 0.06$. Social change behaviors and social perspective-taking had a $\beta = 0.04$ on civic identity. Finally, social change behaviors, socio-cultural issues discussions, and social perspective-taking had a $\beta = 0.06$.

Total Effects. The direct effect for the omnibus model was $\beta = 0.40$ and the total indirect effects were $\beta = 0.16$. Thus, the total effects for the African American/Black model were $\beta = 0.56$.

Latino/Hispanic

Variance Explained. The total explained variance (R^2) in civic identity for the Latino/Hispanic model was 0.45, or 45% of the total variance.

Direct Effects. The direct effect on civic identity from social change behaviors yielded a positive, significant, and moderate $\beta = 0.43$.

Indirect Effects. Three significant and weak indirect effects on civic identity were found for Latino/Hispanic students. Social change behaviors and socio-cultural issues discussions had a $\beta = 0.06$. Social change behaviors and social perspective-taking had a $\beta = 0.02$ on civic identity. Finally, social change behaviors, socio-cultural issues discussions, and social perspective-taking had a $\beta = 0.04$.

Total Effects. The direct effect for the omnibus model was $\beta = 0.43$ and the total indirect effects were $\beta = 0.12$. Thus, the total effects for the Latino/Hispanic model were $\beta = 0.55$.

Middle Eastern

Variance Explained. The total explained variance (R^2) in civic identity for the Middle Eastern model was 0.31, or 31% of the total variance.

Direct Effects. The direct effect on civic identity from social change behaviors yielded a positive, significant, and moderate $\beta = 0.42$ for Middle Eastern students.

Indirect Effects. Three significant indirect effects on civic identity were found for Middle Eastern students. Social change behaviors and socio-cultural issues

discussions had a $\beta = 0.04$. Social change behaviors and social perspective-taking had a $\beta = 0.01$ on civic identity. Finally, social change behaviors, socio-cultural issues discussions, and social perspective-taking had a $\beta = 0.06$.

Total Effects. The direct effects for the omnibus model was $\beta = 0.42$ and the total indirect effects were $\beta = 0.11$. Thus, the total effects for the Middle Eastern model were $\beta = 0.53$.

American Indian/Alaska Native

Variance Explained. The total explained variance (R^2) in civic identity for the American Indian/Alaska Native model was 0.17, or 17% of the total variance.

Direct Effects. The direct effect on civic identity from social change behaviors yielded a positive, significant, and moderate $\beta = 0.28$. This was the lowest direct effect for the seven racial groups.

Indirect Effects. Three significant and weak indirect effects on civic identity were found for American Indian/Alaska Native students. Social change behaviors and socio-cultural issues discussions had a $\beta = 0.05$. Social change behaviors and social perspective-taking had a $\beta = 0.03$ on civic identity. Finally, social change behaviors, socio-cultural issues discussions, and social perspective-taking had a $\beta = 0.06$.

Total Effects. The direct effect for the omnibus model was $\beta = 0.28$ and the total indirect effects were $\beta = 0.14$. Thus, the total effects for the American Indian/Alaska Native model were $\beta = 0.42$. This was the lowest total effect for the seven different racial groups.

Summary of Direct, Indirect, and Total Effects on Civic Identity for Racial Groups

This section reported the direct, indirect, and total effects on civic identity for each of the seven racial categories and the omnibus model as well as the total variance explained for civic identity in each model. The strongest structural paths were from social change behaviors to civic identity and social change behaviors to socio-cultural issues discussions. The weakest paths were from social change behaviors to social perspective-taking and socio-cultural issues discussions to civic identity. Multiracial and White/Caucasian students had the largest direct effects ($\beta = 0.49$, $\beta = 0.48$, respectively) of social change behaviors on civic identity, while American Indian/Alaska Native students had the smallest direct effect ($\beta = 0.28$). These paths were all considered to be positive, significant, and moderate (Cohen, 1998). The largest total indirect effects were from Asian American/Asian students ($\beta = 0.17$) and African American/Black students ($\beta = 0.16$). All of the total effects on civic identity were found to be positive, significant, and strong, except for American Indian/Alaska Native students, who showed only moderate total direct effects. The direct, indirect, and total effects from the seven different racial groups and the omnibus model show an overwhelmingly consistent pattern: the direct effects are larger for each group than the total indirect effects; that is, the direct effect of the relationship between engaging in social change behaviors on students' civic identity is much stronger than the indirect effects derived from including socio-cultural issues discussions and social perspective-taking. Table 4.5 showed the total variance explained for civic identity by racial models. Total variance explained (R^2) ranged from 17% (American Indian/Alaska Native) to 51% (Black/African American).

The next section reports on how the paths from the student of color racial groups differ from the structural paths for White students.

Cross Racial Group Model Comparisons

Model group comparisons between White students and each of the six student of color racial groups were performed to address the secondary research question of this study, which was whether the structural models differed by racial groups when compared to White students. Despite concerns about the disparity in sizes that can accompany model group comparisons, the CFI goodness of fit statistic indicated that comparing the models was permissible. Results of the model comparisons are listed below after a review of the hypothesis and its corresponding result. Figure 4.9 and Table 4.6 show the differences in the structural relationships between the latent variables for each of the six racial groups compared to White students. Results are reported by the six different pathways between the latent variables in the model.

The hypothesis presented in Chapter Three was that there would be no statistically significant differences in the structural paths for students of color and White students. This null hypothesis was rejected, as five of the six structural paths showed statistically significant differences. A discussion of each path and the significant racial group differences within them follow.

Table 4.6

Student of Color Racial Groups to White Students Model Comparison Summary Chart

Scale	Asian / Asian American	Multiracial	African American / Black	Latino / Hispanic	Middle Eastern	American Indian / Alaska Native	White / Caucasian
SCB→ CIVICID (moderate)	0.33*	0.49	0.40*	0.43*	0.42*	0.28*	0.48
SCB→ SCID (moderate)	0.44	0.44	0.46	0.44	0.39	0.45	0.43
SCB → SPT (weak)	0.06*	0.12	0.10	0.06*	0.01*	0.06*	0.11
SPT → CIVICID (moderate)	0.43*	0.33	0.42*	0.35	0.46*	0.42*	0.32
SCID → SPT (moderate)	0.29	0.26	0.21*	0.24	0.31	0.29	0.27
SCID → CIVICID (weak)	0.17*	0.09	0.14*	0.13*	0.10	0.11	0.08

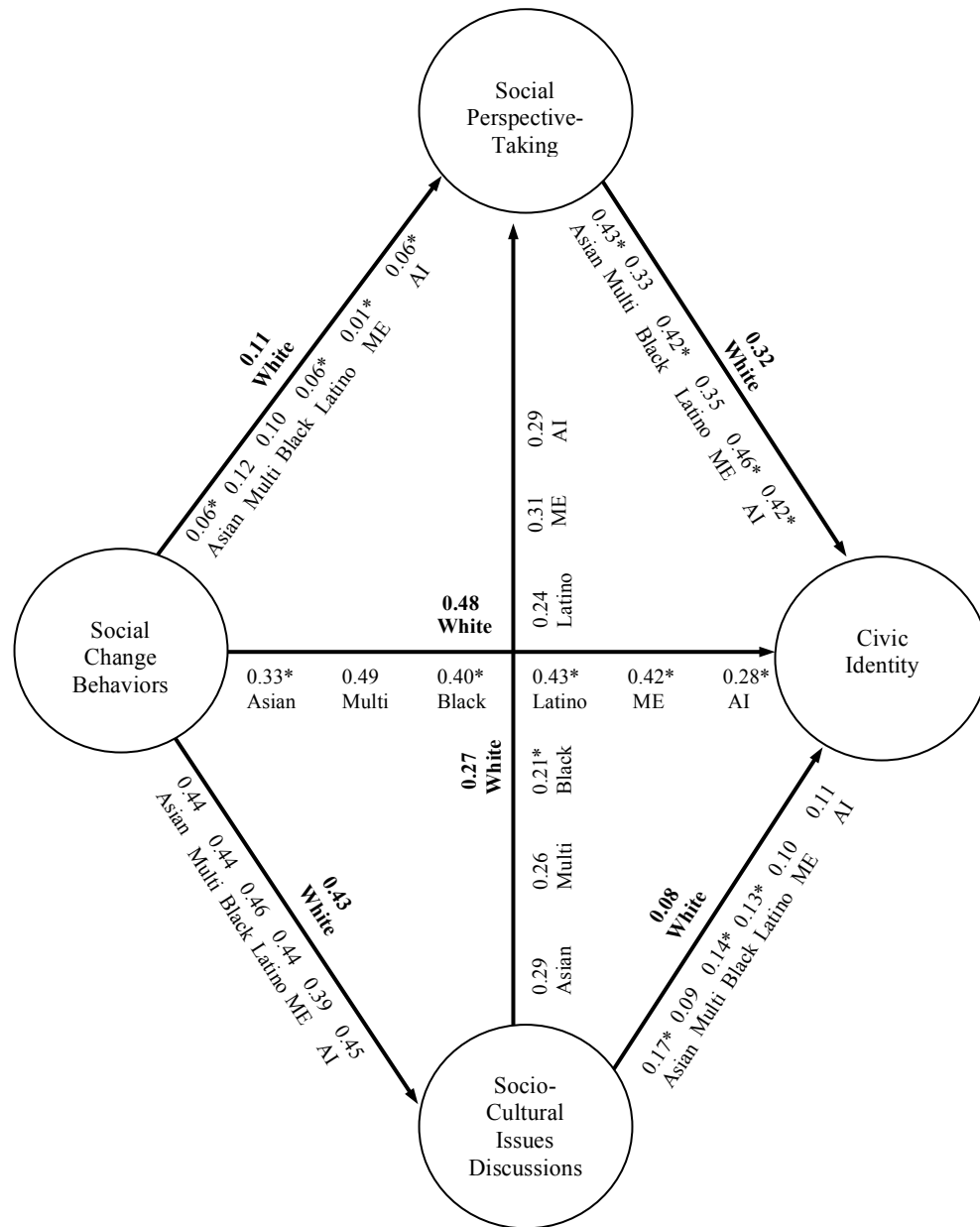
* denotes a variant path compared to White students

p < 0.01

Note. Strength of path relationships determined using Cohen (1988)

Figure 4.9

Model Comparison: White Students to Students of Color Racial Groups



* indicates a statistically significant difference from White students

Note: White students are in bold

Social Change Behaviors to Civic Identity

The path between social change behaviors and civic identity showed moderate relationships, with beta weights ranging from $\beta = 0.28$ to $\beta = 0.49$. This path yielded the most significant differences between racial groups (five of the six racial groups) compared to the other five paths. Asian American/Asian ($\beta = 0.33$), Black/African American ($\beta = 0.40$), Latino/Hispanic ($\beta = 0.43$), Middle Eastern ($\beta = 0.42$), and American Indian/Alaska Native students ($\beta = 0.28$) all had statistically significant weaker paths than White students ($\beta = 0.48$). Multiracial students ($\beta = 0.49$) were invariant on this path to White students.

Social Change Behaviors to Socio-Cultural Issues Discussions

Another path that showed moderate relationships was the effect of social change behaviors on socio-cultural issues discussions. With beta weights ranging from $\beta = 0.39$ to $\beta = 0.46$, social change behaviors had a strong positive effect on socio-cultural issues discussions. However, none of the six racial groups were found to be statistically significantly different than White students.

Social Change Behaviors to Social Perspective-Taking

The effect of social change behaviors on social perspective-taking yielded the weakest of all the six paths within the model. Beta weights ranged from $\beta = 0.01$ to $\beta = 0.12$. Four of the six racial groups differed significantly from White students, including Asian American/Asian ($\beta = 0.06$), Latino/Hispanic ($\beta = 0.06$), Middle Eastern ($\beta = 0.01$), and American Indian/Alaska Native students ($\beta = 0.06$). All four of these groups had statistically significant weaker paths than White students ($\beta = 0.11$). Multiracial (β

= 0.12) and Black/African American students ($\beta = 0.10$) were found to be invariant on this path compared to White students.

Social Perspective-Taking to Civic Identity

The effect of social perspective-taking on civic identity showed a moderate relationship for all of the racial groups with beta weights ranging from $\beta = 0.32$ to $\beta = 0.46$. Four of the six racial groups differed significantly from White students, including Asian American/Asian ($\beta = 0.43$), Black/African American ($\beta = 0.42$), Middle Eastern ($\beta = 0.46$), and American Indian/Alaska Native students ($\beta = 0.42$). All four of these groups had statistically significant stronger paths than White students ($\beta = 0.32$). Both Multiracial ($\beta = 0.33$) and Latino/Hispanic students ($\beta = 0.35$) were found to be invariant on this path when compared to White students.

Socio-Cultural Issues Discussions to Social Perspective-Taking

The path between social-cultural issues discussions and social perspective-taking showed a moderate relationship for all of the racial groups with beta weights ranging from $\beta = 0.21$ to $\beta = 0.31$. Only Black/African American students ($\beta = 0.21$) had a statistically significant different (weaker) path than White students ($\beta = 0.27$).

Socio-Cultural Issues Discussions to Civic Identity

The path between socio-cultural issues discussions and civic identity was the second weakest path, with beta weights ranging from $\beta = 0.08$ to $\beta = 0.17$. These paths are considered to be weak paths (Cohen, 1988). Three of the six racial groups differed significantly from White students, including Asian American/Asian ($\beta = 0.17$), Black/African American ($\beta = 0.14$), and Latino/Hispanic students ($\beta = 0.13$). All three of these groups had statistically significant stronger paths than White students ($\beta = 0.08$).

Multiracial ($\beta = 0.09$), Middle Eastern ($\beta = 0.10$), and American Indian/Alaska Native students ($\beta = 0.11$) had invariant paths compared to White students.

Summary of Cross Racial Group Model Comparisons

Cross-racial group model comparisons were made between the six students of color racial groups and White students for the six different paths in the model. The paths from social change behaviors to civic identity, social change behaviors to socio-cultural issues discussions, social perspective-taking to civic identity, and socio-cultural issues discussions to social perspective-taking were found to have moderately strong relationships (Cohen, 1988). Weak paths were found for social change behaviors to social perspective-taking and socio-cultural issues discussions to civic identity.

When the six different students of color racial groups' paths were compared to those of White students, several important differences were found. The path from social change behaviors to civic identity yielded the most significant differences between racial groups. Asian American/Asian, Black/African American, Latino/Hispanic, Middle Eastern American Indian/Alaska Native students all had statistically significant weaker paths than White students. The paths from social change behaviors to social perspective-taking and social perspective-taking to civic identity showed variant relationships for four of the six student of color racial groups when compared to White students. The path from socio-cultural issues discussions to civic identity showed variant relationships for three of the six students of color racial groups when compared to White students. Only African American/Black students were variant when compared to White students on the path from socio-cultural issues discussions to social perspective taking. No statistically significant differences between racial groups were found for the path between socio-

cultural issues discussions and civic identity. A summary of these findings were presented in Table 4.6. These findings hold important implications for student affairs practice, which will be discussed in Chapter Five.

Chapter Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to report on results from the two research questions in this study: (1) What are the direct, indirect, and total effects of social perspective-taking and socio-cultural issues discussions on students' civic identity? and, (2) Do these direct, indirect, and total effects differ by race? The research findings began with results from an analysis of mean comparisons on the latent variables between the various racial groups. This analysis showed important differences in the latent means between students of color and White students, including several small and medium effect size differences. Only one large effect size difference was found between the six student of color racial groups and White students, which was between African American/Black students ($M = 3.88$, $SD = .59$) and White students ($M = 3.77$, $SD = .61$) on the social perspective-taking scale.

Goodness of fit indices were first explored and reported for the individual and cross group comparison models, which showed no major issues with model fit or model comparisons. After conducting a confirmatory factor analysis and structural equation model for each of the racial groups and an omnibus model, results illustrated differences in the strength of the various paths between the latent variables. Variance explained on civic identity in the models ranged from 17% to 51%. The effect of social change behaviors on civic identity and the effect of social change behaviors on socio-cultural issues discussions were the two strongest of the six different paths in the model. Beta

weights ranged from $\beta = 0.28$ to $\beta = 0.49$ for the path from social change behaviors to civic identity, while beta weights ranged from $\beta = 0.39$ to $\beta = 0.46$ for the path from social change behaviors to socio-cultural issues discussions. Multiracial ($\beta = 0.49$) and White/Caucasian students ($\beta = 0.48$) had the largest direct effects of social change behaviors on civic identity, while American Indian/Alaska Native students had the smallest direct effect ($\beta = 0.28$). Black/African American students ($\beta = 0.46$) had the largest direct effect for social change behaviors on socio-cultural issues discussions, while Middle Eastern students had the smallest ($\beta = 0.39$). Most of the direct effects were moderate, some were found to be small, and no direct effects were large (Cohen, 1988).

The direct, indirect, and total effects from the seven different racial groups and the omnibus model showed a consistent pattern: the direct effects are larger for each group than the total indirect effects; that is, the direct effect of the relationship between engaging in social change behaviors on students' civic identity is much stronger than the indirect effects derived from including socio-cultural issues discussions and social perspective-taking. Other compelling findings from the structural paths include the strong positive effect of social change behaviors on socio-cultural issues discussions and the weak paths between engaging in social change behaviors and social perspective-taking.

In addressing the second research question related to cross model comparisons between the six student of color racial groups and White students, results from these six model comparisons were presented. Statistically significant differences between the six student of color racial groups and White students were found in five of the six different

paths in the model. Thus, the null hypothesis presented in Chapter Three was not retained. The path from social change behaviors to socio-cultural issues discussions was invariant for all six students of color racial groups compared to White students. The other five paths in the model had at least three students of color racial group differences compared to White students.

Chapter Five: Discussion

This study analyzed the direct, indirect, and total effects of social perspective-taking and socio-cultural issues discussions on students' civic identity and explored whether these effects differed among different races. Using 45,271 cases from the 2009 Multi-Institutional Study of Leadership (MSL), structural equation modeling (SEM) was used to explore the relationships between social change behaviors, socio-cultural issues discussions, social perspective-taking, and civic identity. An initial means comparison analysis of the four latent variables within each student of color racial group to White students was conducted. Confirmatory factor analysis and structural models for each of the seven racial groups (i.e., White/Caucasian, Asian American/Asian, Multiracial, African American/Black, Latino/Hispanic, Middle Eastern, American/Indian/Alaska Native) and an omnibus model were also conducted. After the initial models were presented for each racial group, comparisons of the structural paths for the six students of color racial groups compared to the White students' model were presented.

This chapter begins with a summary of the results contained in Chapter Four. A discussion of the results follows in the context of existing literature. The next section explores the limitations of these results. Implications of these results on student affairs and higher education practice and research conclude the chapter.

Summary of Results

An initial mean group analyses showed that each of the six students of color racial groups differed significantly ($p < .001$) from White students on each of the four latent variables. Effect sizes (eta squared) were mostly small to medium (Pallant, 2007); however, Black/African American students yielded a large effect size difference from

White students having higher scores on the social perspective-taking scale. These findings provide an overall sense of the frequency with which students participate in social change behaviors and socio-cultural issues discussions, engage in social perspective-taking, and their strength of civic identity.

The first research question in this study explored the direct, indirect, and total effects on civic identity for each of the seven racial categories and the omnibus model. The structural paths between the variables were strongest for the path from social change behaviors to civic identity and social change behaviors to socio-cultural issues discussions. The weakest paths were from social change behaviors on social perspective-taking and socio-cultural issues discussions on civic identity. Multiracial ($\beta = 0.49$) and White/Caucasian ($\beta = 0.48$) students had the largest direct effects of social change behaviors on civic identity, while American Indian/Alaska Native had the smallest direct effect ($\beta = 0.28$). The largest total indirect effects were from Asian American/Asian students ($\beta = 0.17$) and African American/Black students ($\beta = 0.16$). The direct effects were larger for each group than the total indirect effects; that is, the direct effect of the relationship between engaging in social change behaviors on students' civic identity is much stronger than the indirect effects derived from including socio-cultural issues discussions and social perspective-taking. Other important findings from the structural paths include the strong positive effect of social change behaviors on socio-cultural issues discussions ($\beta = 0.39$ to $\beta = 0.46$) and the weak paths between engaging in social change behaviors and social perspective-taking ($\beta = 0.01$ to $\beta = 0.12$). The effect of socio-cultural issues discussions on social perspective taking was a moderately strong path ($\beta = 0.21$ to $\beta = 0.31$).

In addressing the secondary research question related to whether the models differed by racial groups compared to White students, model group comparisons between White students and each of the six students of color racial groups were performed. Six different structural paths were examined, which showed variant paths between students of color and White students for five of the six paths. The path from social change behaviors to socio-cultural issues discussions had all invariant paths between students of color and White students. The path from social change behaviors to civic identity showed the most variant paths. Five of the six students of color racial groups differed from White students on this path.

Discussion of Findings

The discussion of findings is presented in three parts: results from the initial latent means comparison, the direct, indirect, and total effects on civic identity for racial groups, and racial group model comparisons. Racial group model comparisons are discussed in the context of each path to provide greater context for the results.

Latent Mean Comparisons

A comparison of students of color as one group and White students was first conducted. The analysis revealed significant mean differences ($p < .001$) for the social change behaviors (students of color higher than White students), social perspective-taking (students of color higher than White students), and civic identity scales (students of color higher than White students), but not the socio-cultural issues discussion scale. Effect sizes (eta squared) based on the means tests showed small effects for the social change behaviors and civic identity scales, and a medium effect size difference in the social perspective-taking scale. An additional analysis examining mean differences

between the six students of color racial groups and White students showed that each of the six students of color racial groups differed significantly ($p < .001$) from White students on each of the four latent variables including the sociocultural issues scale, which was initially not shown to differ in the aggregate comparison between White students and students of color as one group. Effect sizes were mostly small to medium based on eta squared analysis (Pallant, 2007); however, Black/African American students yielded a large effect size difference from White students on the social perspective-taking scale. Five of the students of color racial groups had larger means than White students on the social change behaviors, social perspective-taking, and civic identity scales, and four of the six students of color racial groups had larger means than White students on the socio-cultural issues discussion scale.

Social Change Behaviors. The social change behaviors scale asks students to report on how often they have engaged in a set of social change behaviors while in college (1 = Never, 2 = Once, 3 = Sometimes, 4 = Often). Five of the six students of color groups had larger means than White students. Only American Indian/Alaska Native students had a smaller mean ($M = 1.97$). Both Multiracial and African American/Black students had medium effect size differences (Pallant, 2007). These results show that students of color participated in social change behaviors (e.g., took part in a protest, rally, or march, performed community service) more frequently than their White peers. These results suggest that students from subordinated group are more likely to engage in social change behaviors, which is supported by several studies (Renn, 2007; Rhoads, 1998; Taylor & Howard-Hamilton, 1995). Harper and Quaye (2007) found that African American college men engage in activities related to social change behaviors via

student organizations. They suggest that African American men who have a greater awareness of issues facing them leads to a greater likelihood of taking action to address them. Cruce and Moore (2007) found that students of color participate in volunteer activities more frequently than White students, which further corroborate the larger mean scores for students of color on social change behaviors. These research studies suggest that students of color may be more inclined to take action on issues that affect their racial identity.

The overall means for this scale are important to consider as well. Latent mean scores ranged from 1.97 to 2.20, which equates to “once” on the Likert scale. The frequency in which students engage in social change behaviors appears to be limited and results should be viewed in this context. However, having not examined the specific behaviors in which students have participated, it might be the case that students are highly engaged in some behaviors (e.g., taking part in a protest or march) and not engaged in other behaviors at all. Students might be just as likely to have participated in a wide range of social change behaviors once as they were to participate in only one or two behaviors often.

Socio-Cultural Issues Discussions. The socio-cultural issues discussions scale asked students to report on how often they have engaged in conversations outside of the classroom about and across differences in the last school year (1 = Never, 2 = Sometimes, 3 = Often, 4 = Very Often). With latent mean averages ranging from 2.55 to 2.90, results show that students engage in these discussions often. Further, it appears that students of color have these conversations more frequently than their White peers. Four of the six students of color groups had larger means than White students. Only Asian

American/Asian and American Indian/Alaska Native students had smaller means than White students (both medium effect size differences). Both Multiracial and Middle Eastern students had larger means than White students with medium effect sizes. These results show that students of color tend to engage in socio-cultural issues discussions more frequently than their White peers (four of the six students of color group latent means were higher than White students).

That students of color engage in socio-cultural issues discussions more frequently than White students is not surprising based on prior literature. Using data from the 2006 MSL, Hershey (2007) found that White students engage in conversations about and across differences less frequently than their peers. Astin's (1993) seminal study of college students also showed that students of color tend to have discussions about differences more frequently than their White peers. White students likely engage in socio-cultural issues discussions less frequently because of the privilege that accompanies their race. Privilege refers to the benefits and advantages held by one group over another (McIntosh, 2003). Privilege is often unearned and invisible (McIntosh, 2003; Robinson & Howard-Hamilton, 2000), which makes it difficult to recognize for those who hold it. Benefits of privilege include power, status, credibility, and normality (Rocco & West, 1998). Thus, if an identity is seen as the norm and is difficult to recognize, students would then be less likely to discuss it. Although race is only one possible identity about which students could discuss differences, race is nonetheless a powerful mediating variable for students' experiences (Hurtado, 2006, 2007; Tatum, 1997).

Social-Perspective Taking. The social perspective-taking scale asked students to reflect on how well a series of statements describes them related to considering others (1

= Does Not Describe Me Well, 5 – Describes Me Very Well). Latent mean scores ranged from 3.67 to 3.88. These scores indicate that students believe that statements about their ability to empathize, see multiple perspectives, and infer others' feelings describe them reasonably well.

This scale had the most latent mean differences and the most large (one) and medium (four) effect size differences. Five of the six students of color groups had larger means than White students ($M = 3.70$). African American/Black students ($M = 3.88$) had a significantly larger mean than White students, which resulted in the only large effect size difference between groups for the four latent variables in this study. Multiracial, Latino/Hispanic, Middle Eastern, and American Indian/Alaska Native students all had significantly larger means with medium effect size differences when compared to White students. Asian American/Asian students were the only group with a smaller mean than White students ($M = 3.67$). These results are consistent with a large, multi-institutional study of social perspective-taking on campus. The study showed that more students of color (69.5 percent) strongly agreed that they came to college respecting diverse perspectives, compared to White students (59.8 percent) (Dey et al., 2010). These findings are also consistent with student development theory, which suggests that those who hold privileged identities (i.e., White students) are often not as familiar with the lived experiences of others (i.e., students of color) (Helms, 1995; Rowe, Bennett, & Atkinson, 1994).

Civic Identity. The civic identity scale asks students to think about the most effective group of which they are part and respond to a series of statements regarding their attitudes and behaviors associated with community on a five point Likert scale (1 =

Strong Disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Neutral, 4 = Agree, 5 = Strongly Agree). Latent mean scores ranged from 3.77 to 3.95. Five of the six students of color groups had statistically significant larger means than White students ($M = 3.81$) (two medium effect sizes and three small effect sizes). Both African American/Black ($M = 3.95$) and Middle Eastern students ($M = 3.88$) had medium effect size differences.

These findings are consistent with the research that shows that when people are able to see issues the importance of issues that affect them, they are more likely to take action on them (Cruce & Moore, 2007; Harper and Quaye, 2007; Renn, 2007; Rhoads, 1998; Taylor & Howard-Hamilton, 1995). Although civic identity is different from social change behaviors, many of the measures in the civic identity scale relate to taking action (e.g., I participate in activities that contribute to the common good, I volunteer my time to the community). Attitudes and values have been shown to predict behavior (Astin, 1993), which comprise the other measures on the civic identity scale. The link between attitudes and values and behavior provides evidence for these findings being useful to explain the mean differences in students' civic identity.

Structural Model and Model Comparison Results for Racial Groups

Results for the structural equation models are discussed in the context of current literature. Six structural paths were analyzed in this study: social change behaviors to civic identity, social change behaviors to socio-cultural issues discussions, social change behaviors to social perspective-taking, social perspective-taking to civic identity, socio-cultural issues discussions to social perspective-taking, and socio-cultural issues discussions to civic identity. The six structural paths contained within the models illuminated important differences in the relationships between latent variables in the

model. Results from the structural paths and model group comparison are presented together for each path (See Tables 4.4 and 4.6; Figures 4.1 – 4.9).

Social Change Behaviors to Civic Identity. The path from social change behaviors to civic identity was the second strongest path in the model with beta weights ranging from 0.28 to 0.48. These beta weights were moderate in strength (Cohen, 1988) and show the strong relationship between taking action and shaping one's civic identity. More specifically, these results highlight the predictive power of engaging in action on values, attitudes, and future behaviors. This points toward a tacit philosophy behind efforts to engage students in social change behaviors; that is, if students are exposed to engaging in social change behaviors while in college, they are more likely to continue post-graduation (Astin, 1996; Colby et al., 2007; Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005; Villalpando, 1996).

Many research studies corroborate the strong link between engaging in action and shaping values and future behavior. Allport's (cited in Wallace, Paulson, Lord, & Bond, 2005) seminal work on racial and ethnic attitudes showed how attitudes were predictive of future behavior in the context of race relations. He found that when people had contact with others from a different race, they were more likely to continue to engage with others from a different race if certain conditions are met (e.g., equal status, common goals). His work was critical in establishing the connection between action and values. Several subsequent studies have shown the predictive power of engaging in action on values. Wallace et al. (2005) reviewed 797 studies on action and values and found that when attitudes are strong and the values are strongly connected to actions, the predictive power of action on values is stronger.

Several studies related to students' civic behaviors and attitudes corroborate these findings. Students engaging in service-learning, for instance, have been shown to have increased concern for the public good and the importance of making civic contributions (Saenz, Ngai, & Hurtado, 2006). Several other studies have shown the important link between students engaging in social change behaviors and what might be considered their civic identity (Hellman, Hoppes, Ellison, 2006; Hurtado et al., 2007; Liu, Ruiz, DeAngelo, & Pryor, 2009). Although these studies did not examine civic identity as the dependent variable, they do highlight the important link between action and positive shifts in attitude toward service and propensity for future civic action. Astin, Vogelgesang, Ikeda, and Yee (2000) found that students' civic responsibility was heightened as a result of participating in community service or service-learning. In a constructivist study exploring the long-term effects of service-learning, Jones and Abes (2004) found that students who participated in an extensive service-learning course had a more integrated identity evidenced by greater cognitive complexity and shifts in future commitments. Their study shows an important link between time spent engaging in social change behaviors (i.e., service-learning) and enduring changes in one's identity. Given this important implication and the moderate and positive beta weights found for social change behaviors on civic identity, the importance of engaging in social change behaviors on students' civic identity appears to be strong.

Model Group Comparisons. Five of the six students of color groups had statistically significant smaller beta weights than White students ($\beta = 0.48$). In other words, engaging in social change behaviors had the strongest impact on civic identity for White students. This finding begs the question: Why does engaging in social change

behaviors seem to matter more for White students than students of color as it relates to civic identity? One possible explanation can be found within literature on intergroup dialogues. Gurin et al. (2002) highlighted several studies that showed that when separate analyses were conducted for racial groups, students of color responded differently to diversity experiences than White students. Diversity experiences, which might characterize many social change behaviors, tend to disproportionately affect White students (Gurin et al., 2002; Hurtado, 2006). For many White students engaging in service-learning as part of a course, for instance, it may be the first time they have thought about civic issues, particularly those issues related to inequality, which tend to arise in taking action in one's community.

Another possible explanation may be that students of color do not view engaging in social change behaviors in the same way as White students. For many students of color, working with others to make the campus or community a better place or working with others to address social inequality may be so intertwined with their identity that they do not consider it to be a social change behavior. Jones and Hill's (2003) finding that many African American students in their study considered serving their community so close to their identity that they did not identify their service as "community service" may provide an explanation for variant paths between students of color and White students.

While the direct effect of engaging in social change behaviors on civic identity is important, the related indirect results provide evidence of another story. The indirect effects show that socio-cultural issues discussions and social perspective-taking have less of an effect on White students' civic identity than students of color, as evidenced by White students having the lowest indirect effects ($\beta = 0.11$) on civic identity. The degree

to which White students' civic identity is informed by socio-cultural issues discussions and social perspective-taking appears to be less than students of colors'.

Social Change Behaviors to Socio-Cultural Issues Discussions. The path from social change behaviors to socio-cultural issues discussions was the strongest path in the model with beta weights ranging from 0.39 to 0.46. These beta weights were moderate in strength (Cohen, 1988) and point toward an important pedagogical shift within civic engagement efforts in higher education. In Chapters One and Two, the civic renewal movement was discussed, which charted higher education's resurgence in fostering civic engagement in the last two decades. Having become concerned that civic engagement efforts (e.g., volunteer programs) were doing little to foster learning, Eyler and Giles (1999) challenged educators to be more intentional in fostering learning alongside civic engagement efforts. A common pedagogical practice that emerged during this time was to include reflection and dialogue to unpack and make meaning of civic engagement experiences or social change behaviors. The strength of the structural paths in this study illustrates the response to these calls, as evidenced by the strong relationship between social change behaviors and socio-cultural issues discussions. Astin et al. (2000) found that service-learning and community service both increased the likelihood that students would receive support from faculty and that they would reflect on their experiences. Saenz, Ngai, and Hurtado's (2006) study on students participating in service-learning also showed no differing effects on the quality of interactions students had with diverse peers from their service-learning experiences. Although the quality of interactions is a different measure than the one used in the current study, the results from Saenz et al.'s study show the similarity in conversations that take place when engaging in social change

behaviors.

Further, the opportunity to engage in socio-cultural issues discussions is quite high since engaging in social change behaviors is almost always performed with others. These results indicate that engaging in social change behaviors, likely as a result of pedagogical strategies and the context in which they are performed (i.e., in groups), has a moderately strong predictive relationship with socio-cultural issues discussions. Students who engage in social change behaviors are likely to discuss the experience with others.

Model Group Comparisons. The path from social change behaviors to socio-cultural issues discussions yielded no variant paths between racial groups. The lack of racial group differences for this structural path is curious, but perhaps not surprising. It stands to reason that from a pedagogical standpoint, students engaged in social change behaviors would have the same opportunity and, thus, similar resulting action related to engaging in socio-cultural issues discussions.

Social Change Behaviors to Social Perspective-Taking. The path from social change behaviors to social perspective-taking was the weakest path in the model with beta weights ranging from 0.01 to 0.12. These beta weights are weak in strength (Cohen, 1988). Chin (1998) cautions interpretations from beta weights less than 0.20 in structural equation models. However, despite this caution, the lack of a strong relationship merits discussion. These results show that engaging in social change behaviors is not predictive of increased social perspective-taking. While engaging in social change behaviors has a strong predictive value for socio-cultural issues discussions, the same is not true for social perspective-taking.

The results of this study show that engaging in social change behaviors does not lead to increased social perspective-taking. These results underscore the importance of having a mechanism to help students adopt social perspective-taking when engaging in social change behaviors. For many students, engaging in social change behaviors means engagement with ideas and people who are different from themselves (Jones & Abes, 2003, 2004). Without opportunities to make meaning of these experiences, social perspective-taking is only marginally affected. Similar to research on student development theory (Baxter Magolda, 2001; King & Baxter Magolda, 2005; Perry, 1978), experiences that challenge or disrupt students' current ways of thinking or being require opportunities for reflection and meaning making for growth to occur. The lack of such opportunities in the case of engaging in social change behaviors would likely show little to no growth in social perspective-taking, then, which is what the data from the current study show.

Another possible explanation of the weak path between social change behaviors and social perspective-taking may be that students engage in social change behaviors because they want to gain traction for something personally important (e.g., sign a petition for a cause they believe in, clean up a nearby park) and have either no desire or opportunity to consider others' perspectives. Strictly advancing personal causes or interests would likely limit students' willingness, opportunity, and ability to consider and adopt others' perspectives. Ardent adherence to already solidified perspectives would severely limit social perspective-taking, which sometimes occurs in experiences designed to foster learning about differences (Hurtado, 2003).

Another potential explanation of the weak link between social change behaviors and social perspective-taking relates to the multidimensionality of social perspective-taking (Gelbach, 2004). Social perspective-taking contains many different elements of empathy or “putting oneself in another person’s shoes.” For instance, Goleman (2010) distinguishes between cognitive and emotional empathy. Cognitive empathy refers to the ability to know how another person feels, while emotional empathy refers to the ability for one person to infer and feel another’s emotions. Since the current analysis did not distinguish between these two constructs, it may be that engaging in social change behaviors is more predictive of either cognitive or emotional empathy. Further studies should examine the link between engaging in social change behaviors and cognitive and emotional empathy.

The latent mean scores for the social change behaviors scale is important to consider in light of these findings. Since aggregate mean scores indicated that students participate in social change behaviors “once,” it may be that limited involvement in social change behaviors does not predict social perspective-taking, but increased involvement increases social perspective-taking. An increased involvement and depth of an experience, for instance, may lead to increased social perspective-taking, which may not occur if students participate in a social change behavior once. Further research should investigate this hypothesis.

Model Group Comparisons. Model group comparisons on this path yielded four variant paths; however, as Chin (1998) cautioned, interpreting results from such low beta weights should be done with extreme caution. Thus, the model group comparison interpretations should be viewed in this light. Despite this concern, the four students of

color racial groups that were variant were all less than White students on this path. These results might suggest that for many students of color, engaging in social change behaviors is even less predictive of social perspective-taking than for White students.

Social Perspective-Taking to Civic Identity. The path from social perspective-taking to civic identity yielded moderate beta weights ranging from 0.32 to 0.46. This path highlights the predictive strength of social perspective-taking on civic identity. This strong relationship should be viewed in the context of the measures contained on the civic identity scale. The eleven measures contained on this scale might be considered “other-oriented” in that they all require an understanding of others. Thus, students with a stronger civic identity would then have a strong understanding of others and actively think about their views and experiences. Gurin et al.’s (2002) research on the outcomes of intergroup dialogues adds credence to this argument. They found that students who had stronger pluralistic and civic orientations scored higher on social-perspective taking.

Model Group Comparisons. Four students of color groups were found to have variant paths than White students. The paths for these students of color groups ($\beta = 0.42 - 0.46$) were stronger than White students’ path ($\beta = 0.32$). Social perspective-taking has been shown to vary by race (Dey et al., 2010; Keen & Hall, 2009). In the current study, the latent means comparisons presented in Chapter Four showed the greatest differences in social perspective-taking across racial groups. Thus, the degree to which social perspective-taking informs one’s civic identity seems to differ by race. Since students of color have been shown to engage in social perspective-taking more than White students, a civic identity that requires elements of social perspective-taking (e.g., examining different sides of a disagreement before acting, exploring different sides of questions)

would then be stronger for those who have greater capacities for social perspective-taking.

Socio-Cultural Issues Discussions to Social Perspective-Taking. The path from socio-cultural issues discussions to social perspective-taking yielded moderate beta weights ranging from 0.21 to 0.31. The relationship between these two variables suggests that socio-cultural issues discussions predict social perspective-taking. In other words, having conversations with others who are different from oneself leads to an increased propensity to consider others' perspectives. Standpoint theory (Collins, 1986; Griffin, 2009; Wood, 1993) offers a useful interpretation of these results. Scholars of standpoint theory suggest that a standpoint refers to the position from which an individual both views and constructs the world. The more that an individual broadens his/her standpoint, the more holistically and thus more fully he/she sees the world. In the context of this study, the more that students have conversations that broaden their standpoint, the more they understand and can take on others' perspectives.

These results are also intuitive – the more that students talk about differences, the more likely they are to be informed of and then act on these perspectives. Without being exposed to differing perspectives, students are not able to take on other perspectives, which is evidenced in the weak path between social change behaviors and social perspective-taking. Astin et al. (2000) found this theme to be prominent in their research on service-learning outcomes. Having a mechanism for students to understand multiple perspectives was invaluable for students to make meaning of their experiences. Conversations with peers were the most important mechanisms to foster social-perspective taking for students. Intergroup dialogue research also supports the finding

that engaging in socio-cultural issues discussions with others helps develop social perspective-taking (Gurin et al., 2004; Gurin et al., 2002; Sax, 2000).

The link between having socio-cultural issues discussions and increasing social perspective-taking is both an explicit and tacit relationship within the literature (Dey et al., 2010; Gurin et al., 2002; Hurtado, 2006, 2007; Keen & Hall, 2009). This model shows only moderately strong beta weights between the two constructs. This could indicate that socio-cultural issues discussions are often not necessarily hotbeds for development and growth, but rather venues to defend predetermined positions. Students may not change much as a result of these dialogues or take on others' perspectives as a result, which Hurtado (2003) found for many of the students in her study of intergroup dialogues. Bryant et al. (2011) reached a similar conclusions in their longitudinal research on the link between discussions about difference and social perspective-taking: "If students fail to internalize commitments to social and political concerns, their behaviors may at best reflect shallow motivations that will not withstand the test of time" (p. 90). These results raise an important question: If engaging in social change behaviors and socio-cultural issues discussions are only weak and moderate predictors of social perspective-taking, what else develops social perspective-taking? Secondly, how does social perspective-taking become an on-going capacity and practice for students? These questions hold important implications for research and practice, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Model Group Comparisons. Only African American/Black students ($\beta = 0.21$) had a variant path compared to White students ($\beta = 0.27$), which suggests that socio-cultural issues discussions are less of a predictor of social perspective-taking for African

American/Black students than for White students. The reasons for this differing relationship are puzzling since this was not the case for the other five students of color groups. Research on intergroup dialogues provides some insight as to why socio-cultural issues discussions are less predictive of social perspective-taking for African American/Black students. Intergroup dialogues, which seek to promote a better understanding between two different groups who have a history of conflict, are important mechanisms to foster both socio-cultural issues discussions and social perspective-taking. Researchers have found that White students tend to benefit more from these discussions than students of color, since issues of differences, privilege, and oppression are often new concepts for White students (Dessel & Rogge, 2008). Thus, it may be that when engaging in socio-cultural issues discussions, African American/Black students may not be exposed to as much new information that would lead to them taking on differing perspectives. Standpoint theory would also support this notion. Several standpoint theorists (Collins, 1986; Griffin, 2009; Harding, 2003) have made the case that people with marginalized or oppressed identities have more complete views and understandings of the world than those with dominant identities because of the power associated with dominant and subordinate identities. Thus, having socio-cultural issues discussions may not predict increased social perspective-taking for African American/Black students.

Although research on intergroup dialogues and standpoint theory help explain why African American/Black students' paths from socio-cultural issues discussions to social perspective-taking is significantly less than White students, these bodies of literature do not explain why the other five students of color racial groups were invariant on this path compared to White students. These results suggest that the degree to which

students take on others' perspectives after engaging in socio-cultural issues discussions is not mediated by race. Although surprising since experiences and outcomes from intergroup dialogues have been shown to differ by race (Dessel & Rogge, 2008; Nelson Laird & Niskodé-Dossett, 2010), these results are corroborated by at least two other research studies, which informed the null hypothesis of the current study. Zúñiga et al.'s (2005) research showed no statistically significant racial differences in motivation to promote social justice or reduce their own racial. Lee (2005) also found no racial differences in outcomes resulting from service-learning. Thus, the degree to which students adopt others' perspectives as a result of socio-cultural issues discussions seems to be invariant for students of color, except African American/Black students.

Socio-Cultural Issues Discussions to Civic Identity. The path from socio-cultural issues discussions to civic identity yielded weak beta weights ranging from 0.08 to 0.17. In keeping with Chin's (1988) caution to be wary of reading too much into beta weights less than 0.20, the weak results on this path challenge an important linkage within civic engagement literature – that engaging in socio-cultural issues discussions fosters the development of aspects associated with civic identity (Astin et al., 2000; Biddix, 2010; Dugan & Komives, 2010; Hurtado, 2003, 2006; Keen & Hall, 2009). While this may be true, the model explored in the current study does not support this notion, at least not directly. The data show that social perspective-taking is three to four times more powerful than socio-cultural issues discussions in predicting civic identity, which suggests that socio-cultural issues discussions, in and of themselves, are not powerful predictors of civic identity. Simply having informal conversations with peers about differences does not lead to increases in students' civic identity. Unstructured

conversations, such as those referred to in the socio-cultural issues discussions scale, appear to lack a vital mechanism to help students make meaning of how the learning that takes place in these settings informs students' civic identities. The importance of educators helping students to make meaning from their experiences with diversity cannot be understated (Hurtado, 2006).

Model Group Comparisons. Three students of color racial groups (i.e., Asian American/Asian, African American/Black, Latino/Hispanic) were found to be variant to White students on this path. The beta weights for these three groups were larger, suggesting that for these groups, socio-cultural issues discussions were stronger predictors of civic identity than White students. Statistical considerations should prohibit reading too much into these findings (Chin, 1988), but these differences are nonetheless compelling. The extent to which civic identity is influenced by socio-cultural issues discussions for students of color might be greater because students of color tend to engage in these discussions more often than White students (Dey et al., 2010). This trend is also supported by the current study (see Table 4.2 in Chapter Four). It may be the case that simply engaging in socio-cultural issues discussions more frequently leads to a greater integration into one's civic identity. Similarly, since students of color tend to take on others' perspectives more frequently (Dey et al., 2010), which is also supported by the current study, their ability to integrate information from socio-cultural issues discussions into their civic identity may also be more refined. However, these interpretations still do not explain why this phenomenon holds true for some students of color racial groups and not others.

Limitations

Several limitations of this research are important to note when interpreting the findings and implications for practice and research. The first limitation relates to the variables that were (and were not) included in this study. I was most interested in exploring relationships between engaging in social change behaviors, socio-cultural issues discussions, social perspective-taking, and civic identity. These relationships are frequently hypothesized and discussed in mission statements (Hurtado, 2006, 2007) and research on civic engagement and diversity. Hurtado (2006) and Hero (2007) argued that research on diversity and civic engagement has progressed in similar but separate ways, so I wanted to view the relationships between these core pedagogical concepts in concert with one another. With that said, many important variables that have been shown to predict civic identity (e.g., high school involvement, studying abroad, living in a living-learning community) were not included. Further studies should examine the role that these experiences play in shaping students' civic identity.

Another important concern relates to the viability of comparing models within structural equation modeling for groups with vastly different sample sizes. This study compared students of color racial groups that had less than 300 cases to White students that had 33,475 cases. Some scholars have argued that results from studies with this level of analysis should be viewed with caution (Klem, 2000; Raykov & Marcoulides, 2000) because of the greater likelihood of finding group differences. However, comparing groups with disparate sample sizes is commonplace in structural equation modeling research and the goodness of fit indices showed no issues with the models or model comparisons.

Limitations with scales in the model are also important to consider. First, the socio-cultural issues discussion scale used in this study is limited to conversations that students report having outside of the classroom. Those conversations that take place in the classroom are not accounted for in this study, which limits the findings. Readers of this study should view the findings and implications of this study in this light. Second, the four latent variables in this study are ordinal measures that are scored and thus treated as continuous variables. For instance, the difference between students indicating they engage in a social change behavior “sometimes” or “often” equates to a continuously scored difference of one on the scale. While this is problematic in research design, many studies treat variables in this way, and I elected to do the same.

Finally, a limitation in this research is that race was the only identity examined for students in this study. One might surmise that other identities would be equally important to examine, such as gender or socioeconomic status. Further, examining identities in combination like research on multiple dimensions of identity (Abes et al., 2007) would also provide a richer picture of how the variables in this study influence civic identity. Examining ethnic identity alongside racial identity development would also provide a richer understanding of the unique experiences of students in this study.

Implications for Practice

The results of this study hold several important implications for practice. First, this study showed the importance of engaging students in social change behaviors to build students’ civic identity. While other factors were shown to contribute directly or indirectly to civic identity, the biggest predictor of civic identity was engaging in social change behaviors. Taking action was the biggest predictor of students’ civic identity,

which is a prominent theme in student involvement literature (Astin, 1993; Astin et al., 2000). Mean scores on the social change behaviors scale ($M = 1.97 - 2.20$) show that students are not as engaged in social change behaviors as many educators would likely hope. An obvious implication, then, would be to increase opportunities for students to become involved in social change behaviors. Helping students find ways to get involved with social change behaviors will build students' civic identity, which is a vaunted outcome of higher education (Colby et al., 2007; Jacoby, 2009; Kezar, 2002).

Another important implication stems from the structural paths of social change behaviors to socio-cultural issues discussions and socio-cultural issues discussions to civic identity. The results of these structural paths show that engaging in social change behaviors is closely connected to socio-cultural issues discussions. In practical terms, when students are taking part in social change, they are talking informally with their peers outside of the classroom about important differences they notice and encounter. However, the degree to which students make meaning and incorporate these discussions into their civic identity is quite weak. Educators should help students make these connections between socio-cultural issues discussions and civic identity. Inviting these perspectives into coursework and promoting them in co-curricular settings will help promote students' civic identity. Making explicit connections to civic identity in these discussions, both in pedagogy and in practice, will strengthen the civic impact of these discussions.

This study highlighted important differences by race regarding the formation of students' civic identity. Thus, efforts aimed at building students' civic identity should consider the implications of race in civic identity development. Most practically, civic

engagement efforts should include pedagogical components that engage the racial differences. Educators who coordinate community service events or work closely with students who are taking action on social concerns should engage students in both formal and informal conversations about the racial implications of their work.

Related to the prior implication, educators should explore ways to harness socio-cultural issues discussions into social perspective-taking. Simply having conversations about differences falls short of students regularly acting upon the multiple perspectives culled from these conversations. Helping students make meaning of socio-cultural issues discussions, with a particular emphasis on the implications of these discussions, should be the focus of educators engaging in these conversations with students. Baxter Magolda (2001) argues that educators should be “good company” for students to promote their learning and development, meaning that educators should seek to challenge and support students through the meaning-making process. Helping students make meaning through guided reflections, dialogues, and structured activities that help them take the information they learn from socio-cultural issues discussions and integrate that information into the ways in which they see and operate within the world would help achieve the aim of being good company for students. Further, educators should pay attention to the racial differences in developing social perspective-taking highlighted in the current study. This study showed an important racial difference in the path from socio-cultural issues discussions and social perspective-taking for Black/African American students. Educators should pay special attention to the differing ways students experience socio-cultural issues discussions and develop social perspective-taking. Intergroup dialogue research (Gurin et al., 2002; Hurtado, 2001; Zúñiga et al., 2005) shows how students of

color experience different outcomes than White students, which provide further evidence for differing experiences for students of color and White students. Educators facilitating diversity-related dialogues should consider enacting multiple pedagogical approaches to meet differing student needs.

Suggestions for Future Research

In addition to the practical implications explored in the previous section, this study has implications for further research. Since social change behaviors were the largest predictors of civic identity, future research should investigate the type of social change behaviors that have the largest impact on civic identity. In addition to what types of social change behaviors promote civic identity development, the nature (e.g., duration, location) of these experiences should also be investigated.

Prior research (Dey et al., 2010; Gurin et al., 2002; Hurtado, 2006) and results from the current study show the importance of social perspective-taking for developing aspects associated with the development of civic identity. However, engaging in social change behaviors and socio-cultural issues discussions were only weak and moderate relationships (Cohen, 1988) in the current study. Despite being an important capacity that undergirds many learning outcomes including civic identity, the overall picture of how social perspective-taking is developed remains unclear. Further research is needed to explore what experiences contribute most to social perspective-taking and the process by which students build their capacities for social perspective-taking. Qualitative research would allow for an in-depth understanding of the process by which students build their capacities for social perspective-taking. Further, future studies should

examine the multiple dimensions of social perspective-taking (e.g., cognitive, emotional) to explore which experiences predict different dimensions of social perspective-taking.

Another important implication for research stems from the curious link between socio-cultural issues discussions and social perspective-taking. The current study showed that socio-cultural issues discussions were only moderate predictors of social perspective-taking. Hurtado's (2003) research on the outcomes of intergroup dialogues illustrated how students often fail to take on others' perspectives and revert to solidified positions. While there is much research on the outcomes of intergroup dialogues (Gurin et al., 2002; Hurtado, 2001, 2003, 2004, 2006, 2007; Zúñiga et al., 2005), research is lacking on the processes of intergroup dialogues that achieve these outcomes. Further research should investigate what factors contribute to socio-cultural issues discussions prompting social perspective-taking for students and what factors cause students to forgo taking on others' perspectives.

Future research should also examine more important within group differences. Other social identities no doubt matter for how students engage in social change behaviors, socio-cultural issues discussions, and social perspective-taking. For instance, gender and socioeconomic status are important mediating variables in students' experiences and outcomes (Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005). Although race was the only classification variable examined in the current study, future students should explore differences by other social identities. In the same vein, ethnicity should be examined alongside race for future studies. A model for African American/Black students who also identify as Caribbean might look different than African American/Black students who identify as Nigerian.

Conclusion

Higher education has a long history of preparing students to be active and engaged citizens, which has been renewed and acted upon more in the last two decades through service-learning, community service, and other civic engagement efforts designed to build students' capacities to be engaged citizens (Colby et al., 2007; Jacoby, 2009; Kezar, 2002). Alongside the contemporary civic engagement movement, efforts to increase diversity on college campuses and prepare students to work effectively with others who are different have also taken hold (Dey et al., 2010; Hurtado, 2003; Ryu, 2010). Hurtado (2006) and Hero (2007) argued that the civic engagement and diversity movements have progressed in similar but separate and fragmented ways. Thus, research and practice that link these two movements is important to help prepare students to be engaged citizens in a diverse democracy (Hurtado, 2006).

The current study sought to examine elements of these two movements together; in particular, this study explored the role that engaging in social change behaviors, socio-cultural issues discussions, and social perspective-taking have on students' civic identity and whether these relationships differ by race. Results showed that engaging in social change behaviors was the most important factor in predicting students' civic identity. Socio-cultural issues discussions are only weak predictors of civic identity, while the paths from social-perspective taking to civic identity were three to four stronger than those from socio-cultural issues discussions to civic identity. Social change behaviors predict socio-cultural issues discussions, but the degree to which students act on these conversations by incorporating them into their everyday lives showed a tenuous connection. Important racial differences for many students of color groups were found

for five of the six paths, which suggest that the development of civic identity differs by race. Implications for practice and research from these results were explored, including helping students make meaning of socio-cultural issues discussions, making explicit connections to civic identity, and expanding the research on what develops social perspective-taking.

The vital role of socio-cultural issues discussions and social perspective-taking cannot be understated. American society is rent by divisions across difference (Hero, 2007; Putnam, 2005, 2007); thus, building students capacities to understand others who are different alongside promoting their civic identity is paramount. Simply engaging students in civic engagement efforts is insufficient. “Ensuring that students will ultimately take seriously their roles as contributing and compassionate citizens entails more than mere exposure to co-curricular experiences, volunteerism, or other charitable work” (Bryant et al., 2011, p. 90). The current study supports this call by highlighting the importance of socio-cultural issues discussions and social perspective-taking, which were shown to be valuable direct and indirect predictors of civic identity. Further research should continue to explore the connections between diversity and civic engagement, and student affairs practice should then be informed by this research.

Appendix A

Participating Colleges and Universities in the 2009 Multi-Institutional Study of Leadership

Alfred University	Northwestern University
Baylor University	Ohio University
Berry College	Pacific Lutheran University
Bridgewater State College	Regis University
Brigham Young University Hawaii	Roger Williams University
Bryant University	Rollins College
Bucknell University	Saint Joseph's University
California Lutheran University	Saint Mary's University of Minnesota
California State University Sacramento	Samford University
Clemson University	Seattle University
Colgate University	Sonoma State University
Colorado State University	Southern Methodist University
Columbia College	SUNY Binghamton
Concordia College	SUNY Buffalo
Cornell College	SUNY Geneseo
CUNY Baruch	SUNY Potsdam
CUNY Lehman	Temple University
DePaul University	Texas A&M University
Drake University	Texas Christian University
Drexel University	University of Arizona
Duke University	University of California Berkeley
Elmhurst College	University of Central Florida
Elon University	University of Central Oklahoma
Furman University	University of Colorado at Boulder
Gallaudet University	University of Detroit Mercy
George Mason University	University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign
Georgia Southern University	University of Iowa
Gettysburg College	University of Kansas
Guilford College	University of Louisville
Hamline University	University of Maryland College Park
Harvard University	University of Massachusetts- Lowell
Houghton College	University of Minnesota Twin Cities
Indiana University Bloomington	University of Nevada Las Vegas
Jackson State University	University of North Carolina Chapel Hill
John Carroll University	University of North Carolina Greensboro
Kansas State University	University of North Carolina Wilmington
Loyola Marymount University	University of Richmond
Loyola University Chicago	University of Rochester
Mansfield University	University of San Diego
Marquette University	University of San Francisco
Meredith College	University of Scranton

Metro State College of Denver Millikin University Missouri Western State University Monroe Community College Montgomery College Moravian College North Carolina Central University North Carolina State University Northeastern Illinois University Northeastern State University	University of South Florida University of Tampa University of Wisconsin- La Crosse University of Wisconsin- Madison University of Wisconsin- Oshkosh University of Wisconsin- Steven's Point Wartburg College Wilson College Youngstown State University
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