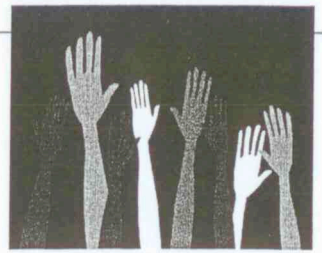

CHAPTER 1

What Is Civic Engagement?

1.1 FROM LISTS TO A DEFINITION

The purpose of civic education (broadly defined) is to enhance the *civic engagement* of young people. "Civic engagement" is a very popular catchphrase in foundations, government agencies, schools, and universities around the English-speaking world. In many contexts, it has supplanted "participation" and "participatory democracy," which were more common phrases in the 1960s and 1970s, when they acquired a politically radical edge. Many specialists in the field prefer the phrase "civic engagement" over "citizenship"—let alone "*good* citizenship"—finding those alternatives old-fashioned, primly moralistic, and limiting. (After all, not everyone holds legal citizenship in the country where she resides, yet everyone can participate in helpful ways.) Despite its popularity, however, "civic engagement" is very rarely defined with any conceptual clarity. Indeed, I suspect that its *lack* of definition, combined with its generally benign connotations, accounts for its popularity. It is a Rorschach blot within which anyone can find her own priorities.

While rarely defined in a coherent sentence or paragraph, "civic engagement" is often operationalized as a list of variables. For example, Scott Keeter and his colleagues designed a major national survey of civic engagement, using questions that emerged from focus group interviews.[1] CIRCLE replicated their study as our 2006 omnibus survey, which I cite frequently below.[2] Both polls measured nineteen core indicators, in three main categories:

- Indicators of *community participation* include measures of membership in various types of nonprofit voluntary associations

(including religious groups); regular volunteering and fundraising; and "community problem-solving," which is defined as a positive answer to the following question: "Have you ever worked together with someone or some group to solve a problem in the community where you live?"

- Indicators of *political engagement* include registering to vote, voting, and various activities that might influence other people's votes, including volunteering for campaigns, displaying political stickers and signs, and giving money to parties and campaigns.
- Indicators of *political voice* include protesting, canvassing, signing petitions, contacting the mass media, contacting elected officials, boycotting products, and "buycotting" products or companies. (To "buycott" is to purchase "something because you like the social or political values of the company that produces it.")

According to Keeter and his colleagues, you are civically engaged if you regularly perform several actions on this list of nineteen.[3]

There are arguments in favor of expanding or changing this list. Some scholars believe that relatively unusual forms of engagement should be included, even though they do not show up in focus groups and national surveys. These atypical civic behaviors include acts of civil disobedience, participation in transnational youth movements (such as the campaign against globalization), and Native Americans' membership in tribal councils.[4] Second, one could argue that some relatively common forms of service were overlooked in the survey designed by Keeter and colleagues: for instance, helping to raise younger siblings, or confronting friends and relatives who use racist or other immoral language. It is controversial whether these forms of behavior constitute "civic engagement." Third, some scholars believe that following and understanding the news and public affairs is a form of engagement.[5] (We could call this "mental" or "cognitive" civic engagement.)

Finally, most of the indicators measured by Keeter et al. are signs that people support and want to improve the regime in which they live. Those who are deeply critical of the status quo may prefer indicators of resistance and revolt, such as participation in violent protests, or the ordinary foot-dragging and noncompliance that is often the resort of poor people in response to coercion.[6] For those who are hostile to the existing regime, a *lack* of engagement in school—as shown by truancy or evident boredom—could be a sign of political resistance, hence an indicator of *civic* engagement.

In short, there are arguments for expanding the list of nineteen indicators to twenty-five or thirty. Such arguments beg the question of what makes any indicator appropriate for the list. What is the underlying philosophy of civic engagement?

Two mechanical objects are said to be "engaged" if they are capable of affecting each other. Likewise, a person who is *civically* engaged somehow connects to the civic domain so that she can affect it. A distinguished committee of the American Political Science Association recently wrote, "For us, *civic engagement includes any activity, individual or collective, devoted to influencing the collective life of the polity.*"[7] But what is the "collective life of the polity" or (as I had put it) the "civic domain"? It can't be everything; otherwise, people would be able to say they were "civically engaged" if they merely participated in their own families or businesses.

Some analysts define the civic domain in sectoral terms, as the set of all institutions that are either part of the government or not-for-profit. On that definition, you are civically engaged if you work without pay (then you are a "volunteer"), if you influence the state (as an "advocate"), or if your paycheck comes from the government or a nonprofit organization (which makes you a "public servant"). This scheme is misleading. Newspapers are civic institutions, even though they are usually profit-making corporations that pay their reporters and editors. A hospital may be organized as a private enterprise, a public agency, or a not-for-profit institution: the difference does not necessarily matter to employees, patients, or members of the surrounding community. Grocery store owners who display fruits and vegetables outside their businesses at night contribute civically by making city streets safer and more attractive.[8] When people boycott and "buycott," they are said to be civically engaged even though they are consumers who attempt to influence firms.

Another way to define the civic domain is to say that it includes any venue in which people work together on public problems. That definition trades one difficult word for another. There is no consensus about what problems are legitimately public. Just because an issue is taken up by a legislature or a court, it does not follow that the matter is public: perhaps the government has reached illegitimately into private affairs. Conversely, the government might fail to address an issue that is genuinely public. Meanwhile, private firms take up public problems, for instance by providing jobs and goods that people need. Firms can also

encourage collaboration and problem-solving among groups of their own employees and partners. Nevertheless, most theorists would not define routine business collaborations as "civic engagement." Why not?

1.2 LEGITIMATE PUBLIC CONCERNS

I do not think there is any substitute for a theory that defines public concerns and problems in contrast to those of the private sphere and the market. We can then define "civic engagement" as behavior that addresses legitimate public matters. Unfortunately, no definition of public matters attracts consensus. However, *discussing* the limits of the public's concerns is itself an important and perennial aspect of civic engagement, fundamental to the ongoing debates between left and right.

Liberals, conservatives, libertarians, left-radicals and others hold different views of the public's interests, but they ask some of the same questions. One important question concerns the nature and welfare of the "commons." Although this word has a collectivist ring (reminding some people of "communism"), people of all political stripes—including libertarians and anarchists—care about the commons; it is the definition that varies.

A commons consists of all the goods and resources that are not privately owned. The list of such resources varies depending on how a society is governed: it may include the atmosphere and oceans, the national defense, the overall plan of a city and its physical public spaces, the prevailing norms of cooperation in a society, the rule of law, civil rights and their enforcement, the store of accumulated scientific knowledge and cultural heritage, and even the Internet (understood as a whole structure, not broken down into its privately owned components).[9]

It is difficult or impossible to divide any of these resources among private owners. Things that cannot be divided cannot be traded. No one owns Shakespeare, traditional Southern cooking, national defense, the ozone layer, or freedom of speech. Because markets cannot generate or preserve such public goods, we rely instead on the state, nonprofit associations, or voluntary collaborations among firms, families, and individuals. Part of "civic engagement" is work that protects or enhances the commons. Again, we do not agree on which resources should be treated as common, but debating that question is itself an important part of civic engagement.

We can reach a similar conclusion from a different point of departure. Economists say that an "externality" occurs when some people conduct a voluntary exchange that affects other parties who never consented to their agreement. The externality is the effect on the third parties. It can be positive: for example, a new downtown store can benefit me even if I never shop or work there, by lowering crime, beautifying my city, providing jobs for my neighbors, contributing taxes, attracting visitors, and so on. In fact, many of the best things in life are positive externalities that arise as side effects of market transactions or as the public effects of people's work in private, voluntary associations. An externality can also be negative, and the usual examples are environmental. For instance, smoke can blow from a factory into the lungs of people who never consented to receive it. Coarse or inconsiderate personal acts are also good examples of negative externalities: think of cases when A talks loudly to B on a cell phone, annoying C, D, and E who are sitting nearby.

Much of ethics consists of acting so that one's externalities are as positive as possible. We can define the commons as the sum total of our externalities, the negative ones subtracted from the positive ones. Then civic engagement is work that improves the balance of externalities. People create positive externalities and mitigate negative ones by volunteering and by influencing the state.

This definition of "civic engagement" encompasses some aspects of life that we do not usually tag with that label. For example, fundamental research on cancer promises to provide basic knowledge, which is a public or common good of enormous value. Therefore, a cancer researcher is civically engaged, by my definition. To be sure, science is not identical to volunteering or political participation; it has its own standards, logic, and history. Some features of science can be observed in commercial laboratories that generate patented goods for the consumer market, not only in academic or government-sponsored research labs that tackle public problems. Nevertheless, I believe it is illuminating to recognize that science—along with medicine, art, law, teaching, religious ministry, and other professions—has a strong civic dimension. Licensing bodies limit entry to these professions to people who are trained and pledged to enhance the commons (regardless of how they are paid). Such professionals are supposed to address issues that a broader public has identified as important and to deliberate respectfully with laypeople, including the taxpayers and clients who fund their work. Some sociological theories of science invoke values that we expect of good citizens, such as the open sharing of knowledge, disinter-

estedness, and a willingness to examine hypotheses critically.[10] Scott Peters finds that scientists in land-grant universities often enter their professions with explicitly civic goals—to work with communities to address common problems—and they are frustrated when they realize that other goals (such as generating commercial patents) have taken over.[11] More generally, Boyte finds "a strong and often painful sense of loss of public purpose" among senior scientists and researchers.[12]

Recognizing the civic potential of *paid* employment prevents us from equating civic engagement with volunteering, which narrows and even trivializes it. Civic engagement is "public work" (in Harry Boyte's phrase): a serious business that ought to occur in families, workplaces, professions, and firms, not only in voluntary associations.

In emphasizing the commons, I have passed over another aspect of politics: efforts to distribute and redistribute private goods. When the state (at any level) taxes some and spends the money on others, it is redistributing. Likewise, when the state provides authors with copyright and inventors with patents, it influences the distribution of goods. When people give contributions of money or time or raise funds through such activities as charity walks (as 84 percent of Americans claim to do annually),[13] they are also redistributing goods—albeit voluntarily and on a comparatively small scale.

Surely the pattern of distribution in a society is a public issue, a legitimate matter for debate. Civic engagement includes participation in that debate, whether from a libertarian, conservative, moderate, progressive, or socialist perspective. I began, however, with civic engagement that enhances the commons—not with struggles over distribution—because there is a tendency to overemphasize the latter. Harold D. Lasswell's famous 1958 book was entitled *Politics: Who Gets What, When, How.*[14] I would say that "who gets what" is a *part* of politics and a legitimate topic for engaged citizens. It is not the whole of politics. Another important aspect of politics is more creative; it involves citizens' work in making public goods that benefit everyone.

There is also the question of who should be *allowed* to do what—the question that arises in debates about abortion, narcotics, pornography, and other controversial social issues. Again, to participate in these debates—from any ideological or philosophical perspective—is to be civically engaged. Around the same time that Lasswell was defining "politics" as a struggle over scarce resources, another classic book defined it as the "authoritative allocation of values."[15] It is important to note, however, that pressuring the state to regulate or deregulate private behavior is not the only way that citizens can change values. They can also build voluntary associations to promote their moral views in civil society, thereby contributing to and helping to shape the common culture.

In defining civic engagement, I have not invoked a contrast between self-interest and altruism. Civic engagement is behavior that influences public matters, which, in turn, include the commons, the distribution of private goods, and decisions about what actions to prohibit or promote. One can influence these matters altruistically, for instance, by trying to distribute more goods to people who are less fortunate than oneself. One can participate in one's enlightened self-interest, trying to strengthen an overall system that protects one's welfare. One can work for the narrow interests of one's own group. Or one can act in one's individual self-interest by, for example, trying to get more personal benefits from the government. We may admire altruistic engagement more than selfish advocacy, but they are both legitimate. Furthermore, self-interest sometimes motivates participation that helps the whole system. For example, justice will be better served if poor people vote in their own interests instead of staying home.

Although we should not exclude self-interested motivations, it is a mistake to assume that participation is always narrowly self-interested. History provides many dramatic examples of altruism and public-spiritedness, including heroic self-sacrifice. And on a daily basis, people frequently define their identities in ways that are not highly individualistic. Often a person participates in civic life not as "I" but as "we"; and the "we" can range from a family to the entire nation. If people always calculated the potential costs and benefits of their behavior to themselves as individuals, then no one would vote. No single vote has any impact on policy unless the election would otherwise be a draw, a highly unusual situation. Nevertheless, about half of the U.S. population does vote; the proportion is even higher in many other countries. This behavior indicates that many people define themselves as members of large identity groups or as citizens of a whole republic on Election Day. They do not vote as "I" but as part of some "we" that collectively has an impact.[16]

1.3 THE ETHICS OF CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

So far, the working definition of "civic engagement" is any effort to enhance the commons or to influence decisions about distribution and regulation, because these are legitimate public concerns. However, an

adequate definition should say something about means as well as ends. After all, one can "engage" the government by plotting to overthrow it; one can influence a religious congregation by embezzling its funds, and one can address an alleged community problem by violently expelling an ethnic minority. One might even take some of these actions for decent purposes. For example, the organizers of the coup in Thailand in 2006 claimed that their goal was to end a debilitating political crisis, and perhaps they were sincere. To qualify as "civic engagement," however, the *means* of engagement, as well as the ends, must be legitimate. Civic engagement includes deliberation, persuasion, collaboration, participation in legal politics, civil disobedience, and the giving of time and money. It does not include coercion, violence, or deception.

Again, this is something of a list that needs a conceptual foundation. I now suggest that to be civically engaged is to enhance the commons or to influence state distribution and regulation *in ways that benefit the underlying political structure.* We sometimes define political actors by arraying them on a spectrum from left to right. However, there is another dimension of politics that is orthogonal to this one. At one end of this *civic* spectrum is a highly participatory, constructive, deliberative, and equitable polity. At the other end is a murderous tyranny. Quite apart from where they stand on the issues that divide the Left from the Right, people can either be pro- or anticivic.

To be civically engaged means not only pursuing legitimate concrete goals (including one's own self-interests and matters of moral principle) but also caring about the political system and political culture. Someone who is civically engaged does not merely participate in politics and community affairs. He also pauses to ask: Are most other people allowed and motivated to participate in discussions and decisions (at least within their neighborhoods and schools)? Or are many citizens completely alienated or excluded? Do we seriously consider a broad range of positions? Do good arguments and reasons count, or has politics become just a clash of money and power? Can we achieve progress on the goals that we happen to share, or have our disagreements become so sharp and personal that we cannot ever cooperate?

Defining civic engagement as work that benefits—or at least does not harm—the existing political structure raises two further questions. First, what forms of engagement are most likely to strengthen or harm a regime? That is an empirical question for which the relevant research is surprisingly thin. (For example, no one knows what level of voter turnout is necessary for the stability of a democratic society.) Nevertheless, in the next chapter, I will argue that certain behaviors, including protest but excluding violent insurrection, are valuable to a reasonably just regime.

Second, is our current regime *worthy* of loyal engagement, or should we prefer revolutionary forms of politics? We cannot simply rule out resistance, or even violence, when we consider that the United States began with a violent revolution whose leaders are still seen as paragons of civic virtue. Men like Washington and Jefferson did not enhance the British Empire in which they were born; they broke it apart. I assume that most readers believe, as I do, that American citizens should try to strengthen and ameliorate their society rather than overthrow or partition it. To argue for the basic legitimacy and potential of the American political/economic regime would require a digression inappropriate for this book. But I acknowledge that I have not rebutted arguments for revolution or secession, either of which would entail a very different ethics of engagement.

As a matter of definition, civic engagement need not support or promote democracy. Consider Li Huijuan, a judge in China who stood up for the rule of law when she issued a decision against the interests of her provincial government. Her willingness to resist political pressure was consistent with her lifelong, idealistic commitment to the law as an autonomous institution. She told the authorities, "I will protect my integrity and defend the integrity of the law, even if it means being like a moth that flies into a flame."[17] Judge Li is a member of the Communist Party, and there is no evidence that she favors democracy (which is not the same as the rule of law). Nevertheless, Judge Li's work in favor of judicial independence and consistency in jurisprudence surely qualifies her as "civically engaged." Likewise, there were good citizens in the old monarchies of Europe, many of whom did not favor democracy. Think of Benjamin Franklin, who built much of the civic infrastructure of Philadelphia—inventing great institutions such as the public lending libraries that remain part of our commons—while still a firm supporter of the British Empire.

Notwithstanding the examples of Li and the younger Franklin, there are reasons to believe that democracy is a superior political system. It treats individuals better than other systems do and respects their opinions more; it offers more freedom and equality; it is more sustainable and flexible; and it is especially good at conserving and enhancing pub-

lic goods, from the natural environment to culture and science (see section 2.4). If all this is true, then civic engagement should support democracy, at least in countries like the United States, where democratic self-government is a realistic option. We should support representative political institutions and norms of equality and participation—public goods that are essential to our democratic commons.

Caring about the quality of our democratic system (its institutions and norms) creates a set of ethical dilemmas. First of all, there is the question of how *much* one should weigh the impact of one's actions on the political system. Imagine that you are trying to "save the earth" by preserving the ozone layer that protects us from disaster. This may appear to be a goal of overriding importance, much more important than your marginal impact on democracy. In that case, even if you feel that American democracy suffers from excessive litigation, you may decide to file a lawsuit on behalf of the environment. Even if you believe that the political debate is generally too nasty, you may demonize an opponent of environmental protection. We can only denounce these choices if we assume that the civic culture is paramount and all other issues are secondary. I am not convinced that that is always true.

To make matters even more complicated, the same political behavior can both help *and* harm democratic institutions. Consider an inflammatory message that is included in a mass-mailing from a political organization. This message may succeed in mobilizing citizens to become active, which is good for democracy; but it may also reduce the chances that citizens will fully understand the nuances of an issue and find common ground with those different from themselves, which is bad for democracy. It is not immediately obvious whether such a message is civically acceptable.

Much of the energy in politics and civic life comes from people who have agendas. They do not support democracy or civil society so much as they want to achieve particular purposes, which may be self-interested or altruistic. It is unrealistic to expect people to put their agendas aside in order to work for the quality of our democratic culture and institutions. The Progressive reforms of the early 1900s provide a cautionary example. In an effort to enhance the quality of public discourse and civic participation, Progressives supported nonpartisan newspapers at the expense of partisan broadsheets. They restricted the influence of political parties, on the theory that citizens should choose individuals, not slates of candidates prescreened by party bosses. They replaced thousands of local elected officials with appointed professionals, believing that elections should be high-stakes contests for a few accountable senior leaders who would employ experts.[18] They reformed college education so that students were no longer exhorted to be active civic leaders, but were instead taught academic and professional disciplines—all in the interests of making them critical judges of public issues.[19] One major result of these reforms was to reduce voter turnout, which was lower in 1924 than it had been in 1830.[20] It is much more difficult to participate as a well-informed, independent, critical individual than as a member of a mass movement or party. The quality of public reasoning possibly improved during the Progressive Era, but the number of people who participated certainly fell as it became more difficult to mobilize citizens in support of partisan goals.

Given these complications and tradeoffs, I would not argue that civic engagement requires an overriding commitment to the quality of public life, the excellence of public deliberations, the breadth of participation, or the search for common ground. However, civic engagement does mean *considering* the impact of our political behavior on these goods. If we set the value of public participation at zero, we are not civically engaged. Someone who is civically engaged may decide to attack a political opponent, but only after soberly considering whether the attack is worth the possible damage to civility. As for a coup against a democratic state, it can never qualify as civic engagement, even if its goals are otherwise well intentioned.

1.4 "OPEN-ENDED" POLITICS

Our definition of "civic engagement" is broad: it includes most efforts to promote particular policies, ideologies, and outcomes, whether or not they are in a person's self-interest. You can be a hard-nosed political partisan or an avid supporter of an interest group and still be civically engaged, as long as you try not to degrade public institutions or undermine the political culture. In fact, politics and civil society would be inert if people and groups did not promote their own goals and interests.

Nevertheless, it is important for some people, some of the time, to be mainly concerned about the quality of public institutions and debates. While most citizens engage politically as Democrats, Republicans, or members of another party, we also need at least a few citizens to fill nonpartisan roles, ensuring that elections are fair and government is trans-

parent and ethical. While it is useful for editorial writers and bloggers[21] to promote their own ideological views, we also need relatively neutral and factual reporters. While it is appropriate for people to form and support organizations that promote their own economic and legal interests, we also need some organizations to worry about the overall political process and culture.

Consider, for example, the West Virginia Center for Civic Life. Its founder, Betty Knighton, has sponsored public conversations about many issues of importance to her state and has taught college students to convene and manage such discussions. She says, "We have defined the Center for Civic Life as aggressively neutral."[22] The center has a reputation for not taking the side of Democrats or Republicans, environmentalists or business interests, or any other participants in the state's debates; instead, it is an honest broker. Knighton is willing to launch a good democratic and deliberative process and let the chips fall where they may.

"Open-endedness" is perhaps a more precise term for this kind of work than "neutrality." After all, Knighton surely has some goals for her state; she is not completely neutral. And her interventions may at times happen to help Democrats or Republicans, because one side or the other may benefit more from a public dialogue. Likewise, even the most nonpartisan, independent journalist must decide which facts are important and how to describe them. How she presents the news may have effects on various parties and interests. Registering young voters sounds like a neutral act that can only benefit our democracy by increasing the level of participation. However, if one registers students on my campus, experience suggests that 70 percent will vote Democratic—a partisan consequence. Even in a simple public discussion, someone must issue an invitation that may somehow shape the ensuing conversation.

In short, neutrality is something of a myth. Nevertheless, there is surely a difference between trying to inspire, persuade, or manipulate people to adopt a view, versus helping them to form and promote decisions of their own. For example, many newspaper editors believe that their job is to provide information and forums for discussion so that their readers will be better informed and more effective. Even if there is no such thing as a politically neutral news source, a newspaper can be open-ended: it can provide multiple points of view and facts favorable to more than one position and avoid shaping its readers' opinions. Likewise, some community organizers bring adult residents together

(thereby magnifying their political power), while allowing them to set their own agendas.[23] It is worth identifying open-ended politics as a valuable and undersupplied form of civic engagement, without denigrating participation that happens to be partisan, ideological, or self-interested.

1.5 CONCLUSION

The definition of "civic engagement" that has emerged so far is any action that affects legitimately public matters (even if selfishly motivated) as long as the actor pays appropriate attention to the consequences of his behavior for the underlying political system. In turn, "public matters" include the commons, the distribution of goods in a society, and all the laws and social norms that prohibit or discourage particular behaviors. We need *some* citizens to be concerned about our political system and culture and to try to improve it in an open-ended way, without favoring any particular ideology. Yet ideological and even self-interested participation is also civic engagement and is essential to the system.

I do not anticipate that readers will agree about the details of this definition, but its overall structure seems unavoidable. In order to define "civic engagement," one must first define legitimately public matters. Civic engagement then consists of all behaviors that can reasonably be expected to affect those matters, minus any forms of behavior that are morally illegitimate (terrorism being a clear example).

Nothing in the argument so far explains why large numbers of people ought to be engaged. Even if there is a public interest, couldn't it be managed quite well by a few elected representatives or professional managers? In short, we need reasons to favor broad civic engagement. These reasons, to which I turn in chapter 2, will help us decide what specific skills, habits, knowledge, and values most citizens should possess.

at least appoint leaders of public broadcasting who are willing to create an entirely new model to replace the current system of using membership drives and corporate advertising to support marginal programs.

10. *Incorporate citizens into civic life.* The many millions of new immigrants need civic skills and opportunities; and the naturalization process should help them to become active and responsible citizens. Until 2006, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) used an exam for citizenship that consisted of pure trivia. The best way to pass it was to memorize the answers, which one could do without learning anything of substance. The proposed revision released late in 2006 was somewhat better, but it still lacked sufficient questions about how American citizens may participate. Along with a better exam, the INS should provide better opportunities to learn the material.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION (pp. xiii–xv)

1. The Hesiod quote is cited widely (e.g., Håkan Holm and Paul Nystedt, "Intra-Generational Trust: A Semi-Experimental Study of Trust among Different Generations," *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization*, 5., no. 3 (2002): 403), but is not found in the major works securely attributed to Hesiod. William James, "The Moral Equivalent of War" (1906), from www.des.emory.edu/mfp/moral.html.

2. Robert H. Bork, *Slouching Towards Gomorrah* (New York: ReganBooks, 1997), 21 and 1.

3. Cited in Dietlind Stolle and Marc Hooghe, "Emerging Repertoires of Political Action? A Review of the Debate in Participation Trends in Western Societies," paper presented at the European Consortium of Political Research (ECPR) Joint Sessions, April 13–18, 2004.

4. Federal Interagency Forum on Child and Family Statistics, *America's Children: Key National Indicators of Well-Being, 2005* (Washington, D.C., 2006). See also Daniel M. Shea and John C. Green, "The Turned-Off Generation: Fact and Fiction?" in Shea and Green, eds., *Fountain of Youth: Strategies and Tactics for Mobilizing America's Young Voters* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield, 2006), 3–5.

1. WHAT IS CIVIC ENGAGEMENT? (pp. 1–13)

1. Scott Keeter, Cliff Zukin, Molly Andolina, and Krista Jenkins, *The Civic and Political Health of the Nation: A Generational Portrait* (released by CIRCLE, 2002). A more complete analysis is found in Cliff Zukin, Scott Keeter, Molly Andolina, Krista Jenkins, and Michael X. Delli Carpini, *A New Engagement? Political Participation, Civic Life, and the Changing American Citizen* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

2. Mark Hugo Lopez, Peter Levine, et al., "The 2006 Civic and Political Health of the Nation" (CIRCLE, 2006).

3. Likewise, the Pew Charitable Trusts, responsible for considerable funding in the field, defines "civic engagement" as "individual and collective actions designed to identify and address issues of public concern. Civic Engagement can take many forms, from individual volunteerism to organizational involvement to electoral participation. It can include efforts to directly address an issue, work with others in a community to solve a problem or interact with the institutions of representative democracy. Civic Engagement encompasses a range of activities such as working in a soup kitchen, serving on a neighborhood association, writing a letter to an elected official or voting" (quoted by the Pew-funded

Raise Your Voice Campaign, www.actionforchange.org; visited on November 15, 2005).

4. In the focus groups that preceded the survey, the researchers "spent a fair amount of time . . . probing participants about potential subterranean political activity (e.g., boycotts, protests, Internet-organized events) only to come up short. Questions designed to delve into these issues were often greeted with blank stares and moments of silence. Even when prompted with examples, young adults were unlikely to name any sort of activity." Molly M. Andolina, Krista Jenkins, Scott Keeter, and Cliff Zukin, "Searching for the Meaning of Youth Civic Engagement: Notes from the Field," *Applied Developmental Science* 6, no. 4 (2002): 191.

5. Michael X. Delli Carpini and Scott Keeter, *What Americans Know about Politics and Why it Matters* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996); Samuel L. Popkin and Michael Dimock, M.A., "Political Knowledge and Citizen Competence," in *Citizen Competence and Democratic Institutions* ed. Stephen L. Elkin and Karol Edward Soltan (Penn State University Press, 1999), 117–46.

6. James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 198 and passim.

7. Cf. Stephen Macedo and his eighteen colleagues, *Democracy at Risk: How Political Choices Undermine Citizen Participation, and What We Can Do About It* (Washington, D. C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2005), 16.

8. Cf. Harry C. Boyte and Nancy N. Kari, *Building America: The Democratic Promise of Public Work* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996), 8.

9. Elinor Ostrom, *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Harry C. Boyte, *Everyday Politics: Reconnecting Citizens and Public Life* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 162–66.

10. Robert K. Merton, "A Note on Science and Democracy," *Journal of Legal and Political Sociology* 1 (1942): 115–26.

11. For example, Scott J. Peters, "The Civic Mission Question in Land-Grant Education," *Higher Education Exchange* 6 (2001): 25–37.

12. Boyte, *Everyday Politics*, 138.

13. National Civic Engagement Survey I (2002), CIRCLE via www.civicyouth.org.

14. Harold D. Lasswell, *Politics: Who Gets What, When, How* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1936; repr. with postcript, New York: Meridian, 1958).

15. David Easton, *The Political System: An Inquiry into the State of Political Science* (New York: Knopf, 1953), 129, 285, and passim.

16. Anthony Downs, *An Economic Theory of Democracy* (New York: Harper and Row, 1957); Peter Levine and Mark Hugo Lopez, "What We Should Know about the Effectiveness of Campaigns but Don't," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 601 (September 2005): 180–91.

17. Jim Yardley, "A Judge Tests China's Courts, Making History," *New York Times*, November 28, 2005, pp. A1, A10.

18. Macedo et al., *Democracy at Risk*, 87.

19. William Talcott, "Modern Universities, Absent Citizenship? Historical Perspectives." CIRCLE Working Paper 39 (2005).

20. Michael Schudson, *The Good Citizen: A History of American Civic Life* (New York: Free Press, 1998), 190; Peter Levine, *The New Progressive Era: Toward a Fair and Deliberative Democracy* (Lanham, Md.; Rowman and Littlefield, 2000), 25–31.

21. Bloggers maintain blogs, which are frequently updated websites with dated entries that often link to other such sites.

22. Quoted in Harold H. Saunders, *Politics Is about Relationship: A Blueprint for the Citizens' Century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 161.

23. For more than one dozen case studies, see John Gastil and Peter Levine, eds., *The Deliberative Democracy Handbook: Strategies for Effective Civic Engagement in the Twenty-First Century* (San Francisco, Calif.: Jossey-Bass, 2005).

2. WHY DO WE NEED BROAD CIVIC ENGAGEMENT? (pp. 14–45)

1. Confucius, *Analects*, trans. D. C. Lau (London: Penguin, 1979), book 13, nos. 12–13, p. 120 (insertions in brackets based on other translations).

2. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, trans. G. D. H. Cole, in *The Social Contract and Discourses* (London: J. M. Dent, 1993), II:7, II:12 (pp. 214 and 218).

3. James Madison, The Federalist No. 10 (1788), in *The Federalist Papers*, ed. Gary Wills (New York: Bantam, 1982), 44.

4. Madison, The Federalist No. 51, in *The Federalist Papers*, ed. Wills, 262–63.

5. For example, Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, III:3, p. 203: "When intrigues arise, and partial associations are formed at the expense of the great association [i.e., the state], it may then be said that there are no longer as many votes as there are men, but only as many as there are associations."

6. In the 1999–2001 wave of the World Values Survey, the highest rates of belonging to at least one voluntary association were recorded in Sweden (95.6%), Iceland (93.3%) and the Netherlands (92.4%). Compare, for example, France (39.4%) or Italy (42%). The relevant question (AO080) was not reported for the United States (author's tabulations). See also a wealth of international comparative data in Henry Milner, *Civic Literacy: How Informed Citizens Make Democracy Work* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2002). Cf. Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Simon and Shuster, 2000), 281.

7. Based on data in Elinor Ostrom, "A Frequently Overlooked Precondition of Democracy: Citizens Knowledgeable About and Engaged in Collective Action," Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis (2005), 8–9, and population estimates from decennial U.S. Censuses.

8. Joseph P. Marchand, Suzanne Metler, Timothy Smeeding, and Jeff Stonecash, *The Second Maxwell Poll on Civic Engagement and Inequality* (Syracuse, N.Y., 2006), 13 and 15. Cf. American Political Science Association Task Force on Inequality and American Democracy, *American Democracy in an Age of Rising Inequality* (Washington, D.C., 2004).

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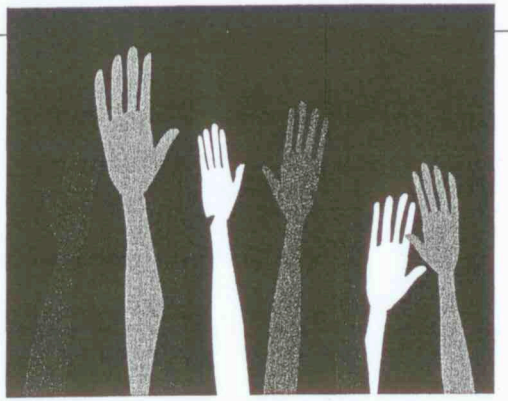

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