UNDERSTANDING THE INITIATING FACTORS OF CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

by

Everett Herman

Bachelor of Arts, University of Pennsylvania, 2003

Master of Science in Education, University of Pennsylvania, 2007

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by

Everett Herman

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To the following committee

Linda DeAngelo, Assistant Professor, Administrative and Policy Studies

Gina Garcia, Assistant Professor, Administrative and Policy Studies

Helen Petracchi, Associate Professor, Social Work

Dissertation Advisor: Cindy Tananis, Associate Professor, Administrative and Policy Studies

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A concern of a lack of civic engagement among college students has been attributed to stagnant voting habits (The Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement, 2016), low levels in political engagement such as participating in public demonstrations for a cause (Eagan et al., 2016), and low levels of civic knowledge (Berti, 1994; Delval, 1994; Galston, 2001). These factors have been correlated with sustained civic engagement later in life (Eyler & Giles Jr., 1999; Pancer, 2014). Therefore, research exploring the initiating factors of civic engagement among youth could form the foundation for a diverse, educated citizenship fundamental to an effective democracy (Dewey, 1916; The National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement, 2012).

An interview study of applicants to an academically-based civic engagement program at a large, state-related research university, was conducted to address these questions: 1) What were the initiating factors for a select group of undergraduate students who applied for a specific academically-based civic engagement fellowship program? And 2) What are the perceived future expectations for civic engagement among applicants for a specific academically-based civic engagement fellowship program? The interview protocol used questions to elicit data that

provides insights regarding the initiating factors of civic engagement according to Pancer's (2014) theory of civic engagement.

Most applicants had social influences that fostered a shared value of a norm of reciprocity and social responsibility. Furthermore, instrumental motives helped several of the participants overcome financial obstacles to participation. Participants indicated a perception that they were expecting and looking forward to engaging in communities they had not explored during their college experience, learning how the community functions while developing valuable leadership skills and self-confidence to prepare them for a variety of career options.

Future study could explore the relationship between initiating factors among college students that either do not wish to be or have not yet been civically engaged. Higher education policies could investigate ways to integrate the community into curriculum. Lastly, higher education practitioners could benefit from professional development focused on fostering a supportive environment for civic engagement.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

PREFACE

I am humbly grateful to quite a few individuals that have supported me through my dissertation journey. First, a thank you to my parents and my sister who gave me the foundation for my educational interest. I recall on family vacations wondering where the other children at our destinations would attend school. However, my passion for school was most evident by my favorite subjects through most of my academic career: lunch, recess, and gym. My family has taught me the importance of sacrifice, getting my homework finished first, and the fact that a little sibling rivalry can go a long way.

A special thank you goes to Keith Caldwell, this research could not have been completed without his assistance and patience. The genesis of this study started in 2013, and I greatly appreciate all the time he has allocated to me and this research over the years.

There were a plethora of faculty and staff in the School of Education that have encouraged me over the years. I especially appreciate Dr. Gunzenhauser, Dr. Ferketish, Dr. Porter, and Dr. Dostillio for always being in my corner. In addition, I greatly valued the time and insights by my committee members, Dr. Petracchi, Dr. Garcia, and Dr. DeAngelo. To my advisor, Dr. Tananis, a hearty thank you for patiently (trying to) teach me to keep it simple, among many other research and evaluation skills.

In addition, I learned a tremendous amount from my peers in the pursuit of their own doctoral degrees. Thank you to all the past and present members of Dr. Tananis' study group. I

will remember fondly being in the middle of educational debates between Dr. Rudy Lurz and Maggie Hannan. I cannot thank Dr. Dana Winters enough for her support over the past seven years while modeling how to be both a successful parent and a doctoral student.

Two relatives that I wish I could share this work with are my grandfather and my uncle. I will never forget voting for the first time with Harold Herman, albeit several years after my 18th birthday. I could not have completed this dissertation without the generosity of Brent Subkowsky and wish I could have taken him to Super Bowl LII to repay him.

In addition, the extreme generosity of my in-laws David and Judy Ehrenwerth is greatly appreciated. Thank you for the support you have provided Lindsey, Hazel, Wolf, Baxter, and I.

I recall the first weeks of my doctoral study as being extremely isolating and self-indulgent as I immersed myself in study about higher education. I am eternally grateful for all of the support from my dear Lindsey. I wish I could say something more eloquent but I fear it would be the equivalent of a review for a four-star restaurant that says "the pasta sauce rules!"

This dissertation is dedicated to my Hazel and her siblings that arrived after my initial defense, Wolf and Baxter. Thank you for inspiring me. I hope that your mother and I provide you the social influence to recognize your privilege, engage in your community, and vote.

This work is also dedicated to the young leaders of the March for Our Lives movement. I hope this movement inspires young people, including my children, to 'Shine' and persist in their civic engagement: "We're gonna stand tall/Gonna raise up our voices so we never fall/We're done with all your little games/We're tired of hearing that we're too young to ever make a change."

1.0   INTRODUCTION

The following document presents a study that explored the initiating factors of a select group of undergraduate students' civic engagement. First, a broad explanation of the significance of this particular study is presented including an introduction to the concept of civic engagement. Next, the research questions are provided along with a description of the research site for this study. The foundational literature relevant to this study will be discussed in the second chapter. This literature provides the background for a theoretical framework that informed the methods used to perform the study that are detailed in the third chapter. The research participants are described in depth in the fourth chapter. The research questions are comprehensively addressed through the data collection and analysis procedures in the fifth and sixth chapters. The dissertation concludes with a discussion of implications for research, higher education policy, and educational practice.

1.1   BACKGROUND

There has been a growing concern from advocates of the civic mission of higher education that there is a noteworthy dearth of civic engagement among college-aged adults, 18-29 years old (The National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement, 2012). A diverse, educated citizenship is crucial to a vibrant healthy democracy (Dewey, 1916; The National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement, 2012). Dewey (Dewey, 1916) stated,

The extension in space of the number of individuals who participate in an interest so that each has to refer his own action to that of others, and to consider the action of others to give point and direction to his own, is equivalent to the breaking down of those barriers of class, race, and national territory which kept men from perceiving the full import of their activity. (pg. 101)

Through the course of one's academic career, Dewey advocated for the importance of students learning about political, economic, and social processes of democracy (Education, 1948) and the social nature of education (Dewey, 1916). In short, diversity and education are vital to a healthy democracy.

Apathy for civic engagement has been attributed to such factors including stagnant voting habits (The Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement, 2016), low levels in political engagement such as participating in public demonstrations for a cause (Eagan et al., 2016), and low levels of civic knowledge (Berti, 1994; Delval, 1994; Galston, 2001). However, civic engagement is a complex concept and warrants a closer examination to understand the civic behaviors of various groups within this age demographic better. By developing a more comprehensive understanding of the motivating factors of civic engagement among a diverse student body, institutions of higher education can cultivate more effective curricular programs, co-curricular activities, and community partnerships. Furthermore, younger adults are more likely to replicate civic engagement activities in the future and become more politically engaged over time (Eyler & Giles Jr., 1999; Pancer, 2014) with measurable increases in voter turnout, civic knowledge, and political engagement among this age demographic throughout the United States (File, 2017; Flanagan, Cumsille, Gill, & Gallay, 2007; Godsay,

Kawashima-Ginsberg, Kiesa, & Levine, 2012; Kawashima-Ginsberg, 2011; Zaff, Youniss, & Gibson, 2009).

The lack of civic engagement becomes interesting when data is disaggregated based on race or ethnicity, socio-economic status (SES), and educational attainment. College-aged adults from high-SES, White families that are either enrolled in or bound for college have a consistently higher level of electoral engagement, political engagement, and civic knowledge compared to their peers who are from low-SES backgrounds, people of color, or who do not have plans to attend college (Zaff et al., 2009). Such a gap in these civic-related activities is problematic considering the fact that these individuals are overlooked by politicians, causing inequalities in civic participation to persist (Gilens, 2005; Task Force on Inequality and American Democracy, 2004). Therefore, a stronger understanding of how college-aged adults initially become involved in their communities and civic life could mitigate this particular engagement gap.

To understand this prominent issue facing higher education better, the following sections will specifically discuss the concept of civic engagement along with the observed declines in political engagement, election engagement, and civic knowledge among college-aged adults. Disparities in civic engagement among college-aged adults from lower-SES backgrounds or people of color are also highlighted. Lastly, the historic civic mission of higher education is discussed, and the current trends that highlight its recent return to prominence.

1.1.1 Defining civic engagement

Civic engagement is defined as a continuum of activities that includes community service, collective action, political involvement, and social change (Adler & Goggin, 2005). An often-cited definition of civic engagement states:

3

Civic engagement means working to make a difference in the civic life of our communities and developing the combination of knowledge, skills, values, and motivation to make that difference. It means promoting the quality of life in a community, through both political and nonpolitical processes. (Ehrlich, 2000, p. vi)

Scholars have struggled to accurately and succinctly define the concept of civic engagement (Adler & Goggin, 2005; Gallant, Smale, & Arai, 2010; Masten & Obradović, 2007) because it encompasses so many different activities. Additionally, specific civic engagement behaviors might not be correlated with one another. For example, whether or not an individual volunteers does not necessarily predict future voting habits directly (Walker, 2002). Regardless, this study considers voting, political engagement such as communicating with public officials, and civic knowledge as crucial building blocks to the development of positive social change in the community and society.

The participants and the nature of their action can organize the continuum of civic engagement activities. For example, an individual community member could help an elderly neighbor cross the street or participate in a political discussion with a few colleagues. Helping a neighbor cross the street would have a high influence on enhancing community, while a lower effect on national politics. Other more structured activities considered civic engagement include membership in a faith-based or community group that visits a local nursing home or being an active member in a political advocacy group that lobbies politicians for legislation to support healthcare for the elderly (Adler & Goggin, 2005). Additionally, membership with "mailing-list associations" such as the National Rifle Association or Sierra Club are considered civic engagement. Members of these groups pay subscription fees in exchange for regular

communications and lobbying efforts (Galston & Levine, 1997). Irrespective of the specific civic activity, college-aged adults could be more engaged in such pursuits vital to the overall civic health, or combined civic engagement, of all community members.

1.1.2   College-aged adults have low levels of electoral engagement

Electoral engagement is defined by such activities as being registered to vote, voting, knowledge of elected officials, and knowledge of current political issues (Pancer, 2014). College students have traditionally reported low rates of electoral engagement since being granted the right to vote in 1972 (Fine, 2012). This issue was accentuated recently by a 13% decrease in voters aged 18-29 from 2008 to 2012 (The Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement, 2013). A 2015 study of U.S. first-year college students reported that 59.8% anticipated voting in an election while in college (Eagan, Stolzenberg, Bates, Aragon, & Rios-Aguilar, 2015).

These trends continue to be present in results from the 2016 presidential election. Of just under 27 million citizens aged 18 to 24 years old, only 55.4% reported being registered to vote and 39.4% voted (File, 2017). When asked to supply a reason for not voting, the leading responses were they did not like the candidates or campaign issues (20.6%) or were too busy, and had a schedule conflict (18.3%) (File, 2017).

When voter results are disaggregated, the findings become interesting. For example, adults with college experience are 27.3% more likely to vote than their peers without college experience (The Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement, 2013). A positive correlation between education and voting rates has been consistent across recent elections. During the 2004 presidential election almost 60% of college students voted compared

to about 33% of college-aged adults not enrolled in postsecondary education (Zaff et al., 2009). Registration rates mirror this trend with lower rates in presidential elections between 2000 and 2008 for those aged 18-29 with less than a college degree (less than 36%), compared to those with at least a bachelor's degree (greater than 76%) (Godsay, 2010). Those numbers dip slightly in midterm election years. In the 2016 election, 55.5% of college graduates voted compared to 19.7% of those without a high school diploma (File, 2017).

In the 2016 election, approximately half of 3.5 million U.S. citizens aged 18-24 who earned less than $30,000 a year were registered to vote. Of those registered to vote, approximately 70% reported voting (File, 2017). It is noteworthy that nearly 60% of the roughly 7 million U.S. citizens aged 18-24 who earned more than $75,000 a year were registered to vote, but half reported voting. While these results may be different than anticipated, it is based on reported family income and is therefore challenging to determine whether or not the individual voter is living in financial independence from primary caregivers. With respect to race in the 2016 election, only Blacks were more likely to be registered (57.2%) than Whites (56.1%), Asians (46.7%), or Hispanics (46.0%) (File, 2017). However, Whites were more likely to vote with a turnout rate of 44.0%. Black voter turnout was 42.3%, while Asian and Hispanic voters had a turnout rate of less than 40.0% (File, 2017).

1.1.3 College-aged adults have low levels of political engagement

Political engagement is defined as more non-voting related political behaviors including attending protests, participating in boycotts, or communicating with elected officials (Pancer, 2014). These activities are often more challenging to study because they rely on more self-reported data (Diemer & Li, 2011). Furthermore, politically engaging activities frequently

require a notable commitment of time and foundation of civic knowledge (Kawashima-Ginsberg, 2011).

In 2015, first-year college students reported low rates of frequently, or occasionally, demonstrating for a cause (3.2%), and working for a political campaign (8.6%) (Eagan et al., 2016). In 2008 and 2010, less than 10% of 18-29 year-olds indicated they contacted a public official, or participated in a boycott (Kawashima-Ginsberg, 2011). These activities are more likely to be performed by college-aged adults that participate in other civic engagement activities including voting and community involvement in organizations or service related endeavors (Kawashima-Ginsberg, 2011).

The aforementioned statistics are self-reported data from different, national surveys. This data may be an underrepresentation of actual engagement levels because many youth and college-aged adults are reluctant to self-identify as being "political" (Taft, 2006). This issue could be mitigated by political socialization factors that could increase social trust. Furthermore, self-reflection and the development of critical consciousness through community involvement working for social change could reverse that misperception. However, these issues are compounded when political engagement activities are disaggregated by gender, race, ethnicity, and SES.

Political engagement has been attributed to increased levels of social trust that appears to occur in areas with more wealth and less diversity. For example, a study comparing an urban center in southern New Jersey (Camden) with its largest suburb (Cherry Hill) found there was significantly more volunteer support and engagement around little league baseball in the more affluent suburb. Cherry Hill had a population that was over 80% White, and only 2% lived below the poverty line, a polar opposite of the more urban Camden (Daniel Hart & Atkins, 2002). This

type of community involvement has been shown to be a correlated with increased electoral engagement (Putnam, 2000).

In addition, other types of community involvement can create a sense of critical consciousness (Diemer & Li, 2011). This awareness of social condition is a result of reflecting on actions that are taken to improve those circumstances. In many instances immigrant youth engage in such community involvement mandated by schools or are recruited by faith-based institutions (Stepick & Stepick, 2002). In areas where these immigrants are outwardly discriminated against, they tend to defend their cultural integrity and maintain links to their native homelands by uniting American with a hyphen (e.g. Asian-American) (Stepick & Stepick, 2002). However, these behaviors are generally not considered to be political activities, rather aspirations for social change. Immigrants and other minorities often view "politics" as government. Self-confidence is lacking in inspiring such change at a governmental level considering they feel overlooked by a group that does not match their identity in gender, race, or social class (Taft, 2006).

By seeing themselves as "not politics people" youth and college aged adults minimize their political capital and identity, reinforcing the stereotype of being politically apathetic (Taft, 2006). This phenomenon could be minimized through political socialization fostered by parents and peers (Diemer & Li, 2011). While a variety of political engagement activities can be partisan in nature, there are civic opportunities available in formal education contexts to act as a catalyst for students of any demographic (Kahne & Middaugh, 2009).

1.1.4 College-aged adults have low levels of civic knowledge

It is important to understand the underlying causes of U.S. college-aged adults' lack of civic knowledge because of a documented relationship with voting behaviors (Galston, 2001). Certain aspects of civics are challenging for youth to learn including the concept of a state or bicameral legislature (Berti, 1994; Delval, 1994). More importantly, by 2005 33% of school districts cut instructional time for civics and social studies in elementary schools to a great extent, or somewhat, to increase focus on reading and math as a result of the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (Center on Education Policy, 2006). After a brief examination of stagnant civic knowledge assessment scores, these learning challenges are discussed briefly.

The National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) is a series of assessments in a variety of subject areas including mathematics, reading, writing, civics, geography, and U.S. history that are administered in fourth, eighth, and twelfth grade (National Assessment of Educational Progress, 2017). Since 1998, the average civics knowledge score for eighth graders has only increased four points to 154 in 2014. This is 24 points less than a proficient score of 178 (National Assessment of Educational Progress, 2017). In fact, approximately 77% of eighth grade students scored *below* the standards of proficiency (National Assessment of Educational Progress, 2017). At this grade level, proficiency is considered being able to understand or explain the general purpose of government, separation of powers, governmental structure, and consequential events in U.S. and international history (National Assessment of Educational Progress, 2017). It is also noteworthy that the percent of students scoring proficient and above was at least 10% higher for mathematics, reading, and science, and 20% higher for technology and engineering literacy (National Assessment of Educational Progress, 2017) as a result of the increased instructional time in those subject areas (Center on Education Policy, 2006).

The discrepancy in scores across subjects may be attributed to challenges young people face in learning and understanding topics specific to civics. For example, a student in the third grade may find the concepts of a state or bicameral legislature challenging at their stage of cognitive development (Berti, 1994). Furthermore, students learning from a textbook are influenced by the viewpoints of editors. For example, an editor has a choice to describe the war fought in the U.S. in the 1860s as the "Civil War" or the "War of Northern Aggression." In addition, some models like social mobility are challenging to comprehend for youth since they depend on a combination of both cognitive development and socialization (Delval, 1994).

Civics knowledge can also be mediated by classroom political discussion (Galston, 2001). Such discussions may lead to increases in reflexive learning, a key component in civic engagement (Ash & Clayton, 2009). These conversations will likely resonate more with individuals if they pertain to topics relevant to students' daily lives, and those sharing in the conversation (Galston, 2001). Therefore, it is understandable that civic engagement faces large obstacles if there is a lack of political discourse among heterogeneous groups of students.

Lastly, civic knowledge can be gained through news consumption. However, present-day youth are less likely to interface with traditional forms of journalism like newspapers and radio to learn about events of the day (McLeod, Shah, Hess, & Lee, 2010). This was a pertinent issue during the 2016 election due to the growing prevalence of so-called fake news that was proliferated through social media (Jin et al., 2017).

A closer examination of civic knowledge finds a consistent gap between those from White, higher-SES backgrounds and people of color from lower-SES situations. Civic knowledge rates may be lower for low-SES and students of color because school districts with high proportions of these students often face obstacles to offering civics classes (Zaff et al.,

2009). In 2006, 2010, and 2014 eighth graders that qualified for the National School Lunch Program (NSLP) scored at least 16.2% lower than their wealthier peers that did not qualify for a free or reduced school lunch (NAEP, 2017). In 2014, NSLP eligible eighth grade students had a mean score of 139, 27 points less than their wealthier counterparts (NAEP, 2017). With respect to race, Asian/Pacific Islanders had the highest mean score (165), followed by Whites (164), Hispanics (141), and then Blacks (137).

Again, disaggregation of data highlights a troubling trend in an overall lack of civic education for students of color and low-SES backgrounds. For example, students with Black identities have been shown to be significantly less likely than their counterparts with Caucasian backgrounds to report having access to civics education, participate in discussions pertaining to social problems or current events, or have an open classroom setting (Kahne & Middaugh, 2009). Students of Latinx backgrounds have also reported having fewer opportunities for community service than students of Caucasian backgrounds (Kahne & Middaugh, 2009). With respect to SES, students from wealthier backgrounds were 2.03 times more likely to study how laws are made, 1.89 times more likely to engage in service activities, and 1.42 times more likely to participate in debate or panel discussions in a social studies class (Kahne & Middaugh, 2009). These findings lend credence to the theory that if youth of color and from low-SES backgrounds acquire civic knowledge, it is not currently measured by standardized testing (Levinson, 2010).

While those of Caucasian backgrounds with a college education are more likely to vote, volunteer, and perform other civic activities than students of color (File, 2017; Godsay et al., 2012; Kawashima-Ginsberg, 2011; Zaff et al., 2009), they are less likely to participate in other activities including donating money on an individual level, faith-based community service, and politically motivated artistic expression (Smetana & Metzger, 2005; Watts & Flanagan, 2007).

Other students of color are more likely to participate in civic activities if they perceive their teachers foster a just, democratic society or they were connected to the larger community (Flanagan et al., 2007). Teachers may be more incentivized to inspire values for such behaviors if they are emphasized by the mission of the particular institution. While traditionally this mission was present in higher education, it is currently avoided in primary and secondary education settings to circumvent the perception of partisan indoctrination (Gould, Jamieson, Levine, McConnell, & Smith, 2011).

1.1.5   A return to the historic civic mission of higher education

Historically, the mission of institutions of higher education were to primarily support the development of wealthy, land-owning, White men with disposable time and income to pursue studies that prepared them for leadership roles in clergy or government (Cohen & Kisker, 2010; Thelin, 2004). The founder of the first recognized university in the United States, Benjamin Franklin, (1749) espoused that the ideal education would inspire an "Inclination join'd with an Ability to serve Mankind, one's Country, Friends and Family; which Ability is... to be acquir'd or greatly encreas'd by true Learning" (p. 30). Later educational philosophers like Dewey (1916) noted the pivotal role education played within society when he stated that "what nutrition and reproduction are to physiological life, education is to social life" (p. 18).

While such missions have dissipated over the years, research about civic activities is growing in prevalence across several venues. For instance, the Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning, established in 1994, has published two issues a year since 2000 ("About: Michigan journal of community service learning," n.d.). The International Association for Research on Service-learning and Community Engagement (IARSLCE), has held an annual

conference since its formation in 2001 and has been publishing a peer-reviewed journal since 2013 ("International Association for Research on Service-learning and Community Engagement," n.d.). Over 350 institutions have received a community engagement classification from the Carnegie Foundation since 2006 (Driscoll, 2008). NASPA, the national organization that serves student affairs administrators in higher education, has started hosting a conference on civic learning and democratic engagement and sponsors a growing number of publications dedicated to bettering professionals in this discipline (Student Affairs Administrators in Higher Education, n.d.).

1.2   SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This research project offers value to the growing body of literature pertaining to civic engagement in U.S. higher education. Since electoral engagement, political engagement, and civic knowledge are precursors to future civic behaviors, fostering intentional, effective, curricular, and co-curricular civic learning on college campuses can improve voting rates, civic knowledge, and political participation (Eyler & Giles Jr., 1999; Pancer, 2014). A byproduct of effective community partnerships is the development of a greater awareness of oppression as individuals from different demographic and economic groups interact with one another (Freire, 1970/2006). Furthermore, since these civic-building activities, especially community service, are often affiliated with faith-based institutions (Annette, 2011), this research could provide insights into recruiting youth toward more secular avenues for civic participation.

Studies have shown that exposure among college students to community service increases certain traits of civic responsibility including future likelihood of participating in

community service, participation in community action programs, and influence political structures (Astin & Sax, 1998). Civic behaviors are more likely to be replicated if parents have volunteered in the past, or if they have had some affiliation to a religious organization (Gallant et al., 2010). Other research has also suggested mandated service in the form of academic requirements can have an even greater influence on individuals who are disinclined to participate in service prior to the activity (Stukas, Snyder, & Clary, 1999).

Partnerships between institutions of higher education and their surrounding communities foster a sense of critical *conscientização* among oppressed and oppressors. Freire (1970/2006) argued the concept of critical *conscientização* was an understanding of social, political, and economic contradictions among oppressed students, that holds the power to generate a movement toward liberty and equity between the oppressed and the ruling, oppressor class. Such interactions can occur if partnerships between institutions of higher education and their surrounding communities are developed effectively.

Ultimately, higher education could benefit by developing an understanding of the antecedent factors of a college student participating in a curricular or co-curricular civic engagement experience. In this manner, appropriate external incentives for civic engagement could be designed to avoid issues that stem from mandating civic engagement (B. E. Moely & Ilustre, 2012; Pauwels, 2013; Stukas et al., 1999). For example, there are movements to require the U.S. citizenship exam to high school graduates (Joe Foss Institute, 2015), and the state of Maryland currently requires its graduates to complete a minimum amount of community service hours (Stukas et al., 1999). One type of incentive is offering academic credit or stipends in return for civic engagement.

1.3   RESEARCH QUESTIONS

As outlined earlier, there is a perceived lack of civic engagement among college-aged adults, indicated by low voter turnout rates (Godsay, 2010; The Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement, 2016; Zaff et al., 2009), lack of evidence of contacting public officials (Eagan et al., 2016), and low levels of civic knowledge (Galston, 2001; National Assessment of Educational Progress, 2017). Furthermore, these types of activity and knowledge have been correlated with sustained civic engagement later in life (Eyler & Giles Jr., 1999; Pancer, 2014). Therefore, research exploring the initiating factors that lead youth to civic engagement, and their programmatic expectations for civic engagement, would be informative for higher education programming and academic efforts. The following questions frame this study:

> *RQ1: What were the initiating factors for a select group of undergraduate students who applied for a specific academically-based civic engagement fellowship program?*
>
> *RQ2: What are the perceived future expectations for civic engagement among applicants for a specific academically-based civic engagement fellowship program?*

Data that address these questions may provide evidence to enhance an understanding of the factors that initiate civic engagement, and college students' perceptions of civic engagement. Higher education institutions that have a mission to develop public problem solvers can apply this research to effectively recruit students to become civically engaged, develop more effective partnerships with community organizations to foster critical *conscientização*, while increasing civic knowledge along with election and political engagement as a result.

1.4 RESEARCH SETTING

The purpose of this study, which is detailed more thoroughly in chapter three of this document, is to understand better the motivating factors and activities of civic engagement of a select group of undergraduate students. Interviews were conducted with 2018 applicants of the Greene Fellowship (GF) program at the University of Keystone City (UKC)[1], a large, state-related research university in an urban area of Pennsylvania with an enrollment of approximately 20,000 undergraduate students. The GF program was established in 2013 with the goal of developing engaged civic leaders who strive to achieve economic and social justice in an interdisciplinary setting in the community ("Greene fellowship program," 2017). The fellowship consists of a monthly seminar to prepare students to complete a community-based project during the summer. Fellows earn an academic credit and a stipend as a result of their participation (K. Caldwell, personal communication, September 14, 2016).

1.5 SUMMARY

In summary, this study attempts to enhance the understanding of the initiating factors of undergraduate students to develop motivations to become civically engaged and sustain such behavior in the future. By fostering civic engagement, institutions can support civic behaviors and initiate action among non-civically engaged community members through partnerships.

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[1] Greene Fellowship and University of Keystone City are pseudonyms used to protect the identity of the research participants. Citations and bibliographic data have also been altered.

Refocusing on the historical civic mission of higher education will develop an inclination and ability to serve (Franklin, 1749) among an increasingly diverse generation of college students with a great opportunity to improve civic health.

The foundational literature about the field and its research methods will be discussed and a theoretical framework will be presented in the next chapter to offer a greater context of this study. Following that, a more detailed discussion of the specific study I conducted is explained. Additionally, an appendix provides the research instrument that was used to perform this study.

2.0   FOUNDATIONAL THEORY AND LITERATURE

This chapter describes foundational theory and literature relevant to this study focused on the initiating factors of college to become civically engaged. Pancer's (2014) theory of civic engagement is presented. Description of this theory will include individual and system level factors that act as a catalyst for civic engagement behaviors. In addition, a review of research methods used to conduct civic engagement research is provided.

2.1   INTEGRATIVE THEORY OF CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

Pancer (2014) developed a theory of civic engagement to help elucidate the psychology of why individuals participate in civic engagement, and the consequent personality development that occurs following the experience. Initiating factors at the individual level include personal values, social influence from family and peers, and instrumental motives (Pancer, 2014). At the systemic level, the availability of non-governmental organizations and community programs that foster a norm of social responsibility and reciprocity play a role in initiating civic engagement (Pancer, 2014). Next, an individual is predicted to continue to engage in their community if certain sustaining factors are present including a positive experience that develops a sense of self-confidence in a supportive environment (Pancer, 2014). However, college students may be inhibited from civic engagement due to a lack of time, financial resources (Syvertsen,

Wray-Lake, Flanagan, Osgood, & Briddell, 2011), or a prior negative civic experience (Stukas et al., 1999). Economic inequality at the systemic-level is also an impediment to individual civic engagement (Pancer, 2014). However, there are systemic-level factors that facilitate initiation of civic engagement including community resources, societal norms, and a sense of social responsibility (Pancer, 2014).

Pancer (2014) subscribes to Ehrlich's (2000) definition of civic engagement:

Civic engagement means working to make a difference in the civic life of our communities and developing the combination of knowledge, skills, values, and motivation to make that difference. It means promoting the quality of life in a community, through both political and nonpolitical processes. (p. vi)

At an individual level, civic engagement encompasses activities including organizational membership, community service, social activism, and political activity. At the systemic level these individual activities can lead to the development of community organizations that foster social movements and collective action (Pancer, 2014).

The last stage of the integrative theory of civic engagement relates to the specific outcomes related to these activities. At the individual level they include enhanced self-esteem, skill development, and improved physical health. The systemic outcomes from civic engagement are linked to increases in social change, improvements in population health, and an effective democracy (Pancer, 2014).

Table 1: Theory of integrative civic engagement

	Initiating factors	Sustaining / Inhibitory Factors	Civic Engagement	Outcomes
Individual level	Values Social influence Instrumental motives	Sustaining factors: Positive experiences Inhibitory Factors: Negative Experiences	Organizational involvement Community service Social activism	Enhanced self-esteem Skill development
Systemic level	Availability of community programs Norms of reciprocity and social responsibility	Sustaining Factors: Sense of community Inhibitory Factors: Economic disparity	Social movements Collective action	Social change Thriving democracy

While Pancer (2014) presented the theory as a linear path, it may be improved if it conceived as a cycle, especially when one considers research that demonstrates that individuals are more likely to participate in future civic engagement if they have previously performed such activities (Astin, Vogelgesang, Ikeda, & Yee, 2000; Eyler & Giles Jr., 1999). This cycle can be more expeditious if individual and systemic initiating factors are present while inhibiting factors are suppressed (see Figure 1). The following sections focus on these factors crucial to cultivating civic engagement among college students.
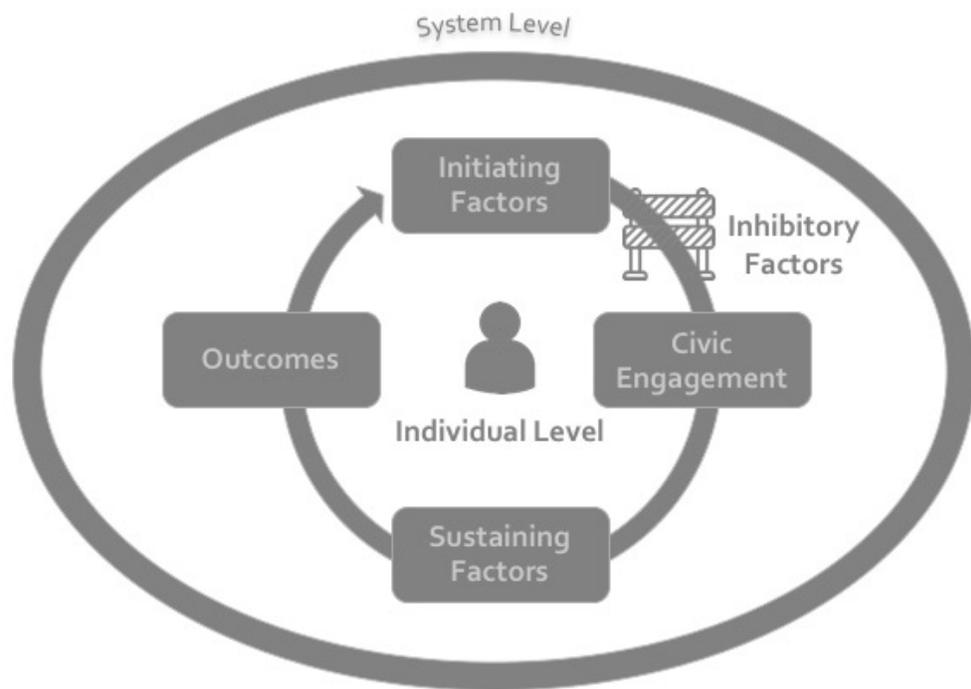
Figure 1: Reconceptualization of theory of civic engagement

2.1.1 Initiating factors of civic engagement at the individual level

Pancer (2014) argued values and beliefs of the importance of making a difference in civic life can initiate behaviors associated with civic engagement. Family and peers play a role in

influencing these beliefs. In other cases, individuals may participate in civic behaviors for instrumental purposes like improving a résumé or financial gain (Pancer, 2014).

2.1.1.1 Values

A high value for civic engagement related behaviors is consistently correlated to performing such activities (Malin, Ballard, & Damon, 2015; Malin, Tirri, & Liauw, 2015; Wilson & Musick, 1997). Research regarding the relationship between values and civic engagement typically focuses on the outcomes that result following specific behaviors. This literature documents a spectrum of beliefs associated with a variety of civic activities.

For example, Pancer (2014) argued that those with a value for social responsibility may tend to perform more community service while those that place an importance on social justice may be more apt to engage in activism. Research has also explored how values are related to formal volunteering or more informal helping (Wilson & Musick, 1997). For example, a study found evidence that suburban and rural neighbors were more likely to borrow from their neighbors, Caucasian neighbors were more apt to socialize, and Black neighbors tended to watch neighbors' property (Nation, Fortney, & Wandersman, 2010). Other research indicated evidence that specific values may be related to gender differences in the various manners of becoming civically engaged (Malin, Tirri, et al., 2015). Other research concluded that it may not be the specific values that are held, but the conviction with which they are held that can help to predict civic engagement (Malin, Ballard, et al., 2015).

Frequently, peers and family members are attributed to the incubation of such values. In addition, such values are cultivated within the context of the larger society (Pancer, 2014). These ideas will be discussed after exploring the role social influence and instrumental motives play as factors in initiating civic engagement.

2.1.1.2 Social influence

The decision to become civically engaged can be reinforced via the influence of peers and family members (Pancer, 2014). This cultivation appears as a continual cycle between the imitation of behaviors, enhancement, and understanding of values. The clearest example of this is through religion (Godsay et al., 2012). In addition, research provides ample evidence that attributes participation in civic activities being related to recruitment by family members or peers (Eyler & Giles Jr., 1999; Malin, Ballard, et al., 2015; Pancer, 2014)

From a very young age youth imitate the behaviors of their parents, older siblings, and peers. Some research provides evidence of a correlation to the transmission of values as a result of the extent that parents were authoritative (Pancer, Pratt, Hunsberger, & Alisar, 2007). Evidence has shown that it was nearly three times as likely for an adolescent to volunteer as those without friends that volunteer (McLellan & Youniss, 2003). While individuals can select and develop their own religious identity, it is frequently inherited from the family sphere (Horowitz, 2015).

Religious participation can serve as a catalyst for civic engagement since faith-based institutions frequently recruit volunteers for programs (Godsay et al., 2012). Despite some evidence of a growing trend of a lack of participation in organized religion (Putnam, 2000), people still identify with religion (National Conference on Citizenship, 2009). Many religions foster the value for community service and helping others. For example, *zakat*, the Arabic word for charity, is one of the five pillars of being an observant Muslim (Kochuyt, 2009). The Jewish counterpart to *zakat* can be considered *tzedakah*, the Hebrew word for justice. Frequently, *tzedakah* is considered as charity. Maimonides, a 16th century scholar, argued that it was not enough to give a monetary donation. The scholar argued that the most ideal type of *tzedakah* is

partnering with a needy individual, eliminating the need to beg for assistance in the future (Maimonides, 1979/1509). In more contemporary Jewish circles, the concept of *tikun olam*, translated as repairing the world, is a vital part of the journey to adulthood (Ingall, 2013). Again, such values are amplified by the larger societal norms, which will be discussed in a later section. Next, alternatives to these more altruistic motivations for civic engagement are discussed.

2.1.1.3 Instrumental motives

Some individuals may be more likely to be civically engaged if there is an instrumental purpose for their behavior (Pancer, 2014). For instance, there is a growing sense that participating in community service can increase the likelihood of admission into more selective colleges and universities (Wells, Wolniak, Engberg, & Manly, 2016). This is illustrated by results from the Cooperative Institutional Research Program (CIRP) survey administered annually to first year undergraduate students at over 1,000 institutions of higher education. In 1995 74.9% of first-year students participated in volunteer work frequently or occasionally. Twenty years later, in 2015, 87.9% of first-year students indicated volunteering with the same frequency (Eagan et al., 2016). However, research does indicate that students from higher-SES backgrounds are more likely to perform community service in order to gain admission to college than their peers from lower-SES situations (Wells et al., 2016).

Furthermore, certain financial incentives, including stipends, tax benefits, or student loan relief can foster civic engagement (National Conference on Citizenship, 2009). A 2007 report indicated that 71% of members of AmeriCorps, a U.S. social service organization dedicated to provide important assistance to low-income individuals, cited the Segal Education Award as an incentive to join. The nearly $5,000 award can be applied to any post-secondary education cost. Of members that did not have a college degree, 41% earned their degree within three years of

their AmeriCorps experience. Furthermore, the majority of the surveyed AmeriCorps alumni (66%) worked in either the public or non-profit sector and 72% sustained some form of volunteering efforts (Shelton, Nicholas, Dote, & Grimm Jr., 2007). These types of financial benefits can mitigate the burden of resources needed to serve, including time (Syvertsen et al., 2011).

2.1.2   Initiating factors to civic engagement at the systemic level

In addition to the aforementioned individual level factors, Pancer's (2014) theory recognizes the external, societal factors that have an influence on the initiation of civic engagement behaviors. First, a local community needs to have certain resources including the organizations that facilitate engagement and foster a sense of reciprocity and responsibility among constituents. This community norm of reciprocity and sense of responsibility for others can be explained by the concept of social trust (Sturgis et al., 2010). Complementing these initiating factors is political socialization that will foster more political forms of civic engagement including voting and communicating with public officials (Easton & Dennis, 1969). Educational institutions also exist within this larger system and can contribute to factors that initiate civic engagement (Pancer, 2014).

A community or region with a plethora of organizations has an ideal structure for presenting an environment ripe with opportunities for engagement (Pancer, 2014). In optimal settings, these potential experiences are developed by a diverse group of organizations with leadership needs that actively recruit volunteers for engagement. Larger corporations may offer employee volunteer programs to be considered good corporate citizens. Even smaller communities can offer resources through a public school system that has a variety of roles to

offer its residents in the form of governance and parent teacher associations (Pancer, 2014). However, the presence of these opportunities is not enough, the community must also generate a sense of belonging, community, connection, and trust among its neighbors (Pancer, 2014).

The concept of social trust can explain this tight knit community. This trust is often related to environmental factors including education, SES, divorce, unemployment, under-represented minorities that face historical discrimination, and health (Sturgis et al., 2010). It is found throughout the community in the form of business transactions and neighborly favors (Coleman, 1988). Arguably, more equal societies have a greater sense of social trust. This trust is generated through a more developed sense of humanity as the metaphoric spokes of a wheel. This understanding of interconnectedness can lead to greater trust in fellow members of society. Consequently, this trust is attributed to the generation of civic participation as one will be more likely act in a neighbor's interest if they trust that individual (Uslaner & Brown, 2005).

Inside and outside of the home environment, political socialization can affect the value one places on voting or engaging in other political behaviors. Political socialization is defined as, "a developmental process through which persons acquire political orientations and patterns of behavior" (Easton & Dennis, 1969, p. 7). Ideas, values, and beliefs regarding politics can be acquired from siblings, parents, or other adults (Jennings, Stoker, & Bowers, 2009; Wicks, Wicks, Morimoto, Maxwell, & Schulte, 2014). These values and beliefs can also be self-learned through observing how one's family interacts directly with political officials or authorities (Easton & Dennis, 1969). Political socialization has a tendency towards collective homogeneity, limiting positive values of engaging in political behaviors for those that are isolated from their community (Easton & Dennis, 1969). Politics is challenging for private, isolated individuals because politics, by definition, is public, social, and collective (McIntosh & Younisss, 2010).

26

This socialization is also related to the larger political culture within society. Elazar (1966) defined political culture as a combination of factors. The culture is established in the context of politicians' and their constituents' perceptions of politics and expectations of government. Adding to the depth of the culture is the collective identity from the personal characteristics of elected officials, appointed officials, and career bureaucrats. A final factor contributing to political culture is the actual functions of government as interpreted through this context by citizens, politicians, and public officials (Elazar, 1966). This culture could actually be mapped regionally and predicted for different communities throughout the U.S. (Elazar, 1966). Although these ideas seem antiquated, vestiges of this concept can be seen in the present day polarized political discourse where the concept of "red" or "blue" states is common in political commentary to generalize the ideology of a region.

As discussed earlier, college students explore spirituality and faith, which can influence a value for civic engagement. Research has shown at the national level that the more religious a country is, the more likely individuals will volunteer, than compared with more secular nations (Ruiter & Graaf, 2006). It could be inferred from this evidence that more regional values can amplify or dampen the inclination towards service of depending on the role of faith-based organizations in developing norms.

Systemic effects can also factor into norms pertaining to self-confidence. Evidence has indicated that some people of color lack trust for its political officials and institutions. This lack of trust is correlated with low levels of civic engagement (Vergani, Johns, & Lobo, 2017). This is confirmed by studies that show regardless of age, gender, or ethnic background, youth were more likely to profess democratic values if they felt a connection with their community or held a belief that America was a fair, just society (Flanagan et al., 2007). Ultimately, active community

organizations within a region can foster this sense of connectedness through political socialization that reinforces a positive value of civic engagement.

Meanwhile, educational institutions sit at the intersection of political and religious values. Like other community organizations, secular, public or private primary, secondary, and post-secondary institutions can provide civic engagement opportunities. These applied learning experiences can be offered in a co-curricular setting or mandated in the form of graduation requirements outside or inside the classroom. Furthermore, institutions are embedded in their surrounding communities. For instance, there is a documented relationship between the civic participation of college students and the geographic proximity to a YMCA (D. Hart, 2011). Community organizations located near a college campus can supplement or complement the extracurricular organizations available to the students on campus. While this study focuses on college students, civic engagement fostered by primary or secondary institutions is important to understand given the findings that prior civic engagement is a predictor of future civic engagement (Eyler & Giles Jr., 1999; Pancer, 2014).

2.1.2.1 Academic-based civic engagement

Since this study focused on civic engagement in a formal, post-secondary setting, it is important to further consider the concept in this context. Frequently, a first civic engagement experience occurs as a result of being asked (Spring, Dietz, & Grimm, 2007). If a college student has not previously been civically engaged, the institution of higher education can be the first entity to make such a request. This can offer an engagement experience for both the student *and* community members.

While it comes in various forms, community engagement is the pedagogical tool higher education institutions use to inspire civically engaged students and graduates. The Carnegie

Foundation defines community engagement as the "collaboration between institutions of higher education and their larger communities (local, regional/state, national, global) for the mutually beneficial exchange of knowledge and resources in a context of partnership and reciprocity" (Driscoll, 2008, p. 39). This definition formalizes the relationship between partnerships with academic institutions and their neighboring communities. For institutions to engage in a socially responsible manner with the surrounding community to foster civic engagement among students, community partnerships are vital. While offering or requiring community engagement experiences can initiate learning and civic engagement among college students, the results can be multiplied by having faculty lead dynamic discussions that provide an opportunity for critical reflection (Ash & Clayton, 2009).

The value the institution places on community involvement will further support student and faculty involvement. Consider the University of Pennsylvania's Compact 2020. One of its three objectives states a goal to "engage locally, nationally, and globally" ("Impact : Office of the president," 2016). The webpage dedicated to outlining this mission provides links to co-curricular endeavors that successfully manifest this mission. It is evident the university dedicates ample resources to support this undertaking. This civic mission becomes an institutional norm that is repeated across key student events from convocation to commencement. Consequently, it is more likely that an individuals' peers will also value this institutional norm (Pancer, 2014).

An institution of higher education can also foster civic engagement a few other ways. Offering curricular-based civic engagement through service-learning classes can foster more civic knowledge. Additionally, some institutions will require a set amount of service hours that can be completed through curricular or co-curricular avenues. Research has shown students who were aware of service requirements (B. Moely & Ilustre, 2011), had a choice in the service they

perform (Stukas et al., 1999), or were exposed to a high-quality experience with a reflection component (Ash & Clayton, 2009) were more likely to engage in future service. Ultimately, these service-learning types of courses are often taught in a more student-centered pedagogical style which can lead to increased civic knowledge, and consequently, civic engagement (Torney-Purta & Amadeo, 2003).

Following mandated civic engagement, civic behaviors are more likely to be replicated if parents have volunteered in the past, or if they have some affiliation to a religious organization (Gallant et al., 2010). Other research has also shown that mandatory service can have an even greater influence on individuals who are disinclined to participate in service prior to the activity (Stukas et al., 1999). In other words, a high-quality civic engagement experience is likely designed with the intention to create future civic engagement, namely because of additional positive outcomes associated with the pedagogy.

To summarize, the aforementioned systemic factors can complement or supplement individual level beliefs and values to be civically engaged. If an individual does not place a high value on civic behaviors, a local community with opportunities and rewards for participation of such deeds can initiate civic engagement. Furthermore, institutions of higher education can serve in that capacity to foster engagement among students, faculty, administrators, and neighbors in the surrounding community. It is also important to understand the factors that will prevent civic engagement.

2.1.3   Factors that inhibit civic engagement

Mitigating the factors that inhibit civic engagement at the individual and systemic levels can also support the initiation of civic engagement (Pancer, 2014). At the individual level negative

experiences may prevent civic engagement (Pancer, 2014). Income disparity at the systemic level reduces social trust and may lead to reduced resources at the individual level (Pancer, 2014). With respect to college students, faculty also face a lack of incentives to foster civic engagement among their students (Butin, 2007; Harkavy, 1993; Stanton, 2008).

A key factor at the individual level that acts as an inhibitor to civic engagement is having a negative experience stemming from a lack of support associated with civic activities (Pancer, 2014). In this rapidly growing field there are a growing number of resources to offer faculty and staff with the appropriate tools to develop curricular and co-curricular experiences that foster civic engagement. To effectively support students in civic activities, the literature recommends several methods. First, critical reflection is crucial to an applied learning environment like a civic engagement experience. Critical reflection provides students with the opportunity to generate, deepen, and document learning (Ash & Clayton, 2009). However, these reflection experiences must be intentionally planned and aligned with desired learning outcomes for the applied learning experience (Ash & Clayton, 2009). These desired learning outcomes can vary depending on the type of community engagement strategy that is used to design the experience. Again, this process should be intentionally and carefully designed in order to ensure a symbiotic partnership is established between the community organization and the higher education institution (Bringle, Clayton, & Price, 2009; Butin, 2007). A variety of models could be used to creatively integrate civic engagement into a learning opportunity with strengths and limitations (Butin, 2007). In addition, each individual civic engagement experience for students should be integrated with the larger institutional mission (Bringle & Hatcher, 1996). In order for these opportunities to be of the highest quality, faculty and staff must be trained in the design, evaluation, and assessment of this learning (Bringle & Hatcher, 1996).

However, from the faculty perspective it remains a challenge to balance the time needed to understand how to effectively design community engagement experiences with traditional responsibilities of the faculty role. Research, teaching, and service are the three prongs of faculty responsibility listed in order of priority (Harkavy, 1993). If faculty are not appropriately incentivized to lead civic engagement experiences, they will be less likely to develop and recruit students for such endeavors (Stanton, 2008). Faculty require a greater amount of time and resources to design effective academically-based civic engagement experiences than a traditional course. In some instances, faculty are encouraged to pursue designing civic engagement experiences only after receiving tenure (Butin, 2007).

Another obstacle to civic engagement is the development of self-confidence. Adolescents have been found to be more apt to be civically engaged if they have a sense of self-confidence (Hope, 2016). Often this demographic lacks the confidence that their votes or action will matter. In the 2016 election, 17.3% of college-aged non-voters cited the sentiment that their vote would not make a difference as a reason for not voting (File, 2017). This lack of confidence to act can be seen in other areas of civic engagement. Many college-aged adults may shy away from politics, because politics can be described as collaborative, voluntary, and rife with conflict (McIntosh & Youniss, 2010). Furthermore, college-aged adults may be reluctant to engage in political behaviors due to the public conflicts that arise from partisan politics, (McIntosh & Youniss, 2010). College students may wonder about their role in a system where politicians often fail to demonstrate the ability to compromise, yet they are expected to cooperate with their roommates.

Meanwhile, at the systemic-level economic disparity is a leading factor that prevents college students from being civically engaged (Pancer, 2014). There is a growing focus on

research pertaining to income equality and the level of social trust within nations (Pancer, 2014). This research has found evidence of higher levels of social trust in nations and states in the U.S. with greater income equality (Wilkinson & Pickett, 2009). Further research has confirmed this finding by comparing individual states within the U.S. to find an increasing trend since the 1970s between economic disparity and declining social trust (Putnam, 2000). Notably, college students of color and low-SES backgrounds may need to overcome resource deficits in time and money in order to become civically engaged (Blakely, Kennedy, & Kawachi, 2001; Chan, Ou, & Reynolds, 2014; Kawachi, Kennedy, Lochner, & Prothrow-Stith, 1997; Larsen et al., 2004; Page, Bartels, & Seawright, 2013; Takagi, Ikeda, Kobayashi, Harihara, & Kawachi, 2016). Leisure time becomes quite limited if one needs to seek employment to have money for basic needs.

Civic engagement requires such leisure time (Oesterle, Johnson, & Mortimer, 2004; Pavlova & Silbereisen, 2014). A funded or academically-based civic engagement experience could mitigate barriers to this engagement. A funded experience may alleviate the need to work as many hours in a week in order to afford tuition, rent, or food. Consider the evidence that in 2015, 64.6% of incoming freshmen had some, or major, financial concerns about funding their education (Eagan et al., 2015). Furthermore, 40.3% of 2015 freshman Pell grant recipients (a program designed to provide low-income students financial support for college) expected to work full-time while in college (Eagan et al., 2015). In fact, an ever-increasing percentage of college students work between 20-34 hours per week to defray the high costs of their education (Perna, 2010), reducing the amount of leisure time available to be civically engaged after handling the academic rigors of obtaining a college degree. Mitigating the aforementioned obstacles to civic engagement can improve the efficacy of initiating factors that are present for college students to become engaged.

2.2   QUALITATIVE NATURE OF CIVIC ENGAGEMENT RESEARCH

High-quality research about civic engagement shares similarities with research focused on other disciplinary fields. Consequently, research informed by theory can greatly strengthen research pertaining to civic engagement (K. Steinberg, Bringle, & McGuire, 2013). Given the uniqueness of civic engagement, high-quality research should meet at the intersection of theory, measurement, design, and practice. The theoretical focus of civic engagement research can come from a variety of disciplines including education, psychology, philosophy, history, communication, and political science (K. Steinberg et al., 2013). Within the educational research discipline, Dewey's (1916/2008) philosophy of the social nature of education and Kolb's (1984) experiential learning theory that stresses the importance of reflection are frequently cited. Within the field of psychology, moral development theories are applicable to civic engagement research (Bringle, Clayton, & Hatcher, 2013). For example, if the view of citizenship on a particular project aspires to foster caring for the future public world, Gilligan's (1982) ethic of care could be used as a framework for analysis (Battistoni, 2013). The theoretical frameworks used in turn inform the tools and methods researchers design to identify the initiating factors of civic engagement in an education setting.

Inherent in the structure of civic engagement is a social interaction of some kind. To assess learning through a social lens, Dewey's (1916/2008) philosophies are quite applicable. Astin (2000) recommended the use of studying students engaged in civic engagement at an individual level because of the "beliefs, perceptions, values, aspirations, and intents that vitally affect everything they do" (p. 99). However, as explained by Pancer's (2014) theory of civic engagement, those beliefs and values are shaped through an individual's social context and the opportunities available to them within their community.

2.2.1 Qualitative methods used in civic engagement research

Although quantitative research methods are implemented to explore civic engagement, qualitative methods are appropriate because naturalistic inquiry, emergent design flexibility, and purposive sampling are methods easily applied to examine the concept (K. Steinberg et al., 2013). Civic engagement can be considered as a pedagogical tool that facilitates learning in a social setting. Such learning often leads to personal growth, in many cases what Sanford (1966) defined as moral development. As a result, many civic engagement research studies use strategies including ethnography, grounded theory, phenomenology, narrative inquiry, participatory, interviewing, and case study (K. Steinberg et al., 2013). In this section, there is a focus on the opportunities and challenges of research methods used to further civic engagement research.

Depending on the type of civic engagement students are involved with, it is challenging to create a causal link between the civic behaviors and the initiating factors students that lead students on that path because of the plethora of confounding variables. Therefore, longitudinal studies may be effective at generating knowledge for understanding personal development (Brandenberger, 2013). Quantifiable survey data could offer insights, but data that are qualitative in nature can generate a more thorough description of the context of civic engagement.

Scholars note the extreme importance of reflection in civic engagement for its ability to generate, deepen, and document learning (Ash & Clayton, 2009; Bringle & Hatcher, 1996). Dewey (1916/2008) defined reflection as "…the discernment of the relation between what we try to do and what happens in consequence" (p. 518). The more modern definition of critical reflection is defined as "the sources of and gaps in knowledge and practice, with the intent to improve both" (Ash & Clayton, 2009, p. 28). In other words, reflection is looking back at one's

intentions and actions and analyzing the resulting outcomes. The more critical style of reflection adds a component of a desire to develop or grow. This critical reflection could facilitate the understanding of initiating factors of civic engagement just as easily as outcomes following a civic experience.

This learning format is more easily accomplished if the critical reflection experience is intentionally designed to facilitate examining the extent to which learning objectives were met and further articulate student development through detailed descriptions of their civic engagement experience (Ash & Clayton, 2009). This type of reflection is suited for group discussions, directed writings, or class presentations (Bringle & Hatcher, 1996). Consequently, a rich, detailed description of the experience is more effectively explored via qualitative research methods. For example, an effective civic engagement instructor is interested in the different learning outcomes as those of a chemistry professor. By encouraging students to wrestle with challenging thoughts that one encounters because of a civic engagement opportunity, their grade is more dependent on their ability to convey their new knowledge, rather than their comprehension (or memorization) of a chemical equation. There are no limits to the self-knowledge a student can attain during civic engagement, yet only one correct response to balance a chemical equation. In a similar fashion, by using effective interviewing techniques, a researcher can foster critical reflection by participants to understand the antecedent experiences of civic engagement (Seidman, 2006).

2.2.2 Limitations of civic engagement research

Researchers of civic engagement should be mindful of several aspects unique to the field. Primarily, it is important to recognize that there is a slight bias to studies of people from

Caucasian and higher-SES backgrounds that are typically pre-disposed to civic engagement (Zaff et al., 2009). Furthermore, conclusions may not be accurate if they are based entirely off of self-reported data (Diemer & Li, 2011; Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014). Although the discipline of civic engagement research is growing, there are limited resources to pursue particular streams (Harkavy, 1993; Stanton, 2008).

A variety of traits of college students' paint a picture of the context within which the initiating factors of civic engagement should be analyzed. A characteristic of most civic engagement opportunities is that students frequently need to actively choose to be involved by enrolling in the class or joining the co-curricular activity (Gallant et al., 2010). Prior civic engagement by participants can influence current perspectives on the experience (The National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement, 2012). Lastly, simply having the disposable free time to pursue such endeavors is also crucial (Bedolla, 2012; González, 2008; Spring et al., 2007). Therefore, a study that uses either blind selection, the use of a pretest following a delayed treatment, or statistically controlling for differences between treatment and control groups can minimize these effects (K. Steinberg et al., 2013).

Self-reporting scales of past behaviors, including community service, voting, or political participation, are often used in research that focuses on individual change (K. Steinberg et al., 2013). However, many of these items may have a socially desirable answer leading to reduction in validity and accuracy of data collection. For example, an individual may over-report community service or voting behaviors because he or she believes that is the preferred response (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960). To counteract this, independent evaluation by external observers can facilitate the triangulation of results. Evaluations can be performed of either student behaviors or deliverables produced by students (K. Steinberg et al., 2013). One common

37

deliverable, is written self-reflections throughout the civic engagement that journal the students' experiences. Although written self-reflections were not used in this study, the retrospective nature of the interview questions attempted to accomplish the same goals in oral, rather than written form.

Meanwhile institutional incentives to conduct civic engagement research in higher education are lacking (Stanton, 2008). Curricular-based civic engagement is often integrated into courses within a variety of disciplines. Therefore, researchers may be more experienced in research pertaining to that home discipline and have fewer resources to devote to researching civic engagement. Additionally, while there is an increasing amount of civic engagement opportunities at the undergraduate level, most graduate work does not foster these experiences (Stanton, 2008). As a result, mature graduate students may not have been exposed to civic engagement in their undergraduate work and may lack familiarity with the benefits of adding a civic engagement component to coursework. Lastly, although there are a growing number of civic engagement specific journals, many discipline specific journals do not offer special issues dedicated to publishing research on civic engagement within that field (Stanton, 2008). Consequently, quality studies about civic engagement may not be pursued or supported because of the high level of stress on young faculty pursuing tenure positions to produce publications in their academic discipline.

Finally, it can be overwhelming to limit the research questions in a study given the vast opportunities for measurement and data collection within a civic engagement setting (Holland, 2013). For example, several scholars note the importance of examining the effects of civic engagement on the community as a whole and the individual members that engage in the experience (Astin, 2000; Cooks & Scharrer, 2006; Holland, 2013). However, a strong research

model has not yet been developed to explore the role of the community in catalyzing civic engagement. Developing such research would strengthen the relationship between institutions of higher education and the neighboring communities from a seemingly patriarchal relationship where the institution "serves" the needy community into a more symbiotic partnership (Bringle et al., 2009). In such an ideal partnership, both the town and gown (those affiliated with the academic institution) can benefit equally by fostering civic engagement among a more diverse population.

2.3   CONCLUSION

A reciprocal relationship can develop between the systemic factors that contribute to civic engagement and the factors that sustain those behaviors. First, college students are likely introduced to a new community when they attend college (Mattern & Wyatt, 2009). If the student has a strong value for civic engagement, the community is hospitable, has organizations that foster a norm of reciprocity and social responsibility, and social trust was developed via effective, symbiotic university partnerships with the community; the individual may choose to continue to be civically engaged. Furthermore, civic engagement is likely to be initiated if the students have the leisure time needed to pursue civic activities or perceive a benefit can arise from their participation in such an environment.

The preceding chapter provided a broad theoretical understanding of the key areas that are explored in this study. The integrative theory of civic engagement provides evidence of a symbiotic and continuously evolving relationship between individual and systemic factors to

explain the level of motivation to be civically engaged. The following chapter will outline the specific research procedures that were used to address the research questions.

3.0   RESEARCH PROCEDURES

This chapter outlines the methods used to address the research questions described in chapter one, through an interview study of the Greene Fellowship (GF) applicants, 29 applicants to an academically-based civic engagement program at the University of Keystone City (UKC). The study is outlined in detail below and includes the research questions, a description of the participants, recruitment methods, data collection procedures, data storage, and data analysis methods. The researcher's role and limitations to the study are also discussed.

3.1   DESCRIPTION OF STUDY

An interview study of the GF applicants was employed to address the following research questions:

> *RQ1: What were the initiating factors for a select group of undergraduate students to apply for an academically-based civic engagement fellowship program?*

> *RQ2: What are the perceived future expectations for civic engagement among applicants for a specific academically-based civic engagement fellowship program?*

The goal of this research was to generate knowledge to enhance an understanding of the initiating factors that led a cohort of students to apply to the GF program. As described earlier, civic engagement can be an effective pedagogical tool for developing a democratically aware student (Pancer, 2014). A better understanding of the antecedent factors of civic engagement could lead to more effective recruiting efforts of undergraduate students for such civic opportunities in the future. Cultivating engaged citizens and partnerships between higher education institutions and communities are pivotal in the complex ecosystem of developing and sustaining an active democracy in the U.S. (The National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement, 2012).

According to Merriam (2009), "research focused on discovery, insight, and understanding from the perspectives of those being studied offers the greatest promise of making a difference in people's lives" (p.1). In that spirit, this study recruited the applicants for the 2018 GF cohort because of their interest in participating in an academically-based civic engagement program. By understanding students' perspectives regarding the individual and systemic influences for civic engagement better, this research can inform programs that strive to foster citizenship and strengthen the democracy of the United States. The GF program applicants were a unique population who presented an opportunity for a deep analysis of the relationship between the various factors that preceded the decision of these particular undergraduate students to apply to the program.

3.2   RESEARCH POPULATION

The GF program at the UKC was established in 2013, through a sizeable donation by School of Social Work alumni, with the goal of developing engaged civic leaders striving to achieve economic and social justice in an interdisciplinary setting in the surrounding community ("Greene fellowship program," 2017). The program was designed to foster the values of the School of Social Work among students pursuing majors in *other* schools across the university (K. Caldwell, personal communication, September 14, 2016). Although the donation was given to the UKC School of Social Work, social work students are not actively recruited for the GF (K. Caldwell, personal communication, November 30, 2017). This academically-based program consists of a monthly seminar during the spring semester, and a community-based project completed during the summer semester. At the completion of the program, fellows present their experience to the communities with whom they have worked as well as through a poster presentation to the larger university community. There were 10 undergraduate students selected for the fellowship out of 29 applicants in the GF program in its 2018 cohort. All 10 of the selected students have accepted the fellowship and will begin activities in January, 2018. (K. Caldwell, personal communication, November 28, 2017).

The following section will first provide a context of the GF program within the larger university setting. An overview of the program is provided along with a description of fellow recruitment and selection processes. Then, the study recruitment methods will be outlined.

3.2.1 University context of the Greene Fellowship

Approximately 20,000 undergraduate students are enrolled at UKC, a large, state-related research university located in an urban setting in Pennsylvania. Just under 70% of the student body of UKC hails from Pennsylvania and 72.6% of the student body describe themselves as not people of color (Office of Institutional Research, 2016). Although the fellowship was initiated by a large alumni donation, it is aligned with the overall university mission. The university addresses this mission in a variety of ways directed by faculty, staff, and senior administration.

University faculty and staff initiated an ad hoc committee to discuss academically-based community engagement in 2015. For the past two years the committee has led a cross-university idea exchange to link faculty and staff committed to, and interested in, infusing civic learning in their curriculum or co-curricular programs. This committee has the potential to be the hub for cross-campus dialogue of ideas to effectively coordinate university resources to address its mission of engaging local communities (Caldwell et al., 2015). One of the largest civic engagement endeavors, the KeyServes program, is operated through the division of student affairs and overseen by the provost. KeyServes coordinates a variety of one-time and recurrent service opportunities for students. During the 2016-2017 academic year, UKC students performed 467,000 hours of community service ("About KeyServes," 2017). Additional civic engagement opportunities are available through the department of community and government relations and economic partnerships, supervised by the senior vice chancellor of engagement. Under the purview of this office are the Keystone Engagement Centers, initiated in 2016, that are being developed to better coordinate partnerships in neighborhoods surrounding the university (Miksch, 2016).

3.2.2 Recruitment of Greene Fellows

Over the last five years, typically between 30 and 40 students have applied annually for the ten GF positions. The 2018 cohort of fellows was selected from among 29 applications (K. Caldwell, personal communication, November 28, 2017). Any student in the first three years of their undergraduate program at UKC is eligible to apply for the fellowship.

Applicants are recruited to the program via university-wide e-mail to faculty, advisors, and students. Additionally, fellow alumni have informed their friends about their positive experiences with the program. The GF program coordinator has developed relationships with key stakeholders throughout the university including within the Honors College, Student Affairs, Parent Engagement Office, and diversity programs committed to the recruitment, retention, and graduation of historically underrepresented students in the School of Engineering. These entities forward notices of the fellowship opportunity to their e-mail listservs.

3.2.3 Selection process of Greene Fellows

Following a formal application process, the ten fellows were selected based on their academic achievement, commitment to public service, and leadership potential. During this process prospective fellows submit a personal essay, letters of recommendation, and complete an in-person interview with faculty, administrators, and GF alumni ("Greene fellowship program," 2017). The final decision is at the discretion of the program coordinator with input from the interview panel. The coordinator seeks heterogeneity across characteristics including academic majors, gender, race, religion, sexual orientation, and ethnicity to create a diverse cohort (K. Caldwell, personal communication, September 14, 2016).

3.2.4 Greene Fellowship program description

The GF program consists of three progressive phases. First, monthly seminar meetings expose fellows to local public leaders along with theories of social work and community organizing during the spring semester. Additionally, the fellows develop community action projects. During the summer semester, fellows execute these ventures under the supervision of the GF coordinator and community organization leadership. At the conclusion of the summer action project, fellows create a public presentation that is given both in the neighborhood and university settings.

The project sites for the 2018 Fellowship will be located in four different neighborhoods around Keystone City. Students will engage with a program that creates informal learning programs in the arts and technology, plan a neighborhood block party to develop a sense of community, develop public garden spaces, execute programming at a local public library, support data analysis for economic planning, and support a food pantry. While fellows can request their site location, the program coordinator ultimately places fellows at sites he feels they will be most successful given their interests and his knowledge of each site. Additionally, the program coordinator tries to assemble effective teams of two or three fellows at each site (K. Caldwell, personal communication, November 28, 2016).

In addition, the fellowship offers a stipend of $3,000 and one academic credit ("Greene fellowship program," 2017). The stipend is dispersed in installments after successful completion of each component of the program, outlined below (K. Caldwell, personal communication, September 14, 2016). Depending on the fellows' academic program, the fellowship can be applied to their plan of study as either an elective or experiential learning credit (K. Caldwell, personal communication, August 21, 2017).

3.3   RESEARCH PARTICIPANT RECRUITMENT

This research study used the population of the 2018 cohort of 29 applicants to the GF program to capture a group of undergraduate students who have demonstrated an interest in participating in an academically-based civic engagement experience. The purpose for interviewing prospective participants of the same civic engagement program was to be able to have the shared interest in civic engagement as a constant across all research participants. It was anticipated that research participants would have unique motivating factors and prior life experiences that led to a shared outcome: the application to the GF program.

To recruit participants, I partnered with the program coordinator to distribute email messages. There were two stages of recruitment. The program coordinator sent out a first message on January 12, 2018. This email message included a complete message of informed consent to ensure prospective participants were completely aware of the research activities (see Appendix A). Furthermore, it included contact information to schedule an interview. On January 19th, I attended the initial spring meeting of the GF to distribute my informed consent message in person. After a second e-mail reminder on January 23rd, I had only received interest from four active fellows. As a result of low participation, on February 3rd, I decided to offer a $15 incentive following receipt of IRB approval. After receiving IRB approval to use an incentive on February 7th, prospective participants were e-mailed by the program coordinator on February 8th and a final time on February 14th (see Appendix C). A total of 12 students were recruited. All students received the incentive, including the four students who had participated in the first phase of recruitment prior to the incentive being offered.

Participants were asked to supply two or three convenient times to engage in the interview process. In order to make the participants feel as comfortable as possible, they were

47

given the option to select the location of their choosing on campus. I also offered to reserve a space on campus.

3.4   METHODS, DESIGN, AND RATIONALE

This study used guided interviews with GF program applicants to explore their perception of expectations of civic engagement and the antecedent factors that motivated them to apply for this program. Qualitative data from interviews, often associated with social science fields and educational research, can provide a researcher with the foundation for in-depth analysis of a specific topic (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Yin (2009) stated that interview data are crucial for certain styles of qualitative research because participants can be considered as "informants" of the topics being explored through interview protocols. A semi-structured interview format was employed because the fellows' self-reflections will provide the richest context to their lived experience (Seidman, 2006). The flexibility of this interview structure enabled a framework of key topics to be addressed along with the opportunity to shift the conversation to obtain evidence to understand the motivations of the GF to become civically engaged in the past, present, and future.

One of the noted strengths of qualitative data from interviews is that such data, "focus on *naturally occurring, ordinary events in natural settings,* so we have a strong handle on what 'real life' is like" (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 10, emphasis in original). During the interview and analysis stages of the research, I strived to understand the personal context of the GF. The qualitative data generated from the interviews described the experiences that shaped the GF's expectations of and motivation for past, present, and future civic engagement.

Seidman (2006) argued that, "at the root of in-depth interviewing is an interest in understanding the lived experience and the meaning they make of that experience" (p. 9). Through reflection of thought-provoking interview questions, I gathered evidence that corresponded to participants' social influences, values, instrumental motives, and prior experiences with respect to their decision to apply to GF. By providing an open-ended structure to the interviews, as a researcher, I harvested data that spoke to the *meaning* behind the initiating factors of civic engagement to the individual GF. The open-ended, semi-structured format allowed for a more flexible method of extracting this data, as compared to other data collection methods.

3.5   DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

This section outlines the interview procedures along with a description of the protocol that was used. Semi-structured initial interviews were conducted with 12 research participants. Follow-up interviews were planned in case of a need to clarify or elaborate on concepts initially discussed. However, no follow-up interviews were necessary.

Data collected through an interview process can facilitate "… locating the *meanings* people place on the events, processes, and structures of their lives and for connecting these meanings to the *social world* around them" (Miles et al., 2014, p. 11, emphasis in original). The goal of this study was to uncover as much data as possible that can articulate the expectations of and motivations for past, present, and future civic engagement of the GF in the context of their lives. Merriam (2009) defined data as, "nothing more than ordinary bits and pieces of information found in the environment" (p. 85). Saldaña (2011) compared these bits of data to

living cells within a larger body, or corpus, of data. Each piece of datum is comparable to an individual nerve in the larger nervous system. During data collection, it was helpful to use an interview protocol that elicited data that built an understanding of the relationships throughout the larger body of data. This was evident during data analysis, discussed later in the chapter.

3.5.1   Semi-structured interviews

The interview protocol was informed from Pancer's (2014) theory of civic engagement. According to this theory, the initiating factors of civic engagement at the individual level are social influences, values, and instrumental motives. At the systemic level, a sense of social responsibility and a norm of reciprocity are typically present along with the availability of programs and organizations within the community (Pancer, 2014). The interview protocol, outlined below, used questions to elicit data that would address these components.

Table 2: Interview protocol (abbreviated)

1. How would you describe someone who is a "good citizen"?
2. Who is someone you consider a "good citizen"? Why? What about them makes them a "good citizen"?
3. Do you feel people in society need to be responsible for each other? Why? Have you acted on that belief in your past? How?
4. Can you describe your hometown?
5. Can you describe your high school?
6. What were your plans following graduation before you started college? Professionally/academically?
7. Can you describe your University?
8. Has anybody encouraged you, or acted as a role model to inspire you in your behaviors with respect to community service, voting behaviors, or political engagement?
9. Do you stay current on events and issues in the news? Through what medium (e.g. internet, local/national/cable news, social media)? Why or why not?
10. The Greene Fellows program describes itself as preparing students to be engaged

Table 2 continued

civic leaders working for economic and social justice.
  a. Have you been active in those activities before? Why? What initiated that activity?
  b. Did you want to participate in similar activities in the past but were unable? What prevented your participation?

11. Do you think being a GF will help you to engage in community or civic leadership? How do you think that might happen?   a. (for non-Fellows) How else can you engage in the community or practice civic leadership?
12. What factors led you to apply for the GF program? Why was this important to you? Why as a part of your college experience?
13. Do you see yourself as being civically engaged in the future? How so? Why or why not?

The first three items ask participants to describe components of civic engagement. The first two items prompted participants to describe the factors that make up a "good citizen" and asked them to name an individual that exemplified those characteristics and to determine the social influence of such an individual. These items were designed to elicit data pertaining to their values of citizenship, and their expectations of civic engagement. The third item asked if people in society should be responsible for one another. This generated data to determine if their communities had fostered such a value (Pancer, 2014).

The fourth and fifth items asked participants to describe their hometown and high school. The goal of these items was to elicit data about the availability of community programs and organizations and to determine their involvement in such programs. This provided data to confirm research that has found that individuals are more likely to repeat civic engagement if they have previously participated in such endeavors (Eyler & Giles Jr., 1999; Pancer, 2014).

Items six and seven prompted participants to describe their university and their plans prior to enrolling at UKC. These questions probed for data with respect to values, instrumental motives, and availability of and participation in community programs and organizations.

Participants were also asked if they felt unique in their various campus roles to determine the prevalence of social influence of their peers (Pancer, 2014).

The eighth item asked participants to describe any role models they had in their lives who fostered civic engagement-related behaviors. The goal of this question was to reveal data pertaining to social influence and values. This question was based on research that finds individuals are more likely participate in community service if they are asked (Eyler & Giles Jr., 1999; Gould et al., 2011; Pancer et al., 2007).

The ninth item asked participants to describe their engagement with current events and news. Responses to this question would elucidate participants' values for being informed about current events. A follow up question asked to describe the medium(s) they used to stay current regarding news.

Items 10 through 12 asked questions a bit more related to the GF program. Item 10 was designed to identify evidence of involvement in activities that were not revealed in the items about participant's hometown, high school, and university experiences. In addition, it asked participants to describe obstacles to past participation. Item 11 asked participants to describe how they felt being a fellow would help them be civically engaged, or how else they could be engaged (if they were not selected for the fellowship). This item would reveal expectations for civic engagement. The 12th item asked participants to describe why they applied to the program, and specifically about the stipend and academic credit. This item was designed to reveal data regarding values, instrumental motives, and social influences (Pancer, 2014).

The final item asked them to describe any intentions to be civically engaged in the future. This item was designed to reveal any instrumental motives or values for civic engagement

(Pancer, 2014). During data collection, participants were asked if they had anything they felt they needed to add, or if they had any questions regarding the research.

To review the complete protocol, see Appendix D. The protocol will also generate additional evidence that is not aligned with the deductive codes used during data analysis. These unanticipated themes that are identified from the collected qualitative data will initiate the formation of emergent codes during data analysis.

3.6   DATA ANALYSIS

Analysis focused on developing an understanding of the expectations for and the initiating factors of the past, present, and future civic engagement of the GF. Evidence collected from semi-structured interviews focused on the type of civic engagement activities (voting/election engagement, civic knowledge, community involvement, or political engagement) (Pancer, 2014). Data was coded deductively using existing themes pertinent to the theory of civic engagement (Pancer, 2014) and supplemented with emergent codes. These codes are described in greater detail in the following sub-section. Specific data analysis coding methods included pattern matching, grouping codes of similar themes into manageable analytic units, and cross case analysis, by comparing themes found across each of the participants (Miles et al., 2014; Saldaña, 2011; Yin, 2009).

Civic engagement can be considered actions pertinent to election engagement, community involvement, or political engagement. Election engagement refers to behaviors including being registered to vote, voting, or registering others to vote (Pancer, 2014). Community involvement includes activities such as community service or participation in

community organizations (Pancer, 2014). Political engagement refers to the participation in protest, boycotts, or writing letters to elected officials (Pancer, 2014). Collecting evidence of all these behaviors can be used to determine one's level of civic engagement. For instance, one can be considered to be broadly engaged if they participate in all of these endeavors (Kawashima-Ginsberg, 2011). Following data analysis, the participants were grouped into categories of individual engagers, community engagers, and societal engagers. These classifications will be described further in the following chapter.

To analyze qualitative data effectively, interviews were recorded, transcribed, and then coded. Interviews were transcribed by a company that provides transcription services, Verbalink. Verbalink, founded in 2003, specializes in transcription and translation services. De-identified digital audio recording files were transferred securely, and transcription files were returned via e-mail within five business days. Transcription files were then loaded into the NVivo application. NVivo, produced by QSR International, is qualitative data analysis software that was first created in 1999. The software allows qualitative data sources to be stored securely and enables the analysis of thematic coding. Deductive codes, drawn from common themes from the literature and conceptual framework, were identified within the data and categorized.

It is ethical and prudent to situate the analysis using a theory-driven, deductive approach because it situates the study with existing literature (Wolcott, 1992). Deductive coding offers a method to better understand the relational network of variables at play that led individuals to be motivated to become civically engaged (Miles et al., 2014). In addition, future predictions are more accurate when conducting research guided by theory (Popper, 1968). This will address the goal of the study to determine the extent of future motivation for civic engagement. To anticipate alternative hypotheses, emergent codes were also applied during data analysis. All codes were

organized and defined in a codebook within the qualitative analysis software. This codebook was used as a part of the audit trail to explain the process of developing and identifying specific codes (Miles et al., 2014; Yin, 2009). Additionally, cross case analysis was performed to determine if fellows has similar experiences to one another (Miles et al., 2014).

The complete data analysis plan is outlined below in Table 3. It includes a re-statement of the research questions to highlight how the evidence aligns with each question. The data collection method and analysis are presented, as well.

Table 3: Data analysis plan

Research Questions	RQ1: What were the initiating factors for a select group of undergraduate students to apply for an academically-based civic engagement fellowship program?	RQ2: What are the future expectations for civic engagement among applicants for a specific academically-based civic engagement fellowship program?
Evidence	According to Pancer's (2014) theory of civic engagement a variety of initiating factors can lead young people to be more inclined to participate in civic engagement. These internal factors include values, social influences, and instrumental motives. Systemic factors include available community programs and organizations and a norm of reciprocity and social responsibility. **Civic Engagement** (Pancer, 2014) • Voting/election engagement (voting in elections, registering individuals to vote) • Community Involvement - (performing community service, participation in community organizations) • Political Engagement (protests, boycotts, writing letters to elected officials, etc.)	
Method	2018 applicants of the Greene Fellowship (GF) program, a civic engagement opportunity based at the University of Keystone City (n=29), were invited to participate in a semi-structured interview and possible follow-up interview. The interview protocol was informed by qualitative research methods (Merriam, 2009; Miles et al., 2014; Saldaña, 2011; Seidman, 2006). The goal of the interview was to help generate data that elicits insights pertaining to the research participants' motivations to participate in the GF, their understanding and expectations of civic engagement, and their future motivation to be civically engaged (Pancer, 2014).	
Analysis	Thematic coding was conducted by using a deductive method (Kaplan, 1964; Popper, 1968; Wolcott, 1992) of pattern matching that was generated from the theoretical frameworks of civic engagement (Pancer, 2014). Primary codes include: values, social influence, instrumental motives, availability of community programs, norms of reciprocity and social responsibility, organizational involvement, community service, social activism, skill development, and supportive environment. Emergent coding was used to capture themes not represented in the conceptual framework. All codes were organized and defined in a codebook used as part of an audit trail.	

3.6.1　Description of codes

The primary deductive codes were aligned with Pancer's (2014) theory of civic engagement included: values, social influence, instrumental motives, availability of community programs, norms of reciprocity and social responsibility, organizational involvement, community service, social activism, skill development, and supportive environment. Unanticipated themes were revealed during data analysis, and emergent coding was used. These included: career uncertainty, summer slacker syndrome, and recognition of privilege.

3.6.1.1 Description of deductive codes

Values were generated from questions about citizenship, plans following college, mentors, and the application to the GF. These values included civic knowledge, community, current events, engaging with others (including those with similar characteristics to themselves), a liberal ideology, Keystone City, and social responsibility. For example, a participant mentioned Keystone City by saying, "I was interested in it because Keystone City has helped me so much; I would be able to help it." This value is important because although UKC is embedded within Keystone City, there is a larger community that participants referenced a desire to explore.

Social influence theme was evidence when participants were asked to describe somebody that was a "good citizen", factors that led to their application to the fellowship, and role models. Social influencers included community members, friends, parents, faculty, and staff. An example of this code was evident when a participant stated, "I feel like my mom definitely was big on community service and community engagement."

The theme of instrumental motives was evident when asked what participants were expecting from the program, plans following college, and future civic engagement. These

motives included the stipend and strengthening their résumé. For example, one participant stated, "it was a deal as far as like, benefiting my résumé."

The theme of availability of programs was brought to light when discussing participants' hometowns, high schools, and experience at UKC. For example, a participant stated, "I and a couple other students started a club called the Race Alliance." It is clear that the participant was active in this club.

Community service became evident as a theme when participants were asked to describe UKC, their hometown, and their high school. For example, one participant stated, "when I lived in my community, I did a lot of community service and did a lot for my school and to better my community." This broadly described community service and involvement in school activities.

Political engagement was not that prevalent as a theme throughout the data analysis. However, some participants reported being engaged in social advocacy related groups. For example, one participant stated, "We did get a gender-neutral bathroom put in our school, and I remember one year we hosted Chicago's LGBTQ (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Queer) prom." A few individuals were involved in these types of groups, but they did not speak extensively about those groups' activities.

Skill development was a theme that was closely related to self-confidence. For instance, items could be coded as skill development if they noted a lack of self-confidence for a particular skill or mentioned simply that they hoped to improve in a specific area. For example a participant said, "It would really help me like, improve my skills with talking to people and problem solving."

Supportive environment was a theme generated from data pertaining to interview items related to hometown, high school, and UKC. For example, one participant described UKC by

stating, "I just feel like there are so many opportunities and so little time to take advantage of the opportunities." A lot of interesting subthemes emerged from the supportive environment which will be discussed in the following section.

3.6.1.2 Description of emergent codes

While several emergent codes were established during data analysis, only those relevant to key findings will be discussed in this section. The themes of career uncertainty and summer slacker syndrome were subcodes from the supportive environment code. The recognition of privilege also came up among a few participants but did not quite fit into any of the other codes.

A common theme across many of the participants was an overwhelming uncertainty in what they were going to do following graduation. Upon analyzing the data, I realized that participants really felt supported in the college atmosphere to try on different careers like a pair of shoes. For example, one participant stated, "I've been exposed to a lot of different ideas, a lot of different people that I didn't have the privilege of experiencing back in high school. And that has shifted my career goals a ton since I have been here."

Several participants mentioned a fear of falling behind over the summer. Summer slacker syndrome was an idea that came to me when one participant stated, "in my mind, going home is like, slacking. So, I wanted to stay here." The participant referenced seeing peers go home for the summer and fall into bad habits, and failing to graduate. While this participant was from a small, rural town, it was prevalent among some suburban participants, as well.

A few participants referenced privilege both directly and indirectly. For example, one participant stated, "as a white woman… kind of the responsibility of people in privileged positions to use that privilege to lift other people up." Most of the allusions to this theme related

to an initiating factor to be civically engaged in some fashion because of a value for social responsibility.

3.7   DATA MANAGEMENT PLAN

All aspects of the data collection and analysis plan complied with the recommendations of the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of the University of Pittsburgh. All interviews were de-identified prior to storage for analysis. These items were securely stored via the NVivo application. The NVivo application allows researchers to effectively organize digitally and code qualitative data. The program also allows researchers to store memos in a secure, password-protected digital environment.

Recordings and transcriptions of interviews were saved to a private, password-protected drive to assure data remained confidential. All research participants were assigned a pseudonym that was associated with their specific data. The coding memo that links these pseudonyms with the original was stored in a locked, home office in a non-digital format. These pseudonyms were used to report out research findings.

3.8   RESEARCHER ROLE

As a researcher, it is pertinent to outline my personal values and philosophy regarding higher education to provide a context for this study. I believe that higher education is a vital component to social life (Dewey, 1916/2008), should focus primarily on human development (Sanford,

1966), and foster students' inclination and ability to serve their community (Franklin, 1749). However, I recognize the need for other philosophies of education that espouse the importance of knowledge creation or career preparation that support a variety of learning styles.

In light of my personal educational philosophy, I took several precautions as the sole researcher. Due to my familiarity with this discipline, I am aware of counter arguments regarding civic engagement such as Bringle et al. (2009), Fish (2017), and Lounsbury and Pollack (2001). Therefore, I attempted to address major rival interpretations across data collection, analysis, and reporting phases (Yin, 2009). Additionally, I strived to ensure that my research methods were credible, in order to best inform decisions of higher educational policy makers.

My experience with civic engagement began over a decade ago serving as a fellow for an academically-based living-learning community dedicated to community service and social justice at the University of Pennsylvania. The opportunity sparked a tremendous amount of personal growth and interest in the discipline of civic engagement. This passion led me to co-facilitate several service-learning courses at the undergraduate and graduate levels. In addition, I learned more about the field working for an organization that developed higher education institutions' capacity for engaging students civically. I thoroughly enjoyed seeing the students I worked with grow during the course of the civic engagement experiences and grew adept at developing relationships with these students across three different campuses. These experiences, combined with the theoretical knowledge that I have developed during my doctoral study at the University of Pittsburgh, make me an effective researcher to perform this study.

3.9   LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The study was designed with several acknowledged limitations including the possibility of response bias, the collection of retrospective perception data, and the use of deductive coding with interview data. Response bias, respondents providing answers they believe the researcher would appreciate hearing (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960), was addressed by creating a comfortable setting for interviews, articulating the mission of this study clearly, and comparing analysis across subjects to triangulate data (Miles et al., 2014). Creating a safe space for the interviewees was in effort to make myself less threatening and decrease the likelihood of the subject trying to impress me. I offered participants the ability to select an on-campus location to meet, or for me to reserve a space. I emphasized this research study as a product of doctoral research, in order to help participants feel that there were no "correct" responses to the interview questions.

Using retrospective perception data actually offers the value of having respondents reflect on the meaning of their lived experiences (Seidman, 2006). One participant even mentioned that she found the experience very therapeutic. I strived to use effective interviewing techniques to generate insights about subjects' lived experiences, furthering the theoretical propositions I can conclude about the expectations of and motivations for past, present, and future civic engagement among this particular population.

Deductive coding can be effective in research studies that seek to build upon theoretical propositions to comprehend the underlying motivations of undergraduate students to participate in civic engagement (Yin, 2009). However, deductive coding can also be critiqued as looking for answers in the most convenient location (Kaplan, 1964). I identified and used emergent codes external to the theoretical framework. Furthermore, the deductive codes I used were directly linked to the conceptual framework of this study which led to a better understanding of why this

particular group of students was motivated to participate in an academically-based civic engagement program.

A final limitation of this study was the limited population. The results of this study can only speak to this specific group of undergraduate students at the University of Keystone City. However, the findings of this study revealed a tremendous amount of evidence that informed the context of civic engagement theory, and contributed to the overall development of Pancer's (2014) theory (Flyvbjerg, 2006). The goal of the study was not to generalize findings about all undergraduates or college-aged adults.

4.0   PARTICIPANT CHARACTERISTICS

This chapter briefly describes the 12 research participants. Participants' hometown, career goals, prior civic engagement, social influence, and future engagement are summarized in order to provide a context for the research findings and analysis that are presented in chapters five and six. The descriptions of the participants are organized in groups related to the style of their prior civic engagement experiences. Pseudonyms are used to de-identify the participants.

4.1   ORGANIZATION OF PARTICIPANTS

Due to the diverse styles of civic engagement (voting, political engagement, or community engagement), some research literature has found it helpful to perform a quantitative cluster analysis of subjects based on the civic activities they perform (Kawashima-Ginsberg, 2011). I adapted this research method in a qualitative manner and identified three styles of civic engagement during data analysis: individual, community, and societal. This style of analysis provided an opportunity to compare and contrast initiating factors. Individual engagers indicated a value of direct interaction with their larger community via mentorship or direct conversation. Community engagers had the most prior experience in community service and philanthropy efforts. These experiences were frequently one-time events to generate hours to satisfy requirements or were part of continued projects associated with a particular organization.

Societal engagers may have participated in community service, philanthropy, or mentorship opportunities in the past. However, these participants had more experience in advocating for specific populations through work with non-profits or student-led organizations. The individual engagers will be described first, followed by the community and societal engagers.

Participants are also described by their hometown, race, and socioeconomic status (SES). To generate these characteristics, qualitative data was analyzed. SES required the most analysis to determine. I attempted to fit participants into either low, middle, or upper class socio-economic status. Since all students were in pursuit of a college degree, no participants were characterized as lower class. The key aspect I focused on analyzing was qualitative data pertaining to the stipend. Participants that did not express a strong need or desire for the stipend were assumed to come from a family of upper class SES.

Table 4: Study participants

Style of engagement	Name	Fellow	Hometown	Race	SES
Individual	Candice	Yes	Suburban	Black	Middle
	Karen	Yes	Suburban	Black (Caribbean)	Middle
	Harry	Yes	Suburban	White	Upper
Community	Emily	No	Rural	White	Middle
	Fred	No	Suburban	Asian	Upper
	Daniel	Yes	Rural	White	Middle
	Mona	Yes	Urban	South Asian	Upper
Societal	Abby	Yes	Urban	White	Upper
	Blanche	Yes	Urban	White	Upper
	Grace	No	Suburban	White	Middle
	Jerome	No	Urban	South East Asian	Middle
	Lauren	No	Suburban	White	Upper

4.1.1   Individual engagers

Engaging a community at the individual level can be valuable to strengthening the overall civic health of neighborhoods. However, if these activities occur outside a formal organization's purview, it is difficult to identify or measure. Research has demonstrated that often people from lower SES backgrounds or of color tend to participate in these more individual styles of engagement (Nation, Fortney, & Wandersman, 2010). Candice and Karen indicated enjoyment of organized mentorship opportunities, while Harry noted an appreciation for meeting his neighbors in his off-campus housing.

4.1.1.1 Candice

Candice is a fellow from a suburban town but was born in a Caribbean nation. Candice moved to the U.S. when she was 14 and described her hometown as being very tight knit and she felt like an outsider as a person of color. She stated her hometown, "… was weird because I wasn't from there, I moved there, and I was just aware of being in that environment where everyone was so already close and tight knit, and being someone from somewhere else." Candice noted that older classmates from high school would frequently leave the town to attend college but return to the area after graduation. Candice also noted her high school offered a variety of activities. Candice was busy as a student-athlete and involved in a community service club and was asked to serve as a mentor for middle school students with parents that were not fluent in English. This activity resonated with Candice because she greatly appreciated her parents support in helping her with her own homework. While enrolled at the University of Keystone City (UKC), she has switched from an accounting major to a marketing major and aspires to run her own non-profit somebody. In addition, Candice has engaged with a mentorship program where fellow undergraduate

students form a mentoring triad with high schoolers and graduate students. Candice attributes her passion for helping others to her father who raised chickens for food for their family in the Caribbean. She said,

> *"I feel like me getting the opportunity because of my dad is kind of like I'm deserving to do that, to help other people get to where I am, because a lot of things that I've gotten myself, I've gotten on my own, but also I had that privilege of my dad getting himself out of that position to get us here."*

In the future, Candice hopes to continue to be engaged in her community but is unsure if those pursuits will be a part of a professional career or in her leisure time.

4.1.1.2 Karen

Karen is a fellow from a suburban neighborhood. She described her hometown as predominantly Caucasian and conservative in ideology. Karen attributed this conservative ideology to conversations that described folks receiving food stamps as being "lazy" and yard signs supporting republican politicians. Karen felt very isolated as a person of color living with family that had received food stamps in the past. Karen attended a private, Baptist high school. Still exploring majors and career options, Karen has considered political science, psychology, social work, and sociology during her time at UKC.

Karen's mother was a notable influencer to her civic engagement. For a time, Karen and her mother were active in Jack and Jill of America. This membership-based group was for "Black people, and it's just about encouraging education, and doing community service together." Due to the prohibitive cost, Karen and her mother did not remain members. However, Karen continued to engage in her community.

66

While at UKC, she is a part of a retention program for students of color that has a scholarship and mentoring component to it. Following her first year as a mentee, she has mentored 16 students in the past year. In addition, she is performing 45 hours of community service as a requirement for a social work class. However, her passion is definitely for mentoring. In the future Karen would like to remain civically engaged in her leisure time through some form of mentoring, "I think that is just a passion of mine. It's something that I really love, so, yeah. I think a mentorship thing would be a lot of fun, to keep doing throughout my life."

4.1.1.3 Harry

Harry is a fellow from "suburban hell." Although his hometown was a predominantly upper middle-class, White community, his public high school was more diverse than UKC due to its geographic location. Harry was not a person of color and appeared to come from an upper class SES background. Harry's career goals have evolved throughout his undergraduate career where he started in the business school as a marketing and finance major looking for a "prosperous future financially." Currently, Harry is an urban studies major.

Harry did not specifically reference any civic related endeavors in his past. However, Harry was active in community athletic leagues and in high school played volleyball, was active in student government, and served as an editor of the school literary magazine. While in college Harry served as a tour guide for a year, but now enjoys living off campus and engaging with neighbors.

Harry has also developed a strong interest in politics triggered by the 2016 election. He described this motivation:

> *This was the first election where I felt like I actually could get engaged with the*
> *ideas and views of politicians and actually have a true understanding of the*

agendas they possessed and their means for achieving these agendas. So I wanted

to educate myself on these candidates and on the issues that they spoke about. So

I did a lot of independent research on my own just using the internet as my tool,

just to kind of access all the information that's out there.

Harry's interest in engaging with his neighbors happened "organically" where a friendly greeting one day has evolved into invitations to family barbecues. These interactions have been complemented by meeting classmates that are interested in similar issues that concern Harry since his political awakening. In the future, Harry intends to be engaged in his community, but was not specific in his plans.

4.1.2 Community engagers

Although the concept of community service is simple to comprehend at face value, it can vary in style. While there is a lack of a complete history of the concept of community service in the U.S., it can be defined as an "an antidote to the crisis of community: an insistence that we experience first-hand the suffering produced by our culture" (Morton & Saltmarsh, 1997, p. 148). This culture, embedded in democracy and capitalism requires collective action from within those communities (Morton & Saltmarsh, 1997). Emily, Fred, Daniel, and Mona did not spend a significant amount of time analyzing the style of service they performed. While their rationales for participation varied, they were all trying to help people through direct service or philanthropy to alleviate a problem.

4.1.2.1 Emily

Emily was not selected to be a fellow and is from a rural town. She described the town as being economically "repressed" with the economy built around a one-day annual festival. Emily was representative of her hometown and did not appear to be a person of color and was from a middle-class SES background. However, throughout the year it seemed that there was always a fundraiser occurring. In addition to the presence of national organizations like the American Cancer Association and the Wounded Warrior Project, there is also "a silly amount of churches for how small the town is" and the presence of community athletic leagues.

Emily's high school was small and shrinking. Emily graduated with a class of 150 and "knew everyone in [her] class." When she graduated the school included grades 8 through 12 and in the following year it will expand to include 7th grade. Her public school had a "decent" offering of student organizations. Emily played on the volleyball team and participated in philanthropic efforts for a variety of causes. Towards the end of her high school career, changes in the administration and more successful athletic teams lead to an increase in school pride.

Emily became active in an organization that raised money to help those living with cancer receive additional support or resources including transportation, gas, or food. Her mother started the organization to help support Emily's aunt. Service had always been important to her family, with her grandfather running the local baseball league and her mother overseeing the concession stand. Shortly after kindergarten, Emily recalled volunteering at the concession stand getting drinks for spectators and players.

Emily's intended major at UKC was pre-med after enjoying a sports medicine class in high school. However, she is exploring other options throughout the field of medicine and biology and thinking about the possibility of being a physician's assistant or an emergency

medical technician. She also noted interest in a community paramedic role that serves as an advocate for patients in a public health manner. In her free time at college, Emily serves as a leader on a service committee that plans and executes campus-wide projects. In the future, Emily sees herself being engaged in the community professionally and in her free time and stated, "I don't think I'll ever stop community service. I don't know. That's what I do."

4.1.2.2 Fred

Fred was not selected to be a fellow and is from a suburban town about 20 miles from UKC's campus. Fred described his hometown as being populated with residents that were older and upper middle class. He did not know many young people his age from his town, nor was he aware of many community organizations. Growing up he took advantage of activities in Keystone City. At his large, affluent public high school, Fred participated on the soccer team, the debate team, and a community service club until his academic load of Advanced Placement courses became overwhelming. Fred appeared to be a person of Asian heritage and a more upper-class background.

Fred hopes to become an entrepreneur following college to create some type of service that may help people. Fred performs community service by signing up through an online portal. Fred seeks out service opportunities that will not interfere with his academics, so he will typically serve on the weekends despite not, "like[ing] getting up really early in the morning on weekends."

Fred did not mention being influenced by anybody in order to serve. Fred indicated being more social in on-line networks affiliated with specific video games and indicated more instrumental motives for participation to support his résumé. For instance, Fred stated: "[service] gives me experience, but, once I use the experience I have to get the job that I want." In the

future, this ideal job will occupy much of his time and he envisions working on the weekends, preventing him from being civically engaged.

4.1.2.3 Daniel

Daniel is a fellow from a small, rural town. Daniel did not appear to be a person of color and came from a middle-class SES situation. While Daniel felt welcomed within the tight-knit community, he was reluctant to return after earning his degree because, "I can't get a job unless I want to do something – unless it's related to some type of industry or some type of mid-level business. I can't get a job, especially science. You can't get a science job. I think even most of our engineering jobs are gone."

Daniel attended a small, private Catholic school where he graduated among a class of 21 students. During Daniel's senior year, the school exhausted his budget and had to close until a sufficient fundraising effort could re-open the school. Despite the fiscal shortcomings, the school offered a variety of academically focused extracurricular activities and most athletic teams (excluding football). Additionally, the school required attendance at church services and 20 hours of community service. Initially, Daniel thought the mandatory community service "was the stupidest thing ever," when he was frustrated by performing activities like washing dishes for 3 hours. Eventually, Daniel saw the importance of the task and the impact that his actions could have on the larger issue at hand. Daniel's parents were also very active volunteers in the school and church community.

Daniel appears to be very uncertain of his future career path, although it may be aligned with medicine and the community. He is an active participant of the fly-fishing club and a group that "raises money for cancer." In the future, Daniel is unsure specifically how he will be

civically engaged but stated, "I feel like I definitely want to make an impact. I feel like it's just kind of engrained in me just from my upbringing."

4.1.2.4 Mona

Mona is a fellow that has moved between South Asia and the U.S. throughout her life but spent her high school years in a city in South Asia. Mona described her hometown as very relaxed but was wary that her perception may be altered by the demands of being in the college setting in the U.S. Mona noted that her community was very tight-knit and would come together to celebrate the various Hindu festivals throughout the year.

Mona attended an Army Public School despite not having a parent that was in the armed services. Secondary schooling in her country is not free, but this school was heavily subsidized for children of parents serving in the army. In addition, there were no student-led organizations. However, Mona volunteered in an "old age home" in her community.

Mona moved to a suburban town in the U.S. about a month prior to enrolling at UKC. When she arrived on campus she felt very isolated but committed to pursuing a degree in medicine. Mona feels more connected after volunteering for a public health organization committed to kidney disease and starting an organization that volunteers to read at a local school for blind children. Mona credits her passion for serving others because of the privilege she has from the support of her family. Mona stated, "Even if you're not related to someone, it's very important to be there, because not everyone is lucky." In the future, Mona plans to help others inside a doctor's office and outside in her community.

4.1.3   Societal engagers

The remaining study participants appeared to be more interested in larger societal issues. Societal engagers would participate in advocacy groups based on race or gender and sexual minority identities. These groups had missions to educate others about injustice and inequality present in society. Societal engagers are either currently engaged in more traditional forms of community service or have served in their past.

4.1.3.1 Abby

Abby is a fellow from an urban area about 250 miles away from the UKC campus. Abby described her neighborhood as a "suburb" within the city that was "very White" and "safe" compared to the rest of the city. Attending one of the public high schools in the city that was considered one of the "best in terms of how students were treated," Abby was active in a local Y chapter. However, Abby, not a person of color, felt isolated at her high school where about 95% of the student population was Black. Several social activism clubs and organizations developed in Abby's high school following the death of a 25 year-old's Black man's death resulting from a severe spinal cord injury while in police custody (Hermann, 2015). Although the victim was not an alum of Abby's school, there were almost nightly protests throughout her city in response.

Originally, Abby planned to become a teacher. However, many of her high achieving classmates were going on to be doctors and lawyers and she felt that becoming a teacher was "not enough." Abby questioned how she was going to impact the world by being a teacher. While Abby is sorting out her options at UKC she is active in a branch of a national feminist organization and she helped organize a student group committed to engaging students around racial issues on campus. Abby also appreciates a class that brings together UKC students with

incarcerated individuals at a prison located about an hour from campus. Abby has adjusted to the shift in demographics between high school and college where she is now in the majority.

Abby attributes her appreciation for social activism and advocacy to her successful peers in high school. In addition, the importance of voting was also stressed by Abby's parents that took her to vote as soon as she was eligible. In the future, Abby intends to be engaged in her community but worries that she will not have the energy to engage in her leisure time if her employment is focused on social advocacy.

4.1.3.2 Blanche

Blanche is a fellow from an urban city over 400 miles from the UKC campus. Blanche described her neighborhood as being large, but friendly. Throughout Blanche's time growing up, an Asian-American health center and a mosque had been developed. Blanche's parents were active in the school Parent-Teacher Association and there were many car dealerships nearby.

Blanche, who did not appear to be a person of color, attended one of five selective enrollment public high schools in the city where she was active leading a student group that supports gender and sexual minorities. This student group was one of a variety of organizations including those focused on community service, arts, and academics. Blanche recalled the gender and sexual minority group coordinating a city-wide prom for gender and sexual minority students that attended public schools and leading advocacy efforts to develop non-gender specific bathrooms in her school.

As an undergraduate, Blanche continues to serve in a leadership capacity for a UKC student run organization to support students that identify as gender and sexual minorities and their allies. However, Blanche is very uncertain of her post-graduation plans, but hopes it entails

"helping" people. Blanche stated, "I'm also perfectly happy working at a convenience store for four years after college."

Blanche's family helped to foster an interest in civic life and were very active politically. Blanche proudly mentioned that her grandmother's funeral was attended by a senator from her state after many years supporting the democratic party in her town. While unsure if she is going to be civically engaged within her profession or in her personal life, Blanche stated her goals as, "making people feel safer and more secure in the world that they live in. Even if it's a small thing, making someone else's life a little easier."

4.1.3.3 Grace

Grace was not selected as a fellow and hails from a unique suburban town. Located approximately an hour from the closest city is one of the wealthiest counties in the state that has a very successful economy focused on agriculture. The farming opportunities have attracted a large Latinx population. Immigration has generated engagement on both sides of the issue throughout the town. Grace did not appear to be a person of color and was from a middle-class SES situation.

Grace's public high school had a population that was a majority Latinx, and even offered a variety of classes taught in Spanish for those learning English as a second language. The students were very welcoming to this diversity and had an ambassador program where older students were mentors for incoming students. Grace was active in that organization and helped establish a student group for gender and sexual minorities that helped plan educational activities for the school community. A key figure in Grace's engagement was the school librarian who was active in feminist advocacy work.

Grace continued this engagement when enrolled at UKC and is trying to focus on a career in social justice or politics. Identifying as a queer woman with a disability, Grace wants to work professionally and in her leisure time to advocate for a more inclusive environment for gender and sexual minorities. Grace noted that her parents have not been accepting of her sexuality and she wants to foster a world where her brothers, one who enjoys painting his nails with his older sister, will "be able to grow up and be whatever they want to be."

4.1.3.4 Jerome

Jerome was not selected as a fellow and is from an urban area about 300 miles from the UKC campus. Jerome described his city favorably as "bike-able" and "photogenic." Jerome also noted that neighbors of different cultures got along well together in his neighborhood, united through a large church that offered a variety of masses for the different communities represented. Jerome and his family attended services for a South East Asian community that was consistent with his heritage. The public high school Jerome attended was selected by a national organization as the "most diverse" high school in the country. Jerome appeared to be from a middle-class SES situation.

Jerome's engagement snowballed very quickly after getting involved in a history knowledge competition in middle school. In addition to being on the chess team, tennis team, and student government, Jerome was active at the multicultural church, and participated in a delegation that was sent to a national conference about immigration. Jerome's enjoyment of history developed an interest in looking at history by, "bringing the past and the present and how stuff in the past and how stuff right now either, remained static or progressed or didn't progress."

Initially, Jerome was not accepted to the Engineering school at UKC but was offered a space in the School of Arts and Sciences. Currently, Jerome is pursuing a computer science

degree, established a colony of a social fraternity on campus, and is heavily involved in a variety of service and advocacy organizations. Jerome is the chair of the advocacy committee on the Asian Student Alliance and partners with student organizations to open racial dialogue on campus. Jerome is very passionate about advocacy work in the Asian American community and explained that he wonders, "where is [the Asians'] voice because we're known to be very passive, very… centered to ourselves and, we need to break away with that and, coexist with the other communities and work with them." Jerome noted that he frequently avoids sharing news of his extracurricular activities with his parents because they actively discourage him from spending time on anything that takes away time from his academic pursuits. In the future, Jerome intends to remain active in the community in his personal time.

4.1.3.5 Lauren

Lauren was not selected as a fellow and is from a suburban town. Lauren described her neighborhood with a myriad of contradictions. Lauren claimed that the neighborhood gave birth to the term WASP to refer to White Anglo-Saxon Protestants, despite having a "pretty big Jewish population." In addition, although Lauren described the town as being filled with affluent, White, liberals that there is large racial and socioeconomic diversity as well. Lauren's background appeared consistent with this description. Lauren lived in the section of her neighborhood that is adjacent to the border of the city and described her high school as being socially segregated. Outside of academics, Lauren participated in theater-related activities.

Lauren's initial goals after earning a bachelor's degree were to become a psychologist. After being exposed to anthropology and public health, Lauren is exploring new career options. This new path could stem from Lauren's recent recognition of her own privilege following the 2014 death of Mike Brown, a young unarmed Black man in a suburb of St. Louis, Missouri by a

White police officer (Bonilla & Rosa, 2015). It was interesting that both Lauren and Abby were interested in similar incidents that happened in different cities. However, Lauren became interested by a case that happened far from her hometown, and in a high school setting that was socially segregated. Lauren stated, "I don't experience these things as a White person. It is my responsibility to like learn about these experiences, so that I can try to figure out how to best listen and help people in these areas." This sentiment has been complemented by a greater appreciation for her faith as a Quaker.

This awakening has led Lauren to pursue a variety of advocacy related activities while enrolled at UKC. Off campus, Lauren supports the marketing efforts of a non-profit organization that supports people of color and identify as transgendered. On campus, Lauren is active with a women's organization, the campus chapter of an anti-sweatshop group, a Black student's advocacy group, and a gender and sexual minorities' organization. Lauren claimed to be "a little bit over classes" at this point in her college career and finds the learning from her engagement as being more rewarding. In the future, Lauren is determined to find a job that will compensate her for being civically engaged, or she will find out how to integrate engagement into her career path.

4.1.4   Conclusion

The three groups of students all appeared interested in engaging with others. The styles in which they become involved in their communities can be a useful method of comparison when exploring their journeys to engagement. In the following chapters, data is presented to understand the initiating factors for a select group of undergraduate students to apply for this

academically-based civic engagement fellowship program, and the perceived expectations these students had for the fellowship.

5.0   INITIATING FACTORS OF CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

The following chapter presents data and conclusions to address the research question: What were

the initiating factors for a select group of undergraduate students to apply for an academically-

based civic engagement fellowship program? At the individual level, participants reported social

influence and values that initiated civic engagement. Aside from the stipend, only a few

participants reported instrumental motives as being a pivotal factor for initiating the application

to the Greene Fellowship (GF). Most participants described an array of civic related community

programs available in their hometowns, high schools, and at the University of Keystone City

(UKC). Participation in these programs was overwhelmingly positive, and evidence points to the

fact that UKC has created an environment that is supportive to civic engagement, including

offering the GF. These factors complemented one another, further contributing to the initiating

factors that led participants to apply to a selective, academic-based civic engagement fellowship

program. These findings are consistent with Pancer's (2014) theory of civic engagement. The

following sections in this chapter will present evidence supporting these findings.

5.1   SOCIAL INFLUENCE

Family members, peers, and community members form the web of social influences that exhibit

behaviors, transfer values and norms, and promote or repress certain activities (Pancer, 2014).

Participants described a variety of role models in response to the question: Has anybody encouraged you, or acted as a role model to inspire you in your behaviors with respect to community service, voting behaviors, or political engagement? In addition, in responding to other questions, participants referenced social influencers. These influences came from family members, friends, peers, neighbors, teachers, and coaches. A few participants also could be identified as social influencers themselves, encouraging others to be civically engaged. This section will describe the social influence of the individual, community, and then the societal engagers.

5.1.1   Individual engagers

Candice, Karen, and Harry found it easy to describe the influencers in their lives who inspired their civic engagement. Candice and Karen reported their values for engaging with others as being very much influenced by their parents. Harry indicated that it has been very rewarding to interact with the neighbors near his off-campus housing. In addition to discussing the influences of values for civic engagement, a description is provided of how the participants learned about the GF.

Candice attributed her recognition of privilege to appreciating her parents' support. While growing up in a Caribbean nation, Candice described how her parents grew up in financial hardship. Candice's father raised chickens to help support his family, and eventually emigrated to the U.S. In high school, Candice could always depend on her mother for assistance on homework in social studies and English while her dad was the expert in science and math. Candice described wanting to pay that support forward when she was recruited to mentor younger students. The students were enrolled in her town's middle school and were learning

English as a second language. Candice had sympathy for them, because she recognized how challenging that would be to approach their parents for help with their homework. Candice stated, "it's not their fault that their parents don't speak English or speak poor English. The fact that they can't get the help that they needed, and this after-school program was the only type of help they could have gotten, because no one else was there for them."

Karen's mother more directly modeled the way as far as civic engagement is concerned. Joining the Jack and Jill of America organization with her mother, Karen recalled performing community service on Martin Luther King, Jr. Day. Similar to Candice, Karen referenced that her mother faced economic hardships while growing up, which contributed to her "passion" for community engagement.

Harry's social influences were slightly different than Candice and Karen and unique compared to the other participants. Harry, who is not a person of color, was one of two participants to reference peers and friends as influences, and the only one to reference neighbors. Harry enjoyed debating and discussing issues with friends surrounding the 2016 presidential election. Furthermore, his interactions with the neighbors on his block where he lives off campus has sparked an interest to learn more about the fabric of Keystone City. Harry stated, "the vast majority of people that I interact with on a daily basis are those that come from backgrounds that are likely more similar to mine than dissimilar to mine." Harry is implying that his perception of the UKC community of students and faculty is disparate to the surrounding Keystone City. By learning from these neighbors that he perceives as being different from him, he feels that he will get more "plugged in" to the community surrounding UKC, and that this will help him to "broaden his horizons."

82

This was one of the reasons Harry decided to apply for the fellowship, after finding it while looking for opportunities on the UKC website. Karen also found the program via searching for opportunities related to the social work major. However, Candice learned about the GF by attending the 2017 cohort campus presentation and enjoyed speaking with the fellows. Learning about the program in this fashion initiated her application.

These findings are aligned with Pancer's (2014) theory of civic engagement. Karen's mother modeled and asked her to participate in civic engagement, Candice received the values and norms of supporting others via her parents, and Harry's frequent conversations with peers and neighbors reinforce learning and passion for civic engagement. In addition, learning about the program first hand from fellows inspired Karen to apply to the program.

5.1.2   Community engagers

Daniel, Mona, and Emily were very similar to Candice and Karen with respect to their social influences. These three were primarily influenced by their parents, advisors, or coaches. Mona and Emily could also be described as influencers for others to be civically engaged. Fred was very much an outlier and claimed to not be influenced socially by others.

Daniel and Emily both had parents that were highly involved in the community and both asked them to participate, modeled volunteerism, supported their efforts to serve their community, and transmitted the values of service. When asked to describe a good citizen, Dan described his parents:

I would say both my parents do a lot of community service, like so much so where

you have to tell them, "It's okay to say no sometimes," because they always do a

bunch of stuff, like the church and then just the schools, and even the sports

teams.

In order to satisfy his high school's community service requirements, Daniel would frequently serve with his parents within his community. Daniel's parents and his school imparted a value for serving the less fortunate on him.

Emily also had a family that was often engaged in their rural town's community, especially in philanthropic efforts. Emily's mother had started an organization to raise funds to support patients living with cancer after supporting her aunt's battle with the disease. Emily described her activity with the organization, "I used to go to meetings and I helped at every event that I could. Sometimes, I'd have fund raisers at bars, so I couldn't go, but yeah, I would say I was pretty active with it." While at UKC, Emily is an active leader on a committee that plans university-wide service events. Emily frequently acts as a social influencer, "I invite [my friends] often – sometimes coerce them into coming for my projects – 'cause you want to get as many volunteers as possible." It is clear to see the transmission of values for service from Emily's family to her friends at UKC. Through her leadership role, it is evident that she has developed a value of the importance of service.

Mona had a similar story to Candice regarding social influence. Mona also recognized the privilege she had in the support from her parents especially through the emigration of their home countries to the U.S. Mona's appreciation of her parents assistance translated to wanting to help those without such a network. Although initially Mona indicated that her value to serve was just natural, I followed up later in the interview and she stated:

My parents have always been a constant support of my back, and they've never let

me think about the college tuition or what loans we have to pay. Of course I have

them in the back of my mind, but they never have just left me alone with all that

burden, and they've always been there for me. In the same way, I feel like just

growing up with that helped me realize that it is important to be there for

someone. Well, in this case, I'm their daughter so they definitely would be there

for me, but in other cases, as well. Even if you're not related to someone, it's very

important to be there, because not everyone is lucky.

Like Emily, Mona acts as a social influencer and invites her friends to join her to read to the children enrolled at a local school for the blind. Like Daniel, these values are re-enforced by her family's engagement with her Hindu faith.

Fred was an interesting case as evidenced when he stated, "I think I just kind of decided that I wanted to [be civically engaged]." Throughout the interview Fred made reference to instrumental motives and external rewards for example upon receiving an e-mail from his advisor about the fellowship he felt that it sounded like a good opportunity, "I would get a stipend and credits, and I could help out and do a project that I think would be beneficial for others, which is good for my résumé." Responses like that combined with the fact that he was also the only participant that had no aspirations to be engaged in the future, caused me not to push the topic with follow up questions.

It appeared that Fred was not a very social individual and did not mention friends or peers regarding his high school or undergraduate experience. It seemed that a more enjoyable hobby for Fred was his network gaming experiences. The conversations Fred engages in with other players is more based on these virtual worlds. For instance Fred stated he, "talk[s] to people on

how to improve [his gameplay]… just get some information out of people and maybe help them in return."

The social influence of Daniel and Mona's advisors also played an influential role in learning about the fellowship. Daniel stated, "My advisor knows [the program coordinator] really well, like really well, so she was like, 'I think you should do that. I think you would like that,' because she knew that I had no idea what I wanted to do." It is evident that Daniel was a highly engaged in the relationship with his advisor that she knew about his uncertainty about his future. Similarly, Mona seemed to have a strong relationship with a research advisor on a project within the UKC School of Nursing. Mona stated, "I heard about it from a professor who I do research under. He sent me the link of it." In the busy setting of higher education, faculty and staff will go out of their way for students that go out of the way for them, no different than most any other professional mentor relationships with mentees.

While Fred's advisor e-mailed him, it seemed like it was just a forward of the fellowship description that advisors would pass along to all their advisees without much thought. There was no reference to an additional conversation – or sense that this advisor had a meaningful advisor relationship with Fred. Overall, it seems that Fred does not place a high value on social relationships, so it makes sense that his application was not influenced by his social network.

5.1.3 Societal engagers

Similar to the individual and community engagers, societal engagers largely cited influences of family members, peers, faculty, and staff to be involved civically in the past and to serve as a catalyst for applying for the fellowship. For Grace and Jerome, their parents could be described as inhibitors and they became involved despite their parents' low level of support of their civic

86

engagement. Blanche and Lauren were influenced more positively by their families with respect to civic engagement. Although Abby developed her values for voting engagement from her parents, her proclivity for social advocacy was derived from peers.

Abby recognizes the privilege afforded via her parents' ability to pay for SAT tutoring and daily transportation to and from high school. Abby's parents also were very encouraging of her voting and as soon as she was eligible to vote, they encouraged her to join them at the polls. Abby mentioned, "voting was just such a big part of life." However, Abby's interest in social advocacy was modeled after the successful efforts of her peers starting "grassroots organizations." These peers demonstrated to Abby, "what successful events or successful protests look like." Although Abby, not a person of color, was reluctant to engage in social advocacy in high school because she stated, "I now recognize I didn't want to use a space that was created by minorities for minorities." This lack of self-confidence will be explored later in a discussion regarding a supportive environment for civic engagement.

Blanche, who attended a public high school in an urban area, had an influence similar to Karen, Emily, Daniel, and Candice from her parents and grandmother. Blanche's grandmother was very politically active in her town, and Blanche was very proud that a senator from her home state attended her funeral. Blanche's parents modeled civic engagement by volunteering at local elections, her schools' Parent Teacher Association, and her mother would read to her class when she was younger.

Lauren's family played more of an indirect role in influencing her civic engagement. Her family was active in the Quaker faith which fostered values for community. When asked who served as a role model for her interest in civic engagement, Lauren stated,

Quakerism is a religion that's I think based in community and social equality, so
that was probably the thing that really started my idea of social responsibility,
because it's like a religion without biblical stuff. It's just the community part of
religion.

Her faith was amplified by attending and working at a Quaker Camp in Maryland. As a part of the camp experience, there were service trips including some to nearby community farms that hired people with "mental or developmental disabilities." Lauren's father also attended this camp when he was young. Therefore, it is easy to infer that Lauren's father played an influential role in fostering and providing Quaker values and experiences.

Grace and Jerome had different parental influences on civic engagement than Abby, Blanche, and Lauren. Grace presented evidence that her father from "Nowhere, West Virginia" was interested in politics and would ask to read her political science textbooks. Grace said of her father,

My dad is very involved in politics, so I would say he's a good citizen. He listens
to NPR on the way home from work. He watches Fox News. And when we do talk
about politics, we try to stay away from issues, but just kind of talking about how
the system works.

The avoidance of issues stems from the fact that Grace stated, "90 percent of kids have the same political leaning as their parents. And I guess I'm the outlier there, because my parents are very conservative, and I am not at all." Grace explained how she tried to disclose her sexuality to her father, "I tried to come out to my dad, and he just stopped me." However, this close-mindedness has inspired her to educate and advocate for gender and sexual minorities, "I can make a change if I give more people education, if I change the way the government acts and teaches people.

And I can change how other kids grow up." Specifically, Grace referenced her little brother who enjoyed painting his nails with her. Grace stated:

> *And I want him to be able to grow up and be like, 'Hey, it's okay to paint my*
>
> *nails.' And I want [my brothers] to be able to grow up and be whatever they want*
>
> *to be. I don't want [my brothers] to have to feel the way my parents make me feel.*

The situation has confirmed the importance Grace has placed on advocating for gender and sexual minorities. It is evident that Grace hopes others will not feel ashamed of their personal identity, like she has felt in the past.

Jerome has parents that do not appear to be engaged civically, and do not see the value in "doing unnecessary stuff that does not concern your education or your future career." However, Jerome and his family did attend the South East Asian services at his neighborhood Church. In a sense, Jerome's parents were a bit less isolating than Fred's parents. Jerome, similar to Lauren, attributed his civic engagement to an institution rather than an individual. Jerome stated, "I look at, different schools as models and see how we as UKC can adopt these cool features for students to use." It is unclear where Jerome obtained his value for his identity as a South East Asian American. When asked if there was an example he could use to describe a "good citizen" he referenced Grace Lee Boggs and Martin Luther King, Jr. I was unfamiliar with Boggs, until hearing Jerome describe her as a, "civil rights era, Asian-American activist." From the brief research I conducted regarding Boggs, I would infer that his value of history and Asian identity fostered Jerome's viewing of Boggs as a "good citizen." Ultimately, Jerome has developed a passion for advocacy despite a lack of support for these endeavors from his parents.

The societal engagers also learned of the fellowship opportunity from peers, faculty members, and staff. Abby worked with two different fellowship alumni in a variety of her

campus endeavors. Abby "roped" one of these alumni "into being her mentor" while working together on a different community engagement project. Blanche's family influence also played a role in her learning about the fellowship. A family friend is a professor in the UKC School of Social Work and shared the opportunity with Blanche. Jerome and Grace also learned about the fellowship through their participation in other campus activities. The student and faculty leaders of these organizations passed on the e-mail recruitment notification.

Again, the social influence of the societal engagers lends support to Pancer's (2014) theory of civic engagement. While Grace and Jerome appear to be outliers, their parents did provide some type of support to develop an interest in politics, or a value in self-identity (respectively). If they were interviewed for a different study, it would be beneficial for research to focus questions on why they rebelled against their parents' wishes. The social influences of individual, community, and societal engagers, had the most noticeable effect on the development or reinforcement of specific values related to civic engagement. This will be discussed in the following section.

5.2   VALUES

Three themes emerged when analyzing the values of the participants. First, the value of reciprocity and social responsibility was noticeable among the participants. Next, many of the participants referenced a value for engaging with others. This ranged from an appreciation or desire to learn from others, to helping others with similar needs. In addition, those that recognized their own privilege indicated a desire to help those less fortunate than them.

90

Ultimately, this led all but one participant to value civic engagement enough to indicate they would be engaged in the future.

5.2.1   Value of reciprocity and social responsibility

According to Pancer (2014), the norm of social responsibility can be defined as the sense that "we should help those who are in need and who are dependent on us" (p. 12). In simpler terms, reciprocity refers to the golden rule of treating others how you would like to be treated. Putnam (2000) refers to this in discussing the concept of social trust. In a sense, a neighbor will trust that a favor will be returned in the future. This value was expressed numerous times when participants were asked to define the concept of a good citizen, if people should be responsible for one another in society, and why they applied for the fellowship.

5.2.1.1 Individual engagers

Candice, Karen, and Harry all conveyed the virtues of having responsibility for others in the community. It is likely that this sense of responsibility was generated from the social influences described in the earlier sections. Candice and Karen value the privilege of having supportive parents, while Harry recognizes the interconnectedness of community members.

> Karen recognized the role privilege plays when she stated:
>
> *There are a lot of things that can happen in someone's life, or situations or environments that they can be born into that they don't have any control over. You don't have control over what family you were born into.*

Having grown up in a household that used food stamps, Karen felt disrespected and ignored by the residents of her hometown and her high school classmates. It makes sense that Karen wants

her mentees who are also people of color to feel visible as a result of her understanding of the privilege she had of supportive parents in the face of financial hardship.

Meanwhile, it was evident that Harry's value for social responsibility comes from his belief that all of society is inter-connected. Harry stated:

> *I definitely subscribe to the school of thought that we are all in this thing together – in this life together. I think that the value we derive from our own lives is based solely on our interactions with other people. And the vast majority of positive experiences that you have in the world typically involve others. And to that end you should care for the others and care for those around you in order to kind of gain those positives you see in the world.*

Harry went on to discuss his off-campus living situation. Harry noted how it was helpful and appreciated to have his roommates looking out for one another, from purchasing groceries to leaving rooms available for studying or socializing when necessary.

Candice pointed out that this sense of responsibility should be a baseline norm. However, "exceptional" communities would have members going above and beyond for one another. Candice stated:

> *I don't think everyone is required to do that, but I think it would make a better community for everyone if people did, if that makes sense. To me, the functional community, I'm trying to explain the difference between functional and then exceptional, or functional and good, like people don't necessarily need to do things to be good, you just need to do things to be functional.*

Candice might agree that if this sentiment occurred in her hometown, she would have been less isolated as a Caribbean emigrating to the U.S.

5.2.1.2 Community engagers

Community engagers also clearly held a value of responsibility for others by noting the satisfaction they generated from community service. Daniel and Mona specifically appreciated their parents and other peers assistance in certain avenues in their lives. As a result, they felt inspired to make others feel similarly supported.

For example, Daniel noted that it would be helpful if society helped one another to avoid an authority like a government agency from interfering. Daniel stated:

> *I feel like people should be responsible for other people, just like in the fact that if*
>
> *they need help, you should help them. Even just – I don't know. I feel like just in*
>
> *general, just keeping people in check so a bigger authority doesn't have to. I feel*
>
> *like there are a lot of problems that could be solved before it gets to some type of*
>
> *governmental – even disputes, like when people sue each other for really small*
>
> *things, I feel like if people were able to help them settle their problems before they*
>
> *had to start getting into bigger things, I feel like that would be useful.*

Daniel noted that his school was so well-known for its service that he joked that if organizations needed help of any kind, the school was the first place they would turn to for volunteers. Daniel also noted his appreciation for this value by describing the informal mentoring that occurred on his school basketball team. Daniel noted:

> *… feeling appreciated by the older students, and then trying to pass that on when*
>
> *I was older, just making everybody feel like part of it. I feel like that was really*
>
> *important when I was younger. You didn't feel iced out or anything.*

It is evident Daniel appreciated being treated well and repaid that sentiment forward.

Mona also noted an appreciation for the feeling she got when demonstrating social responsibility. Mona stated how she had, "just a passion about caring for people, and just seeing the smile on their face and being able to do something for them." It makes sense that Daniel and Mona would sustain their civic engagement since they both receive such enjoyment from serving others. Furthermore, it appears consistent with Pancer's (2014) theory of civic engagement that young people internalize these successes and it manifests itself as a norm for operating in society. In short, Mona asked, "why wouldn't someone want to be interested in their community?" The manner in which she asked this leads me to believe Mona cannot fathom anybody not wanting to serve their community as she does.

5.2.1.3 Societal engagers

Societal engagers echoed the sentiments demonstrating the virtues of responsibility for the community. Jerome and Lauren expressed how this should not just be a sense of responsibility, but almost a habit. More so than the individual and community engagers, the societal engagers strive to demonstrate this responsibility on a more macro, level by advocating for communities across the country, rather than just focusing on one specific local community.

Jerome described how he felt one should be habitually caring for others when he said, "It shouldn't be a responsibility, it should just be something you just do out of I guess your own good." Jerome's elevated level of engagement represents this sentiment. Jerome specifically rebels against his parents' wishes by advocating for more social equity for his fellow Asian-Americans.

Lauren related a sentiment of privilege to her Quaker faith. A staple value inherent in the religion is that, "we believe that God is in every person, so that responsibility of other people

94

kind of comes from there." In a sense, if a supreme being is inside of every human, each individual has worth. Therefore, Lauren argued:

> *I think that if you're a person who has access to places in society, such as certain healthcare, education and those kind of things – so, if you have access based on whatever your life has given you, whether it's already like privilege through your social identities, or if you've just reached a level of access through working hard; I do think that there's a responsibility to then give back to the people who don't have those options, or just have not reached that level of accessibility. And I just think that there's a responsibility there, because, you were given these things – some things you were given, or some things even that you worked for; I think other people who don't have those things still deserve to have those opportunities.*

This thinking adds to the so-called Golden Rule to imply that one should treat others not just how you would like to be treated, but how you would treat a supreme deity, or how you would want such a supreme being to treat you. Therefore, it should be a daily habit. Lauren also exemplifies this through her advocacy work for women and people that identify as transgendered. While several participants demonstrated a value for having responsibility for others, other participants indicated having a more dominant value and desire to engage with others. This sentiment is discussed in the following section.

5.2.2   Value for engaging with others

Blanche encapsulated this value in the simplest way possible by stating: "I like working with people." This sentiment was referenced throughout data collection responding to questions including why participants applied to fellowship, if they saw themselves as being civically

engaged in the future, about their post graduate career plans, and their concept of citizenship. Participants stated a desire to learn from others, or from the entire community.

Harry, an individual engager, described his value of engagement when describing his concept of citizenship. Harry described a model citizen as, "being engaged with your community more so than just kind of being in it…. So it's like that active form of being – not just a passive form of being." It is likely that Harry was having more in-depth conversations with neighbors, in order to develop a connection that would justify an invitation to a family barbecue. With regards to the fellowship, Harry was attracted to apply because of the opportunity to "engage in a neighborhood that I have only been a visitor to or have not been to at all."

Lauren, a societal engager, and Mona, a community engager, both referenced a value for the positive results that can occur from engaging with the community. Lauren related the desire to engage with others to a virtue of anthropology, "it's not even really about helping people… it's about understanding them, so we can help them." Mona was looking forward to the fellowship experience in order build skills to understand community members to add to her doctor's toolkit in the future. Mona stated:

I see overlapping values with knowing your community and getting into medicine, because part of being a doctor is being able to understand your patient. I feel like the understanding of people comes from – when you understand a community, you understand different types of people. When you do that, I feel like you'll be better able to help your patient, understand where they're coming from. You'll be able to put yourself in their shoes.

Mona also highlighted the other positive outcomes of this engagement. First, it is helpful to the patient since, "being able to be there for someone when nobody else can" improves the health

and well-being of the patient. Furthermore, Mona gains more satisfaction when she is able to see the impact of her work. For instance, Mona compared some of her hospital volunteering efforts. One position that was a negative experience was spent stocking latex gloves in hospital rooms. However, her experiences were far more positive when she was interacting directly with patients.

Grace, a societal engager, had an idea that was similar to Mona's sentiments. Grace stated, "I identify as queer, I'm a woman, I identify as a person with a disability, so, kind of selfishly, doing all these things will also help me." This statement was in response to asking her to describe some of her activities she was performing as a part of her work with her residence hall's student government. Although Grace's statement may appear more selfish than altruistic, if she does not engage and educate others about the issues that are important to her, who can she rely on to advocate on her behalf?

Social theory goes into great depth regarding the values one has for its fellow community members. However, some research does indicate that the overall societal value for either individualistic or collectivist philosophies plays a major role in decisions to volunteer. Findings indicate that citizens were more inclined to volunteer if they hail from societies that are supportive of collectivist ideals (Parboteeah, Cullen, & Lim, 2004). Although it is difficult to label the entire U.S. as supportive of collectivism, there is evidence that this study's participants identify with the sentiment that we are inter-connected, and they wish to be further engaged with their surrounding community.

5.3   INSTRUMENTAL MOTIVES

When participants expect direct tangible benefits from an activity they are motivated by instrumental purposes (Pancer, 2014). In the case of the study participants, these motives varied from strengthening their résumé, building skills related to working in the community, exploring career options, and the stipend. In this section, the motive of résumé strengthening will be highlighted along with the stipend. Building skills related to working in the community was discussed earlier as a value. This sentiment was analyzed more as a value than an instrumental motive, because although participants would indeed procure a direct benefit if they participated in the fellowship, it appears to be a more altruistic initiating factor for civic engagement than an instrumental motive. Exploring career options will be discussed in relation to study participants' perceived expectations of the fellowship. One participant, Fred, appeared to have only been motivated to apply for instrumental reasons. A brief analysis of Fred's motivation will be presented in this section, as well.

5.3.1   Résumé strengthening

Many of the participants mentioned that they applied to the fellowship in order to strengthen their résumé. This rationale was emphasized more by those not selected for the fellowship than those that were not. Participants that were selected to be in the program were more dismissive of this as an initiating factor, but acknowledged it as a benefit that was appreciated.

For example, Daniel a community engager selected for the fellowship stated, "I think [participation in the fellowship] kind of not only makes me unique, like in an on-paper sort of thing." The "on-paper sort of thing" was interpreted to mean a résumé. Daniel went on to explain

98

his interest in engaging with and helping others in the community in a bit more detail, seeming to imply that those reasons were more salient to him.

On the other hand, Grace and Emily, not selected to be fellows, were a bit more vocal about how the fellowship would help them look good in the future. Emily, a community engager, said, "I think it'd be a really good experience – especially being pre-med, kind of. It would look good, basically." Emily emphasized how the fellowship could have added to a medical school application when she stated, "That would have been helpful, as well as the connections I would have made for when it's time to apply to [medical] school." These statements acknowledge perception that medical schools prefer applicants with demonstrated experience in civic engagement. Grace, a societal engager, said "I mean, to put it out on the table, any program would look good on – It would be good experience. It would help me get to where I wanna go. It would be – help me as a stepping stone." The phrasing Grace uses – "to put it out on the table" indicates almost being ashamed of this motivation. However, there was evidence pointing to the fact that Grace and Emily had been civically engaged in the past, and will continue that engagement in the future, because of a variety of reasons. While Grace and Emily were both motivated to apply for the fellowship in order strengthen their résumés, they also indicated other initiating factors.

5.3.2   Stipend

Fellows are provided a $3,000 stipend for successful program participation. Half of study participants referenced an inability to be fellows without the stipend. Most of these participants referred to housing costs in order to live in Keystone City for the summer.

Daniel, Mona, Harry, Lauren, Grace, and Harry specifically indicated they would not have been able to participate without the stipend. Grace added, "I probably wouldn't have applied without [the stipend]." It was also noted that the stipend was "healthy" according to Harry, "the most attractive thing outside of the experience," according to Emily, and more money than Daniel made from employment during the past two summers. Karen, whose family sometimes asks her for financial assistance, also noted that it would be the first experience that she could potentially save money.

Mona, a community engager, mentioned that it would cover about 75% of her housing costs for the summer, which she did not wish to burden her parents with. Candice would have needed to obtain a part-time job to cover her housing costs. Karen was going to continue to work a part-time job in order to cover the extra burden of living expenses over the summer. Emily, who was not selected as a fellow, was looking forward to the stipend to pay for housing to remain in Keystone City and avoid returning to her small rural hometown for the summer.

5.3.3 Academic credit

GF participants receive one academic credit for completion of the spring semester seminar to prepare fellows for the summer action projects. It was anticipated that this credit would be considered an instrumental motive. However, study participants said the academic credit was not a notable incentive to apply or participate in the program. Candice, an individual engager, thought the course would be a nice "break" from her load of business school classes. Karen indicated that the academic credit was "irritating" since she had to deal with bureaucracy at UKC to take more than 18 credits in the semester.

5.3.4   Instrumental motives of Fred

Fred was definitely an outlier regarding his motivation to apply to the program. Some extra discussion is justified to help describe an individual who lacks significant social influence or values for civic engagement. Instrumental motives appear to be the primary catalyst for Fred's fellowship application.

In response to what factors led to his application, Fred stated:

I got an e-mail from my adviser and it seemed interesting, because it was like – the first highlight was a $5000 [sic] stipend. So, I was like, "That's a lot." And then – so I was reading more and I was like, "So, you can volunteer in the community, create – so you get some credits for it." And I was thinking like, "That sounds like a good opportunity. I would get a stipend and credits, and I could help out and do a project that I think would be beneficial for others, which is good for my résumé." So, that's my reasoning behind applying for it. For those reasons.

It is clear from Fred's response that the stipend was a lucrative opportunity, he could receive an academic credit, and the experience would improve his résumé to get a more lucrative job in the future.

Asked why he got involved in community service in the first place in high school, Fred responded, "I was interested in Key Club. I was like, 'If I do some volunteering, it'll probably look good on my résumé, application.'" In addition, he responded that he did not have a specific role model to inspire his community service. Fred stated, "I think I just kind of decided that I wanted to." From other aspects of Fred's interview, it seems that he places a high value on

101

academics, grades, and a career. For instance, Fred referenced how he did not continue with the Key Club in high school because he needed to focus on his Advanced Placement classes.

In analyzing Fred as a case, relationships emerged across the initiating factors of social influences, values, and instrumental motives of Pancer's (2014) theory. It appears that social influences and values may have a reciprocal relationship. Participants indicated more of a willingness to engage socially with those that shared their values. Consider Grace, who's conservative father did not make her feel welcomed because of her sexuality. By participating in organizations supportive of gender and sexual minorities she felt more valued and self-worth from those interactions. Karen, a person of color in a predominantly White atmosphere in both high school and college, indicated feeling more comfortable in college because she could express herself more. Karen said, "it's easier for me to talk about certain things, and to like flesh out ideas, and hear other points of view that I wasn't really able to discuss before." When Karen was attending her Baptist high school, she felt forbidden to talk about specific issues where she disagreed with Church doctrine. As participants' values that were initially fostered by social influence were refined, participants tended to edit their social sphere by their type of engagement. For example, Lauren, Jerome, and Grace joined social advocacy organizations that supported groups and values they shared. By being so isolated socially, Fred appeared to be solely motivated by the perception that his civic engagement would be valued by future employers.

Overall, more altruistic factors, like a value for social responsibility, or instrumental motives like the stipend, can be mapped on the previous level of civic engagement to provide a visual comparison of initiating factors to apply for a specific academically based civic engagement experience. Jerome, Daniel, Lauren, and Mona appeared to have the most prior civic

engagement experiences. Through these social interactions, they have developed a bit stronger value for a responsibility for others. Consequently, they were noticeably less influenced to apply for the GF simply because of the stipend or to strengthen their résumé, like Fred was (see Figure 2).

High

Previous civic
engagement

Fred

                                              Jerome
                                              Mona
                        Lauren Daniel

                    Grace   Candice
              Emily   Blanche
                        Karen

                        Abby

Low   Harry

Instrumental   Altruistic

Motive for Engagement
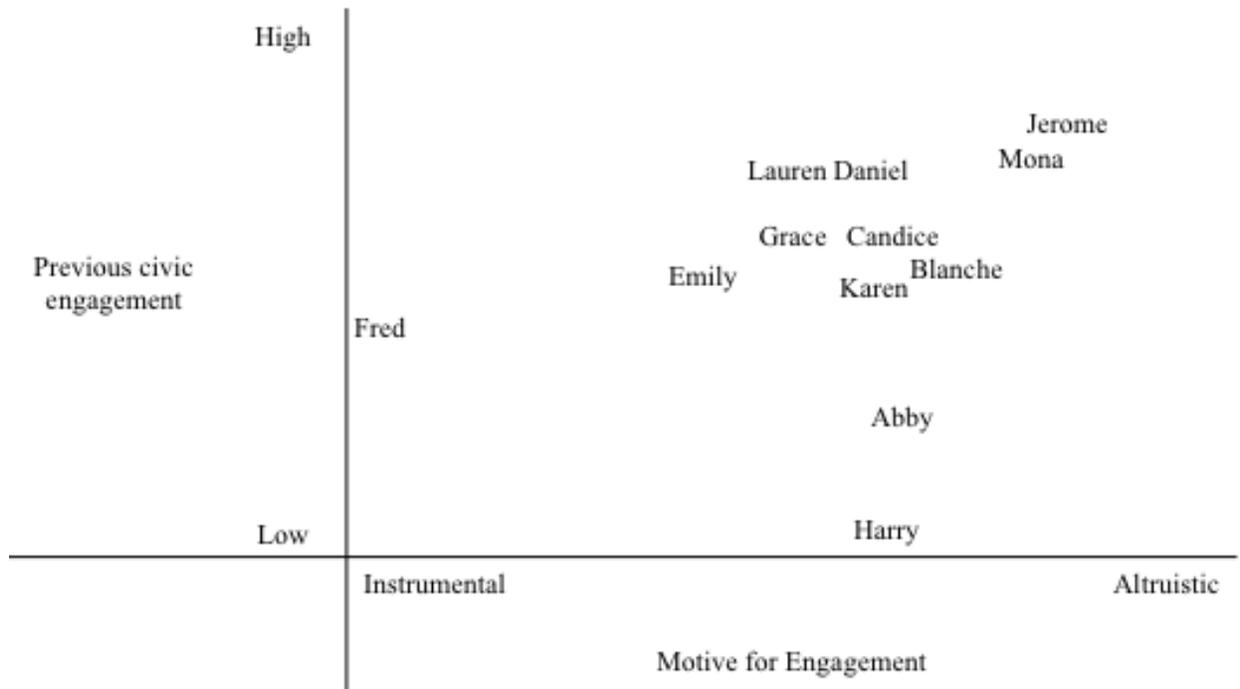
Figure 2: Participant map of initiating factors versus previous civic engagement

5.4   AVAILABILITY & INVOLVEMENT OF COMMUNITY PROGRAMS

The availability of community programs is a systemic initiating factor according to Pancer's (2014) theory of civic engagement. Considering research that supports that younger adults are more likely to replicate civic engagement activities in the future following a first, successful experience (Eyler & Giles Jr., 1999; Pancer, 2014), outlets to engage in one's community are

vital. Participants described a variety of opportunities that were available to them in their hometowns, in their high schools, at UKC, and in the greater Keystone City community.

Logically, participants were more aware of these community programs if they took part in them. Similarly, participants that were less involved were less aware of specific types of programs available to them. For example, Fred, a community engager from a suburb 20 miles from Keystone City did not participate in any community-based programs and did not think any existed.

Across the different hometowns, there were a variety of civic engagement opportunities regardless of urban, suburban, or rural settings. For instance, Emily and Daniel, both from rural towns were able to describe roughly the same number of community programs as Abby and Blanche from urban areas.

Of the 11 study participants who attended high school in the U.S., only 2 attended faith-based institutions. Even the smallest of the schools were represented as having a variety of student organizations. This makes sense for a variety of reasons. Most of the schools were portrayed as "upper middle-class." The two urban high schools were characterized as either having "selective enrollment" or being "one of the best in terms of resources" compared with other schools in their districts. Participating in high school clubs is common for college students. In a 2015 survey of college freshman, 74.8% spent at least some time each week engaging in a student club or group (Eagan et al., 2016). In short, these were college-bound students that were attending high schools that offered a culture that valued college attendance.

While enrolled at UKC, the participants indicated participation in a wide variety of activities. Of the individual engagers, Candice and Karen were active in retention programs for students of color and a Black student organization, while Harry served as a tour guide. Of the

community engagers, Fred was active in community service, Dan enjoyed the fly-fishing club, Mona started her own club to mentor blind children at a local school, and Emily attended a sign-language club somewhat regularly. The societal engagers were in a myriad of groups that support women, gender and sexual minorities, and people of color. Some were also involved in student government broadly, or more specifically to their residence halls.

The benefits of being involved in extracurricular activities in high school and college are numerous, but there is evidence of an increase in social interaction (Snellman, Silva, Frederick, & Putnam, 2015). This contact likely develops the social influence needed to develop and support value structures. Based on the types of groups that they participate in; service and advocacy are an underlying theme. Therefore, it is consistent with Pancer's (2014) theory that this involvement (and the available opportunities) has contributed as a factor in the participants' decision to apply to the fellowship.

5.5   SUPPORTIVE ENVIRONMENT

According to Pancer's (2014) theory of civic engagement, an environment will contribute to the continuation of civic engagement if it offers a hospitable environment and the participants feel supported in their civic endeavors. Often, time and effort are the chief obstacles to sustained civic engagement (Pancer, 2014). While analyzing data collected from GF applicants, key themes emerged that point to evidence that the fellowship is conducted in a supportive environment. These themes include recruitment methods, fellowship incentives, and supportive structures in place at UKC. Other evidence that demonstrates a supportive environment to enable

fellows to overcome obstacles to participate including career uncertainty, low perceived social self-efficacy, and constraints on time as a resource.

5.5.1 Fellowship application catalysts

A variety of catalysts contributed to the study participants' decision to apply to the GF. These included the publicity outreach pathways to reach a network of faculty and staff, and the opportunities that fostered effective relationships with students. Furthermore, the UKC is supportive of academically-based community service efforts.

Research participants learned about the fellowship in multiple ways. Five participants had some form of communication with an advisor or faculty member promoting this experience. Three fellows grew informed about the program from friends or peers. Another two fellows uncovered the opportunity when searching specific sections of the UKC website.

Communications between research participants, faculty, and staff reveal that the program coordinator has established a strong network among key stakeholders throughout the university including within the Honors College, Student Affairs, Parent Engagement Office, and diversity programs committed to the recruitment, retention, and graduation of historically underrepresented students in the School of Engineering. As an active participant with an ad hoc committee to discuss academically-based community engagement, the coordinator has also developed a network of faculty and staff connected to civic engagement. For example, Daniel stated, "My advisor knows [the program coordinator] really well, like really well, so she was like, 'I think you should do [the fellowship]. I think you would like that,' because she knew that I had no idea what I wanted to do, either, so she was like, 'This is perfect.'" In Blanche's case, her

family happened to be friends with a professor in the School of Social Work and recommended the opportunity to her.

In addition, peers were just as eager to recruit students to unique fellowship opportunities. Abby worked with two alumni of the program in other endeavors on campus. Candice was invited by an alum to attend the fellows' presentation and found it helpful to learn more about the program in that regard. Grace received an e-mail from the student leader involved in the residence hall council. This is notable since e-mails to students frequently get ignored (Ha, Joa, Gabay, & Kim, 2018). Something likely triggered the leader to forward on this fellowship opportunity to other student leaders.

While finding a fellowship does not speak to close social networks between faculty, staff, and students, it does point to an environment conducive to publicizing civic engagement opportunities to students. Harry and Karen both found the opportunities while searching for information about possible majors in the fields of urban studies and social work, respectively. Harry stated his appreciation for this, "being able to have that concise list of opportunities directed at me was nice because I was able to easily sift through things."

Positive faculty, staff, student relationships, peer networks, and easily navigable websites is consistent with the overall university being supportive of such endeavors. UKC offers a variety of supports to faculty, staff, and students to make it easier to find opportunities for effective academically-based civic engagement. Faculty have an opportunity to apply for $5,000 grants to design service-learning courses. Students can graduate with honors if they engage in opportunities to learn about global and cultural awareness, or service to others as a part of an extra-curricular activity tracker. Fred was the only research participant to mention this program

107

when he noted that the website had mistakenly credited him with extra service hours. In addition, there is even community service themed residence hall living on-campus.

Ultimately, the stipend is also a concrete illustration of the level of support provided to incentivize civic engagement. However, the key to this stipend is a development office that has a broad scope of programs and facilities to allocate funds and resources. In the case of the GF, he development officer was able to match the desires of a donor with the right campus program. The funding of the stipend may not have happened if UKC was not a supportive environment for civic engagement.

5.5.2 Mitigating obstacles to career uncertainty

A supportive environment to civic engagement has the capacity to mitigate certain obstacles. Data analysis revealed that research subjects were frequently uncertain about their career goals, had a low perception of their own social self-efficacy, and viewed their time as being very limited. Due to the supportive environment at UKC, participants were able to overcome these hurdles and submit an application for this fellowship.

It was surprising to learn how undecided the research participants were regarding future careers. Daniel said,

> *I've changed my mind a million times, but I don't know. I feel like there are other ways that I could use my skills more effectively. Well, that, and I mean there is no guarantee that I can even [get into medical school]. I'm not saying I don't think I could get in, but I'm not putting all my eggs in one basket.*

Daniel was hoping that the fellowship could offer a supportive environment to enable him to try out career options. Daniel went on to say:

I think that the Greene Fellowship will actually help me a lot to see if I'm more

interested in that aspect of interacting with people and helping people, or if the

other, like helping people in a different kind of way is where I'm going to go.

The fellowship offers hands-on experience in a work type of setting to see if similar employment would meet Daniel's needs.

Blanche also was very uncertain about a career path and stated:

I wasn't too terribly concerned about what I wanted to do, because I had seen my

family and I had seen my family friends, and I don't think I knew anyone who had

really taken the major they stepped out of school with and directly gone from one

thing to another and then they were just on that path until they died. So I was like,

'Eh, it's not worth being stressed over, so I'll just figure it out in the four years I'm

here, and also keep figuring out through the rest of my life,' because I'm also

perfectly happy working at a convenience store for four years after college.

This quote encapsulates the lack of pressure Blanche feels to identify that career path, too. Not only is it likely her parents are not pushing her towards financial independence, her undergraduate experience is allowing her to engage in experiences that interest her. This desire for a focus on career will be discussed in greater depth in the following chapter analyzing the perceived expectations of the fellowship.

Another obstacle that prevented research participants from being civically engaged in the past pertained to having a low perception of their social self-efficacy. Social self-efficacy is defined as "an individual's confidence in her/his ability to engage in the social interactional tasks necessary to initiate and maintain interpersonal relationships" (Smith & Betz, 2000, p. 286). The concept should not be confused with shyness, introversion, or sociability (Smith & Betz, 2000).

For example, Blanche, Abby, Karen, and Grace all expressed a lack of confidence in engaging in specific circumstances for more social reasons. When asked what prevented her from engaging in any particular activity in high school or college Blanche replied:

I think it probably was, if I had to psychoanalyze myself, like feeling out of place, which I think was quite a bit of my high school experience. It was the fear of pretending to be something I wasn't, or the fear of doing something and messing up really badly. There was the fear of, later in high school, why I didn't do things, it was the fear of these people already have this group they're with, and I don't want to just intrude onto that group because that would be uncomfortable for me.

Pushing her to explain further, she concurred that she felt more comfortable among the gender and sexual minority community. Abby felt similarly by avoiding the Black students organizing to react to the death of the young Black man that died following being in police custody in her hometown when she was in high school. Karen, who is heavily involved in a variety of activities on campus was hesitant to get involved in the UKC gender and sexual minority advocacy club, but she indicated an interest to become involved.

Earlier in the academic year, Grace was unable to attend a Women's March in Washington D.C. because she had no transportation. However, Grace referenced already having plans with friends to attend a rally for gun violence in March in D.C. Although I did not press Grace to explain the difference between the rallies for her, some evidence may pertain to Candice's growth in social self-efficacy.

Candice, who moved to suburban Philadelphia from Jamaica shortly before high school, slowly overcame her lack of self-confidence. Candice stated, "I did feel like an outsider, but then, as I started to get involved and meet more people, I started to be more like part of the

community, and I found my place in the high school." By having a few extra months of engagement experience, Grace may have increased her social self-efficacy and felt more compelled to conquer the transportation obstacle for this particular rally. Interestingly, a lack of social self-efficacy has also been associated with uncertainty regarding career choice (Smith & Betz, 2000). Both Grace and Candice were fairly unsure about their future career plans. This will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

The supportive environment at UKC also helped participants overcome a perceived lack of time to seek out the fellowship opportunity. Daniel encapsulated the sentiments of several of the fellows when he stated, "I just feel like there are so many opportunities and so little time to take advantage of the opportunities [in college]." With enough caffeine and "72 hours in a day," Daniel indicated he would definitely engage more frequently. One opportunity to counteract the demands on time during the traditional academic year, is to offer unique experiences over the summer for students, like the GF.

Emily, from a rural area in Pennsylvania, sparked an interesting emergent theme from the data. Emily stated, "in my mind, going home is like, slacking. So, I wanted to stay here." When I followed up why she perceived going home as slacking, Emily said,

> I think it's the same for a lot of small towns from people I've talked to that are also from not like, small towns. It kind of feels like a black hole. I've seen it happen where people come home every weekend from college and then they end up dropping out of college or going to a school that's closer and staying at home. So, I just feel like if I spend too much time in [my hometown], I will somehow definitely get sucked into it.

Emily also referenced having the opportunity to take additional credits to lighten her load during the academic year. Having valuable experiences during the summer can setup a unique learning environment. I described this theme as summer slacker syndrome. In a sense, the participants appeared to have wanted to avoid this syndrome by any means possible. The possible antidotes are finding a summer experience that will help them gain clarity for a future career or strengthen their résumé in some fashion.

5.6   CONCLUSION

There were various initiating factors to the participants' application to the GF. Most applicants had social influences that fostered a shared value of a norm of reciprocity and social responsibility. These values were also shaped by the availability of and involvement in activities in their hometowns, high schools, and at UKC. Furthermore, the instrumental motives that resulted from the stipend helped several of the participants overcome financial obstacles to participation. There appears to be a dynamic relationship that exists between the primary factors that led to the participants' application for the fellowship. These findings offer evidence of Pancer's (2014) theory of civic engagement.

6.0 PERCEIVED EXPECTATIONS OF FUTURE CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

The following chapter presents data analysis to address the research question: What are the perceived future expectations for civic engagement among applicants for a specific academically-based civic engagement fellowship program? "Future expectations for civic engagement" was divided into the short-term through potential participation in the Greene Fellowship (GF), and the long-term following graduation from University of Keystone City (UKC). With respect to more long-term future in civic engagement, the majority of participants indicated a perception that they would be engaged in the future in a variety of ways. These findings are all consistent with literature in community psychology and civic engagement research reviewed earlier.

6.1 PERCEIVED EXPECTATIONS OF THE FELLOWSHIP

Three themes emerged from regarding short term expectations of civic engagement. This evidence was primarily mined from a question about participants' perceived expectations for the fellowship. First, participants were excited by the prominent role the community would play in the experience. Next, many participants indicated a desire for skill development or to increase self-confidence in specific areas. Lastly, participants mentioned a desire for career focus.

6.1.1 Community

As previously discussed, many of the participants indicated high interest and value regarding a concept of a community. Participants expected to learn about the community from its denizens. Participants also noted a perceived difference between the Keystone City community and the UKC community. In addition, participants were looking forward to gaining tangible skills to develop mutually beneficial partnerships with the community organizations collaborating with the fellows.

The value for community mentors and the diverse perspectives they offer were synthesized by Abby and Lauren, both societal engagers. Abby, selected as a fellow, stated, "I really enjoy learning from other people because I think that the different perspectives they bring are really valuable." This is consistent with her interest in participating in coursework where half of the class members are incarcerated at a prison near UKC.

Lauren, not selected to be a fellow, noted that UKC offers a protective bubble that students should exit on occasion, "I really wanted to get more in touch with community organizations, because I think on colleges we – UKC, I think, can be pretty separate from the outside Keystone City community. You don't have to interact with anyone who isn't a UKC student."

This learning can be valuable on divisive issues like gentrification. Candice stated:

I've heard that gentrification has been a problem within cities on the outskirts of Keystone City, and I've heard a lot about gentrification while being at UKC, actually. That's when I was first introduced to the whole idea of it, and it really interests me because there's a good side of it and a bad side of it. I feel like that's very interesting, and I feel like hearing about that from actual people, like

hearing about how the good side helps them and how the bad side affects them. I

definitely feel like that would be eye-opening for me. I definitely want to gain

insight and kind of become more, I don't want to say worldly aware, but just

global awareness kind of, of just what's going on and why things are going on,

and how different things kind of have positive and negative effects.

Participants indicated perceiving that the fellowship would provide the opportunity to have unfettered access to opinions and experiences in neighborhoods throughout Keystone City. After all, half of the participants came from wealthier suburban backgrounds and may hold inaccurate views regarding urban life or gentrification before.

Meanwhile, Mona was expecting the community interactions to help ease her transition to the U.S. and prepare her for serving clients from diverse communities as a doctor in the future. Mona stated:

The one thing I really want to learn about from the fellowship is how the

community works, especially coming from a different country. I want to have that

exposure to the differences between a community of the United States versus a

community in South Asia. I feel like that would be really great to know because,

when you're learning about the community or you're learning about the people,

you're learning about their habits, you're learning about the way they interact.

You're learning basically everything that makes up a neighborhood.

Mona found the pace of life very different between the U.S. and her hometown. Mona indicated that she expects to learn the underlying cause of that pace, in addition to the overall culture of the neighborhood. Mona also noted, about how this knowledge about community is related to medicine:

The main reason why I'm thinking that this is really going to help me is because
this [fellowship] is focused on the community, and working for the community,
bringing the people together, doing something about it. I feel like that is very
similar to what medicine is all about. Medicine is about working for the
community, understanding the people, understanding their values, what they think
is important.

Mona's statement may be different in the future, and her language indicates she perceives herself as external to the community. However, the community placement had not started at the time of the interview and can help explain why Mona does not yet see herself as a member within the Keystone City community. This may also be attributed to her South Asian heritage which is not very prevalent in Keystone City, or on the UKC campus.

These findings are consistent with research in the field of community psychology that show that individuals consider costs and benefits to community participation (Chinman & Wandersman, 1999; Prestby, Wandersman, Florin, Rich, & Chavis, 1990). Key benefits people gain from community participation include socializing with others and the feeling of improving the community for some normative cause. More engaged individuals tend to experience and appreciate these benefits at a higher level. The costs of participating in a community are dependent on the organizations. Some participants are willing to continue their community endeavors because the benefits the organizations provide still outweigh the costs (Chinman & Wandersman, 1999; Prestby et al., 1990). For instance, if volunteers really want to feed the hungry, they may continue to work for an organization despite the perception of a lack of volunteer organization. It simply may be the easiest opportunity to serve food to a needy population.

6.1.2 Skill development and self-confidence

The recruitment materials for the GF reference a programmatic goal to prepare students with leadership skills vital to fostering economic and social justice. Inherent in the nature of this fellowship is that some learning or research will be conducted. Therefore, it is expected that study participants were expecting to have some type of learning outcomes as a result of their "fellowship." Research participants indicated an expectation to increase skills in a few specific areas including community development and leadership development. These leadership skills should be appropriate for future careers in non-profit organizational settings. Another theme that arose is that the fellowship is going to be conducted in a "safe" environment. By and large, participants desired to develop skills and competencies in working with the community and a general lack of self-confidence in these skills prior to their application. However, this sense of safety emerged as a theme in relation to exploring aspects of the fellowship that fostered a supportive environment, discussed in the previous chapter.

Emily, Grace, and Blanche all referenced an expectation to increase their leadership skills through the civic engagement experience. Emily explained a reason for applying to the fellowship and said, "also, it was a leadership thing. It would really help me improve my skills with talking to people and problem solving." Grace took this sentiment a step further and explained how a traditional collegiate major does not really check off all the boxes of her perceptions of the job requirements for an advocacy position with a non-profit organization. Grace stated:

> To join a non-profit organization and go and advocate for the LGBTQ community, you can't just come out of – I mean, maybe you could, but not likely that you come out of college with a political science degree and they'll just accept

you. You have to show that you've done things in the past that are like what the

organization is about. That you aren't just book-learned; that you've also learned

from doing events, from getting involved in the community. That you've made

differences that they want to implement elsewhere.

Grace implied that participation in this fellowship would have supplied her with some of that experience. Blanche also indicated a similar sentiment and mentioned a community leadership component. Blanche said:

I hope that it will give me experience on how to be a good leader of my peers, but

also someone who can work with other communities, and do it humanely and do it

in a way that is mutually beneficial.

It is interesting that Blanche is expecting to increase skills about being a peer leader considering that she was a president of her high school's gender and sexual minority advocacy club and active in student government in her residence hall in college. Although Blanche has had experience as a peer leader, she perceives herself as lacking self-confidence in leadership competencies.

Karen and Harry, both individual engagers, espoused their desire to learn about community development. Karen stated, "I think I'm gonna learn a lot about community development, which is something that I don't really know anything about." This lack of self-confidence is evident throughout many of the comments regarding expectations of the fellowship. This deficit in self-confidence may be because of prior experience. Harry stated:

I think that through this experience I'm going to learn a lot about working in kind

of the public sphere, working with residents, working in communities and just

kind of community development in general. I haven't had any direct work

experience with that -- something I'm devoting 25 hours of my week every week

for a whole summer to. So gaining that experience and being able to form my own

opinions on that experience is definitely something I'm looking to gain.

This lack of experience could be attributed to a lack of opportunity to engage in such a situation previously. For example, when asked about how they may have acted on the belief that one is responsible for others, Fred said, "I wouldn't say I have the power to really do that, currently. I mean, I'm still learning. I'm still in college, a freshman. So, it's not like I've changed the world or something." It is interesting that participants with lots of experience indicate the same lack of self-confidence for certain skills related to working within a community.

Ultimately, the fellowship was directly and indirectly described as a "safe" space. A lack of social self-efficacy was often mentioned as an obstacle to participating in a variety of activities in the past. Blanche put this sentiment simply when she said, "Social awkwardness and if you're a failure was probably the two driving factors in not doing anything." This anxiety for failure, or social self-efficacy was likely lessened by a sense of a 'lower-stakes' atmosphere. Blanche stated:

Just having the experience of working in someone else's community, being able to

talk with groups of people in a lower-stakes environment, trying to assist them in

ways I can. The things I will probably inevitably mess up in this will help me

learn how to do that better in the future.

This lower-stakes environment is interpreted a few different ways. First of all, the sense that the work is a part of a class may make the experience similar to a laboratory section of a science class where the students have freedom in their guided experiments. Secondly, the participants

119

expected their community work would be closely monitored and supervised by the program coordinator and leaders within the partnering non-profit organizations. Blanche also stated:

> *I mean that this isn't something I'm doing by myself. You know, I'm working with professionals, I'm working with [the program coordinator], I'm working with groups of other people, and what we're doing in the community, as far as I understand it, we're not building a basketball stadium... The amount of potential good or harm we can do is not massive either way.*

This sentiment is consistent with the broad spectrum college students are sometimes treated, from complete, independent adults to coddled elementary school-aged children (Nichols, 2017). According to Sanford's (1966) theory of student development, an event that presents disequilibrium within a student should cause positive developmental growth as the student identifies a solution to the problem at hand. However, a stressful situation may also lead to reliance on previously used ineffective coping skills and consequently could lead to possible developmental regression. The more developmentally advanced an individual is, the more likely they will learn from and not repeat past mistakes. With respect to the fellowship, study participants describe the safety net of the program coordinator and organizational mentors as guides to the experience.

This is also consistent with Pancer's (2014) theory of civic engagement that describes a need for a supportive environment to sustain civic engagement. Perhaps a support system with scaffolding is optimal for civic engagement. The GF is in fact designed in that manner, with the seminar occurring in the spring semester; prior to the immersive summer action project. This lowered sense of self-confidence may have mitigated if the fellow participants were interviewed for this study in between the seminar and action project.

There is a growing body of research in the last twenty years that has explored the outcomes associated with civic engagement. Students have reported increases in leadership ability, critical thinking skills, interpersonal skills, and multicultural competence (Astin & Sax, 1998; Dworkin, Larson, & Hansen, 2003; Eyler & Giles Jr., 1999; Schmidt, Shumow, & Kackar, 2012). It is likely that these students hold expectations to increase their skills in many of these areas because they have already developed these skills in prior civic endeavors. They perceive the fellowship, and its selective status as being conducive to generating as much or more skill development as they have in the past. However, it is worth cautioning that some research that controls for background characteristics has found that these positive outcomes are frequently associated with civic engagement (Schmidt et al., 2012). Therefore, it is difficult to identify the direction of this association. Is civic engagement a powerful tool enabling such desired outcomes? Or, are students with higher grade point averages who misbehave less, and have greater civic knowledge more apt to be civically engaged? These are excellent questions for further research that will be discussed in the following chapter.

6.1.3   Career focus

As discussed earlier, research participants were largely uncertain about their future career paths. In discussing their perceived expectations of the fellowship, several of the participants mentioned a desire to clarify these goals. The less certainty of a career a participant had, the more likely they were to discuss the fellowship helping to narrow their focus on defining a career path.

For example, Daniel struck me as being the participant that was the most uncertain regarding his career. Daniel, a community engager, stated:

121

I feel like the [fellowship] is going to help me out a lot, actually, to see if maybe I

want to do something, if it has to do with local government or if it has to do with

the community in general, trying to find another way to impact the community

other than being a doctor, like doing research.

Daniel's original career path (a doctor) makes him an interesting candidate for the fellowship. Daniel described his rural hometown as having very limited job prospects since they were very limited opportunities for somebody with a science background like his. Although Daniel's research position related to research on a neurological disease gives him pertinent experience for a career in medicine, he lacks the guidance, opportunity, or experience to treat that knowledge as a humanities major would. The 'soft-skills' inherent in a liberal arts education make for a malleable employee in a myriad of fields (Carlson, 2018). In analyzing Daniel's interview, it may be accurate that he holds a myopic view of possible careers. This civic engagement experience can serve as a liberal arts infusion to Daniel's Bachelor of Science degree.

Harry, an individual engager, noted that the fellowship is an appropriately timed experience for college. Harry stated, "gaining that experience and being able to form my own opinions on that experience is definitely something I'm looking to gain just to see how that impacts my future and my future career aspirations." Harry has already changed majors from marketing and finance to urban studies. Although Harry may not have had much more of an idea of a future career, he had slightly more self-confidence than Daniel. The fellowship will allow Harry the opportunity to try a pseudo-professional experience where he can interact with individuals.

Blanche and Lauren, both societal engagers, had a bit more certainty with their career paths. Blanche stated,

Having just the summer of hands-on experience doing something very related to social work, having the experience might help me figure out, "Oh, this is great and I would really love to pursue it," or, "Oh, this is kind of hard. Maybe not, or just maybe not this specific kind."

Blanche has narrowed her career search down, and just needs a little bit more refinement. Similarly, Lauren has a strong desire to work for a non-profit. Although she is currently working as an intern for the transgendered health resources focused organization, Lauren said, "I really wanted to work with a non-profit to see if that's something that I would really like to do, because I haven't had a huge role in that before." Lauren is indicating that she perceived her fellowship experience to be more what she would experience in post-graduate employment than her current unpaid internship with a non-profit.

Where Harry and Daniel appear to be using the experience as more exploratory and are trying on a variety of shoes, Blanche and Lauren are zeroed in on a specific running shoe that they have read a variety of online reviews. If the shoe fits, and the price is right, they will make the purchase. This makes sense as Lauren has indicated that she is a bit further along in her academic career than Daniel or Harry.

Research has shown that the quality of community service is correlated to career possibilities and decidedness (Taylor & Pancer, 2007). Again, it may be that due to past civic engagement experiences the participants identified career possibilities. Although they did not completely become decided on a career, they felt confident that fellowship participation could expose them to a more focused set of possibilities and serve as career guidance.

6.2   PERCEIVED POST-GRADUATION CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

The future engagement theme arose from responses to the question: Do you see yourself as being civically engaged in the future? This question slowly evolved into, "Do you see yourself being civically engaged in a 9-5 type job or in your personal life?" This evolution occurred because all but one participant said they would be engaged in the future in other areas in the interview. Most of the participants indicated they would prefer to be engaged civically in a professional setting and during their free time. Other participants mentioned a preference to be engaged in their leisure time. The remainder indicated a desire to be engaged in the future but were apprehensive about obstacles that would prevent their future engagement.

6.2.1   Engaged professionally and in leisure time

Harry, Daniel, Mona, Emily, and Blanche all indicated they would be involved in some form of civic engagement in their future. Most of these participants were a bit vague in how they specifically would be engaged. However, in their responses it was clear that they valued civic engagement and found it important to their future.

Harry, an individual engager, was the most specific about his perceptions of future engagement. Harry stated:

I definitely do see my 9:00 AM to 5:00 PM – my primary source of income – relating to some type of public service-"esque" position. I do very much want to be involved outside of my workday as well with community organizations that I would just like to be a member of. Just the various day to day engagements that you can

make with the community around you. So I do see that being kind of like a full

circle of involvement.

Although he is unsure of a specific career with his major in urban studies, it is clear that he has found value in engaging with his neighbors and wishes to get involved in community organizations outside his professional life.

Daniel, a community engager, was fairly certain how he did not want to be engaged civically, via an elected office. However, he was intrigued by using his science background to improve sewer systems, water systems, support green initiatives, or public health. Daniel appeared to be the most uncertain about a future career, so this variety of potential jobs is unsurprising. Daniel is certain that he wants to help to solve a community problem in some fashion, "I feel like I definitely want to make an impact. I feel like it's just kind of ingrained in me just from my upbringing."

Mona, another community engager, noted how her job as a doctor would definitely be directly helping people. However, she mentioned the opportunities that could be present during the lengthy training required of medical doctors. During this time, Mona thinks community service will complement her professional development, "I definitely think that is something I'll continue because that helps me grow as a person." In addition, it will help her feel like she is "treating someone in a non-medical way."

Emily, another community engager interested in a health-related career, seems enthused about a position as a community paramedic to advocate for patients. If Emily does not pursue that path, "I definitely see myself as being civically engaged. I don't think I'll ever stop community service." As individual and community engagers, Harry, Daniel, Mona, and Emily

want to be involved in the future, by any means necessary. However, some of the other fellows put some boundaries on their engagement plans.

6.2.2   Boundaries for future engagement

Karen and Jerome see themselves as being civically engaged outside their professional lives, whereas Lauren would like to keep her leisure time for herself. It is not meant to imply that these individuals have any less desire for future civic engagement. Rather, it is evident that they have placed more thought into how they will serve in the future.

Karen, an individual engager, has a history of participating in mentorship opportunities and gains much satisfaction from this engagement. Karen said of mentoring, "I think that is just a passion of mine. It's something that I really love, so, yeah. I think a mentorship thing would be a lot of fun, to keep doing throughout my life."

Jerome, a societal engager, is looking to pursue a career in computer science. Jerome did not indicate a desire to apply that career to civic engagement or solving community problems. Jerome said, "I think I see [volunteering] as a hobby or a personal thing of mine." In addition, he mentioned wanting to volunteer for a variety of different organizations in the future.

Lauren, a fellow societal engager, indicated the polar opposite sentiment to Jerome. Lauren referenced the "work" aspect of civic engagement and stated: "I'd be like compensated for all this work, which I think is important. If I'm doing enough work, that should be compensated." In this manner, her work would not "infringe" on her personal life. In addition, since Lauren is still very uncertain about her career, she mentioned how she would try and integrate a civic component to whatever her career entailed. The remaining fellows referenced some obstacles that would impede their engagement professional or in their free time.

126

6.2.3   Obstacles to future engagement

Candice, Abby, and Grace indicated a desire to be engaged in the future but were cautious. Again, these examples are meant to illustrate the extent with which these participants have been planning for future engagement. Based on their experience, social influence, and values for civic engagement, they will likely find themselves in supportive environments that will allow them to remain civically active in the future.

Candice, an individual engager, is pursuing a career in marketing with a long-term goal of working for a non-profit. Immediately following college, Candice wants to become employed and pursue a Master's degree in Business Administration (MBA). While she intends to perform community service or mentoring while pursuing her MBA, she lacks the self-confidence that this work will have a meaningful efficacy. Candice predicts that "within eight to ten years, I'll definitely be in that position where I can dedicate more time and do that nonprofit, so that's obviously not an immediate goal of mine but an eventual goal of mine." It seems like Candice would like to be engaged but may shy away from opportunities if she does not feel that she would be effective in them.

Abby, a societal engager, is very uncertain of her career path, but believes it would be easier to feel less guilty about "miss[ing] a protest here and there" if her career was dedicated to civic engagement. Abby appears to lack social self-efficacy for being White and active in a group focused on advocacy for marginalized populations. This prevented Abby's participation in high school, as well. Abby said, "I still have a lot of trouble figuring out what medium to do that in and what methods to go about it, because there is no kind of set way of doing things or set way of kind of being a white person in a socially active group or society." Perhaps if one of her role

127

models for civic engagement asked for her direct participation, Abby's lack of social self-efficacy would be mitigated.

Grace, a societal engager, was definitely planning for her future engagement but may face some obstacles. I conducted Grace's interview eight days following the school shooting in Parkland, Florida at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School (Hohmann, 2018). Grace was already coordinating with friends attend a rally in Washington, D.C. in March to advocate for gun control. However, Grace is hesitant to fully commit to run for elected office in the future. In her political psychology class Grace has learned, "one of the reasons why women don't run is because there are not very women in government. You grow up and you don't see a woman president." However, she noted hearing about how many more women are running in upcoming elections. Grace stated,

> *I'm excited for myself, knowing that I'm gonna have more people to look up to, more people that would be able to help me. And also for people younger than me, who will be able to grow up and see like, 'Oh, I can do that, because I see someone who's like me doing it.'*

Grace, who identifies as a queer woman with a disability, may be a trailblazer. However, according to Pancer's (2014) theory of civic engagement, the lack of a supportive environment for candidates similar to Grace, may cause her to be engaged civically in a different manner.

6.3   CONCLUSIONS

In summation, research participants indicated a perception that they were expecting and looking forward to engaging in communities they had not explored during their study at UKC. They

128

anticipated learning a great deal from this experience including understanding better how the community functions, as well as valuable leadership skills. This increase in self-confidence and skill development would prepare them for a variety of career options. Furthermore, the experience had the potential to expose them to specific job opportunities or help them decide on a proper career path. These expectations are consistent with the initiating factors that led them to apply for the GF.

It was expected that participants would be interested in being engaged civically in the future considering research suggesting younger adults are more likely to replicate civic engagement activities in the future and become more politically engaged over time (Eyler & Giles Jr., 1999; Pancer, 2014). Applying to the fellowship was not their first civic engagement experience, and it appears it will not be their final experience.

However, this evidence also supports the importance of sustaining civic engagement to Pancer's (2014) theory and the need for a supportive environment. Candice may need fiscal freedom and leisure time as resources to sustain her engagement. Candice and Abby need to obtain the self-confidence and social self-efficacy to sustain their engagement (Hope, 2016; Pancer, 2014; Smith & Betz, 2000). Likewise, Grace would benefit from a supportive environment to pursue her political goals. These findings present a series of implications for research, policy, and practice that will be discussed in the final chapter.

7.0 IMPLICATIONS OF FINDINGS FOR HIGHER EDUCATION RESEARCH, POLICY, AND PRACTICE

Findings of this study, discussed in the previous two chapters, are consistent with Pancer's (2014) theory of civic engagement. Participants held values of reciprocity and social responsibility. These values were fostered, in part, by social influences including family, faculty, and peers. In addition, participants indicated instrumental motivations to apply for the Greene Fellowship (GF) in order to facilitate their success in future academic and professional pursuits. The fellowship seemed particularly attractive to the high-achieving participants since it predominantly took place during the summer semester. These participants occasionally found it challenging to pursue civic engagement during the academic year while they juggled coursework, co-curricular activities, and employment. Almost all of the participants indicated they planned to be civically engaged in their future professional careers or leisure time. The following chapter presents how these findings relate to implications for higher education research, policy, and practice.

Understanding effective techniques to initiate and sustain civic engagement among young people serves as a foundation for developing knowledgeable, involved, socially conscious individuals who are interested in the common good and being engaged citizens of a vibrant democracy (The National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement, 2012). In addition, research indicates a relationship between sustained civic engagement and the

completion of a successful civic experience (Eyler & Giles Jr., 1999; Pancer, 2014). Further, civically engaged individuals might become social influencers who foster values of social responsibility and reciprocity among their peers, some of whom may have refrained from civic engagement in the past. Therefore, if participation in civic activity increases, the long-term outcomes could lead to a strengthened U.S. democracy.

Future research can improve the understanding of how values, social influence, and instrumental motives are related to the initiation of civic engagement. Specific areas to explore include if and how generational differences, economic trends, and the structures of civic experiences are related to the decision to become civically engaged. Higher education policy makers and community engagement professionals could apply this theoretical knowledge to develop a high-quality catalog of civic engagement opportunities that foster participation among a diverse student body.

7.1 VALUES FOR CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

Participants demonstrated a variety of values including those for reciprocity and social responsibility, engaging and learning from others, and helping those less fortunate than themselves. These participants also exhibited success and engagement in their curricular and co-curricular lives at the University of Keystone City (UKC). Furthermore, all participants were previously civically engaged. Most participants seemed in agreement with Blanche's statement: "I like working with people." Pancer (2014) argued that such values are an initiating factor for civic engagement.

131

Future research, policy, and practice in higher education and civic engagement might consider generational issues, societal economic trends, and institutional structures related to these values. As generations evolve they live through changing economic climates that could play a role in the relationship with the development of a value for social responsibility and reciprocity. The development of values for social responsibility and reciprocity could be considered by research that explores different generations. Policy makers at higher education institutions could apply this knowledge to consider structures that cultivate values for civic engagement during times of either economic recession or growth. Such structures could help community engagement professionals, practitioners with job responsibilities related to civic engagement on campus (Dostilio et al., 2017), more effectively foster such opportunities among a diverse student body.

With respect to the generational shift in values of social responsibility and reciprocity, between 1966 and 1987, first-year college students gave increasing importance to being financially secure. Since 1987 around 3 out of 4 first year college students rated financial security as a very high goal (Pryor, Hurtado, Saenz, Santos, & Korn, 2007). In addition, the importance of "helping others in difficulty," "being a community leader," and "participating in community service" have all increased since the middle of the 1980s (Pryor et al., 2007). Further research might help to identify explanations for these changes. Considering the population of this study is on the boundary between the Millennial and post-Millennial generations, additional research might replicate the study to determine generational characteristics that may be related to the initiation of civic engagement. Much research literature to date pertains to so-called Millennial students who are likely to remember the terror attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001 (Dimock, 2018). Post-Millennials are typically defined as being born after 1997, likely too

132

young to remember the events of September 11th first-hand (Dimock, 2018). Key events such as September 11th and other generational differences may lead to different pathways to and trends in civic engagement.

These generational changes may be related to economic conditions. A desire for upward financial mobility is often greater during times of economic inequality (Pryor et al., 2007). The participants of this study were largely from middle to upper socio-economic status (SES) that attended the same institution. A lower SES study population or a similar population from a different college might respond differently to the study. The need for additional financial support, and even motivations for higher education enrollment may lead to varying responses to the interview protocol.

7.2   SOCIAL INFLUENCE

Study participants' values regarding social responsibility and reciprocity were often kindled by core social influences from family, teachers, and peers. These influences encouraged prior civic engagement among participants, and in many cases, their application to the GF itself. For example, Karen, Daniel, and Emily, all performed community service with at least one of their parents during youth. Abby, Grace, and Blanche discussed politics and were urged to vote by their families. With respect to the GF opportunity, individual engagers indicated that they located information regarding the fellowship based on their own initiative. In contrast, community and societal engagers learned of the fellowship from advisors, faculty, or peers.

The findings from this study seem consistent with other research related to peer pressure and influence. Several studies substantiate the conclusion that peers can influence one another in

various ways (L. Steinberg, 2007). Similarly, youth experiencing more in-depth relationships with parents, romantic partners, or best friends, demonstrate influences from those people on their decision-making (Pettit, Erath, Lansford, Dodge, & Bates, 2011).

Generational characteristics might also affect social influences. Unique variables could exist within relationships that develop among Millennials, post-Millennials, and Baby Boomers. For instance, Millennials were more apt to make use of set faculty office hours (Rickes, 2009), as compared to the less structured environment preferred among Baby Boomer faculty. These generational differences in expectations, supportive structures, and social norms offer interesting areas to consider in civic engagement research.

More specifically within this study faculty and staff mentors served as key influences on participants' decisions to apply to the GF. Advising style can also sustain or hinder student engagement, retention, self-awareness, and confidence (Soria, Laumer, Morrow, & Marttinen, 2017). Effective advisors who are considered knowledgeable, available, and supportive can inspire greater engagement (Sheldon, Garton, Orr, & Smith, 2015). This too can result in the development of a positive mentoring relationship that may lead to the likelihood of acting as a catalyst for sustained civic engagement.

Future research could offer a better understanding of students' rationale for engagement, and methods to enhance influential relationships. Research could explore both intergenerational mentoring and intragenerational peer relationships. Such research could inform policy makers at higher education institutions to foster the development of formal and informal relationships that could more effectively cultivate values for, or initiate, civic engagement. Community engagement professionals could consider these policies and research to maximize recruitment efforts to future civic engagement programs.

7.3   INSTRUMENTAL MOTIVES

This study identified two instrumental motives that contributed to a participant's decision to apply to the GF. First, some participants seemed to want to improve their résumé in both quality of skills and quantity of community involvement. Secondly, a group of participants appeared to appreciate the opportunity to earn a stipend of $3,000. Most of these participants stated plans to apply the stipend towards summer housing costs.

Several participants indicated their involvement in the GF would look good "on paper" when their résumé was reviewed for future academic and professional positions. While other participants seemed to be more interested in tangible skills that they could apply to future positions. Some studies indicate that employers may prefer to hire staff that have been involved in their community (Cleveland, Byrne, & Cavanagh, 2015). Civic engagement experiences have been linked to fostering such desirable competencies as critical thinking and ethical decision-making (The National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement, 2012). As post-Millennials enter the labor market, it might be important to understand what role these skills play for both the students entering the job market, as well as to their potential supervisors. Participants also seemed in agreement with Blanche's sentiments that the fellowship was a "safe" space to learn from and with community leaders, fellows, and the program coordinator.

Participants' appreciation for the stipend appeared to be consistent with current higher education literature. Between 2001 and 2015 nearly 1 in 5 students, who were largely funding their education without family support, indicated the ongoing funding of their education as a major concern (Eagan et al., 2016). With respect to practice, one potential way of addressing this challenge may be to examine the institutional allocation of resources towards civic engagement on campus (Dostilio et al., 2017). Increasing the number of opportunities for funded, institution-

sponsored civic engagement could reduce some financial barriers for participation. In other words, students may not have to choose between devoting time to a part-time job or civic engagement. Again, this may increase the number individuals from a lower-SES background that are able to participate in civic engagement activities, potentially improving the community's civic health as well.

Future research could consider interest in career choices across generations and their relationship to economic conditions. In addition, other research could explore the role of stipends as compensation for civic engagement in times of either economic growth or recession. Such research could inform higher education policy makers foster the development of opportunities for civic skills, critical consciousness, and practical problem solving that meet the needs of a diverse student body and modern employers. Community engagement professionals could also consider methods to generate resources for civic opportunities inclusive to all students.

7.4   FACTORS THAT INHIBIT CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

Another challenge facing higher education research, policy, and practice is understanding how to effectively mitigate impediments to civic engagement. In this study, all participants applied for the fellowship. However, participants indicated they wished to be even more engaged civically. By structuring the fellowship during the summer semester there may be less demands on college students' daily responsibilities. If the fellowship is a more primary focus, students may be able to engage more completely in the immersive experience.

These findings are consistent with literature that demonstrates how civic engagement experiences, like Alternative Spring Break (ASB), can offer college students the opportunity for

transformative learning similar to what they could gain from other community-based experiences (Mann & DeAngelo, 2016). ASBs provide an intense, immersive experience to become a part of a community over an extended period of time (Mann & DeAngelo, 2016). A summer experience like the GF offers a similar type of transformative learning opportunity, especially for students faced with prioritizing a myriad of additional responsibilities during the academic year.

Summer civic experiences for students may be a mutually beneficial component of a high-quality university-community partnership (Dostilio et al., 2017). For example, community organizations typically operate on a 12-month calendar without a summer break. Community organizations might benefit from having additional student volunteers continue their work during the summer months. Examining this issue further might reveal other solutions to initiate civic engagement among even more students. Summer semesters, similar to Spring or Winter break periods, may be just as effective in allowing students to be civically engaged, without sacrificing resources to succeed academically or co-curricularly.

Further research could consider the variety of variables related to the initiation of curricular and co-curricular civic engagement opportunities. Such research could be important for higher education policy makers to consider the development of learning opportunities related to civic skills, critical consciousness, and practical problem solving both inside and outside the classroom setting. Community engagement professionals can consider this research to inform the timing and duration of civic opportunities and participant recruitment efforts.

7.5   FACTORS THAT SUSTAIN CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

The underlying goal of this study was to understand the initiating factors of civic engagement since individuals who participate in civic engagement are more likely to continue such behaviors throughout their lives than those who have not been engaged (Eyler & Giles Jr., 1999; Pancer, 2014). A more civically engaged population may also lead to a stronger democracy. The GF was not the first civic engagement experience for any of the study participants, and all but one of the study participants expressed that they expected to be civically engaged in the future.

Future research might benefit from exploring if, and how, civically engaged college students become social influences on their peers. For instance, in this study, Emily, Karen, and Mona all recruited friends to participate in civic activities. It may be beneficial to explore the extent to which these individuals continue to encourage civic engagement within their social networks. Future research could explore the propensity to be a social influencer and its relationship to generational characteristics. Policy makers can apply this research to identify effective approaches to develop plans of study that are consistent with K-12 education students have experienced and satisfy the requirements of future employers. In addition, community engagement professionals could benefit from understanding how to effectively foster formal relationships with students and cultivate informal bonds between students in order to improve recruitment efforts for university-sponsored civic engagement opportunities.

7.6   CONCLUSIONS

Pancer's (2014) theory of civic engagement offers insights regarding the initiating factors of civic engagement that were explored in this study. For most participants, a desire to participate in the fellowship was associated with a combination of having a value of reciprocity and social responsibility often informed by family, faculty, or peers and the instrumental motivation to pursue civic engagement. In addition, many participants were expecting to learn about a community and how to effectively engage with its members in a supportive environment.

The participants seemed to have applied to the fellowship because the experience was an available opportunity at their University. Most individuals were asked to participate, directly or indirectly, via social influences. The participants in this study appear to have placed a positive value on working in the community, learning from the community, and working for social and economic justice. Additionally, these participants were attracted by the instrumental motives of the stipend and the opportunity to develop skills in a learning environment that could be appealing to future employers.

As I finished editing this document, high school and college students around the country organized a walkout that occurred on the one-month anniversary of the school shooting at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Florida which resulted in the murder of 17 students and faculty. Students protested outside of the White House in Washington, D.C. and turned their backs on this symbol of democracy during 17 minutes of silence to remember the 17 victims as a part of the March for Our Lives movement (Heim & Lang, 2018). These post-Millennial students seem to have rallied behind a cause that directly affected them. This civically engaged response appears different from the Millennial responses to earlier instances of school

violence such as at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colorado. Exploring these differences might help to better understand generational differences related to civic engagement.

Over the past 60 years, college students in the U.S. have been civically active in important causes ranging from the formation of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in the 1960s to advocate for civil rights, to the recent Black Lives Matter movement to promote social justice (Astor, 2018). By examining and learning from these examples, higher education institutions might more effectively provide a supportive environment for students to foster social influence, values for social responsibility, and instrumental motives which are likely to initiate and sustain civic engagement thus fostering an engaged population which strengthens the health of democracy at all levels, from local municipalities to the entire country.

This study focused on a single program in a unique university and explored issues related to civic engagement. While limited in scope, the findings align with prior literature and suggest areas of future research regarding generational differences, economic trends, and structures of civic experiences. Policy makers can apply this knowledge to develop a broad catalog of opportunities that are inclusive to all students. Furthermore, community engaged professionals can consider ways to enhance relationships in an effort to recruit a diverse student body to become civically engaged and foster values of social responsibility and reciprocity.

PARTICIPANT ORIGINAL INFORMED CONSENT AND RECRUITMENT MESSAGE

Overview of Project: The purpose of this research is to develop an understanding regarding the initiating factors that lead college students to elect to become civically engaged.

What Are We Trying to Learn? The research questions for this project are: RQ1: What were the initiating factors for a select group of undergraduate students to apply for an academically-based civic engagement fellowship program? RQ2: What are the future expectations for civic engagement among applicants for a specific academically-based civic engagement fellowship program?

How Will the Information Be Used? Data will be collected through interviews that will last approximately 60-90 minutes. Interviews will be audio recorded and transcribed. All identifying information will be removed when data is analyzed and reported. Therefore, all information research participants provide will be kept confidential. Findings will be presented in the form of a dissertation and may be published in the future in the form of scholarly research. All collected data will be stored digitally and password protected.

Who Is Conducting the Research? The data collection, analysis, and reporting of research will be conducted by Everett Herman, a doctoral student at the University of Pittsburgh's School of Education. The research has been reviewed and approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of the University of Pittsburgh and complies with all provisions of ethical and proper research conduct. If you have questions regarding the research, feel free to contact Everett Herman via e-mail at everettherman@pitt.edu or by phone at 610-322-2616.

What Are the Benefits and/or Risks to Participation in the Research? There are no risks to participating in the research. Participation in this research is voluntary and you may withdraw from the study at any time.

BY SIGNING BELOW, I AM INDICATING THAT I HAVE READ THIS CONSENT FORM AND AM WILLING TO PARTICIPATE IN THE RESEARCH ACTIVITY DESCRIBED ABOVE.

(SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT)	**(DATE)**

PARTICIPANT REVISED INFORMED CONSENT

Informed Consent

Overview of Project: The purpose of this research is to develop an understanding regarding the initiating factors that lead students to elect to become civically engaged.

What are we trying to learn? The research questions for this project are as follows: 1) What were the initiating factors for a select group of undergraduate students to apply for an academically-based civic engagement fellowship program? 2) What are the expectations for civic engagement among applicants for a specific academically-based civic engagement fellowship program?

How will the information be used? Data will be collected through interviews that will last approximately 60 minutes. Interviews will be audio recorded and transcribed. All identifying information will be removed when data is analyzed and reported. Therefore, all information research participants provide will be kept confidential. Findings will be presented in the form of a dissertation and may be published in the future in the form of scholarly research. All collected data will be stored digitally and password protected.

Who is conducting the research? The data collection, analysis, and reporting of research will be conducted by Everett Herman, a doctoral student at the University of Pittsburgh's School of Education. The research has been reviewed and approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of the University of Pittsburgh and complies with all provisions of ethical and proper research conduct. If you have questions regarding the research, feel free to contact Everett Herman via e-mail at everettherman@pitt.edu.

What are the benefits and/or risks to participation in the research? There are no risks to participating in the research. Participation in this research is voluntary and you may withdraw from the study at any time.

Will I be compensated for my participation? Study participants will be provided with a WePay gift card in the amount of $15.

By signing below, I am indicating that I have read this consent form and am willing to participate in the research activity described above.

_____

(SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT)   (DATE)

PARTICIPANT REVISED RECRUITMENT MESSAGE

Dear Student,

As a result of your interest in the Greene Fellows program, I am hoping you would be willing to volunteer to participate in a research study to help me complete my Ph.D at the School of Education. **Study participants will provided a $15 gift card.** The study, entitled *Understanding the Initiating Factors of Civic Engagement*, focuses on how and why college students become motivated to be involved in their communities considering:

- Less than 5% of college freshmen demonstrate for a cause.
- Approximately 20% of registered voters aged 18-24 did not vote in the 2016 election because they were "too busy, and had a schedule conflict".
- Less than half of college freshmen keep up with political affairs.
- Approximately 90% of college freshmen have performed volunteer work.

If you would like to participate in this research study or have any questions, please contact Everett Herman at everettherman@pitt.edu.

Participation in the study will consist of an interview that should last 45-60 minutes and ask you to reflect on prior civic endeavors.

Thank you for supporting this research study!

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Table 5: Interview protocol

RQ1: What were the initiating factors for a select group of undergraduate students to apply for an academically-based civic engagement fellowship program?		
RQ2: What are the perceived future expectations for civic engagement among applicants for a specific academically-based civic engagement fellowship program?		
Interview Question	Evidence	Purpose
1) How would you describe someone who is a "good citizen"?	Values	RQ1
2) Who is someone you consider a "good citizen"? Why? What about them makes them a "good citizen"?	Values Social influence	RQ1
3) Do you feel that people in society need to be responsible for each other? Why? Have you acted on that belief in your past? How?	Value Norms of reciprocity and social responsibility	RQ1
4) Can you describe your hometown? a) What types of community organizations were there? b) Were you a member with any of those organizations? If yes describe your role(s).	Community service Availability of programs and organizations	RQ1
5) Can you describe your high school? a) What types of student organizations were there? b) Were you a member with any of those organizations? If yes describe your role(s).	Community service Availability of programs and organizations	RQ1

Table 5 continued

RQ1: What were the initiating factors for a select group of undergraduate students to apply for an academically-based civic engagement fellowship program?		
RQ2: What are the perceived future expectations for civic engagement among applicants for a specific academically-based civic engagement fellowship program?		
Interview Question	Evidence	Purpose
6) What were your plans following graduation before you started college? Professionally/academically? a) Have they changed? How? Why? b) How does participation in a program like GF help achieve those goals?	Values Instrumental motives	RQ1
7) Can you describe your University? a) Are you a member of any organizations on or off campus? If yes describe your role(s). b) Do you feel you are unique with respect to your role on campus?	Community service Availability of programs and organizations Social influence	RQ1
8) Has anybody encouraged you, or acted as a role model to inspire you in your behaviors with respect to community service, voting behaviors, or political engagement?	Social influence Values	RQ1
9) Do you stay current on events and issues in the news? Through what medium (e.g. internet, local/national/cable news, social media)? Why or why not?	Values	RQ1

10) The Greene Fellowship program describes itself as preparing students to be engaged civic leaders working for economic and social justice.
a) How did those concepts play a role in your interest in the program?
b) What kinds of activities come to your mind when you think of engaged civic leadership? Economic justice? Social justice?
c) Have you been active in those activities before?
   i) When?
   ii) Where?
   iii) With whom?
   iv) Why? What initiated that activity?
d) Did you want to participate in similar activities in the past but were unable? What
	Values
	Social influence
	Obstacles to engagement
		RQ1
		RQ2

Table 5 continued

Interview Question	Evidence	Purpose
RQ1: What were the initiating factors for a select group of undergraduate students to apply for an academically-based civic engagement fellowship program?		
RQ2: What are the perceived future expectations for civic engagement among applicants for a specific academically-based civic engagement fellowship program?		
prevented your participation?		
11) Do you think being a GF will help you to engage in community or civic leadership? How do you think that might happen? a) (for non-Fellows) How else can you engage in the community or practice civic leadership?	Expectations	RQ2
12) What factors led you to apply for the Greene Fellowship program? Why was this important to you? Why as a part of your college experience? a) What role did the academic credit play in your decision to apply? b) What role did the stipend play in your decision to apply? c) Have you participated in a similar type of program to the GF while in college? Can you describe it? Prior to college?	Values Instrumental motives Social influence	RQ1
13) Do you see yourself as being civically engaged in the future? How so? Why or why not?	Instrumental motives Values Expectations Self-confidence	RQ2

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149

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