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CITIZENSHIP THROUGH OSMOSIS

A THESIS
The Honors Program
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In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Distinction "All College Honors"
and the Degree Bachelor of Arts
In the Department of Government

by
Terese Sian Maier
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THESIS APPROVAL

Title: CITIZENSHIP THROUGH OSMOSIS

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No more rewards for predicting rain...

...rewards only for building arks.

Founding Statement  
Center for School Change  
Hubert Humphrey Institute  
University of Minnesota
INTRODUCTION

The debate is raging. What should Americans do about education? It is obvious that something must be done, and the critics agree on this much, but what should be done is another question altogether. Critics look to falling SAT (and other standardized tests) scores, rising illiteracy rates, increasing dropout rates among high school students, growing teen pregnancy rates, and a disinterested (perhaps uninformed?) electorate as sure signs that whatever else education may be doing, it is not producing effective citizenship. To produce an interested, informed, effective citizenry is one of the primary, overarching reasons for education in a democratic society.

Indeed, that education is inherently linked to the success or failure of a democratic society and that public as well as private education exists to produce an effective citizenry is practically taken for granted among American educators. In her essay, "Service Learning: Education For Democracy", Sharon Rubin argues for democratic models in education, suggesting a link between education and successful democratic government without specifically arguing for civic education. She says, "What are we willing
to invest in educating our students... What are we willing to risk for the future of democracy?" In "Is Active Citizenship Still Possible?" Robert Salisbury says clearly, "We know... civic participation is education." Implicitly both people link the success of the American democratic government to education.

The belief that education is necessary for democratic government dates back to the Founding Fathers and the forming of the Republic. Thomas Jefferson specifically argued for the establishment of a system of public education which was to be incorporated into The Constitution as an amendment. Jefferson reasoned:

Every government degenerates when trusted to the rulers of the people alone. The people themselves therefore are its only safe depositories. And to render even them safe, their minds must be improved to a certain degree. This is not all that is necessary, though it be essentially necessary. An amendment of our constitution must here come in aid of the public education. The
influence of the government must be shared among all people.³

For Jefferson, then, there is a clear link between education and successful democratic government. His belief was that for the people to be able to rule, or act as a sovereign people, they must have a certain level of experience and knowledge.

Similar beliefs are still expressed today. Michael Walzer argues that "...all future citizens need an education" because "schooling...provides the common currency of political and social life."⁴ Walzer's point is that education offers the crucial information for a people to produce a functioning society. On a similar note, Larry Powell argues, "Schools are a microcosm of society. The basics of citizenship are explored in schools and need to reflect this..."⁵ The implicit assumption is that education is a necessary link between the government and her citizenry.

However, it is at this point that inconsistency arises. Simply put, teachers are expected to teach democratic values in a non-democratic environment. Schools are not currently democratic institutions. Teachers must have control of
their classrooms, kindergarten through undergraduate. The importance of maintaining order in the classroom, based on certain uncompromising rules tempered with appropriate discipline, cannot be lightly dismissed. A pointed example of the tenuous balance between the discipline and the personal autonomy of the student which must be maintained by a teacher is found in Tracy Kidder's book AMONG SCHOOL CHILDREN. Kidder traces a year in the life of a school teacher and the result is a picture of a woman, the teacher, who is expected to guide, counsel, nurture, teach, and discipline the children who walk into her classroom each year. "Chris" is a teacher in Lower Hutt, a community just outside of Boston, her childhood home, which is economically depressed. The community is inhabited by ethnic groups who are poor and largely un-involved with their children's educations. Kidder shows the daily, all-consuming, process of doubt which the teacher undergoes with every new method for teaching and with every act of discipline. Kidder's book accurately shows the dilemma of teaching students to be autonomous thinkers in a system which necessarily inhibits the autonomy of the student.6
Given the above, the purpose of this paper is to look at the general structure of the American school systems, which encompasses both public and private systems, to investigate how citizenship is promoted or negated; to see in what ways democratic values are enhanced or undermined. We will look at three particular areas of concern. First, what are reasonable, necessary expectations of citizenship? Second, what currently exists in the schools, what is the state of the schools, and how much of this can be directly attributed to the schools? It is important here to isolate the schools from other societal problems (i.e. housing, racism, income, drugs) which undermine the effectiveness of the school. Third, what can reasonably be expected of the schools. This last section will incorporate an introduction to an alternate system of education created by Kurt Hahn, as well as look at the service-learning movement taking place throughout the country.
THE OBLIGATIONS OF CITIZENSHIP

Before proceeding any further it is necessary to understand that individuals are obligated as citizens to support, indeed promote, education among each other. Milton Friedman offers insight to the above in his monograph CAPITALISM AND FREEDOM. Friedman argues that on the grounds of "neighborhood effects" individuals are obligated, to support some sort of system of general education. "Neighborhood effects" are defined as "circumstances under which the action of one individual imposes significant costs on other individuals of which it is not feasible to make him [or her] compensate them [or vice versa]." In other words "...circumstances which make voluntary exchange impossible."7

Friedman explains how "neighborhood effects" apply directly to the need of education in a democratic society. He argues that maintaining a "stable and democratic society" is impossible without a minimum degree of literacy and knowledge, and a widespread acceptance of a common set of values. Education, Friedman argues, can contribute to the success of all of the above. Therefore, the neighborhood effects of education can be understood as the "gain from the
education of a child [any child that] accrues not only to the child or his parents but also to other members of the society..." He continues, "... the education of my child contributes to your welfare by promoting a stable and democratic society."^8

Currently, every American child is entitled to a basic education, and it is the community which insures that its members are educated. The community has invested in and subsidized every child with an education and purely practical issues demand a return from this investment. There is a purpose behind the subsidy, and this is to create effective citizens who continue the society. As Amy Gutman notes, the community has a claim on the student, which takes the form of citizen obligation or the continuation of the society.^9

It is important to note that Jefferson and Gutman would not agree with Friedman's understanding of what education should be, though they agree that education should be provided to all citizens in order for a healthy democratic society. Friedman argues for a system of education which can only be described as minimal. He thinks that the prime responsibility of the schools is to teach the basics, i.e.
reading, writing, and arithmetic, where mastery of said subjects need only be elementary. However, the current school system does considerably more than Friedman suggests and is still not producing an effective citizenry. The failure of the school system, as will be discussed later in this paper, is not due so much to a gap in the curriculum or to a lack of school years (things which are definite concerns in Friedman's system) so much as it is to how the available subjects are taught.

REASONABLE EXPECTATIONS OF CITIZENSHIP

Acknowledging that citizens have obligations as well as rights, the discussion now turns to the reasonable expectations of citizenship. In their essay "Education for Citizenship: The Role of Progressive Education and Interdisciplinary Education", W.H. Newell and A.J. Davis propose various criteria for citizenship. Five reasonable expectations for citizenship can be extracted from Newell and Davis these are: civic literacy, critical thinking, social conscience, toleration and respect for diversity, and political action.
Civic Literacy

Civic literacy is defined as being able to make informed judgments about complex societal issues and reach conclusions based on those judgments.\textsuperscript{11} This first expectation is something which citizens are expected to do every time they cast their vote. Minimally, then, citizens must be able to read. There is no possibility of processing and weighing information when the primary means, namely reading, of gathering information is an impossibility. Low literacy rates show us that there are citizens who cannot function in the daily life of a democratic society. Yet, precisely what the statistics of the nation show is low literacy rates. Within in the United States, according to Jack E. Bowsher in EDUCATING AMERICA, 23 million adults, active citizens, are illiterate. They cannot read. Beyond this, an additional 33 million adults are functionally illiterate. Functionally illiterate means that these people are reading between a sixth and eighth grade level. Other statistics show that two-thirds of the American population can read, but what does this actually say?\textsuperscript{12} It says that there is one-third
of the citizenry that cannot even begin to make reasonable judgments about the society in which they live.

Further statistics show that the actual knowledge that supposedly literate individuals possess is appallingly minimal. One out of every seven citizens cannot point out the United States on a globe. Additionally, between 60% and 70% of the population cannot identify the Magna Carta nor are aware that Senator Joe McCarthy investigated communist activity nor, and perhaps most surprising, can they place the event of the Civil War between 1850 and 1900.13

In response to such statistics, E. D. Hirsch published his book CULTURAL LITERACY. Hirsch argues that there has been a decline in the knowledge that students need to have to function as effective members of society. Minimally, he argues, there are five thousand things which every American needs to know.14 Beyond Hirsch's argument, the phenomenal response which Hirsch's book has received is worth noting. CULTURAL LITERACY was a national bestseller which has been updated and expanded with recent editions. Also directly stemming from CULTURAL LITERACY, the book, are an adult version and a children's version of the dictionary which gives detailed definitions to the list Hirsch proposes.
A more pointed response to Hirsch is The Graywolf Annual MULTI-CULTURAL LITERACY, which challenges Hirsch's list as too white, heterosexual, Anglo-American, and male, and which offers a list of its own. It is important to note that essentially Simonson and Hirsch agree that there is a problem with cultural literacy and with American education. Their differences arise when defining what it is that people need to know in order to be culturally literate.

Another example of the lack of civic literacy can be gleaned from a study conducted by Thomas L. Dynneson et al. which is an exploratory survey conducted to find out what four groups of 1987 graduating seniors considered to be good citizenship and who they considered to be most influential in the formation of citizenship. The results of the survey show that students do have very definite ideas of what citizenship should be and who most influenced their notions of citizenship. However, the most revealing conclusion which Dynneson reaches is that students have a social, not political, definition of citizenship. Dynneson's conclusions will be returned to later in the paper.

The result of the above examples show that there is a definite lack of civic literacy among the American popula-
tion, young and old. It is important to note that while the above are outstanding examples of the lack of civic literacy in the American population, there are numerous other pieces of information which would point to the same problem in spite of the fact that the various solutions may differ. There is breadth and depth to the problem of civic literacy.

Critical Thinking

The second criterion proposed by Newell and Davis is critical thinking. Critical thinking is defined as being able to deal with conflicting pieces of evidence and then evaluate conflicting claims on an individual basis.\(^\text{17}\) In the journal EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP the issue of teaching critical thinking is addressed. The journal argues pointedly for the need to have students who are taught to think critically. Barbara Z. Presseisen argues, "In a society engulfed with information, the ability to reason is essential to make the decisions and solve the problems we face daily."\(^\text{18}\) The point that Presseisen makes extends beyond Newell and Davis' understanding of critical thinking. What the journal points out is that to function on a day to
day basis, to deal with the fundamental concerns of daily life, it is necessary to be able to reason. David Matthews argues in a recent essay that "in a democracy, we need the skill to be able to talk together in order to think together...it requires us to explore together, to compare, to synthesize."19

*Social Conscience*

Returning to Newell and Davis, the third criteria is social conscience. The definition, of social conscience is the ability to identify the common good.20 To better understand the role of the common good in American society, the discussion addresses Robert Bellah et al's work *HABITS OF THE HEART*. After extensive research about how Americans perceive their nation and their role in the nation, Bellah was able to arrive at some specific definitions which form common threads in American society. For Bellah, there is a "sense that the public good is based on the responsibilities from one generation to the next" which includes "an awareness of" the need of the public good as "an essential thing..."21
Beyond Bellah, the common good is what the members of a society believe to be beneficial for all. It is worth noting Newell and Davis' careless use "common good." It is hard to believe that they comprehend how difficult the complex and ambiguous notion of "common good" has been (and continues to be) for political scientists, philosophers, and government officials. For there is another side to the common good, for it may well be that the members of a society do not know what is beneficial for all. Yet, minimally social conscience must be an awareness that there are other members of a society, equally as valuable as one's self.

There is, inherent in American society, an antithesis to the public good, a pervasive sense of individualism among the American population. There is a paradox between pursuing one's own ends, individualism, and meeting the needs of social obligation in order to maintain a healthy society, the public good. Unsurprisingly, as Bellah points out, the "deepest problems both as individuals and as a society are linked..." Bellah says further that among Americans
we find the fear that society may overwhelm the individual and destroy any chance of autonomy... but also recognition that it is only in relation to society that the individual can fulfill himself and that if the break with society is too radical, life has no meaning at all.²²

Bellah's research qualifies the extreme side of American individualism which has manifested itself into what is commonly called the "me-generation."²³ In a 1983 survey of college freshman, THE ECONOMIST reports that "The chief 'life goal' these days is 'being very well off financially', endorsed by 70% [of the respondents] compared to 40% ten years ago."²⁴ The concern is with a society that is "individual-oriented," with a society which is centered around questions such as "what's in it for me, how much do I get out of it, am I getting everything that I am entitled to in my life..." To counter such attitudes Bellah argues that a "minimum of public decency and civility is a precondition for a fulfilling private life--a rewarding private life is one of the preconditions for a healthy public life..."

Here, Bellah shows that there is an interdependency between
the public and private sides of life. It is unsatisfactory to dismiss the needs of the private as destructive individualism. For the public side to be healthy, the private side needs to be allowed to flourish and vice versa.  

To create and promote the necessary balance between public and private, Bellah supports the creation of communities of memory. Communities of memory are communities which are created by their past and which live with and through their pasts as a means of promoting the present and future community.  

Toleration and a Respect for Diversity  

Toleration and a respect for diversity is the fourth criteria proposed by Newell and Davis and is largely self-explanatory. People need to be tolerant of the differences of each other and respect those differences as necessary for the maintenance of a healthy society. Herbert McClosky and Alida Brill's book, DIMENSIONS OF TOLERANCE, is devoted to a study of the tolerance of Americans. At the beginning of the book the author's state,  

"Many people, it seems, fear what is different because [it
is] what they do not understand or cannot control..."²⁸ It is this kind of fear which leads to intolerance and it is necessary that something, education for example, diffuses this fear in order to have a healthy citizenry.

What is the state of tolerance in the United States? What is the state of tolerance in the consciousness of the American citizenry? For a glimpse of the answers to the above questions we turn to Catholic education at all levels. Before continuing, it is important to note that the education of children and young adults as future citizens makes both public and private institutions accountable to certain standards. With this in mind, the policies of the Catholic Church must be considered.

In the "Letter to the Bishops of the Catholic Church on the Pastoral Care of Homosexual Persons" which was released in October 1986 the Catholic Church's policy is expressly stated. Homosexuality "is more or less a strong tendency ordered toward an intrinsic moral evil...Christians who are homosexual are called to a chaste life..." In other words, if a person suspects or knows that he/she is homosexual, that person must recognize that he/she is inclined to a moral evil and live asexually.²⁹ The policy calls homo-
sexuals to deny their identity and provides a reason for real disparagement on the behalf of heterosexuals towards homosexuals. As homosexuality is intrinsically evil, it makes sense that heterosexuals would seek to destroy, at least isolate themselves from, homosexuality. Clearly, tolerance is in no way promoted by the policy.

But what concerns can be raised about Catholic education in connection with the Catholic policy on homosexuality? Statistically, and this is conservative estimation, ten percent of the population is homosexual, which means that ten percent of all children or young adults given a Catholic education will learn one of two things: Either the student will learn, if he/she is homosexual, that he/she is intrinsically evil and so he/she will not be tolerated by heterosexuals. Or the student will learn, if he/she is heterosexual, that homosexuality is intrinsically evil and so, the student will not tolerate homosexuality. The policy creates fear in either case: the fear of being "found out" in the former or the fear of something which "is evil" in the latter, both of which can only be destructive to the education of the student. The children given a Catholic education will come to have a public life. Is it
really logical to suppose that the Catholic educational institutions will teach tolerance? The only reasonable answer is no.

Another example of the lack of tolerance among the American people can be found in John Coates' book ARMED AND DANGEROUS. The book is an account of the rise of neo-Nazism and hate crimes during the 1980's. The information which Coates undercovers about racism in the United States points to extreme levels of ignorance, distrust, fear, and, as result of the those three feelings, intolerance manifested in action. Coates points to a major poll given in 1986 by the Louis Harris organization for the ADL (American Defamation League). The pervasiveness of intolerance and fear in American society is effectively shown when Harris asks whether people "agree or disagree with the statement that 'when it comes to choosing between people and money, Jews will choose money.' Coates summarizes the poll:

In virtually every category, a plurality of Nebraskans and Iowans bought the stereotype of the money-grasping Jew. In Nebraska, 48 percent agreed with the caricature while 40 percent
rejected it. Jews fared slightly better in Iowa, where the charge was rejected by 44-39 percent.\textsuperscript{30}

The intolerance that Coates describes in his book goes beyond the purely empirical information to that of written accounts by those committing hate crimes. Coates quotes a letter written by Robert Jay Matthews, on the day that he died, who was the leader of a neo-Nazi organization called by the federal government "the Order". Matthews writes that his study of history:

\ldots started to awaken a wrongfully suppressed emotion buried deep within my soul. That of racial pride and consciousness.

The stronger my love for my people grew, the deeper became my hatred for those who would destroy my race, my heritage. And darken the future of my children.

By the time my son had arrived, I realized that White America, indeed my entire race, was headed for oblivion unless White men rose and turned the tide.\textsuperscript{31}
Matthew's attitudes help explain the continued growth of the "Skinheads", neo-Nazi youth, 14-20 years old, in the United States. In the first ten months of 1990, 187 Skinheads were arrested in connection with hate crimes. Investigations and prosecutions have remained steady but have not slowed down nor have they deterred Skinhead activity. A decade review of hate crimes and white supremacy put out by Klanwatch reports, "The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith estimated the number of neo-Nazi Skinheads tripled between 1987 and 1989, to 3,000 gang members in 37 states." The extreme intolerance of the Skinheads is illustrated by a Skinhead as he states the gang's philosophy

[we are] a subculture army...Instead of verbally assaulting people, we physically assault them. We don't take shit...We've all had our part in bashing people. We'll assault anybody.

The above gives definite evidence of the extreme levels of intolerance and disrespect for others which exists in the United States.
What becomes increasingly clear with each example is that intolerance and disrespect for others thrives throughout the country at all levels of society. But the statistics are clear. The world is "seven-eighths non-white" and the American society is becoming less white and European with each passing day.\textsuperscript{35} It is imperative that citizens attempt to incorporate the ways of other cultures into society, if the society is going to continue to thrive. The conclusions of McClosky and Brill's book need to be considered seriously. They argue, "the willingness to permit others to express offensive or dangerous opinions or to deviate from community standards in their beliefs or conduct, is not inherently congenial to human beings. Rather, it is a product of social learning."\textsuperscript{36}

\textit{Political Action}

According to Newell and Davis, the fifth and last expectation, and perhaps the most important, is that of political action. Newell and Davis point out significantly that lacking political action, "the knowledge and values of the first...requirements are unused potential, good
intentions." There are many ways to be politically active. A person may write letters to Congresspeople, hold open rallies, partake in marches, run for office, volunteer to campaign for a candidate, or may create a study group, promote building projects, create PAC's. The essential thing which all of the above activities have in common is one of community involvement with a level of commitment and risk on the behalf of the individual.

There is a particular type of individual which needs to be focussed on--that of a civic entrepreneur--when speaking of political action in a democratic government. Harlan Cleveland sets forth criteria for civic entrepreneurship. Cleveland argues that such a person would place "more emphasis on attitudes than on skills." This person would see that "crises are normal...[that] complexity is fun...[and that] tension is promising." Further, a civic entrepreneur would have a "passionate interest in the future," would be "unafraid of newness," and would have a "genuine interest in what others think." But Cleveland points to the dilemma a person faces if he or she is a civic entrepreneur. He argues that the tension is "how to
reconcile the personal power knowledge confers on you with the personal responsibility it requires of you."^{38}

The type of person that Joseph A. Schumpeter and Cleveland are describing is a person that is vital to the functioning of a democratic society. A civic entrepreneur is willing to take personal risk, not particularly economic risk (though this is a factor) as much as reputational risk, for the sake of the improvement of the community in some area. Such an individual takes fundamental risk by stepping outside of the masses in an attempt to get something done. While there certainly are levels of risk involved among various projects, the point here is that all citizens should desire (and then act upon their desire) to become involved in the life of their community. It is only in this way that the tasks of keeping a democratic society thriving can be achieved. As Schumpeter says, "It consists in getting things done."^{39} Participation is a clinching role in effective citizenship.

But how is participation measured? One possibility of participation measurement is voter turnout. However, there are serious flaws and limitations with using voter turnout as the standard measure for how much citizens are
participating. First, it is not at all uncommon to see the United States compared with other democratic governments worldwide with regard to voter turnout. However, what is seldom pointed out when such comparisons are made, is that in other democratic governments citizens are registered to vote the day they are born. It is not at all surprising that the United States has fewer voters voting given the initial effort required to register, even excluding voter registration laws.

In fact, Newell and Davis make this mistake when they say, "The United States, despite major voter registration efforts, moved in 1984 from its traditional position as next to the worst nation in the world in voter turnout to absolute lowest..." Comparisons such as these give little insight into levels of participation among American citizenry. However, voter turnout is a standard measurement and can show, if used chronologically within the United States, trends in the American electorate.

It is important to keep in mind that there are several reasons why citizens choose not to vote. One reason may be that voters cannot see the difference between choices. The candidates are so close on all of the relevant issues that
voters do not see the point in voting. Voters may choose not to vote as an expression of extreme distaste for any of the candidates. Voters, in this case, may simply be showing intelligence. Voters may not vote in the case that they do not see that their vote, among the many millions of other votes, will make a difference. Of course, citizens will not vote if they cannot vote. Voter registration laws, briefly alluded to earlier, are an effective means by which to keep people from voting. Such laws involve being able to register only so many days before this election or after that election. The time of day one has to register and place of registration are also effective means of limiting registration and thus limiting who votes. The same holds true for actual days of voting.41 As things now stand in the United States, voters are expected to vote on a Tuesday, a regular working day, before eight o'clock p.m. when the polls close. An easy solution to getting more voters to vote is to have voting take place on a Sunday, a day most people have off from work, as Japan did in its most recent elections.

There is yet another issue of concern regarding political action, and that is the low levels of political
participation among the populace. Warren Miller's 1984 election study shows symptoms of an apathetic electorate. When asked if the respondent agreed or disagreed with the statement, "I don't think public officials care much about what people like me think" 1271 of the respondents disagreed and 945 agreed. While those in agreement do not make up a majority, they do qualify as a significant minority. When asked to agree or disagree with the statement "People like me don't have any say about what the government does" 1517 people disagreed and 706 agreed. Here, again, those in agreement make up a considerable minority. The low levels of political efficacy and high levels of cynicism which reappear in public polls may be the attributed to institutions which are authoritarian and bureaucratic in nature. The response recorded by public opinion polls shows a sense among respondents that individual participation at the local, state, and/or government level(s) is futile.

THE STATE OF AMERICAN SCHOOLS

The basic tenets of what reasonable citizenship expectations have been addressed. The discussion now turns
to the question of the state of American schools. Are American schools, in reality, institutions which are failing to perform their primary duties? Do Americans simply have poor schools?

Literacy and cultural literacy rates have already been reviewed and offer a frightening basis with which to begin an analysis of American schools. Further statistics point to the inability of individuals to perform menial tasks which affect their daily lives. For example, in Bowsher's study, 13% of all adult Americans cannot properly address an envelope. The results also showed that 28% of all adults could not make proper change given a store receipt. In the 1980's, 16% of all college freshman were enrolled in remedial reading courses and 25% were enrolled in remedial math courses.  WILSON QUARTERLY reports that of nearly 1400 colleges and universities polled, 84% said that they had to offer remedial reading, writing, and math programs.

Bowsher argues for a major restructuring of schools. He says, "Those who cannot accept change in the education systems of today must accept dropout rates of 20 or 30%, millions of unemployable high school graduates, and the United States' international reputation of being almost last
in performance while being first in expense." WILSON QUARTERLY supports Bowsher with reports from the Department of Education. According to the Department of Education the number of functional illiterates grows by 2.3 million people every year. Further statistics from the NAEP (National Association of Educational Progress) state that one million children between 12-17 years old currently read below a fourth grade level.

The intolerant attitudes of youth, as illustrated earlier with the Skinheads, must also be attributed, at least in part, to the schools. Returning to the Harris study used by Coates, the attitudes of people who are high school graduates only towards the Holocaust are revealed. Respondants were given the statement "Jews should stop complaining about what happened to them in Nazi Germany" and asked if they agreed. "Among high school graduates, 48% agreed that Jews complain too much about the Nazi death camps and only 42% disagreed." Further we must note that all of the members of the 48% had achieved the level of proficiency, namely a high school diploma, which supposedly guarantees the ability to participate effectively in society.
The evidence is daunting and the reasons for why such results exist range from one extreme to another. Some critics argue for more money and some for no more. Other critics blame the youth of today for such results and so on. However, the criticism which reappears again and again, and one which is so blatantly false that it must be addressed, is that the youth of today are morally corrupt (or at least morally indifferent and relativistic) and therefore to blame for the decay in education. Allan Bloom supports such criticism of American youth.48

Bloom levels sweeping statement after sweeping statement at American youth in attempt to show that the United States is in desperate need of a revitalization of moral education. Bloom says of today's youth, "There is, indeed, a certain listlessness about them, an absence of a broad view of the future..." Students have no vision because they have no sense about or enjoyment of reading. Bloom is speaking specifically of reading the Bible and the classics. As a result, students are deeply lacking in a profound sense of morality and are, therefore, relativists.49

For youth, there are no absolute truths. Bloom states
of American students, "None of their beliefs result from principle, a project, an effort." He says further, "Students today...are morally unpretentious, and they look at themselves with irony when it comes to the big moral questions." Bloom continues his analysis of youth by arguing that music today is the further reason for students to shut out and shut off towards greater societal issues. Students live in a numbed state provided by their music which in turn leads to a numbed indifference in all areas of their lives. For the once-youth-now-educated-adult "marriage...seems to be best acquired...in a fit of absence of mind." Solutions to all of the crises which the country is now faced with its youth can be found in a return to traditional values, the family, and the classics.\(^50\)

Sadly, Bloom is not alone in his vision of the young people of today. Morris Janowitz subscribes to ideas similar to, perhaps extensions of, those of Bloom. Janowitz, too, prescribes a return to traditional values, though he is speaking more specifically of traditional values with regard to nationalism and patriotism, elements which need to be reinstated into American society. Janowitz is concerned with
the lack of such values in youth for he envisions the undermining of American democracy. Janowitz says of today's students

There [is] a total lack of concern with the political obligations required to make the contemporary system operate more efficiently...51

His criticisms continue as he says, "...especially among the young, nationalism is regarded with growing indifference." College students have attitudes which consist of "self-interest and narrow concern with their careers." 52 While this may be true, it is symptomatic of larger problems surrounding the education of youth.

The notion that it is youth who, embracing recent movements in liberalism and liberation, are in some way responsible for the ills which prevail throughout society is preposterous. Neither Bloom nor Janowitz are considering the problem of education correctly if they attack youth in the process. Youth did not create the society and of the society's flaws in which they grew up. It is not acceptable criticism that today's youth lack the minimal abilities of their mediocre predecessors. What is more accurate is that
today's youth lack a faith in institutions which results from the stifling autocratic and bureaucratic practices which proliferate in public and private institutions.

Furthermore, it is not plausible to propose that American society should return to traditional values, the family, and the classics. Indeed, by "traditional values" Bloom argues the re-establishment of the Bible in daily life. Yet, American society is haven for many religions. Is Bloom proposing that religions which do not embrace the Bible as their source of moral guidance, the Native American Indians for example, should be muted? Additionally, a return to the family unit is at best a thing of the past. Reality is that single parent families, headed usually by the woman, are growing. The cost of living demands that both parents work which immediately creates the problem of "latch-key kids." It seems, then, that Bloom's notion of returning to family would place women back in the home. Does Bloom really expect women to no longer pursue any interest outside of the home? Lastly, reading the classics is a valuable exercise but a limited one nevertheless. To read primarily the classic works in education is to deny
voice to any group outside of white, western, wealthy, European men.

Another view of today's youth is offered in Dynneson's survey. Dynneson's study shows the vision that students have of citizenship as one that is not so different from the most ideal definitions of citizenship. Dynneson reports:

According to the students..., a good citizen is a person who cares about the welfare of others, is moral and ethical in dealings with others, is able to challenge and critically question ideas, proposals, and suggestions, and in light of existing circumstances, is able to make good decisions based on good judgement.53

Dynneson's concern is that students defined citizenship in social terms and shied away from any sort of political definition. Dynneson expresses his concern and how the above observation relates to education. He says,

Students seem to be expressing a perception of citizenship that is based upon social
relationships rather than political...should this be the case... citizenship programs within the school have not reached their important political goals...[Americans] need to develop citizenship education programs that...teach the political side of human relationships...54

Dynneson's concern is centered around the students' lack of affinity with government officials and government institutions--things "political" for Dynneson. However, Dynneson's understanding of political is far too limited. The students' definition of citizenship acknowledges responsibility and accountability (only two of several qualities deemed important by the students) both of which are inherent in the understanding of leadership in a representative democracy. What seems to be clear from the study is that the students were unable to separate the structure of the government from the people who hold office in the government.

John Gatto, New York City's Teacher of the Year for 1989-1990, offers his understanding of American youth in his acceptance speech. Gatto's criticisms offer insight to the
poor understanding of political relationships apparent in youth. It is important to note that Gatto's criticism are criticisms of educational institutions and not of students. Gatto says

The children I teach are indifferent to the adult world. This defies the experience of thousands of years...The children I teach have almost no curiosity and what little they do have is transitory...The children I teach have a poor sense of the future, of how tomorrow is inextricably linked to today...The children I teach are ahistorical...The children I teach are cruel to each other; they lack compassion...The children I teach are uneasy with intimacy or candor...The children I teach are materialistic...The children I teach are dependent, passive, and timid in the presence of new challenges...55

The pathologies that Gatto suggests is where the real indication that schools are failing the youth and the
country can be found. It is the function of all education, Gatto would argue, to reverse the above pathologies.

Lastly, the criticism that if the duties for which the schools exist are not fulfilled by the schools, then those duties will be assimilated and defined by (regardless of the adequacy of such an event) other societal structures is valid. Walzer offers

It is possible...to gather children into schools for the sole purpose of not educating them there or of teaching them nothing more than bare literacy... Then education, by default of the schools, is in effect unmediated and is carried out in the family or on the streets; or it is mediated by television, the movies, and the music industry, and the schools are nothing but a (literal) holding operation until children are old enough to work.56

Walzer's observation is frightening because it is not so far removed from the situation which now exists in some schools
throughout the country. Schools which are burdened with responsibilities which extend far beyond the scope of education, placing the schools in the role of social workers or in the role of day care centers for the babies of teenage, single-mothers for example, are in danger of having only enough time to act as glorified babysitters..."a holding operation."

SCHOOLS AS BABYSITTERS AND SOCIAL WORKERS AND...

The discussion has taken a look at the criticisms and the fears which surround the education debate. The focus now turns to what the schools are actually supposed to do on a daily basis. Kidder's work with a school teacher, "Chris", shows the extraordinary number of roles that Chris is supposed to fulfill as part of teaching. She is expected to perform all of the regular tasks of her job, namely instructing, inspiring, disciplining, continuing her education, re-evaluating her methods continually, instructing student teachers, and dealing with administrative details and bureaucracy. Outside of this, Chris is expected play the roles of nurturer and pseudo-parent to those children,
and there are many in her class of roughly 30 whose parents are neglectful. She must somehow spread her already limited time between the extremely talented (she has one such student) the normal, and the very slow or troubled (of which she has five or six such students). Further, she is expected to know when a child is too troubled for a regular classroom setting and then she must begin the arduous task of getting that child psychologically evaluated. She must not only inspire the students to learn but she must inspire the parents to be active in their children's learning. She must act as a social worker of sorts as she deals with children who are sexually and physically abused.\(^{57}\)

She must combat the forces which Gatto considers to be undermining the nation: "drugs, brainless competition, recreational sex, the pornography of violence, gambling, alcohol, and...lives devoted to buying things, accumulation as a philosophy."\(^{58}\) She must combat the limited amount of time that her children have each week. Gatto points out that his "children watch fifty-five hours of television a week."\(^{59}\)

She must combat the forces of a racist, sexist society. She has to deal with the children who, for reasons of race
for example, have discarded the whole system. James Baldwin explains the phenomena of growing up as a black child on the streets. He says every such child

...understands that this structure is perpetuated for someone else's benefit—not for his. And there is no reason in it for him. He becomes a kind of criminal because that is the only way he can live. ...every ghetto...is full of people who live outside the law...They have turned away from this country forever and totally. They live by their wits and really long to see the day when the entire structure comes down.60

She must deal with statistics which, according to a study done by Alexander Astin, state that 83% of all white students complete high school. But the statistics are much worse for minorities, where only 72% of all black and only 55% of all Chicano, Puerto Rican, and Native American Indian students will complete high school.61
In addition to all of the above, college educators must reconcile themselves with the fact that in the last two decades the number of bachelor degrees has doubled going from 460,000 in 1964 to 986,000 in 1984. As THE ECONOMIST points out, "No institution can grow so fast without some decline in standards." Walzer sums up what he calls "the tyrannical intrusions on the educational community" to be, among other things, "all the expectations, prejudices, habits of deference and authority that students and teachers alike carry with them into the classroom."

Americans have placed on the system of education the responsibility of solving all of the breakdowns in society. It is obvious that just as schools are not to blame for every societal failing, that schools cannot solve every problem that exists within the United States. The necessary tasks which must be performed in order to educate youth are being lost in the load of other responsibilities which have been given to the schools.
WHAT CAN REASONABLY BE EXPECTED OF THE SCHOOLS

Review for a moment. American youth (but older generations as well) show definite need to have all of the five expectations strengthened and re-enforced. The discussion now turns to what the schools can reasonably be expected to do in aiding the promotion of citizenship. Primarily, the schools can seek to change the atmosphere of the classroom, of the school in which the classroom operates, and incorporate into the curriculum participatory learning methods with a priority placed on the establishment of a comprehensive and daily program of community service. A change in atmosphere recognizes that there are certain limitations within which the schools and teacher must necessarily operate. It does not advocate any such moves as the elimination of discipline or depriving the teacher of authority in the name of reform. As Watts points out, "...schools must not eliminate structure; instead structure must be organized in such a way that it engenders self-discipline."64 In addition to Watts' statement, school systems must engender self-esteem and a sense of effectiveness.
Teachers

Before continuing with the major focus of this last section, the importance of the role which teachers play must be addressed. Teachers are the role-models to whom the students will look. Therefore, it is imperative that teachers feel as though they are effective, contributing members of the school community. Currently, there is a mountain of literature available on the needed reforms concerning teacher education, teacher autonomy and empowerment within school systems, and the professionalization of teaching. To address these concerns in greater detail is beyond the scope of this paper. However, the essential point here is that teachers are powerful role-models, living examples, for students. If the teachers do not have a broad enough education to meet the needs of students, do not feel effective or capable of creating change, and/or do not see teaching as a legitimate profession; they will become frustrated, bored, and/or tired. The students will sense this and the students will believe that their teachers' deep frustration is an inherent part of the "real world". The students will mimic their teachers.65
Change of Classroom Atmosphere

A change in atmosphere in the classroom is necessary if citizenship is going to be effectively taught. Specifically, democratic habits must be incorporated into the daily life of the classroom if students are going to learn and come to have respect for democratic practices.

Respect and Self-Esteem

First, schools and teachers must create an environment which gives students the knowledge that they are respected contributors in the classroom. Building the self-esteem of students is primary if they are going to succeed in becoming politically active in Harlan Cleveland's notion of civic entrepreneurship. Showing students that they are, indeed, respected in the classroom and the larger community of the school is one way of building self-esteem.

Though there are other contributing factors, the lack of respect for students in the classroom is definitely a contributing factor towards the indifference of students today. The teacher who humiliates, who ignores, who is indifferent,
who is uninterested with the ideas and creations and contributions, no matter how small, of the child, necessarily undermines the confidence of the student. The student needs to know that he/she is capable of consistently making valuable contributions to the classroom which eventually translates into the larger society. Furthermore, respect from teacher to student offers a powerful model for respect between students. Respect for one another in turn fosters a sense of toleration and diffuses the fears which arise over the cultural differences among people.66

_Self-Confidence_

The student who lacks self-confidence will lack the motivation to function independently as an individual in or out of class. There can be no dispute that an important part of education is the creation and motivation of self-discipline in the student. Self-discipline is a skill that is necessary for the completion of any major project. There will be some great surprises and surges forward and the student should be allowed to enjoy wonder. However, there will also be times when routine dominates, when ideas are
the same old ideas, when hard work seems to bring no reward, and when the world feels tedious. It is for such times that self-discipline is necessary.

*Participatory Learning*

Teachers can show that they respect students by using participatory learning methods in the classroom. There is a great need for more participatory learning than the schools and teachers currently provide. Participatory learning actively engages the student in the creation and the direction that the student's education is taking. Essentially, participatory learning personalizes each student's education by actively engaging the student's energy in actually doing what needs to be done versus hearing the teacher talk about what should be done or worse yet, reading a watered down textbook about what has been done.

Participatory learning allows the student to get a true feeling of how a democratic society functions by creating an atmosphere in which students are actively engaged in making democratic decisions. Students offer their own solutions to various problems and then decide which course of action to
take. As a result of using the students' solutions two essential qualities for a democratic society are fostered: accountability and responsibility. The students are made accountable for their ideas and actions to the teacher and other students. As a result of being made accountable they are personally responsible for the solutions that they suggest and collectively responsible for the decision they ultimately make. Braveman says:

...participatory decision making...requires children to participate in making rules or solving classroom conflicts...[the children are] held accountable for these decisions...it teaches democracy through democracy [and trains] an active citizenry by having children be active citizens in the life of their school.  

Schools and teachers must seek to develop the voice of every student in the hopes of showing each individual that he/she can be a powerful contributor to society. As Matthews points out, "A student does not have to wait to be an adult to be part of the public dialogue, tolerance to think with
others, to learn how to make judgments about common purposes." Participatory learning allows students to think critically about the information and solutions set before them and then allows the students to act on their decisions.

Amy Gutman argues further for the need of more participatory learning techniques in her book DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION. Gutman reasons:

Although we lack enough evidence to say how much internal democracy is necessary to cultivate participatory virtues among students, the low levels of political participation in our society and the high levels of autocracy within most schools point to the conclusion that the cultivation of some participatory virtue should become more prominent among the purposes of primary schooling, especially as children become more capable of engaging in free and equal discussion with teachers and their peers.
Discipline and Shame

Schools and teachers must define a set of clear and simple rules with equally clear and reasonable deterrents which are easily comprehensible to the students. It must be that the disciplinary system created by the schools works on the principle of holding the student accountable and responsible for his/her actions and not as a means of punishing the student. The problem with punishment is that it re-enforces the notion that the student is BAD because he/she did something bad. The student is shamed and is made to feel shame-filled. Discipline cannot be shame-based. Emphasizing accountability and responsibility recognizes the student made a mistake or a poor choice, and that mistakes and poor choices are common to human experience. Nevertheless, the student's poor choice is something for which the he/she is responsible. The student knew the consequences prior to the decision and having made the decision is responsible for the consequences. By changing the emphasis, there is no judgement, implicit or implied, made about the intrinsic worth of the student. The student
does not feel devalued and therefore, has not been subtly or overtly undermined by the system of authority.

**Competition Rightly Understood**

The understanding of competition must be changed. Competition can be a healthy way of improving one's performance and doing one's best. The overarching purpose of any sort of competition is to achieve the full potential of the student. When competition is used in this fashion it becomes an instructive tool for educators. However, all too frequently, competition is defined as the means of getting to the top foreshaking all other concerns. Competition is *winning*, where winning is defined as the only thing which matters. Competition then becomes a system where students are played off against each other.

The result of such a system is that students are estranged from one another. Every student becomes a threat to every other student in an attempt to be labeled as, if only for a moment, "the best." Students learn to distrust one another. They learn that winning is much more important than the people one is competing against. The notion that
some people are intrinsically better than others is profoundly re-enforced. Bob can run faster, jump higher, throw further than anybody else therefore, Bob is the best. Competition now becomes a powerfully destructive force among students. Competition is a powerful tool in the education of children, whether the lessons taught are instructive or destructive. The aim, the need, is to make competition an instructive force.

Compassion and Community Service

There is a lack of compassion or, more accurately, there is a lack of understanding among youth about the need of compassion in society. Compassion becomes lost when competition becomes a destructive force. The students lose the notion of empathy for one another. The danger in this is extreme for a democratic society cannot function without empathy among the citizenry. Social consciousness is entirely dependent on one individual's concern for another. A democratic society which lacks compassion ails from breakdowns (poverty, racism, sexism, crime) which undermine, and may eventually destroy, the society.
One way to give students a chance to develop a sense of compassion is through a system of community service. However, Americans are sadly lacking in their sense of compassion for one another. Braveman says significantly, "Helping other people, the idea of service... is a central facet of our society that we do not adequately acknowledge." Dynneson emphasizes this point further when he reviews the student response of "low importance" to the need for "participation in community or school affairs" with regard to citizenship. He argues:

...it is obvious that students generally either have not had the opportunity to experience classroom activities that include community affairs or they have chosen to avoid them for any number of reasons, including disinterest and the conclusion of worthlessness.

It is interesting to note that Dynneson's respondents ranked the need for accepting "an assigned responsibility" and "concern for the welfare of others" as "important" and "very important" respectively for a person to be a good citizen.
Students are interested in factors which necessarily contribute to community service. They simply have not been given an appreciation based on their own experience of the value, to themselves and others, of such service. Additionally, it may well be that many of the community service programs are, indeed, worthless as they now stand.

Community service is valuable because it allows students to personalize and actualize a sense of community and service to others simultaneously. Furthermore, community service is an effective way to create citizens who are involved in some sort of political action. Text books, lectures, essays, research projects, and tests all fall flat if they are not re-enforced with experience which demands the active engagement of the student. Matthews notes, "Not any experience, but a direct experience in doing public work, seems to be essential to learning public skills." Participation is what is being emphasized by Matthews.

KURT HAHN AND SERVICE-LEARNING

An alternative structure of education which models the aforementioned recommendations honorably was created by a
German educator, Kurt Hahn. Hahn established primary schools in Germany and later, extensively throughout Britain. He and merchant marine Lawrence Holt, owner of the Blue Funnel Shipping Line, were responsible for the creation and formation of Outward Bound. Outward Bound was designed during World War II to show young adults, 18-21 years old, that even in times of extreme difficulty they had reasons for living and that they could survive. Today, there are five Outward Bound schools in the U.S.A. and several others throughout the world. Hahn was also responsible for the creation of the United World Colleges. There are seven UWC's in the world which exist to promote global understanding and tolerance among youth. The student body is comprised of students from all around the world. Hahn felt that the future of the world depended on the understanding which the youth of the world had for each other.

His philosophy of education was based on the belief that there are five social diseases which surround the modern youth, even as young children. Hahn's five social diseases are
...the decline in fitness, due to modern methods in locomotion; the decline in initiative, due to the widespread disease of spectatoritis; the decline in care and skill, due to the weakened tradition of craftsmanship; the decline in self-discipline, due to the ever-present availability of tranquilizers and stimulants; the decline of compassion, which William Temple called spiritual death.73

Hahn believed that a school should become part of the community in which it was based. To further this notion Hahn implemented a rigorous system of community service which was of real value for the community. Search and rescue type operations, building parks, distributing food to the needy are typical services students were expected to do.74

Hahn felt that through service a sense of compassion was cultivated. Compassion was the distinguishing factor between Hahn's philosophy, or so Hahn felt, and totalitarian youth movements of the day, such as Hitler's Nazi Youth.
Hahn felt, that without compassion the virtues of fitness, skill, initiative, and self-discipline meant very little. Moreover, through compassionate service to others youth were galvanized and achieved a sense of self-worth. Hahn argues:

There are three ways of trying to win the young. There is persuasion, there is compulsion, and there is attraction. You can preach at them, that is a hook without a worm; you can say "you must volunteer", and that is of the devil; and you can tell them, "you are needed", that appeal hardly ever fails.75

**SERVICE-LEARNING**

In the spirit of Kurt Hahn, the discussion turns to the recent recognition throughout the country of the value and of the need for service-learning in American schools. In October, 1990 Congress passed legislation, which was signed by the President in November, authorizing the establishment of a range of national community and service-learning
programs. The "National and Community Service Act of 1990" is comprehensive and offers "support for K-12 schools, colleges and universities, and service corps programs."76 The legislation "authorizes $287 million in new funding for a variety of programs over the next three years."77

The model legislation for the national act came from the state of Minnesota which has been working on service-learning programs, and appropriations for this, since 1984. Central to the success of the Minnesota program is the National Youth Leadership Council. The Council is responsible for conferences on service-learning as well as publishing THE GENERATOR, a national journal on service leadership. The Council is also responsible for conferences on youth leadership and other publications regarding methods of service-learning and ways of developing youth leadership.

Minnesota's success can also be attributed to three guiding principles which the Federal initiative also supports:

* Young people are viewed and respected as valuable partners in community development and service.
* National service is more than an alternative to military service by young adults. It is a comprehensive nurturing process which can engage young people throughout their growing up experiences.

* The active learning style that characterizes youth service should be a key element of education reform in school or college.78

Minnesota's Board of Education recently actualized the last principle by passing a rule requiring "all school systems in the state to offer students of every age level the opportunity to serve as part of the curriculum."79

Service-learning acquaints young people with the needs and the deficiencies of the larger community in which the students live. It also shows young people that they can be powerful contributors to the well-being of their community. Service-learning shows the meaning and the rewards of self-discipline. By the very act of helping others service engenders feelings of empathy. Such feelings are engendered because students have first hand experience, they have seen the what needed to be done and they have done it. It was
not their teacher nor their parents nor someone infinitely older and wiser; it was the student's effort which effected the change, which created the success. As a result, self-esteem is fostered in the student. Further, students learn that misfortune can happen to anyone but this does not mean that those upon whom misfortune has fallen are bad and deserving of their plight. Students learn tolerance and respect and care. Moreover, students come to have a firm and recognized place in the community.

There is power and value in service-learning. However, the latter is only beginning to be recognized in this country. As a result, there is little sustaining, statistical information available. What is available are the first-hand accounts of the students and educators involved. Jim Seiber, a teacher in the Issaquah, Washington, School District, writes about the service leadership camp which he directed in the Summer of 1990

Imagine a learning program in which young people work from 6:00 A.M. to 10:00 P.M.--and ask if they can go on. Imagine that they accomplish every task--and ask for
more. Imagine that these young people give 650 hours of community service in four days—
and plan to do more. Imagine that these young people feel needed, valued, and powerful—and want to help others feel the same. Recently these images were transformed into reality...

Seiber explains further that the camp was completely student-centered and the projects taken on by the camp were taken directly from proposals submitted by the students. Seiber appeals why not teach young people some of the needs of the community while demonstrating the value of youth to community agencies? Youth of today want to become meaningfully involved in their communities. We need to provide leadership, encouragement, and training for them to learn how to become involved.
Service-learning shows the students that one person can indeed make a lasting difference. Amy Mucklebust, a Freshman at Colorado State University, writes about the service she performed as a High School Senior.

Service to the community provides the opportunity to grow in knowledge and understanding and to improve one's personal attitude and outlook. ...[service] give[s] a sense of satisfaction...improve[s] one's knowledge about the community and human needs....There is no question that community service changed and improved me. I have grown a great deal and have realized how difference one person can make.82

Dr. Alec Dickson, founder of Voluntary Service Overseas (predecessor to the Peace Corps), recounts the simplicity and effectiveness of service-learning. He tells of a "teacher of handicrafts" who took his class of 15 year-olds to a local hospital where the students met eight children suffering from spina bifida. It was explained to the
students that there was little the doctors could do to aid the children. The students could not fail to see how the children had to be lifted for every purpose. The students returned to school and over a period of five weeks, with much experimentation, class was devoted to creating something which would give the children some independence. He continues

Led by the Headmaster, the class returned in the sixth week carrying eight finely polished V-shaped trays to cradle the splayed-out legs of the children and fitted on caster wheels, so that the children could propel themselves in any direction by their finger tips. At the ceremony, the children were euphoric, the mothers in tears and the staff astounded.\footnote{83}

When asked why they did it, two different youths responded. One replied
Because its the first bloody thing we've made this school that we didn't have to take home afterwards. 84

The other response was

Because nobody said it was "Good for us", they said it was for real. 85

What is exemplified through the above accounts, is a supreme faith in the ability of young people to be inventive members of a community with initiative and compassion.

A major concern for Dickson, and for others in the field, is with the content of service-learning. Students must understand basic principles of service-learning. As the students mature so must the difficulty of their service tasks and the sophistication of their understanding increase. Furthermore, students must be made to see the value of reflection for and given the opportunity to reflect on their service. 86

In this way, through the combination of service and knowledge and reflection, will students come to actualize
the some of basic expectations of citizenship. The discussion does not intend to suggest that service learning will actively re-enforce each of the five citizenship expectations. However, service-learning can powerfully re-enforce social conscience, tolerance and respect, and political action.

Social conscience will be achieved through the realization that misfortune can happen to anyone and in order to lessen the power of misfortune people must help each other. Helping is the responsibility of those who are able. Tolerance and respect will be achieved through the first hand experiences of the students. Tolerance will be achieved through the self-discipline and empathy the students gain through their experiences. Respect will come from the realization that differences are part of the human experience. Political action will be achieved by the very fact that the students are doing.
CONCLUSION

The discussion has centered on the need to rehabilitate, perhaps reacquaint, the American citizenry and particularly the youth with the expectations of citizenship. If the United States is going to continue to be a thriving society, people must understand and then perform the expectations of citizenship. The country experiences groundbreaking changes daily while bureaucracies grow and people become more and more isolated from the other members of their community. The concern here is to reacquaint, introduce in some cases, the connection the individual has with the community. Thriving communities translate into a thriving national community.

The recent national legislation holds within it the powerful opportunity to galvanize youth into action. However, the service-learning movement in the country is young and must be actively re-enforced until it is strong, until it is an inherent part of American education. Furthermore, service-learning has only become part of the curriculum in one state, Minnesota, and has yet to be enacted (estimates are that this rule will come into effect Fall,
1991). It is incumbent upon all school systems to enact and carry out such legislation lest we lose youth to the isolation created by huge cities and chaos of the modern world.

It is not the intention of this paper to suggest that service-learning will solve all of the societal problems which the country now faces. It is not to suggest that service-learning will solve the problems surrounding the autonomy (or lack thereof) of the teacher in school systems or the professionalization of teaching. Nor does this paper seek suggest that the problems facing young people, teen pregnancy and drug use to name just two, will be wiped away.

What this paper is suggesting is that the youth of today do not have a sense of what it means to be a citizen. And they do not that sense because the immensity of modern bureaucracies, have taught youth that nothing can get done, at least not by them. Youth need only look to their schools for proof. This paper seeks to stimulate the realization that among the nation's youth lies a vast amount of untapped, and slowly dying, energy. As school systems are be given the chance to implement service-learning through federal grants, this paper urges schools to seize the opportunity. This paper has an unwavering faith in the
ability of youth to contribute largely, wholly, effectively, and powerfully to the communities in which they live. The appeal for service-learning which is being made here is no less strong for kindergarteners than it is for college students.

It is important to point out that the suggestion being offered is essentially the establishment of a system of education which promotes citizenship through osmosis. The use of democratic habits will lead to democratic practice, to the actualization of the citizenship expectations outlined in this paper. Community service or service-learning, is only one way, but a particularly effective way, of teaching youth democratic habits. It is the recommendation of this paper that community service is incorporated into the daily work of students just as reading and writing are. Furthermore, community service must begin in kindergarten and continue throughout undergraduate years if it is going to be effective.

In a modern society, changing daily, it is imperative that citizenship is given meaning to the youth of the country. The youth of today create the voting, policy-
forming adults of tomorrow. If American democracy, like any
democratic government, is going to survive, it is necessary
to consciously create an effective program of citizenship.
Citizenship performs yet another task and that is giving
youth a sense of membership, a sense of belonging to a
greater society. As the country continues to grow, and as
cities become even larger, more isolating places it is
imperative that the country does not lose its youth to
isolation. As Watts says, "Through [youth]...the society
and its communities will or will not survive."85


8. Ibid., 86.


11. Ibid., 29.


22. Ibid, 144.

23. Ibid, 156.


32. Klanwatch Project of the Southern Poverty Center. HATE VIOLENCE AND WHITE SUPREMACY. December, 1989. 16-17.

33. Ibid, 16.

34. Ibid, 17.


49. Ibid, 90-123.

50. Ibid, 90-123.


52. Ibid, 151.


54. Ibid, 77-78.


66. For further information see Gutman, Janowitz, Matthews, and Walzer in the bibliography. While these authors do not necessarily come to the same suggestions which this paper offers, the suggestions of this paper are not inconsistent with the aforementioned authors' various ideas.


77. Ibid.

78. Ibid.

79. Ibid.

80. Ibid.
81. Ibid.
82. Ibid.
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