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THE IMPACT OF HIGH SCHOOL COMMUNITY SERVICE PROGRAMS ON STUDENTS' FEELINGS OF CIVIC OBLIGATION

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Proponents of community service programs often claim that such programs succeed in educating youth for democratic citizenship where traditional civics instruction falls short. Yet it is not clear that all service programs envision such citizenship as linked to political engagement and participation. It is hypothesized that only service programs that frame service within a wide political context and offer opportunities for public action increase political engagement as measured by feelings of civic obligation. This citizenship framework may likewise be incorporated in traditional social studies classes with similar effects. This hypothesis is confirmed using panel data comparing the effects of different high school service programs and social studies courses. Path analysis, analyzing a subsample of students in a particularly effective service program, shows that political socialization effects remain even when accounting for self-selection processes.

The idea of community service as an act of good citizenship is not novel in American political culture. For example, in 1909 William James called for a national program of service to instill virtues of "hardihood and discipline" in elite young men, thus preparing them to become "healthier fathers" and "better citizens" (James, 1909/1971). As Youniss and Yates (1997) have described, James's argument reflected the socialization concerns of his time. James envisioned physically demanding labor, "dish washing, clothes-washing, . . . to road-building and tunnel-making, to foundries and stoke-holes" (p. 15),

designed to toughen a generation too distant from the lives of the working class. Today, the term *community service* connotes somewhat different activities, such as tutoring and mentoring, packing food shelf bags, or visiting the elderly, designed to encourage public spiritedness in a generation viewed as apathetic and disengaged.

Many schools have adopted community service programs during the past two decades, and currently schools serve as the main institutions supporting service as a youth activity (Nolin, Chaney, & Chapman, 1997). As in James's vision of service, such programs promote citizenship broadly defined. This function of schools of preparing youth to take on the role of citizen in American democracy predates James. Yet the current context of declining levels of civic engagement by youth belays the success of schools in doing so. Data taken from surveys of high school seniors and college freshmen since the 1960s showed a decline in the number naming public service as a high priority, whereas the emphasis placed on material success has increased (Easterlin & Crimmins, 1991; Rahn & Transue, 1998). Compared with earlier generations of Americans, young adults pay less attention to politics, vote less often, and express lower levels of civic obligation (L. M. Bennett & Bennett, 1990; S. E. Bennett & Rademacher, 1997; Teixeira, 1992).

Moreover, early political socialization research has suggested that the conscious attempts of schools to shape political attitudes and behaviors through civics instruction are largely ineffective (Langton & Jennings, 1968; Torney, Oppenheim, & Farnen, 1975). Subsequent research, although contesting the scope of data earlier studies drew on, has also focused attention on the ways in which civics is taught, pointing to the importance of opportunities to discuss current events, shape school policy, and undertake political participation (Emler, 1992; Niemi & Junn, 1998). This is consistent with other critiques of civic education that argue that methods of instruction where the student is a passive recipient of knowledge are inconsistent with an active sense of citizenship in a democracy (Dewey, 1916/1966; Guttman, 1987). The provision of opportunities for civic involvement outside the classroom through community service has been one response to the apparent inefficacy of traditional civics instruction.

Although proponents of service programs argue for any number of benefits to arise from service activities, it is the claim that service pro-

grams educate youth for democratic citizenship that is one of the more central. For example, the William T. Grant Commission on Work, Family and Citizenship (1990) issued a report calling for all public schools to implement either an elective service course or a mandatory service requirement for high school graduation. The report stated that service begets a tradition of "participatory citizenship" based on local civic involvement and political participation. Democratic theorists concerned with the quality and frequency of political participation have suggested community service programs may be a way of encouraging youth and young adults to participate in civic life (Barber, 1984; Dagger, 1997; Etzioni, 1993). Increasing consideration has been given by political scientists to integrating service within political science courses (Barber & Battistoni, 1993; Battistoni & Hudson, 1997; see also recent work by the American Political Science Association Task Force on Civic Education, 1997).

This study examines the claims of community service programs to socialize citizenship in the broader context of high school civics education. Specifically, it reports on the conditions under which high school community service programs are likely to increase feelings of civic obligation, an important component of political engagement. This study provides evidence for the selective effectiveness of community service programs as agents of political socialization by examining high school students in three service programs and two social studies comparison classes over time, while controlling for other sources of political socialization. In some instances, a specific community service program may have more in common with a specific social studies course than with other service programs. As this study demonstrates, when it comes to encouraging feelings of civic obligation, it is not student participation in a community service program or social studies course that matters so much as the particular view of citizenship promoted by either.

CRITIQUES AND RESEARCH OF COMMUNITY SERVICE PROGRAMS

It is far from clear that claims for citizenship education among different service programs and proposals refer to the same vision of how

service relates to norms of good citizenship.[1] Critics of some current approaches to community service reveal some of the tension between different understandings of good citizenship as related to service programs. Kahne and Westheimer (1996) argue that service programs in primary and secondary education encompass either a "charity" or "change" approach. The former emphasizes private acts of charity in personal relationships between caregiver and recipient. The latter emphasizes recognition of the wider political and social context of social problems and action that in turn influences the public causes and consequences of these problems. Other critiques have made similar arguments (Barber, 1984; Boyte, 1991; Boyte & Kari, 1996; Gorham, 1992). The thrust of these critiques is that many service programs do not socialize participants for active political engagement in American democracy. More specifically, the kind of citizenship within these programs is marked by a private approach to volunteerism that emphasizes individual self-development and personal altruism to the neglect of public action. Indeed, Boyte (1991) argues that private acts of charity might be viewed by young adults as a way to meet personal emotional needs and as "an alternative to politics" (p. 766).

Only a few studies have been conducted on community service programs using measures of political engagement or behavior as dependent variables. Most have focused on single programs that contained explicit connections to political or social processes and, not unexpectedly, found political socialization effects (Hamilton & Zeldin, 1987; Markus, Howard, & King, 1993; Youniss & Yates, 1997). For example, Hamilton and Zeldin (1987) found that as a result of serving in a local government internship, high school students increased in local government knowledge, political efficacy, and attitudes toward government, compared with control groups. Large-sample studies that have examined the impact of community service on political engagement have found mixed effects but have not made distinctions among the type of service work engaged in due to the nature of the study (D. E. Campbell, 2000; Flanagan, Bowes, Jonsson, Csapo, & Sheblanova, 1998; Niemi, Hepburn, & Chapman, 2000). Only Newmann and Rutter (1983) compared multiple elective service programs that contained a range of service activities, finding effects for

sense of social responsibility and personal competence but not for political efficacy or future political participation.

The present study improves on past research by examining the political socialization effects of different community service programs, both elective and mandatory. They are compared to groups of nonparticipating students enrolled in social studies classes, one of which contains opportunities for political participation. The types of service programs, service activity, and social studies course are used as predictors alongside other potential sources of political socialization (e.g., extracurricular involvement). This study looks at the impact of service programs on feelings of civic obligation, a component of political engagement not previously studied in this context.

UNDERSTANDINGS OF CITIZENSHIP

Previous critiques and research of community service programs suggest that a key factor in relating community service to a participant's sense of political engagement is how the service is framed. The terms *participatory* and *private* are proposed here to describe community service programs based on the type of service encouraged, intended benefits for students, and the potential citizenship emphasis contained therein. Participatory community service programs envision good citizenship mainly as public action to address problems of wide concern. A good citizen is an active one. Building skills for political activity, fostering an awareness of the wider social and political context of problems, and taking actual social and political action are goals in such programs.

By contrast, private community service programs envision good citizenship mainly in terms of personal virtue. A good citizen is a good person, although not necessarily a politically active one. Personal qualities such as compassion, respect, honesty, and responsibility are fostered in volunteers through individual acts of charity that also serve as an opportunity to develop greater self-confidence and self-esteem. Recognition of the wider context of a problem addressed through service is not as important as the personal development gained through a service relationship.

Consonant with this focus on good citizenship, the main measure of political engagement used in this study is what citizens believe about good citizenship. Past research has found beliefs about good citizenship, including feelings of civic obligation, to be an important component of political engagement (Almond & Verba, 1963; Conover, Leonard, & Searing, 1993; Lane, 1972; Theiss-Morse, 1993). Previous studies have demonstrated that feelings of civic obligation predict political behavior and do so even when controlling for the effects of demographic characteristics and other components of political engagement such as political efficacy. Feelings of civic obligation have been observed to motivate keeping informed about current events, voting, and obeying the law (A. Campbell, Converse, Miller, & Stokes, 1964; A. Campbell, Gurin, & Miller, 1954; Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996; Dennis, 1970; Rosenstone & Hanson, 1993; Teixeira, 1992; Tyler, 1990).

Consistent with previous work and critiques of community service programs, it is hypothesized that service programs with a strong participatory emphasis will increase participants' feelings of civic obligation, whereas those with a private emphasis will not. Social studies courses with a participatory emphasis will have effects similar to those of participatory service programs. Evidence for these claims will be taken as support for the idea that community service programs as well as social studies curricula, under certain circumstances, can counter general trends of political disengagement by youth and young adults.

METHOD

Four Minnesota high schools were chosen based on the type of community service program and social studies courses available at the school and the school's interest in participation in the study. Three of the schools, given the names Mansfield, Cannon, and Rayburn High Schools,[2] were public schools located in the suburbs of the Minneapolis-St. Paul metropolitan area. A fourth school, St. James, is a private Catholic high school located in a small city less than 100 miles away from the Twin Cities. An elective service course and a social studies course were included from Rayburn High School. Both Mansfield and St. James High Schools had mandatory service programs connected to

TABLE 1
Description of Student Sample

School Condition	Number in Panel	Panel Retention Rate (%)	Percentage Male: Influential Adult College Educated	Percentage Female: Influential Adult College Educated
Mansfield	36	83.7	52.7	30.5
Rayburn social studies	19	73.1	57.9	57.9
Rayburn service	27	87.1	59.2	48.1
Cannon social studies	33	64.7	39.4	36.3
St. James	179	84.3	43.6	45.8

social studies courses. Cannon High School provided only a group of students enrolled in a social studies course. Table 1 shows that the socioeconomic backgrounds of the students do not differ significantly between schools, although there is a tendency for students from Rayburn High School to more frequently report that influential adults in their lives are college educated than do students from other high schools.[3]

During the course of the 1997-1998 school year, students completed a written questionnaire. In each of the conditions, students completed a questionnaire before and after participation in a service program or at the beginning and end of a required semester-long social studies course. Whereas a selected sample was taken from Cannon, Rayburn, and Mansfield High Schools, the survey was administered to the entire junior and senior classes at St. James. This larger subsample allowed for a more detailed model of service effects shown later.

Semistructured interviews were also conducted with 14 teachers and service coordinators involved in the community service programs in each school as well as in the two social studies courses. During these interviews, teachers were asked about the goals of the service program, its history, its relationship to socializing students for citizenship, and their own views of what defines good citizenship (see Appendix A for interview protocol). Alternatively, teachers for the social studies courses were asked about the content of the course and what is emphasized regarding good citizenship. I also spent 42 hours observing students at service sites and engaging in informal conversations with students and site supervisors. Faculty assisted me by facili-

tating visits to a sample of sites representative of each program and communicated to students the purpose of my study (see Appendix B for a list of site visits). My role was limited mainly to observation of overt behavior and secondarily to brief participation (e.g., packing food shelf bags) and interaction with students when such activity would not distract students from service. Information about the programs gained through teacher interviews and observations was used in part to describe service programs as emphasizing either participatory or private approaches to service. To check the validity of my judgments, I drew on a sample of "model" reflective essays written by students at Mansfield High School provided by teachers interviewed at the school. Of 26 essays, only 5 contained participatory themes (e.g., competing gender roles), though none described instances of political participation, consistent with my description of Mansfield's program as adopting a private approach to service.

DESCRIPTION OF COMMUNITY SERVICE PROGRAMS

MANSFIELD HIGH SCHOOL

Mansfield High School is a 4-year public high school with 2,088 students. Seniors are required to take a semester-long social studies survey course during which they are given the option of completing 40 hours of community service or taking a test based on a series of tedious readings, either of which count for 15% of their grade. Only students who "chose" the service option (90%) were included in the sample. Students have a considerable number of options for service available to them, including service at community organizations (e.g., Habitat for Humanity), other elementary schools in the district, or within Mansfield High School itself. The formal reflective component of the program consists of two short essays on the service experience.

Three social studies teachers, who administer the program, describe the program's goals as serving the community and having students gain in self-confidence and responsibility to the community as a result. "If anything, I think it builds self-esteem. At least that's what I've read in thousands of journals and summaries by students" (Mansfield teacher). Based on this focus on self-development and the

general lack of participatory elements (aside from isolated cases initiated by students), this program appears to emphasize a private approach to community service.

RAYBURN HIGH SCHOOL

Rayburn High School is a 4-year high school with 1,700 students. Each 10-week quarter, a community service course is offered for elective credit to juniors and seniors. Students' grades in the course are based almost entirely on their fulfillment of service at their selected sites, which totals 53 hours. The first of the 10 weeks is devoted to in-class preparation. During the following 9 weeks, students serve 4 out of 5 school days at their sites. Review of service is conducted in class on the 5th day each week, and a reflective essay is required at the end of the course. The majority of students serve as tutors and teachers' aides at nearby elementary schools, though other sites include a food shelf, a local library, and a nursing home. The program emphasized a private approach. Teachers stressed in interviews the impact of the course on students' sense of self-confidence and personal efficacy, and in-class exercises and reflection on service centered on the development of personal skills involving communication and teamwork. For example, teachers saw a major strength of the program as providing students who have not had much academic success with good learning opportunities.

> We have a lot of students who come in and who've never had success at anything, and all of the sudden they go to a fourth-grade student, and they've been helping a student who maybe is like them, maybe they're a slow learner or maybe they're the class clown and they can't understand. And all of the sudden they may see; my students may see the long insight into themselves. (Rayburn service coordinator)

A social studies survey class that took place during the same semester was used as a comparison group. The course covers sociology, psychology, economics, and political science. The teacher reported that he emphasizes student comprehension of the political process and actual political participation. To this end, students were given extra credit for attending Minnesota precinct caucuses held in the spring of 1998 (approximately two thirds did so).

> So you try to get them to do a few things that give them a chance to be involved. Give them a chance to work on a political campaign. Get them to go to political precinct caucuses. So they see it firsthand because you can talk about a political precinct caucus, even try and hold a mock one, and until they actually sit in on one, it just doesn't sink in like it does when they go. (Rayburn social studies teacher)

Based on these components, this course fell under a participatory framework.

CANNON HIGH SCHOOL

Cannon High School is a 4-year high school with 1,452 students. Three classes of a senior social studies course were used as a comparison group for the study. The social studies courses covered psychology, economics, sociology, and political science. The teacher emphasized knowledge of government and of their rights and responsibilities as citizens. No opportunities for political participation were offered as part of the class, and the teacher stated that political participation was secondary to political knowledge as an aspect of good citizenship.

> I think kids should realize that part of the problem when you get, like an Adolph Hitler coming to power, was uninformed citizens. So you have to, we have to inform about what's going on. You don't have to be experts but you just got to know. (Cannon social studies teacher)

Based on this view of political participation, it was considered as having mixed participatory and private themes.

ST. JAMES HIGH SCHOOL

St. James is a private Catholic high school that serves a total of 795 students in 7th through 12th grade. Students are required to fulfill 50 hours of community service in each of their junior and senior years to graduate. Students select their service sites, though opportunities are offered through the school to serve at local community organizations (e.g., food shelf), at churches, or as peer helpers and tutors to younger grades. Service is integrated with civics and religious instruction. The community service program centers on participatory themes. This is

expressed in two ways. One is through service projects that involve political action such as Project Seeking HOPE (HOmes for PEople), a project organized by students to raise public awareness of homelessness in the area, or Day on the Hill, which involves lobbying state legislators.

> In the Christian social justice curriculum, students are made very aware of the vision of the gospel. The gospel vision of service calls us to do more than just private, individual acts of charity, but public, collective actions for social justice to deal with the causes. (St. James service coordinator)

The second expression of participatory citizenship is through framing service in terms of its wider political and social consequences. My observations revealed that adults at community organization sites consistently conversed with the students about the role of the organizations in the community and the reasons behind their organizations.

Citizenship themes are diverse throughout the school programs under study and are not necessarily distinguished by whether one is looking at a mandatory service program, an elective service program, or a social studies course (see Table 2). Both Rayburn's elective service program and Mansfield's mandatory service program place importance on individual self-development, especially in self-confidence. Rayburn's social studies course and St. James's mandatory service program, by contrast, focus on the importance of political participation. It is these last two conditions that are expected to increase feelings of civic obligation among students, consistent with the hypothesis.

COMPARISON OF SERVICE AND SOCIAL STUDIES CONDITIONS

The dependent variable is students' feelings of civic obligation. The survey asked students to rate eight possible citizen obligations as to whether they were *not at all important*, *somewhat important*, or *very important* (see Appendix C for question wording). Feelings of civic obligation are measured through the use of a scale (alpha = .66) com-

TABLE 2
Summary Description of Service and Control Conditions

Condition	Grade	Description	Hours	Framework
Mansfield	12th	Mandatory service	40/semester	Private
Rayburn service	11th and 12th	Elective service	53/quarter	Private
Rayburn social studies	12th	Required social studies course	NA	Participatory
Cannon social studies	12th	Required social studies course	NA	Mixed
St. James	11th and 12th	Mandatory service	50/year	Participatory

NOTE: NA = not applicable.

bining scores of how much of an obligation respondents believed voting, keeping informed, and volunteering to serve in the community were. These items constitute a scale of general citizen obligations as opposed to legal obligations (e.g., jury service) or citizen obligations based on national identity (e.g., speaking English). They form a single factor when all obligation items are factor analyzed. According to exploratory focus groups by Conover et al. (1993), voting, keeping informed, and service to the community (to a lesser extent) are all viewed as potential citizen obligations by the American public.

Table 3 presents changes in scores on the Civic Obligation Scale by each service or social studies condition. Both mandatory programs are separated into conditions of those students who met the service requirements and those who went beyond the service requirements ("intense service") as reported by students. For a semester-long program at Mansfield, intense service meant service greater than the required hours, whereas for the yearlong program at St. James, intense service meant twice the required hours. Only three conditions show gains in civic obligation scores over time: students serving at St. James, students serving intensely (twice the required hours) at St. James, and students enrolled in Rayburn's social studies class. This is consistent with predictions about the effects of a participatory citizenship emphasis. Changes in civic obligation are not great, with the largest ones being apparent losses of civic obligation among students at Mansfield High School. This loss is consistent with critiques of private approaches to service (Boyte, 1991), but it is not statistically significant in the model presented below. The initial civic obligation

TABLE 3
Changes in Mean Civic Obligation Score
by Service and Social Studies Condition

Condition	Time 1	Time 2	Change (Time 2 – Time 1)
Mansfield (≤ 40 hours)	6.519	6.074	–0.445
Mansfield (> 40 hours)	6.778	6.333	–0.445
Rayburn service	7.000	6.730	–0.270
Rayburn social studies	7.056	7.222	0.166
Cannon social studies	6.438	6.125	–0.313
St. James (≤ 100 hours)	6.946	6.964	0.018
St. James (> 100 hours)	7.470	7.621	0.151

scores do suggest some possible self-selection effects, especially for intense service at St. James.

To further examine the effects of service and social studies programs on feelings of civic obligation, a lagged dependent variable is used as a predictor in a multiple regression model predicting civic obligation alongside other controls on individual student characteristics. This basic method of analyzing panel data, called the "static-score" approach and recommended by Markus (1979) and Finkel (1995) over other methods of analyzing panel data, is particularly useful here as it controls for differences in initial levels of the dependent variable (Markus, 1979). The static-score approach is also appropriate whenever substantial continuity is assumed over time in a political, social, or psychological attitude. The high correlation in civic obligation scores between Time 1 and 2 ($r = .60$) suggests there is a high level of continuity here.

The effect of each service condition is represented by a dummy variable. These conditions include participating in Mansfield's, St. James's, and Rayburn's service programs. Again, the two mandatory programs are separated into groups of students who participated intensely in the service program and those who did not. Two dummy variables account for the social studies control groups at Cannon and Rayburn High Schools. The social studies group at Cannon High School serves as the reference category for this panel analysis.

To fully assess the potential impact of community service programs on students' understandings of citizenship, the effects of other social-

ization agents must be taken into account. Certainly, this includes influential adults, especially parents. Past research has demonstrated that parents influence their offspring's attitudes toward citizenship (Jennings & Niemi, 1981). Although the citizenship beliefs of such adults are not available, students did report on the education levels of influential adults in their lives. In general, among adults, higher education is associated with higher levels of civic duty (A. Campbell et al., 1954, 1964; Dennis, 1970; Milbrath & Goel, 1977). The education level of influential adults, as reported by students, is used as a predictor. Extracurricular activities may also constitute a source of socialization about citizenship. They are thought to contribute to levels of political engagement among adolescents (Beck & Jennings, 1982), including feelings of civic obligation (Smith, 1999). A scale representing a simple count of reported extracurricular activities is included in the model predicting civic obligation. As Smith (1998) has demonstrated, civic obligation is a by-product of generalized trust produced by adolescent extracurricular activity overall rather than by one particular type of activity.

Table 4 presents the results of a regression model predicting scores on the Civic Obligation Scale at Time 2. Increases in the number of extracurricular activities predict increases in feelings of civic obligation, although influential adult education does not appear to have a significant impact. The effects of school and program conditions confirm the hypothesis. Effects for each dummy variable are compared with the excluded condition, or reference category (Hardy, 1993), which is the Cannon High School social studies condition. Students in the Rayburn social studies class and at St. James High School show gains in overall civic obligation. The impact is significant for St. James students, who serve intensely ($p = .05$), or more than twice the required number of hours, though not for St. James students, who perform fewer hours. No impact for being enrolled in either the mandatory service program at Mansfield High School or the elective service program at Rayburn High School is evident. Involvement in a participatory service condition or social studies class appeared to be quite strong in comparison to extracurricular activities. It would require an increase in approximately three additional extracurricular activities to equal the political socialization effects of the Rayburn High School social studies class or two additional extracurricular activities to equal

TABLE 4
Multivariate Regression Predicting Changes in Civic Obligation

Independent Variable	Coefficient	Standard Error
Constant	2.368**	.367
Influential adult education	0.045	.096
Extracurricular activities	0.256**	.052
Mansfield High School (≤ 40 hours)	–0.033	.308
Mansfield High School (> 40 hours)	–0.455	.454
Rayburn High School service	0.307	.314
Rayburn High School social studies	0.759*	.350
St. James High School (≤ 100 hours)	0.450	.238
St. James High School (> 100 hours)	0.526*	.270
Lagged dependent variable	0.514**	.049

$N = 289$
Adjusted $R^2 = .436$

NOTE: Coefficients are unstandardized least squares regression values.
*$p \le .05$, two-tailed. **$p < .01$, two-tailed.

the political socialization effects of intense service in the St. James service program.

These results show that the type of community service program matters when it comes to reversing declines in political engagement among youth. Only participatory service programs serve to increase feelings of civic obligation. These results remain even after controlling for other sources of socialization such as extracurricular involvement and education levels of important adults. A more detailed analysis of St. James students presented below shows the relationship between important adults, extracurricular involvement, and participation in service programs, in their effects on civic obligation.

MODELING THE CONTEXT OF SERVICE EFFECTS

A significant issue raised by questions of whether community service programs function as a form of citizenship education recognizes the role that self-selection effects may play in service programs. Quite simply, the issue is whether those students who are most engaged in political or civic life are most likely to participate or participate enthusiastically in community service programs offered by high schools.

As Barber (1992) puts it, "the practical issue is evident to anyone who works in service-learning programs, those most in need of training in the democratic arts of citizenship are in fact least likely to volunteer" (p. 250). A typical response to this problem is to implement mandatory rather than elective service programs in schools. Requiring service of all students would involve students who are the least involved in civic life as well as those for whom civic involvement is strong. Although some students may dislike the mandatory nature at first, well-structured mandatory programs may still have a positive influence on those students not initially inclined to participate (Stukas, Snyder, & Clary, 1999).

The results in Table 4 suggest a different story. Mandatory service programs may or may not result in increased feelings of civic obligation, depending on their content and citizenship framework. But even in the mandatory service program that did increase feelings of civic obligation, the effects for those students who did twice the number of required hours are stronger than for students who did less, even though they both met the service requirement. Self-selection still appears to play a role in predicting which students benefit from a participatory service program.

In the path analysis below, I present the results of a model that predicts both which students engage in intense service, or twice the required number of hours of service at St. James, and how that service in turn increases students' feelings of civic obligation. In doing so, I test three versions of the claim that students who are likely to participate (and do so intensely) in a service program are those with high levels of political engagement to begin with. The first is that background factors including influential adults and extracurricular activities may simultaneously shape both students' levels of civic engagement and levels of volunteerism. Civic and political attitudes do not directly cause students to participate in a service program, however. The second version is that there is direct connection between levels of political engagement and service involvement. Students are motivated by feelings of civic obligation to participate in service programs because service itself is a civic activity. A third version possibility takes issue with the idea that all community service in general is related to citizenship. Activities such as baby-sitting, tutoring, and working at a food shelf may be indicative of good character but are essentially personal

not civic activities. It is only service activities that are directly engaged in social or political change that have political socialization effects and as a consequence may also be subject to self-selection based on students' initial levels of political engagement.

Intense service in the St. James service program is modeled as a function of gender, the community involvement of influential adults, and extracurricular activities. Previous studies have found girls volunteer more than boys do (Alt & Medrich, 1994; Flanagan et al., 1998; Newmann & Rutter, 1986; Nolin et al., 1997) and are more supportive of the idea of mandatory service programs (Miller, 1994).

Community involvement of influential adults is modeled both as a cause of intense service at St. James and a direct predictor of civic obligation. It is a simple scale combining student responses to questions of whether each influential adult male or female was involved in community service (see Appendix C). It is included here, rather than educational levels of influential adults, for two reasons. First, it is more likely to affect both service (Alt & Medrich, 1994; Newmann & Rutter, 1986; Nolin et al., 1997) and feelings of civic obligation (Beck & Jennings, 1982; Janoski & Wilson, 1995). Second, in the previous model, given the high levels of community involvement by influential adults associated with St. James (mainly through church), its effects were confounded with dummy variables for St. James.

The broader involvement of St. James students is included here as a dynamic model of extracurricular involvement. Extracurricular activities may serve as both a source of service opportunities initially and a socialization agent of civic obligation. Previous research has suggested the possibility of both (Alt & Medrich, 1994; Nolin et al., 1997; Smith, 1998).

Finally, I include a measure of political service that covers activities such as Project Seeking HOPE and Day on the Hill, for which only a minority of students participated. Students were asked to describe their community service activities in an open-ended question (up to four codes), and explicitly political activities received a separate code. Political service is presented as the result of intense service because each form of political service tended to emerge out of more traditional forms of service, sometimes quite intentionally. In Day on the Hill, for example, students lobbied on issues for which they previously volun-
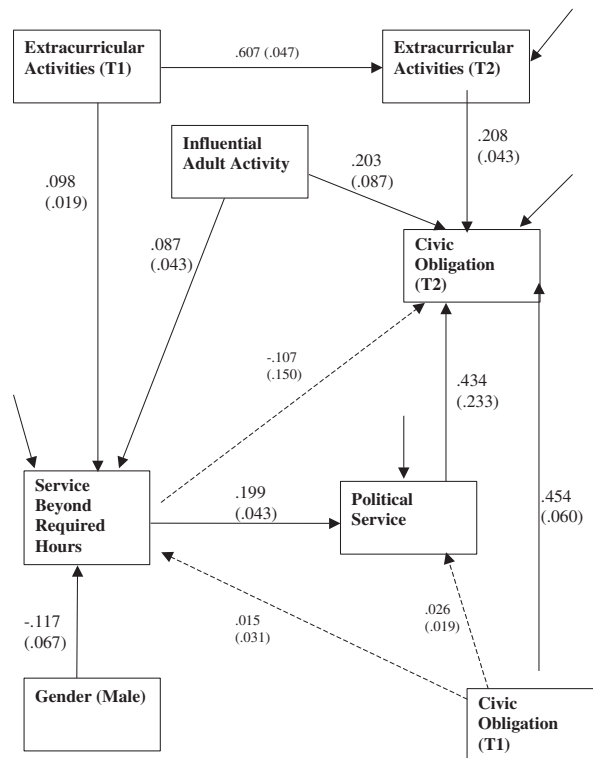
Figure 1: Path Analysis Model of Changes in Civic Obligation Among Students at St. James High School

NOTE: Coefficients are standardized path coefficients, with standard errors in parentheses. Significant coefficients ($p < .05$) are indicated by a solid line. Model $\chi^2 = 18.246$ with 11 degrees of freedom, $p = .076$. Root mean square error of approximation = .061.

teered, such as lobbying on affordable housing if one worked in a homeless shelter.

Figure 1 presents the results of the path analysis. The model is considered acceptable with the chi-square divided by degrees of freedom equal to 1.659 and statistically insignificant (Wheaton, Muthen, Alwin, & Summers, 1977). It also has a root mean square error of approximation, a particularly appropriate measure for complex models, equal to .061, which is also considered acceptable (Browne & Cudeck, 1993). The model reveals that the decision to participate

intensely in St. James's service program is related to the number of extracurricular activities at Time 1, the community activity of influential adults, and being female.

Influential adults appear to have multiple impacts on students. They offer additional opportunities for student service through their own involvement (e.g., "my mother helps out with disabled students and asks me to help sometimes"). But students also appear to learn a set of related civic attitudes and behaviors from influential adults, through either discussion or role modeling. The civic involvement of adults is reflected in the feelings students have toward civic obligations later in the year. A similar pattern emerges for extracurricular activities. At the beginning of the year, extracurricular activities may provide outlets for fulfilling service hours, a pattern encouraged by the teaching staff. But extracurricular involvement also had effects on students' feelings of civic obligation measured later in the year.

The model reveals that intense service did not directly socialize civic obligation. Rather, its effects are through encouraging more explicit forms of political service that in turn directly shape feelings of civic obligation. These results do not contradict the preceding model, however, because St. James students who served intensely did indeed gain in civic obligation relative to a social studies course without a participatory focus.

It does not appear that initial levels of civic obligation shaped students' decisions to participate intensely in the service program or select political service as their service activity. Educators' fears that it is those students with already high levels of political and civic engagement who participate in community service programs may be misplaced. Rather, there are broader background characteristics that directly socialize civic obligation while encouraging community service, which also may end up shaping a sense of civic obligation.

DISCUSSION

The results of this study contribute to what is known about the political socialization effects of community service programs on adolescents' levels of political engagement. By directly comparing their effects with those of high school social studies courses, these results

also suggest what about civic education in general may be effective at fostering citizenship. In response to claims that community service programs educate students for democratic citizenship, this study shows that only under certain conditions does that citizenship refer to active political engagement. It was the presence of a participatory framework, including exposure to the wider political and social context of class material and opportunities to engage in political action, that distinguished the service program at St. James from other service programs. It was also this approach to civic education, shared by the social studies course at Rayburn High School, that led to significant gains in civic obligation among students.

This is not to say that there are not other visions of good citizenship implicit in high school community service programs. Specifically, the programs at Mansfield and Rayburn High Schools appeared to advocate a citizenship of personal virtue where personal feelings of efficacy are also central. But these privately oriented service programs did not increase students' feelings of civic obligation, an important component of political engagement.

What set these conditions apart from Mansfield High School's and Rayburn's service programs? They are not distinguished by an elective versus mandatory approach. As the model of St. James shows, self-selection plays a role in shaping the service experience in a mandatory program just as easily as it might in an elective one. They are not distinguished by opportunities for reflection. Rayburn's service program contained substantial and regular opportunities for service reflection (14 of 54 class sessions), but the reflection here was inevitably on personal development rather than on the social or political context of service. Rather, the presence of a participatory framework, including exposure to the wider context of the class material and opportunities to engage in political action, does distinguish these conditions. Closer examination of changes in citizenship norms among St. James students showed that participation in political service had an especially strong effect on feelings of civic obligation.

Moreover, the design of this study provides some assurance that the conditions of service (or social studies) caused these effects and not other confounding factors. Students' initial feelings of civic obligation were controlled for, as were other sources of socialization such as

extracurricular activities. Indeed other sources had effects alongside community service. Future researchers should be wary of these confounding effects because it is often the same student performing community service who is also involved in extracurricular activities (Nolin et al., 1997).

One limitation of this study mirrors the limitations of civics educators in general to adopt a participatory framework. The forms of political participation practiced at St. James advanced a specific political viewpoint consistent with Catholic social justice teachings. The freedom to collectively advocate for specific programs or political changes, such as an expansion of housing for the homeless (Project Seeking HOPE), may not be available to public schools, which often conscientiously aim to avoid political controversy in teaching civics. Hence, opportunities for political participation in public schools may be limited to allowing (but not actively promoting) individual forms of participation where multiple ideologies are advocated, rather than supporting political change service projects like those found at St. James.

These results have implications for the decisions faced by those implementing community service programs for youth and young adults. Justified at least partially in terms of providing civic education, educators must often decide what role service programs play in relation to traditional civics instruction. In the mandatory service programs at Mansfield and St. James High Schools, service was complementary to existing social studies instruction. The elective service program at Rayburn High School, until recently, was considered elective social studies credit. These results suggest that caution is due when considering service courses in either roles. Given the apparent success of one social studies course here in increasing students' feelings of civic obligation, educators may also wish to consider reforming existing social studies curricula rather than looking to community service programs to promote active citizenship. This is not to say that any of these service programs or service programs in general are ineffective in accomplishing other goals, such as building self-esteem, increasing academic performance (Cohen, Kulik, & Kulik, 1982), or preparing students for future employment (Cohen et al., 1982; Hamilton & Fenzel, 1988; Wade & Saxe, 1996). But if shaping the civic attitudes and behaviors is a goal, then not any service program will do.

No study to date has shown whether the effects of participation in community service programs last long after such participation has ended. The results here suggest what factors might be critical in encouraging long-term effects. Previous research has found that the levels of extracurricular involvement as adolescents have a strong impact on the political participation levels as adults, even when controlling for socioeconomic resources (Hanks & Eckland, 1978; Lindsay, 1984; Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995). Likewise, parental civic activity appears to have substantial long-term effects on offspring (Beck & Jennings, 1982).

The results in this study show that participation in service programs may be an outcome of factors that last longer and are more pervasive than the service programs themselves, including extracurricular involvement and the community involvement of influential adults. To the extent that service is well integrated with other aspects of students' lives, its effects may also be long lasting.

APPENDIX A
Interview Protocol With Teachers

1. How long have you been a teacher here?
2. What role do you play in the community service program at the school?
3. What do you think are the goals of this school's current community service program?
4. Did you have input into the initial development of the program? What is your perception of how this program has changed since it began?
5. Do you think that students learn anything about politics from this program? Do you think they learn anything about citizenship from this program? What do they learn?
6. What should high school students in general learn about citizenship in school?
7. In your own opinion, what makes up a good citizen in this country? In other words, how could you tell a good citizen from a bad one?
8. Aside from the current community service program that you are involved in at this school, have you had other experiences in community service? What are they? Were they part of an organized group or on your own?
9. Have you engaged in any political activities in the past 5 years? What were they?
10. Who or what had the most influence on your own political beliefs and attitudes?

APPENDIX B
Summary of Service Observations

St. James High School
  a. Christian social justice class: Students planned service events and teacher led reflection on service. (1 hour)
  b. Youth service retreat: Students performed service at a temporary housing shelter, a women's shelter, and a food shelf. (10 hours)
  c. Program for emotionally disturbed children: Observed two groups of students who were "paired" with another child in the program. (3 hours)
  d. Day on the Hill: Students lobbied state legislators on issues they previously encountered in service work. (7 hours)
  e. Homelessness Awareness Project: Three groups of students met with newspaper editors to discuss coverage of their project. (2 hours)
  f. Eighth-grade retreat: Older students assist a retreat for eighth-grade students. (8 hours)

Rayburn High School
  a. Local public library: Students performed various organizational tasks. (45 minutes)
  b. Elementary school: Students worked individually with second-grade students. (45 minutes)
  c. Elementary school: Students worked as teachers' aides and individually with kindergarten, third-grade, fourth-grade, and fifth-grade students. (1 hour)
  d. Food shelf: Students filled orders for groceries given by clients. (1 hour)
  e. Service class: Students participated in directed exercise on teamwork and following directions. Teacher then led debriefing on week's service activities. (1.5 hours)

Mansfield High School
  a. Elementary after-school program: Students supervised and played with kindergarten and first-grade students. (1.5 hours)
  b. D.A.R.E. program: Students joined younger high school students at an elementary school to serve in a panel discussion on drug and alcohol use. (2 hours)
  c. English as a second language (ESL) classroom: Students worked individually with ESL students and served as teachers' aides. (1 hour)
  d. Elementary school: Students worked individually with second-grade students and helped to grade student assignments. (2 hours)

NOTE: D.A.R.E. = Drug Abuse Resistance Education.

APPENDIX C
Question Wording and Scale Construction

Extracurricular Involvement Scale: Up to two responses were coded for other, allowing for the participant to indicate up to 14 extracurricular activities. The scale was a simple count of how many activities were checked.

Extracurricular activities. Please show which activities you participated in during the past year. Check all that apply.

__ Newspaper or yearbook staff

__Sports team
__Speech or drama
__Cheerleading; pompom
__Religious youth group
__Student government
__Hobby clubs (e.g., photography club)
__School subject clubs (e.g., Spanish club)
__Service club (e.g., National Honors Society)
__Occupation clubs (e.g., Future Farmers of America)
__Political clubs (e.g., Young Republicans)
__School activity committee (e.g., prom committee)
__Other, please specify _____

Civic Obligation Scale: Responses were coded 3 = *definitely an obligation*, 2 = *somewhat of an obligation*, and 1 = *not an obligation*. A factor analysis using orthogonal rotation revealed the presence of the three factors. The first factor included vote regularly, keep up with public affairs, and volunteer to serve in the community. These items were used in a simple additive scale.

Obligations of a citizen. There are many opinions as to what makes up the obligations of a good citizen. Below is a list of possible obligations. For each, please check the box that shows how much of an obligation of a citizen you think each one is.

	Definitely an Obligation	*Somewhat of an Obligation*	*Not an Obligation*
a. Serve on a jury if called.			
b. Speak and understand English.			
c. Vote regularly.			
d. Keep up with public affairs.			
e. Volunteer to serve in the community.			
f. Obey the law even if you consider it morally wrong.			
g. Serve in the military during wartime.			
h. Get help for someone in danger (e.g., car accident).			

Influential Adult Education Scale: Student-reported education levels of named influential women and men was coded into 0 = below bachelor's degree and 1 = bachelor's or postgraduate degree, replacing missing values with the mean. The influential adult education was constructed by adding the two recoded variables and replacing missing values.

Influential Adult Activity Scale: Student-reported community service of named influential women and men was coded as 0 = no and 1 = yes. The Influential Adult Activity Scale was constructed by adding the two variables.

What adult woman in your life has had the most influence on you?
_____Mother   _____Stepmother   _____Other female relative
                                                       (e.g., grandmother, aunt)
_____Foster mother   _____Other _____

How far did she go in school?
_____Below Grade 9   _____Grade 9-11   _____High school graduate
_____Some college/vocational training   _____Bachelor's degree
_____Postgraduate degree   _____Don't know

Does she do volunteer work or community service on a regular basis?
_____Yes   _____No   _____Don't know

What adult man in your life has had the most influence on you?
_____Father   _____Stepfather   _____Other male relative
                                                       (e.g., grandfather, uncle)
_____Foster father   _____Other _____ _____No adult male

How far did he go in school?
_____Below Grade 9   _____Grade 9-11   _____High school graduate
_____Some college/vocational training   _____Bachelor's degree
_____Postgraduate degree   _____Don't know

Does he do volunteer work or community service on a regular basis?
_____Yes   _____No   _____Don't know

Intense service: The following questions were added to the end of the postservice survey for St. James and Mansfield High Schools, respectively.

For (St. James) students: Please check any of the following statements that apply to you.
_____I completed more than 100 hours of service from this year alone.

For (Mansfield) students only. Please mark any of the following that apply to you.
_____I did more than the required amount of community service for my social studies class.

Political service: Coded from responses to the open-ended question, "What kind of service are you doing this year?" answered after an initial screening question, "Are you participating in community service this year?" Political service included service for political parties or interest groups, work on political campaigns, lobbying government (e.g., Day on the Hill), and work on projects that aimed at affecting public policy (e.g., Project Seeking HOPE [HOmes for PEople]).

NOTES

1. The term *citizenship* may be understood in two ways within Western political thought. The first, a "modern" understanding of citizenship, is an answer to the question of who is a citizen, or how citizenship is legally defined. The second way, an older understanding, looks at what kind of involvement or characteristics are necessary from citizens to secure self-government. It is in this second sense that I treat the term *citizenship* here. See Walzer's (1989) short essay for more information on the history of these two meanings.

2. The names of all high schools are fictitious to protect the anonymity of the schools.

3. This study asks students about the background of influential adults in their lives rather than only biological mothers or fathers. The response set of the question was designed to encourage students to consider their biological parents first but be flexible enough to allow students to report on the functional equivalents of biological parents in nontraditional families. See the question wording in Appendix C. This strategy appeared to work. When asked about female influential adults, 87.2% of students named biological mothers, and 81.6% of students named biological fathers when asked about male influential adults. Other nonrelatives and stepparents were the other most common responses. It makes little difference in the strength of association to students' reports of past service activity whether it is related to biological parents' education or influential adults' education and community service.

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