

Toward a Hope-Filled, Democratic Future:

Educating for Democratic Citizenship in the AJCU



**Report of the AJCU Commission on Citizenship and
Democracy, 2024**

**Association of Jesuit Colleges and Universities
Commission on Citizenship and Democracy**

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Executive Summary

In Spring 2023, The ACJU convened six commissions on important issues facing its constituent institutions, and tasked them with providing substantive content for the 2024 AJCU Justice Conference. Our group was tasked with “the forces that threaten our commitment to the discovery of truth, the increasing polarization that threatens civil discourse and communal discernment for the common good, and how these might be addressed in the educational programs for our students.” In the intervening months, we met remotely a number of times, each time with robust, honest, and thoughtful discussion. Three task forces—one on Catholic Social Teaching, one on developing and implementing a survey of AJCU institutions, and one on the knowledge, skills, and dispositions of democratic citizenship—met to focus separately on what we as a group deemed to be important approaches to our charge.

Our core conclusion is that Jesuit colleges and universities, while they are already doing quite a bit of education for citizenship, should reflect on ways that we might do so more universally, comprehensively, and intentionally. Our core recommendation is that Jesuit colleges and universities might develop their own ways to accomplish this by engaging in a “civic examen.” Like the more familiar Mission Priority Examen, a civic examen is a reflective self study designed to help us more carefully consider the ways we are living the mission, in terms of our responsibilities to prepare our students for lives of democratic citizenship.

In this report, we provide a rationale grounded in consideration of our troubled times in light of our Jesuit, Catholic tradition. We report on a survey of AJCU member institutions that we believe backs up the claim that more can be done. And we provide a guide to conducting a civic examen, along with a series of helpful examples on which we might draw to accompany our students toward a hope-filled, democratic future. We end with a call to the AJCU to establish a permanent group to continue the commission’s work.

In doing this work, we have developed a profound respect for the efforts that colleagues at Jesuit institutions across the country and the world have made to advance democratic citizenship. And we are aware that we must have left out almost as many examples as we have included. This report is not intended as a chastisement, but an affirmation and an encouragement to these efforts. We fully expect that in conducting a civic examen, AJCU member institutions will find much to be proud of, as well as inducements to do more.

A. Educating for Democratic Citizenship: Preamble

The Church and Jesuit universities share so much: an essential mission, a global network, and hope for the future. They are also at the precipice of great opportunity and great peril: an opportunity to sharpen our commitment to our shared mission, but fundamentally imperiled by challenges from the three P's: "populism, polarization, and post-truth."¹ Each of these challenges perpetuate errors—mistrust of institutions, narrow tribalism, and dissembling as a path to power. Both the Church and the University are places in which the search for the truth resists these forces.

Complicating matters, the University is today called upon to build a community that is not reinforced by the broader society, and which the three P's actively undermine. In a society that is increasingly segregated by race and class, universities are expected to integrate students from all walks of life. In a society in which discussion of the common good is sacrificed to partisan gain, universities are expected to assess the needs of the whole. In a society in which facts are instrumental, universities are expected to serve as stewards of truth.

The societies that created the modern university produced students whose shared social characteristics easily facilitated civility, dialogue, and shared governance. Students often graduated ready to take on some of the demands of citizenship whether or not they were ready when they matriculated. Today's society is more likely to produce students with more experience vilifying one another than working with one another. If they are not habituated to democratic citizenship before graduation, they may not become so after. Universities thus must work harder to inculcate the virtues that enable students to engage with one another. In this way, universities are both charged with a herculean task, to not merely take our students as society gives them to us, but to equip them to be a leaven in that society.

The Jesuit tradition provides effective responses to these threats. The goal of this commission, however, is not to provide a tight linkage between Catholicism and democracy (indeed we recognize the sometimes-fraught relationship between the two), but to evoke the relevance of this tradition to our current context, and to offer suggestions as to how to make use of it. As we do so, we aspire to find a middle space between fixity and openness, acknowledging areas of our tradition

¹ Fr. Arturo Sosa, "Discerning The Present To Prepare The Future Of The University Education Of The Society Of Jesus," Assembly of the International Association of Jesuit Universities (IAJU), Boston, August 4, 2022.

that need to be updated even as we resist the notion that tradition is inherently conservative. There are a number of well-crafted statements within this tradition that are effective in communicating the relevance of the tradition to the problems we face as a nation and world.

This Commission was tasked with articulating goals for the AJCU in the area of citizenship and democracy. We group these goals around four claims.

First, most prominently, Pope Francis has called upon us “to **become experts in the art of encounter.**”² This means that we aim to be guided by the Gospel ideal of humility and engagement with “the other.” In an age in which everyone seems to be ready to attack others in defense of a narrow version of the truth, we should be cautious when we feel that we are “in the right.” This means being cautious about both exclusive nationalisms and simple versions of identity politics.

This is a counter-cultural impulse today. On one hand, we find some recoiling from the integrative forces of a global society, struggling to shield traditional cultures from outside influences, and forgetting that traditions are themselves nurtured by encounter. On the other, we see others so anxious to move beyond narrow-mindedness that they forget that it is in the nature of tradition to stick, and that its defenders are articulating a human experience. The art of encounter should not be co-opted by either side as an excuse for rejecting the search for Christ even in those with whom we disagree. We must encourage “a multi-factored dialogue that includes the diversity of perspectives of all the disciplines that are cultivated in the university.”³

In building cultures of encounter, Jesuit colleges and universities face familiar tensions in new guises. Ignatius’s guidance that “it should be presupposed that every good Christian ought to be more eager to put a good interpretation on a neighbor’s statement than to condemn it” grows out of an evangelical psychology that the only way to achieve meaningful conversion is to engage with others on their own terms. And what is our task today if not conversion? The drawing of the populist away from selfish demand to generosity of spirit? The elevation of the partisan from the narrow to the transcendent? The revelation of the truth amidst the

² Pope Francis, “Synod calls us to become experts in the art of encounter,” *America: The Jesuit Review*, October 10, 2021
<https://www.americamagazine.org/faith/2021/10/10/pope-francis-opening-synod-synodality-encounter-listen-discern-241608> .

³ Sosa, “Discerning The Present To Prepare The Future Of The University Education Of The Society Of Jesus.”

post-truth? Now is not the time to retreat into the tower of the university, but to set the world aflame.

Second, **we must actively prepare students for democratic citizenship.** In the past, it might have been easier to stand critically apart from embracing democracy as a political system and citizenship as a preferred mode of being for our students. The threat of populism, polarization, and post-truth, however, simultaneously challenge democracy and the mission of the Jesuit university. This requires that we more intentionally align with democracy, and more consciously prepare our students for democratic citizenship.

This does not mean defense of any particular state's version of democracy. For example, other commissions to this Justice Conference are working on areas that we expect will involve criticism of American democracy; we also expect that the solution to these problems cannot be accomplished apart from a healthy democratic society and engaged citizens. These include care for our common home, justice and reconciliation, and criminal justice reform. We also believe that our students hunger for a world in which citizenship can provide them effective tools for shaping the world that they inhabit, and that the current political environment is a significant challenge to student mental health.⁴ We defer to our colleagues working in these areas as contributing vitally to our subject matter, even as we acknowledge that the accomplishment of any one of these goals will require movement toward all of them together.

Third, preparing students for citizenship means helping them learn how to understand not only the local realities where our institutions sit, but also about **global citizenship**, not just the requirements and benefits of American citizenship. In the Catholic tradition, a global perspective is the baseline perspective. Ours is a humanist framing of community, one that rejects prejudice and promotes empathy.

Indeed, fully preparing our students for democratic citizenship in the twenty-first century requires that we think of democracy as a global, not merely a western, phenomenon. Reminding ourselves of our brothers and sisters struggling for democracy abroad is helpful in lifting our view of it from a limited domestic context to a fully theorized understanding. And while the problems we face in the US today certainly have analogues in our own past, we also have much to learn from democratic movements around the world, in places like Hong Kong, Kenya,

⁴ See, for instance, Charles Lane, "Populism thrives because people are mad, and also because they're sad," *Washington Post*, August 9, 2023.

Egypt, Brazil, and Ukraine. A provincial approach to democratic education would deprive us of such examples.

Finally, Jesuit universities must **model the principles of citizenship** that we aspire to teach our students. As Fr. Sosa notes, universities are often “designed to hold the reins firmly in hand and to control the road that is taken and the pace of the movement.”⁵ This may make for effective university governance, but a firm hand is not naturally democratic. It is not enough to point to the need for democratic revitalization outside the gates if we are not attentive to democratic deficits on campus. Jesuit universities, in particular, cannot tell their students to “set the world afire—but leave the campus alone.”

This means moving beyond preparing students to think abstractly about social justice, or to understand discourse; students must be habituated to acting in pursuit of justice and on the basis of one’s considered principles. If we are doing our jobs right in educating our students for democracy, but we are doing our jobs wrong in embodying democratic values on campus, we expect that our students will call us on our failure in the latter.

This does not mean simple majoritarian control, but encounters with one another and institutional practices that model the values to which our missions allow us to draw from. For example, tolerance of views expressed in good faith; not merely governance, but transparency in operations; not merely awareness of social justice, but the demonstration of it in our administration. In this, we have some clear opportunities to provide a model to the American university as a whole. One is the admission of students in the wake of *Students for Fair Admissions v. Harvard*. A second is resistance to the growing tendency to remove unorthodox voices from campus fora. A third is the growing crisis around contingent faculty in higher education. A fourth is the tendency for faculty governance to be eroded by the expansion of professional administration. Yet another is the challenge of balancing the right to forcefully protest with the obligation to respect those who oppose us. In all, we see errors that we would speak out against if we observed them in society—exclusion of vulnerable persons, silencing of minority voices, failure to provide livable working conditions, and growing influence of corporate models of control in society. Jesuit universities must be models of democracy in their operations if we are to be credible advocates of social justice in our society.

⁵ Sosa, “Discerning The Present To Prepare The Future Of The University Education Of The Society Of Jesus.”

In a 2004 study, Joel Westheimer and Joseph Kahne reviewed a range of citizenship education programs and identified three visions of “the good citizen” differently articulated across them. The first is the “Personally Responsible Citizen,” who is defined by their character, their obedience to the laws, and their respect for the democratic system; as Westheimer and Kahne note, this is the kind of citizen who “contributes to a food drive.” The second is the “Participatory Citizen,” who actively participates and even seeks out positions of leadership in their community; the kind of citizen who “helps to organize a food drive.” Finally, some programs seek to cultivate the “Justice-oriented Citizen,” who might do all the things that the other two citizen-types do, but who also “critically assesses social, political, and economic structures to see beyond surface causes”; the kind of citizen who “explores why people are hungry and acts to solve root causes.”⁶

It is likely that Jesuit colleges and universities currently produce all three kinds of students, and even articulate all three visions of citizenship as the objective of our citizenship education. Indeed, we should expect that a Jesuit education develops the qualities of character that define the Personally Responsible Citizen and the leadership savvy of the Participatory Citizen. But the Jesuit tradition should orient us to developing Justice-oriented Citizens as well, because a university “conceived as a project of social transformation” “makes the efforts of social transformation a source of life and fulfillment.”⁷

It is important to note that while our mission envisions a university that “moves towards the margins of human history, where it finds those who are discarded by the dominant structures and powers,”⁸ Westheimer and Kahne are clear that “this is not to say that justice-oriented citizens necessarily promote a left-of-center perspective,” lest this be construed as entering into a partisan debate. Rather, it is the recognition that the development of “men and women for and with others” is grounded in the recognition that “we must continually strive to improve ourselves and reclaim for God the whole of our being,” and that “we cannot completely change ourselves if we do not change our world.”⁹ It is the Justice-oriented Citizen whose orientation is toward this continued growth, a growth through which we can accompany our youth not only toward graduation but beyond, through the establishment of their careers, and also through the social and political shocks and transformations that they will need to weather.

⁶ Joel Westheimer and Joseph Kahne, “Educating the ‘Good’ Citizen: Political Choices and Pedagogical Goals,” *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 37:2 (April 2004) 241-247, 242.

⁷ Sosa, “The University as a Source of a Reconciled Life.”

⁸ Sosa, “The University as a Source of a Reconciled Life.”

⁹ Pedro Arrupe, S.J., “Men and Women for Others: Promotion of Justice and Education for Justice,” Valencia, Spain, July 31, 1973, 25, 31.

This report proceeds in two steps. First, we report on a survey of our AJCU schools and what is currently happening at our institutions in the promotion of democracy and civic learning and responsibility.

Second, we provide a set of suggestions that Jesuit colleges and universities might take up as they seek to improve their capacity to support democracy and prepare their students for citizenship. Our expectation is that most Jesuit institutions already engage in related activities. To that end, we do not expect that any one institution must take up all of these suggestions, but that each might use these suggestions as a starting point for a democracy inventory—to ask what we are doing to confront the crisis of our time. We do believe, however, that it is critical for all of us to accept the challenge and to reflect on the ways we can engage.

B. Educating for Democratic Citizenship: Survey Results

In 2011, the Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement National Task Force presented its report, *A Crucible Moment: College Learning and Democracy's Future*, to the US Department of Education. The report called on every college and university “to foster a *civic ethos* that governs campus life, make *civic literacy* a goal for every graduate, integrate *civic inquiry* within majors and general education, and advance *civic action* as lifelong practice.”¹⁰ More than a decade later, the indicators of a “civic-minded” campus developed by the National Task Force continue to serve as a helpful diagnostic tool for assessing the extent to which higher education institutions educate and prepare students for full participation in our democracy (see Table 1). In this section, we utilize this tool as a basis for evaluating whether AJCU member institutions are creating civic-minded campuses.

To assess civic learning and engagement on AJCU campuses, we surveyed Core Directors in spring 2024, asking them about their campus curricular and/or co-curricular offerings for undergraduate students based on the four components of a civic-minded campus. Survey respondents were encouraged to complete the survey to the best of their knowledge and to share the survey with other campus staff, as appropriate. We asked to what extent each of the National Task Force’s four areas exists in (1) the Core curriculum, (2) some undergraduate majors, (3) co-curricular programs, institutes and centers, and (4) student life programs. Responses were measured using a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from “not currently part” to “all of this goal.” We received responses from 15 AJCU schools. In cases where several individuals from the same campus responded, we averaged their responses.

¹⁰ The National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement. (2012). *A Crucible Moment: College Learning and Democracy's Future*. Washington, DC: Association of American Colleges and Universities.

Table 1. What Would a Civic-Minded Campus Look Like?

Civic ethos governing campus life

The infusion of democratic values into the customs and habits of everyday practices, structures, and interactions; the defining character of the institution and those in it that emphasizes open-mindedness, civility, the worth of each person, ethical behaviors, and concern for the well-being of others; a spirit of public-mindedness that influences the goals of the institution and its engagement with local and global communities.

Civic literacy as a goal for every student

The cultivation of foundational knowledge about fundamental principles and debates about democracy expressed over time, both within the United States and in other countries; familiarity with several key historical struggles, campaigns, and social movements undertaken to achieve the full promise of democracy; the ability to think critically about complex issues and to seek and evaluate information about issues that have public consequences.

Civic inquiry integrated within the majors and general education

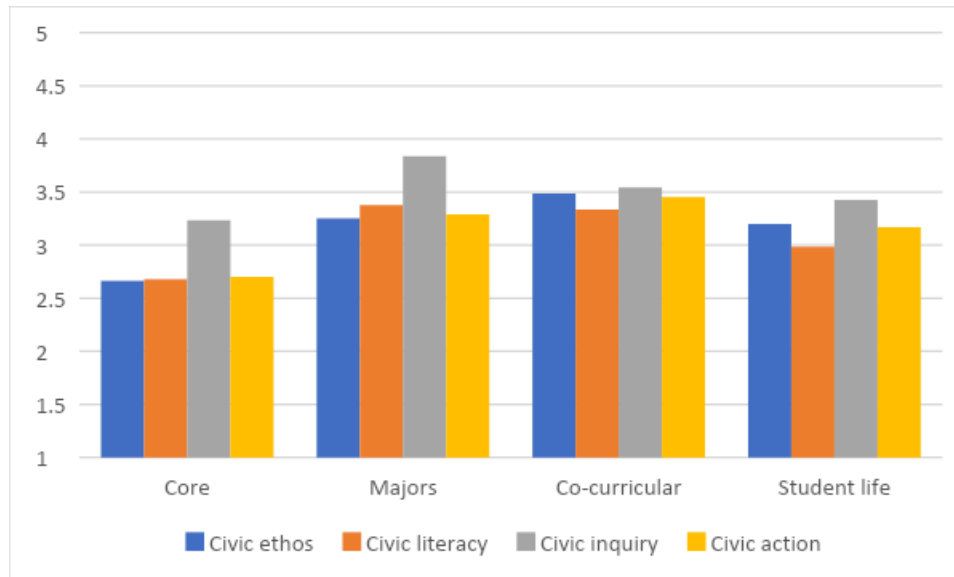
The practice of inquiring about the civic dimensions and public consequences of a subject of study; the exploration of the impact of choices on different constituencies and entities, including the planet; the deliberate consideration of differing points of views; the ability to describe and analyze civic intellectual debates within one's major or areas of study.

Civic action as lifelong practice

The capacity and commitment both to participate constructively with diverse others and to work collectively to address common problems; the practice of working in a pluralistic society and world to improve the quality of people's lives and the sustainability of the planet; the ability to analyze systems in order to plan and engage in public action; the moral and political courage to take risks to achieve a greater public good.

Survey responses are summarized in Figure 1. Four points stand out. First, respondents across the AJCU do not indicate that the goal of creating civic-minded campuses is being achieved. The National Task Force's recommendations are least well-integrated into AJCU schools' core curricula, indicating that the component of the university that is most universal is unlikely to be a space in which students encounter civic engagement.

Figure 1. Civic-Minded Campus Indicators



Second, across all four aspects of campus life, “civic inquiry” ranked highest, and “civic inquiry” within relevant majors is the area that received the highest reported level of completion. Third, and in contrast to the first, campuses tended to report less emphasis on “civic literacy,” with literacy being more prominent in instruction in relevant departments or co-curricular activities.

Fourth, indicators of a civic-minded campus were least prevalent in the Core curriculum. Only one institution, Santa Clara University, reported that they have a Core requirement related to democracy/civic engagement for all undergraduate students. A few other institutions noted they have related diversity and justice requirements in their core curricula.

We also asked, specific to our Jesuit mission and identity, where being a person “for and with others” (e.g., service or community-based learning, immersions, or other experiential learning opportunities) exists on campus. Almost universally, survey respondents noted that expressions of an educated solidarity infuse all aspects of campus life, from the Core curriculum to student life programs.

Reflection

How are Jesuit colleges and universities doing in preparing students for democratic citizenship? With an understanding that much of this work might get

done indirectly (a biology student might never encounter a citizenship requirement, but might come to an understanding of their role as a citizen through a happenstance process of exposure to faculty, tangentially-related courses, on-campus talks, and friend group exposure, for example), our survey focused on explicit and intentional efforts to address this goal. There is good news here: many of us are doing excellent work in advancing citizenship, and the survey revealed high aspirations for and pride in these efforts. We used these survey results to inform many of the examples of best practices that we point to in the next section of our report, and they are a useful guide to best practices across the association.

The survey also indicates some tensions within this work. First, there is a tendency to group promotion of civic health with related, but distinct, priorities. Respondents often pointed to offices such as Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion offices; Student Life; chaplain's offices; community-based learning offices, and community engagement offices, as being responsible for tasks such as civic inquiry, civic literacy, and civic action. These offices' contributions to the task should not be diminished, nor should their enthusiasm for doing so be discounted. We should ask ourselves, however, whether this is the best way to assign responsibility, and indeed whether this task can actually distract from their core mission. For instance, while civic education is clearly an important component of community-based learning, these offices are also geared towards educating for personal service and solidarity. Similarly, expecting DEI offices to carry the burden of civic education muddies both the goal of enhancing diversity on campus and preparing students for civic life. While all of the offices mentioned are part of a healthy comprehensive plan for civic education, they should not be asked to carry this load as an afterthought.

Second, there are clearly a number of places on many campuses where this work is done for a limited subsection of the student body. Few respondents, however, pointed to a single office or entity responsible for citizenship preparation across the entire campus. Most often (25 out of 39 total responses), respondents noted an office with another primary mission (as noted above). Eighteen cited the possibility that such issues might be covered in a core requirement (such as history). Institutes and centers with related content (such as leadership or a specific policy-orientation such as business and ethics) were mentioned thirteen times. A number of programs with narrow foci (such as voter registration or Model UN) were also cited thirteen times. Co-curricular events (such as Constitution Day talks) were identified as being a central space for civic learning, but when asked for specific examples, only two cited specific co-curricular events. And majors

were frequently ranked highly, but only 7 respondents pointed to specific majors as conveying relevant content.

Each of these efforts are to be commended. Clearly at many Jesuit institutions, students have a quite wide range of opportunities for exposure to preparation for civic life. Few have a clear requirement that each student is required to engage such opportunities. The picture one gets is that a student seeking such opportunities can find a number of them, but that a student who is uninterested or unaware of them might easily avoid them. Individual institutions should think carefully about how such opportunities are taken up by students, and whether some central office or element of the core should be added to ensure universal coverage.

Finally, the survey indicates that even within institutions there might be a lack of clarity about the work being done to prepare students for democratic citizenship. For example, from one institution we received eleven responses, which proved extremely helpful in getting a broad picture of what is happening at the institution. Respondents, however, had widely varying levels of confidence that different goals were being met. In response to the goal of “civic literacy as a goal for every student,” for instance, individual respondents from this one institution indicated, respectively, that “all of this goal,” “most of this goal,” “about half of this goal,” “parts of this exists,” and “I don’t know.” Individual comments indicate that a lot of civic literacy is being done at this institution, across a range of offices, but the question of where that work is being done varies widely from person to person.

At some level, this is a familiar problem at institutions of higher education. How often do we begin an initiative or project only to learn that similar initiatives exist across campus, or similar projects have been completed by different offices over the years? This is, however, not the best use of resources or efforts. The survey gives considerable credence to the idea that an institution-by-institution stock-taking might help us reach students more effectively and better equip them for lives of civic purpose.

C. Educating for Democratic Citizenship: A Civic Examen

Civic education in America has been in crisis for some time.¹¹ It is a national tradition to bemoan the state of civics education in the US, and yet students (and adults) continually score abysmally on civics assessments.¹² Turnout among younger voters is routinely lower than optimal. And studies demonstrate that, as in so many other areas of life, civic education is not equally accessible to students of all races and socioeconomic backgrounds.¹³

That civic education is in a crisis does not mean that it is neglected. There are politicized efforts around the country to assert more political control over the civic education provided by colleges and universities.¹⁴ Many such efforts aim to cast civic education in a nationalistic mode.¹⁵ A choice to continue treating this aspect of education with the same level of urgency is a choice to cede the ground to other voices. In such an environment it is more important than ever before for Jesuit colleges and universities to be the salt of the world.

Colleges and universities—including the departments within those institutions traditionally connected with civic education—too often “imply that we are doing our part and the root causes lie elsewhere.”¹⁶ Jesuit, Catholic universities, however, do not have this luxury. Our mission is explicitly tied to the “formation of well-integrated persons committed to the transformation of society, agents of reconciliation who struggle for social justice.”¹⁷ Indeed, Fr. General Arturo Sosa’s insistence that “educating political leaders is one of the most important things we

¹¹ See, for instance, American Council of Trustees and Alumni, “A Crisis in Civic Education,” January 2016; Derek Bok, “The Crisis of Civic Education,” *Chronicle of Higher Education*, October 1, 2017.

¹² See Margaret Stimmann Branson, “Making the Case for Civic Education: Educating Young People for Responsible Citizenship,” Presented to the Conference for Professional Development for Program Trainers Manhattan Beach, California, February 25, 2001; Glenn Altschuler and David Wippman, “We have a civics education crisis — and deep divisions on how to solve it,” *Washington Post*, May 21, 2023; Lauren Camera, “‘A National Concern’: Student Scores Decline on U.S. History and Civics,” *U.S. News and World Report*, May 3, 2023.

¹³ Equity in Civic Education Project, “Equity in Civic Education, (Generation Citizen and iCivics), 2020.

¹⁴ A sampling of articles about the phenomenon can be found in the pages of *The Chronicle of Higher Education*: Steven Brint, “The Political Machine Behind the War on Academic Freedom,” *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, August 28, 2023; Emma Pettit, “How a Center for Civic Education Became a Political Provocation,” *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, February 22, 2023; Adrienne Lu, “UNC’s Board Comes Under Scrutiny After Surprise Plan for ‘Civic Life’ School,” *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, February 16, 2023; Eva Surovell, “Florida Lawmakers Want Oversight of Invited Speakers on Public-College Campuses,” *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, May 11, 2023.

¹⁵ Jennifer Schuessler, “The Ideas Behind Trump’s 1776 Commission Report,” *New York Times*, January 19, 2021.

¹⁶ Paul Carrese, “Civic Preparation of American Youth: Reflective Patriotism and Our Constitutional Democracy,” *ANNALS, AAPSS*, 705, January 2023

¹⁷ Arturo Sosa, S. J., “Discerning the Present to Prepare the Future of the University Education of the Society of Jesus,” Assembly of the International Association of Jesuit Universities; Boston, MA; August 4, 2022.

can do to improve societies across the globe”¹⁸ requires that we intentionally and effectively educate our students for political life. It is not enough that we prepare our students well enough for success that politics becomes an available career; we must prepare all of our students for citizenship—Justice-oriented Citizenship—so that they become available to their communities.

To be sure, most Jesuit institutions pursue important aspects of civic education; this does not absolve us from facing the current political crisis with renewed vigor. As Father General Arrupe noted in 1973, “sometimes ongoing formation also includes the goal of reeducating people to live in a ‘totally different society’ or to face the challenge of a continually challenging world.”¹⁹ Today, facing this challenge presents us with an opportunity to reflect on ways we might more faithfully fulfill a most pivotal aspect of our mission to work toward the creation of “a better kind of politics, one truly at the service of the common good.”²⁰ “The soil is thirsty” in contemporary democracies and in the United States in particular.²¹

A Civic Examen

In this spirit, we invite all Jesuit schools to complete a “civic examen,” reflecting deliberately on the ways that we are fulfilling this mission. This report (and the outline provided in the Appendix) can be used as a template that raises enduring issues in developing Justice-oriented Citizens and supporting democratic norms. It is built around the categories of “knowledge, skills, and dispositions,” which are foundational categories in the field of civics education, and reflect a thorough framing of the issues at stake in this area, effectively oriented to empowering students “with core knowledge and transferable skills and cultivates social responsibility and a strong sense of ethics and values.”²² For this reason, we believe they are a useful starting point for any such process.

We should not be satisfied with strengths in any one of these areas. Note the advice given to educators in Bosnia in an effort to rebuild civic trust in the wake of the Bosnian War by John T. Patrick, a scholar specializing in the development of social studies education:

¹⁸ Sosa, “The University as a Source of the Reconciled Life,” 8.

¹⁹ Pedro Arrupe, S.J., “Men and Women for Others: Promotion of Justice and Education for Justice, Valencia, Spain, July 31, 1973, 31.

²⁰ Encyclical Letter Fratelli Tutti of the Holy Father Francis on Fraternity and Friendship, 154.

²¹ Arturo Sosa, S.J., “Discerning the Present to Prepare the Future of the University Education of the Society of Jesus,” Boston, August 4, 2022.

²² American Association of University Professors, “What Is Liberal Education,” <https://www.aacu.org/trending-topics/what-is-liberal-education> .

Elevation of one component of education for democracy over the other components—for example, knowledge over skills and dispositions or vice versa—is a flaw that impedes teaching and learning about the theory and practice of democracy. So, basic knowledge, skills, and dispositions must be combined and connected continually, systematically, and dynamically to bring about an effective education for democracy.²³

It is highly advisable, for instance, that we develop processes for ensuring that all of our students have the civic skills required to participate in civic life. But we might do more harm than good if we do so without laying a firm foundation of knowledge about our shared world; citizens, for instance, who do not have a global perspective, are unlikely to help create “a better kind of politics.” And we will likely do more harm than good if we do not instill in our students the personal dispositions that make them likely to participate in ways that contribute to strengthening rather than weakening democratic practice; citizens who use their skills to demean others, for instance, will aggravate, not resolve, the current crisis in democracy.

We should also not be satisfied with what we are already doing within each category. Instead, we should aim to stretch our capacities in all aspects of education for democracy; “to discern,” after all, “is to open oneself to something new,” even if it “implies risk.”²⁴ With the 2024 election looming, American educators find themselves with an opportune moment to open ourselves to the risk of asking whether we are doing enough. Even in institutions that are currently engaging successfully, the process might open up cross-campus collaborations that allow us to share strengths. A thorough examen can thus not only reveal deficits, but build from existing aptitude to higher strength. And it can empower faculty, staff, administrators, and students at our constituent institutions to use this document as a point of leverage in advocating for more support for this work.

How to Proceed

In what follows, we provide a reflective template, not a comprehensive prescription. This report proffers a series of six broad areas of reflection to structure an institutional civic examen. It aims to draw us out of a classroom-centric view, into a campus-wide consideration of the ways that students

²³ John J. Patrick, “Essential Elements Of Education For Democracy: What Are They And Why Should They Be At The Core Of The Curriculum In Schools?” lecture delivered in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, October 16, 2003.

²⁴ Sosa, “Discerning the Present.”

are exposed to the elements of democratic citizenship. The first three categories therefore follows a well-marked path:

- 1.) Knowledge
- 2.) Skills
- 3.) Dispositions

Given our special mission as Jesuit institutions, we believe that we also have a special obligation to reflect on citizenship from the perspective of our distinctive tradition. This means thinking globally, it means relating citizenship and democracy to our faith, and it means thinking ethically about the ways we practice our democratic values on our campuses. The last three categories are thus designed to remind us to keep this perspective in mind.

- 4.) Global Citizenship
- 5.) Citizenship, Democracy, and the Christian Faith
- 6.) Democracy on Campus

Consider these categories of inquiry as stopping points for further reflection on our work preparing our students to become Justice-oriented Citizens. For each category, we provide a series of questions designed to help each institution better understand how—and how fully—it is able to meet the challenges of addressing the different categories. Some of these will point our member institutions to ongoing achievement, others to attainable goals, others to objectives that can only be attained with effort and the commitment of resources.

Different institutions will no doubt respond differently to these suggestions. The aspiration, however, is that at the end of the process, each institution might be able to develop for and with our students a democracy plan that communicates in a transparent way how we accept responsibility for preparing them for democratic citizenship. In this way, we will accompany our students toward a hope filled, democratic future.

1.) Knowledge

Jesuit colleges and universities, all of which were charged by Fr. General Arrupe in 1973 to “make sure that in future the education imparted in Jesuit schools will be equal to the demands of justice in the world,”²⁵ must renew their commitment to ensuring that Jesuit-educated graduates receive the knowledge

²⁵ Pedro Arrupe, S.J., “Men and Women for Others,” Valencia, Spain, 1973.

necessary to be effective global, national, and local citizens. As Jesuit institutions, we believe that action is necessary, but “individuals who have a deep and abiding comprehension of the prevailing principles of democracy—the big ideas that define democratic government and citizenship—are more likely than others to exhibit several desirable virtues or dispositions of democratic citizenship.”²⁶ In more agreeable times, a lack of knowledge of basic facts might be a minor fault, but in the current environment it is especially pernicious. Especially at a time when the determination of basic facts about the democratic process shape political outcomes, universities cannot avoid their responsibility in transmitting the fundamental knowledge that underlies citizenship.

Further, secondary and higher education institutions are no longer the sole arbiter of democratic knowledge, and compete with voices that are driving what Jonathan Rauch calls “an epistemic crisis.”²⁷ For many of our students, social media, podcasts, and self-promoting politicians constitute part of the universe of teachers of civic education. In state education systems, politicized legislatures often take the initiative to mandate the teaching of civics in ways that serve the preferences of the legislative majority rather than an honest engagement with our polity.²⁸ Higher education professionals cannot assume that our students arrive on our campuses as empty vessels; instead, we must be prepared to encounter some students whose worldview has been shaped by misinformation, mistrust, paranoia, and politically-charged media.

There is hope in the growing body of evidence that providing students with knowledge about the ways that democracy works improves their acceptance of democratic norms. In one massive study with over 30,000 participants, researchers documented a number of dialogue and fact-based interventions that reduce partisan hostility and undermine support for undemocratic practices.²⁹ And although there has been a lot of discussion about the ways that motivated reasoning leads partisans to dismiss unbiased information, Alexander Coppock’s research makes clear that citizens update “in the direction of information,” suggesting that

²⁶ Patrick, “Essential Elements.”

²⁷ Jonathan Rauch, *The Constitution of Knowledge: A Defense of Truth* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institute Press, 2021).

²⁸ See, for instance, Carl Smith, “Legislators Fight to Control the Content of Civic Education,” *governing.com*, February 22, 2022; Stephanie Saul, “A College Fights ‘Leftist Academics’ by Expanding Into Charter Schools,” *New York Times*, April 10, 2022.

²⁹ Voelkel, Jan G., Michael Stagnaro, James Chu, Sophia L. Pink, Joseph S. Mernyk, Chrystal Redekopp, Isaias Ghezae, et al. 2023. “Megastudy Identifying Effective Interventions to Strengthen Americans’ Democratic Attitudes.” OSF Preprints. March 20. doi:10.31219/osf.io/y79u5.

intentional efforts to enhance student access to information can have substantial effects on partisan and undemocratic information.³⁰

With this in mind, we must be prepared to help students develop civic knowledge of fundamental political principles, including:

- democracy
- equality
- rights
- constitutionalism
- pluralism
- civil society
- civic virtue

It is also important to help students understand and identify challenges to these concepts in the form of

- tyranny
- majority tyranny
- inequality
- absolutism
- personalism
- ethnocentrism
- racism
- corruption
- hegemony

And we expect that Students' ability to engage as Justice-oriented Citizens will be enhanced by engagement with the principles of Catholic social teaching, including:

- the dignity of the human person
- pursuit of the common good
- solidarity
- subsidiarity
- the call to family, community, and participation
- the option for the poor and vulnerable
- the dignity of work and the rights of workers
- the obligation to care for God's creation

³⁰ *Persuasion in Parallel: How Information Changes Minds about Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2022).

Students should become familiar with core historical facts and documents that reflect the evolution and best statements of these principles, but this should not be confused with mastery of a collection of facts. As Diana Owen notes, “esoteric questions, such as naming cabinet members or listing the countries with permanent seats on the United Nations Security Council or identifying the political party to which the prime minister of Poland belongs..., do little to assess individuals’ understanding of government, politics, or civic life.”³¹ They should also be able to explain how they are embodied (or not) in regimes around the world and in history, and in our particular national, state, and local context. For that reason, it is appropriate to focus less on comprehensive knowledge and more on contextualizing the most relevant concepts. Appropriate engagement with these concepts as living ideas means understanding them as the subject of extensive debate. They should also be familiar with the ways that different traditions differ in their interpretation and implementation of these principles, including the ways that different political/cultural/religious traditions (including non-Western sources) interpret these principles. They should understand how differences in interpretations over these principles led to debates and conflict in the past, and how these past conflicts shape their implementation in the present. And they should be able to explain how Jesuit/Catholic traditions, in particular, interpret these traditions.

As colleges and universities review the ways in which they prepare students with the knowledge of citizenship, they might ask:

- Where do our strengths lie in conveying the core elements of knowledge about civic life? Do all students encounter these areas? Do they encounter them more than once? In more than one department?
- Are these substantive areas prominent within the curriculum, and if not, is there a concerted effort to provide access to this knowledge?
- How is student knowledge of these substantive areas assessed?
- How is substantive knowledge of democracy and citizenship provided extracurricularly? Are there opportunities to learn about these concepts outside of the classroom?

There are a number of examples and potential partners in this work. The College of the Holy Cross will implement a new core curriculum in 2025 that will require students to take three citizenship-related courses. Rather than a fixed notion

³¹ Diana Owen, “Political Socialization in the Twenty-first Century: Recommendations for Researchers,” Paper presented for presentation at “The Future of Civic Education in the 21st Century” conference cosponsored by the Center for Civic Education and the Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, James Madison’s Montpelier, September 21-26, 2008.

of what citizenship looks like, rooted in a traditional American civics focus, Holy Cross reimaged what is required for citizenship globally. Students will choose from at least two out of four citizenship-related categories, including Environmental Literacy, Intercultural Competence, Justice and Equity, and Ethical Reasoning and Action.

The Democratic Knowledge Project at Harvard’s Safra Center for Ethics takes a research-based approach to civics education.³² The Jack Miller Center has a strategy for civics renewal that encourages partnerships between K-12 and university educators, and provides a plethora of online resources for civics education.³³ The Civic Education and Democracy Engagement Coalition was created by a coalition of groups including the American Association of Colleges and Universities, Campus Compact, College Promise, Complete College America, and State Higher Executive Officers Association, and aim to “help all postsecondary students form their own evidence-based judgments about their role in democracy and the public good issues they want to pursue, both in society and their careers.”³⁴ The Bill of Rights Institute also provides civics education resources as well as opportunities for university faculty to help K-12 instructors develop civics competencies.³⁵ The American Academy of Arts and Science’s Commission on the Practice of Democratic Citizenship engages in efforts to rethink democracy by reflecting not just on challenges facing us today, but fundamental values that make democracy worth defending.³⁶ Danielle Allen’s Allen Lab for Democracy Renovation approaches these questions with the presumption that there is a lot of renovation to do, not merely a tradition to uphold.³⁷ Undoubtedly, many faculty on our campuses also serve as a font of knowledge and transformative ideas about how to impart that knowledge, and many are involved in these organizations nationally—consultation with them is the starting point to any effort to renew civics education at our institutions.

2.) Skills

a.) *Participatory Skills*

Jesuit colleges and universities should take responsibility for ensuring that students develop the skills they need to be effective citizens. Civic knowledge is in itself insufficient, unless it is accompanied by the active deployment of skills that enable citizens to understand and engage the world. Some of this skill development

³² <https://www.democraticknowledgeproject.org/#>

³³ <https://jackmillercenter.org/>

³⁴ <https://www.collegeciviclearning.org/>

³⁵ <https://billofrightsinstitute.org/>

³⁶ <https://www.amacad.org/ourcommonpurpose/about>

³⁷ <https://ash.harvard.edu/programs/allen-lab-for-democracy-renovation/>

can clearly take place in the classroom, and is likely to be closely tied to the development of democratic knowledge. But skill development also requires an experiential component, in which students develop democratic muscle memory through active participation. Here, the Ignatian Pedagogical Paradigm—with its emphasis on experience and reflection—provides Jesuit educators with a clear template for framing such experiences.

The relevant skills include basic elements of participation in democratic society, and might include:

- How to participate in national, state, and local elections
- How to identify reliable information on governmental proceedings
- How to contact and engage with elected leaders
- How to participate in public meetings governed by formal rules of order

b.) Soft Skills

As important as these skills are, we must also accustom our students to developing the higher-order soft skills that are necessary to the effective functioning of democracy. David Mathews, for instance, argues that considering democracy as a broader political ecosystem “helps us see politics as more than what happens in elections in government,” and is extended to explain “what citizens do with citizens.”³⁸ We recommend an approach that considers such aspects of our lives together. These include:

- Cooperation/collective decision making
- Coalition building, and working with allies to achieve common goals
- Deploying effective leadership styles/structures to facilitate collective decision-making processes
- Discerning how institutions facilitate or hamper collective decision-making processes

These skills can be demonstrated in a number of ways, including classroom simulations. But the most effective fora for developing these skills in particular might be participation in student government and in the government of student-led organizations—including the various means by which students participate in university-level decisions. Indeed, evidence suggests that “opportunities to express concerns and perspectives have been highlighted as helping youth to develop a civic skill for future citizenship.”³⁹ Indeed, it is telling that one way that college

³⁸ David Mathews, *The Ecology of Democracy: Finding Ways to Have a Stronger Hand in Shaping Our Future*, (Dayton, Ohio: Kettering Foundation, 2014).

³⁹ Ellen Middaugh, “More Than Just Facts: Promoting Civic Media Literacy in the Era of Outrage,” *Peabody Journal of Education* Volume 94: 1 (2019), 19.

students have processed their reaction to the war in Gaza has been to demand a larger role in college-level decisions. As we engage in an examination of the ways in which we encourage democratic skills, we should take careful stock of the ways in which we provide students with meaningful opportunities to engage in self-government now. We might ask:

- Do students have the opportunity to participate meaningfully in the government of the university, or is student government limited to a few purposes only?
- Do all students have equivalent access to these opportunities, or are there *de jure* or *de facto* limitations on who can participate?
- Do most students actively make use of these opportunities, or are some alienated from the process?
- Are all student perspectives sought out in governing decisions, or is power limited to select groups?
- If students have questions or concerns about campus policies, do they have effective means of petition and redress?
- Are some decisions about the government of student life that could be shared with or turned over to students nevertheless retained by administrators, faculty, or staff?
- Could participation in campus policymaking and government be expanded in ways that give more students more meaningful engagement?

c.) Dialogue, Deliberation, and Debate Skills

One fundamental aspect of the crisis we face today is the breakdown of dialogue across difference, as “increasingly polarized, racialized, and politicized climates have made it more difficult to dialogue across differences, which is compounded by eroding public trust in democratic institutions and processes.”⁴⁰ Our society is segregated by race, religion, and politics, leading to vastly different assessments of the motives and values of people on “the other side.”⁴¹ Efforts to diversify higher education over the past decade have been admirable (even if much more remains to be done), but assembling a diverse student body is insufficient to nurture expertise in “the art of encounter.” Indeed, there is troubling evidence that moderately diverse student bodies might actually feature more racially segregated

⁴⁰ Carol D. Lee, Gregory White, and Dian Dong, eds, *Educating for Civic Reasoning and Discourse*, (Washington, DC: National Academy of Education, 2021), 3.

⁴¹ Partisan divides have become so aggravated that political scientist Suthan Krishnarajan found that partisans are increasingly likely to justify violating democratic norms in order to gain a partisan advantage, and to confuse victory for their preferred party with democracy. “Rationalizing Democracy: The Perceptual Bias and (Un)Democratic Behavior,” *American Political Science Review* 117:2 (2022) 1-23.

social networks.⁴² We should therefore reflect carefully on the ways we foster engagement across difference on campus.

But engagement across difference can mean a range of things. We envision engaging students in dialogue, deliberation, and debate as three critical but distinct activities, each essential to the development of democratic citizens, each of which should be encouraged at our institutions. First, **dialogue** should provide students with an opportunity to engage neutrally in a way that is designed to facilitate learning and understanding; it is not a forum for persuasion or argumentation. According to David Bohm, “the object of a dialogue is not to analyze things, or to win an argument, or to exchange opinions. Rather, it is to suspend your opinions and to look at the opinions—to listen to everybody’s opinions, to suspend them. And to see what all that means. If we can see what all of our opinions mean, then we are *sharing a common content*, even if we don’t agree entirely.”⁴³ Dialogue brings interlocutors closer together even as they share different views; as Pope Francis wrote, “authentic reconciliation does not flee from conflict, but is achieved in conflict, resolving it through dialogue and open, honest and patient negotiation.”⁴⁴

Colleges are uniquely positioned to accomplish this task, in that a.) they bring together a diverse range of viewpoints, b.) they can bring people together in relatively low stakes formats, c.) they are staffed with individuals who should be distinctly skilled at facilitating the engagement of different voices, and d.) they have the authority to convene persons who might otherwise not be invited to encounter one another. If we do not encourage such on campus, it is unlikely that our students will have encountered it before, or will encounter it after they leave. As we reflect on the ways that we encourage dialogue on our campuses, we might ask:

- What does respectful dialogue with those who differ from us look like? What does unhealthy dialogue look like? How is that communicated to students?
- How do faculty, administrators, staff, and outside speakers model positive models of healthy dialogue (or do they sometimes model unhealthy dialogue)?

⁴² James Moody, “Race, School Integration, and Friendship Segregation in America,” *American Journal of Sociology* 107: 3 (November 2001), 679-716.

⁴³ David Bohm, *On Dialogue* (London: Routledge, 1996).

⁴⁴ Encyclical Letter Fratelli Tutti of the Holy Father Francis on Fraternity and Friendship, 244.

- Where on campus—classrooms, residence halls, dining facilities, varsity and intramural athletics, etc.—do students encounter facilitated and unfacilitated difference?
- How do we facilitate engagement between those whose principles are different from ours?
- How do we help our students humanize “the other”?
- Can we better help our students discern when to disengage when difference can create harm?

There are a number of good models of dialogue from which Jesuit colleges and universities can draw. A number AJCU member institutions provide excellent voter education programs, such as Loyola Chicago’s Loyola Votes Campaign, which helped Loyola register more students to vote than any college or university in Illinois. Their website directs students to resources for registering to vote, but also trains GOTV volunteers and educates students on the issues in the campaign.⁴⁵ Xavier University’s Take It On campaign not only provides students with voter registration information, but embeds it in a dialogue program and a series of conversations around upcoming elections.⁴⁶

Marquette University’s Civic Dialogues Program provides public events to provoke discussion in well-curated small group settings (called Dialogue Dinners) to encourage students to engage one another around the topic of such events.⁴⁷ Boston College hosts Courageous Conversations Towards Racial Justice, designed to engage students across the university in dialogue around racial justice.⁴⁸ BC is also part of a Boston-area consortium of colleges that provide consortium-wide panel discussions online, which become the basis of in-person deliberations on campus;⁴⁹ such initiatives could be modeled by other Jesuit universities within their regions, or adopted across Jesuit institutions to encourage dialogue around mission-specific themes. The University of Scranton has coordinated a Political Dialogues Initiative since spring 2017 that brings attendees, including students and community members, together to engage in dialogue across differences on such contentious topics as guns, immigration, abortion, upcoming Presidential Elections, and Israel/Palestine.⁵⁰ Gonzaga offers an Intergroup Dialogue Program (designed to

⁴⁵ <https://www.luc.edu/vote/>

⁴⁶ <https://www.xavier.edu/takeiton/index>

⁴⁷ <https://www.marquette.edu/civic-dialogues/>

⁴⁸ <https://www.bc.edu/bc-web/offices/human-resources/sites/courageous-conversations.html>

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<https://www.bc.edu/bc-web/sites/bc-news/articles/2024/spring/bc-joins-area-schools-in-series-to-promote-civil-discourse.html>

⁵⁰ <https://news.scranton.edu/articles/2018/11/stu-political-bubble.shtml>

introduce students across a range of differences), that includes credit bearing options that help integrate dialogue into the core curriculum.⁵¹ Outside of the Jesuit network, Essential Partners⁵² and the Constructive Dialogues Institute⁵³ provide training and tools for educators seeking to host structured dialogues that are designed to maximize understanding engage conflict in a productive manner. Interfaith America provides a number of resources designed to encourage discourse across religious faiths, which is essential at Catholic universities for ensuring that a broad range of student faiths are represented.⁵⁴

Second, **deliberation** is oriented to joint decision making. While it is not necessary for every deliberative act to result in a definitive decision, deliberation differs from dialogue in that it is oriented to clarifying shared values or priorities. Deliberative formats require students to exercise the characteristics of a Justice-oriented Citizen, because they require students to exercise the requisite skills of “critically evaluating arguments, listening to opposing viewpoints, articulating one’s position in a way accessible to most others.”⁵⁵ Because of this, deliberation is thought of as a “way to assure that a pluralism of views on the nature and purposes of citizenship education remains beneficial and not factionalizing or destructive,”⁵⁶ and might be a key method for diminishing the intensity of partisan polarization among our students, while retaining the necessary disagreement and diversity of views and approaches inherent within institutions of higher education and in a democracy.

Deliberation requires particular contexts and particular approaches. As David Mathews explains, “deliberation is useful when citizens are aware of a problem but unsure whether it merits their attention,” and “helps citizens identify what is deeply valuable that is at stake.” It is useful in situations in which citizens are “disturbed by what is happening to them yet aren’t in agreement about what the problem is or what should be done.”⁵⁷ In this sense, there may be many opportunities for students to deliberate that fall just short of policy-making, but which invite them to participate in the life of the campus community. Whereas in dialogue it is sufficient to speak, listen and learn, in deliberation it is necessary that

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<https://www.gonzaga.edu/student-life/student-services/unity-multicultural-education-center/intercultural-development/dialogue-programs/intergroup-dialogue>

52 <https://whatisessential.org/what-we-do>

53 <https://constructivedialogue.org/>

54 <https://www.interfaithamerica.org/consulting/>

55 Matt Chick, “Deliberation and Civic Studies,” *The Good Society* 22:2 (2013), 193.

56 E. Wayne Ross, “Negotiating the Politics of Citizenship Education,” *PS: Political Science and Politics* 37:2 (April 2004), 250.

57 Mathews, *The Ecology of Democracy*.

participants engage in critical thinking, disagreement with others, values clarification, and negotiation.

As we reflect on the ways that we encourage deliberation, we might ask:

- Is deliberation integrated into classroom instruction in ways that might spread relevant skills across the curriculum, acknowledging that deliberation might take place in labs, rehearsals, and studios as well as in political contexts? Do we provide faculty with pedagogical development opportunities that encourage the use of such exercises?
- Do we provide examples of deliberation in the form of public discussions that are oriented to collaborative problem solving, such as panels or public deliberations by college officials?
- Are leaders in student organizations given training in the facilitation of deliberation, so that deliberative skills might be disseminated throughout routine student decision-making processes?
- Do campus leaders provide students with opportunities to deliberate about campus priorities in ways that invite them into real consideration of the choices facing the campus?
- Are experiential programs that simulate deliberative contexts available and accessible to students? Are these promoted and highlighted as essential to the civic mission of our institutions?

Again, there are good models available for emulation and adaptation. Gonzaga University's and a Sustained Dialogue Program matches students for 10 week-long partnerships, in which students meet weekly and deliberate over common goals aimed at concrete campus action.⁵⁸ The Reacting to the Past Consortium provides simulations around historic events and controversies that give students the opportunity to practice deliberation in structured formats that encourage collaboration over competition; many faculty have successfully incorporated these games into in-class simulations.⁵⁹ Traditional simulation programs like the various Model Congress programs⁶⁰ and Model United Nations⁶¹ provide students with opportunities to learn deliberation. As noted above, student leadership opportunities in student government, organizations, and athletic teams all provide real-world deliberation opportunities that can be marked out as such, and which would benefit from intentional training in deliberative skills.

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<https://www.gonzaga.edu/student-life/student-services/unity-multicultural-education-center/intercultural-development/dialogue-programs/sustained-dialogue>

⁵⁹ <https://reactingconsortium.org/>

⁶⁰ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Model_Congress

⁶¹ <https://www.un.org/en/mun>

Finally, we should provide students with opportunities to observe and participate in **debate**. Again, this fits with the best of our Jesuit tradition. The *Ratio Studiorum* prescribed regular disputations (or formal debates) as a means of communal discernment of the truth. In today's university environment, the idea of a disputation can seem either terrifying (because disagreements can be especially unpleasant in a polarized environment), or exclusive (if the presumption is that a single truth must be the outcome of the exercise). Indeed, the *Ratio Studiorum* warns that disputations can substitute eloquence for truth and can magnify small differences rather than resolving large ones. But when the aspirations of the disputation—the hope that the truth can be discerned in a communal forum—are abandoned, the result is fragmentation of the community, in which competing views become hardened and the marginalized remain on the outskirts. The disputation, properly structured, lures colleagues out of the quiet of the study into the bright light of community. In doing so, errors that are perpetuated in personal siloes can be corrected.

Disputation was not just a periodic form of entertainment, but was essential to the plan of education laid out by the early Jesuits. They were to happen frequently, at different levels of instruction, and within carefully-designed parameters. They were to take “as much effort and [bear] as much fruit as a day of class,” tactics were designed to make public disputations “livelier and more popular” so as to encourage engagement, and even though he encouraged prefects to allow heretics to be invited to engage in disputations, he asked that they “the give-and-take of the disputation” rather than “give the solution” preemptively.⁶² As John Donohue notes, the aim of the disputation was “genuine growth which is conceived in terms of abiding habits and skills. Habits are generated not simply by understanding facts or procedures but mastery which makes them one's own and at hand for ready use.”⁶³ In the broader Jesuit tradition, disputations were seen as having a public purpose, to defend Catholic thinking against external opponents, and providing a public forum for articulating these defenses.⁶⁴

The historic root of debate within Jesuit higher education is borne out by contemporary research that demonstrates that debates are a high impact practice that distinctly support civic learning. Notable areas of impact include “attitudes

⁶² Allan P. Farrell, S.J., trans, *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum of 1599*, (Washington, DC: Conference of Major Superiors of Jesuits, 1970), 28, 29, 32, 20.

⁶³ John W. Donohue, S.J., *Jesuit Education* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1963, 150.

⁶⁴ Thomas M. McCoog, S.J., “‘Playing the Champion’: The Role of Disputation in the Jesuit Mission,” in Thomas M. McCoog, S.J., ed., *The Reckoned Expense: Edmund Campion and the Early English Jesuits* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1996).

about engaging in public advocacy and political awareness and self-reported assessments of civically relevant skills such as research, public speaking, critical thinking, problem solving, and empathy.” Further “students across different disciplines reported an increase in their ability to listen to a variety of perspectives on political issues.”⁶⁵ Across the board, “speech and debate pedagogies help students develop substantive knowledge about important political controversies, along with the skills and confidence they need to engage in civic life.”⁶⁶ Debates may differ from both dialogue and deliberation in that they are structured with a certain competitiveness—ideas are, in debates, forced to defend themselves from competitors—but well prepared debate organizers can avoid extreme outcomes if they take Ignatius’s advice “to see to it that everything is conducted with profit, moderation, and harmony.”⁶⁷

As we reflect on the ways that we encourage debate, we might ask:

- How widely do our faculty understand and deploy debate-based pedagogy in the classroom? Do we provide faculty with pedagogical development opportunities that encourage the use of such exercises?
- Do we provide examples of debates in the form of public events that provide effective and balanced representations of competing views? Are these structured in ways to encourage fairness, clarity, and liveliness?
- Are there resources on campus for developing fair and moderate procedures for hosting debates?
- Do we provide ample opportunities for competing views to be heard, or do we tend to hear from speakers with similar views? (It may not be necessary for each event to be in a debate format if a range of events might be seen to be in conversation with one another over the course of the year or the semester.)
- Are student organizations designed to provide opportunities to debate encouraged and well-supported?

Good models of healthy debate programs include the Braver Angels program, which has partnered with the American Council of Trustees and Alumni and BridgeUSA to create the Braver Campuses initiative, which provides training, toolkits, and topic catalogs for structuring debates.⁶⁸ Many of us have historic

⁶⁵ Paul E. Mabrey III, Kevin E. Boston-Hill, Drew Stelljes, and Jess Boersma, “Debate for Civic Learning: A Model for Renewing Higher Education’s Civic Mission,” *Journal of the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning* 21:4 (December 2021) 101.

⁶⁶ J. Michael Hogan, Jessica A. Kurr, Jeremy D. Johnson, and Michael J. Bergmaier, “Speech and Debate as Civic Education,” *Communication Education* 65: 4 (2016) 380.

⁶⁷ *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum of 1599*, 54.

⁶⁸ <https://www.goacta.org/initiatives/college-debates/>

resources at hand that could be good starting points: at the College of the Holy Cross, for instance, students took the lead to revive the defunct college debating society, bringing twenty-first century student concerns to life through a twentieth century organizational structure.

d.) Skills in Counter-cultural Action

Nation-wide student protests in the spring of 2024 have re-kindled a spirit of counter-cultural action that has been absent from American college life for some time. While we acknowledge the disruption that many of these protests have caused, we understand that democratic life by necessity comprehends forms of participation that are counter-cultural and that challenge conventional forms of politics. These include politics of protest, solidarity, and advocacy, while retaining the necessary disagreement and diversity of views and approaches inherent within institutions of higher education and in a democracy. Such actions, motivated as they are by passionate commitment and conviction, can sometimes result in impulsive or unplanned action rather than “quality dissent” that is thoughtful and informed.⁶⁹ Relevant skills include choosing appropriate and effective forms of advocacy from multiple choices, understanding when to move from cooperation to confrontation, being in solidarity with those whose struggles we do not share, and understanding when to expand conflicts by recruiting allies currently not involved.

American universities have long been the site of a tremendous amount of this kind of activity, and could prove to be quite effective training grounds. Sometimes, however, campus policies are oriented to maintaining order rather than fostering students’ political awareness. As we reflect on the ways that these skills are developed, we might ask:

- Are campus policies around speech, expression, and protest, designed to create opportunities for students to engage in such activities, or are they designed to maximize order?
- Are campus disciplinary procedures carefully designed to ensure that students are unlikely to be punished for legitimate expressive activity, or are they sometimes deployed as means of maintaining order?
- Are campus expression policies clearly-drawn enough that they maximize student expressive rights, while making hard lines (violence, property damage) clear? Are these policies clearly articulated to students and easily accessible?

⁶⁹ Sarah M. Stitzlein, et. al., “Defining and Implementing Civic Reasoning and Discourse: Philosophical and Moral Foundations for Research and Practice” in *NAEd-Educating-for-Civic-Reasoning-and-Discourse.pdf*, 49.

- When students have engaged in counter-cultural activities in the past, have they been restricted in their activities? If so, does such a history chill current expression? If so, how can this history be confronted?
- Do students have appropriate outlets for organization and expression?
- Do student journalists have clearly-articulated rights to critique campus leaders and policies?

These skills in particular present special problems for university administrators, particularly when they are honed in conflict with the university itself. Students who possess these skills might subvert good order on our campuses, or bring embarrassment to campus leaders or even to the Church. In recent years, campus controversies have more frequently spilled into public view, resulting in increased scrutiny from the media, the public, lawmakers, alumni, and donors. It is, however, inappropriate for us to approach such student activity from a crisis management perspective. Instead, university leadership should:

- Prepare to respond to outside pressure with clear affirmation of the experiential value of such activity as a central element of the university's mission of democratic education.
- Consider whether the government of student lives is flexible enough to provide conventional avenues and, if necessary, evolve such procedures.
- Work preemptively to build relationships between student groups, faculty, and administrators (perhaps by creating routine opportunities for non-crisis forms of engagement), and in doing so cultivate healthy attitudes toward protest.
- Prioritize negotiation and discussion with student protesters over rule enforcement.
- Develop and disseminate positive examples of activism that help students effectively understand the consequences of different choices of activism.

e.) Information Skills

Finally, it is important to recognize that our students inhabit an information environment that is radically different from those that have prevailed in the past. While this presents a uniquely democratized information environment, it is also an environment within which “if young people consume information without determining who is behind it and what that source's agenda might be, they are easy marks for digital rogues.”⁷⁰ Moreover, research on media literacy in a polarized environment suggests that the biases that such environments encourage not only

⁷⁰ Sarah McGrew, Joel Breakstone, Teresa Ortega, Mark Smith & Sam Wineburg, “Can Students Evaluate Online Sources? Learning From Assessments of Civic Online Reasoning,” *Theory & Research in Social Education*, 46:2, 165-193; 166.

polarize, but “limit the degree to which individuals learn through exposure to information and from deliberation more generally.”⁷¹ The danger we face is “becoming victims of a sick communication,” while the need is “a campaign for linguistic ecology.”⁷² Getting digital and media literacy right, in other words, is essential to achieving both the other goals in this report, and our fundamental educational mission.

The internet, social media, and a polarized and decentralized news media all challenge traditional understandings of the kind of information that our students bring with them, and which we must help them navigate. While some of this preparation falls under the category of knowledge, it is also the case that discerning between helpful and harmful information in this environment requires skill and experience. As a Knight Foundation study on healthy democratic information ecosystems concluded, “higher education institutions are...key information intermediaries.”⁷³ And some of this skill building might be best provided by colleagues who are under-utilized in this regard, such as librarians and ITS staff. In assessing our capacities in this regard, we might ask:

- Do we assume that students are effectively navigating the media environment (that is, do they have media literacy), or do we actively work to impart navigation skills to them early and often?
- What are effective ways to help students break negative social media habits (that is, do they possess digital literacy), and what are some ways that our routine campus communication practices might encourage such negative habits?
- What kinds of expertise do we have on campus for clarifying best practices in discerning the truth, and how do we highlight that expertise?
- How effectively do we help students understand the difference between scholarship, news, and opinion?
- Do we provide students with systematic, or only haphazard, skills in identifying reliable sources of information in the new media environment?
- Do we have different forms of evidence evaluation on campus that might lead to confusion among students, and, if so, how might we effectively communicate these differences to students?

⁷¹ Joseph Kahne and Benjamin Bowyer, “Educating for Democracy in a Partisan Age: Confronting the Challenges of Motivated Reasoning and Misinformation,” *American Educational Research Journal* 54: 1 (February 2017), 6.

⁷² Card. Gianfranco Ravasi, “The New Socio-Cultural Paradigm and the Role of Jesuit Universities,” 13-14.

⁷³ The Knight Commission on the Information Needs of Communities in a Democracy, “Informing Communities: Sustaining Democracy in the Digital Age,” (The Aspen Institute, 2009), 25.

- What is the media environment on campus like, and how does it shape student media consumption? Are there sufficient and easily accessible forms of media that can be accredited as helpful to democratic practice?

There are a number of examples of ways of addressing information literacy. At Gonzaga University, librarians collaborate with First Year Seminar courses to teach approaches to metacognition as well as conventional library skills. The American Library Association⁷⁴ and its affiliate, the Association of College and Research Libraries both provide resources, and the ACRL's Framework for Information Literacy for Higher Education⁷⁵ is especially useful. They are not, however, comprehensive guides for integration into teaching, and largely recommend collaborations across campuses. The AJCU's Library Deans Network might take on the task of providing comprehensive guidance across member universities. And in identifying on-campus resources, we should also consider the expertise of faculty who work in these areas, many of whom have been working to disseminate ideas to the broader community whether or not their ideas are implemented on their own campuses.

3.) Dispositions

By dispositions, we mean what Alexis de Tocqueville called "habits of the heart," or "the complex interaction between more or less conscious movements of the heart and mind that furnish the wellsprings of human action and identity."⁷⁶ Whereas knowledge speaks to comprehension of subject matter, and skills speak to facility with engaging the world, dispositions speak to inclinations of one's character, the behaviors that tend to emerge out of our deepest commitments. We might think of well-formed dispositions as marking the character of "consistent individuals who are responsible for themselves, for others and the earth that we all inhabit."⁷⁷

Jesuit colleges and universities aim to foster dispositions in our students to be "for and with others," which inclines them away from mere pursuit of self-interest and towards consideration of the way communities channel power to some and not others. It is important to note that dispositions such as this are

⁷⁴ <https://literacy.ala.org/information-literacy/>

⁷⁵ <https://www.ala.org/acrl/standards/ilframework>

⁷⁶ Aristide Tessitore, "Tocqueville's American Thesis and the New Science of Politics," *American Political Thought* 4:1 (Winter 2015), 76. Note that for Tessitore, Tocqueville's view of the necessary habits for democracy is compatible with "the profoundly Christian ideas of equality and universal love that provided the underlying impetus for modern democratic politics," a suggestion which further reinforces the relevance of the work of the Jesuit mission in shaping the democratic dispositions of students (86).

⁷⁷ Sosa, "The University as a Source of Reconciled Life."

important accompaniments to knowledge. Sending our students into the world only with knowledge is, in this sense, an insufficient means of ensuring healthy civic participation. Indeed, as many scholars have observed, “without a particular dispositional lens, the knowledge, skills, and resulting civic action can move toward radical extremes rather than democratic ideals.”⁷⁸ The orientation of citizens toward justice must be cultivated as a mindset that leaps first to democratic conclusions.

This mindset might be thought of as encompassing internal habits of thought, habits of thought oriented towards the community, and habits of thought oriented towards our fellow citizens.

- Internal
 - A habit of considering multiple perspectives
 - A habit of reflecting and seeking discernment before acting
 - A considered practice of approaching issues with intellectual detachment
 - Resilience in the face of adversity
- Towards the community
 - Respect for jointly-agreed upon values, procedures, and policies
 - Frequently seeking opportunities for civic engagement
 - Expectation of political participation
 - Taking responsibility for speaking about community matters
- Towards our fellow citizens
 - A habit of being with and for others
 - Empathy for others
 - Tolerance of others
 - Egalitarianism
 - Open-mindedness to argument, to culture, to lifestyle

Even with such a broadly-construed lens, there are disagreements about the kinds of values that should be inculcated in students’ dispositions. But healthy democratic dispositions are best thought of less as content that is taught to students and more as something to which they are socialized. As Julie Merrifield notes, dispositions are socialized, most often by elites, through political cultures that “[shape] what people expect of their political system, what they see as possibilities for their own action, and what rights and responsibilities the various actors are perceived to have.” Dispositions are learned in this sense “in the context of

⁷⁸ Carly C. Muetterties, Daniel DiGiacomo, and Ryan New, “Recentering Civics: A Framework for Building Civic Dispositions and Action Opportunities,” *Democracy and Education*, 30:1, 3.

communities of practice” where “group norms, values, language, meanings and purposes” are established.⁷⁹

For instance, the democratic skills outlined in the previous section were clarified considerably by reference to the kinds of activities encouraged by campus leaders. Students who are routinely shut out of meaningful campus decisions will be unlikely to share decision-making power when they have it. Students who watch faculty avoid their citizenship duties—both in the community and on-campus—will learn an important lesson about the priority of self-government. In this sense we have an important opportunity to make the case for democracy by demonstrating it on our campuses. “Universities are communities,” notes Fr. Sosa, even if “we have a long way to go when it comes to incorporating this collaborative way of proceeding deeply in each of our universities.”⁸⁰ Indeed, Pope John Paul II echoed this view in his apostolic constitution on higher education, noting that “a Catholic University pursues its objectives through its formation of an authentic human community animated by the spirit of Christ.” This requires, he continued, “mutual respect, sincere dialogue, and protection of the rights of individuals.”⁸¹

As noted in the section on Skills, above, it is important to provide our students with opportunities to engage in self-government while enrolled in our institutions. But this is not merely true because it provides points of experience to build skills, but because research demonstrates that educational environments that organize themselves with a strong civic ethos reinforce democratic values. One study (at the high school level) found that attending a school with “a richer civic ethos... correlates with a higher rate of both voting and community volunteering 15 years after graduation, even when controlling for the individual’s proclivity toward civic participation.”⁸²

If we do not provide such environments, it is less likely today that students will encounter them elsewhere. A 2018 study by Matthew Atwell, John Bridgeland, and Peter Levine found that “just 28 percent of Americans say that they belong to any group that has leaders whom they consider both accountable and inclusive.” Instead, many Americans live in “civic deserts” where “civic

⁷⁹ Julie Merrifield, “Learning Citizenship,” A Discussion Paper Prepared for Institute of Development Society for Participatory Studies Participation Group Research in Asia (August 2001), 7, 30.

⁸⁰ Sosa, “The University as a Source of the Reconciled Life,” 11.

⁸¹ *Ex Corde Ecclesiae*, 21

⁸² David E. Campbell, “What Social Scientists Have Learned About Civic Education: A Review of the Literature,” *Peabody Journal of Education*, 94:1 (2019), 41.

engagement is non-existent.”⁸³ As Levine notes elsewhere, “It is unacceptable that most Americans do not—or cannot—have such experiences, but “among the reasons that these institutions have declined may be intentional efforts to curtail and subvert them” by actors who benefit from a lack of engagement by citizens.⁸⁴ Jesuit colleges and universities can confront this condition, recognizing that our campuses are not mere oases, but “anchor institutions in our communities,” with a special opportunity “to build more just social structures” by drawing in those around us.⁸⁵

In assessing our ability to foster democratic dispositions in our students, we might ask:

- What are the “habits of the heart” that are demonstrated on our campus? These might be observed in volunteerism and community service, attitudes about service to the campus community, levels of political engagement, dispersion of leadership skills across the student body, and understanding how clubs, organizations, and governing bodies make decisions.
- Do campus norms align with our values as articulated in our mission statement, and do they reflect the kinds of norms that we want to send our students into the world with?
- Do we have initiatives that are consciously designed to foster positive democratic dispositions on campus?
- Do our standard operating procedures--in the classroom, in the residence halls, in student organizations, etc.--clearly cultivate the kind of internal, communal, and other-related habits outlined above?
- Are there opportunities for students who demonstrate democratic dispositions to be rewarded and celebrated for this?
- Where are the places on our campus in which democratic dispositions are modeled for students by faculty, staff, and administrators?

St. Peter’s University’s Daniel Berrigan Collective is an excellent model of how questions of developing democratic dispositions through “contemplation, reflection, and study flow into and from community, activism, and resistance.”⁸⁶ Through frequent events, a film archive, a journal, and a reflective blog, the Berrigan Collective embeds students in an attitude of democratic participation that

⁸³ Matthew Atwell, John Bridgeland, and Peter Levine, “Civic Deserts: America’s Civic Health Challenge,” 4.

⁸⁴ Peter Levine, *What Should We Do? A Theory of Civic Life*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2022).

⁸⁵ Josh Daly, “Just Employment and Investment Policies: An Idea Whose Time Has Come,” *Conversations in Jesuit Higher Education*, 44 (Fall 2013), 14.

⁸⁶ <https://www.berrigancollective.org/about>

is bigger than any particular event or issue. In many cases, the best resources and partnerships might be found on our own campuses. While it is certainly not the case that cultivating positive dispositions requires a religious framing, chaplain's offices have the experience of cultivating mutual respect and other-centeredness, as well as openness and honesty in dealing with one another. Student affairs personnel are often trained in and offer programs to encourage healthy conflict resolution; to the extent that these are only student-oriented, they likely limit the effect of spreading models of democratic dispositions around campus. For example, Gonzaga University's Ignatian Advocacy Program is a collaboration "between the Center for Community Engagement, Lincoln Center, Office of Mission & Ministry, Office of Sustainability, and Unity Multicultural Education Center," and brings the perspectives of these different offices into a dispositional training for students across a range of issues.⁸⁷ Providing training for faculty in faculty governance roles or committee work might reinforce the importance of—and thus the visibility of—such dispositions in the life of the university.

4.) Global Citizenship

After a half century of a sometimes-reckless push for globalization, the world is witnessing the rise of powerful political forces demanding a similarly-reckless reassertion of nationalism. The antidote is not to side with either, but to avoid turning to either "an abstract, globalized universe," or "a museum of local folklore."⁸⁸ Global citizenship does not require the abandonment of rich local or national cultures. Indeed, citizenship is first nurtured at the local level. Rather, we look to global citizenship as the completion of a whole person. Fr. General Sosa explains this as a compressive educational project, to "educate people who are intelligent about and conscious of their own culture (inculturation) and who therefore know and feel that that they are members of the whole human community; people who can joyfully accept the cultures of other human beings (multiculturalism) and relate to them; and people whose lives are enriched by the span of cultures that includes their own (inter-culturalism)."⁸⁹

There is a ministerial urgency here. The global migration crisis is a humanitarian crisis, but also a crisis of democracy, as suspicion and bigotry have been turned into domestic political weapons that convince citizens—most distressingly young citizens—that the crisis demands a departure from democratic

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<https://www.gonzaga.edu/student-life/community-engagement-and-service/all-engagement-opportunities/advocacy-programs>

⁸⁸ Fratelli Tutti, 142.

⁸⁹ Sosa, "The University as the Source of a Reconciled Life," 8.

practices that are insufficiently ruthless. In this, we must join Pope Francis in urging “young people not to play into the hands of those who would set them against other young people, newly arrived in their countries, and who would encourage them to view the latter as a threat, and not possessed of the same inalienable dignity as every other human being.”⁹⁰ Instead, we should help our students recognize that “there is no way to resolve the serious problems of our world if we continue to think only in terms of mutual assistance between individuals or small groups.”⁹¹

It is also the case that our commitment “to transforming the world is not only local and regional, but also global.”⁹² Only truly global citizens can accomplish such a global mission. As the Global Citizens Initiative defines it, attaining global citizenship does not mean “abandoning other identities, such as allegiances to our countries, ethnicities, and political beliefs,” but becoming “someone who sees himself or herself as being part of an emerging world community and whose actions help define this community’s values and practices.” This requires understanding of the nature of global interconnectedness, issues that have global dimensions, the way that different global positionality creates different perspectives on these issues. And it requires acting in ways that reflect the wisdom that such understanding provides.⁹³

It is also the case that we are unlikely to effectively educate all of our students for democracy if we do not think globally. Our students increasingly represent global perspectives on democracy and citizenship. As Beth Rubin argues, treating students “as unencumbered subjects who come to civic dialogue with the same histories and vested interests . . . preclude[s] authentic dialogue drawing on the rich civic understandings that young people develop through their varied community experiences.”⁹⁴ Similarly, even students from Western nations who are members of minoritized communities can reasonably be expected to have quite different experiences as citizens and subjects. Conveying citizenship lessons only through a domestic perspective de-normalizes these experiences, but a global

⁹⁰ Post-Synodal Apostolic Exhortation *Christus Vivit* of The Holy Father Francis To Young People And To The Entire People Of God, 94.

⁹¹ Fratelli Tutti, 126.

⁹² Father General Arturo Sosa S.J., “The University as a Source of Reconciled Life,” World Meeting of Jesuit Universities, July 10, 2018 Santuario de Loyola.

⁹³ The Global Citizen’s Initiative, “What it Means to be a Global Citizen,” <https://www.theglobalcitizensinitiative.org/what-it-means-to-be-a-global-citizen-2/>

⁹⁴ Beth C. Rubin, “Civic Reasoning and Discourse Amid Structural Inequality, Migration, and Conflict,” in NAEEd-Educating-for-Civic-Reasoning-and-Discourse.pdf, 247.

perspective can raise their profile.⁹⁵ Students who have experienced violence, oppression, stigma, and disenfranchisement, need and deserve a civics education that acknowledges and amplifies their perspective.

It is also the case that a globally-conscious civics education is simply a better civics education. As Rubin notes, “students who have experienced only congruence between lived civic experience and official civic promises, and who have not been exposed to the disjunctive experiences of others, can develop a problematic ‘complacency.’”⁹⁶ But an education that embodies the Jesuit mission of “men and women for and with others” must resist complacency. A civics education, for instance, that only covers the United States context is not well-equipped to understand the concept of human rights or the legal and political challenges of enforcing them.

Because we believe that both local (national) and global issues are taught at all Jesuit universities, member institutions might be guided in their citizenship examen by asking whether these missions are integrated. Do community-based learning programs collaborate with study abroad programs to ensure that a commitment to service follows students abroad? Do political science departments collaborate with international specialists in history and modern languages departments? Are the stories of international students amplified in student ministries, student research presentations, and student organizations? It does not diminish the significance of the task to suggest that the elements of a comprehensive global citizenship might be composed of elements that already exist in isolation on our campuses.

As colleges and universities review the ways in which they prepare students with a global perspective on democratic citizenship, they might ask:

- Where do our strengths lie in conveying the core elements of knowledge about global citizenship? Do all students encounter these areas? Might they encounter them more than once? In more than one department?
- Are faculty in relevant disciplines aware of resources that might enable them to bring a global outlook to considerations of civic life?
- Is global awareness prominent within the curriculum, and if not, is there a concerted effort to provide access to this knowledge?
- How is student knowledge of these substantive areas assessed?

⁹⁵ James D. Anderson, et. al., “Agency and Resilience in the Face of Challenge as Civic Action: Lessons Learned from Across Ethnic Communities” in NAEEd-Educating-for-Civic-Reasoning-and-Discourse.pdf.

⁹⁶ Rubin, “Civic Reasoning and Discourse Amid Structural Inequality, Migration, and Conflict,” 249.

- How is substantive knowledge of democracy and citizenship provided extracurricularly? Are there opportunities to learn about these concepts outside of the classroom?
- Do study abroad experiences provide frameworks that help students think about how their experiences might enhance their sense of civic responsibility?

In the case of global citizenship, the International Association of Jesuit Universities' Global Citizenship Curriculum Project is an important resource.⁹⁷ Following Fr. General Sosa's call for "education for world citizenship," this project actively works to provide curricular and dialogue resources for faculty and students. Importantly, it envisions a comprehensive program that can be taken up by Jesuit institutions across the globe. Even faculty who do not take up the whole curriculum could benefit from viewing the available resources as a starting point for thinking about education for global citizenship. Fordham University Global Studies Consortium is designed to "promote and integrate existing global research initiatives across the University's different schools, departments, and programs—especially projects that are very similar."⁹⁸ In this way, the work of scholars engaged in research with a global perspective can be highlighted, easing the path for students seeking to gain a global perspective for themselves. Boston College's Global Citizenship Project⁹⁹ connects students, faculty, and global practitioners "in conversations about the nature, scope, and limits of what is frequently called 'global citizenship'," through faculty seminars, a lecture series, and a conference. BC's Global Engagement Portal enables students to interact in real time with activists, artists, refugees, and leaders around the world.¹⁰⁰

5.) Citizenship, Democracy, and the Christian Faith

The role of religion—including Catholicism—in our current crisis makes it impossible to avoid our responsibility for addressing political misuses of faith. As Pope Francis observes, "we should also recognize that destructive forms of fanaticism are at times found among religious believers, including Christians."¹⁰¹ Indeed, within Catholicism and other faith traditions, radical critiques of

⁹⁷ <https://globalcitizenship.georgetown.edu/>

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<https://now.fordham.edu/politics-and-society/consortium-encourages-faculty-to-join-integrated-global-studies-efforts/>

⁹⁹ <https://www.bc.edu/content/bc-web/schools/mcas/sites/isp/projects/global-citizenships-project>

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<https://www.bc.edu/content/bc-web/sites/bc-news/articles/2023/fall/global-engagement-portal-connects-bc-students-to-the-world.html>

¹⁰¹ Fratelli Tutti, 46.

democracy increasingly influence some of our young people to question liberal democracy.¹⁰² It is not necessary to judge the veracity of such claims here, but it is important to affirm that “what is certainly not Christian is the disincarnated stance taken by those who close themselves into their little ancient world, satisfying themselves with the rules of the past, deprecating the degenerations of the present era.”¹⁰³ We must ask whether we are helping our students to evaluate our politics “in light of the Gospel and the moral and social teaching of the Church in order to help build a better world,” not merely a world that better benefits the interests of Christians.¹⁰⁴

This is, of course, not to challenge the legitimacy of the participation of the faithful in politics, or even the application of theological premises to politics. Good-faith Catholics can draw reasonable inferences, from theological and scriptural bases, that lead them to alternatively support or question democracy or the way it is currently practiced. But both inclinations can lead us into fanaticism when political applications of our faith are disjoined from a sufficiently rich understanding of it. Instead, we recognize that it is “the erosion of traditional religious beliefs,” rather than the right application of the faith that “has resulted in greater religious fundamentalism,” and leads to a situation in which “faith in God is increasingly being used by some to divide people and communities, to create polarities and tensions which tear at the very fabric of our common life.”¹⁰⁵ A proper response from religious and specifically Catholic universities is to help students develop a faith that does justice.

Engaging in this work will open us up to controversy, given the extent to which views of faith have become politicized. Students may come to campus with widely differing kinds of preparation, often shaped by the political landscape, and they may resist efforts to move them to a higher ground. As intimidating as this may be, we affirm with Pope Francis that “dialogue is the best way to realize what ought always to be affirmed and respected apart from any ephemeral consensus.”¹⁰⁶

In this work, we should endeavor to bring together a range of voices, including voices that are critical of democracy. As noted above, we can no longer expect that students arrive on our campuses as empty vessels. The divisions that

¹⁰² See Kevin Vallier, *All the Kingdoms of the World: On Radical Religious Alternatives to Liberalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2023).

¹⁰³ Ravasi, “The New Socio-Cultural Paradigm and the Role of Jesuit Universities,” 16.

¹⁰⁴ United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, “Forming Consciences for Faithful Citizenship: A Call to Political Responsibility from the Catholic Bishops of the United States,” February 2020, 5

¹⁰⁵ Sosa, “The University as the Source of a Reconciled Life,” 8.

¹⁰⁶ *Fratelli Tutti*, 211.

divide the faithful do so through popular and accessible media, and we should expect that students will notice if these divisions are not addressed. If we do not see such friction on our campuses, we should ask why not.

As colleges and universities review the ways in which they prepare students with the knowledge of faith and citizenship, they might ask:

- Where do our strengths lie in engaging questions about faith and civic life? Do all students encounter these areas? Might they encounter them more than once? In more than one department?
- Are these substantive areas prominent within the curriculum, and if not, is there a concerted effort to provide access to this knowledge?
- What do we know about the ways that our students reconcile faith and citizenship? Are there opportunities for students to explain and explore their thinking about this subject?
- How is student knowledge of these substantive areas assessed?
- How is substantive knowledge of faith citizenship provided extracurricularly? Are there opportunities to learn about these concepts outside of the classroom?
- How do religious professionals on campus—such as in the Chaplain’s Office—engage these questions? And how do students respond to them?
- Can students from non-Catholic traditions find resources that enable them to engage with their own faith in this way?

Georgetown University’s Initiative on Catholic Thought and Social Life is a model for the way Jesuit universities can “encourage a new generation of Catholic lay leaders to see their faith as an asset in pursuing the common good.”¹⁰⁷ At the College of the Holy Cross, the McFarland Center for Religion, Ethics, and Society “sponsors and supports programming that explores basic human questions of meaning, morality and mutual obligation.”¹⁰⁸ Both of these programs offer a library of resources, in addition to their ongoing programming, that are valuable sources for faculty and students, and they also provide an example of the kind of thoughtful engagement of religion and public life to which we can all aspire. They also demonstrate that this work is currently undertaken in a variety of ways; the questions we ask, then, might be oriented towards how we better integrate their efforts into broader university programming, and how we might better encourage collaboration across the AJCU.

¹⁰⁷ <https://catholicsocialthought.georgetown.edu/>

¹⁰⁸ <https://www.holycross.edu/faith-service/mcfarland-center-religion-ethics-and-culture>

6.) Democracy On Campus

A thorough survey of the practice of democracy on our campuses requires that we assess democratic practice for all members of our campus communities. Gerald Beyer notes that “if decision-makers at Catholic colleges and universities hold a view of the human person that is antithetical to the anthropology of the Catholic tradition, they may make governance decisions that are at odds with” it. Students—as is increasingly evident in their confrontations with administrators around student protests—reasonably might come to believe that “learning about Catholic social teaching is pointless when they fail to see Catholic institutions living up to the tradition’s own ideals.”¹⁰⁹ Educating for democracy, then, requires that we start by practicing democracy. In the terms of James F. Keenan, S.J., “to the extent that members of the *polis* as a society participate in and contribute to the common good, there is human flourishing.” It is too frequently the case, however, that “at the university the players on the ground do not see a coherency in the community nor an operative notion of the common good.”¹¹⁰ In a campus that practices democracy for all, that operative notion of the common good is lived in a visible manner.

There is much more to be said about employment and human dignity at Jesuit institutions than is appropriate for our Commission’s charter. It is, however, entirely appropriate to note that employment practices have an educational role in our students’ lives. If we expect that students learn about democracy only from tenure track faculty and high-paid administrators, we might be surprised at how much time they are also learning by witnessing the experiences of contingent faculty, administrative assistants, cafeteria workers, janitorial staff, public safety officers, athletic trainers, etc.. Our call here is that we reflect on the lessons that such exposure teaches them.

One obvious starting point is faculty governance. A faculty governance system that does not genuinely empower faculty is not likely to engage faculty effectively. A faculty that shuns its responsibility to engage in faculty governance is unlikely to have the disposition for fostering democratic norms. Moreover, shared governance structures and processes that enable faculty and administrators to work effectively in ways that foster each areas' skills, talents and resources is absolutely essential to a university system that both models and practices trust and reciprocity.

¹⁰⁹ Gerald Beyer, *Just Universities: Catholic Social Teaching Confronts Corporatized Higher Education* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2021), 23, 11.

¹¹⁰ James F. Keenan, S.J., *University Ethics: How Colleges Can Build and Benefit from a Culture of Ethics*, (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2015) 66.

At most institutions, however, employee self-governance stops at tenured and tenure-track faculty. Contingent faculty and staff rarely have structures or a sense of agency that empowers them to provide feedback into governance; at their worst, they are not only disempowered but exploited. It is difficult to see how Jesuit institutions can critique corporate culture when they adopt corporate structures that disempower workers and expect university structure to simply underwrite faculty freedoms. Instead, we should invite all members of our community to participate as citizens. We can start by judging our own employment practices by the same standards that we would have our students judge the world's. Unjust employment practices do not encourage or model robust citizenship.

This issue has implications for the state of Jesuit universities that go far beyond its impact on our students--treating all employees with dignity and compassion should be the default condition because it is our mission to do so. In the more limited terms of this Commission's charter, however, it is important to note, in Anna Harrison's words, that "Faculty working conditions really are student learning conditions."¹¹¹ This includes teaching our students about the depth of our institutional commitment to justice every time a contingent faculty member explains that they may (or may not) be able to teach at the college next year because they have not yet been given a contract. Or when they explain that they have to work three jobs to make ends meet. In such situations, we inadvertently teach our students "that it makes more sense to 'Look out for Number One,' 'Grab All the Gusto You Can' and forget the poor and oppressed of our world."¹¹² Our treatment of contingent faculty should instead paint a picture of our vision of justice.

Though the concern for treatment of adjunct faculty are distinct to higher education, our treatment of non-faculty staff across campus should reflect, rather than undermine, our highest principles. When workers are underpaid, when their rights to speech and expression are diminished, when their concerns are ignored in decision processes, our students get an important lesson in the way democracy works. As Gerald Beyer observes, "in the corporatized university, the shared governance that promotes faculty and administrator collaboration in

¹¹¹ Anna Harrison, "Educating for justice: On non-tenure-track faculty on Jesuit campuses," *Conversations in Jesuit Higher Education*, September 25, 2023.

¹¹² Rick Malloy, S.J., quoted in Gerald Beyer, "Justice for All, Including Adjuncts," *Conversations in Jesuit Higher Education*, August 31, 2015.

decision-making disappears in favor of top-down managerial control.”¹¹³ This is not an endorsement of democracy.

As we evaluate the practice of democracy on campus, we might ask:

- Is there an “operative notion of the common good” shared across campus?
- Is faculty governance a meaningful model of democracy?
- Are staff at all levels invited to participate in relevant decision-making, or are they empowered in ways similar to the corporate world?
- Do our employment practices enhance our employees’ capacity to engage fully in the democratic process outside of work?
- In our strategic planning, do we create conditions for more contingent faculty and more low-paying jobs, or do we build a just workforce into long term economic projections?
- Do employees at all levels take advantage of an environment of free expression and other democratic rights, or do such benefits of employment at an institution of higher education extend only to faculty?
- Does the treatment of employees at all levels reinforce a vision of democratic equality?

Georgetown University’s Just Employment Project at the Kalmanovitz Initiative for Labor and the Working Poor promotes its model of a Just Employment Policy as a model for other universities; Georgetown also created an Advisory Committee on Business Practices “to analyze, evaluate and deepen understanding of the ethical and moral issues that should be taken into consideration in the evaluation of staff labor policy and Georgetown University vendors.”¹¹⁴ These are good models when considering broader employment justice issues; while they do not explicitly prescribe dignity or democracy for employees, they do enshrine certain basic rights, ensure access to university grievance procedures, and promise transparency in reporting on economic issues important to workers. Detroit Mercy’s Shared Governance Structure is a model of transparency; its Shared Governance Task Force ensures a collaborative group of faculty and administrators maintain careful attention to issues of university governance.¹¹⁵ Each college will likely have to consider state and local legal peculiarities as well as conditions on site as it evaluates these questions.

¹¹³ Beyer, *Just Universities*, 17.

¹¹⁴ <https://lwp.georgetown.edu/jep/> ,
<https://publicaffairs.georgetown.edu/business-policy/acbp/just-employment-policy/> ,
<https://publicaffairs.georgetown.edu/business-policy/acbp/>

¹¹⁵ https://udmercy.libguides.com/shared_governance

A Role for AJCU in Cultivating Civic Knowledge

In closing, we acknowledge that it should not be expected that there be a “party line” in defining the content of civic education at Jesuit colleges and universities. However, it is clear that the content of civic education is contested in the current political environment. The 1619 Project, the Trump administration’s 1776 Project, the efforts of various states to establish university centers for teaching civics, all point to increasing efforts of forces outside of the ACJU constituency to define the terms of civics to fit particular ideological perspectives.

While it would not be productive to simply launch our own counterpoint to these efforts, it is unwise to simply drift while strong currents shape civic education beyond our gates. The AJCU should create a task force on civic education that would provide tools and compendia of best practices for constituent educators. A strong version of such a task force might be the creation of specific tools that could be deployed in a variety of classrooms; less ambitiously it might lead to the convening of relevant faculty and administrators to discuss the development of strategies to implement this aspect of our mission.

Such a resource should be designed with the goal of filling in the gaps in the broader community of Jesuit institutions’ ability to provide civic education. The Observatory on Democracy in Latin America (ODLA) is a good model and source of collaboration for such a project.¹¹⁶ This organization aims to not only promote the mission, but to foster collaboration between universities and to encourage research on relevant issues to the advancement of democracy. A similar group focused on democracy in the United States could help local universities to fill in the gaps in their own efforts, and disseminate best practices. It could also be a point of collaboration with the ODLA to facilitate global perspectives within American Jesuit colleges and universities.

¹¹⁶ See <https://iaju.org/news/observatory-democracy-latin-america>

Appendix: An Examen Template

The AJCU's *Characteristics Of Jesuit Higher Education: A Guide For Mission Reflection* provides member institutions with a useful guide to reflecting on the essential characteristics of a Jesuit institution.¹¹⁷ A civic examen should not be as comprehensive as that, but this appendix is offered as a query-based approach that could be taken to asking whether we are doing enough to educate our students for democratic citizenship. It follows the series of topics outlined in section C of this report.

1.) Knowledge

With this in mind, we must be prepared to help students develop civic knowledge of fundamental political principles, including:

- democracy
- equality
- rights
- constitutionalism
- pluralism
- civil society
- civic virtue

It is also important to help students understand and identify challenges to these concepts in the form of

- tyranny
- majority tyranny
- inequality
- absolutism
- personalism
- ethnocentrism
- racism
- corruption
- hegemony

And we expect that Students' ability to engage as Justice-oriented Citizens will be enhanced by engagement with the principles of Catholic social teaching, including:

¹¹⁷ https://ajcunet.edu/wp-content/uploads/attachments/A-Guide-for-Mission-Reflection_09-21-3.pdf

- the dignity of the human person
- pursuit of the common good
- solidarity
- subsidiarity
- the call to family, community, and participation
- the option for the poor and vulnerable
- the dignity of work and the rights of workers
- the obligation to care for God's creation

As colleges and universities review the ways in which they prepare students with the knowledge of citizenship, they might ask:

- Where do our strengths lie in conveying the core elements of knowledge about civic life? Do all students encounter these areas? Do they encounter them more than once? In more than one department?
- Are these substantive areas prominent within the curriculum, and if not, is there a concerted effort to provide access to this knowledge?
- How is student knowledge of these substantive areas assessed?
- How is substantive knowledge of democracy and citizenship provided extracurricularly? Are there opportunities to learn about these concepts outside of the classroom?

2.) Skills

a.) Participatory Skills

The relevant skills include basic elements of participation in democratic society, and might include:

- How to participate in national, state, and local elections
- How to identify reliable information on governmental proceedings
- How to contact and engage with elected leaders
- How to participate in public meetings governed by formal rules of order

b.) Soft Skills

We recommend an approach that considers such aspects of our lives together. These include:

- Cooperation/collective decision making
- Coalition building, and working with allies to achieve common goals
- Deploying effective leadership styles/structures to facilitate collective decision-making processes
- Discerning how institutions facilitate or hamper collective decision-making processes

We might ask:

- Do students have the opportunity to participate meaningfully in the government of the university, or is student government limited to a few purposes only?
- Do all students have equivalent access to these opportunities, or are there *de jure* or *de facto* limitations on who can participate?
- Do most students actively make use of these opportunities, or are some alienated from the process?
- Are all student perspectives sought out in governing decisions, or is power limited to select groups?
- If students have questions or concerns about campus policies, do they have effective means of petition and redress?
- Are some decisions about the government of student life that could be shared with or turned over to students nevertheless retained by administrators, faculty, or staff?
- Could participation in campus policymaking and government be expanded in ways that give more students more meaningful engagement?

c.) Dialogue, Deliberation, and Debate Skills

As we reflect on the ways that we encourage dialogue on our campuses, we might ask:

- What does respectful dialogue with those who differ from us look like? What does unhealthy dialogue look like? How is that communicated to students?
- How do faculty, administrators, staff, and outside speakers model positive models of healthy dialogue (or do they sometimes model unhealthy dialogue)?
- Where on campus—classrooms, residence halls, dining facilities, varsity and intramural athletics, etc.—do students encounter facilitated and unfacilitated difference?
- How do we facilitate engagement between those whose principles are different from ours?
- How do we help our students humanize “the other”?
- Can we better help our students discern when to disengage when difference can create harm?

As we reflect on the ways that we encourage deliberation, we might ask:

- Is deliberation integrated into classroom instruction in ways that might spread relevant skills across the curriculum, acknowledging that deliberation might take place in labs, rehearsals, and studios as well as in political contexts? Do we provide faculty with pedagogical development opportunities that encourage the use of such exercises?
- Do we provide examples of deliberation in the form of public discussions that are oriented to collaborative problem solving, such as panels or public deliberations by college officials?
- Are leaders in student organizations given training in the facilitation of deliberation, so that deliberative skills might be disseminated throughout routine student decision-making processes?
- Do campus leaders provide students with opportunities to deliberate about campus priorities in ways that invite them into real consideration of the choices facing the campus?
- Are experiential programs that simulate deliberative contexts available and accessible to students? Are these promoted and highlighted as essential to the civic mission of our institutions?

As we reflect on the ways that we encourage debate, we might ask:

- How widely do our faculty understand and deploy debate-based pedagogy in the classroom? Do we provide faculty with pedagogical development opportunities that encourage the use of such exercises?
- Do we provide examples of debates in the form of public events that provide effective and balanced representations of competing views? Are these structured in ways to encourage fairness, clarity, and liveliness?
- Are there resources on campus for developing fair and moderate procedures for hosting debates?
- Do we provide ample opportunities for competing views to be heard, or do we tend to hear from speakers with similar views? (It may not be necessary for each event to be in a debate format if a range of events might be seen to be in conversation with one another over the course of the year or the semester.)
- Are student organizations designed to provide opportunities to debate encouraged and well-supported?

d.) Skills in Counter-cultural Action

As we reflect on the ways that these skills are developed, we might ask:

- Are campus policies around speech, expression, and protest, designed to create opportunities for students to engage in such activities, or are they designed to maximize order?

- Are campus disciplinary procedures carefully designed to ensure that students are unlikely to be punished for legitimate expressive activity, or are they sometimes deployed as means of maintaining order?
- Are campus expression policies clearly-drawn enough that they maximize student expressive rights, while making hard lines (violence, property damage) clear? Are these policies clearly articulated to students and easily accessible?
- When students have engaged in counter-cultural activities in the past, have they been restricted in their activities? If so, does such a history chill current expression? If so, how can this history be confronted?
- Do students have appropriate outlets for organization and expression?
- Do student journalists have clearly-articulated rights to critique campus leaders and policies?

e.) Information Skills

In assessing our capacities in this regard, we might ask:

- Do we assume that students are effectively navigating the media environment (that is, do they have media literacy), or do we actively work to impart navigation skills to them early and often?
- What are effective ways to help students break negative social media habits (that is, do they possess digital literacy), and what are some ways that our routine campus communication practices might encourage such negative habits?
- What kinds of expertise do we have on campus for clarifying best practices in discerning the truth, and how do we highlight that expertise?
- How effectively do we help students understand the difference between scholarship, news, and opinion?
- Do we provide students with systematic, or only haphazard, skills in identifying reliable sources of information in the new media environment?
- Do we have different forms of evidence evaluation on campus that might lead to confusion among students, and, if so, how might we effectively communicate these differences to students?
- What is the media environment on campus like, and how does it shape student media consumption? Are there sufficient and easily accessible forms of media that can be accredited as helpful to democratic practice?

3.) Dispositions

This mindset might be thought of as encompassing internal habits of thought, habits of thought oriented towards the community, and habits of thought oriented towards our fellow citizens.

- Internal
 - A habit of considering multiple perspectives
 - A habit of reflecting and seeking discernment before acting
 - A considered practice of approaching issues with intellectual detachment
 - Resilience in the face of adversity
- Towards the community
 - Respect for jointly-agreed upon values, procedures, and policies
 - Frequently seeking opportunities for civic engagement
 - Expectation of political participation
 - Taking responsibility for speaking about community matters
- Towards our fellow citizens
 - A habit of being with and for others
 - Empathy for others
 - Tolerance of others
 - Egalitarianism
 - Open-mindedness to argument, to culture, to lifestyle

In assessing our ability to foster democratic dispositions in our students, we might ask:

- What are the “habits of the heart” that are demonstrated on our campus? These might be observed in volunteerism and community service, attitudes about service to the campus community, levels of political engagement, dispersion of leadership skills across the student body, and understanding how clubs, organizations, and governing bodies make decisions.
- Do campus norms align with our values as articulated in our mission statement, and do they reflect the kinds of norms that we want to send our students into the world with?
- Do we have initiatives that are consciously designed to foster positive democratic dispositions on campus?
- Do our standard operating procedures--in the classroom, in the residence halls, in student organizations, etc.--clearly cultivate the kind of internal, communal, and other-related habits outlined above?
- Are there opportunities for students who demonstrate democratic dispositions to be rewarded and celebrated for this?

- Where are the places on our campus in which democratic dispositions are modeled for students by faculty, staff, and administrators?

4.) Global Citizenship

As colleges and universities review the ways in which they prepare students with a global perspective on democratic citizenship, they might ask:

- Where do our strengths lie in conveying the core elements of knowledge about global citizenship? Do all students encounter these areas? Might they encounter them more than once? In more than one department?
- Are faculty in relevant disciplines aware of resources that might enable them to bring a global outlook to considerations of civic life?
- Is global awareness prominent within the curriculum, and if not, is there a concerted effort to provide access to this knowledge?
- How is student knowledge of these substantive areas assessed?
- How is substantive knowledge of democracy and citizenship provided extracurricularly? Are there opportunities to learn about these concepts outside of the classroom?
- Do study abroad experiences provide frameworks that help students think about how their experiences might enhance their sense of civic responsibility?

5.) Citizenship, Democracy, and the Christian Faith

As colleges and universities review the ways in which they prepare students with the knowledge of faith and citizenship, they might ask:

- Where do our strengths lie in engaging questions about faith and civic life? Do all students encounter these areas? Might they encounter them more than once? In more than one department?
- Are these substantive areas prominent within the curriculum, and if not, is there a concerted effort to provide access to this knowledge?
- What do we know about the ways that our students reconcile faith and citizenship? Are there opportunities for students to explain and explore their thinking about this subject?
- How is student knowledge of these substantive areas assessed?
- How is substantive knowledge of faith citizenship provided extracurricularly? Are there opportunities to learn about these concepts outside of the classroom?
- How do religious professionals on campus—such as in the Chaplain’s Office—engage these questions? And how do students respond to them?

- Can students from non-Catholic traditions find resources that enable them to engage with their own faith in this way?

6.) Democracy On Campus

As we evaluate the practice of democracy on campus, we might ask:

- Is there an “operative notion of the common good” shared across campus?
- Is faculty governance a meaningful model of democracy?
- Are staff at all levels invited to participate in relevant decision-making, or are they empowered in ways similar to the corporate world?
- Do our employment practices enhance our employees’ capacity to engage fully in the democratic process outside of work?
- In our strategic planning, do we create conditions for more contingent faculty and more low-paying jobs, or do we build a just workforce into long term economic projections?
- Do employees at all levels take advantage of an environment of free expression and other democratic rights, or do such benefits of employment at an institution of higher education extend only to faculty?
- Does the treatment of employees at all levels reinforce a vision of democratic equality?