



Youth Organizing and the Civic Education Sector: Lessons From Theory and Practice to Organize a Way Forward

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Youth Organizing and the Civic Education Sector: Lessons from Theory and
Practice to Organize a Way Forward

Doctor of Education Leadership (Ed.L.D.) Capstone

Submitted by Seán Arthurs

To the Harvard Graduate School of Education in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education Leadership

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Dedication

For my kids, Keegan and Catherine. You bring so much joy.

And to all youth organizers. It's not easy. But it's worth it.

In memory of Ronan Joseph Hugh Arthurs. Your light shone briefly but brightly;
may we all one day be half the fighter you were.

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I interviewed more than thirty people in the civic education sector as part of this capstone and to a person they were generous with their time and thoughtful with their insights.

Table of Contents

Abstract	5
I. Introduction	6
II. Review of Knowledge for Action	13
A. Civic Engagement Overview	13
B. Civic Engagement and Civic Learning	17
C. Prevalence of Action Civics Programs	21
D. Youth Organizing	23
E. Youth Organizing Outcomes	26
F. Characteristics of successful youth organizing efforts	31
G. Scaling Success	36
H. Theory of Action	46
III. Description	46
A. The What and How	46
i. Stage 1: Summer Program	47
ii. Stage 2: Fall Program	52
B. Results	62
C. The Why	70
i. Why Youth Organizing work belongs in schools	71
ii. My experience with the challenges of doing Youth Organizing work in schools	73
IV. Implications for Self	101
V. Implications for Site	112
VI. Implications for Sector	134
A. Sector-Level Challenges	135
B. From the Bottom to the Top	149
VII. Conclusion	161
Bibliography	164
Appendices	176

Abstract

America's schools were founded on the principle that a democratic nation needed informed, active, and knowledgeable citizens in order to realize the promise of democracy. Over the last 400 years, we have lost our way. Today's schools do a poor job of preparing our students to be engaged, open-minded, and purposeful participants in a system of government that cannot thrive without their meaningful involvement. The costs of our neglect are significant and evidenced by growing economic, social, and political disparities that threaten our core values and ideals.

Fortunately, all hope is not lost. We know that quality civic education programming can be a powerful tool in shaping youth into the citizens we need. We also know that effective civic education programming can lead to a host of desired outcomes at the individual, school, and community levels. Unfortunately, we also know that this type of programming rarely finds its way into schools.

My strategic project with Community Law in Action, a Baltimore nonprofit organization, first focuses on how I designed and implemented one particularly promising type of civic education programming, youth organizing. Youth organizing empowers and values youth by offering them the opportunity to authentically engage in the process of bringing change to their communities. I discuss the best practices in youth organizing programming and reflect on the challenges and successes I encountered in introducing youth organizing into a classroom of juniors at a large, urban high school.

The second stage of my project addresses the thorny issue of how to scale a successful program within the broader civic education sector. I begin by describing the obstacles that can impair any effort to scale within the civic education sector and make recommendations for sector-level solutions with a focus on establishing a more compelling value proposition for civic education generally. I then draw upon scaling research and theory to outline how a small nonprofit can develop a robust youth organizing model capable of successfully scaling within the sector.

I. Introduction

“What societies really, ideally, want is a citizenry which will simply obey the rules of society. If a society succeeds in this, that society is about to perish. The obligation of anyone who thinks of himself as responsible is to examine society and try to change it and to fight it – at no matter what risk. This is the only hope society has. This is the only way societies change.”

James Baldwin

When James Baldwin delivered these words more than 50 years ago, he was speaking from a society where black children were being lied to in their schools, criminalized on the streets, and beaten and killed in cities across America (Baldwin, 1985). He warned that America was “living through a very dangerous time” when her founding values and principles, her enshrined ideals, her very identity, were rightfully being called into question (Baldwin, 1985). And Baldwin knew that this was not just a problem for America’s black population, but a threat to everything America could be for all her citizens. If America continued on her present path of mixing denied opportunities, repressed rage, and willful ignorance with untapped potential and frustrated energy, the result would destroy the country. A society built on inequity and perpetuated through oppressive structures that privileged a few was doomed to perish. Fortunately, Baldwin was not resigning America to this fate. In fact, he was speaking to the group charged with helping America avoid this trajectory. He was speaking to teachers.

The primary purpose of education, Baldwin maintained, was to develop students with the capacity to understand and critically examine the society in which they lived

(Baldwin, 1985). Students should be taught to question the status quo and interrogate the systems and structures that perpetuate this unjust status quo. But to be educated means more than just an expanded consciousness and unrelenting curiosity; it requires embracing the responsibility that accompanies this awareness. Once awake and unsettled, the educated person has an obligation to act and bring about change. Indeed, this is the only way change happens. The educated person can not renounce responsibility for governing to an unaccountable government. Leading change would not be an easy task, Baldwin knew, for every unjust society has a powerful interest in self-preservation. Yet the stakes could not be higher and teachers, “who deal with the minds and hearts of young people – must be prepared to ‘go for broke’” (Baldwin, 1985).

More than half a century after Baldwin exhorted teachers to plant the seeds of agency and urgency in their students, the field of youth organizing has grown by leaps and bounds. But it is not enough. We are still living in an America where huge swathes of the population live outside the law, in a country where “[t]hey wouldn’t dream of calling a policeman” and where the greatest challenge to our success comes from the structures and systems we have built that separate the haves from the have-nots (Baldwin, 1985). Although civil unrest and protests in places like Ferguson, Baltimore, and Chicago garner the national media attention, it would be a mistake to think of these conflagrations as anything but symptoms of decades of pent-up frustration and civic disenfranchisement. Riots have long been the voice of the unheard and unless we collectively provide alternative spaces and frameworks to hear those voices, we should not expect to hear them differently (King, 1968).

Engaging youth in organizing work is a powerful way to develop critically informed youth whose voices can change society. Youth organizing work offers a powerful antidote to the feelings of alienation, disempowerment, and apathy prevalent among many of today's teens. Organizing work can make learning more relevant and education more meaningful. It gives youth an authentic agency and can change how they feel about their schools, their communities, and their futures. Engaging in organizing efforts can spark lifelong civic engagement and a host of pro-social behaviors. Youth participants can develop the critical thinking, collaboration, and communication skills they will need to succeed in the information age and in life. Youth organizing work also strengthens our democracy by making it more inclusive and more responsive to the needs of all citizens.

Although auspicious, this unique cocktail of positive outcomes is rarely the engine that animates youth organizing work. Instead, organizing work typically grows organically from two ingredients: (1) a sufficiently dire community problem and (2) a group of people frustrated enough to act. A third ingredient, an experienced community organizer or motivated facilitator, often plays a valuable role as well, whether it be as firestarter, sideline coach, or guide. In the late 1990s, the confluence of these three ingredients helped breathe new life into a fading law school program and created a new opportunity for youth in Baltimore to make a difference in their own communities.

Community Law in Action

Community Law in Action (CLIA) was created by University of Maryland law school graduate Terry Hickey in 1998. Hickey spent a substantial portion of his law school career working with a law school clinic that trained high school students in the

democratic and legal skills needed to be citizens. Inspired by his students' desire to know more about how the legal system could help them solve real problems in their own lives, Hickey soon moved beyond mere law-related education. His students engaged in community mapping and research exercises and reported absentee landlords to the housing commissioner. Together, Hickey and his students worked with the Citizens Planning and Housing Association to monitor and report illegal alcohol and cigarette billboards. After graduating, Hickey's desire to use this burgeoning youth organizing model to address a gaping hole in Baltimore's youth programs led him away from a career in sports law and into the world of small non-profits (Trost, 2004).

Today, Community Law in Action is a small nonprofit organization in Baltimore, Maryland that develops young people to be leaders (Community Law in Action, 2015). CLIA's programs use a youth-adult partnership model in which young people and adults work together to achieve collective impact through learning, organizing, and inspiring change. CLIA leads two programs for young people: CLIA's Law & Leadership Academy at four Baltimore City high schools and the statewide Just Kids Campaign.

Although Corryne Deliberto took over as Executive Director in 2013, CLIA's mission—developing young people to be leaders by connecting them to opportunities to amplify their voices, cultivate their skills, and actively participate in the process of positive community change—remains relatively unchanged since Hickey founded CLIA more than seventeen years ago. Yet while the overarching principles have remained constant, the organizing core of CLIA's school-based work was largely defunct when Deliberto was hired in 2013.

Deliberto's background and passion for advocacy work drew her to CLIA and set the stage for a renewed focus on advocacy programming and youth organizing work. Deliberto knew that, when provided with the right opportunities, Baltimore's youth had tremendous potential. She believed that youth could not only participate in change efforts but could be authentic drivers of change. At the same time, Deliberto was charged with professionalizing and overhauling CLIA's systems and protocols to increase accountability and restore fiscal discipline. Her management task became more complicated when, several months into Deliberto's tenure, Deliberto had to remove the director of CLIA's school-based programming in order to ensure consistency and buy-in with her new vision for CLIA. In a very fortuitously timed phone call, I reached out to Deliberto only several days later. The purpose of my call was simple; would CLIA be interested in hosting an education graduate student to design and lead an organizing project during the 2015-2016 year?

My Strategic Project

I have a background as a high school teacher and lawyer. I have spent time working as a human rights volunteer in Colombia, a Legal Aid attorney in Ohio, a judicial clerk in DC, and a litigation associate at a multinational law firm. Yet despite a successful and varied career in the law, my heart never strayed far from the classroom. I originally left the classroom in order to think about using the law to effect societal change at greater scale. I later realized that what I really wanted to do was use the law to help youth change society at a greater scale. I spent two years working on law-related education programming for high school students through the Street Law Clinic at Georgetown University Law Center but even that stopped short of authentic organizing

work. My time at the Harvard Graduate School of Education helped refine and inform my thinking while also generating several hypotheses to be field tested. One of those hypotheses centered on the potential of partnerships between urban high schools and community based non-profits to develop authentic youth organizing programming during the school day. CLIA was a perfect fit.

My strategic project developed from a belief that if inner-city high school students, a group often disempowered in the traditional social studies classroom and civically disengaged outside of the classroom, were provided with the training and opportunity to engage in a relevant community organizing project that valued their voice and empowered them as change agents, then these students would develop brighter academic and social futures and better long-term citizenship habits with the capacity and motivation to effect meaningful change in their communities and in society broadly.

At CLIA, my strategic project unfolded in three stages. First, I explored how CLIA, a community based non-profit organization, could design, implement, and support an optional summer program with the goal of shaping a small group of youth from different high schools into effective organizers around a Baltimore community issue. Then, with the benefit of reflective analysis, quantitative and qualitative data, and student and staff feedback on the prototype, I modified and expanded the curriculum for a fall pilot with a class of juniors in the largest public high school in Baltimore. The third stage of my project explored how this in-school organizing model could be broadly disseminated at scale through several different channels. This third stage of my strategic project involved interviews with a variety of different stakeholders including

representatives of non-profit organizations, the Baltimore City School Board, the teaching community, and school administration.

This capstone will review the challenges and opportunities that inhere to sector wide scaling of an in-school organizing program while suggesting a series of best practices that should inform future in-school youth organizing efforts. I begin with a review of what we know about young people's civic engagement and the civic empowerment gap that suggests, as Baldwin put it, that we are still slamming shut "doors of opportunity" in the faces of our youth (Baldwin, 1985). I then explain why youth organizing, an empowering and authentic type of civic learning, offers a particularly potent way to open doors and realize benefits at the individual, community and societal levels. I close this background section with a description of the core components of a successful youth organizing model.

I next discuss my strategic project, the two pilot organizing programs I led at CLIA, with an intentional focus on the second, the school-based program that involved an entire class of students. After describing these programs and their results, I analyze why the in-school program unfolded as it did, first explaining why I believe organizing work belongs in schools and then juxtaposing the little we know about youth organizing *in* schools with my own experience. I then reflect on how this strategic project influenced my own development as a leader in the education space and how the lessons learned from this project should shape CLIA's future work around school-based organizing. The final section of the paper considers how my experience and learnings can draw upon scaling models and research to help inform efforts to scale youth organizing programs in our schools. This section benefits greatly from the insights and questions shared with me

during a series of interviews I conducted with some of the foremost practitioners, researchers, and leaders in the civic education space.

II. Review of Knowledge for Action

A. Civic Engagement Overview

Although there is no universally agreed-upon definition of civic engagement, at its most basic, the term refers to how individuals interact with society, their government, and the organizations that populate the space between the individual and the highest level of government (Adler, 2005). The umbrella term civic engagement “includes any activity, individual or collective, devoted to influencing the collective life of the polity” (Macedo, 2005). Although the most frequently cited measure of civic engagement is voting rate, civic engagement can include anything from volunteering on a community project to contacting an elected official; leading a boycott to creating a website; organizing a protest to writing a letter to the editor; initiating a charitable campaign to running for office.

Despite the lack of consensus around a precise definition and the diversity of qualifying activities, there is a strong consensus with respect to one component of civic engagement: civic engagement is presently declining in the United States, and this decline is part of a larger, discouraging trend (Macedo, 2005; Kahne, 2008; Galston, 2007; Annenberg Public Policy Center, 2011; Galston, 2001). Americans know less about government and politics and care less than in previous years (Galston, 2007). Americans are voting less, volunteering less, and participating less (Galston, 2007; Kahne, 2008).

This trend of becoming less engaged and less interested in civic life is even more pronounced among young Americans. Even accounting for the historical delay between adult and youth civic engagement, today's youth are more disengaged and less likely to civically participate than past generations (Galston, 2001; Kahne, 2008; Flanagan & Levine, 2010; Rogers, Mediratta, & Shah, 2012; CIRCLE, 2015b). A recent analysis of the 2014 elections documented the "lowest rate of youth turnout" and the lowest percentage of 18-29 year olds registered to vote in the past 40 years (CIRCLE, 2015b). Although some researchers have pointed to measures documenting an increase in volunteering or other, more atypical measures of engagement as signs of optimism, the bigger picture of civic engagement among youth remains bleak (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2007; CIRCLE, 2013; Pew Research Center, 2010; Flanagan & Levine, 2010; Ginwright, 2011; Educational Testing Service, 2012).

The dropoff between adult and youth civic engagement is troubling. More troubling, however, are the numbers within the youth civic engagement trends. Research consistently evidences a "civic empowerment gap" between the civic knowledge and civic participation of more affluent, White youth and their low-income and minority peers (CIRCLE, 2013a; Levinson, 2012; Flanagan & Levine, 2010; Kahne & Middaugh, 2008). The nomenclature is intentional as the term "civic empowerment gap," as opposed to "civic achievement gap," for example, captures both the divide between the opportunities available to differently situated youth, and the divide between the formal civic engagement of even the most privileged youth and the standard to which we should aspire (Levinson, 2012). Compared to their more affluent peers, teens living in poor urban neighborhoods know less about civics and the political process, are less likely to

vote or volunteer, and are less tolerant of other opinions (Atkins & Hart, 2003). This fracturing of civic engagement along race and class lines means that many times, the communities most in need of civic reform and the legitimacy derived from community involvement are the same communities least likely to participate in education, economic, and policing decisions (Atkins & Hart, 2003; Balsano, 2005). The reasons behind this paradox are myriad.

Youth who grow up in high poverty neighborhoods face significant societal and environmental obstacles that reduce the likelihood of their civic engagement. Though not present in every urban neighborhood, these factors can be broadly grouped into three categories: family, neighborhood, and institutions. At the family level, we know that parental profession, engagement, income, and educational attainment are strong predictors of how civically engaged and educated a young adult will be. In each case, the more educated, the more involved, the more well-paid and skilled the parent's profession, the more likely it is that the child will be civically engaged (Hart & Atkins, 2002; Plutzer, 2002). Each of these factors is more likely to disadvantage urban youth when compared to their more affluent peers.

At the neighborhood level, there are important correlations between adult behaviors and adult interactions and youth civic development. In urban neighborhoods with fewer adults, fewer positive civic role models, and fewer affluent neighbors, youth are less likely to be civically influenced by adult resources (Atkins & Hart, 2003; Hart & Atkins, 2002). The residential segregation that can result from an influx of immigrant groups into urban areas can lead to linguistic barriers, cultural isolation, and smaller, less inclusive social networks, all factors that impede the development of the collective bonds

and trust networks critical to youth civic development (Cammarota, 2011; Hart & Atkins, 2002).

At the institutional level, the civic development of urban youth is again impaired by factors beyond their control. Research indicates that the more opportunities youth have to be involved in civic activities and the more exposure youth have to quality civic education, the more likely those youth are to be civically engaged later in life (Kahne & Sporte, 2008; Youniss et al., 2002). Schools in urban areas offer their students fewer classroom based civic opportunities and less high quality civic programming (Kahne & Middaugh, 2008). Students in more well-funded schools are more likely to have opportunities to get involved in leadership such as student governance (McFarland & Starrmans, 2004). And even when programs are initiated outside of school and directly targeted at youth, in urban areas, these programs are more likely to be aimed at “fixing” youth or addressing gang and drug issues than providing youth with meaningful civic training (Lewis-Charp, Yu, Soukamneuth, & Lacoë, 2003; The Forum for Youth Investment, 2003).

The consequences of these disparities are quite serious and far ranging. Numerous scholars have expressed concerns about the very validity of our democratic system of government, when broad segments of our population are not represented or heard (Levinson, 2012; Shiller, 2013; Camino & Zeldin, 2002). In a country that will be majority-minority by 2050, data suggesting that the future majority are disengaged and distrustful of government is particularly potent (Pew Research Center, 2013). Scholars have also suggested that by failing to truly value and incorporate youth voice and perspective into local and national decision-making, we misalign resources with needs

and are thus less economically efficient and democratically responsive (Kirshner, 2015; Delgado & Staples, 2008). Others posit that there is a more immediate and direct cost between these civic inequalities and civil unrest: “the lack of opportunities for young people to voice their concerns, feelings, and thoughts is partly responsible for built-up frustrations and anxieties that push young people to violence” (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2007).

B. Civic Engagement and Civic Learning

It is both an encouraging and deflating sign that there exists a fairly robust body of research around how to develop youth into civically engaged adults. Beginning with the public institution where youth will spend the majority of their time through the age of 17, researchers have closely examined the potential role of schools in creating civically engaged adults. It is well-established that providing students with quality civic programming in schools works (Torney-Purta, 2002; Kahne, Chi, & Middaugh, 2006; Kahne & Sporte, 2008; Cohen & Chaffee, 2013; McIntosh, Berman, & Youniss, 2010). There is also a general consensus around the best practices and procedures that need to characterize this programming (Annenberg Public Policy Center, 2011; Torney-Purta, 2002; Andolina, 2003; Feldman et al., 2007; Kahne, Chi, & Middaugh, 2006; McIntosh et al., 2010; Kahne & Middaugh, 2008).

Students should be provided with opportunities for open discussion and debate on relevant topics and the chance to participate in simulated civic and democratic processes such as mock trials and town halls, for example (Campbell, 2008; Hess, 2009; Andolina, Jenkins, Zukin, & Keeter, 2003; Kahne, et al., 2006; Annenberg Public Policy Center, 2011). Engaging students in authentic advocacy and organizing work can spark a lifetime

commitment to civic engagement and involvement (Balsano, 2005; Campbell & Erbstein, 2012; Christens & Dolan, 2011; Conner, 2012; Delgado & Staples, 2008; Funders Collaborative on Youth Organizing, 2010a; Funders Collaborative on Youth Organizing, 2011; Rogers et al., 2012; Kirshner, 2015). Outside of schools, service learning, community service, participation in extracurricular activities, and involvement in leadership organizations can also contribute to the development of civically engaged adults (Walker, 2002; Campbell & Erbstein, 2012; Conner, 2014; Fredricks & Eccles, 2010; Chan, Ou, & Reynolds, 2014).

The discouraging news is that despite these known predictors of future civic engagement, our schools are making little headway in closing the civic empowerment gap or preparing our youth to be informed and active future citizens. The 2010 National Assessment of Education Progress (NAEP) civics assessment, the only national K-12 civics assessment, shows that fewer than 25% of our students are proficient in civics (National Center for Education Statistics, 2011). If we do care about reversing the dismal trends in youth voting, civic engagement, and democratic involvement (and evidence suggests we do) and we know how to reverse these trends, the question of why our schools are not doing a better job looms large (Owen, 2013). There are several interconnected reasons why our schools have been doing such a poor job.

First, there are no national standards and accountability measures for civics. Although every state requires some form of civic education, only about half of these states have civic assessments and only 10 states require students to pass these assessments to graduate (Ryan & Baumann, 2013). The importance of the educational adage that “what gets tested, gets taught” cannot be understated, especially as we

continue to operate under the legacy of No Child Left Behind. The No Child Left Behind Act of 2002 required schools to conduct assessments in reading and mathematics (Center on Education Policy, 2006). Predictably, 71% of schools cut back on other subjects, including social studies, to create more room for math, reading, and science education (Center on Education Policy, 2006). And while the College, Career, and Citizenship (C3) standards promulgated by the National Council for the Social Studies in 2013 have been gaining traction in some state curriculum frameworks, the absence of meaningful accountability for civic outcomes and learning means that civics remains largely an optional or second-tier priority (CIRCLE, 2015a).

Second, as suggested by the lack of national standards and required assessments, effective civic learning is simply not valued as an essential component of a student's education. While funding for STEM initiatives and programs has skyrocketed as business and education leaders united to better prepare our students for the workplace and world of tomorrow, civics has struggled to demonstrate an analogous value proposition and the funds that would follow such importance. There is scant empirical research on the prevalence or quality of existing civic education programming and even less research connecting these practices to desired workforce outcomes, both a symptom and cause of the perceived lack of value (Center on Education Policy, 2012). In 2010, the Department of Education abruptly cut the funding that had supported the Center for Civic Education's national efforts, resulting in a 90% staff reduction for the most widely used national civic education program (Saavedra, 2012; J. Hale, personal communication, February 18, 2016). There are very few opportunities or funds for teachers to pursue professional development or learn and share the best practices in civic education (Arizona Civics

Coalition; 2009; Howard H. Baker Jr. Center for Public Policy, 2007; J. Hale, personal communication, February 18, 2016; J. Hale, personal communication, March 1, 2016).

When taught, civics is often taught as one component of a social studies class or as a one semester course during students' senior year (Education Commission of the States, 2013).

Finally, even when civic education does find its way into the crowded curriculum, it is often taught poorly and without regard for best practices, ensuring that the host of possible pro-social outcomes that can result from quality civic education remain unrealized. Too often, civics is taught primarily through textbooks and worksheets as an exercise in rote memorization and information transmission from teacher to student (Saavedra, 2012). This type of teaching can actually compound the problem by allowing schools to profess compliance with noble ideals while delivering a boring and alienating experience that undermines efforts to demonstrate the relevance and potential of civic education. Quality civic education, on the other hand, teaches students how to be citizens by providing students with opportunities to meaningfully engage and practice the skills of citizenship, to wrestle with the dilemmas and implications of living in a democratic society, and to consider their role in effecting and leading change (Saavedra, 2012; Kahne & Sporte, 2008; Torney-Purta, 2002; Annenberg Public Policy Center, 2011). Research demonstrates that this type of experiential student learning, or "action civics," is significantly more likely to promote the desired outcomes in civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions, but what little we know about civic education suggests that these practices are few and far between (Saavedra, 2012; Kahne & Sporte, 2008; Torney-Purta, 2002).

C. Prevalence of Action Civics Programs

While the lack of any comprehensive national data around the prevalence or effectiveness of existing action civic education programming makes specific conclusions untenable, there are several indicators that can help illustrate the paucity of quality action civics opportunities in our schools. First, at a national level, there are very few providers of action civics curricula. The most prominent national civic education organization, the Center for Civic Education, offers a textbook-based program, Project Citizen, that encourages students to “learn how to monitor and influence public policy” but the culminating showcase and national competition only require students to develop a plan—not to actually take action (Center for Civic Education, n.d.). Even these simulation benefits have been sharply curtailed in recent years, however, as the Center lost its federal funding in 2010 and has had to discontinue its provision of free textbooks and accompanying teacher professional development in the years since (J. Hale, personal communication, February 18, 2016; J. Hale, personal communication, March 1, 2016).

Programs that go beyond simulation and require students to fully embrace the “action” part of action civics that is critical to promoting lasting civic engagement and involvement are in much shorter supply. The Constitutional Rights Foundation has approximately 2100 teachers registered for their action civics curriculum, the Civic Action Project, but has very little information about either the depth or frequency of classroom use (K. Doggett, personal communication, February 17, 2016). Other programs with the potential to move students from simulation to action are small in number and typically very localized or limited in scope. Generation Citizen (3 sites in New England and one in California) operates in only 300 classrooms, MIKVA Challenge

(Chicago and DC) reaches approximately 4000 students per year, and several hyper-localized programs such as the Hyde Square Task Force operate only in one neighborhood, for example (Generation Citizen, 2015; Mikva Challenge, 2016; Hyde Square Task Force, n.d.).

Second, what little information we do have about action civics practices at the state level indicates that the majority of students are not doing much in terms of taking actually practicing their citizenship. A 2009 Arizona study found that 78% of high school students had never written a letter to a newspaper, 86% had never called a radio or TV station, 74% had never participated in a protest, and 66% had never bought or boycotted a product based on a social issue (Arizona Civics Coalition, 2009). In the same study, 95% of teachers agreed that service learning-a broad umbrella that would include action civics-would be beneficial to students to but only 4% of these teachers incorporated service learning into their curricula (Arizona Civics Coalition, 2009). Similar state civic education surveys in Tennessee and New Jersey did not even attempt to gauge action civics experiences (informative in itself) but the percentage of students participating in the closest proxies, programs like Close-Up, Civic Empowerment, and YMCA Youth and Government, were all in the single digits (Howard H. Baker Jr. Center for Public Policy, 2007; New Jersey Center for Civic and Law-Related Education, 2005).

Two additional indicators reinforce the conclusion that students are receiving very little in the way of action civics experiences in school. The Civic Education and Political Engagement Study, a national random probability study conducted by Professor Diana Owen designed to examine the connection between civic education and the development of political and citizenship skills, offers perhaps the most gloomy data. Less than 1% of

respondents indicated that they had participated in a civic education program involving a citizen action project (Owen, 2013; D. Owen, personal communication, March 14, 2016). Only 6.1% of respondents reported experiencing a civics class that included community-based activities beyond service learning. A 2015 follow-up study by Owen that focused on high school students in Indiana found that, despite the teachers' prior relevant professional development, only 16.7% of the students' civic class experiences included non-service learning community-based activities such as action civics (Center for Civic Education, 2015; D. Owen, personal communication, March 14, 2016).

Though admittedly imperfect, these indicators suggest that while civics is viewed as important in the abstract, there is a disconnect between what we know to be the best practices for creating citizens and the practices we are employing in our schools. On every measure, from NAEP testing to youth voting and lifelong civic engagement trends, we are failing to create a generation of informed, active, and interested citizens. Fortunately, emerging research on one of the most accessible, interesting, engaging, and real world methods of preparing students for citizenship is our next topic.

D. Youth Organizing

Youth organizing is a prime example of a revitalized commitment to learning and teaching about civics that breaks from the stereotypical civic education mold of rote memorization and textbook learning about dead presidents and the number of congressional votes assigned to each state. This broader movement, called "action civics," seeks to make civics more relevant, more interesting, and more youth-focused. Unlike traditional civics education, action civics is "an experiential, youth-centered approach to civic education-to create a world that invites young people to take collective

action inside and outside the classroom—transforming their schools, neighborhoods and cities.” (National Action Civics Collaborative, n.d.). With action civics, “students *do* civics and *behave as citizens* by engaging in a cycle of research, action, and reflection about problems they care about personally while learning about deeper principles of effective civic and especially political action.” (Levinson, 2012, p.224). Although isolated examples of youth organizing—and all other types of action civics—predate the civic education community’s fairly recent emphasis on action civics as the “gold standard,” this new movement seeks to introduce and promulgate action civics in schools with an newfound intentionality and purpose (Levinson, 2012, p. 224).

Within the broader field of action civics, youth organizing is “an innovative youth development and social justice strategy that trains young people in community organizing and advocacy, and assists them in employing these skills to alter power relations and create meaningful change in their communities” (Funders Collaborative on Youth Organizing, 2011). Youth come together to identify relevant and pressing problems in their communities, research the causes and outcomes of those problems, and then employ advocacy strategies and actions to address the problems and the underlying power structures that gave rise to the original problems (Rogers et al., 2012; Christens & Kirshner, 2011; Conner, 2012; Warren, Mira, & Nikundiwe, 2008). In the youth organizing model, youth are seen as the agents of change, and unlike in many adult-led advocacy efforts, youth organizing focuses on problems identified by youth and directly affecting the involved youth (Warren et al., 2008)

Although youth have often played a significant role in historical social organizing campaigns (for example, in the sit-ins and Freedom Riders of the Civil Rights movement)

and youth organizing draws heavily on the original community organizing model, there are significant differences between the two models (Rogers et al., 2012). First, youth organizing models typically place the goal of youth development on par—and sometimes ahead of—the broader goal of effecting change or achieving campaign success (Conner, 2012; Rogers et al., 2012; Warren et al., 2008). Second, the foci of youth organizing efforts logically centers on issues affecting youth, thus circumscribing the range of possible advocacy topics. Not surprisingly, youth organizing efforts result in lots of campaigns directed at educational reform (Funders Collaborative on Youth Organizing, 2011).

Additionally, youth organizing efforts often have a two-tiered membership structure that reflects the evolving roles played by youth and adults in the movement (Delgado & Staples, 2008; Gordon & Taft, 2011; Kilroy, Dezan, Riepe, & Ross, 2007; Kirshner, 2008). A primary goal of youth organizing efforts is to give young people an authentic leadership experience (Christens & Dolan, 2011; Delgado & Staples, 2008; O'Donoghue & Kirshner, 2008). Thus, while adults may play a critical role in helping launch the group and may continue to be involved as resources and even trainers, in many efforts they have limited decision-making responsibilities. Although the precise structure varies by group, the typical youth organizing model envisions an ongoing important role of adults in support capacities, meaning that a loose affiliation with a community based organization may be in both parties' interests. Finally, youth organizing has historically had an overt and lived commitment to social justice campaigns, specifically around pressing and present issues of racial and socioeconomic justice (Ardizzone, 2007; Christens & Kirshner, 2011; Kirshner & Ginwright, 2012; Oakes & Rogers, 2006). As

such, youth organizing has been a particularly effective tool for engaging low-income and minority youth (Delgado & Staples, 2008; Gambone, Yu, Lewis-Charp, Sipe, & Lacoe, 2006; Funders Collaborative on Youth Organizing, 2010a; McIntosh et al., 2010).

As youth organizing efforts have become more effective and more clearly delineated from broader community organizing efforts in the last twenty years, an emerging body of research has suggested that there are a host of powerful outcomes that can result from effective youth organizing (Campbell & Erbsstein, 2012; Christens & Dolan, 2011; Larson, Walker, & Pearce, 2005; Levy, 2011; Lewis-Charp et al., 2003; Schwartz & Suyemoto, 2013). Researchers have explored outcomes across multiple domains, including those bearing on the youth participant, those with implications for the local community, and those with broader societal impact (Campbell & Erbsstein, 2012; Christens & Dolan, 2011; Rogers, 2012; Funders Collaborative on Youth Organizing, 2011). Though outcomes at each level are interconnected and often interdependent, some clear trends have emerged.

E. Youth Organizing Outcomes

At the individual level, youth organizing benefits individual participants in at least three distinct ways. First, participants gain communication, leadership, and critical thinking skills (Conner, 2012; Campbell & Erbsstein, 2012; Christens & Dolan, 2011). Significantly, these skills are at the heart of the elusive and much-desired 21st century skillset that educators and employers are critical to America's future. Through youth organizing, participants become better speakers and writers; they are more willing and able to engage adults in conversation on substantive topics and they can think on their feet, facilitate meetings, and make arguments supported by evidence (Terriquez, 2015;

Funders Collaborative on Youth Organizing, 2011; Taines, 2012). Participants learn how to gather information and research, solicit and process external feedback and how to mobilize others (Funders Collaborative on Youth Organizing, 2011; Rogers & Terriquez, 2013; Conner, 2014). Participants develop their critical thinking and problem solving skills by exploring and interrogating the root causes of problems, the structural and systemic contexts that give rise to those problems, and the factors that contribute to these problems taking root in their communities (Rogers & Terriquez, 2013; Kirshner & Ginwright, 2012; Kirshner, 2015; Funders Collaborative on Youth Organizing, 2011; Larson & Hansen, 2005).

Second, youth participants gain more self-confidence and an improved sense of self (Conner, 2012; Taines, 2012; Schwartz & Suyemoto, 2013). Youth organizing helps empower youth and provides them with a sense of agency and self-efficacy (Zeldin, Gauley, Krauss, Kornbluh, & Collura, 2015; Funders Collaborative on Youth Organizing, 2011; Christens & Dolan, 2011; Conner, 2012; Levy, 2011). As young people move through the organizing process from research to action, they acquire a sense of purpose and a renewed sense of hope (Kirshner & Ginwright, 2012; Conner, 2012). They begin to think of themselves, sometimes for the first time, as positive actors with the potential and capacity to make a difference (Camarota, 2011; Pancer, Rose-Krasnor, & Loiselle, 2002).

A third benefit of youth participation in youth organizing efforts is demonstrated through academic outcomes. Youth organizing experiences help positively shape participants' immediate and long term grades, motivation, and aspirations (Fredericks & Eccles, 2010; Gambone et al., 2006). Youth participants' grades improve and they

become more willing to take challenging courses and more likely to complete high school (Fredericks & Eccles, 2010; Gambone et al., 2006; Funders Collaborative on Youth Organizing, 2011; Kirshner & Ginwright, 2012). Compared to their peers, teens who participate in youth organizing efforts are more likely to attend a four-year college and to consider educational attainment beyond college (Rogers & Terriquez, 2013; Campbell & Erbststein, 2012). Through youth organizing, in other words, school is recast as relevant and graduation as required step in a longer path (Kirshner & Ginwright, 2012; Chan et al., 2014).

At the local community level, the benefits of youth organizing can largely be understood as outcomes that flow from an aggregation of multiple individual benefits. For example, youth organizers with reshaped educational expectations and motivations help shape school communities with higher graduation rates and lower suspension rates (Kirshner & Ginwright, 2012; Campbell & Erbststein, 2012). Students who feel less alienated and more valued at school through their involvement with organizing help create safer and more welcoming school climates (Campbell & Erbststein, 2012; Flanagan, Cumsille, Gill, & Gallay, 2007; Taines, 2012). These same student organizers are more likely to go to college and less likely to commit crimes, leading to safer communities with fewer arrests and fewer substance abuse issues (Rogers & Terriquez, 2013; Chan et al., 2014). Youth organizing helps create empowered young activists who are more interested in improving their communities and more likely to volunteer within those communities to help effect the change necessary (Rogers & Terriquez, 2013).

Finally, despite the inherently local focus of most youth organizing efforts, the growth of this movement has three broad societal implications. First, our democracy

becomes stronger with increased participation levels and increased diversity of participants (Camino & Zeldin, 2002; Richards-Schuster & Checkoway, 2009; Gambone et al., 2006; Kirshner & Ginwright, 2012). Youth who participate in youth organizing efforts are more likely to be civically engaged at every level of government and in every category of engagement, traditional and non-traditional (Andolina et al., 2003; Chan et al., 2014; Funders Collaborative on Youth Organizing, 2011; Rogers & Terriquez, 2013; Conner, 2012). These youth are more likely to vote, more likely to volunteer, more likely to march, and more likely to assume organizational leadership positions (Rogers & Terriquez, 2013; Funders Collaborative on Youth Organizing, 2011). Youth participants hold institutions and government accountable to an oft-neglected set of constituents while this accountability forces society to value youth voice (Rogers et al., 2012). This rededication to civic and political processes breathes new life into what has become a progressively less interesting and more exclusionary body.

Youth organizing both promotes and relies heavily on democratic principles from concept through to operations and methods. Typically, youth create and are motivated to join these efforts because something has triggered their sense of fairness and equity (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2007; Christens & Kirshner, 2011). Youth move forward with their work to combat this inequality because they are advocates for social justice and believe in the concepts of public accountability and fair treatment for all (Flanagan et al., 2007; Ardizzone, 2007; Christens, 2011; Ginwright & Cammarota, 2007). These youth value tolerance and diversity and embody those core values in their recruitment and mobilization efforts as well as within their meetings and when making decisions (Lewis-Charp et al., 2003). Significantly, youth organizing has been shown to help build

compassion for others and a commitment to acting in the common good—a benefit that accrues to all Americans (Cammarota, 2011; Ardizzone, 2007; Rogers et al., 2012).

A final benefit of youth organizing is that it teaches youth—the next generation of voters and leaders—how to work within systems and how to work to change oppressive or unfair systems (Christens & Kirshner, 2011; Conner, 2014; Christens & Dolan, 2011). Youth organizing participants learn to think critically about politics and power structures (Terriquez, 2015; Conner, 2014; Kirshner, 2015). They learn how to identify decision-makers and pressure points while also experimenting with the systems that permit and prevent action on a given issue (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2007; Kirshner, 2015). As these youth learn about their power and how they can make systems responsive to their needs, they are injecting these systems with a dose of accountability and a reminder that systems exist to advance the people's interests (O'Donoghue & Kirshner, 2008; Ginwright & Cammarota, 2007). Youth participants learn that social change is possible and that they can be agents in that change process (Rogers & Terriquez, 2013).

Two final observations around the lasting nature and relative impact of these outcomes warrant mention. An emerging body of research has shown that many of the civic and political behaviors that result from youth organizing have lasting effects into young adulthood and beyond (Chan et al., 2014; Conner, 2014; Andolina et al., 2003; Flanagan & Levine, 2010; Fredricks & Eccles, 2010; Rogers and Terriquez, 2013; Funders Collaborative on Youth Organizing, 2011). Furthermore, while we know that quality civic engagement programs can work to promote these outcomes with all students, regardless of socioeconomic or racial status, evidence suggest that the positive effects of youth organizing may be strongest among low-income and immigrant groups,

the groups often most marginalized in existing civic structures and participation measures (Atkins & Hart, 2003; Balsano, 2005; McIntosh et al., 2010; Rogers et al., 2012; Flanagan & Levine, 2010; Funders Collaborative on Youth Organizing, 2010a).

F. Characteristics of successful youth organizing efforts

The above discussion sets forth a fairly comprehensive list of pro-social outcomes that can result from youth organizing. This list does not come without caveats. Obviously, the extent to which an organizing effort will promote any given outcome is subject to numerous contextual variables, including the duration and dosage of the program, the initial and ongoing extent of adult involvement and partnership, participant commitment and interest, campaign goals and feasibility, and the community setting. The number of moving parts and site-specific variables means there is no one size fits all model for youth organizing programs (Delgado & Staples, 2008; Balsano, 2005; Gambone et al., 2006). Successful programs, however, exhibit remarkably consistent characteristics across four broad domains: program culture, role of adults, focus on youth development, and pedagogy.

Program Culture

Teens are complicated. They have very real emotional, physical, intellectual, psychological, spiritual, and social needs constantly jostling for primacy and all demanding attention. To be successful, a youth organizing program must first ensure that the program culture (and physical space) is safe, welcoming, and supportive (Kirshner, 2015; Funders Collaborative on Youth Organizing, 2011; Ginwright, 2010; The Forum

for Youth Investment, 2003; Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003; Richards-Schuster & Dobbie, 2011). Youth need to feel like they belong and that they can develop meaningful relationships with their peers and with the involved adults (Mitra, 2008; Delgado & Staples, 2008; Strobel, Osberg, & McLaughlin, 2006). This requires an intentionality in structuring social activities, ensuring that the youth are having fun, and creating an informal atmosphere of trust that meets youth on their own terms (Sherrod, 2006; Delgado & Staples, 2008; Shiller, 2013; Ginwright & James, 2002; Stahlhut, 2003).

Building this welcoming and safe culture is a critical prerequisite in providing the space and climate where youth can confidently share their opinions and engage in open discussion and debate around sensitive topics related to race, power, privilege, and inequality (Kirshner, 2015; Conner, 2014; Levinson, 2012; Mitra, 2008; Shiller, 2013). These conversations and the associated relationship and trust building take time are often challenging; accordingly, limiting the size of the youth cohort to approximately ten participants is recommended (Delgado & Staples, 2008; Mitra, 2008). Once established, maintaining this culture will play a pivotal role in both accomplishing meaningful work and addressing the thorny issue of sustained youth involvement (Pearce & Larson, 2006; Lewis-Charp et al., 2003).

Role of Adults

Adults are a critical ingredient in any successful youth organizing program, both for what they do and for what they don't do. To begin, not just any adult will do. Effectively partnering with youth requires an ability to relate to youth and engender trust while also serving as a role model and co-conspirator (Campbell & Erbsstein, 2012; Christens & Kirshner, 2011; The Forum for Youth Investment, 2011; Delgado & Staples,

2008; Shiller, 2013; Pearce & Larson, 2006). Additionally, adult participants need to be well-versed in advocacy and organizing work with the skills to train others how to do this work (Stahlhut, 2003; Delgado & Staples, 2008; O'Donoghue & Kirshner, 2008).

Equally important, however, is the mindset the adult brings towards sharing power and allowing youth to lead (View, 2000; Kirshner, 2015; Delgado & Staples, 2008; Kirshner, 2007).

Adultism, or the belief that adults always know what is best for youth and what outcomes would best serve youth, can eviscerate a youth organizing effort (Gordon & Taft, 2011; Conner, 2012; . Adults instead need to be willing to authentically give up power and work as allies, co-creators, and supports for the youth work (Kirshner, 2015; Campbell & Erbsstein, 2012; Mitra, 2008; View, 2000; Richards-Schuster & Dobbie, 2011). Striking this balance can be tricky, though, as there are tradeoffs to insufficient adult involvement, just as there are to an overbearing adult presence (Wong, 2010; Zeldin et al., 2015). Too much adult involvement deprives youth of ownership, delegitimizes the authenticity of the youth experience, and can serve to alienate and disempower youth participants (Larson et al., 2005; Kirshner, 2008). At the same time, too little adult presence can result in significant inefficiencies, foregone learning opportunities, and a sense of abandonment (Kirshner, 2008; Zeldin et al., 2015). The final product—if there is one—may be less professional and reflect poorly on the host organization (Kirshner, 2008; Zeldin et al., 2015). The ability to navigate this tension and work with youth and not for youth is a central competency of an effective adult partner in a successful youth organizing effort (Lewis-Charp et al., 2003).

Focus on Youth Development

The third hallmark of a successful youth organizing program focuses on the youth developmental trajectory. At the outset, it is essential that youth are viewed as assets with legitimate skills, knowledge, and opinions (Kirshner, 2015, ActKnowledge & Oxfam, 2013; Campbell & Erbstein, 2012; Ardizzone, 2007; Checkoway, Allison, & Montoya, 2005; Carlson, 2005; Mirra, Morrell, Cain, Scorza, & Ford, 2013; CIRCLE, 2005). Too often, youth are viewed from a deficit perspective and treated as dependent recipients of programs designed to protect them or prevent them from getting in trouble (James & James & McGillicuddy, 2001; Kirshner, 2015). Youth organizing emphatically rejects this attitude and looks to youth as those closest to the problem, those best equipped to solve that problem, and critical actors whose skills and knowledge need to be valued and cultivated (Stahlhut, 2003; Oakes & Rogers, 2006). Although this is also a tried and true principle of adult organizing efforts, it is important to distinguish between adult and youth organizing work (Stahlhut, 2003; Camino, 2005; Delgado & Staples, 2008). Unlike with adult organizing work, the primary goal of authentic youth organizing work should not be outcome-focused. Instead, youth organizing work should prioritize empowering youth and developing their leadership skills, maximizing their learning, and enhancing their cognitive and non-cognitive skillsets (Christens & Dolan, 2011; Delgado & Staples, 2008; Larson et al., 2005; Funders Collaborative on Youth Organizing, 2010; O'Donoghue & Strobel, 2007; Rogers & Terriquez, 2013). This focus on process over product still values a successful organizing outcome but prioritizes outcomes such as those set forth in the positive youth development model: competence, confidence, positive connections, character, and compassion (Kirshner, 2008; Schwartz & Suyemoto,

2013; Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003; Balsano, 2005; The Forum for Youth Investment, 2003).

Pedagogy

Although successful youth organizing programs include elements of informality, youth culture, and meaningful relationship building, there is also a distinct and deliberate pedagogical approach. In order to be able to effect change, youth need to first understand power structures and the role of social, political, and economic institutions in the perpetuation of inequality and injustice (Cammarota, 2011; Conner, 2014; Christens & Kirshner 2011; Shiller, 2013; Funders Collaborative on Youth Organizing, 2011; Delgado & Staples, 2008). Often referred to as the development of critical consciousness, this process helps youth understand and explore root causes that contribute to systemic oppression and cultivates a deep awareness of how individuals, organizations, and institutions shape and contribute to the broader social order (Shiller, 2013; Ginwright & Cammarota, 2007; Ginwright, 2011; Conner, 2014; Richards-Schuster & Dobbie, 2011). This approach draws heavily on Paulo Freire's work and seeks to develop in youth an informed critical and analytical perspective that they can then bring to bear on their work in confronting contemporary challenges (Kirshner, 2015; Ginwright, 2007; Ginwright & Cammarota, 2007; Oakes & Rogers, 2006). An integral component of this pedagogy is the development of hope and agency in the youth (Watts & Guessous, 2006; Ginwright & Cammarota, 2007; Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003; Kirshner & Ginwright, 2012; Funders Collaborative on Youth Organizing, 2011; Kirshner 2015; Terriquez, 2015). By developing their critical consciousness and intentionally pairing it with a guided process of reflection, experiential learning, and culturally relevant instruction, youth begin to

understand the systems of power and how to access and leverage their own power (Levinson, 2012; Conner, 2014; Camino, 2005; Christens & Kirshner, 2011; Sánchez-Jankowski, 2002). This understanding then creates the essential belief that things can change and that youth, working together, can be the agents of change (Kirshner & Ginwright, 2012; Funders Collaborative on Youth Organizing, 2011; Kirshner, 2015; Terriquez, 2015; Ginwright & James, 2002; ActKnowledge & Oxfam, 2013).

G. Scaling Success

Developing, implementing, and maintaining a successful youth organizing program is not an easy task. But with the appropriate planning, personnel, and supports, it can be a powerful tool to create more empowered and engaged youth who will grow into civically engaged and active citizens. A separate, and markedly more complicated challenge arises when we consider how to take a successful program and share the model more widely so that more youth can benefit from these outcomes. Figuring out how to scale successful programs is a knotty problem in any sector but is a particularly complex undertaking in the education sector. And with good reason.

Education is a hugely complicated activity involving tremendously diverse stakeholders, each operating in their own idiosyncratic contexts and with different resources (Lagemann, 2005; Dede, Honan, & Peters, 2005; Clarke, Dede, Ketelhut, & Nelson, 2006; Wiske & Perkins, 2005). The education sector is also heavily politicized, both formally and informally, and burdened with accountability measures, regulations, and bureaucratic infrastructures that can thwart even the most determined reforms (Dearing et al., 2015). The challenge in the education sector is not, as then Governor Clinton recognized in a speech on education reform, in merely solving our problems

locally, for “virtually every problem you can mention has been addressed extremely effectively by somebody somewhere in America,” but in understanding how to take those solutions to scale (Clinton, 1992). Fortunately, there are several frameworks that can help guide our approach for how a non-profit organization can successfully scale within the education sector. I introduce three of these, the first focused on the ordering of the scaling process, the second addressing the factors that determine whether and how fast an innovation scales, and the third, a case study in scaling a particular curriculum.

To begin, Harris (2010) suggests a helpful six step process for sequencing scaling efforts by non-profit organizations. I supplement this process with a discussion of an organizational decision around the desired endgame and my own analysis. First, an organization needs to determine whether an intervention is ready to go to scale and what exactly the organization hopes to scale. This requires developing a strong theory of change causally connecting program inputs to desired outcomes and then field testing this theory of change to achieve proof of concept, or proof that the model works in practice, under real conditions, and subject to reasonable resource constraints (Harris, 2010). An important part of this threshold step involves defining which components of the intervention are critical to achieving the desired outcomes, the conditions for success, and which elements are not mandatory and can be omitted or modified without compromising the outcomes (Dees, Anderson, & Wei-Skillern, 2004; Clarke & al., 2006). This is also the time when the organization needs to define precisely what it is trying to scale—from a very concrete product or program to a looser set of principles or a framework for a model (Dees et al., 2004). Finally, the organization should ensure there is sufficient stakeholder

buy-in to the model and value of the intervention (Wiske & Perkins, 2005; Fishman, 2005).

Second, an organization needs to select the best approach for bringing an intervention to scale (Harris, 2010). The best way to make this decision is to begin with the endgame-by identifying what the organization's desired role and impact should be in helping solve the applicable social problem (Gugelev & Stern, 2015). Gugelev and Stern (2015) suggest that an organization can choose from six different endgame options:

1. Open Source-serve as a research or knowledge hub to disseminate information about an idea or innovation that is easy for other organizations to adopt.
Example: Alcoholics Anonymous
2. Replication-serve as a franchisor providing training and certification to other organizations seeking to adopt and deliver the product or model. The relationship between the original program and its derivatives can vary in structure and oversight, from a very standardized approach emphasizing fidelity of implementation with a clear central office to a much looser, affiliate model with autonomous branches (Dees et al., 2004). Example: charter schools
3. Government Adoption-demonstrate proof of concept of a model with wide potential application and then seek to support governmental agencies through the adoption and administration process. Example: universal kindergarten
4. Commercial Adoption-demonstrate proof of concept and profitability in an area of market inefficiency or where there are gaps in production or delivery.
Example: Digital Divide Data

5. Mission Achievement-identify and work to solve or eradicate a well-defined and discrete problem. Example: End7
6. Sustained Service-provide ongoing and cost-effective programs to address an enduring social need that remains unaddressed by the commercial or public sectors. Example: Nonprofit hospitals.

The decision as to which endgame an organization should pursue will turn on a host of factors, including the complexity and portability of an innovation, the nature of the social problem to be solved, internal capacity and resource constraints, and the availability and likelihood of external funding or potential revenue streams (Gugelev & Stern, 2015). The organization also needs to make a threshold decision around the breadth and depth tradeoff: reaching the maximum number of constituents or providing existing constituents with more comprehensive supports or programming. Importantly, just as an organization's internal priorities and objectives can involve, so too can the organization's endgame and its approach to scale. Accordingly, while some endgame decisions (deciding to become an open source provider, for example) may obviate the need for additional steps, it merits continuing with the framework for both analytical purposes and to ensure that an organization is making an informed decision.

The third step in scaling involves the careful selection of additional sites. Three considerations should inform this selection process (Harris, 2010). First, there must be an identifiable need for the intervention or program. Second, this need must be presently unaddressed or beyond the capability of existing community resources. Third, the new site must have the capacity and resources to support effective implementation of the intervention, with particular emphasis on the new site's ability to adopt the elements of

the original intervention that have been identified as critical to achieving the desired outcomes.

The fourth step in our scaling framework requires that an organization develop the capacity and infrastructure to effectively and responsibly manage multiple sites (Harris, 2010). This requires developing management and quality control systems at the original site as well as leadership and program staff at the new sites. Adapting to the unique context of the new site and drawing upon existing resources, strengths, and stakeholders in the new site will be critical in ensuring a successful transplant.

Once an intervention is introduced to a new site, the fifth step in Harris's (2010) process involves reflection and evaluation. The evaluation should consider the original theory of change and how well this theory was borne out in practice at the new site. There are bound to be unexpected variables and factors that arise in any new setting and it is important to determine to what extent, if any, these variables and factors impacted the program's efficacy. The organization can also use these learnings and feedback cycles to improve its original model as well as to guide future scaling efforts. Realizing continued successful outcomes in a new site can also be an important catalyst for creating demand in additional locations and generating additional funding and institutional support.

The final step in the scaling process for non-profit organizations involves determining the best method for sharing promising practices and lessons with other non-profits (Harris, 2010). Though it may seem counter-intuitive for an organization seeking to scale to share its successes and approach with other organizations, this is an important distinction between the for-profit and non-profit sectors that exists for several reasons. First, the non-profit organization is not driven by a desire to maximize its profits; instead,

the goal is to maximize the positive outcomes that can result from the innovative program or intervention. These outcomes can most quickly be achieved and realized if there are multiple organizations working to tackle the same social problem. Second, the funding and capacity limits of most non-profit organizations make global dominance an unattainable reality and often provide a ceiling to the extent and reach of any one organization. Third, in sharing its best practices with other groups, the originating non-profit stands to benefit from seeing how other organizations apply and leverage these lessons, potentially in ways that will help improve the core process and model. Finally, in sharing its own experiences with scaling, the non-profit organization had the chance to positively impact the work of other non-profits who may be working on a host of other issues, including some that might address other social problems afflicting the same target population.

Harris's process provides an overview of the different steps in the scaling process. Everett Rogers (2003), Dearing (2015), Coburn (2003) and colleagues provide an additional framework around the dimensions of scale and diffusion that will help determine whether and how fast an innovation can scale. Dede and Coburn's framework identifies five dimensions of scale that will influence how successfully an innovation scales based on how useful that intervention can be in new settings (Dearing et al., 2015; Coburn, 2003; Dede, 2007; Dede, 2016). The significance of the temporal component—to truly realize scale, an innovation must possess the capacity to become truly embedded over a significant period of time—permeates each of these five dimensions and the “traps” to avoid at each stage:

1. Depth: The more meaningfully and more effectively the innovation changes core principles or beliefs (as opposed to surface matters like classroom organization) while realizing the desired outcomes, the more potential the innovation has to cross the “chasm” from one setting to another. The trap to avoid here is letting the perfect be the enemy of the good and to accept that scaling may require compromising on perfect reproduction.
2. Sustainability: The more robust the design of an innovation so it can function and adapt to various types of inhospitable conditions and varied users, the more likely the innovation is to continue in use and succeed in effecting long term change. To avoid the trap of mutation, developers should focus on scaling the core conditions of success while allowing for variation in non-core elements.
3. Spread: The more flexible an innovation is in retaining effectiveness while coping with different, and often reduced, resource and expertise constraints, the more successful the innovation will be in reaching large numbers of users. The trap of optimality requires that developers be willing to accept suboptimal outcomes in order to maximize the user base.
4. Shift: The more an innovation is able to be decentralized and generate ownership among users by allowing these users to adapt, modify, and extend the original innovation beyond its initial capacities, the more likely an innovation is to gain acceptance by practitioners. The trap to avoid here

is the tendency to exert rigid controls and resist adaptation efforts by users.

5. Evolution: The more the creators of the original innovation are able to evolve and improve the original innovation through user feedback and ideas to better subsequent iterations, the more likely an innovation will gain a lasting foothold. The trap to be cognizant of with evolution is the potential unwillingness to receive and assimilate feedback on the original innovation.

(Dede, 2007; Dede, 2016; Dearing et al., 2015; Coburn, 2003)

An additional trap, or impediment to scaling, focuses on the misguided replication belief-that what worked in one context will thrive in any context (Wiske & Perkins, 2005; Dede, 2016). When scaling an innovation, developers need to consider problems of magnitude-what worked with 15 students may not work with 75, the fidelity of implementation-avoiding lethal mutations that disregard the core conditions of success, and the challenge of mission creep-seeking to selectively implement portions of multiple different innovations or with an unmanageable diversity in audience that dilute resources and prevent effective implementation of any innovation (Wiske & Perkins, 2005; Dede, 2016).

Rogers (2003) supplements the Dearing (2015) and Coburn (2003) dimensions with a set of nine concepts from diffusion theory that will affect the rate of adoption of an innovation:

1. Opinion leadership is the extent to which one individual, typically through the use of earned informal authority, is able to influence the attitudes and

behaviors of other potential adopters in the desired way and with relative frequency.

2. Guided adaption is the process of supporting innovation implementers with advice to ensure that the innovation is properly implemented and produces the desired positive results.
3. Effectiveness is the degree to which an innovation operates as intended and fulfills its objectives.
4. Relative advantage is the amount by which a new innovation is perceived as superior to existing processes or programs.
5. Compatibility is the extent to which an innovation comports with the existing values, practices, and needs of potential adopters.
6. Simplicity is the degree to which an innovation is perceived as easy to understand and use by members of a social system.
7. Cost is the perceived resource and time demands required to adopt the new innovation.
8. Trialability is the degree to which an innovation can be incrementally adopted or experimented with without a significant resource investment.
9. Observability is the extent to which the benefits of using an innovation are visible to others.

(Rogers, 2003; Dearing et al., 2015; Dede, 2016)

A final set of concepts useful to consider when considering scaling a school-based program comes from Clarke and colleagues' work (2006) on their efforts to scale a middle school science curriculum, the River City MUVE curriculum. This case study

adds value as it moved beyond the more general scaling framework considerations set forth above and identified four potential barriers to the adoption of a given curriculum within a school setting. First, teacher preparation is key. Teachers must possess content knowledge and content-specific pedagogical knowledge as well as professional development to understand how the students will access and interact with the new curriculum is key (Clarke et al., 2006). Second, class size will affect the degree of possible teacher-student interaction and the potential for individualized learning, especially relevant factors when confronted with large class size and the demands of student-centered learning (Clarke et al., 2006). Third, unequal prior learner academic achievement and self-efficacy in a subject can affect the degree to which students are equipped-and feel equipped-to engage with new material (Clarke et al., 2006). Finally, learner engagement, including student attendance, motivation, and behavior will impact the potential success of a classroom-based innovation (Clarke et al., 2006).

Youth organizing is not a new or unknown phenomenon. Intentionally structuring and implementing youth organizing programs in schools, proving that these programs generate pro-social outcomes, and reflecting and improving on the original model is a relatively new concept, however. As the field continues to evolve and grow, there is a critical need for successful proofs of concept so that we may identify the conditions for success and define precisely what model or program we should seek to scale. I next describe the program I implemented, my challenges, and my learnings. I will then return to the question of scaling and propose how one might go about scaling a successful youth organizing program in the K-12 civic education sector.

H. Theory of Action

My theory of action posits that if I can design and implement a pilot youth organizing initiative informed by research and existing best practices in civic education in a large, urban high school in Baltimore, the lessons learned through prototyping, reflection, and forward-looking interviews with civic education sector change agents will help create a strategic plan for the scaling and dissemination of a viable in-school youth organizing model with appreciable benefits for a significant number of students, schools, and communities.

III. Description

A. The What and How

My first week at CLIA in June 2015 was an exciting one for many reasons. New colleagues, new office space, new meeting schedules, new commuting patterns, and a new coffee shop were all part of the logistical and interpersonal introductions. I also learned that CLIA had just been awarded a \$10,000 grant by a funder hoping to help repair the Baltimore that had been badly broken in the wake of Freddie Gray's murder.

Mr. Gray, an African American man from the Sandtown area of Baltimore, died in the University of Maryland Shock Trauma Unit on April 19, 2015, one week after his arrest and alleged mishandling and abuse by Baltimore police. As information about Mr. Gray's broken vertebra, nearly severed spine, and repeated requests for medical assistance from the back of the transport van became public, long simmering racial tensions between police and Baltimore's inner-city communities erupted (Timeline:

Freddie Gray's arrest, death and the aftermath, 2015). The protests and civil unrest that followed turned from peaceful and lawful to 5 days of violent and indiscriminate rioting. Baltimore was in the national spotlight as the latest expression of turmoil and pain felt by communities bubbling over with rage at yet another unarmed African American man killed by police.

Although it occurred several months before my start date, I knew about what happened to Mr. Gray and followed media reports about the aftereffects of his death in Baltimore. I knew that what happened in Baltimore was one small piece of a much broader national and historical puzzle, but I was even more committed to my project as a result. If anything, I thought the unrest and rioting had created more demand for an advocacy curriculum as disquieted protesters and community members would be seeking opportunities to learn more about how to effect system level change and make their voices heard. Thus, when Deliberto mentioned that she was considering using the \$10,000 grant to fund a summer advocacy program for Baltimore high school youth, I was elated. This would be an opportunity to dive into the work much sooner and on a much smaller scale than originally envisioned, both of which struck me as appealing.

i. Stage 1: Summer Program

We began by recruiting a group of twelve students from the four CLIA partner high schools that already offered CLIA's Law and Leadership Academy track- Mergenthaler Vocational Tech (Mervo), Frederick Douglass (Douglass), Renaissance Academy (Renaissance) and Reginald F Lewis (Lewis). We relied on recommendations from principals and teachers as well as some inspired last minute personal outreach to

students we suspected might be interested or available. Through these different outreach strategies, we managed to bring together twelve students to an orientation meeting on July 1, 2015.

At this meeting, I introduced the summer “Youth Advocacy Council” proposal to the students. Thanks to the recent grant, students would be paid an hourly rate to attend eight hours per week of advocacy training for the course of eight weeks. Over the course of the summer, we would learn about the different steps in the process of bringing about change and how we could apply those steps to a relevant issue in Baltimore. The two goals of the program were to (1) create a core group of student leaders who would develop advocacy skills and experience over the summer and (2) who would then be able to bring their skill, experience, and enthusiasm back to their schools to help create a larger youth advocacy movement in Baltimore.

I drew on several different strands to develop my curriculum for the summer Youth Advocacy Council (“YAC”). I began by reviewing multiple different advocacy curricula, including those materials freely available through Generation Citizen, Earthforce, We the People, Boston Students Advisory Council, and Project Citizen. On my recommendation, CLIA also purchased MIKVA Challenge’s “Issues to Action” curriculum and I was provided access to Worldvision’s curriculum due to Deliberto’s prior work with Worldvision. I revisited lessons from my time with the Street Law Clinic and as a teacher. I also read several articles by leading civic education scholars and practitioners, including reports by organizations such as the Civic Mission of Schools to learn more about best practices in civic education and action civics specifically. Finally, I led a design thinking session with the entire CLIA staff in order to draw upon their

experience and perspective in building advocacy and organizing skills with high school students.

Through this process, I identified significant broad commonalities in how different organizations structured their approach to teaching students about organizing. I chose to adopt the six step framework suggested by MIKVA Challenge (2012):

1. Examine community
2. Identify issues
3. Conduct research
4. Analyze power/understand the change process
5. Develop strategies
6. Take action

At the same time, I recognized the need to develop students' general analytical and cognitive skills and the importance of relationship building among the students and between myself and the students. Thus, each daily lesson included learner-centered activities targeting the three themes of critical thinking, organizing skills, and team building. Students engaged in public speaking, large group, and small group discussion during each session and also had the opportunity to share their opinions, conclusions, and questions through individual reflection in their journals.

Over the course of our thirteen, four-hour sessions during the summer, the group of nine core students (three of the initial recruits withdrew due to schedule conflicts) moved through the MIKVA six steps, spending approximately two sessions on each step. Throughout the program, there was a strong emphasis on student voice and autonomy

with me serving as a facilitator to help students frame and understand complex issues through their own lenses. For example, in order to help students examine their community and select an issue, I worked with University of Maryland clinical law professor Brenda Blom to design a bus tour of inner-city Baltimore that Brenda led and narrated. The students were provided with guided reflection sheets that prompted them to consider their own communities, the history and communities they experienced during the bus tour, and what they would like their communities to look like. Though the students were interested in seeing the nicer parts of Baltimore, some for the first time, the students really came alive when we drove through the poorest and most distressed areas of Baltimore. These were the places several of them knew and could connect to, exemplified when Devon (all student names are pseudonyms) excitedly pointed out “my grandma lives right there” as we paused near a housing complex that had been the site of significant rioting in April’s unrest (Devon, personal communication, July 9, 2015).

With the help of Deliberto and her policy background, students identified the two broad policy areas of education and violence reduction as the most relevant and meaningful to them. Students then went on to research different city programming and school-based initiatives that would help address their primary concerns. After considering different alternatives and their potential impact on youth, the students opted to work on policy proposals dedicated to increasing the number of jobs available to youth, the frequency and variety of after-school programs, and the training and resources provided to in-school peer mediation programs. Each group developed a presentation explaining how these initiatives would help address Baltimore’s educational inequalities and reduce violence amongst Baltimore youth.

The culminating event of the summer program was a trip to Baltimore's City Hall and a series of meetings with Baltimore City Council members. The students met with the Chair of the City Council's Education Committee, Mary Pat Clarke, City Councilman Bill Henry, the chief aide for Council President Bernard Young, and City Councilman Brandon Scott. In each meeting, the students presented the problem they sought to address and their policy proposals around youth jobs, after-school programs, and peer mediation. The students then attended an open meeting of the Education Committee and were acknowledged for their work in bringing these policy proposals to the attention of the City Council. Serendipitously, two Baltimore television stations were present to interview Councilwoman Mary Pat Clarke and, impressed by their presentation and proposals for change, she invited the students to join her during those interviews. Needless to say, the students were thrilled at the opportunity and delighted when they later appeared on the news.

Student Presentations to Elected Officials

The summer program concluded with an ice cream social and debrief at CLIA's office the following week. City Councilman Nick Mosby, who had been unable to meet with the students at City Hall, came and spoke with the students about their proposals. He was very complimentary of the students' work and expressed interest in a future partnership to work on improving peer mediation programming in the city. The students were emboldened by this meeting and by their successful presentations at City Hall. All of the students expressed interest in continuing with their organizing work throughout the fall semester, including working in their schools to gain peer support and broader support for their proposals.

ii. Stage 2: Fall Program

Immediately after the mid-August conclusion of the summer program, I began preparing for the second stage of my strategic project, piloting the advocacy course at a BCPSS high school with an entire class of thirty students.

The threshold decision as to which of CLIA's four partner high schools would be the best host was an easy one. From the outset, there were only two viable contenders- Lewis and Mervo. Launching at either of the other two schools, Renaissance or Douglass, was impractical for several reasons. Renaissance was just renewing their partnership with CLIA and would be launching a mixed-grade level course with a new teacher and with a focus divided between law and homeland security. Douglass was in the third year of the school turnaround process, had just named a new principal and hired a new law teacher with very limited teaching experience, and the remaining administrative team was notoriously compliance-oriented and fickle in their support of the law program.

Of the two remaining schools, Lewis and Mervo, the choice turned largely on the unique skill set, interests, enthusiasm, and flexibility of the veteran BCPSS teacher at Mervo, Nick McDaniels. McDaniels, a white male from Westminster, MD with an English and Secondary Education degree from Marquette and a master's degree in School Administration and Supervision from Johns Hopkins, had spent his entire seven-year teaching career at Mervo, the last three years in the Law and Leadership program. McDaniels was respected by his teaching peers, demonstrated by his runner-up status as BCPSS Teacher of the Year in 2014, and by CLIA, where he helped Mervo win a 2015 Inspired Voice Award. He was also the teachers' union representative at Mervo and was an active advocate in the Baltimore community. More importantly, McDaniels built

strong relationships with his students and hosted a steady stream of students during his free period, from returning graduates to current students between classes. As a final endorsement, after six years of night school, McDaniels had just graduated from the University of Maryland School of Law. Most critically, however, in introductory meetings, McDaniels expressed significant enthusiasm for the project from inception through the summer program. He was delighted to participate in the fall course and was very open to both sharing his classroom and learning about new teaching approaches and methods.

Mervo

Mervo, with 1645 students, is the largest public high school in Baltimore. The student body is 95.3% African-American, 2.3% White, and 1.9% Hispanic. Almost 30% (28.6%) of the student body is identified as at-risk for chronic absence-defined as more than 20 days absent, with the school's cumulative monthly attendance dropping from 91% in September to 83% in December. In the 11th grade, 99% of students test below level in math and 97% test below level in ELA. In American government standardized assessment, more than two-thirds (67.8%) of Mervo students test below proficient. Mervo students score below the district average in all three of the PSAT and SAT categories-reading, writing, and math (Baltimore City Public Schools, 2015).

Within the Baltimore community, Mervo is known as the trade school for its twenty-two different career pathways, ranging from accounting and finance to carpentry and welding. Mervo draws students from all over the city, although interested students must first qualify for admission by meeting a minimum composite score based on their standardized test scores, attendance, and middle school grades. The Law and Leadership

pathway at Mervo consists of three courses that students must take in addition to their core classes: Criminal Law and Constitutional Justice (10th grade), Conflict Resolution and Community Justice (11th grade) and Constitutional Principles (12th). Additionally, to obtain a Law and Leadership completion certificate, students needed to complete Peer Mediation training, participate in either the mentoring program or the advocacy program, and attend two events such as Futures Fair, Mock Trial, or the Federal Court's Open Doors program.

The first step in transitioning from the summer project to the fall pilot was to ensure that McDaniels, the cooperating teacher, and I shared a common vision for the design, implementation, and objectives of the in-school program. McDaniels and I met several times before the start of the school year to discuss these issues and to then draft a curriculum and instructional sequence. As would be characteristic of his participation throughout the project, McDaniels was an ideal partner. He firmly believed in the potential and importance of action civics and, more importantly, firmly believed in his students and their abilities. He was excited to learn about a new program that could help his students and make their school experience more relevant and engaging and was open to experimenting with new pedagogical approaches and methods. He also was very willing to let me plan the entire curriculum and lead the class once a week while he would implement my suggested lessons on a second day. Finally, he understood and embraced the uncertainty inherent in our pilot and the reflection and feedback cycles that would help shape CLIA's future direction and this capstone.

The goal of the fall program was both more focused and more ambitious than our summer goals. We still hoped to create a core group of youth with advocacy and

organizing experience, but this time with the more specific objective of having students research and draft policy proposals on an issue important to Baltimore youth and then meeting with elected officials or decision-makers to present these proposals. This goal was more ambitious than our summer goal both due to its desired end result and the number of students involved, none of whom had opted-in to the organizing program. The fall program would involve thirty students while the summer program had only included nine. The second summer goal, to spark a larger movement in students' home schools, was less relevant as the fall program, unlike the summer program, would take already place in a school with a full class.

I drew upon the summer experience, supplemented with additional research and curriculum review, to draft a curriculum again anchored by the age-old organizing change sequence, as set forth in the MIKVA six steps. This process helped me approach the fall program with an intentionality around class structure, the quality and nature of the activities I chose, and the role of relevant content. I discuss this structure, the three activity attributes, and the three content guidelines below. I then describe our topic selection procedure, a critical part of the organizing process and also an important part of this reflection.

Structure

McDaniels and I decided to offer twenty organizing classes from late September through mid-December. These classes would take place during consecutive ninety-minute class periods, on Tuesday and Wednesday of each week. On Tuesdays, I would lead the class with support from McDaniels. On Wednesdays, he would lead the class solo.

Although we both knew that the class would function better with two adults, I recognized

that in order to meaningfully pilot a curriculum that I hoped to one day scale up, it needed to be a curriculum that could be effectively implemented by someone other than its creator while still achieving positive results. This alternating Tuesday/Wednesday approach would force me to develop clear lesson plans and activities that McDaniels could understand and follow without my classroom support.

I structured each class period to include elements of individual reflection, small group work, and large group discussion. Students were supplied with journals dedicated to the organizing course and each day began with a quote and a prompt that asked students to take a position on a certain issue. On October 6, for example, Jose Saramago's quote, "As citizens, we all have an obligation to intervene and become involved-it's the citizen who changes things" was on the board, along with the writing prompt, "There should be a law requiring people to report crimes they witness. Do you agree or disagree?" After students settled in and completed the writing prompt, I (or McDaniels) facilitated a class discussion around the meaning of the quote and student opinions on the writing prompt. Each class closed with another individual journal reflection, called "One and One," designed to capture student learning thinking around the topic or theme examined in class that day. After opening with the Saramago quote on October 6, students' closing journal entries asked them to identify "1 time I would definitely not get involved in a problem/dispute is . . . and 1 time I would definitely get involved is" Copies of student prompt responses and closing reflections are attached as Appendices #1-6.

Activity Design

Between these opening and closing journal reflections, each class incorporated activities to help students understand and apply the six steps in the MIKVA framework, with approximately three classes dedicated to each step in the process. Though the activities and methodology varied by class, I selected or developed activities with three commonalities. First, the activities were engaging, interactive, and designed to maximize opportunities for student voice and expression. A heated debate on whether the school cafeteria should serve only white milk, for example, led one student group to emphatically and repeatedly invoke the segregation slogan of “White now, White tomorrow, White forever.” Another activity designed to help students understand the tension between attacking root causes and ameliorating negative symptoms used the Upstream Parable hypothetical to stimulate a student-led discussion around the merits of rescuing drowning infants versus heading upstream to address why infants were being thrown in the water.

Second, I sought to develop students’ critical thinking skills through scaffolded research and consideration of different topics. For example, as we explored different issues that needed fixing in Baltimore, students generated hypotheses around possible topics and then reviewed copies of the Baltimore Sun newspaper to create bar graphs representing the number of articles dedicated to each topic. The ensuing discussion contrasting student expectations with media coverage was peppered with insightful student observations around the newspaper’s target audience, the role of race and money in media coverage, and why certain topics—such as black on black crime—received so little print space. We also used the Street Law staple activity, “Should it be a crime?” to

prompt students to analyze and consider what factors make an act into a crime, whether different justifications excuse acts, and how the costs to society and/or the harm to different individuals might impact the severity of the act.

The third commonality of our in-class activities was the intentional effort to build community within the class and within student working groups. Sometimes this took the form of small group projects that encouraged student creativity and shared responsibility, such as the newspaper project where students designed, drew, and produced the front page of a newspaper focused solely on increasing public awareness around their chosen issue. Students were asked to assume different roles as editor, artist, research specialist, and article authors. Other times, the activities involved moving around the classroom and developing team-building skills, such as the Alien launch pad activity where students had to work together to activate a launch sequence represented by 30 paper plates scattered on the floor within a 10 foot by 10 foot masking tape square.

Content Emphasis

In addition to this emphasis on engaging activities promoting student voice, critical thinking skills, and community-building, I structured the curriculum to include three additional content components specific to our youth organizing effort. First, I knew that one of the most significant barriers to youth organizing work, particularly with urban youth, is a sense of impotence, that nothing they can do will make a difference. It would be critical to address this challenge head on and to instill a sense of hopefulness and efficacy in the students. Thus, each week we examined and discussed an example of successful youth organizing. I developed a “Youth Advocacy Model” (YAM) template that students completed as we considered each youth organization, its context and goals,

the issue addressed, and the result of the youth organizing. We looked at successful case studies of youth organizing around issues as diverse as foster care legislation, immigrant workers' rights, and the creation of a shock trauma center on Chicago's South Side. The YAMs were often highlights of the week as students watched videos and read articles of other youth organizing efforts, leading one student to offer the optimal unprompted comment, "we're just as good as those guys." Sample students YAMs are attached as appendices #7-9.

Second, I knew that the curriculum needed to have a focus on Baltimore and, ideally, a focus on youth in Baltimore. Thus, early on, we looked at Baltimore city maps with different community statistical indicators such as the number of library cards, number of gun related homicides, number of student expulsions, and the number of trees in each neighborhood. Students made insightful connections and observations around the correlation between these statistics and the relationships between demography and life outcomes. We looked at articles from the Baltimore Sun and read about the political, economic and social history of Baltimore. We also invited guest speakers with deep roots in Baltimore youth organizing work to speak to the class. The students particularly enjoyed Nikita Mason from Baltimore-based New Lens media, a "youth driven social justice organization working to assist youth in making art and media about often-underrepresented perspectives" (New Lens, n.d.). A second presentation by Just Kids, a group "working to change the way youth are treated in the Maryland criminal justice system" helped students understand the importance of understanding power structures and the interests of different stakeholders (Just Kids, 2015).

A third content strand that ran through the fall curriculum was the inclusion of subject matter designed to spark and promote the development of students' critical consciousness. As we explored root causes and power structures, for example, I tried to encourage my students to think at a systemic level, to consider the relationships between local events and broader movements, to hypothesize about the connections between past and present, and to think about the importance of who holds power and how power is wielded. Specifically, I wanted to be honest with students, all of whom were African-American, about the role of race in both the creation and perpetuation of systemic injustice. Sometimes this took a distinctly Baltimore flavor, as when we read and discussed the sordid history of police violence in Baltimore and the city's unusually costly payouts to victims, almost all of whom were African-American. Other times, we looked to current events, such as the class when students examined racial tensions at the University of Missouri and then compared and contrasted the power of different stakeholders, their different strategies, and the impact of these strategies in forcing the resignation of President Tim Wolfe. With each activity, I invited students to share their opinions and questions and to make connections between these topics and their own issues, both in large group discussion and individual reflections.

Topic Selection

Selecting a topic or issue is the single most important decision that youth will make in the organizing process. This decision as to what community problem to address will shape the direction of future research, help identify the relevant stakeholders, delineate the available strategies and tactics, and define the desired outcome. Additionally, though perhaps not as readily apparent, the issue chosen by the youth will

also have long term effects on student engagement and motivation as well the likelihood of achieving a successful organizing outcome.

We began with several activities to encourage students to examine their own communities, the first step in the MIKVA model. In addition to the community statistical maps and newspaper review, I asked students to draw their own neighborhoods, identifying whatever features they thought were most relevant-from buildings to people, parks to stores, government offices to churches, and street lights to police cameras. Students were then asked to draw their ideal neighborhoods and to compare and contrast their two products. From this discussion and the earlier activities, we transitioned to the second stage of the MIKVA process, issue identification, and students began to generate a list of “Issues to Fix in Baltimore.”

We next used the familiar example of a cold to discuss the differences between causes (virus, not washing hands) and symptoms (runny nose, sore throat). The Upstream Parable exercise prompted students to consider the tradeoffs between the more short-term approach of addressing symptoms and a longer-term approach of focusing on root causes. We then returned to our growing, communally generated list of “Issues to Fix in Baltimore,” and grouped our list into causes and symptoms. Students then self-selected into one of three groups to work on for the fall organizing program (a fourth nominated issue, environmental degradation, faded out due to lack of student interest). The three issues students chose to work on for the fall were police brutality, inequitable distribution of resources among Baltimore schools, and school-community relations. See Appendices #10-12 for copies of the sheets students used to identify and then sign up for different topics. Although we continued to work in large group on some exercises (YAMs, for

example) and incorporated individual journal reflection in every class, students worked in these smaller groups as we continued through the research, power analysis, and strategy selection steps of the change process.

Student Presentations to Elected Official

The closing activity for the fall organizing program was a trip to City Hall for a meeting with Councilman Brandon Scott, a tour of City Hall, and lunch in a restaurant near the Inner Harbor. Before our meeting, I provided Councilman Scott with an overview of our program and a list of the three issues students had worked on throughout the fall. Each student issue group also prepared with a list of questions around their issue and suggestions for how Baltimore public officials could work to reduce police brutality, remedy the inequitable division of resources among Baltimore schools, and improve relationships between local communities and schools. During our one hour session together, the Councilman shared his own story as a Mervo graduate now working in public service and fielded student questions on a wide range of topics, including around the three student issues. Following our time with the Councilman, students toured City Hall, spent time in the City Council's public hearing room, and took advantage of every opportunity to take pictures while sitting in the City Council Chairman's seat. The fall course concluded with two small group debrief sessions in class the following week.

B. Results

I collected both quantitative and qualitative data for the first two stages of my strategic project, the summer pilot and fall course. For both the summer pilot and the fall organizing course, participants completed a pre-and post-test. Qualitative data was

gathered through class observations, individual and small group student interviews, and a review of student journals and work. Additionally, for the fall course, I administered the pre-and post-tests to three control groups, engaged in weekly post-class debrief sessions with my cooperating teacher, Mr. McDaniels, and, after the course's conclusion, facilitated two small group discussions designed to elicit students' unfiltered feedback around their learnings and experience in the course as well as their suggestions for future courses.

The single most significant piece of data, however, was whether students accomplished the main objective of identifying a community problem, researching the causes and consequences of that problem, and then presenting a cogent policy proposal to address this issue to elected officials. For the summer program, the students accomplished this goal. For the fall program, we fell short. Accordingly, I would like to briefly discuss the successful summer results before turning to a more in-depth discussion of the fall results and why, despite failing to achieve our ultimate objective, the fall organizing program was a success. I explore the factors that limited our achievement of our ultimate objective in the fall program in more depth in the "Why" section.

Summer Results

The summer program was successful in several ways. The students learned about the six steps of change and identified several relevant Baltimore city issues to address. The pre- and post-tests showed significant student development on all measures, including understanding the definition of advocacy, awareness of problems affecting Baltimore, and the ability to identify concrete examples of how an individual can bring change to her community. Students also showed a 67% increase in their belief that "I can

make a difference in my community,” a 64% increase in the belief that “Young people have the power to influence public policy,” and a 46% increase in their belief that “I understand how to make change happen in Baltimore.” Copies of the pre-test, post-test and data are attached as Appendices #13-15.

With our support in gathering research and articles, the students reviewed data and used evidence to formulate arguments why Baltimore City youth needed more job opportunities, after-school activities, and improved peer mediation programs. The students presented these arguments in written policy proposals to elected officials and received positive feedback and encouragement around both their assessment of the issues as well as their plans for moving forward. The document students drafted to present and support their positions is attached as Appendix #16. Mary Pat Clarke, Chair of the City Council’s Education Committee, was so impressed with the students’ ability to clearly articulate their issues and proposed solutions that she asked the students to join her on camera for a television interview before an Education Committee hearing. There were still several very real obstacles to implantation of the students’ proposals, particularly around sources of funding and how to operationalize these programs at the city and school level, but the students were hopeful and viewed these as next steps rather than insurmountable hurdles.

We concluded the summer program optimistic that we had succeeded with respect to the program’s primary goal of creating a core group of trained Baltimore youth organizers and that the secondary goal of using the summer’s experience to spark a larger, school-based, youth organizing movement seemed within reach. What we failed to appreciate, however, was that a significant reason behind the summer success was the

degree of adult involvement in coordinating, motivating, and organizing the student efforts. Without this continued involvement, we had succeeded only in introducing students to the advocacy process and growing their capacity to act within structures enacted by adults. Though the students were interested in continuing with advocacy work, we did not provide them with sufficient training or advance planning around how to initiate organizing planning in their own schools. As we shifted to the fall and prioritized the program at Mervo, I did not have the capacity to support summer program students in their home schools and the promise of the summer program ended with our concluding meeting. In future, I would plan better on two fronts: working with students to draft specific action plans for starting organizing efforts in their own schools and ensuring that continued adult support was available beyond the summer program.

Fall Results

Unlike with the summer program, the fall program students did not reach the stage of committing their policy proposals to paper. Although both programs followed the same six step process, student investment and commitment to the project waned as the fall program continued and we weren't able to get over the final hurdle of moving from student ideas and suggestions to a final written product. Students did meet with one elected official and shared their ideas and questions with Councilman Scott but lacked a formal written policy proposal to present or build from. Several other indicators, however, suggest that the fall program was at least partially successful and offered promise. I believe that by identifying and learning from my missteps, designing an in-school youth organizing program with scaling capacity is a feasible goal. I focus first on several of the indicators suggesting that student participation in this program was a

success and reserve a more in-depth discussion of the reasons the program fell short of its ultimate objective until the following “Why” section.

First, there was a marked shift in student content knowledge, civic skills, and civic dispositions demonstrated through a comparison of pre-test and post-test results and benchmarked against three control groups. As a result of our program, students were much more likely to know what advocacy is (196% improvement as compared to 50% improvement in control groups), more able to identify examples of how a person can bring change to her community (25% vs 8%), and markedly more likely to know the right Councilperson to contact for a local problem (1475% vs 2%). After our fall program, students were 26% more likely to believe that they knew how to change a law or policy (vs 8% change in control group), 27% more likely to believe that young people have the power to influence policies and laws (vs 0% change), and 29% more likely to believe that Baltimore government officials care about what people like the students and their families think (vs -7%). Copies of the pre-test, post-test, and a summary of results are attached as Appendices #17-20.

Though these results are suggestive of student learning during the fall program, I propose that they would have been even stronger if I had used a better test design and if there had been more rigorous controls around test administration with the control groups. With respect to the design of the testing instrument, I relied primarily on vetted questions from the 2010 NAEP civics assessment and instruments suggested in Gingold’s paper on action civics assessments (National Center for Education Statistics, 2011; CIRCLE, 2013b). These questions were of limited use in accurately capturing student progress that was caused by our fall program, however, as they were targeted to measure gains from a

more traditional, content-based civics program. Additionally, results from the three control groups suggest that students in the control group answered many of the questions collaboratively. Finally, there were significant variations between the number of pre-tests collected and the number of post-tests collected from the control groups, suggesting that either enrollment had dropped precipitously or fewer control group students were interested in completing the post-test.

I posit that had there been more rigorous controls, a better designed testing instrument targeted more towards organizing outcomes, and more consistency between the number of students completing each test, the results may have skewed more favorably towards the learning achieved by the students in our organizing class. I also recognize that the fewer students completing the post-test in the control groups may have positively impacted my results (the more interested students may have been the ones more likely to complete the post-test) but as the smaller sample of control group students exhibited far less growth on all measures, I suspect this was not the case.

A second measure of the success of the fall program was the evolution of what I term students' "civic dashboards." A civic dashboard represents the options students see when they identify a community problem and consider what possible role they might play in addressing that issue. Although I don't have a comprehensive baseline of what students' civic dashboards looked like at the beginning of the program, there is evidence to support the contention that students' civic dashboards evolved markedly over the course of the fall.

One important component of these dashboards includes the ability to think critically while learning how to consider multiple perspectives and use evidence to

support their opinions, all important preliminary steps in the advocacy process. These skills were developed and put into practice during our white milk vs chocolate milk debate. Students were presented with information and resources around health and consumption patterns to inform their positions around whether schools should only sell white milk in schools. Students used this information to develop position statements and oral arguments that were presented in this debate. The resulting debate required students to draw upon their evidence to articulate and defend their positions, core competencies that would hopefully translate into capacities to perform similar work in the organizing process. Student work samples from this process are attached as Appendices #21-23.

In our closing small group debrief sessions, students were explicitly asked how the fall organizing program improved (or didn't) their ability to advocate for change. Several common themes emerge to suggest that the fall program had indeed changed their civic dashboards. Keon stated that "I know the actual ways and steps to perform the actions," Charisma added that "if I oppose something, now I know how to do it," while Walter noted that the course "helped me look at things differently if I don't like something." Several students spoke about more specific skills or steps, such as "how to find root causes to issues," "there is power in numbers," "one of the parts of advocating is to gain support," and "who to go to when I need answers to make change." Most significantly, however, several students expressed heretofore unseen confidence in their own ability to make change: Amina observed that "if something wrong with my community and how it is, I know how to begin to change it. Start with who to talk to and how to gain support." Kiddus added that "I know the steps. I know I can do the steps." and Monte said "it made me realize as youth we have a powerful voice" (Students,

personal communications, December 8, 2015; Students, personal communications, December 9, 2015).

A third successful outcome from the fall program was the reintroduction of an advocacy and organizing component to CLIA's school-based programming. Although CLIA's initial connection to Baltimore youth—and the genesis of the organization itself—grew out of a high school student-led organizing campaign, before this fall, CLIA's modern model consisted only of curricular support for the law and leadership pathway and the coordination of several out-of-school activities such as a mentoring program and Futures Fair. And while the curriculum contained several opportunities for student advocacy, these were disjointed, optional, smaller-units that rarely extended beyond one lesson. One of the main reasons Deliberto and I were so eager to work together during my residency year was to reestablish CLIA as an organization that actively promoted and supported the development of advocacy and organizing skills in Baltimore high school students. We wanted to help students learn about the organizing process, from issue identification through to the development of policy proposals and meetings with public officials. This fall, we took the first step in this process, gained a foothold in the largest Baltimore high school, and learned invaluable lessons that will inform future efforts. A more in-depth consideration of what those future efforts might look like appears in the Implications for Site self, below.

A fourth, and final measure of success is perhaps the most tangible and rewarding. As the fall program wound down, several students approached me and asked if they could continue their organizing work in the spring. Deliberto and I were encouraged by this initiative and quickly agreed. The program began in January and

meets every Wednesday after school. CLIA provides pizza and wings to the six or seven students who show up, including one new student who was recruited by the group. This after-school program is intentionally more youth-led and I serve as more of a thought partner and gadfly than as a formal facilitator. The student group decided to focus on improving peer mediation as a conflict resolution mechanism in Baltimore public schools, beginning with the program at Mervo. The students self-organized into different research and operational teams and even have one student serving as a secretary and note-taker. Despite the lack of direct instruction from me, it has been gratifying to see the students adopt the six step organizing model and work through the need for supporting research, community surveys, and an analysis of who holds the power to implement the changes they are considering. Although this student-driven effort is presently small in numbers, it offers evidence that the fall program did meaningfully connect and motivate a core group of students in a powerful way.

C. The Why

The vast majority of youth organizing programming takes place outside of the traditional school context, typically hosted by community-based organizations. Although there are examples of informal youth organizing arising from school events or responding to education-related issues, these programs are usually entirely student-driven, rarely officially endorsed by the school, and often more haphazard than structured. The reasons why schools have traditionally been inhospitable environments for this type of work are numerous and are discussed below. Nonetheless, I believe that it is critical for scaling purposes that we consider whether an organizing program can work in a school setting

and has the potential to scale to more schools. Before discussing the challenges of leading youth organizing work in schools and my experience in a school setting, it is important to explain why I think it is critical that we rethink the role of schools as hosts.

i. Why Youth Organizing work belongs in schools

When notorious bank robber Willie Sutton was asked why he robbed banks, he famously replied “Because that’s where the money is” (Federal Bureau of Investigation, n.d.). Similarly, the reason youth organizing work, the most effective form of action civics, belongs in schools is because that is where the youth are. In every state, compulsory enrollment and attendance laws mandate that youth attend school until at least the age of 16, and often until the age of 18 (National Center for Education Statistics, 2015). Thus, if we seek to maximize the number of youth who will eventually become informed, active, and participating citizens, the best place to introduce civic education is in school (Levinson, 2012). This initial invitation to civic work is critical in stimulating lasting youth involvement, especially in youth of color, can prompt unexpected interest and engagement, and is an invitation that is much less likely to be extended outside of school (Funders Collaborative on Youth Organizing, 2010a; Pancer et al., 2002; Levinson, 2012).

A second reason for locating youth organizing work in schools is because of the close connection between the purpose of our educational system and the pro-social outcomes that can result from this work. Indeed, our schools were first created in order to prepare youth for the responsibilities and obligations of citizenship (Lewis, 1914). And research clearly shows that school-based experiential civics work is one of the best predictors of future civic engagement (Levinson, 2012; Terriquez, 2015). Even as we

acknowledge that preparation for citizenship has been eclipsed as the guiding purpose by a focus on college and career readiness, the host of benefits that can result from youth organizing work positively redound to these new purposes as well. As discussed *supra*, youth organizing work helps develop the prized 21st Century thinking skillsets that students will need to succeed in both the workforce and higher education. Additionally, the positive impact that youth organizing work can have on students' academic investment and motivation as well as school climate and graduation rates suggest that schools would be well served by increasing the dosage and frequency of this work.

A final reason for focusing on the potential of youth organizing work as part of the regular school curriculum concerns scaling. Traditional youth organizing efforts involve small cohorts of youth—usually around ten individuals—and require a significant commitment of time and resources from adult partners. As these efforts are most commonly hosted by community-based organizations, the number of opportunities for youth to participate is necessarily limited by the number of these organizations, and further limited by organizational capacity and willingness, geographical location, and organizational goals. On the other hand, there are more than 35,000 high schools in the United States, many with multiple teachers in their social studies departments (U.S. Department of Education, 2014). Even if every community-based organization in the United States hosted a youth organizing program, the potential number of involved youth is a fraction of the number that could be reached through the public school system. Thus, if we want to think about how to most broadly disseminate the benefits and experience of youth organizing, it makes sense to think about how to best partner with the established institutions that already have access and delivery systems for reaching youth.

ii. My experience with the challenges of doing Youth Organizing work in schools

There are several good reasons why youth organizing work is rarely school-based. To facilitate a discussion around how the challenges present in a school setting impacted my strategic youth organizing project, I first briefly review the limited applicable research as it applies to school-based work. This is a more targeted and specific review than what was earlier presented in the RKA so worth including here to highlight key concept in the school concept. I then detail how the challenges of an in-school youth organizing program unfolded during my project. The first four of these challenges will be familiar as I revisit the four essential ingredients of successful youth organizing: program culture, role of adults, focus on youth development, and pedagogy. A fifth challenge unique to the school setting, school structures, follows. I close with a discussion of the Catch-22 of all youth organizing work, a persistent challenge that inheres to all youth organizing work but that is particularly present in school-based efforts.

Program Culture

Creating the warm and welcoming culture required for youth organizing work can be an uphill battle in a school setting, particularly in an inner-city school. Many students will already feel alienated and disempowered at school (Rubin, Hayes, & Benson, 2009; Taines, 2012). They do not feel listened to, have low levels of trust for institutions generally and schools specifically, and don't believe that anything they do matters (Rubin et al., 2009; Taines, 2012; Kirshner, 2015). The student apathy that can result is a very real problem, no matter how engaging or interactive the activity might be, with almost 60% of teachers echoing the sentiment that "even using my best teaching techniques, it's

often hard to get my students to be enthusiastic about social studies” (AEI Program on American Citizenship, 2010, p. 27). The challenges of student apathy and motivation are particularly relevant in a youth organizing model where so much of the eventual success will turn on student buy-in and investment (Kirshner, 2015; York & Kirshner, 2015). As I would learn, even when teachers give students autonomy over project selection, this is not a panacea for curing students’ lack of excitement or commitment to a project (Kirshner, 2015).

When it comes to introducing youth organizing work into a traditional classroom, the struggle to overcome the culture of apathy is further complicated by the issue of compulsory participation. One of the key drivers behind the effectiveness of youth organizing work is the voluntary nature of the work-students choose to participate (Rogers, 2012; Rogers & Terriquez, 2013; Kilroy et al., 2007; Terriquez, 2015). Outside of schools, this self-selection at least predisposes students to be engaged and interested (Delgado & Staples, 2008; Morrell, 2006; Pancer et al., 2002). In the traditional school classroom, on the other hand, students are not given the option to participate. There are also no opportunities to screen students for interest, motivation, maturity, interpersonal skills or commitment, and thus no guarantees around the extent or presence of those qualities in any given classroom (Delgado & Staples, 2008).

Although creating the safe and welcoming space aspect of program culture was not an obstacle, I underestimated the challenges that student apathy and the compulsory nature of my project would present-more so than with a traditional social studies project. I knew from my pre-project visits that students generally enjoyed coming to McDaniels’ classroom and felt comfortable joking around with him, even returning during their lunch

hours and needing to be chased out after school. McDaniels and I were also intentional about welcoming students to the class and checking in with students on a personal level before and after class. We both actively encouraged diverse opinions and solicited minority positions during our discussions, resulting in participation by almost every student in every class. Students were constantly reminded about the empowering purpose of our project and were given autonomy over topic selection and research direction. Team-building activities and small group work also helped build relationships and reinforce the atmosphere of trust within our classroom. Thus, while limited to the physical space of our school setting and the in-school scheduling of our program, the classroom culture we created was an asset to implementation of the organizing project.

The challenges of student apathy and interest were formidable, however. I knew that students had opted into the law and leadership pathway at Mervo, suggesting at least some interest in the subject matter. I expected that the memory of the rioting and civil unrest that followed Freddie Gray's death earlier that spring would still be fresh in students' minds and that they would be eager to explore ways they could make a difference and address the underlying issues that had caused Baltimore to explode only months earlier. My expectations that these factors would come together to create a classroom full of students strongly and universally motivated to learn about youth organizing proved overly ambitious.

First, many students were "Freddie Gray-ed out." In the wake of the spring riots, students felt like they had been inundated with speakers, assemblies, and visits from a variety of outsiders facilitating conversations, counseling students, and discussing how Baltimore was moving forward. Several students shared that they were tired of talking

about the subject and wanted to move on. Others felt—or at least expressed—little connection to the systemic injustices that I had hoped would spark their interest. In an early discussion around police brutality, Iona, an African-American female, commented “that’s just black people acting crazy” while Lamar, an African-American male, noted “that stuff doesn’t happen in my neighborhood” (Iona, personal communication, November 3, 2015; Lamar, personal communication, September 23, 2015). McDaniels later wryly noted that “we are doing this project with the only class of Black republicans in Baltimore” (N. McDaniels, personal communication, November 5, 2015).

Beth Rubin’s (2007; Rubin & Hayes, 2010) typology of civic identity and experiences among urban youth helps illustrate the differences between my expectations around student experiences and what I actually encountered. The X axis considers students’ personal experiences as citizens and how consistent (or not) those experiences are with what students have learned about the ideals and values of the United States through documents such as the Bill of Rights or Pledge of Allegiance. Students whose personal or familial experiences corresponded with those ideals are in the congruent column while students whose experiences were inconsistent with these ideals are in the disjuncture column.

The Y axis measures student attitudes toward civic participation, from active to passive. Students with active attitudes believe that civic participation through means such as protesting, free expression, and marching has changed our country for the better and brought America more in line with its professed commitment to equality and justice for all. Students with passive attitudes, on the other hand, believe that they should gratefully

and unquestionably accept the opportunities America offers and are skeptical that more active participation would effectuate change.

Students' attitudes toward civic participation	Students' experience in relation to learned ideals of the United States		
		Congruence	Disjuncture
	Active	Quadrant I: Aware <i>Change is needed for equity and fairness</i> These students -have experienced congruence recognize their privilege and are aware that disjunctures exist for others -have learned about injustice in school or from family, but not through personal experiences	Quadrant II: Empowered <i>Change is a personal and community necessity</i> These students -have experienced disjuncture -believe in their ability to use the system to bring about justice -know about civic rights and processes -have been encouraged to critique
	Passive	Quadrant III: Complacent <i>No change is necessary, all is well in the U.S.</i> These students -have experienced congruence -support preservation of the status quo -do not know about or recognize disjunctures experienced by others	Quadrant IV: Discouraged <i>No change is possible, life in the U.S. is unfair</i> These students -have experienced disjuncture -express deep cynicism about the possibility of using the system to make changes

Rubin (2007; Rubin & Hayes, 2010)

I expected my students to largely identify in the disjuncture column of the X axis but, as McDaniels and I later agreed, the majority of our students were actually in the congruence column, a positioning usually more characteristic of students from more affluent, suburban schools. And while I anticipated that students would have a more passive alignment along the Y axis, the challenge of moving students from Quadrant III

to Quadrant I was significantly greater than the expected challenge of moving students from Quadrant IV to Quadrant II.

Students who began in Quadrant IV would be much more easily motivated by their perception of how incongruent their own experiences were with broader American ideals. In this situation, my primary task would be to move students from a passive to active mindset by showing students that they could make a difference and that their efforts could affect their present dissatisfaction with the status quo. Instead, I encountered a class of students who presented as largely complacent, not yet in possession of a systems-level view of inequality and how it applied to them. Through discussions with my students, I confirmed that this understanding was correct-many of them were apathetic because they simply did not believe that their personal worlds were sufficiently unjust as to require action.

I had not anticipated these higher levels of student apathy and motivation and, in retrospect, realize that being more intentional about helping students recognize the injustice in broader systems and in their own worlds should have been my first priority. As it was, I designed a program premised on a Quadrant IV starting point-angry and frustrated students with bottled up tensions they were looking to act upon. Instead, I encountered and did not successfully influence students who perceived themselves as being in Quadrant III where the existing status quo was reassuring and comfortable.

To be clear, I am not suggesting that I would have sought to manufacture outrage but only that one of my key failings early in this pilot was not to prioritize exposing and introducing students to broader world views where they recognized the injustices and disparities that permeated Baltimore and affected their own lives. My erroneous initial

assumption that students would arrive to class already motivated and wondering how to remedy these injustices and my failure to course correct on this critical issue had lasting implications for student apathy and motivation throughout the course of the project.

I also learned that despite purportedly opting into the law and leadership pathway at Mervo, several of my students had little to no intrinsic motivation to learn about the law. One student commented that he chose the pathway only because he didn't like any of the other choices while two other students admitted that they were only in the pathway because their parents signed them up-and one of these two shared that she was doing all she could to fail out so she could pursue the nursing pathway that she really wanted (N. McDaniels, personal communication, September 30, 2015). Finally, the diversity of student backgrounds, in part due to a Mervo student population drawn from across Baltimore's different neighborhoods, many of them solidly middle class, also meant that my students had very different experiences with police, racism, and systems of power. Together, these factors meant that I launched my project in a much more diverse and less receptive environment than expected.

The challenge of how to motivate students, disinterested or not, is a fundamental challenge in education and was certainly not unique to my project or unfamiliar to me. But the motivation issue takes on added importance in organizing work where generating student interest and commitment to a project is central to sustained effort and follow-through. Additionally, one of the core principles of any organizing work, youth or adult, is that organizing work does not appeal to everyone and that participation needs to be on a voluntary basis. Every youth organizer with whom I spoke shared both the critical importance of beginning with motivated students and the practical impossibility of

achieving this in a setting such as mine with compulsory participation (R. Gunther, personal communication, September 25, 2015; A. Jennings, personal communication, December 2, 2015; B. Kirshner, personal communication, December 14, 2015). At the same time, I was committed to operating within the school context in order to design a program that could reach the maximum number of students, both at Mervo and in future scaling efforts. Recognizing and actively combatting the relevance, depth, and potential impact of student disinterest should be a priority for future efforts.

Two programmatic missteps, one strategic and one an oversight, limited my effectiveness in tackling this problem, however. First, McDaniels and I decided early on that we would not grade students on their participation, work, or effort during the fall program. Although grading students can often serve as a motivational tool as well as an assessment measure, McDaniels believed that his students were rarely motivated by grades, a position that resonated with my own experience and seemed unnecessary, especially in light of my early overconfidence in the inherent attraction and relevance of our proposed work. In retrospect, I think a better approach would have been to acknowledge that grades would not have been an ideal motivational tool for some students but would have served as a positive incentive for others.

A second missed motivational opportunity was entirely my fault. I know that students respond well to feedback, especially when it is timely, personalized, and celebrates their opinions and thinking. Reviewing this feedback can also serve as an important barometer for how students are processing, understanding, and connecting with the work. And while I smartly used journals every class to allow students to share their responses to the daily prompt, the small-group activities, and the closing “one and ones,”

I neglected to review and respond to these on a daily basis. Too late, I realized the missed opportunity to create a culture of individual accountability through ongoing feedback and responses to student comments and thoughts. The consequences of my tardiness were predictable-student commitment to journaling, a critical indicator of their comprehension and reflection process, dropped off sharply. Although I later managed to right the ship somewhat through the use of stickers (yes, even high school students love stickers) and personalized comments, my dilatory approach was costly and undermined an important opportunity to motivate students through feedback on their daily journal entries.

For youth organizing work to succeed in schools, tackling the problem of student apathy will be a central challenge. Unfortunately, as any experienced educator can attest, combatting student apathy is a daily struggle and sometimes even the most interesting and engaging lessons do not connect with all students. There are factors beyond a teacher's locus of control, including an educational system that does not prioritize student engagement or fully embrace developmental learning theories and a host of out-of-school factors that impair a student's ability to learn and be present, but I believe youth organizing work offers significant opportunities to minimize the deleterious effects of apathy within the classroom setting.

The most important step moving forward will be to foreground and anticipate the challenge of student apathy. I relied too heavily on the flawed assumption that all my students would be automatically and intrinsically engaged by the very nature of organizing work. A better perspective would be to recognize that while youth organizing has the potential to be a highly engaging experience for most students, student engagement must first be deliberately attended to, cultivated, and grown at every stage of

the process. I would use a combination of more intentional pedagogy and a diverse suite of extrinsic motivations, especially in the early stages, with the goals of building student investment in their work and creating intrinsic motivation to continue that work.

Pedagogically, I would begin with a series of interesting lessons around systemic injustice and invite students to problem solve specific fact patterns. I would also incorporate more frequent and easily accessible opportunities for students to demonstrate their progress and concrete milestones that would both offer students the chance to showcase their work and incentivize their efforts to move the work forward. Writing a letter to the editor, presentations to their peers, and mock video news interviews are examples of low stakes accountability and performance measures. Extrinsic motivational opportunities could include class pizza parties, field trips, certificates of completion, organizing-specific grades, fulfilling service hour requirements, and the chance to appear on the BCPSS cable program. Significantly, many of these extrinsic motivators would be keyed to group performance in an effort to use positive peer pressure and collective accountability expectations to incentivize student commitment.

I am not naïve to the reality of how formidable the challenge of student apathy is, especially in inner-city schools with over-crowded classrooms, limited resources, disaffected and alienated students, and an educational system that can stultify even the most promising students. Paradoxically, while youth organizing work in schools holds tremendous promise to shift the narrative to one of student engagement and empowerment, youth organizing work also requires students to be invested and engaged and thus makes the challenge of student apathy more evident than it might be in a traditional classroom. But the endemic and insidious nature of student apathy does not

militate against youth organizing programming; in fact, the potential of youth organizing to more meaningfully and authentically increase student engagement and reduce student apathy suggests that we should double down on youth organizing as an effective intervention in the battle against student apathy. The involvement of a community partner like CLIA and the personnel and curricular resources CLIA can offer, as well as a more intentional “apathy-busting” pedagogy and a developmental approach to growing student motivation should be important components of future youth organizing efforts in schools.

The challenges of student apathy and motivation were the primary obstacles to successfully accomplishing the organizing program’s semester goal of having students identify a community issue and present policy proposals to elected officials. I have thusfar described the misalignment between my expectations around initial student motivation and interest as part of the program culture I encountered at the outset of the program. These challenges continued throughout the program, however, and my additional learnings around them are applicable and treated in more specific detail in the relevant subsequent sections.

Adult Role

In a typical school and classroom, the adult role is clearly established. The teacher designs the curriculum, leads the lesson, and is responsible for student learning. To the extent that youth have autonomy or power in the classroom, it is bounded by, and flows directly from, the teacher’s willingness to release power. This dynamic of adultism runs counter to the core principle of shared power that characterizes successful youth organizing and is critical to promoting youth investment and ownership in a project. The typical positioning of adults in schools as the primary decision-makers, authority figures,

and determiners of both what and how youth should engage with a topic is one reason many youth organizing efforts are deliberately not located in schools (Kirshner, Strobel, & Fernández, 2003; Delgado & Staples, 2008; Kilroy et al., 2007; York & Kirshner, 2015). Balancing the teacher's need for maintaining order and preservation of authority with the shared power approach essential to youth organizing work requires a flexibility and recasting of responsibility atypical of a traditional classroom (Goodman & Eren, 2013; O'Donoghue & Strobel, 2007).

In addition to this willingness to share power and be more egalitarian in approach, facilitating teachers often face many of the same challenges other adults do when it comes to youth organizing work. Although many teachers will have a background in pedagogical methods and adolescent development, organizing work requires a particular skillset and mindset distinct from traditional teacher preparation (Balsano, 2005; Levy, 2011). To effectively support authentic organizing work, for example, in addition to a deep understanding of organizing work, teachers need to be able to participate in and structure sensitive conversations around race, privilege, and power, areas where they may be ill-equipped or unwilling to tread (Kirshner, 2015; Delgado & Staples, 2008). In urban schools in particular, teachers are often not “of the community,” and may not be able to bring the appropriate contextual understanding as well as suffering from a lack of perceived legitimacy as participants in these conversations (Schutz, 2006; Delgado & Staples, 2008; Kirshner, 2015). Finally, leading youth organizing work is time-consuming, even above and beyond the numerous other demands on teacher time (Kirshner, 2015). It also requires a psychological and emotional investment that, in

addition to the time commitment, some teachers may be unwilling or simply unable to provide.

This was my first time leading and designing a program for thirty high school students in an environment where the students had not all opted into program participation. I ideally hoped to recast myself as less of a traditional “sage on the stage” and more as a facilitator of student groups and work around issues they cared passionately about. At the same time, I was responsible for classroom management and ensuring that all students were on-task and contributing to their group’s work. I was also the person who provided all the resources and determined the lessons and activities we would pursue each day. This responsibility is inconsistent with core youth organizing precepts around a member-driven process and a power sharing model where adults serving as guides rather than enforcers. Walking this line was a tricky balance but essential to determining whether youth organizing has a place in large urban classrooms.

Fortunately, recalibrating the ideal role of adults in youth organizing while also assuming the responsibilities of a classroom teacher around order and process is a viable model. I was largely able to effectively strike this balance through a mixture of relationship-building, meaningfully involving students in select decisions, and being open to student feedback around activities they found more and less engaging. While I initially overemphasized my role as provider of order, I was able to shift towards a more relational and social focus as the semester went on. By including fun team-building activities at the end of class and making participation in those activities contingent on student progress towards the day’s objectives, students came to see me as both the

classroom leader offering support for their chosen organizing projects and someone interested in providing them with engaging social opportunities.

Focus on Youth Development

When we consider successful youth development trajectories, it seems like schools would be the ideal places to host youth organizing efforts. After all, schools are conceptualized as places of learning, safe spaces to experiment with new ideas, and populated with adults trained to scaffold student learning and growth. But as we know, these theoretical ideals don't always translate into practice. Additionally, many times teachers begin with a deficit view of their students' abilities and have low expectations of what their students might be able or willing to accomplish (York & Kirshner, 2015; Schutz, 2006). Student opinions and voice may be heavily discounted in historically hierarchical systems with clearly established pathways for knowledge transmission (Kirshner et al., 2003). Upending these beliefs and expectations is a critical first step in making schools more welcoming hosts.

Even with an empowering and open-minded teacher, the conflict between the outcomes sought and produced through youth organizing can be a barrier as these outcomes do not always map directly onto the outcomes pursued by schools. Although I suggest above that youth organizing outcomes do have a positive impact on educational motivation and interest as well as school climate, these outcomes are not always recognized or prioritized by schools. Instead, in the modern era of standards-based instruction and overwhelming assessment, school leaders are often more concerned with their state report cards and individual achievement than with the creation of empowered youth willing to challenge systemic inequality (York & Kirshner, 2015; Levinson, 2012).

Teachers, too, are confronted with this reality as their evaluations and salary are typically tied to standardized test scores and adherence to curricular protocol. The paucity of research support—and there is very little establishing a link between youth organizing in schools and educational outcomes—serves only to perpetuate this false dichotomy of outcomes and can dishearten even the most receptive teachers.

My strategic project failed to account for the importance of youth development in both structure and outcomes. First, with respect to structure, I entered the fall program with the goal of both introducing students to youth organizing work and then engaging them in authentic youth organizing work. For many of my students, this was their first introduction to anything resembling organizing work, however, and trying to accomplish both goals meant that I did not have the time to thoroughly introduce students to the core principles and work that underlies successful organizing work before asking them to absorb these concepts and then apply them to their own projects.

In addition to learning about the process of change and how to impact systems, youth organizing projects require students to reorient their expectations around the purposes of school and the role of adults in guiding their learning (Jarrett et al., 2005; B. Kirshner, personal communication, December 14, 2015). More significantly, youth organizing projects require students to recalibrate their own concepts of agency and self-efficacy. These are not simple adjustments and require a “developmental sequencing” that allows students to gradually build the skills, confidence, and attitudes needed to succeed (Goodman & Eren, 2013). I was able to begin the process of building student efficacy through the Youth Advocacy Model (YAM) activities we conducted every week and, indeed there were some positive comments from students around how the YAMs

made them feel like youth could make a difference. But even weekly models proved to be insufficient dosages to reach all students. Closing comments during our debrief sessions indicated that multiple students still felt like they couldn't make a difference, indicating both how entrenched the mindset of hopelessness can be and how a youth organizing program needs to dedicate more time to altering this thinking.

Ideally, this process of developmental sequencing and ongoing reinforcement of core concepts and beliefs would be achieved through civic education courses with organizing units at every grade, from kindergarten through 12th. While this is not likely to happen in the near future, there are five other alternatives on offer. First, in an organization like CLIA with multi-year high school curricula, units on organizing work and the development of student agency can be incorporated into earlier courses so that by the time students reach the 11th or 12th grade, they are familiar with basic concepts and have begun to develop a sense for their own potential. Prince Georges County Public Schools provide a good model of this developmental sequencing with their four-year law and leadership courses (S. Rose, personal communication, February 25, 2016).

A second option would be promote these concepts across different disciplines so that students are building and reinforcing their sense of agency in English and science courses. A third option would be to set less ambitious goals for a one-semester course, perhaps focusing on introducing the process of organizing and then having students work as a class on a narrowly-tailored project. A fourth option would be to extend the length of the course into a yearlong effort, allowing for an introductory semester and then an action semester. A fifth option would be to adopt the model CLIA is currently practicing by aiming to introduce organizing during a school-based class and then to facilitate

additional student organizing work through an after-school program or more specialized course offering. Each of these options requires different resources, stakeholder buy-in, and commitments but the broad takeaway is that attempting to both introduce organizing and execute a project within a one semester class increases the degree of difficulty and reduces the possibility of success.

My second major learning around youth development centers on the desired outcomes. Although one of the central principles of youth organizing work is to focus more on the process and the skills the students can build through the process, I fell victim to the trap of using an overly ambitious end goal as my litmus test for success. As discussed above, when the thirty students did not manage to draft policy proposals and present them to elected officials, I gauged the program as unsuccessful in achieving its primary objective. If instead I had focused on the student competencies, critical thinking skills, and sense of agency and empowerment that students were acquiring through the process, I likely would have reached a different conclusion as to the overall success of the program. This would, of course, have required more carefully calibrated assessment measures but these measures would have been equally, if not more compelling if they were able to capture student growth on measures with broader applicability and appeal to other teachers and school administrators.

Pedagogy

The fourth key ingredient in successful youth organizing, a pedagogy focused on developing the critical consciousness of youth, is an essential ingredient in a youth organizing program. In some circumstances, this can also be a barrier to school based programming. The heart of youth organizing work revolves around the identification,

investigation, and addressing of systemic injustice and inequality. This process involves deep consideration and exploration of race, privilege, power, and other controversial issues that many administrators and teachers may wish to steer clear of. Even the pedagogical methods inherent to organizing work—open debate and discussion, power sharing in the classroom, authentically valuing youth voice, questioning community members, and taking public action can be viewed as disruptive to school order or too threatening to the status quo (Ozer, Newlan, Douglas, & Hubbard, 2013; Taines, 2014; Kirshner, 2015).

Furthermore, the organizing goals selected by youth are, quite naturally, personally relevant to challenges they encounter in their daily lives. This results in a heavy emphasis on projects relating to school and education generally (Conner, 2012; Delgado & Staples, 2008; Warren et al., 2008). Supporting a curricular initiative destined to create empowered and aware youth dissatisfied with conditions in their own school or district would be a challenge for even the most confident school administrator. Even projects not directly focused on education might be seen as conflicting with institutional objectives or destabilizing community relations (Taines, 2014).

My challenges around pedagogy were more a reflection of my own misplaced approach rather than of anything inherent to youth organizing. As mentioned in the program culture discussion, I entered the fall program assuming that students would already possess a degree of intrinsic motivation due to their perception of systemic injustices and biases they would be interested in righting. This was largely a function of my own flawed assumption that because I would be working with a class of thirty black students in a large urban high school in a city only months removed from historic civic

unrest, these students would already have some critical thoughts around the role of race, privilege, and power. And while I am sure my students were in the process of developing these thoughts, I did not spend enough time at the beginning of the program discussing broader issues of inequality, systems of power, and how students felt about their role in modern Baltimore. Helping students develop their awareness of these realities was a key early failing. Instead, and in consideration of our compressed schedule, I moved briskly from community surveys to issue identification and into research. I realized my oversight too late and despite the success and stimulating discussion we had around President Wolfe and the Missouri racial crisis, students were too far along to use this context to inform their work. A heavier focus on developing students' critical consciousness at the outset will be key to future successful efforts.

Building early successes into future youth organizing programming is another pedagogical device that will be important to future efforts. I knew from the research and my own experience working with students that the more distant the horizon, the more motivation and enthusiasm can flag. I did attempt to be proactive by arranging for students to present their early work at a mid-semester School Board meeting but abandoned the idea after learning that the Board's scheduling meant we would not get any significant time to present until mid-February, two months after the semester concluded. In hindsight, I should have recognized the necessity of incorporating early milestones and pivoted towards presentations to school administrators or even CLIA staff.

I was fortunate to not have to struggle with one of the more characteristic threats to youth organizing in schools, backlash and resistance from administrators when

students challenge the existing educational status quo. Unfortunately, this was primarily a function of my broader inability to move students towards more concrete policy proposals and meetings with elected officials. And while some of our topics, particularly the one around disparate funding for Baltimore schools, had the potential to incur resistance, because we never made it to the stage of formalizing our recommendations or sharing our policy proposals, there was no resistance necessary. As I look to future efforts, however, it is easy to imagine that youth organizing work will encounter resistance in schools, especially if the student proposals seek to modify school rules and norms. I propose that the most effective way to anticipate and overcome this challenge will be emphasizing the capacity of organizing work to promote negotiation and discussion with implicated authority figures as a preliminary step. By inviting these authority figures into a classroom and presenting student proposals tied to outcomes that will benefit the school community, students can learn a great deal about compromise and mutually satisfactory outcomes.

School Structures

School structures and logistics present another challenge for youth organizing work. Organizing work, by its very nature, does not progress according to the school calendar. Organizing work can require sustained involvement far exceeding the one or two semesters a student may spend in any given course, and perhaps require summer and holiday follow-up (Stahlhut, 2003; Kirshner, 2008; Conner, 2014; Kirshner, 2015). This presents a challenge both in terms of accomplishing the organizing goal and in sustaining student engagement and involvement, both of which flag over time (Delgado & Staples, 2008; Balsano, 2005). Fifty or sixty minutes class periods are often insufficient time

blocks to open, close, and meaningfully accomplish the necessary discussions and planning to move the work forward (Stahlhut, 2003). And no matter the extent of in-school time, organizing work often requires dedicated time outside of school, which can conflict with youth obligations to extra-curriculars, work, or childcare (Delgado & Staples, 2008; Conner, 2014; Kirshner, 2015). Finally, the typical teacher to student ratio of 25:1 or 30:1 does not lend itself well to the creation of strong teacher-student or student-student relationships and necessarily limits the amount of individualized attention and support a teacher can offer any one student or group.

Class size was one of the two most impactful changes I experienced in moving from the summer program to the fall program (the other being compulsory participation). One of the primary reasons for our summer success was the close supervision and individualized attention I was able to offer students. I often spent time during the summer sitting with three or four students and probing, cajoling, and encouraging them through the process of topic identification, research, and policy proposal drafting. This personalized attention was impossible in the larger fall program and without direct teacher interaction, students were more frequently off-task than on-task. Part of this reaction was certainly attributable to my failure to build group accountability norms and to ensure student investment and accountability in their work but my work in building each of these components was compromised by the number of students and my inattention to how that would require a larger shift in lesson plan, design, and execution. Going forward, I would recommend better and differentiated preparation to account for student numbers as well as limiting the number of different topics-and thus different groups-to allow for closer teacher involvement with each of the groups.

Some of the additional school-based challenges were simply products of trying to work within a system with multiple competing obligations. Student testing and retesting, offsite field trips, athletic events, pep rallies, school schedule changes, discipline issues, and different grade level or subject meetings meant students shuffled in and out of class regularly and we rarely had a full class for consecutive days. And even when we did have student bodies in the classroom, there was no guarantee that we had more than physical presence. From students without pens to students who hadn't eaten since lunch the day before, students preoccupied about a looming lunchroom confrontation or obsessed with a game or the latest "must see" Vine, the things students carried with them into the classroom often shaped the class direction much more than the lesson plan's theoretical objectives.

Working with 30 students in a class meant that even when I was able to effectuate a theoretical best practice, the classroom results didn't always match up with the theoretical outcome. For example, in one of our first classes, we spent nearly thirty minutes considering and drafting a set of student-initiated classroom norms, one of the universally recommended threshold activities. The class debated different options and eventually collectively endorsed three norms that would maximize our time together. One of these norms provided that students would not use electronic devices during class. Later that same period, when Trayah ignored several gentle reminders to put away her phone, she loudly retorted "my mom's texts are more important than your norms," signaling both an individual prerogative to disregard our collective norms and that she viewed the norms as belonging more to me than to the class. Violations of a second norm around respectful speech towards others were often countered with a "well, it's true" or "everyone else

thinks so too” defense. Like the scheduling and competing obligations that exist in any school environment, these are not problems that can be eliminated but rather problems that must be better anticipated and planned for.

The Catch-22 Problem

The “Catch-22” problem of youth organizing stems from the strong predictive connection between a student’s personal efficacy, or belief that they can make a difference, and that student’s subsequent citizenship behaviors (Fehrman & Schutz, 2011; Kahne & Westheimer, 2006; Levy, 2011). The more students believe they can make a difference, the more likely they are to later be active citizens who try to make a difference through civic behaviors such as voting, volunteering, and community involvement. (Kahne & Westheimer, 2006; Levy, 2011). With such a clear pathway to a desired outcome, it would seem to make sense to use high school civic education experiences to maximize each student’s personal efficacy-let them all leave high school believing that they can change the world. The tension arises, however, when this strong connection is juxtaposed with another strong connection, the importance of using authentic work (as opposed to simulations such as a Mock Trial, for example) to promote and sustain student engagement, motivation, and longer term outcomes (Kirshner, 2008; Mitra, 2008; Kahne et al., 2006; Rogers, 2012; Lewis-Charp et al., 2006).

Unfortunately, these two strong high-school-input to desired-outcome connections are frequently negatively correlated in youth organizing work; hence, the term Catch-22 (Kahne & Westheimer, 2006; Fehrman & Schutz, 2011; Levy, 2011). The more authentic and real the problem the youth choose, the more likely the youth are to encounter real resistance to change, whether in the form of bureaucratic quicksand, invested adversaries,

or some other ally of entrenched systems and structures of power (Kahne & Westheimer, 2006; Fehrman & Schutz, 2011). As the likelihood of a successful organizing outcome goes down, the likelihood of disenchanted, cynical, and resigned youth goes up (Kahne & Westheimer, 2006; Fehrman & Schutz, 2011; Conner, 2012; Levy, 2011). At the other end of the spectrum, the more a teacher artificially engineers the organizing topic or process to ensure a successful outcome, the less equipped students are to face the messy and complex civic issues that they will inevitably face—and perhaps now run from—down the road (Kahne & Westheimer, 2006; Fehrman & Schutz, 2011; Levy, 2011).

This Catch-22 problem is one of the thorniest problems in civic education generally and is especially relevant to school-based work (Fehrman & Schutz, 2011; Levy, 2011). Both the limited time of the daily class period and the relatively-short (in organizing terms) length of the academic semester or year impose another hurdle to the accomplishment of a real organizing goal. Compared to their more affluent peers, students in inner-city schools face another disadvantage due to both their relatively limited social capital and their ambitions to act on what is most relevant to them—often outsized societal problems such as drugs and violence (Rubin & Hayes, 2010; Fehrman & Schutz, 2011). Knowing that these youth already arrive at school feeling powerless and disconnected from civic institutions, encouraging them to organize around an issue that will likely lead to further frustration seems particularly counterproductive (Rubin & Hayes, 2010; Taines, 2014; Rubin et al., 2009; Levy, 2011). Yet trying to scaffold their organizing around a more achievable topic risks incurring mass student disinterest and promoting a skewed view of what lies ahead. The question of how to promote both outcomes—hopeful youth with efficacy and citizens authentically ready to act in the civic

space—is neither easy nor optional. Students have to choose an issue to organize around and, through action or inaction, every school based organizing effort takes a stance on this Catch-22.

I dedicate so much time to explaining the Catch-22 problem because it represents one of the trickiest challenges in youth organizing and was one of my biggest missteps. From program design through implementation, I sought to engage my students with youth organizing work around problems that affected the city of Baltimore. When we brainstormed different issues that the students wanted to work on, I directed their thinking towards more systemic and structural issues rather than personal or community issues. This was partly a function of my own belief that students could effect change at this level—a belief I still hold—but also because I had high hopes for the program and wanted the students to walk away realizing that they were capable of effecting meaningful change at the city-wide level. This was a misguided goal for three reasons.

First, as introduced above, I was working with students who had no prior experience with organizing work or the six-step process of change. Paying closer attention to youth developmental theory would have counseled against both introducing students to organizing and setting such an ambitious goal in this introductory program. A more reasonable target would have sought to have students engage with less complicated and more accessible systems of power and authority figures.

Second, organizing work usually requires a more extended timeline for success and the broader the topic altitude, the less available, responsive and interested the relevant authority figure will likely be. Especially when working within the confines of a program limited to two sessions per week over ten weeks, in order for students to make

tangible progress and realize a meaningful outcome, the subject of the organizing effort needs to be more realistic in scope.

Third, by directing student topic selection towards more complex and city-level problems, I unintentionally directed the students away from the problems and community solutions that mattered most to them. One of the fundamental precepts of topic selection in the organizing community is that topics must be relevant to their organizers' daily lives (Delgado & Staples, 2008). This self-interest is critical in sustaining enthusiasm and motivation throughout the sometimes tedious work of building an organizing platform, conducting research, and interacting with power. Selecting topics that are more relevant to students will also allow them to draw upon their own experiences and existing knowledge, thereby casting them as prominent resources in the work rather than worker bees striving to a goal of little relevance. Finally, topics that more directly impact students' lives will make recruiting allies and gathering public support a much easier task.

The Catch-22 of topic selection is an especially relevant consideration for in-school youth organizing work. The limited time frames and limited prior exposure to organizing work, strongly suggest that adults should be proactive in helping students select realizable topics. At the same time, allowing the students to identify and choose their own topics will be absolutely critical to generating student commitment and investment. I believe there is a balance that can be struck between these goals in two ways. First, teachers can be more heavy-handed in defining the altitude of the chosen problem, perhaps by limiting the range of topics to school or neighborhood concerns. Second, teachers can be more active in requiring students to identify the individuals with

the power to remedy their problem from the outset. Policy proposals that require gubernatorial or state-level response, for example, should be thoroughly vetted by both teacher and students to ensure the students have the capacity and interest to sustain themselves through a longer process.

The central question that emerges from this discussion of the challenges I encountered during the implementation of my program is whether school-based youth organizing programs can be work at scale. The answer is an optimistic yes. None of the challenges I encountered, around program culture, the role of adults, youth development, pedagogy, school structures, and topic selection are insurmountable. In fact, I submit that many of the obstacles I faced were functions of this being the first iteration of a program. Very few things work perfectly the first time but with the benefit of the reflection and analysis provided above, I am confident that the major areas of needed revision have been identified and that future iterations would be even more successful.

My optimism is bounded, however, by my own experience in failing to scale this program from Mervo to three additional Baltimore schools, as originally intended. There were several reasons for this decision which, while certainly specific to my experience this year, will likely not seem too foreign to anyone with experience working in large school districts. We decided not to approach Renaissance Academy largely because of capacity issues and the ill-defined nature of their law and leadership class. Renaissance suffered through a tumultuous fall with several homicides, including a peer stabbing, and was under constant threat of closure throughout the fall. Their LLA program was in its first year, taught by a new teacher who was new to teaching, with mixed-grade level students, and with no clear point person for the LLA program. This resulted in unclear

lines of communication and somehow led to the implementation of a course purportedly in the LLA sequence but dedicating significant course time to teaching students about the Homeland Security.

With Douglass, it was consistently unclear what their level of interest and capacity might be. Douglass had a new principal, turnover in the administrative role responsible for the LLA curriculum, and the two teachers in the LLA track were both new to the school and new to teaching. Whenever we were able to connect with an administrator, his exclusive focus was around how CLIA could design, develop, and execute standardized tests to measure student progress in existing courses. There was little interest in hosting our new program or even in supporting existing programming. Additionally, despite our best intentions, we were never able to execute any professional development with this teachers in the fall, a prerequisite before we would consider launching in the spring. At least one of the teachers has expressed interest in the program, however, and we plan to meet shortly to discuss possibilities.

With Lewis, the news is more positive. The veteran LLA teachers are both competent and capable, though already committed to their lessons and units for much of the year. After a successful professional development session in February, the first professional development opportunity available for CLIA and LLA teachers, one of the teachers was sufficiently interested in the program to agree to a two-week pilot this spring. Corryne and I will be meeting with this teacher shortly to finalize plans.

Thus, even though I was not successful in expanding a semester-long project into three additional schools this spring, there is reason to believe that the organizing program can gain a foothold in at least two of those schools. With this opportunity to pilot shorter

units, the benefit of more lead way, summer and fall professional development opportunities, and the opportunity to use this capstone to refine the model and identify positive outcomes, I believe CLIA will be well-positioned to explore more meaningful scaling as soon as this fall.

IV. Implications for Self

The Ed.L.D. residency year is a unique opportunity for third-year students to bring their professional backgrounds and interests and their learning through two years of classes and cohort work at Harvard to bear in a real world setting. The residency leadership experience is a tangible application of the skills and mindsets we have been developing, and affords us the chance to continue to cultivate, experiment, and reflect on this developmental process in a very real way. For me, my most significant “self” learnings this year can be grouped into two overlapping categories: my understanding of what it means for me to be a teacher and my role as a future leader and education sector change agent.

What it means for me to be a Teacher

When it came to choose a residency site, I was committed to finding a placement that worked directly with students and schools. This was an interesting priority given that I had left the classroom, attended law school, and come to HGSE in order to effect change beyond the classroom level. Yet, throughout my time at HGSE in particular, I found myself continually questioning the applicability and viability of our learning to real world schools and systems. This is not to say that I didn’t value the opportunity to step back from the day to day practical work and read about Freire, Dewey, Vygotsky, and a

host of others—I assuredly did—but I also felt that discussions and exercises with the denizens of Appian Way were abstract and removed from the real practice of educational change. After two years of classes on educational theory and learning about educational interventions designed, implemented, and evaluated by others, I was eager to design, implement, and evaluate my own project. In doing so during my time at CLIA, I learned firsthand about the challenges a teacher faces in bringing theoretical best practices into the classroom.

When I designed my project, I reviewed and aggregated information from a host of civic education curricula and organizing models. I read books, spoke with experts, and carefully curated a list of best practices in organizing, engaging high school youth, and civic education generally. I was afforded luxuries of time and academic resources rarely available to a typical high school teacher-and I only had to prepare for one class, twice per week. Yet despite this strong theoretical grounding, I encountered a host of practical challenges and obstacles that compromised my ability to effectuate the outcomes and promise of theory.

My challenges this year in realizing the promise of theory in practice can be attributed to two primary factors. First, I focused too heavily on the theory animating effective civic education and too little on the theory behind classroom instruction, student motivation, and project-based learning. I entered Mervo steeped in knowledge about the best practices in effective civic education but allowed this confidence to displace an attention to detail in incorporating broader classroom-based theory around best practices. Second, I failed to embrace the reality that theory never translates directly into practice. This was my first time designing an organizing curriculum, my first time working at

Mervo, and the first exposure my cooperating teacher and his students would have to organizing work. I set targets and goals predicated on the assumption that everything would run smoothly and did not anticipate the reality that first runs and model prototypes are destined to encounter unexpected obstacles. Fortunately, I can return to theory and know that the lessons I learned this year can be used to inform future efforts and shape theory to be more applicable in the classroom and across the sector.

I have never been under any illusions as to how hard it is to teach, and especially as a new teacher in an urban secondary school. Yet this was a hurdle I had successfully overcome several times before—and I was looking forward to building the relationships and trust that would help me gain credibility and be a successful teacher at Mervo. What I failed to appreciate, however, was how different the skill set required to bring organizing into the classroom would be from the skills I already possessed.

I have taught history and law-related education in a variety of contexts and have even trained lawyers and new teachers on how to teach in these fields. Successful youth organizing requires a very different approach to the youth-adult power dynamic and the cultivation of motivation and student engagement, in particular. I have always prided myself on creating an interactive classroom with ample student voice and engaging lessons. But I had limited direct experience facilitating projects that depended almost entirely on student interest and with objectives that were uncertain at the outset and constantly evolving based on student commitment and investment. Additionally, McDaniels and I decided early on to not grade students on the organizing project so any accountability had to be entirely internal to the students and students could choose to participate or not with no consequences. This raised the stakes in terms of keeping

students engaged and motivated. My inexperience in helping students strike the proper balance between aspirational organizing goals (i.e., reducing police brutality in Baltimore) and goals that were more achievable, for example, resulted in flagging student interest and motivation as the project continued. Part of this can be explained by the novelty of the curriculum that I designed and then implemented for the first time-it is always hard to teach something new. But my overconfidence in the fungible nature of my teaching skills to a new methodology and approach weighed heavily on me, especially as I am a strident believer that teaching is a learned craft and one that is too often treated as something anyone can do with an ounce of preparation.

I also learned about the importance of staying true to my identity as a teacher. As I have developed as a teacher, I have learned about the importance of allowing students to build and explore their own understanding of a problem through inquiry-driven lessons. When I teach about wrongful convictions, for example, I typically begin by sparking student interest through a police report about the rape or a note from the accused to the murder victim. I then provide students with different pieces of evidence and ask them to evaluate the evidence and develop hypotheses around what might have happened. These lessons present students with an engaging problem first and then respond to student curiosity and questions to explore topics ranging from police procedure to the role of race in our criminal justice system.

During the organizing program, I fundamentally changed my approach to teaching and instead tried to work lockstep through the six step change process, partly due to my own lack of familiarity with the process. I felt an obligation to march sequentially through the different stages even while students felt certain components

were less relevant and disconnected from their broader goal. Although I reminded students that we were building the skills and knowledge around how to best tackle the problems they had identified, the process was very different from starting with the problem and building skills in response to student needs and questions. This is not to say that the individual components of the six step process are not each critical to a successful organizing effort (they are!) or that the suggested sequencing might not work for another teacher. Instead, I realize that I relied too heavily on an approach that was inconsistent with who I am as a teacher and how I believe students best learn and process. I leaned too heavily on the security of established curricula, partly due to my own inexperience with the topic, and unwisely subordinated my own teaching instincts and identity.

My last major learning around myself as a teacher revolves around managing my own expectations in a realistic fashion. I have always tried to reach every student and ensure that every student is meaningfully engaged. As every veteran teacher knows, however, it is nigh impossible to generate enthusiasm with every student on every topic in every class. This aspiration is particularly challenging in urban schools with large class sizes and students who face myriad authentic burdens outside of the classroom-many of which cannot be neatly shelved when the bell rings. Demay did not want to be in school at all, much less in a law classroom, and was doing her utmost to fail out as way of punishing her parents for making her join the law track. Melissa often came to class hungry and refused to work until someone gave her food. Durrell thought school was useless as a general proposition and only an interim stop on his way to Hollywood. These were but three of thirty students, each with their own issues and realities, but the more

time I allocated to the needs of these three students, the less time I had to dedicate to the class as a whole.

And while these challenges are endemic to any school setting, though perhaps more prevalent in urban schools, one of the core principles of youth organizing is that every student cares deeply about something and it is the facilitator's duty to help the student understand and engage with that topic. I found myself getting frustrated by both possible outcomes—ignoring Belinda's insistence on doing her science homework in class because she "had no time at home" or spending ten dedicated minutes with her exploring how her self-professed love for Jesus might connect to an organizing topic. Additionally, maintaining my optimism around reaching all of my students became more difficult as the project progressed and I was forced to choose between the greater good and addressing individual student needs. This is not a novel tension but one that I need to learn to personally navigate better. I want to remain cognizant of the reality that there is no one educational program that will excite and engage all of my students but I also never want to enter a classroom only hoping for 80% participation. I struggled to balance my idealism with pragmatic realism this fall and can only hope to never lose the former while continuing to confront the latter.

This year reinforced my commitment to the importance of knowing what works in schools and with students in order to effect change at the sector level, an awareness that needs to begin in the classroom and then move outwards. I believe that too frequently ambitious sector change proposals are divorced from the reality of practice and that the place to begin thinking about sector change is in the classroom and with the instructional core. I want to use my experience this year—and in writing this capstone—to work from

the classroom outwards in order to think about how I can effect change in the sector. While I recognize the importance of locating my work in a broader ecosystem of policy, standards, and accountability, I believe that the tangible outcomes that result from classroom work should be the primary driver of my future strategy. This problem is particularly pronounced in action civics work where there are too few robust connections between theoretical best practices and valued outcomes. Especially as I engaged in discussions with different stakeholders around scaling, the importance of demonstrating a causal relationship between theory and classroom outcomes became more evident. I hope that my experience this year in connecting the two will help teachers presently working in the classroom and know that it will help inform my future work in effecting broader change.

My Role as a Future Leader and Education Sector Change Agent

My second major set of implications for self bear on my role as a future leader and change agent in the educational sector. I have long been committed to the idea that the best leaders are never satisfied and are constantly striving to improve. Too often, unfortunately, this can come across as excessively critical and perennially dissatisfied- no matter how successful an activity or class, my first question or framing of the event focuses on what went wrong and how to fix it. I know that my past legal training-which, by nature focuses the possible risks of an undertaking or seeks out the argumentative flaws in an opponent's brief-contributes to my default approach. I am a prototypical "black hat" thinker by nature, primarily concerned with the 5% of a project that went awry instead of the 95% that went well (de Bono, 1999). Although the Ed.L.D. program

and my own self-reflection have helped me understand this tendency, I learned more this year about how important it is to employ this analytical approach strategically.

The impact of my black hat thinking became very clear to me when Deliberto and I discussed an invitation to present our youth organizing work at the Middle States Social Studies Conference. I was excited about the prospect and thought the work McDaniels and I had done would be a valuable addition to the conference and a positive marketing opportunity for CLIA. Yet when I first discussed the idea with Deliberto, she expressed reservations and wondered how I would frame my findings and how that would reflect back on CLIA. Because of how I had been updating Deliberto about the progress and implementation of our youth organizing program at Mervo, she was under the impression that I generally viewed the project as a disappointment and failure. I was initially shocked by her reaction but, as I reflected on how I had continually reported back to her about what had gone wrong and how I would change the project going forward, her reaction made sense. In my black hat mindset of highlighting where we had fallen short of initial expectations and how we could improve the work, I had almost completely neglected to share our successes, of which I knew there were many. This struck me as a fundamental mistake as a leader and a potential breeding ground for negativity. Going forward, I do not plan to lose my ability to think critically but I want to learn to better contextualize any shortcomings and to be more intentional and consistent about leading with positives.

As I look to my future work in the education sector, this year also helped me realize the personal importance of being on a team and part of a learning organization. My work in designing and executing the organizing program was largely a solitary pursuit and I found myself yearning for the generative back and forth that comes from a

collaborative process and ongoing feedback. On the few occasions when McDaniels and I had the time to jointly plan lessons or activities, the final result was better than anything I could have imagined on my own. He brought a different perspective and background to the process, one informed both by his in-depth knowledge of the students and their motivations as well as his own work in community organizing. Our post-class reflections were also more wide-ranging and insightful around pedagogy and student learning moments than reflections I engaged in by myself.

I also missed being part of a learning organization this year. Although Deliberto has significantly reshaped CLIA's culture and stresses the importance of CLIA as a learning organization, this is not a sentiment yet embraced by all team members. While I was enthusiastically supported in my efforts to learn about new methods or programs, and Deliberto herself enrolled in a leadership program, there was not a shared team commitment to authentic reflection and improvement. For example, when Deliberto asked me to work with the education team members to revise CLIA's initial presentation to students entering the law and leadership program, I was met with open hostility. The team members did not think there was anything wrong with reading paragraphs of script from text laden slides, just as they had done in years past, and asserted that a successful presentation was one in which the students were quiet throughout. Later in the year, Deliberto and I drew up a menu of possible professional development topics, ranging from presentation techniques to student learning methods, for the team. One team member responded that she didn't need to learn anything more to do her job while another reluctantly agreed to participate because she "had to." These attitudes stifled collective growth and contributed to an insular climate where mediocrity was accepted, a

proposition that I found to be personally demoralizing, especially in light of the important work CLIA seeks to accomplish.

My final implication for self centers on the clarity I achieved around the types of problems I want to work on in the education sector-and my future role in addressing those problems. Although I enjoy being in the classroom and, as discussed above, think sector change work should begin in the classroom, my thoughts constantly gravitated to how the lessons I was learning could be more broadly applied. Indeed, this was the very nature of my strategic project. Successful youth organizing models are typically found outside of schools but only involve a very small number of students. To me, the important outcomes that accrue to students and communities through organizing are of such value that they need to be more widely experienced. I designed my organizing curriculum to work in one classroom but the focus of my reflections was on how I could help operationalize a successful organizing program at scale- a distinct and more complicated challenge than creating a program that can succeed in one school. At every turn, I was thinking and discussing what core elements of my program needed to transfer and how new environments, factors, and stakeholders would affect the likelihood of success. During my series of interviews about how to scale a civic education program, when I repeatedly heard the response “boy, I wish I knew the answer to that,” rather than become despondent, I became invigorated and excited about the prospect of tackling this challenge. How to responsibly and effectively scale civic education programming is undoubtedly the windmill I want to tilt at in future years.

Precisely how I will tilt at this windmill is yet undetermined but is perhaps best illustrated by what I know I don’t want to do. I know that I don’t want my future work to

be limited to one classroom, one school, or one program. While I have immense respect for classroom teachers, and (usually) thoroughly enjoy my time in classrooms with students, I know that the civic education sector and America's students need much more than what can be achieved on a parochial level. My drive and impatience to impact the sector more broadly have only grown through the Ed.L.D. program as I am now equipped with the skills, perspective, and training to be an agent of change with the potential to positively impact thousands of students and the educational systems that sometimes get in the way of this success.

At the same time, I never want to lose contact with individual students, classrooms, and teachers. Working with students and helping them unlock their potential and realize new dreams is a source of immense personal satisfaction and fulfillment. Indeed, my passion for teaching and the opportunity to use this passion to redress systemic inequality is both what first drew me to teaching and what later caused me to return to the education sector. Additionally, as I look at the repeatedly flawed and shortsighted educational policies and initiatives that emerge from local, state, and federal government, I believe that many of these well-intentioned efforts fail due to perspectives completely divorced from the realities of urban schools and urban students, in particular.

As I consider my own next steps and how to balance the tension between effecting change at scale and keeping alive my passion for teaching, two possible avenues emerge. First, I could work for a national non-profit that offers programming or training for student leaders and teachers while also actively participating in the broader dialogue around creating a stronger value proposition and demand for civic education. Street Law, Inc., is an example of one such organization as it develops and field-tests classroom

materials, offers teacher training institutes on civic education subjects, and plays an ongoing influential role in the creation and promotion of the C3 Framework for national civic education standards. A second path, working for a large urban district to design and lead teacher professional development in social studies, would also allow me to think and act strategically around civic education at scale while maintaining meaningful connections with schools and students. Although my ongoing efforts to balance these tensions may seem limiting, I believe that continuing to honor this balance will, in fact, allow me to be a more potent and effective leader with the capacity and skills to effect powerful change.

V. Implications for Site

My experience with CLIA began with a phone call with Executive Director Deliberto in November 2014 and our shared enthusiasm for bringing youth organizing work into schools. For CLIA, this would be a recommitment to the organization's original purpose and an opportunity to strengthen CLIA's school partnerships with a robust new offering. Both Deliberto and I recognized that this year would be one of experimentation and learning. We also both hoped that my project would help inform CLIA's future role in schools and broader organizational identity. Deliberto and I shared a vision that CLIA would one day be able to promulgate a successful youth organizing model more widely, particularly within the Baltimore City school system, but we both knew that CLIA would first have to design, implement, and gather feedback around a pilot version. Accordingly, these recommendations focus on the preliminary steps CLIA will need to take to in order to position CLIA for potentially scaling as a next step.

As I reflect on my project and look forward while bounded by CLIA's staffing, budgetary, and other capacity constraints, I offer seven recommendations for Deliberto and CLIA to consider as CLIA seeks to refine and improve its school-based organizing model. These recommendations are very-CLIA specific and intended to leverage CLIA's existing context and potential stakeholders. Though these recommendations are not mutually exclusive, I acknowledge that each would require investments of time and resources and may need to be sequenced according to CLIA's priorities and future staffing realities. A broader discussion of scaling within the K-12 civic education space follows in the next section.

Recommendation #1: Commit to Scaling

Critically, I think that before CLIA can begin to think about more broadly scaling its model, CLIA needs to first commit to the goal of scaling its model. Designing for scale requires a different mindset from an approach seeking only to implement one program in a particular context. This commitment to scaling is particularly relevant as a follow-up to my strategic project because it will change CLIA's guiding question from "How can we improve on the fall program at Mervo?" to "What lessons can we take from the fall program at Mervo and supplement with other known best practices and research on youth organization and scaling in order to build and support youth organizing programs that will succeed in places both similar and dissimilar to Mervo?"

If CLIA does make this threshold decision to commit to scaling, my first recommendation is that CLIA explicitly reorient itself, both internally and externally, as an organization committed to scaling youth organizing. This would be a multi-step process, including prioritizing the implementation of the next six recommendations, that

would help guide future resource and programming decisions. At the moment, CLIA is interested in scaling and Deliberto has openly shared her desire to bring youth organizing to more Baltimore youth and more schools. But reorienting as an organization committed to scaling would require a more deliberate and intentional structure and mission with escalating goals for youth served, demonstrable outcome measures, new strategic partnerships, targeted media and promotional efforts, board membership, fundraising focus, and active participation in regional and national discussions around youth organizing.

Consistent with making an intentional decision to scaling, I suggest CLIA pursue three specific courses of action. First, and most significantly, CLIA should hire a manager or director level person to oversee the LLA program. Though this position once existed at CLIA, the role has remained vacant for more than a year as Deliberto has streamlined operations and sought to better understand the demands of the position and the skills an ideal candidate should possess. I recommend that the person selected to fill this role have a strong teaching background, ideally with high school students, some experience with organizing and advocacy work, and a law degree (practice experience would be a bonus but not an essential criterion). The timing of this hire will also be important to ensure that I can overlap with the new person and share my experiences, learnings, and a distilled version of this capstone with him or her. This person should be brought on board with the clear understanding that one of his/her tasks is to help CLIA scale its youth organizing program.

Second, as CLIA makes decisions around program and curriculum design, CLIA should do so with one eye towards the five dimensions of scale that maximize an

innovation's scalability-depth, sustainability, spread, shift, and evolution-and the nine factors that influence an innovation's rate of adoption-opinion leadership, guided adaptation, effectiveness, relative advantage, compatability, simplicity, cost, trialability, and observability (Dearing et al., 2015; Rogers, 2003). Although I reserve more specific suggestions on what this would look like until the next section on scaling, if CLIA is to make the threshold commitment to designing for scale, it is imperative that these factors inform CLIA's decisions from the outset.

Third, I recommend that CLIA reach out to the six existing LLA teachers and create the time and space to share CLIA's commitment to scaling the youth organizing program. Although I envision this as an ongoing dialogue that develops into a year-round professional learning community, I propose that the best time for the initial gathering would be shortly after the end of the school year. This would allow teachers to provide feedback on their past year and also provide ample time for teachers to consider how and where youth organizing might fit in their schedules for the coming year. A critical part of this teacher gathering would be the extension of an invitation to teachers to help develop or contribute to the planning of the youth organizing program for the coming year. A design thinking protocol might be a helpful tool to help identify possible pain points and desired outcomes as well as ensuring that the curriculum matches with individual teacher needs and contexts.

Recommendation #2: Draft and Commit to a Social Impact Statement

I believe CLIA needs to articulate and commit to a definite social impact statement as it relates to CLIA's school-based programming and organizing objectives. This statement, in the form of an "If CLIA does XXX, then YYY will result," should

address the nature, frequency, and scope of CLIA's in-school and out-of-school organizing programming and the desired outcomes that will result from this programming. I strongly suggest that CLIA be as specific as possible around desired outcomes. Though aspirational statements in existing materials such as "increasing youth voice" are both valid and laudatory, the vagueness of this desired outcome makes it very challenging to identify performance measures and indicators of success (or failure). A more actionable desired outcome for the fall of 2016, for example, might be to ensure that 90% of CLIA students can identify their local City Councilmember and communicate with him or her at least once. One possible course of action would be for CLIA's Law and Leadership team to draft a proposed social impact statement that would then be presented and discussed at an in-person Board meeting. This social impact statement can be periodically revisited and modified as CLIA programming and objectives evolve.

A critical component of this social impact statement will turn on the degree to which CLIA seeks to reach the maximum number of students and the competing degree to which CLIA seeks to support youth in effecting meaningful change in Baltimore. This is the common tension between breadth and depth and how CLIA decides to balance these competing interests will shape the direction of future programming. For purposes of these recommendations, I propose that CLIA adopt a middle ground of seeking to introduce and expose the greatest number of students possible to the organizing framework and methodology while also supporting a smaller number of students in more ongoing and experiential organizing work. This will require a bifurcated model, discussed below, consisting of both in-school and after-school programs.

Recommendation #3: Measure Outcomes

Third, once CLIA identifies its desired social impact, I believe CLIA should be very proactive in proving its value proposition. In clarifying and drilling down on specific desired outcomes through a concrete social impact statement, CLIA can be more intentional about program design and execution geared towards achievement of those outcomes. Implementing measures to demonstrate and prove that the predicted outcomes do in fact result from CLIA's programming would position CLIA well with multiple stakeholders and would also provide CLIA with an important internal feedback loop as to program efficacy. More broadly, in today's educational landscape, the importance of data proving program impact cannot be overstated. For both external funders and BCPSS Central Office, decisions about institutional support and resource allocation are typically driven by evidence of positive outcomes directly connected to a given intervention or program. This data can also be used to generate support at the school, teacher, and parent level.

In the short term, I would suggest the comprehensive use of pre- and post-tests for all student participants. These tests could seek to measure the change in civic knowledge, attitudes, and pre-dispositions in students at the outset and conclusion of each CLIA program. Several resources for designing action civic assessments are available through the Action Civics Evaluation section of the National Action Civics Collaborative's website while others are available through the Education Commission of the States's website. The Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement Schools developed a matrix explaining the pros and cons of different types of civic assessment and has a page collecting Survey Measures of Civic Engagement, both

available through the Center’s website. Jessica Gingold’s 2013 paper, “Building an Evidence-Based Practice of Action Civics: The current state of assessments and recommendations for the future” provides several examples of testing instruments for adaptation, as do Brett Levy, “Fostering Cautious Political Efficacy Through Civic Advocacy Projects,” and Hugh McIntosh et al., “A Five-Year Evaluation of a Comprehensive High School Civic Engagement Initiative.” Whenever possible, CLIA should also seek to use control groups of similarly situated students who do not participate in the CLIA program. Based on my own imperfect experience, I would recommend a tighter relationship between desired outcomes and test structure as well as more rigorous test administration protocols.

The use of pre- and post-tests focusing on civic education outcomes is not sufficient, however. The results that will be more relevant and appealing to funders, BCPSS administrators, and school leaders are broader and more connected to desired high school outcomes. If CLIA were able to show that participation in CLIA programming positively affects student attendance and truancy numbers, student engagement and academic success, and high school graduation rates, this evidence would speak powerfully about the value of CLIA programming. Jennifer Fredricks and Wendy McColskey’s paper, “The Measurement of Student Engagement: A Comparative Analysis of Various Methods and Student Self-report Instruments” is a useful tool for understanding the strengths and limitations of student engagement tools and provides sample questions that could be useful for CLIA.

Other outcomes that focus on the development of students’ socioemotional and non-cognitive skills, sense of agency and empowerment, and connection with their

schools would also be beneficial. Additionally, Maryland was one of the first states to adopt the Common Core State Standards and there are several standards, particularly in the Speaking and Listening strand of the English Language Arts standards where CLIA may be able to demonstrate a value add. In terms of sequencing, I would recommend a dual approach of selecting an existing instrument to measure participant civic outcomes and student engagement beginning this fall while prioritizing the identification and development of a tool to measure broader high school outcomes for the following year. I would also recommend that CLIA research and explore opportunities to partner with BCPSS to measure socioemotional and non-cognitive skill development and student progress on Common Core state standards.

In terms of designing and administering these assessments, I suggest CLIA first look to adopt validated and existing testing instruments that can be introduced and collected by existing staff. The longer term goal would be to seek independent third party assessment and evaluation. Although external validation can be costly, if CLIA were to frame their desired outcomes as less civic-focused and more around overall student success or as tied to socioemotional or non-cognitive skills, the latest buzzwords in education, it is possible that a Baltimore foundation might fund such an assessment. Absent external funding, I would suggest that CLIA leverage its existing relationships with school leaders and Central Office administrators and gather data targeting truancy numbers, an area where BCPSS is really struggling, according to School Board Member Peter Kannam (P. Kannam, personal communication, December 22, 2015). A third possibility would be to identify and recruit a graduate student from one of the local universities or through graduate programs in education to help design and execute an

assessment as part of their Master's or doctoral work. Dr. Judith Torney-Purta, a recently-retired professor from the College of Education at the University of Maryland, is a widely respected and well-published scholar in civic education and social development and might be able to help identify an interested student.

Recommendation #4: Revise LLA Curriculum

My fourth recommendation to CLIA focuses on improving the Law and Leadership curriculum that CLIA presently provides to four partner high schools. The present curriculum is an ambitious and mixed bag of lessons with wide variety in lesson quality, lesson originality, and relevance to today's high school students. There are very few Baltimore-specific lessons, only sporadic mentions of advocacy or organizing work, and few assessments. The curriculum is also not geared towards student acquisition and practice of 21st Century skills such as communication, collaboration, critical thinking, and creativity, and the extant curriculum has almost no lessons that meaningfully incorporate technology. Most significantly, CLIA focus groups and my interactions with CLIA's partner teachers indicate that the curriculum is used sparingly and is viewed as inaccessible and disjointed.

Overhauling the curriculum is a priority need but is also a task that will require significant time and expertise, both of which are in short supply under CLIA's present staffing model. I would suggest that instead of trying to accomplish this task in-house (or contracting with an outside curriculum designer) that CLIA adopt one of the existing broad law-related education curricula presently used in schools or on the market *as a starting point*. Adopting a well-reviewed and proven existing base curriculum as a skeleton for CLIA's Law and Leadership program would ensure compliance with state

and national standards, provide CLIA teachers with an assessment bank and core supply of lesson plans, and would be the most timely and efficient decision.

Before calling up textbook publishing companies, I would first recommend contacting Sandra Rose, the K-12 Social Studies Supervisor for Prince George's County Public Schools in Maryland, who designed and introduced a four-year curriculum for Prince George's schools using the Law, Education and Public Service career academy. The goals of this program are very similar to the goals of CLIA's Law and Leadership Academy and, significantly, the Prince George's curriculum employs a developmental trajectory where students move from a 9th grade introduction to civic education and service learning through to the design and implementation of a civic action project in the 12th grade. I strongly recommend that CLIA structure their future curriculum similarly so as to gradually introduce youth to civic education and the complexities of organizing work in a structured way with repeated and extended dosages to allow students to gradually build their expertise and awareness. In this way, advocacy and organizing work will become a throughline of the new curriculum rather than an optional unit appended to the end of the eleventh grade year.

The Prince George's curriculum builds off Street Law, Inc.'s widely-used textbook, *Street Law: A Course in Practical Law*, recently published in its 9th edition, which may work very well for CLIA as well. Although I would not recommend using the Street Law textbook as a stand-alone curriculum, the textbook does provide a well-organized and accessible framework that teachers can use as an introduction and ongoing reference. Assessments and extension activities designed to promote 21st Century thinking accompany are additional attractive features. From a budgetary perspective,

there would be little to no-cost to either CLIA or partner schools as the BCPSS Career and Technology Education Department would cover textbook costs.

No matter what textbook or law-related curriculum CLIA chooses to use, however, this resource should be viewed as a headless skeleton with CLIA needing to add both the head and the flesh. Specifically, many of the broad law-relation curricula give short shrift to action civics and even less attention to authentic organizing and advocacy work. Fortunately, there are several very well-regarded curricula that can provide the missing head of action civics to our skeletal structure. MIKVA Challenge, EarthForce, Generation Citizen, the Center for Civic Education, and the Constitutional Rights Foundation are among the sector leaders in offering action civics curricula with detailed models, activities, lesson plans, and teacher support for youth organizing.

To determine which of these curricula might best complement CLIA's mission, I would suggest CLIA carefully review the ultimate objective of each curriculum as a primary filter; there are different culminating projects ranging from student presentations of how they might address an issue (similar to the science fair model but with civic simulations) through to authentic youth organizing with students tackling an actual problem, encumbered with all its real world risks and realities. Part of this review should include site-visits to schools and teachers presently working with one of these curricular models. The Cesar Chavez Schools in Washington, D.C. and several of the schools in Washington County, MD use the Center for Civic Education's Project Citizen Model while Digital Harbor and Archbishop Curley are among local schools using the Constitutional Rights Foundation's Civic Action Project model, for example, while Chicago-based MIKVA Challenge recently partnered with 12 schools in the District of

Columbia. If time permits, the Gateway School in Carroll County, an alternative high school with a reputation for innovative service learning and experiential projects, would also be worth a visit.

Once CLIA has decided on a broad law-related curricula and a specific action civics add-on, CLIA needs to add flesh to this curricular skeleton by curating and developing a series of “CLIA lesson plans and activities” with four goals that will move the curriculum from generic, third-party generated to CLIA-specific:

- (1) filling gaps or expounding on different themes that are omitted or lightly covered in the existing skeleton, especially where additional lessons can help teachers satisfy the Common Career Technical Core LW-LEG Standards that teachers are required to post and teach towards;
- (2) increasing the number of interactive and learner-centered lessons that get kids moving, communicating, thinking critically, using technology and digital media, and working as teams;
- (3) adding Baltimore-specific lessons around law-related topics that would interest kids such as police-community relations, Freddie Gray, absentee landlords, and school funding disparities; and
- (4) drawing upon CLIA’s Advocacy wing and Just Kids Team to supplement the action civics and organizing curriculum with practical lessons and tactics for operating in the Baltimore context.

These CLIA lesson plans and activities will represent a significant part of CLIA’s value-add to BCPSS and I would recommend waiting to relaunch the newly revised curriculum

until this component is substantial enough to obviate any concerns that CLIA is doing nothing more than repackaging existing curricula. With a strong suite of additional lesson plans and activities, CLIA can position itself as a resource clearinghouse and filter that efficiently curates the best existing materials while also pairing these materials with more relevant, engaging, and context-appropriate lessons and activities.

While developing new lessons and drawing upon CLIA's internal advocacy team should certainly be part of CLIA's approach, I would recommend beginning with two easier steps. First, CLIA can review their existing curriculum and identify promising lessons that already satisfy (or satisfy with minimal revision) the above four criteria. Second, I would recommend that CLIA again review existing materials and lesson plans- but this time looking not for entire curricula but for specific lessons that can address needs or gaps in the third party curricula that CLIA may choose to adopt. The Library of Congress and the Civics Renewal Network are examples of free, online lesson plan repositories that might prove helpful and the Annenberg Classroom website aggregates multiple other sources. Sometimes these lessons can provide frameworks or benchmarks that CLIA can modify with relatively little effort to create a Baltimore-specific lesson; there are already lessons on the racially-charged events in Ferguson, for example, and it would be powerful to design a lesson comparing Ferguson and Baltimore. With respect to the specific goal of supplementing the curriculum with technology and digital media, I would suggest that CLIA begin by reviewing the iCivics website and exploring which lessons might be most easily accessible to LLA students.

Recommendation #5: Add an After-School Component

Until this year, with a few exceptions for field trips and mentoring, CLIA's LLA program supported students during the school day and at the school site. My fall organizing project was similarly structured. The bounded success of my in-school experience with an entire class of students informs my recommendation that CLIA now move to a two-tiered school model that consists of programming aimed at all students in the LLA program during the school day and a more targeted, voluntary after-school program. The in-school programming would expose all students to the broad CLIA curriculum during the school day, including an introduction to organizing and advocacy work, while the after school program would be an optional component for students interested in extending the experience into authentic youth organizing work.

The challenges of apathy and mandatory participation for an in-school program combined with the demands on limited teacher time and attention underlie my desire for a more-focused alternative. The differences I have seen in the focus, efficiency, and interest from my after school program participants this spring compared to their previous in-school efforts in the fall is marked and drives this particular recommendation. By the time of only our sixth meeting, the after-school group had already conducted and synthesized a body of research, built and then sent me three drafts of a Powerpoint presentation for review, designed and administered a 500 student survey, developed a presentation outline, and solicited four meetings with school officials. The students had selected their own topic and their motivation and productivity were allowed to flourish in the smaller environment. Refreshingly, while the students have evolved significantly as leaders and organizers from how they presented during the fall in-class program, they have repeatedly demonstrated during our after-school program how much they learned

and retained from the fall program, including adhering to the six-step model of change and practicing many of the concepts and analytical frameworks first modeled in the fall. Importantly, the students are now applying their in-class learning to help them solve a real world problem-the essence of experiential learning.

Adopting this bifurcated model would enable CLIA to address the competing demands of introducing the maximum number of students to organizing work while also supporting meaningful youth organizing work in a more pragmatic way. Through its voluntary nature, the after school program would eliminate the two biggest impediments to success encountered during the fall program-apathy and compulsory participation. At the same time, the in-school program would serve as a civic invitation to all students and would give them a fundamental grounding in organizing. The importance of engaging with the maximum number of students through school-based programming should also motivate CLIA to explore additional in-school offerings such as an advocacy-specific course or track and interest from new school partners, including those without an explicit law and leadership pathway.

As students learn more about organizing work during the new four-year, in-school CLIA model with an organizing throughline, they would be welcome to join the after-school group at any time. Ideally, this would help create an inter-grade group of students which could ensure that the organizing work survives any short-term losses and is better equipped to deal with the longer timelines of authentic organizing work.

Should CLIA decide to pursue this two-tiered option, I would recommend working with the Maryland State Department of Education to become an approved service-learning provider. Students in Maryland are required to complete 75 hours of

service learning before they graduate high school. There is already an approved service learning unit involving lobbying on public issues. This unit would require minimum tweaking by CLIA in order for CLIA to become an approved service learning provider for the hours students spend in the after-school organizing program. Offering these hours to students would both make the program more appealing and also reduce the number of competing obligations that might prevent interested students from participating.

The costs of continuing this after-school program would be relatively minimal. At present, CLIA buys food for the after-school group at a cost of approximately \$30 per week. The personnel costs of operating this program in one school are about 4-5 hours per week commuting, attending meetings, and reviewing materials for the team. Preparation time is minimal due to the students' familiarity with the overarching organizing steps to change and the shift in responsibilities; this really is a youth-driven effort and the CLIA staff person serves more as a facilitator and gadfly. Of course, this program only exists in one school at the moment. Expanding into additional schools could become more of a resource drain, especially in terms of CLIA staff time. I would thus recommend a two-fold approach consisting of a controlled expansion of this model—to two schools maximum in the coming year—and a commitment to finding a partner to help staff this after-school program. This partner might be the LLA classroom teacher, a law student, staff from one of the several existing Baltimore youth advocacy groups, or perhaps even members of CLIA's Core Alliance of Youth Leaders team.

Recommendation #6: Better Support for CLIA Teachers

CLIA presently partners with six teachers across four Baltimore City high schools. These teachers are very loosely affiliated and come together infrequently,

sometimes only to supervise their students in the inter-school Mock Trials. The existing BCPSS professional development schedule is limited and, as we unfortunately experienced this year, subject to cancellation due to weather and competing obligations from each school. Though CLIA is an approved professional development provider and is constantly seeking dedicated time with the LLA teachers, these efforts are often thwarted by competing priorities or unexpected conflicts. This year, for example, our major initiative to expand the organizing program through professional development was rescheduled due to snow and then, upon rescheduling, was limited to two teachers due to countermanding instructions from school supervisors. I would recommend three specific steps to incentivize and establish comprehensive support for cooperating teachers.

First, I would recommend that CLIA seek approval as a certified provider of “Achievement Unit” professional development through the Office of Teaching and Learning at BCPSS. Achieving this status will enable CLIA to offer Achievement Units to teachers who participate in professional development opportunities above and beyond their contractually obligated professional development time. For each 15 hours of additional professional development with CLIA that teachers participate in, teachers can earn one Achievement Unit. With every 12 Achievement Units earned, a teacher advances one interval in the BCPSS salary scale, which can result in a permanent salary increase of more than \$1000 per interval.

The certification process is not a complicated one. CLIA would need to complete and submit BCPSS’s Professional Development Course Creation Guide to the Office of Teaching and Learning. Guidelines for drafting this document and the criteria employed by the Joint Governing Panel to determine eligibility are provided by BCPSS and are

already in CLIA's possession. As an existing partner with BCPSS's Career and Technology Education program, CLIA would be well-positioned to earn certification. Once approved, CLIA could offer a mix of in-person and blended professional development with Achievement Unit credits to incentivize teacher participation. The Baltimore Urban Debate League, another small non-profit working with Baltimore high school students, recently earned accreditation as a provider of Achievement Units and reported significant cost savings (as they no longer had to pay teachers to attend their professional development) and an uptick in teacher participation. (C. Reyes, personal communication, February 2, 2016).

If CLIA were to earn accreditation, CLIA could increase the training and support it offers teachers as well as begin to build a more cohesive and complementary teaching cadre, which leads into my second recommendation. At present, CLIA's participating teachers rarely have the chance to share best practices or problem-solve together. Each of CLIA's cooperating teachers operates in a school silo with almost no shared experiences or networking. I suggest that building a professional learning community among these teachers would facilitate the sharing of lesson plans and would also create a support and resource network that would improve morale, productivity, and student outcomes.

Although there are different models for creating and facilitating these teacher networks, I would propose a short-term solution of creating dedicated time during each professional development session where teachers could take turns sharing a successful lesson and using the rounds protocol to identify and collectively think through a problem of practice. Between sessions, CLIA could support this teacher network through a listserv or hosted internet discussion board. This would also be an effective vehicle for CLIA to

disseminate new lesson plans and share third party training opportunities or extra-curricular opportunities for students.

Finally, I would propose that CLIA follow through on a suggestion made by Michael Thomas, head of the Career and Technology Program at BCPSS. Every June, Thomas offers students and teachers in the JROTC pathway the opportunity to participate in a one or two-week offsite experiential learning module. CLIA could offer something similar for Law and Leadership teachers (I would recommend beginning with a program for teachers only), perhaps hosted at the University of Maryland Law School in Baltimore, an existing and supportive CLIA partner. This weeklong program would offer teachers a chance to reflect on the past year, think proactively about programming and curriculum for the coming year, and enter summer vacation with a co-created plan for the year ahead. CLIA could also use this opportunity to model student-centered pedagogical and methodological approaches to law-related education and introduce the new lessons that CLIA is curating and developing as part of its value-add to the curricula discussed above.

Recommendation #7: Leverage and Develop Partnership Opportunities

CLIA's law-related programming, location, and mission offer numerous opportunities for both national and local partnerships. To date, these partnership opportunities have been intermittent or lightly exploited. I would recommend that CLIA explore four different types of partnerships with the goals of increasing staff competency and capacity, providing additional in-class support for teachers, maximizing student learning opportunities, and building a critical coalition of political support for CLIA. While negotiating and coordinating these partnerships will require an initial investment

of time and resources, I believe that these partnerships will prove fruitful and can build upon existing CLIA relationships so as to be achievable.

First, I suggest that CLIA take advantage of trainings offered by both regional and national law-related education programs to increase the skillsets and training capacities of CLIA staff-especially important as CLIA seeks to position itself as a teacher trainer organization. The American Bar Association offers a weeklong summer institute for teachers in DC, for example, and Street Law, Inc. just announced a Teaching for Civic Engagement course for August, also in DC. The Street Law Clinic at Georgetown University Law Center provides their incoming law students with a weeklong introduction to learner-centered methodology and law-related education in August and has previously indicated their willingness to host CLIA staff during this week. The University Community Collaborative in Philadelphia offers a two-week summer training program for youth leaders and teachers to introduce the concepts and framework they use for youth-centered organizing. Further afield, MIKVA Challenge in Chicago offers teacher training institutes during the summer and throughout the year. Attending any of these sessions would expose CLIA staff to some of the best practices in teaching about civic education as well as providing invaluable contacts and access to resources at minimum cost.

Second, I recommend that CLIA seek to increase the use and involvement of law students to support CLIA teachers. Several national groups, including the Marshall-Brennan Program at American University College of Law, Generation Citizen and the DC Street Law Clinic, have built their model around using college and law students as classroom supports for certified teachers. While CLIA already recruits and pays law

students to support their teachers, these law students are few in number, and are provided with minimal training, little oversight, and no accountability. If CLIA were able to partner with one of the Baltimore-based law schools to offer a for-credit externship and summer law student training, the number of participating law students would likely increase and could come with built-in hour requirements and accountability mechanisms. The proximity of several successful programs in DC could provide CLIA with a template for law student training, supervision, and support. This suggestion seems particularly timely as at least two of the Baltimore-based law schools have made overt commitments to increasing their students' work with and exposure to the greater Baltimore community.

Third, I propose that CLIA work with some of the existing Baltimore organizations already doing significant organizing work with youth. These organizations include the Inner Harbor Project, New Lens, Wide Angle Youth Media, the Algebra project, the Intersection, and CLIA's own Core Alliance of Youth Leaders, each with a social justice focus on different issues that affect youth. If CLIA were able to partner with one of these organizations and invite that organization into a CLIA school during the organizing portion of the curriculum, the high school students would benefit from the practical expertise and very realistic perspective these organizations would bring. I know that the visit from a student organizer with New Lens was one of the most impactful and effective classes of the fall and both the high school students and New Lens were interested in exploring further partnership opportunities.

Finally, I suggest that CLIA work to cultivate and grow political support for its youth organizing work among local elected officials and politicians. The value of having a political champion cannot be understated and would enable CLIA to increase its

Baltimore profile while also garnering critical support in CLIA's relationship with BCPSS. Councilman Brandon Scott has been very supportive of CLIA's work and has already met with two student groups while Councilwoman Mary Pat Clarke, Chair of the Education Committee, was so impressed with CLIA students' work that she invited them to join her in series of television interviews. Councilman Nick Mosby offered to co-sponsor legislation around peer mediation programming with CLIA students and also visited with CLIA students.

At the state level, Senate President Mike Miller is a long-time supporter of social studies education and his championing of History Day is one of the key reasons the program enjoys such widespread support in Maryland. U.S. Senator Ben Cardin is another Maryland politicians with a strong track record of supporting education initiatives and youth issues. Although building this coalition of political support is a long-term project, CLIA is well-positioned to accomplish this work as CLIA's Just Kids team already has meaningful relationships with numerous local and state officials and a proven track record of effectively identifying and partnering with elected stakeholders. Deliberto's contacts on the School Board would be a valuable asset here as well. In the short-term, I would suggest seeking a "home and away" series of meetings with different officials where students are invited to present at the City or State offices and the politicians are also invited into the CLIA classes to see the important work students are pursuing.

In conclusion, my experience this fall reinforced both the significant benefits that students and communities can gain through youth organizing and the significant challenges that come with efforts to introduce youth organizing into schools. Youth

organizing work was the initial seed that led to CLIA's existence and continues to lie at the heart of CLIA's mission, however, and, despite the challenges, CLIA is well-positioned with existing school and city partnerships to help make a real difference for Baltimore's youth. If CLIA decides to embrace the challenge of scaling meaningful youth organizing work, the above steps lay out a roadmap for how CLIA can move from the development of a social impact statement to demonstrating proof of concept and measuring outcomes in order to scale a revised, bifurcated organizing model with increased support for teachers and more robust community and school partners.

VI. Implications for Sector

My strategic project consisted of three stages, the first two of which involved the design, implementation, and reflection on the practical challenges and opportunities associated with introducing youth organizing programming to high school students. The third stage, to which I turn now, explored how we might scale youth organizing programming within the broader preK-12 civic education sector. As part of this third stage, I conducted more than twenty interviews with different stakeholders, from teachers to administrators, non-profit leaders to central office personnel, and academics to elected officials, always with the same question in mind: how does one successfully scale a civic education program? A list of these interviewees can be found in Appendix #24.

Interestingly, one of the most common themes to emerge from these interviews was around how hard it is to scale *anything* in civic education due to the challenges that inhere to the sector as a whole. I first present these sector-level challenges and recommendations for sector-level solutions. I then turn to a more narrowly focused

discussion of how a non-profit such as CLIA can best design a youth organizing program that is capable of scaling in such an inhospitable environment.

A. Sector-Level Challenges

First, the civic education sector lacks a clear and relevant value proposition (M. Taylor-Thoma, personal communication, February 4, 2016). There is no clear definition of what problem civic education seeks to solve, the proposed solution to that problem, and a proven causal link establishing that civic education is the right solution to this problem (M.M. Browning, personal communication, March 7, 2016; J. Curley, personal communication, March 3, 2016; P. Baumann, personal communication, February 18, 2016). This is partly a function of the multitude of different-and broad-interpretations around what civic education is and what it means to be civically educated, as well as a function of the resulting diverse and differently oriented efforts to improve civic education, each effort with its own North Star (P. Baumann, personal communication, February 18, 2016).

One example of how the absence of a fundamental shared definition of problem and solution impairs civic education efforts arose when, in January 2015, Arizona became the first state to pass a law requiring students to pass a civic exam to graduate from high school (Faller, 2015). The American Civics Act requires that students correctly answer 60 out of 100 questions on the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization civics test. Proponents of the bill argued that American high school students should know at least as much about American civics as immigrants seeking naturalization and that this effort signals the importance of civic education (Faller, 2015; Greenblatt, 2015). Critics argued that rote memorization of unconnected facts is completely disconnected from the real

purposes of civic education and would actually provide schools with an opportunity to reduce more meaningful civic education opportunities (Faller, 2015; Greenblatt, 2015). The two sides are purportedly both working to improve the state of civic education in America but their inability to even agree on what civic education means is emblematic of the sector's broader problems in defining what needs to be remediated, much less the best approach to doing so.

Equally as limiting as the lack of clarity around problem definition and solution is the perceived lack of relevance in the civic education value proposition. Civic educators speak passionately about the need to create a more engaged, active, and informed citizenry. Civic educators are deeply concerned about the disparity in civic opportunities available to minority and low socioeconomic youth. Civic educators are concerned about our collective disengagement from the democratic process and the demonstrated lack of responsiveness of politicians to our most underserved communities. But these are vague and distant shortcomings that do not appear to many outside the civic education community as tangible or immediate threats (J. Curley, personal communication, March 3, 2016). There is no connection to workforce outcomes or college readiness and one could even argue that the interests of the rich and powerful are served better by the existing disparities in political participation (I. Tranvik, personal communication, February 10, 2016). There are no national or international tests shaming America's progress in civic education or holding up other countries as exemplars of how meaningful civic education transformed their economic trajectories. The people already inside the civic education community clearly believe civic education is important but to everyone else, the value remains unclear.

This is not to say that people are opposed to civic education or don't see *any* value in civic education. In fact, most people tend to think civic education-even lacking a precise definition-is a good thing, especially in the abstract (M. Taylor-Thoma, personal communication, February 4, 2016). The challenge comes when principals, teachers, and curriculum planners are required to choose between allocating time and financial resources towards civics as opposed to another subject with a much clearer value proposition (M.M. Browning, personal communication, March 7, 2016; M. Taylor-Thoma, personal communication, February 4, 2016). As we saw during the NCLB regime, the costs of having an unclear or uncertain value proposition directly translate to reduced instructional time and attention (Center on Educational Policy, 2006).

The second sector level challenge, the need for more proof of efficacy, is closely related to the absence of a clear value proposition. Because it is not clear what problem civic education is solving or what value civic education creates, it follows that outcome analysis and research on these two topics are as diverse as the different approaches and theories that run through the sector (M. M. Browning, personal communication, March 7, 2016). In an ideal world, this would help shape a field brimming with multiple different research-backed solutions to any given problem. In civic education, unfortunately, the research base is so slight, disparate, and lacking in randomized control trials that there is very little hard evidence to back up most propositions (D. Owen, personal communication, March 7, 2016; S. Warren, personal communication, February 1, 2016; T. McConnell, personal communication, January 29, 2016; P. Baumann, personal communication, February 18, 2016). A search for either "civics" or "civic education" on the What Works Clearinghouse, the Institute of Education Sciences' website designed to

serve as a repository for papers evidencing a high degree of scientific reliability, yields no results (Institute of Educational Sciences, n.d.) and the one related paper, examining the impact of the Facing History program, found no discernible effects (Institute of Educational Sciences, n.d.).

Even when civic education scholars and practitioners are able to come together and agree on a set of practices with at least some research grounding, such as the six proven practices in civic learning set forth in the 2011 Guardians of Democracy report, there is still significant uncertainty about whether and how those practices are being employed (Annenberg Public Policy Center, 2011; J. Curley, personal communication, March 3, 2016; M. Croddy, February 17, 2016). The six proven practices are necessarily broad enough to allow for multiple different implementation options but this flexibility also permits tremendous variety in the means and methods used in each classroom. As a sector, we have so little insight and research into how civic education is actually being taught that it would be unreasonable to assert that even the few research-supported best practices are making it into our schools. Put simply, committed civic educators think they know what works but they really don't have enough robust evidence to make definitive statements around the efficacy of almost any civic education programming in theory or in use (J. Curley, personal communication, March 3, 2016; V. Johnson, personal communication, February 22, 2016; M. Croddy, personal communication, February 17, 2016). The absence of strong proof that civic education works is particularly problematic in a sector that also struggles to identify exactly what problem it is trying to confront, what outcomes it is seeking to achieve, and how to best bridge the distance between those

two. This lack of a strong research base both contributes to and flows from the third sector level challenge.

The civic education sector lacks clear and uniform standards, meaningful assessment measures, and rigorous accountability mechanisms (M.M. Browning, personal communication, March 7, 2016). At a national level, a small but growing number of states are using the College, Career, and Citizenship (C3) Standards, introduced by the National Council for the Social Studies in 2013 (CIRCLE, 2015a). These standards are completely voluntary, however, and even groups responsible for the C3 Standards have encouraged states to only use the C3 framework as a guide or suggested model for revising state standards (CIRCLE, 2015a). This strategy seeks to maximize the states using at least part of the C3 framework but at the cost of uniformity across states.

At the state level, while every state has civics standards, these standards lack teeth. As every classroom teacher and school administrator knows, standards remain aspirational (meaningless) unless and until teachers and students are somehow held accountable for meeting those standards through some sort of assessment measure (S. Rose, personal communication, February 25, 2016). Yet only 10 states require students to pass a test in the broad field of social studies in order to graduate and it is difficult to tell how much, if any, of these tests seek to measure civic knowledge or skills (Ryan & Baumann, 2013). Absent any “demand-side” requirement to create room for civic education in an already stretched high school schedule, it is easy to see how civic education either completely falls by the wayside or is reduced to token treatment in a history survey course.

The interplay between these three sector level challenges is evident. Because civics is not perceived as having tremendous value, there is no need to fund research or add another layer of standards, assessments, and accountability to an already overcrowded education plate. Because there are no clear guiding standards or universally agreed upon civic outcomes, it is hard to backwards map the best civic learning practices or design the most appropriate assessments. And because we can't prove that civic education works, much less cite to a broader value proposition, it is hard to make the case that civic education really belongs in schools.

My recommendations for how to scale within the civic education sector thus begin with 6 recommendations for the sector as a whole:

1. Develop a Clear Value Proposition

The civic education sector needs to show that civic education is a valuable and needed solution to an urgent, unaddressed and underserved problem with serious and lasting consequences (Skok, 2013). One very tangible way to demonstrate the costs of our subpar and inequitable provision of civic education would be to focus on the widespread damage that resulted after the civil unrest that recently erupted in places like Ferguson, Baltimore, Cleveland, and New York. There is very limited existing research focusing on the connections between internal and external efficacy and how citizens express themselves when confronted with systemic injustice and oppression, but we do know that quality civic education makes people more willing to believe in the systems of power and more willing to operate within existing structures to effect change (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2007; Chan et al., 2014; Cammarota, 2011; Campbell & Erbsstein, 2012; M. Croddy, personal communication, February 17, 2016; P. Levine, personal

communication. January 12, 2016). A body of research evidencing that effective civic education programming can lead to more involved, engaged, and invested citizens with concrete benefits that redound to the greater community such as reduced crime and violence would be a powerful first step in establishing the value of civic education.

A second option would involve realigning the benefits of civic education to more closely correspond to existing school and district priorities (R. Gunther, personal communication, September 25, 2015). Schools and districts are more interested in immediate outcomes relating to student engagement, graduation rates, and truancy than they are around youth voting and lifetime commitments to civic engagement (P. Kannam, personal communication, December 22, 2015; S. Warren, personal communication, February 1, 2016; K. Dysarz, personal communication, January 19, 2016; A. Rosenkrans, personal communication, February 25, 2016). Connecting civic education with STEM programming, the current golden child of education, and workforce outcomes is eminently plausible and is very unexplored territory (I. Tranvik, personal communication, February 10, 2016; P. Kirby, personal communication, January 28, 2016). Civic education has the potential to powerfully impact the outcomes that matter to key stakeholders outside the civic education sector but the sector's focus has remained squarely on internally-relevant outcomes with little attention appeal beyond the civic education sector itself.

2. Focus on Building, Sustaining, and Disseminating Effective Programming Examples

Schools and non-profits interested in civic education programming presently have a wealth of options to choose from. There are textbook-based programs focusing on legal education and constitutional knowledge, democratic simulations involving Congressional

hearings and Mock Trials, controversial discussion and current event protocols, and a variety of community service and action civics options available. Some of these programs are after school commitments led by non-profits or dedicated school staff while others offer college or graduate student support to teachers in schools. The diversity and multiplicity of offerings should be viewed as a sign of strength with the ability to accommodate different school contexts, different student populations, and different teacher needs. Continuing to develop and prototype multiple offerings within the civic education space is critical to both improving existing models and developing new ones (M. Croddy, personal communication, February 17, 2016; K. Doggett, personal communication, February 17, 2016; M. Taylor-Thoma, personal communication, February 4, 2016; P. Kannam, personal communication, December 22, 2015).

At the same time, this approach of letting a thousand flowers bloom can lead to challenges in identifying and sharing best practices and learnings between programs and across the sector. This can lead to inefficient or uninformed replication attempts and place unnecessary obstacles in the path of students and teachers seeking to initiate civic education programming in their own contexts. While the need to create additional proof points around the efficacy of civic education programming is important and should be encouraged, this approach needs to be balanced with a more intentional effort to widely disseminate proven best practices and lessons across the sector (P. Levine, personal communication. January 12, 2016).

3. Prove that Civic Education Works

The research base supporting civic education suffers from both a lack of quantity and quality (Center on Education Policy, 2012). The quantity shortcoming includes the

obvious—simply not enough studies on existing programs and efforts—but also from a lack of depth—the majority of existing studies focus on one iteration of a program and short-term outcomes with small numbers of students rather than on multiple dosages of an intervention across multiple contexts with the goal of measuring lasting outcomes and results (M. Croddy, personal communication, February 17, 2016; V. Johnson, personal communication, February 22, 2016; P. Baumann, personal communication, February 18, 2016). As I learned firsthand, even with the benefit of experience, operating a youth organizing model with a small group of self-selected students presented completely different challenges and outcomes from operating a very similar program with a larger class of compulsory participants. The quality of this research matters as well. The scarcity of rigorous randomized control tests on even the largest civic education programs makes it impossible to state with certainty that any civic education program works, much less smaller or emerging initiatives such as action civics (P. Levine, personal communication, January 12, 2016).

Establishing a more solid research base will be critical to building legitimacy and support for civic education. At a national level, the biggest players need to prioritize assessment and measurement as an essential component of program design and execution. Smaller groups with limited resources often do not view assessment and measurement as within their capacities, even if they were to consider prioritizing this step. These groups in particular would benefit from an accessible and vetted national database of assessment measures that are easy to implement, score, and report. My recommendation above to more closely align civic education outcomes with desired school and district outcomes could be expanded to more closely mirror the outcomes

sought by the philanthropic community, thereby opening new funding streams as well as new opportunities to demonstrate the value of civic education. A successful example of this was iCivics' ability to secure funding for testing and evaluation of their online civic learning platform by highlighting the digital learning component of their project (J. Curley, personal communication, March 3, 2016).

4. Provide Teachers with Professional Development Opportunities

In 1999, Charles Quigley, Executive Director of the Center for Civic Education, estimated “that at most fifteen percent of our students at the pre-collegiate level receive an adequate education in this field” (Quigley, 1999). Although this dismal number is not solely the responsibility of teachers, there is certainly a strong connection to be made—as Quigley did—between the extremely limited professional development offered to teachers and this fifteen percent figure. Seventeen years later, our students' performance on NAEP civic assessments and attention grabbing soundbites showing that more students can name a judge on American Idol than a Supreme Court Justice suggest little has changed (Annenberg Public Policy Center, 2011). Recent state surveys in Arizona and Tennessee reinforce this conclusion, with 65% and 76% of teachers, respectively, reporting that there are no civic education professional development opportunities in their school or district (Arizona Civics Coalition; 2009; Howard H. Baker Jr. Center for Public Policy, 2007).

Providing teachers with informative, engaging, and relevant professional development in civic education is essential to ensuring that civic education is taught, and taught properly, in our schools (D. Owen, personal communication, March 7, 2016; J. Curley, personal communication, March 3, 2016; J. Ayers, personal communication,

February 23, 2016; V. Johnson, personal communication, February 22, 2016; M. Croddy, personal communication, February 17, 2016; L. Eberhart, personal communication, February 3, 2016). Civic education can be an exciting and vibrant topic for both teachers and students but merely providing teachers with textbooks and optional standards is a surefire recipe for ensuring that it is neither (C. Reyes, personal communication, February 2, 2016; J. Ayers, personal communication, February 23, 2016). Professional development opportunities also allow for the cross-pollination of ideas between teachers and promote the creation of learning communities and shared resources. Although the primary goal needs to remain focused on increasing district and school-wide offerings, other civic education actors can play an important role in developing and demonstrating the efficacy of teacher professional development. The Center for Civic Education, for example, recently received a grant from the Department of Education to study different methods of delivering teacher professional development as part of the Department's efforts to improve teacher effectiveness, a study that will hopefully demonstrate both how to orchestrate successful professional development in the field as well as the benefits that will inure to students (J. Hale, personal communication, February 18, 2016; D. Owen, personal communication, March 7, 2016).

5. Build a National Movement

The civic education sector lacks a national champion and common voice (P. Baumann, personal communication, February 18, 2016; I. Tranvik, personal communication, February 10, 2016; J. Dillard, personal communication, February 4, 2016; H. Boyte, personal communication, February 2, 2016; S. Warren, personal communication, February 1, 2016). The limited funding available to support civic

education contributes to this in two ways-forcing existing groups to compete against one another for a very slim financial pot and limiting the incentives and capacity for any group to spearhead a national effort (M.M. Browning, personal communication, March 7, 2016; J. Hale, personal communication, February 18, 2016). The Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools is an example of a well-intentioned effort to bring groups together to advance civic learning in schools but as funding dwindled down to its almost nonexistent present level, there is a limit to even what someone as accomplished as Ted McConnell can achieve on a shoestring budget (P. Levine, personal communication, January 12, 2016). Additionally, just as big “p” Politics is an essential characteristic of a well-rounded civic education, small “p” politics has become a significant characteristic of the civic education sector, due in part to the very small funding pie all groups are competing for but also due to fundamental definitional differences and outcomes targets.

The Ford foundation recently tried to reverse this trend and organized two civic education convenings as part of their broader commitment to youth development (M.M. Browning, personal communication, March 7, 2016; B. Ferman, personal communication, March 3, 2016; T. McConnell, personal communication, January 29, 2016). These convenings were designed to bring sector leaders together to discuss common sector-level challenges and future directions but there was limited seating available at the event, not everyone was invited to attend, and there were lingering post-event questions about whether the event had brought groups together or done quite the opposite (Anonymous, personal communication).

The civic education sector would benefit greatly from a coherent and national strategy, ideally captured and represented by one broader group (T. McConnell, personal

communication, January 29, 2016). This would require forming a coalition among groups who may not have different interests and priorities—a task one would hope that, if any group can do it, a group of civic educators could appropriately deliberate about, compromise around, and eventually reach accord on (M.M. Browning, personal communication, March 7, 2016). The broader group could also bring together student affinity groups and serve as a hub for research and resources, including sharing lesson plans, best practices, and assessment options, as mentioned above (B. Ferman, personal communication, March 3, 2016; V. Johnson, February 22, 2016). A promising model of what this might look like, the National Action Civics Collaborative, already exists within the action civics community but after a strong initial push, the lack of funding and the founders' competing obligations impeded the Collaborative's further growth (M. Levinson, personal communication, December 2, 2015; P. Levine, personal communication, January 12, 2016). As the Ford Foundation and other philanthropic partners look to help civic education better define the sector, starting by building bridges between different groups within the sector and creating a shared repository of civic education materials would be a good place to start.

6. Enact Meaningful State Policies

No matter how good the supply side of civic education might be (lesson plans, textbooks, program models, national databases, etc.), unless there is a strong demand, civic education will never gain a strong foothold in the American education system (M. Taylor-Thoma, personal communication, February 4, 2016; P. Levine, personal communication, January 12, 2016). There are several different ways to manufacture demand, including through a more concrete value statement, but the shortest route is

through legislation (J. Ayers, personal communication, February 23, 2016; (J. Dillard, personal communication, February 4, 2016). If states could be convinced to evolve from their existing tepid regulations around the provision of civic education to more robust policies with integrated and inquiry-based civic education standards for each grade, the landscape would change dramatically and profoundly (Education Commission of the States, 2014). Of course, these standards would need to be accompanied by assessment and accountability measures to ensure compliance and effective teacher professional development to ensure that compliance is possible (J. Ayers, personal communication, February 23, 2016; J. Dillard, personal communication, February 4, 2016; L. Eberhart, personal communication, February 3, 2016). One helpful method for identifying states' current legislative status and direction for future efforts, the Education Commission of the States' gap analysis tool (2016), already exists and will be a valuable asset in this process.

Each of the previous sector level challenges will need to be addressed, at least to some degree, in order to build the critical mass necessary to convince lawmakers to make these critical changes. In a field already saturated with regulations, standards, and assessments, civics will need to reposition itself as more than an educational add-on, as much an heir as English, math, and science. This will require a concerted and sustained effort grounded in a clear and relevant value proposition (M.M. Browning, personal communication, March 7, 2016; J. Ayers, personal communication, February 23, 2016). Timing is also important. Although the Education Commission of the States highlights examples of progressive state legislation and has already published a proposed state civic education policy framework (2014), I am not sure that the ideal time is now. To an

outsider, the civic education field might presently appear too unproven, decentralized, and of questionable worth. And while I think continuing to pursue state policy change is a relevant short-term goal, I believe first addressing some of the sector-level challenges discussed above will provide for more fecund ground in the future.

B. From the Bottom to the Top

The preceding discussion focused on challenges within the civic education sector that can impair successful scaling. These challenges, though significant, do not mean that attempts to scale within the civic education sector are either fruitless or doomed. In fact, I believe quite the opposite—that small non-profits such as CLIA can play an important role in helping the sector overcome these challenges by demonstrating that scaling is possible despite these challenges. This would come through a bottom-up play; by developing, refining, and implementing a demonstrably successful youth organizing program in a large, urban school district, an organization like CLIA can help show what is possible—and then use this promise to spur demand and garner political support from both districts and state level decision-makers (P. Levine, personal communication. January 12, 2016).

In my Implications for Site section, I observed that CLIA’s youth organizing model is not presently ready to scale but proposed a series of seven recommendations that would position CLIA for future scaling. My recommendations in this section were very technical and sought to address existing needs specific to CLIA’s context and subject to CLIA’s broader commitment to going to scale. I now amplify those comments and revisit the concepts presented in the scaling portion of my Review of Knowledge to describe how a non-profit organization like CLIA can design a youth organizing model that can go to scale. Although I refer to CLIA exclusively for ease of discussion, these observations

are intended to be more broadly applicable to how any non-profit organization can scale a school-based youth organizing model within the civic education sector.

First, the sequencing model proposed by Harris (2010) is a helpful broad framework as to the steps involved. CLIA needs to first prove that its youth organizing model works in practice and understand exactly why it works and in service of what outcomes. My project this year helped identify many of the critical components of success: enabling youth to choose interesting topics relevant to youths' daily lives, providing youth with a broad understanding of the organizing process of change, supporting youth with ongoing, informed, and friendly adult guidance, and creating the space and time where youth feel comfortable and motivated to continue the work with minimal adult oversight. In terms of outcomes, we succeeded in exposing an entire class to the organizing process and inspiring a small cadre of students to continue the organizing work on their own but struggled to meaningfully engage all students on an ongoing basis. This is a model not yet primed to scale but with subsequent iterations incorporating these conditions for success, continuing to experiment with better ways to address student apathy and motivational issues, and connecting student participation to outcomes relevant to schools and districts, it is a model with the potential to scale.

Second, an organization like CLIA would be best served by adopting a hybrid scaling approach with a short-term focus on providing and increasing sustained service to a small number of schools and students. Resource and funding constraints will provide a natural ceiling to the extent of these services that CLIA can offer while directly ensuring quality control and fidelity of implementation. As these capacity limits get stretched, additional scaling will require shifting to an open source model where CLIA can share its

curriculum and model with other interested youth organizations, perhaps supplemented by CLIA-led regional teacher trainings and site visits.

Third, as CLIA chooses additional sites for implementing its youth organizing model, it should be careful not to overextend its limited resources or select sites that are too dissimilar from one another. Choosing similarly-situated schools with receptive and committed principals within a particular region will offer the gentlest path to scale, likely provide overlapping community concerns and resources, and will allow for the creation of networks between both teacher and students while minimizing the variation in bureaucratic demands and administrative responsibilities. Baltimore City Public Schools offers a Law and Leadership Pathway in at least 6 schools, for example, all of which have a dedicated teacher and classroom time as well as students who have expressed some interest in this career trajectory. Expanding into these schools should be the first priority. Moving gradually into additional Baltimore schools without the Law and Leadership Pathway will be much easier with multiple proof points from within the same school system.

The fourth step in the Harris (2010) model focuses on developing the capacity and infrastructure to support scaling. For an organization like CLIA, this will require a critical alignment between scaling goals, organizational mission, and staffing. Too often, non-profits find themselves trying to manage and grow a series of worthy programs while neglecting to dedicate the resources and time required to develop and improve a signature project. Equally as important will be pacing the growth appropriately, perhaps moving into a maximum of two new school sites per year, and recognizing the moment when fiscal and personnel limits dictate that CLIA shift from a direct service provider into a

role of maintaining current sites while exploring the most effective and accessible ways to serve as an open resource provider and trainer of others.

The fifth step in the Harris (2010) sequencing requires that CLIA build in continuous improvement feedback and reflection cycles. This is an area where non-profits, already pulled in many directions and often moving from one crisis to another are particularly vulnerable. Incorporating deliberate protocols for gathering feedback from existing users while also soliciting information from new prospects needs to be as valued as program implementation and maintenance.

Sixth, CLIA will need to determine the best method, timing, and audience for sharing program successes more widely. Accessing and using district professional development time is the most convenient approach but this needs to be timed so that school principals and teachers are learning about a model with demonstrated success and low barriers to entry rather than reflecting on a pilot like mine, that will benefit from further iterations and more deliberate design. The eventual goal should be to move towards a web-based, open access platform that offers a menu of different proven methods for teachers to adapt and implement in their own classrooms.

Finally, in order to effectively scale youth organizing and spur demand, a small non-profit such as CLIA needs to stimulate, connect, and participate in broader regional and national coalitions seeking to promote youth organizing work. One of the core principles of organizing work involves partnering with like-minded allies in order to stimulate communities of support and maximize collective impact. There are at least 160 different youth organizing groups across the country and several emerging coalitions such as Youth Agenda and the Alliance for Educational Justice are actively working to

unify these groups around common goals and shared best practices (Funders Collaborative on Youth Organizing, 2010b; Funders Collaborative on Youth Organizing, 2011). The Funders Collaborative on Youth Organizing is a national group committed to increasing philanthropic support for youth organizing efforts and organizes convenings, webinars and trainings designed to both disseminate effective strategies and create a space where smaller groups can work together and identify commonalities in purpose and methods (Funders Collaborative on Youth Organizing, 2010b). Partnerships with local universities is another potential tool to increase the profile of youth organizing and attract the high level champions that can help influence the local and state lawmakers who will be critical to growing demand for future youth organizing efforts.

Coalition building and partnerships in organizing work are also essential at the local level. For an organization like CLIA to begin scaling youth organizing work to more than one school and increase demand for broader efforts, there are four involved steps. First, CLIA's youth organizing training should focus not just on the six-step process of change around one issue with one population but should also include an intentional component around how to build alliances with other groups doing similar work across different schools and communities. Second, the process of networking with other regional and national groups calls for a more active role of the adult facilitator in identifying and making initial connections with these groups. Third, CLIA can be proactive around outreach efforts that will attract new members and elevate the profile of its organizing work. Events such as youth action days, rallies, neighborhood information sessions, newsletter publication, and letter writing campaigns, co-sponsored and co-led with other youth organizing groups are effective tools for accomplishing this purpose.

Finally, CLIA should seek to legitimize and promote its youth organizing agenda through involvement with formal government processes and by generating media support. City youth commissions, for example, offer youth the opportunity to directly interact with city officials and increase both public awareness of an issue and highlight the positive contributions youth are making to solve systemic problems. As effective and promising youth organizing efforts develop more widespread support and institutional buy-in, the political capital afforded to these efforts will allow proponents to more effectively influence state and local lawmakers and stimulate increased demand.

This process of scaling is an important sequencing overlay but the more critical question turns on how to actually design a core program model capable of successfully scaling. The answer to that question comes can be found in Dede's five dimensions and Rogers' rate of adoption factors (Dede, 2007; Dearing et al., 2015; Rogers, 2003).

Dede proposes that in order to scale, an innovation must possess depth, sustainability, spread, shift, and evolution attributes (Dede, 2007; Dearing et al., 2015). In the youth organizing context, depth requires teacher and student buy-in that youth organizing is an effective and meaningful educational intervention. The best way to demonstrate this will be by supporting a group of youth as they move through the organizing process and achieve a tangible outcome such as youth-sponsored legislation, a change in a city or school policy, or official support for a youth-driven initiative such as improved peer mediation programming. Measuring and promoting other outcomes such as improved student engagement and youth self-efficacy beliefs and connecting those to CLIA's conditions for success will also help change teacher and student beliefs around the potential of youth organizing.

Sustainability requires that an innovation be able to succeed in different conditions and over longer periods of time. This will require that CLIA prove the effectiveness of its youth organizing model in more than one school and in consecutive years. This process will require that CLIA identify the conditions of success, presented above, that were important to achieving the positive outcomes at the Mervo pilot site and design a program that can replicate those conditions while also attending to the different school, student, and teacher contexts that will be present in additional sites. In moving from a pilot site to a second site, part of this process will inevitably involve trial and error but by involving prospective teachers early in the planning process and building in time for feedback, comparative analysis, and reflection, CLIA can continue to refine and improve these core conditions to design a robust program with enough flexibility to allow for contextual variability.

Spread requires an ability to reach large numbers of users while retaining effectiveness in the face of resource constraints. For an in-school organizing model, the primary resource constraints will be the skills, attitude, and capacities of the cooperating teacher and CLIA's ability to support that teacher in the classroom. Although I was fortunate to partner with an invested teacher and able to support him in this year's pilot implementation, we were also intentional about experimenting with lessons where I offered little to no support. These opportunities led us to three conclusions. First, more pre-service initial teacher development and training around the process, goals, and challenges of youth organizing work are critical. Second, the support of CLIA staff was invaluable at times but most needed in preparing research, materials, and outside of classroom support. Third, the lessons themselves are not overly complicated or difficult

to understand but would certainly improve on subsequent iterations. As CLIA thinks about this spread dimension, addressing the first two issues seems very feasible as these are supports CLIA would need to provide regardless of the number of involved schools. The third concern can be somewhat alleviated by creating teacher support networks but will also simply be a function of time and an ongoing commitment to continuing this work in the selected schools.

The shift and evolution dimensions require that CLIA involve teachers and students as co-creators of the organizing model and allow the model to grow and evolve as new practices and modifications are added. The shift dimension can be achieved by offering teachers a broad youth organizing framework with general guidelines and a menu of sample lessons from which teachers can select and modify to suit their teaching style and student needs. The evolution and improvement of CLIA's original model can be accomplished through the creation of teacher learning communities and by embracing the true spirit of a learning organization through the active solicitation of teacher feedback and the valuing of this feedback as in the best interests of the model's long term best interests.

Rogers (2003) provides us with a series of concepts that will affect how rapidly an innovation scales and Clarke adds 4 valuable factors that need to be considered in introducing a curriculum to schools (Clarke et al., 2006). A small non-profit like CLIA will need to confront competing interests with regard to rate of adoption in particular. On the one hand, CLIA will want to avoid the fatal mistake of scaling too quickly, overstretching its limited resources, and allowing dilution in the quality and fidelity of program implementation. On the other hand, scaling offers a reassuring measure of

success, the chance to impact and involve more youth, and the temptation of increased funding and media attention. This is a balance that should be struck with a commitment to program quality and an eye towards long term, sustainable growth. Fortunately, paying attention to these diffusion factors during the design process only ensures that an innovation can scale rapidly-not that it must do so.

Identifying and cultivating support for a youth organizing model from opinion leaders will help affect the rate at which CLIA's youth organizing model spreads. Teachers who are well-connected in the Baltimore community through their roles as department heads, union leaders, or standing as Master Teachers should be a primary target. The peer to peer influencing capacity of respected teachers is a powerful tool for dissemination and also provides prospective teachers with a resource for questions and ground-level insight into the potential challenges and opportunities associated with youth organizing. Other potential opinion leaders include City Council members and School Board members who can be introduced to the program through classroom visits or by serving as an audience for student presentations.

Providing teachers with pre-service and ongoing professional development in their adaptation and implementation of the youth organizing program has been a constant theme in these scaling recommendations-and with good reason. The more the teachers feel supported, the more competently and consistently they will be able to organize youth, overcome challenges, and realize the possible outcomes. As Clarke notes, this professional development should be targeted at both subject matter and content knowledge (Clarke et al., 2006). For a youth organizing model, this would entail training teachers in both the advocacy steps of change and in how to strike the appropriate

balance between adult guidance and youth autonomy. As I learned during my program, this will particularly be relevant in helping this next generation of teachers avoid the “Catch-22” tradeoff between letting students set unattainable goals and taking too much of a role in topic selection.

The effectiveness of the youth organizing model in achieving its promised outcomes will be critical to both generating interest in the model and in maintaining interest from teachers currently using the model. Similarly, the relative advantage of youth organizing as compared to more traditional social studies instruction in engaging students in class, making learning more relevant and meaningful, and generating interest in understanding systems of power and government will make youth organizing a more attractive option. One unavoidable challenge that I faced was around the challenge of introducing a unit that relies so heavily on teacher-student interaction into a class with a large number of students (Clarke et al., 2006). A youth organizing curriculum can combat this in several ways, primarily by generating authentic student investment and interest in the work so that students are motivated to work with less direct teacher oversight. Additional options would focus on creating group accountability with daily production deadlines, including self-directed learning opportunities, and providing extension activities to maintain student interest and motivation (Clarke et al., 2006).

Youth organizing may not immediately appear to be compatible with existing teacher needs and practices. As Maryland moves to incorporate the C3 standards into its social studies curriculum, however, youth organizing provides teachers with an option that incorporates each of the four dimensions of the standards, including the often challenging informed action dimension. Additionally, youth organizing offers teachers a

very practical and meaningful way to combine student-centered learning and inquiry into broader social studies units around governance, effecting change, and the democratic process. Including differentiated lessons is concrete tool that would help teachers address their learners' uneven academic backgrounds (Clarke et al., 2006). Continuing with a process like the YAMs where students are repeatedly exposed to examples of successful youth organizing would also help with student self-efficacy beliefs around their abilities to make change (Clarke et al., 2006).

At its core, youth organizing is a fairly simple concept that exemplifies our democratic processes and the role of individuals in effecting change (B. Ferman, personal communication, March 3, 2016). The risk for an organization like CLIA will be to ensure that the program materials and curriculum are not so overwhelming as to cause teachers to perceive the model as inaccessible or overly intricate. This will require an intentionality around messaging and process that constantly returns to the broader, more uncomplicated mission of youth organizing.

CLIA can seek to minimize the resource and time demands associated with introducing youth organizing into schools by providing teachers with proven lesson plans and suggestions for building units of different lengths. The goal would be to offer teachers a packaged curriculum option that minimizes the time and planning they would need to devote to introducing youth organizing into their classes. By offering teachers units of different lengths and even individual, stand-alone lesson plans, CLIA would also be allowing teachers the freedom to experiment with different aspects of youth organizing without needing to commit to an entire program.

Finally, CLIA can help make the benefits of youth organizing visible to teachers in several different ways. One option would be to present at BCPSS professional development days, another would be to publish a newsletter highlighting student successes in existing programs, and a third option would involve posting samples of student work and organizing successes on a website designed to introduce teachers to the program.

Scaling anything in education is a formidable task. Scaling within the civic education sector is particularly challenging for several reasons but primarily because civic education does not have a clear and relevant value proposition. Establishing why civic education matters to stakeholders outside of the civic education sector is an absolutely critical first step in reinvigorating the state of civic education in our schools. And while addressing the broader, sector-level challenges will require a realignment of research goals and priorities, a commitment to teacher professional development, improved state legislation, and more cooperative work within the sector, there are important bottom-up contributions that small non-profits like CLIA can offer. By creating, implementing, and disseminating a viable and proven youth organizing model, these groups can seed the field with evidence of efficacious programming. This will require an intentional and ongoing commitment to designing for scale so that programs can thrive across multiple different contexts and despite the broader inhospitable environment. Groups like CLIA are uniquely positioned to begin this work and change the conversation around civic education from a deficit-focused discussion to a celebration of potential.

VII. Conclusion

This November, Americans will elect a new president. Unfortunately, if past trends hold true, the number of Americans who vote for the successful candidate will be eclipsed by the number of Americans who choose not to vote at all. Youth voting trends are similarly depressing, with voting rates among young Americans at a forty-year low. And while the majority of high school students will not yet be eligible to vote this November, now is exactly the right time to prepare our students to be future voters and active, knowledgeable citizens. The type of citizens we need to sustain and improve our democracy aren't born ready to participate, however, and it is our role as educators to grow our students into the citizens of tomorrow. When we neglect this responsibility and do not teach our students about responsible civic participation, about how to make their voices heard in the broader society, and about how to change oppressive structures and policies, we fail to open doors no one else will open. Ferguson, Baltimore, Staten Island, and Chicago offered us brief glimpses of what happens when these doors are never opened for our most marginalized and most oppressed citizens. Fortunately, a robust body of research indicates that by providing high school students with quality civic education programming, we can open these doors and create the civically engaged and responsible citizens America needs.

Within the universe of civic education options, one particularly efficacious type of experiential civic education is youth organizing, an approach where students work together to identify and solve a community problem. Youth organizing is a highly interactive and participatory experience that can help students develop a heightened sense of agency and hope, become better critical thinkers and problem-solvers, and realize

better short-term academic outcomes and long-term academic aspirations. Schools also benefit from improved school climates, lower truancy and dropout rates, and more engaged students. As a societal level, youth organizing can lead to a more diverse and inclusive electorate and offers our most disaffected and disempowered youth the chance to develop democratic values such as tolerance and equality while also introducing them to a non-violent model for systemic change.

Unfortunately, the vast majority of our schools are doing a very poor job of preparing tomorrow's citizens and what little civic education is offered (if any) is remarkable only for its dry and dull nature. There are a variety of reasons for this generally uninspiring commitment to civic education, including the absence of a clearly defined civic education value proposition and lackluster federal, local, and state civic education policies and standards. Additionally, the lack of successful school-based proof points impairs the spread of school-based civic education programs generally but is a particularly confining limitation in the relatively new and emerging field of youth organizing work. Proving that youth organizing could work in a large urban school and then designing an action plan for scaling this program within the education sector was the challenge I embraced this past year.

Designing and executing my first youth organizing program in a classful of 30 students wasn't easy. There were multiple potholes, many of my own making or due to my inexperience with youth organizing. The challenges of student apathy and engagement were consistent and toxic. The issue of compelled participation and my miscalibration around the appropriate topic altitude had lasting consequences for our

learning trajectory. But despite these missteps, there were still significant successes and glimpses of the potential for greater successes in improved future iterations.

And while my students and I were both experiencing this curriculum for the first time, my focus at every turn was on whether a youth organizing program like the one I led this year has the capacity and resilience to scale in the notoriously inhospitable education sector. The answer is yes. This doesn't mean it will be seamless and it doesn't mean youth organizing and a renewed commitment to civic education will happen immediately. But if we know that youth organizing can work in one large, urban high school to positively change students' lives and we suspect that it can work at scale for lots of students needing positive changes in their lives, then our charge is clear. The citizens of tomorrow will be born in the classrooms of today-for better or for worse. It is time, as Baldwin exhorted, to "go for broke" and to make sure those classrooms are opening doors and creating the civically engaged and civically responsible citizens we need (Baldwin, 1985).

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Appendices

1. Student Prompt Response Sample
2. Student Prompt Response Sample
3. Student Prompt Response Sample
4. Student One and One Sample
5. Student One and One Sample
6. Student One and One Sample
7. Student YAM response
8. Student YAM response
9. Student YAM response
10. Student Topic sign-up sheet
11. Student Topic sign-up sheet
12. Student Topic sign-up sheet
13. Summer program pre-test
14. Summer program post-test
15. Summer program pre- and post-test data
16. Summer program Policy Recommendations
17. Fall program pre-test
18. Fall program post-test
19. Fall program pre-test data
20. Fall program post-test data
21. Student work from white milk debate
22. Student work from white milk debate
23. Student work from white milk debate
24. Scaling Interviewees List

Quote:

As a citizen, we all have an obligation to intervene and become involved, it's the citizen who changes things

Warm up: No that is not the of your business that's how people get in more trouble. You get hurt like that

but if we all ignored everything?

10-6-2013

There should be a Law regarding people to
report crimes they witness but ~~even~~ even
if it is a law that don't mean people are
going to tell what they saw but if they do and someone
fine out they might get hurt Risk

As a citizen, we all have an obligation to
intervene and become involved it's the citizen
who changes things - Jose Saramago

OCT-6-15

There should be a law requiring people to report crimes they witness.

I defend this statement because if more people report what they see, then more criminals will be caught. societal impact!

As a citizen we all have an obligation to intervene and become involved, it's a citizen who "changes things" - Jose Saramago

One and one reflection

1. I would not get not get into a dispute is when the assailant has a weapon and is bigger than me. safety reasons

Oct 6th, 2015

One on one Reflection

① One time I would not get involved in a dispute is when it involves drugs / drug dealers.

② One time I would get involved is when it involves somebody getting assaulted. good distinction!

10/6/15

- 1) If it involves a gun and I can die
- 2) If I know I can help and the problem will be over.

Bystander Effect

* greater number of people you are
less likely to act.
(thinking someone else will)

- 1) Female issues b/c women are people who
don't like to be interrupted. - That could get
you hurt!!
- 2) a issue w/ my mom b/c I love her

Mockingbird Society

Organization Name: Mockingbird Society

Context: To pass bills and fight to stop the brutal lack of care in the Foster Care System in Washington.

Issues: Foster Care System

Strategy: Lobby legislatures with bills of their cause

Goals: To change the foster care system

Result: Over 10,000 youth in ~~Washington~~ Washington's foster care system, and more than 30,000 homeless youth across Washington State

- Name: Mocking Bird Society
- Context: ~~They~~ Change some foster care ~~time~~ laws.
- Issue: Foster care system
- Strategy: Going to lobby their legislatures to support certain bills.
- Goals: Turn foster care children into ~~the~~ successful adults.
- Results: Bills were passed
 - Adding more money for youth care in foster homes.

1) Name - The ^{mockingbird} ~~Mockingbird~~ Society

2) Context -

3) Issues - Foster Care System

4) Strategy -

7

5) Goals -

6) Results -

Ton Grace

Anthony Tomsom

Keondice Robinson

K.D.

Lewis Larry

Te Shep

Forward

Community

Involvement

in
schools

Lack of

Renewal

Mar
Green

Craig Miller

Cierra
Lewis

Rashard Whitaker

Hickerson



in school

Marcel

Aiya
Smith

Damon
Barber

Sha'Nia
-M...
Georges

M.T

Matty &

Police Community

Nickia D

Daniel

Shawn

DeShawn

Karen

DeShawn
Addge

Tyler Bell

Mykel
Groat

Shane
H

Mara W
Tylla D

Washara Reed

Mym
Muhend

Youth Advocacy Council: What do I know now?

Name: _____

I. Answer each question to the best of your ability. These will not be graded or count against you in any way.

1. How would you define the term “advocacy”?

2. Can you list 3-4 different examples of how a person can help bring change to his or her community?

3. What are some of the most serious problems affecting Baltimore right now?

4. Within the last year, how often have you worked as part of a team to address an issue in your community?

5. How do you communicate with someone who does not share your opinion?

II. On a scale of 1 to 5, circle how much you agree with the following 5 statements:

1=Completely Disagree	3=Neutral	5=Completely Agree				
		Completely disagree			Completely agree	
I understand how to make change happen in Baltimore		1	2	3	4	5
Young people have the power to influence public policy		1	2	3	4	5
I could lead a group at my school to tackle a community issue		1	2	3	4	5
I can make a difference in my community		1	2	3	4	5
I have had discussions about improving Baltimore with my peers or family		1	2	3	4	5

Youth Advocacy Council Post-test: What do I know now?

Name: _____

I. Answer each question to the best of your ability. These will not be graded or count against you in any way.

1. How would you define the term “advocacy”?
2. Can you list 3-4 different examples of how a person can help bring change to his or her community?
3. What are some of the most serious problems affecting Baltimore right now?
4. Within the last year, how often have you worked as part of a team to address an issue in your community?
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I can make a difference in my community		1	2	3	4	5
I have had discussions about improving Baltimore with my peers or family		1	2	3	4	5

PRE-TEST

Short Response (0, .5, or 1)										Average
Advocacy Definition	0.5	0	0.5	0	0	0	0	0	0.5	0.17
Change Examples	0.5	1	0	0.5	0.5	1	1	0.5	1	0.67
Baltimore problems	1	1	0	1	1	0.5	1	1	1	0.83
Team work	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0.33
Difference of Opinion	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0.33
Likert Scale (1 to 5)										
How to make change in Balt	3	5	0	3	3	0	4	5	4	3
Young people have	3	3	0	2	5	0	5	5	3	2.89
I could lead	3	3	0	5	3	0	2	4	5	2.78
I can make a difference	4	3	0	4	4	0	2	4	4	2.78
Discuss how to improve Balt	1	4	0	2	4	0	1	3	3	2

Post-Test

Short Response (0, .5, or 1)	Likert Scale (1 to 5)										Average	Percent Change
Adoacy Definition	1	1	0.5	1	1	0.5	1	0.5	0.75	34.1%		
Change Examples	1	1	1	1	1	0.5	1	0.5	0.75	12%		
Baltimore problems	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0.5	0.94	13%		
Team work	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0.69	36%		
Difference of Opinion	1	1	0.5	1	1	0.5	0	1	0.63	30%		
How to make change in Balt	4	5	5	5	5	4	4	4	4.38	46%		
Young people have	5	5	4	5	5	4	4	5	4.75	64%		
could lead	5	4	5	5	5	3	3	3	3.88	40%		
I can make a difference	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	4	4.63	67%		
Discuss how to improve Balt	4	5	4	5	5	5	5	5	4.5	125%		



**Community Law in Action: Youth Advocacy Council
Policy Recommendations
for Reducing Youth Violence and Improving Education in Baltimore City**

August 2015

INTRODUCTION

- CLIA's Youth Advocacy Council is made up of representatives from three Baltimore City high schools – Mergenthaler Vo-Tech, Reginald F. Lewis, and Renaissance Academy. CLIA partners with our schools to implement the Law and Leadership Academy. We are all juniors and seniors in the Law & Leadership Academy at our schools.
- The Youth Advocacy Council was organized this summer to help us build skills to become better advocates and leaders in our city. During the 7-week program, we studied issues affecting our city and decided to focus on preventing youth violence and improving education.
- We have learned that as city schools we do not have many of the resources we would like. If we do not voice what we feel would benefit youth in the city, no one will.
- We plan to incorporate other teens in our high schools and around the city to build strong, stable, and secure neighborhoods. Our efforts will be implemented throughout our high schools and also engage community members by building better relationships among youth and adults.

ISSUES OF CONCERN

We have researched some statistics on increasing violence in Baltimore City:

- Most (63%) violent crimes committed by juvenile occurred on schooldays. Nearly 1/5 (19%) of juvenile violence occurred between 3 p.m. and 7 p.m. on school days.
- During the 2009 to 2010 school year, 17 homicides of school-aged youth 5 to 18 years occurred at school.
- 5.9% of students didn't go to school on one or more days in the 30 day preceding the survey because they felt unsafe at school or on their way to and from school.
- 32 pharmacies were looted during the April 27th riots and nearly 300,000 doses of prescription medication were stolen – this has contributed to Baltimore's spiking violence.
- Interim Police Commissioner Kevin Davis said on August 4th, that more people are arming themselves on the streets, and that the department has seized 20% more, guns than it had by this time last year.
- The homicide rate in Baltimore began to sky rocket in May of 2015, when the city saw 42 homicides in a single month.
- Baltimore has seen over 200 homicides so far this year compared to 208 killings last year.
- The number of homicides in the last three months has been the highest in the last 45 years.

We have researched some statistics on education in Baltimore City:

- In January 2014, Baltimore City had the lowest graduation rate in the state of Maryland (56%).

- Although the number of suspensions in Baltimore City schools has decreased from 11,394 in 2012 to 7,550 in 2014, this is still higher than other districts in the state of Maryland.
- We believe that the low academic achievement of students in Baltimore City, MD is due to a high rate of drop outs and suspensions and not enough resources around academics.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

We believe that increasing access to jobs for youth, more and better after-school programs, and peer mediation programs will help students better succeed in school and that students will be less likely to exhibit bad behavior.

Our policy recommendations for preventing youth violence are:

1. Make Youth Works last throughout the school year and during summer vacation.

- Youth Works, the city's 5 week summer program for 14 to 20 year olds, and it's private-sector component, Hire One Youth, has about 1,000 more applicants than jobs this summer, Rawlings- Blake said.
- Everyone ages 14-21 should be occupied during summer vacation.
- Everyone should be guaranteed an equal opportunity to a summer job.

2. After school programs should last throughout the school year and summer vacation.

- Ages 5-13 should not only be occupied during the school year but the summer too.
- At 12 p.m. to 7 p.m. Rec Centers should be opened with after school activities to engage younger kids during the summer.

Side note: Do you want to mention the Mayor's rec center proposal since the group reviewed it?

3. Implement Peer Mediation Programs in all schools.

Including Mentors

- Each grade should have an equal opportunity to have training to be a peer mediator.

- Two service learning hours should be granted to the mediator for each session completed.
- Mediation can be used to resolve any conflicts between student and student.

Our policy recommendations for improving education are:

1. Improve the quality of after-school programs and incorporate tutoring in all of them.

- Students who participate in after-school programs stay on track to graduate high school.
- According to a 2011 report, students who participate in after-school programs show higher rates of attendance, lower dropout rates and improved attitudes towards school.
- Every \$1 invested in Maryland after-school programs leads to a return on investment of \$3.36 – increased taxable earnings and increased savings by preventing juvenile and adult incarceration.
- Significant gains in standardized test scores and work habits as well as reductions in behavior problems among disadvantaged students. (*University of California at Irvine, 2007*)
- Annual teacher-reported performance data from 21st Century Community Learning Center grantees across the country demonstrate that students attending 21st CCLC programs raise their Math grades (37 percent) and English grades (38 percent), while also improving their homework completion and class participation (72 percent) and their behavior in class (67 percent). (*Learning Point Associates, 2010*)
- 82% help with completing homework, 76% improvement in school day attendance, and 82% express an increase in excitement about learning.

2. Allow students to resolve their problems in Peer Mediation Programs in school.

- One middle school experienced a 24% reduction in office referrals and a 44% reduction in suspensions compared to the prior year.
- Conflict resolution education provides practices and skills to help students and school address conflict effectively.
- As a result of peer mediation, suspension has steadily decreased in schools that have these programs.

CONCLUSION

The CLIA Youth Advocacy Council asks you, the Baltimore City Council, for your partnership in helping us reduce violence and improve education in our city by implementing:

- More youth jobs (including YouthWorks)
- More after school programs equipped with tutoring
- Peer Mediation programs in all high schools

We look forward to hearing your questions and feedback.

Advocacy Pre-Test: What do I know now?

Answer each question to the best of your ability. These will not be graded or count against you in any way.

Name: _____

I. Short Response

1. How would you define the term “advocacy”?

2. Can you list 2-3 different examples of how a person can help bring change to his or her community?

3. What are some of the most serious problems affecting youth in Baltimore right now?

4. Within the last year, how often have you worked as part of a team to address an issue in your community?

5. What is the name of the City Councilperson who represents the Mervo area?

II. On a scale of 1 to 5, circle how much you agree with the following 5 statements:

1=Completely Disagree	3=Neutral	5=Completely Agree				
		Completely disagree			Completely agree	
I understand how to change a law or policy		1	2	3	4	5
I feel good citizens should try to change the government policies they disagree with		1	2	3	4	5
Young people have the power to influence policies and laws		1	2	3	4	5
I could lead a group at my school to tackle a community issue		1	2	3	4	5
I learn things in school that I can use in the real world		1	2	3	4	5
I have a responsibility to make my community better		1	2	3	4	5
People who get together in citizen action groups can have a real influence on government policy		1	2	3	4	5
Baltimore government officials care what people like my family and I think		1	2	3	4	5
In our classes, we learn about problems in our society and what causes them		1	2	3	4	5
		Completely disagree			Completely agree	

III. Circle the activities (if any) you think you will do after high school:

Vote in a public election

Discuss how to make Baltimore a better city with my friends or family

Contact a newspaper, radio, or TV show to express your opinion on an issue

Meet with a public official or decision-maker to share your opinion (adult decision maker about an issue you cared about)

Look at research or read an article about an issue you think matters in Baltimore

Participate in a lawful demonstration, march, or rally

Make a comment or speak at a public rally

Work with a group of people to change a problem in my community

Talk about politics or issues affecting youth in Baltimore with your friends or family

Persuade someone else to care about a community problem

Advocacy Post-Test: What do I know now?

Answer each question to the best of your ability. These will not be graded or count against you in any way.

Name: _____

I. Short Response

1. How would you define the term “advocacy”?
2. Can you list 2-3 different examples of how a person can help bring change to his or her community?
3. What are some of the most serious problems affecting youth in Baltimore right now?
4. Within the last year, how often have you worked as part of a team to address an issue in your community?
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I feel good citizens should try to change the government policies they disagree with		1	2	3	4	5
Young people have the power to influence policies and laws		1	2	3	4	5
I could lead a group at my school to tackle a community issue		1	2	3	4	5
I learn things in school that I can use in the real world		1	2	3	4	5
I have a responsibility to make my community better		1	2	3	4	5
People who get together in citizen action groups can have a real influence on government policy		1	2	3	4	5
Baltimore government officials care what people like my family and I think		1	2	3	4	5
In our classes, we learn about problems in our society and what causes them		1	2	3	4	5
		Completely disagree			Completely agree	

III. Circle the activities (if any) you think you will do after high school:

Vote in a public election

Discuss how to make Baltimore a better city with my friends or family

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Meet with a public official or decision-maker to share your opinion (adult decision maker about an issue you cared about)

Look at research or read an article about an issue you think matters in Baltimore

Participate in a lawful demonstration, march, or rally

Make a comment or speak at a public rally

Work with a group of people to change a problem in my community

Talk about politics or issues affecting youth in Baltimore with your friends or family

Persuade someone else to care about a community problem

FALL PRE TEST

Short Response (0, .5, or 1)	Health Average	Community Average	Business	Combined Avg	Advocacy Average
Advocacy Definition	0.25	0.29	0.2	0.24	0.24
Change Examples	0.58	0.72	0.5	0.6	0.68
Baltimore problems	0.65	0.81	0.55	0.6	0.82
Team work	0.15	0	0.1	0.08	0.28
City Councilperson: Mary Pat Clarke	0	0	0	0	0.04
Likert Scale (1 to 5)					
How to change a law	2.71	2.89	2.3	2.63	3.2
I feel good citizens	3.5	3.81	2.9	3.34	3.56
Young people have	3.21	3.55	2.4	3.15	3.48
I could lead	2.79	3.28	2.4	2.82	3.48
I learn things	3.17	3.85	3.3	3.45	4.24
I have a responsibility	2.42	3.33	2.5	2.75	3.28
People who get together	3.25	3.33	2.4	2.99	3.8
Baltimore govt officials	1.96	2.55	1.9	2.14	2.36
In our classes	2.67	3.17	2.3	2.71	4.24
Future Activities (0 or 1)					
Vote in a public election	50%	67%	70%	62%	68%
Discuss how to make Balt	21%	39%	10%	23%	58%
Contact a newspaper	8%	22%	10%	13%	25%
Meet with a public official	4%	17%	0%	7%	29%
Look at research	29%	28%	30%	29%	63%
Participate in a lawful	13%	39%	30%	27%	50%
Make a comment or speak	13%	17%	10%	13%	38%
Work with a group of people	21%	44%	30%	32%	63%
Talk about politics or issues	17%	17%	20%	18%	42%
Persuade someone else to	38%	44%	30%	37%	50%

FALL Post-Test

Short Response (0, .5, or 1)	Health Average	% Change	Current Average	% Change	Business Average	% Change	Combined Avg	Total % Ch	Advocacy Avg	Advocacy % Change
Advocacy Definition:	0.42	17%	0.40	0%	0.38	18%	0.36	50%	0.71	196%
Change Examples	0.86	28%	0.58	-13%	0.5	0%	0.65	8%	0.85	25%
Baltimore problems	0.92	27%	0.72	18%	0.75	20%	0.8	33%	0.88	7%
Team work	0.22	7%	0.32	22%	0	10%	0.15	88%	0.63	125%
City Councilperson: Mary Pat Clark	0	0%	0.05	5%	0	0%	0.02	2%	0.63	1475%
Likert Scale (1 to 5)										
How to change a law	3.22	19%	2.76	-14%	2.5	8%	2.83	8%	4.04	26%
I feel good citizens	4.33	24%	3.02	-30%	3	3%	3.55	6%	4.04	13%
Young people have	3.89	21%	2.83	-28%	2.75	15%	3.16	0%	4.42	27%
I could lead	3.22	15%	2.76	-13%	2.5	4%	2.83	0%	3.88	11%
I learn things	4.11	30%	3	-27%	3.25	-2%	3.45	0%	4	-6%
I have a responsibility	3.44	42%	2.86	-17%	2.5	0%	2.74	0%	3.42	4%
People who get together	4.11	26%	2.94	-28%	2.5	4%	3.18	6%	4	5%
Baltimore govt officials	2.94	50%	2.83	-4%	1	-47%	2	-7%	3.04	29%
In our classes	3.11	16%	2.81	-10%	3.25	41%	2.99	28%	4.29	1%
Future Activities (0 or 1)										
Vote in a public election	44%	-6%	17%	0%	75%	5%	62%	0%	75%	7%
Discuss how to make Balt	28%	7%	17%	-22%	25%	15%	23%	0%	50%	-8%
Contact a newspaper	11%	3%	8%	-17%	25%	15%	14%	1%	17%	-8%
Meet with a public official	11%	7%	17%	5%	0%	0%	9%	2%	38%	9%
Look at research	33%	4%	22%	-6%	0%	-30%	18%	-11%	46%	-17%
Participate in a lawful	22%	10%	17%	-23%	0%	30%	11%	-16%	54%	4%
Make a comment or speak	22%	10%	22%	0%	0%	-10%	15%	1%	42%	4%
Work with a group of people	28%	7%	22%	-23%	25%	-5%	25%	-7%	33%	-30%
Talk about politics or issues	17%	0%	22%	3%	25%	6%	21%	3%	42%	0%
Persuade someone else to	11%	-26%	22%	-22%	50%	20%	28%	-10%	63%	13%

HiKeem H.
Sha'Nea G.
Rashard W.
Toni G.

Should flavored milk be sold in school cafeterias?



YES

or

NO?

My group concludes that: ~~flavored~~ chocolate

milk isn't as unhealthy as most preferred things

Why?

The three most persuasive pieces of evidence were . . .

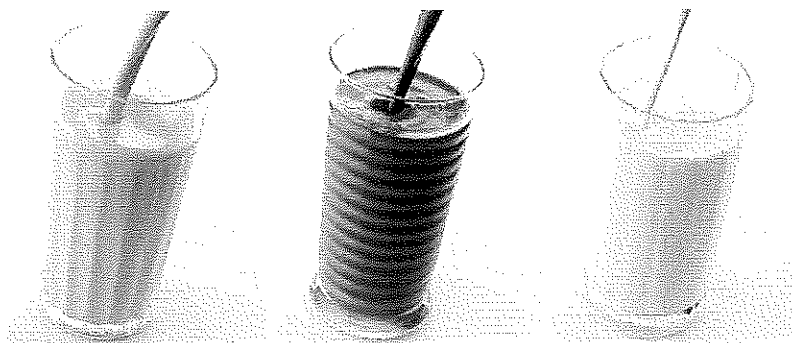
1. Low fat chocolate milk exist
2. Other breakfast food is ~~very~~ more unhealthy than milk
3. Chocolate milk still has all the proteins and nutrients of other milks

Group member names: _____

Maryam

Ny'Sch...

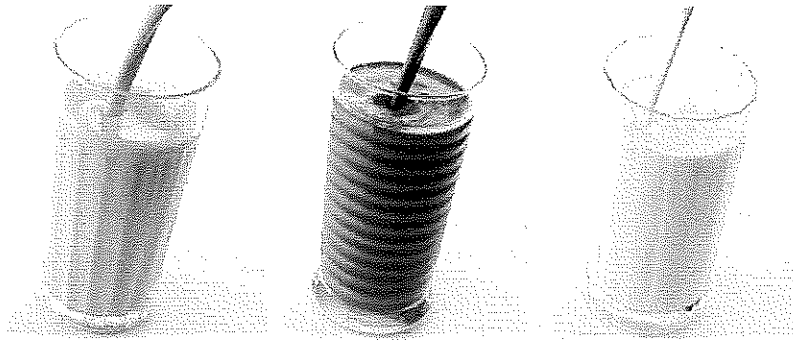
Should flavored milk be sold in school cafeterias?



Evidence that suggests YES:

- Michelle Obama supports the flavor milk.
- Both types of milk are nutrient dense food containing a high proportion of essential nutrients in relation to their energy content.
- Flavored milk is a good source of high quality protein and offers a wide range of essential nutrients including calcium and vitamin D.
- Milk consumption in US schools dropped by an average of 35 percent when flavored milk was removed or limited.
- ^{New reformulated} Chocolate milk is low-fat and contains less sugar.

Should flavored milk be sold in school cafeterias?



Evidence that suggests NO:

Chocolate milk is higher in sugar and calories than non-flavored milk, that some kids simply refuse to drink plain milk.

While it is certainly possible to become sick from drinking contaminated raw milk, it is also possible to become sick from almost any food source.

but it seems that raw milk has been unfairly singled out as a risk, when only a very small risk exists

Los Angeles Unified School District announced it would ban chocolate and strawberry-flavored milk from its schools starting this summer. Superintendent John Deasy pushed for the ban with influence from celebrity chef and food activist Jamie Oliver, who has said that flavored milk has as much sugar as a candy bar.

According to a Cornell University research study conducted by Drs. Andrew Hanks, David Just and Brian Marsink, removing chocolate milk from school ~~lunch~~ lunchrooms resulted in a ~~at~~ decline in both milk and lunch sales, and even more important, it also increased milk waste.

Scaling Interview List

Name	Title, Organization
Julie Ayers	Service-Learning Specialist, Maryland State Department of Education
Paul Baumann	Director, National Center for Learning and Civic Engagement, Education Commission of the States
Harry Boyte	Co-Director, Center for Democracy and Citizenship
Brian Brady	National Director, Mikva Challenge
Lisa Clarke	Director of Policy and Partnerships, National Board for Professional Teaching Standards
Marshall Croddy	President, Constitutional Rights Foundation
Jeff Curley	Co-founder and Former ED, iCivics
Jim Dillard	Member, Virginia State Board of Education and Virginia Commission on Civics Education
Keri Doggett	Director of Program, Constitutional Rights Foundation
Dennis Donovan	National Organizer, Public Achievement
Keith Dysarz	Director of K-12 Practice, The Education Trust
Linda Eberhart	Member, Maryland State Board of Education
Barbara Ferman	Director, University Community Collaborative
Michael Feuer	Dean of the Graduate School of Education and Human Development, The George Washington University
Rachel Gunther	Associate Director, Youth on Board
John Hale	Associate Director, Center for Civic Education
Valerie Johnson	Teacher, Baltimore School for the Arts
Arielle Jennings	Greater Boston Program Manager, Generation Citizen
Peter Kannam	Member, Baltimore City Board of School Commissioners
Pat Kirby	Chief Growth Officer, Citizen Schools
Ben Kirshner	Associate Professor, University of Colorado School of Education
James Liou	Program Officer, William Penn Foundation
Peter Levine	Associate Dean for Research, Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning and Engagement
Ted McConnell	Executive Director, Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools
Mabel McKinney-Browning	Director, ABA Division for Public Education
Anne-Claire Nornhold	City Schools Associate, Baltimore City Public Schools
Diana Owen	Associate Professor, Georgetown University
Rich Pohlman	Executive Director, Thurgood Marshall Academy
Coleen Reyes	Executive Director, Baltimore Urban Debate League
Sandra Rose	Social Studies Supervisor, Prince George's County Public Schools
Amy Rosenkrans	Director of Academic Programs, Prince George's County Public Schools
Marcie Taylor-Thoma	Former Supervisor, Maryland State Department of Education
Michael Thomas	Director of Career and Technology Education, Baltimore City Public Schools

Isak Tranvik	PhD Student, Duke University
Scott Warren	Executive Director, Generation Citizen