A Comparative Assessment of Approaches to **Studying Institutional Climates for Political Learning and Participation in Democracy**

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Abstract

In 2018, the American Association of State Colleges and Universities' American Democracy Project (ADP) and Tufts University's Institute for Democracy & Higher Education (IDHE) formed a 3-year partnership to explore two approaches to studying institutional climates for political learning and participation in democracy. The goals were to repeat IDHE's qualitative approach to examining climates through case studies conducted by a team of outside researchers and to test a second approach—an internal institutional self-study pursued with IDHE guidance. We review these methods and offer a comparative assessment of their efficacy for studying an institution's political climate, as well as a brief summary of the qualitative case studies' findings. We conclude that (1) qualitative case studies of political climate are powerful assessment tools and (2) the self-study method with external guidance or coaching holds promise for scalability and potential to effect campus change but faces significant obstacles to successful implementation.

Keywords: campus climate, political learning, democracy, qualitative case study

Universities' in virtual learning exchanges involving sought to explore liaisons from each campus, meeting faceto-face multiple times, ongoing coaching, and assessments of the institutions' political campus climates. Year II and into Year III were dedicated to campuswide dialogues and planning based on the results of the assessments, but given obstacles, this timeline was extended. This article addresses the process of the project; the findings were published in an open-source venue, the eJournal of Public Affairs, in 2021 We also considered details that might affect

rom 2018 to 2022, the American researchers traveling to each campus to Association of State Colleges conduct focus groups and interviews using American a common focus group protocol and coding Democracy Project (ADP) and and analysis scheme. Although these quali-Tufts University's Institute for tative case studies proved to be effective in Democracy & Higher Education (IDHE) fleshing out structural, procedural, normaformed a 3-year partnership to explore tive, and attitudinal characteristics common approaches to improving campus climates to institutions with robust levels of student for student political learning and engage- political participation, they were resource ment in democracy. Years I and II involved intensive. The goal was to pilot this process identifying campus liaisons to the project, to catalyze institutional change to advance establishing campus coalitions for plan- political learning and engagement among ning and implementation, participating participating ADP campuses. Here, we

- whether IDHE's political climate assessment process is replicable and can be scaled up to reach more campuses and
- 2. whether steps beyond the assessment phase—dialogue, planning, and action are effective in strengthening student political learning and participation in democracy.

(Thomas et al., 2021). IDHE had developed or improve the process, such as the roles and tested a protocol involving a team of of coalitions, institutional leaders, and onvolved academics outside IDHE in the hope individual states. of identifying individuals who might join a research team as needed. We also sought to publications.

initiative and a brief examination of higher Harry Truman established the President's education's democratic mission, followed by Commission on Higher Education, which a review of the literature on studying organizational culture and campus climates. We "necessity." The commission's report then describe the two methodologies: the stated, process of having outside reviewers collect and analyze the data vis-à-vis a process of self-evaluation. We also report on the findings from an assessment we conducted of the research methodologies. Because the research methods from the original studies have been reported previously (Thomas & Brower, 2018), we focus more on the process of self-study. What we found is (1) when performed well, the qualitative climate assessment process is an effective approach to assessing and strengthening campus climates for political learning and engagement in democracy; (2) this model is replicable with methodological changes and proper support; and (3) the cohort, multicampus model strengthened the work and provided support for campus liaisons. Finally, at the end is a brief overview of some of the findings from the studies themselves.

Higher Education's Historic Democratic Purpose

U.S. higher education has a long yet ambivalent relationship with democracy. The Despite the Truman Commission's clear first colonial colleges were established "to mandate, colleges and universities largely ensure a continuity of religious and civic avoided the political dimension to civic leadership" (Hartley, 2011, p. 27). Historian life. In the late 1990s, reacting to Robert Frederick Rudolph wrote about the public Putnam's (1995) concerns about declines purpose of the early colleges, "A commit- in social capital, captured in the image ment to the republic became a guiding ob- of Americans' preferring to "bowl alone" ligation of the American college" (Rudolph, rather than in leagues, thousands of cam-1962, p. 61). Founding Fathers Thomas puses responded with programs in volun-Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin advocated teerism, service and service-learning, and for a strong education system and founded stronger community-university partnerthe University of Virginia and what became ships. Nonetheless, civic learning and enthe University of Pennsylvania respec- gagement remained steadfastly apolitical. tively. Jefferson (1903/2010) explained that Years later, researchers concluded that these "whenever the people are well-informed, approaches, although helpful for providing they can be trusted with their own govern- students with an increased understanding ment; that whenever things get so far wrong of civic life, failed to provide students with as to attract notice, they may be relied on the skills and values needed to engage in to set them to rights" (p. 253). Then, 60 and influence democracy (Finley, 2011, p. 3).

campus researchers and whether a multi- years later, this role was affirmed and excampus, cohort model (with virtual ongoing panded through the Morrill Act of 1862, coaching, skill-building webinars, and re- which established land-grant colleges and flection) strengthened the project. We in- universities dedicated to the public needs of

Perhaps the clearest articulation of the iminform the field through presentations and portance of higher education to American democracy was made following World War II and the atrocities associated with fascism We begin this article with a rationale for the and the rise of Nazi Germany. President identified higher education as democracy's

> The principal goals for higher education . . . are to bring to all people of the Nation [emphasis added]. . . education for a fuller realization of democracy in every phase of living . . . [and] education for the application of creative imagination and trained intelligence to the solution of social problems and to the administration of public affairs [emphasis added]. . . . Education is the foundation of democratic liberties. Without an educated citizenry alert to preserve and extend freedom, it would not long endure. (President's Commission on Higher Education, 1947, pp. 8, 25)

The Truman Commission report catalyzed changes ranging from the establishment of the community college system to the GI Bill providing free higher education to the nation's armed forces.

college students engaged in community service, whereas only 11% engaged with government, political organizations, or issue activism. Then, in 2014, IDHE's findings from the 2014 National Study of Learning, Voting, and Engagement (NSLVE) data revealed that fewer than one in five of the nation's graduate and undergraduate students voted (Thomas, et. al. 2019). Higher education is finally taking seriously a longstanding but never fully embraced charge to educate for a more deliberative democracy. The movement to advance dialogue, deliberation, and discussion-based teaching grew exponentially in response to concerns over growing political polarization, persistent exclusionary policies and institutional practices, poor public problem-solving, and the phenomenon noted by the Pew Research Center that Republicans view not just the party but the people who identify as Democrats in an increasingly negative light (Pew Research Center, 2022). Colleges and universities increasingly serve a more diverse population of students, providing one of the best opportunities for people to develop cultural competencies and learn the arts of discussion and collaboration.

Campus deliberation, dialogue, and discussion-based teaching have grown significantly since around 2006. Research at Harvard University established discussion as a powerful teaching and learning tool (Christensen et al., 1991). Education on *civic* learning clearly demonstrates that discussion of controversial issues in the classroom enhances civic learning and produces positive benefits on skills, knowledge, and dispositions (Campbell, 2005; Hess, 2009; Hess mocracy. & McAvoy, 2014; McDevitt & Kiousis, 2006; Thomas & Brower, 2017). For these reasons, the researchers for this study designed it to advance skills in dialogue while simultaneously exploring the role of dialogue on campus.

The nation faces what President Biden iden-

These shortfalls were supported by data. extreme partisanship, and the presence on According to the 2013 survey from the or near campuses of White nationalists and Harvard Institute of Politics (2013), 53% of other extremist groups, colleges and universities are now asking what they should be doing differently.

> Colleges and universities have the academic freedom to either embrace or avoid political learning, speech, and controversy. Given the potential financial implications of angering a partisan state legislature, trustee, or donor, or fear of violence, remaining apolitical has some appeal. Yet the policy questions facing this nation, particularly over racism and discrimination, extremism, climate change, immigration and DACA, gun violence, and more are deeply cultural in nature. Many reflect tensions over growing ethnic and racial diversity. Although most Americans (66%) say that diversity is good for the nation, the same number (66%) live in communities with little diversity, and they are satisfied with that reality (Horowitz, 2019). The need is to affect democracy not just as a form of governance but as a culture, as a way people interact and solve public problems. Colleges and universities are arguably microcosms of democracy; thus, college campuses are ideal opportunities for people to practice living in an inclusive democracy.

> This effort is nothing short of a paradigm shift for U.S. higher education, away from apolitical engagement and into support for student political learning, activism, leadership, discourse, and participation. Much has been written about the difficulties of effectuating institutional change in higher education. The purpose of this project was to explore an approach to effectuate change specifically in an institution's climate for political learning and engagement in de-

Research History and Design

The American Association of State Colleges and Universities (AASCU) supports a subset of 250 institutions that engage in the ADP. ADP campuses commit to preparing students with the knowledge, skills, attitudes, tified in his January 2021 inaugural address and experiences they need to be informed, as "cascading crises": a violent attack on engaged members of their communities our democracy and the peaceful transfer of (AASCU, n.d.). IDHE at Tufts University's power, as well as on truth, a raging virus, Tisch College of Civic Life is an applied growing social and economic disparities, research center that studies postsecondary systemic racism, global climate change, student political learning and institutional and declining trust in government and engagement in democracy. In 2018, ADP other institutions, including higher educa- partnered with the IDHE to collaborate on tion. Experiencing increases in hate speech, a multiyear initiative designed to improve democracy.

Prior to this project, IDHE had conducted 10 political climate studies using focus groups and interviews. Those research methods and findings have been previously reported (Thomas & Brower, 2017, 2018). The ADP-IDHE project augmented that original research by exploring whether campuses could work with a set of instructions and coaching by IDHE to engage in a self-assessment process. Additionally, we wanted to explore whether individuals at the participating campuses could develop the expertise to conduct climate studies at other institutions or, alternatively, could coach new cohorts of campuses through the process. If that was possible, we wanted to know what tools and support they would need. Finally, perhaps most importantly, we wanted to ensure that the climate studies catalyzed institutional change, rather than just gathering data, which had been the case in IDHE's original 10 studies.

Qualitative Research Methodologies

Facilitating sustainable change in complex organizations like colleges and universities has been a subject of study for several decades. Organizational change experts challenged the idea that problems in organizations stemmed from poor leadership or employees. Instead, problems often lie with the culture of the organization, which The assessment focuses on the campus cli- other (p. 13). mate as an early step in the change process (Thomas & Brower, 2018).

Campus climate studies tend to be conduct- The conceptual framework for the original ed via statistical surveys (see, e.g., Harper case studies was influenced by Bolman and & Hurtado, 2007, whose meta-analysis of Deal's Reframing Organizations (1991; origiracial campus climate studies found that nally published in 1984, now in its 7th edi-75% used quantitative methods; Morrow et tion), which identified four analysis frames al., 2000). Surveys certainly have much to necessary to consider for organizational recommend them. In comparison to collect- change: (1) structural, defined as formal ing data through interviews, observation, roles, organizational charts and hierarchies, and/or focus groups, a survey can cover a policies, technology, physical spaces; (2)

student political learning and participation Morrow et al., 2000). Furthermore, surveys in democracy. As part of this multiyear pursue statistical research benchmarks like initiative, 12 ADP campuses agreed to work large and representative samples that genwith IDHE to study their campus climates erate confidence in results. Qualitative refor political learning and engagement in search methods tend to reach low numbers of participants and can incur substantial costs (Brodigan, 1992). However, qualitative research has other benefits and has been used effectively in campus climate studies. Harper and Hurtado, for example, used focus groups with 278 participants to examine racial climate across five campuses, developing substantial thematic findings (see also Harper & Quaye, 2007 and Solórzano et al., 2000). Furthermore, Morgan (1996) noted that although surveys can attain a greater breadth, focus group research specifically can achieve greater depth, a view echoed by Morrow et al. According to Maxwell (2013), qualitative research is suited for the following "intellectual goals":

- 1. Understanding the meaning, for participants in the study, of the events, situations, experiences, and actions they are involved with or engage in . . .
- 2. Understanding the particular contexts within which the participants act, and the influence that this context has on their actions . . .
- 3. Understanding the process by which events and actions take place . . .
- 4. Identifying unanticipated phenomena and influences . . . [and]
- 5. Developing causal explanations. (pp. 30 - 31

affects decision-making, behaviors, and Assessing causality, Maxwell said, is approgramming. We subscribe to a circu- proached differently by qualitative relar change process like those of learning searchers who are more interested in exorganizations (Senge, 1990), a process of amining the process of how one variable planning, assessment, discussion, imple- impacts the other, whereas quantitative mentation of new initiatives, and then, after researchers focus on "whether and to what time, assessment of those new initiatives. extent" variance in one variable affects an-

IDHE has found qualitative campus climate research to be productive and powerful. greater breadth of topics (Morgan, 1996; human, defined as needs, feelings, skills,

have been presented at the Association for participated in ADP's Political Engagement and processes that created environments from the state's taxpayers. This study in-(Thomas et al., 2019; Thomas et al., 2020). dents to nearly 24,000 students.

IDHE concluded that colleges and universistrengthening the following: (1) social cocampus community, student well-being, strong faculty-student relationships, and engagement; (2) diversity, inclusion, and equity as realized practice, defined as how the institution uses diversity, particularly based on social identity, political ideology, and lived experiences, to educate for equity and inclusion within and beyond the campus and to advance social cohesion across differences of perspective, identity, and ideology; (3) pervasive, high quality political discussions, defined as how the institution embeds political discussions into the classroom or student experience more broadly, including promoting respect for the open exchange of ideas and consideration of dissenting or unpopular views; (4) student agency and voice, defined as how the institution treats students as colleagues and partners in addressing institutional and local community problems through collaborative governance and decision making; and (5) active student political engagement, defined as how the institution enables political action and student involvement with government structures (e.g., voting, campaigning) and policymaking (advocacy, activism, lobbying).

limitations, attitudes, and beliefs of the The campuses in this study were chosen people within the organizations, not just by ADP. First, ADP hosted an open call leaders and managers; (3) political, defined and reception in July 2017 at a conference as resource allocation, power sharing and for academic affairs officers. Thirty-five decision making, compromise and coercion, academic affairs officers attended and coalitions; and (4) cultural, defined as the learned about the opportunity. ADP then norms, symbols, and history that shape the selected from the 35 campuses, first invitinstitution. The methodology and results ing a set of campuses that had previously Higher Education annual conference and Project. Additional campuses were selected published (Thomas & Brower, 2017, 2018). based on their interest, size, location, and The campuses in the original set of case diversity of student body. All participating studies were selected for their unpredicted campuses were state colleges or universihigh or low voting rates. This assessment ties: four-year institutions that usually served as an important step toward identi- offer bachelor's and master's degrees and fying campus structures, norms, behaviors, are supported primarily by public funding supportive of student political participation. volved institutions in the following states: Based on the emerging findings, IDHE also California, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, published recommendations for strategies Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, for increasing and improving student politi- North Carolina, Ohio, Texas, Virginia, and cal learning and participation in democracy Utah. They ranged in size from 4,000 stu-

As reported in Thomas and Brower (2017), Campuses received an invitation explaining the project and expectations of each ties can improve their climates for political participating institution. In total, 12 camlearning and engagement in democracy by puses agreed to participate in this multiyear initiative. Year I would be dedicated hesion, defined as how the institution builds to coalition building and planning, virtual a sense of shared responsibility within the learning exchanges involving liaisons from each campus, and climate assessments. Year II would be dedicated to campuswide diasocial networks for personal and collective logues and planning based on the results of the assessments.

> For comparison purposes, the research team conducted two climate studies, on campuses selected for their unique student bodies, using the original approach involving a team of outside researchers collecting, analyzing, and reporting the data and findings. The remaining 10 campuses worked with IDHE's guidance and each other as part of a learning exchange to conduct self-studies. IDHE guidance consisted of monthly webinars, one-to-one coaching, face-to-face meetings, and training. IDHE also provided resources such as the focus group protocol, a codebook, and templates for analyzing data. At the end of the assessment phase, campus teams (or in the case of the external studies, the research team) created reports of the findings from that assessment. Although individual reports are confidential, most agreed to share them within the 12 campuses, and all have agreed to share aggregated findings without attribution to an individual campus.

> Participating institutions were required

by ADP to provide support for the project. complete a rubric that captured the themes Provosts and chief academic affairs officers and insights. They also wrote memos to the were to launch the project, identify liaisons file for each focus group or interview. In who would coordinate efforts, and establish total, the team conducted five student focus a coalition of faculty members, staff, and, groups, four faculty focus groups, one staff in some cases, students who would convene focus group, one focus group with the coaliregularly, review progress, and help recruit tion, and six administration interviews at participants necessary to a qualitative one institution, as well as five student focus methodology. Institutions were also asked groups, four faculty focus groups, one staff to participate in virtual and face-to-face focus group, one focus group with the coalilearning exchanges where liaisons could exchange ideas, troubleshoot challenges, and the other institution. work with IDHE. ADP also supported a parttime coordinator who helped IDHE plan the webinars and face-to-face meetings and served to troubleshoot when needed. Institutions received a stipend to cover travel and other expenses. IDHE hosted 24 group webinars covering important aspects of the project, checking in with campuses, and facilitating cross-institutional learning exchanges, as well as five smaller, optional coaching sessions on coding and analysis. The 12 campuses met face-to-face at three conferences where IDHE ran workshops and campus liaisons exchanged ideas. For each of these sessions, IDHE planned relevant content, including tips on building coalitions, sustaining coalitions, equity considerations, facilitating focus groups, note taking, using a rubric to organize the data, coding demonstrations, analysis charts, training on dialogues, and troubleshooting. The opportunities to come together in person proved to be the most valuable; these were the best forums for hands-on training, and they gave us the chance to energize participants. Each session's materials and resources are collected in a shared Google Drive folder for campuses to access. All webinars were recorded so that coalition members on the campuses could view them.

External Study Campuses

Two climate studies were conducted by a team of external researchers that consisted of two researchers from IDHE, another rea fourth researcher from ADP. The IDHE tor and the note taker worked together to findings and reports for the campuses.

tion, and three administration interviews at

After the focus groups and interviews were complete, researchers used NVivo software to code all the data from both campuses. Once this process was complete, the research team analyzed the data. The team met three times to draw findings from their analysis. The coding and analysis process lasted 2 months. When the team had settled on key findings, IDHE prepared reports for these campuses. One was organized in a strengths and challenges format, and the other was organized according to the conceptual framework that serves as the foundation of the codebook. We prepared them with different designs in order to serve as possible templates for other campuses. These reports were delivered to the campuses at the end of December 2018, and then IDHE held meetings with each campus to discuss the findings.

Self-Assessment Campuses

While the research team worked on external study institutions, the 10 remaining campuses worked to build their coalitions; identify researchers who could facilitate focus groups; identify note takers; recruit participants to the focus groups; and complete the process of collecting, organizing, coding, and analyzing the data, and writing their own reports. Several of the campuses recorded and transcribed the focus group discussions; others used note takers and analyzed the notes. Two of the 10 self-study campuses were unable to complete the prosearcher from a participating campus, and cess, although their liaisons continued to participate in webinars and meetings. The team trained the two researchers who had remaining eight campuses completed the not been part of the original 10 case stud- data collection process, but only seven of ies. The team collected the data in 2018, eight completed their analysis and reports, using a combination of focus groups and which have been shared with the group. interviews. The focus groups and interviews Combined, the eight self-study research were recorded. Each involved two people, teams conducted 110 focus groups with a one to facilitate and the other to take notes. total of more than 750 participants. This After most of the focus groups, the facilita- extraordinary amount of data led to key

Findings on the Efficacy of the Process

Evaluation Results

From May 2019 to June 2020, we collected Overall, campuses found this project valuused, described more below.

Successes

Generally, campus liaisons reported that the self-assessment process brought together people who did not usually interact, led to the discussion of issues that were not usually discussed, and uncovered important insights about their institutions. Liaisons reported the following:

- "This was helpful. We found a lot of good things out. It was rewarding. It was difficult. It needed a lot of energy. But it got a lot of stakeholders together who would never have gotten together."
- "The information we got was rich. I don't know how else we would have been able to get it. The mix of people you requested was nice. . . it was good to get all the voices together.'
- "The process itself was an intervention. It connected people. It seeded buy-in."

Campuses were successful building and

campus had a champion or two who led the project, and seven of the nine campuses that finished indicated high levels of institutional support.

data to evaluate the process of the project able. Through the assessment phase, they itself. In May 2019, campus liaisons were discovered crucial insights into their poasked to fill out a survey, and nine cam- litical climates that helped them build a puses responded. In June 2019 we conducted foundation for political learning, discusa first round of focus groups at the Civic sions, and participation. Perhaps most Learning and Democratic Engagement con-significantly, the process itself—using ference and then conducted a second round guided focus group discussions to collect of focus groups via virtual meetings in June data—matched the goals of the initiative 2020. All campuses participated in the focus and modeled a process for discussing difgroups. Although nearly all campus liaisons ficult issues campuswide. In other words, concluded that self-study is a viable method the medium matched the message, as for campus climate research, these conclu- discussed further in the Conclusion secsions were not without caveats, including tion. Participants also reported valuing the the need for more institutional support and opportunities for discussions with their a process guide like the researchers at IDHE colleagues at other campuses and benefiting greatly from the coaching by ADP and IDHE. This collaborative work has proven encouraging as a method for assessing an institution's political climate.

Challenges

Generally, challenges identified included

- 1. the project was resource-intensive: The time and labor required to complete it successfully exceeded the capacity of many if not most of the campus participants;
- 2. the project was too long: Delays in the project due to delayed Institutional Review Board (IRB) approvals, losses of resources, and turnover caused interrupted momentum and precipitated the loss of support; and
- 3. the self-study research was too difficult without experienced researchers already part of the campus community: Campus teams received extensive coaching on research methods, but the campuses that handled this the best were those with access to experienced qualitative research professionals.

maintaining a coalition with a diverse mix These challenges interrelate, and correcting of faculty, staff, students, and some ad- one might not be enough if the others are ministrators. They also found the guidance not also corrected. Some of these challenges and resources provided by IDHE useful and were a result of internal changes at ADP and spoke positively of their opportunities to IDHE and changes in the methodology of the discuss the project with other campuses research. Two of the original researchers left and with ADP and IDHE. On the research their positions in the middle of the project process, overall, all participants reported and had to be replaced, which slowed the that it was useful, with four saying it was process. Also, because the campuses were "extremely" or "very" useful. Finally, every participating as investigators and not just

receive IRB approval at each of the 12 differ- reported challenges to coding notes, and ent campuses, which set the entire project five reported challenges to analyzing coded delays contributed to what we identify as on the focus group protocol as well as the the lack of resources and institutional sup- length of the focus groups and streamline port. Many campuses complained that their the process.) provosts did not provide the ongoing support necessary to sustain the work. One liaison summarized a view expressed by many: tance of establishing and maintaining a co-"I think there is a disconnect between our alition that reflected diversity in terms of the administration and this project—buy-in, people and programs on campus. The coaliunderstanding, value, certainly resources, outcome, and deliverables." One liaison recommendations for improvements, help described the project as a "heavy lift, no recruit participants to focus groups, and addoubt about it . . . a monster lift." A liaison vocate for the project. IDHE supported subat a successful campus said they were in an stantive involvement by coalition members, "advantageous position" because they had for example, by offering them professional buy-in and leadership from an established development opportunities and having them dialogue center and institutional research help review and analyze the data. IDHE also office that offered both expertise and people recommended that the coalitions be viewed to ease the burdens of the project. Some as permanent, not temporary, and charged of these challenges simply reflected that with long-term responsibility beyond this the self-study method was difficult. Only project for examining and improving stutwo liaisons at the self-study institutions dent political learning, diversity and inclusaid the research process was "somewhat sion, and voting. Campus teams also had easy." Two said it was "somewhat diffi- access to resources so that liaisons could cult" and the rest were in between. This engage in a process of self-reflection and was one of the most negative responses in improve their collective capacity for engagthe evaluation survey we conducted with ing in controversial issue discussions across the members. Many campuses had diffi- differences of social identity and political culty implementing the recommendations ideology. Campuses that already supported suggested by the IDHE team. For example, coalitions prior to the start of this initiative all liaisons noted that they faced challenges were able to maintain them throughout. to convening the focus groups and recruit- Those that started from scratch, meaning ing participants. One liaison said that "just most of the campuses, were less successful getting people to attend focus groups is like at maintaining the interest and involvement pulling teeth." IDHE had provided many of the coalition members. tips for recruiting focus group participants, such as soliciting support from senior lead- None of the institutions were able to comers, establishing a diverse and broad coali- plete the self-assessment process within tion whose members could recruit for them, one year, as originally envisioned, and all and kicking off the project in a celebratory needed two academic years, although some and highly visible way to help with recruit- were completed in three semesters. This ment. IDHE had also suggested that focus prolonged duration was a problem in two groups be served food and that they be ways. First, the campuses that were asscheduled at times when groups were al- sessed by the outside research team were ready meeting. Operationalizing this advice left waiting for the others to catch up. was difficult. It required logistical support Second, liaisons reported that it was exand a person who had the time to do it. hausting and that they had difficulty main-As one liaison expressed, "This is a sliver taining the interest of the coalition, other of our responsibilities on campus. . . . Just people on campus, and even institutional having somebody to try to keep on top of leaders. Liaisons strongly suggested that, if things is already a lot." One campus team repeated, the data collection process would member suggested "streamlining around have to be more streamlined and efficient. the focus group protocols, and particularly, Only one campus liaison suggested that you know, the different protocols for the the data should be collected quantitatively, different groups, sometimes they seem to which reinforces the literature we cited align, and then sometimes they didn't, very above on methodology: Surveys are easier

as objects of study, we had to apply for and well." Five of the eight self-study campuses back by at least 6 months. Finally, these data. (Liaisons have volunteered to work the central obstacle to the project's success: coding and analysis process to shorten the

> IDHE stressed from the outset the importion's role was to guide the process, make

and shorter, but they often have a low re-self-study is to work as a replicable process. sponse rate and do not provide the nuance Finally, that two campuses were unable to of qualitative research.

Some liaisons suggested that had the institutional leaders provided more financial support, they might have been able to work faster. One liaison pointed to the circular An external study by a team of researchers nature of the problem: "We keep saying, time and money, time and money. If there in that the research process was easier and is a way to do it faster, limitations due to quicker. It should be noted, however, that time and money are eased."

Finally, two campuses stalled early in the project and were unable to perform their assessments. Each case is different, but both suffered from team and leadership departures and a perceived lack of resources to organize focus groups and interviews. One took on the project in the midst of budget cuts that removed administrative support, particularly from the office that originally committed the institution to the process, and infrastructure. The campus liaison believed that this lack of support doomed the project from the start.

External Study Versus Self-Study

On the surface, both the external study and self-study campuses made similar progress in their campus climate assessments. Thus, campus self-study is clearly possible. However, important caveats remain, and differences between the processes should Nine campuses generated reports from be considered.

First, the self-study campuses, while structurally independent, received significant coaching and guidance from IDHE and each other. During the most intense parts of the data collection and analysis phases, campus teams attended monthly online webinars and were offered ad hoc coding and analysis sessions to train them in this IDHE-designed study. That demand for resources has implications for replicability and scalability. Second, the external study campuses' reports were completed long before the self-study campuses finished theirs; this result has implications for the ability to maintain project momentum, a challenge that campuses identified. Third, the success of each self-study was dependent upon the structure of the coalition and the faculty and staff who volunteered to help. For example, those with qualitative researchers on the team seemed to have an easier time completing the focus groups, coding, analyzing, and producing reports. In the structural frame, most of the cam-That type of variance must be considered if puses reported having an institutionalized

make progress alongside the other eight speaks to the risk of project failure in the absence of institutional support and stabil-

seems preferable from a process standpoint campus teams valued the opportunity to use the research process itself to improve campus climate; bringing people together to discuss important issues, they said, was a successful aspect of the project that they valued. It is unclear how that inherent benefit in the self-study process changes when an external team conducts the research. Overall, an evaluation of the process led us to conclude that assessing campus climate through qualitative studies uncovered important findings and, when performed well, proved preferable to survey methods, not only because of the possibility for robust findings but also because the process itself facilitated improvements in the political climate by bringing people together for productive discussions.

Campus Climate Findings in Summary

campus climate assessments; in this section, we will present a brief summary of those findings to demonstrate the interesting data that these studies can produce. Prominent themes emerged. Although no phenomenon is universal to all campuses, some themes crosscut several campuses. As previously described, the assessment process was based on a 10-campus series of campus climate studies conducted by IDHE 2014–2016. Those studies were designed around a conceptual framework that examined institutions through four "frames": (1) structural—policies, departments, programs, and physical spaces; (2) political—internal and external factors that shape institutional governance and decision-making; (3) cultural—shared norms, values and principles, history, symbols, and symbolic events; and (4) human—composition, behaviors, competencies, and knowledge. Below we present brief summaries of the conclusions.

munity service or service-learning than for avoidance of anything political. political engagement. Thus, the structures reflect thin commitments without the roots necessary for good habits of dialogue. Most campuses reported that political learning and participation were not embedded across the curriculum or campus. Although most of the campuses reported a growing or established commitment to diversity and inclusion, the commitment was alternately described as "shallow" or "slow" or was characterized by gaps (e.g., faculty hiring). Four of the campuses said they lacked an infrastructure for dialogue or political discussions.

In the political frame, many campuses reported being hierarchical and "rule-bound" with regard to institutional governance. Many also reported facing pressures from local or state politicians or religious organizations. Some campuses reported that student activism was met with reticence or resistance, largely due to institutional image concerns. Many campuses expressed the view that the national political scene and the tone of the 2016 election had had a lasting effect and that these conditions made talking about politics more difficult. For example, faculty members reported that they were not sure how to have conversations about elections when, at the same time, students reported that political conversations were happening only in classrooms. If faculty are not managing these conversations well and classrooms are the is a vulnerability.

For the cultural frame, two groups of students complained either that they felt unwelcome on campus or that they could not express their opinions freely due to the campus culture: politically conservative students and historically marginalized groups. Faculty members reported that they avoided talking about politics at all on many of these campuses. Another interesting cultural finding was that many campuses reported a culture of politeness or an underlying aversion to risk, which affected the climate for political discussion. Many of

commitment to civic engagement, but they engagement: Some reported robust electoral were mostly apolitical in nature. Generally, and other political engagement from stucampuses reported more support for com- dents, whereas others reported a culture of

> Finally, for the human frame, faculty across the campuses expressed the view that they were ill-equipped to navigate political topics or to facilitate political discussions in their classrooms. Students agreed, reporting that too many professors were unprepared to lead discussions involving politically charged topics.

Conclusion

1. When performed well, the qualitative climate assessment process, followed by multistakeholder campus dialogues, is an effective approach to assessing and strengthening campus climates for political learning and engagement in democracy. Not only does the assessment process produce compelling insights and reveal areas needing attention (summarized in the preceding section), it also catalyzes programmatic (institutional) and attitudinal (individual) changes. Campuses reported that the data collection method of focus groups itself fostered discussion, raised awareness, and generated interest in democracy. Participating campuses reported that the project will continue beyond the end of the grant, with more campus dialogues and efforts to address challenges that were identified through the assessment phase.

2. This model is replicable with methodological changes and proper support. The political climate assessment process works only place where they are happening, that when an outside team conducts the research or when a campus has in-house, experienced qualitative researchers to conduct the self-study. Campuses using external researchers and with a strong internal research team moved quickly through the processes, finishing all but the final phase a full year ahead of the other campuses. We believe that external researchers working with on-campus researchers (or training experienced facilitators) will reduce the time for data collection and analysis to under 2 months. This proposed procedure points to a need for continued participation by IDHE researchers.

these campuses reported deep connections Institutional leaders and respected "change to the local communities and a strong sense agents" on a campus matter. The process of stewardship that played out in reciprocal works better when presidents or provosts relationships and partnerships. One vary- provide consistent support and encourageing perspective was the level of political ment and the work is supported by a strong coalition, a coordinating team, experienced expectations, and instructions for particiresearchers, and effective organizers.

3. The cohort, multicampus model strengthened the work and provided support for the campus liaisons. It also reinforced an ethos of discussion, collaboration, and community. This model is replicable with all types of institutions. That said, the campus liaisons needed more face-to-face meetings and trainings. Regular, face-to-face convenings per year—would improve the process.

Overall, we are encouraged by the power of the method when robustly supported and implemented in full. As a result of this pilot, we can streamline the process to one year, allowing us to scale up. We propose the following timeline:

- Planning, coalition building, IRB approvals (3 months)
- · Campus climate assessment (data collection, analyses, and reporting; 3 months)
- Campus dialogues (3 months)
- Planning for interventions, documenting, final reports (3 months)

pating campuses. Adherence to this memorandum would cut the planning process to 2 months. As a result of this pilot, we now know more about what institutional leaders, coalitions, project coordinators, and researchers need to do. We know how to expedite the IRB process, one of the sources of delay. We have also streamlined the focus group protocols and data analyses processes. Second, the process requires a for reflection and training—at least twice larger qualitative research team: Through this pilot, we identified several individuals who could become IDHE "associates," providing the possibility of regional expansion without having to permanently expand IDHE's size. Third, campuses wanting to perform a self-study would need IDHE's ongoing coaching, support, and materials. Campuses would also need to dedicate time for on-campus researchers, coordinators, and liaisons. Using a combination of IDHE and campus researchers, the in-person focus groups could be completed in as little as a week, depending on the size of the institution. Finally, funding would be required for both IDHE and the campuses to support external and internal researchers to conduct the climate study, convene, and participate in ongoing coaching and trainings, including facilitation training. We envision sup-To succeed, this approach would first need port coming from an outside foundation a clear memorandum of understanding, with a match required of each campus.



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