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Civic Engagement as History in Person in the Lives of High School Girls

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Objective

This paper investigates civic engagement among minority girls in 3 inner-city high schools. Grounded in an ethnographic study of 68 girls--mostly Latina and Black girls with a few Native Americans, Asians and Whites--who participated in a 3-year intervention program to spark their interest in engineering and technology, the paper calls for more in-depth explorations of youth civic engagement and further refinement of what we mean by "civic engagement."

Perspective

Some time ago, Nancy Fraser (1989) argued that the conventional meaning of being engaged as a citizen—voting, debating, organizing, and leading causes on behalf of personal, family, and community needs--was historically specific as well as class-, gender-, and race-inflected (one could add age-inflected). Following Fraser, the rise of late (welfare state) capitalism created the conditions for a diminished citizen role, one overtaken by the role of "client," especially for urban minorities and the poor. In late capitalism, the relation of the person/family to the state was increasingly channeled through a new role, the social welfare client--which provided benefits not widely available previously but also made individuals and social groups more dependent on state bureaucracies for service provision rather than requiring them to interpret and socially act on their own needs, experiences, and life problems (1989: 129-130). Fraser forecast that as welfare state capitalism gave way to increased privatization of services, "citizen" would became further diminished by the role of "consumer," as persons and families were increasingly offered a choice of social and personal services based on what they could afford to pay.

Some recent research seems to bear out Fraser's prediction. Clydesdale (2007) finds that today's youth aren't interested in politics or government and don't aspire to goals like political activism, public service, or making the world a better place. Managing daily life to finish school, earn money, have fun, and satisfy family takes most of teenagers' time and attention. Some teenagers who say they participate in civic groups seem to do so primarily to pad their college resumes, not to develop a citizen identity (Friedland and Morimoto, 2006). Marginalized young people—minorities and the poor—are thought to be even less likely to participate in civic activities or develop a civic/citizen identity (get figures from NAEP Civics Report Card.). Young Americans' disinclination to engage in civic matters has been blamed on a pervasive neoliberal ideology that prizes individual accomplishment, distrusts government, and disparages the need to work across political,

[1] Special thanks to Angela Arzubiaga, Alfredo Artiles, Justine Cassell, and Terra Morris for their advice and suggestions on earlier versions of this paper. The views reported here are my responsibility.

ethnic, and religious differences (Bishop, 2008; Friedman, 2005). From this literature, I did not expect the girls in my study to participate very much in civic activities.

On the other hand, in the literature on girls' interests, particularly as they relate to career choice, girls (compared to boys) are known to like doing things that help others and to want to address social problems [get refs.]. This finding has influenced the design of numerous programs (including our own) to encourage girls' interest in engineering and technology. From this literature, I wondered whether civic activities might be an important aspect of the girls' lives.

On one level, my results confirm both bodies of literature. As a group, the girls reported little participation in the conventional indicators of civic engagement as usually assessed by surveys--participation in politics, membership in civic organizations, willingness to express political or social viewpoints (CIRCLE, 2006). On the other hand, when invited to come up with small-scale engineering projects to work on, most of the girls chose projects with some civic component. In addition, as we got to know the girls better over time, we learned of other civically-oriented activities not captured by conventional indicators.

These findings led me to think more deeply about "participation" and "identification" as processes of civic engagement.

Methods and Data Sources

In Fall 2006, our research team identified 60 10th grade girls with strong academic records in college preparatory mathematics and science at 3 urban high schools in Colorado and invited them to voluntarily participate in an after-school program (called "Female Recruits Explore Engineering" or FREE) to learn about engineering.[2] Since then (2006-2009), we have met monthly with these girls to explore engineering, meet practicing engineers, visit engineering labs and workplaces, conduct hands-on engineering projects, and discuss the pros and cons of engineering as a career. We developed a secure website for the girls to share their experiences, and we gave each girl a Blackberry smartphone for personal use and communication with other participants and the researchers. We used participant observation to record what happened during the meetings; interviews (on the website, in person) to gather the girls' perspectives on life, identity, and engineering; and surveys for information about previous experiences, school performance, future plans, social networks, and self-efficacy. We captured all the girls' website postings and all their Blackberry email and PIN messages. During the past year (2008-2009), we also have been conducting case studies of 9 of the girls in which we interview them face-to-face every two months.

Although the primary research questions focused on the girls' experiences related to engineering and the possibility of pursuing a career in engineering, we were interested in how the prospect of engineering fit into the contexts of the girls' lives. Thus, we

[2] This work was supported by an NSF grant, HRD # 0624537, to Margaret Eisenhart, Monica Bruning and Jill Bystydzienski.

collected data about the girls' activities in school and after school, their social lives and relationships, their families, and their views on contemporary topics in the news. The material reported below about civic engagement comes from these data sources.

Results

Participation in Civic Activities

In the first year of our program, the girls occasionally mentioned after-school activities that might qualify as civic engagement—volunteering in the community or participating in a school service club, but these activities were mentioned in passing, as when noting the need to meet a schedule or obligation. The girls offered no narratives of personally or socially motivated participation in community or political matters.

During the summer of 2008, we asked the girls directly about their participation in "community affairs" and "political issues." Approximately half said they had little or no interest in politics. The most common reason for lack of interest was frustration with entrenched positions and unproductive arguments. Here are a few representative comments:

> "I just think everyone has their own opinion and once you start talking to people about [politics], the only thing you are trying to do is trying to have them think just the way you do."
>
> "I don't like to talk about political issues with my family because we always end up arguing."
>
> "No one ever changes their mind."

Some girls in the not-interested group said that because they were too young to vote, they saw no reason to pay attention to elections and politics. Others said they could not vote because they were undocumented. Others said that because they didn't "know anything about" political issues, they didn't want to talk to anyone about them or do anything about them.

These views make politics and political debate unappealing, intractable, and ultimately someone else's business. These girls did not construct political participation as a viable opportunity for them to make their voices heard or to debate possibilities with others.

Larger-scale surveys and interviews of young American's interest in elections, voting, and political debate tend to corroborate the views of this half of our group. In fact, in larger studies, the percentage of disinterested youth tends to be much higher (Clydesdale, 2007). Such findings have prompted policy makers, teachers, and parents to focus attention on prospects and programs to increase interest in politics among young people.

As a whole though, the girls in our program may be somewhat atypical because approximately half said they liked hearing other people's political views, comparing them to their own, and debating them. For example:

> "I like people to know why I believe what I believe, and I like to know the same about them."
>
> "I am interested in politics and I'm strong for what I believe in, but I always make sure I know the facts first."
>
> "It's good to hear other people's point of view and voice yours. People usually think better of you when they know you have an opinion."
>
> "If I don't speak up, how do I expect to be represented properly? Besides, sometimes a discussion or debate gives you a better idea of the flaws or profits in your or the opposing views."

No obvious demographic characteristics divided those who were interested from those who were not. However, many in the interested group said they were inspired by the candidacies of Hillary Clinton (especially) and Barack Obama (less so). In the early summer of 2008, one said:

> …the election, history is being made. An African American, for once, is having a position that everyone believed would never happen. The idea that he was nominated, alone, hits me right in the heart, because it makes me feel like anything is possible. Not only that, we have the possibility that a woman can become vice president, giving every girl the idea that they too can one day hold that position. If not, the mere idea can inspire them.

A Mexican-American girl, Ariane, had this to say during an interview:

Ariane[3]:	"…It was interesting to see how there's somebody [different] going up for president...like, if it was Hillary, it would be even more [different], because it's a girl, you know?"
Researcher:	"So did you like Hillary too? Before it was Obama, when it was between them, you liked her?"
Ariane:	"Yeah, and then when it was him, I was like, okay, I'll still pick him."

A striking finding was high interest in the U.S. presidential campaign among some girls who are undocumented or have undocumented family members. Ariane is one who said only one person in her extended family could vote. Another spoke of watching every debate with her father and heatedly discussing it afterwards, even though no one in her family could vote. Another described her family as being "super Mexican" but talking about the U.S. campaign and political issues "all the time." Nonetheless, only one girl (of

[3] All proper names are pseudonyms chosen from those proposed by the girls.

65), an African American, reported working for a political candidate or campaign during the highly visible 2008 election year.

When we asked about involvement in "community affairs," the girls had even less to report. Several asked what we meant by community affairs. Several others said they'd "love to be involved" in their community but didn't know how to go about it. When prompted to talk about things "you do in your community," they mentioned attending church, leading Sunday School classes, volunteering in schools (tutoring younger children, cleaning), and babysitting. [4]

As a whole, the young women who participated in our study seemed to be more politically engaged than the average American young person. But for those who were engaged, their form of engagement seemed to connect them only weakly to the public sphere. They took up political issues as matters of conversation and debate with family members and close friends, but with one exception, they reported no participation in political activities, campaigns, causes, or public debates, despite the fact that the 2008 presidential campaign was in full swing during our study. Community affairs was barely a topic of conversation, although some participation in the community was mentioned when asked directly.

Time for Civic or Political Participation

Another indicator of civic engagement could be the amount of time spent on civically-oriented activities. In February 2008 and again in September 2008, we administered extracurricular and after-school activity surveys to the girls. In the 3 high schools covered by this paper, girls at each school averaged different proportions of time spent on school, homework and jobs. But at all 3 schools, the proportion of time reported for civic activities was very small.

At one school, Southside, girls averaged 77 hours/week going to school (7.5 hours, 5 days a week=37.5 hrs/wk), working a job, and doing their homework. Assuming an 18-hour waking day, 7 days a week (126 waking hours in a week), Southside girls spent 61% of their waking hours per week on school, homework, and jobs. Although involved in a number of extracurricular or after-school activities, they reported spending only a small fraction (6%) of their waking hours per week on them. And only some of these activities—National Honor Society, student council, and church—seemed to be occasions for civic engagement.

Girls at a second school, Chavez, were involved in a longer list of extracurricular and after-school activities than those at Southside. In addition to jobs and homework, their

[4] The community activities mentioned by the girls deserve more attention than I can give them here. Caring and tutoring for younger children may be conceived as a form of civic engagement in the sense that the girls are taking responsibility for the collective well-being of community children. And although I was initially shocked that the girls were cleaning their schools, I am grateful to Angela Arzubiaga for pointing out to me that in Mexican communities, cleaning churches and schools can be a sign of respect and honor for public spaces. This is a topic I hope to collect more data about in the near future.

activities included band; soccer; softball; cross-country; various honor societies; hospital volunteer work; Boys and Girls Clubs; college or career preparation activities, e.g., medical career college, college application prep sessions; and several service clubs, e.g., Interact (Rotary), FCCLA (Family, Career, and Community Leaders of America), and Global Challenge (online youth collaboration around global issues). Relative to Southside, Chavez girls spent much less time working at jobs (ave. 6 hrs./wk) and much less time on homework (ave. 3 hrs./wk). The extracurricular activities they listed also took relatively little time (3-5 hours/wk per girl), with sports taking more time per week than the other activities. On average, Chavez girls spent only 38% of their waking time on school, work, and homework. Only 3% of their time was spent on extracurricular activities. Their longer list of extracurricular activities included a few more with civic potential, but time spent on each was very short.

Like the girls at Chavez, those at the third school, Aspire, were involved in a fairly long list of extracurricular and after-school activities, but their profile was again different. While the Aspire girls reported an average of 13 hours/week spent on homework, none reported working an after-school job. Their extracurricular activities included sports, honor societies, hospital volunteer work, clubs (astronomy, Latin dancing, knitting, mock trial), a youth empowerment group, and a youth leadership group, but as at Chavez, averaged only 3-5 hours/wk, with sports taking more time than the others. Using the metric applied to Southside and Chavez, Aspire girls spent 40% of their waking hours on school and homework, none in a job, and 3% on extracurricular or after-school activities.

These proportions suggest that only a small fraction of these academically talented girls' time is spent in activities that could provide opportunities for civic engagement, at least in the conventional sense. And given the number of after-school activities listed relative to the time allocated, only a very small amount of time is likely to be devoted to any one activity. This is another indication that the forms of civic engagement reported by the girls only weakly connect them to the public sphere. In fact, as alluded to above, some researchers have suggested that high school students use after-school activities to "pad their resumes" for college applications and may not be personally interested in the activities at all (Friedland and Morimoto 2004, Morimoto 2008).

Engineering Projects

At the beginning of the 2007-08 school year, we invited the girls to propose small-group engineering projects of interest to them. At each school, we elicited ideas; guided the girls' explorations of each project's requirements, benefits, and costs; and searched for engineering consultants who would volunteer to help with specific projects. More than 50 projects were suggested by the girls. After some exploration and discussion, the girls selected 10 projects to pursue. The girls worked on their projects for most of the school year and presented the results at an end-of-year celebration for friends and family.

I originally grouped the girls' projects into 2 main categories: personally enhancing and socially enhancing. Personally-enhancing projects included: adjustable high heeled shoes for women (a concept later named by *Time* as one of 100 best innovations of 2007);

flavored pen and pencil tops; attractive thermal clothing; glow-in-the-dark clothing; solar jewelry; and cameras-as-jewelry. Socially-enhancing projects included: a money reader for the blind; an assistive robot; and a playground for disabled children.[5] One project, creating a Rube Goldberg machine, was primarily for fun and the challenge to "see if we can do it."

The socially-enhancing projects can quite easily be seen as a kind of civic engagement. In each case, the project was motivated by a family member or personal friend with an unmet need and led the girls to engage with publics beyond themselves and their families. To design the money reader, the girls had to learn about and try to think through the lives of blind persons. In thinking about the assistive robot, they had to try and think through the lives of paraplegic and quadriplegic persons (a process that eventually led them to scale back their design to a robot that could pick up cans). To develop the playground, they tried to think through the lives of children disabled by blindness, deafness, and physical handicaps.

Over time, I also came to see that most of the "personally" enhancing projects had a social dimension too. The solar jewelry project was a case-in-point.

The Solar Belt Buckle Project. This group of four girls had agreed that they wanted to design solar-powered jewelry. For 2 meetings, they debated what type of jewelry to make and investigated solar panels online. At the third meeting, Tatum suggested that they make a solar-powered headband. The other girls liked that idea, and the group started working on it. At the fourth meeting, Tatum made another pitch—this time for a solar-powered belt buckle. She said she had been exploring ideas online and found a picture of a battery-powered belt buckle. She thought they could make one that was solar-powered, smaller, and more stylish ("not stupid-looking").

Tatum was determined to pursue this project and hoped to market the belt buckle. In making this clear, she told us that she came from "a family meant to be entrepreneurs." She told the story of her brother who, during a visit to the family's village in Mexico, learned how to make candles from their grandmother. When he returned to the U.S., he started making his own candles, packaging them attractively, and selling them at Christmastime. Tatum reported that he made "a lot of money" selling his candles and that his experience motivated her to want to market the belt buckle. In addition, she had plans to improve on the design by making the solar panel smaller than the group's original design and figuring out exactly how the solar cell could be used to power other small gadgets, e.g., a cell phone or iPod. Then, she told us, she wanted to design a car shade that covered the windshield with solar film that could capture power that would, in turn, charge a cell phone in case of emergency or even something bigger like a laptop for convenience.

Other Forms of Civic Engagement

[5] These projects appear to be distinctly gendered. This is another topic for another paper.

As we came to know the girls better and to interview them individually, other unexpected examples of civic engagement have emerged in girls' representations of themselves. Four cases stand out.

Taking Design to the Public Sphere. For Natali's engineering project in FREE, she and 1 other girl worked on the design of a playground for children with disabilities. One day Natali (from Aspire) told us how, via the Internet, she learned about a nearby town that was planning to build a similar playground. She told us she read their report online. Then she contacted the town's assistant manager who was overseeing the project and arranged to attend a planning meeting when the proposed playground would be discussed. She attended the meeting and afterwards introduced herself to the assistant manager and others in attendance. She told them about her group's project and invited them to attend FREE's end-of-year celebration to view the final design. Unfortunately, no one could attend the celebration, but they sent their regrets and urged Natali to pursue her interest and stay in touch.

At least two things are going on here. For one, Natali constructs herself as an actor in an activity (urban planning) in which, as far as we know, she had never been involved before. Part of her construction is a narration of herself as a participant intent on learning more, getting more involved, meeting previously-unknown others who were already more involved, and connecting them with her local group (the girls working with her on the playground project). Secondly, Natali appears to use the nearly-completed playground project as a pivot (or artifact, after Vygotsky) to approach and begin to interact with (construct an identity among) a group of adult strangers with civic interests similar to hers.

Stepping Out for Gay Rights. In a small group of friends including a researcher, Jayde (from Chavez) told the story of traveling downtown to a political rally with a girlfriend. (It did not sound like she had done this before.) Jayde's friends were stunned to hear that she had gone to the rally because they thought it would be chaotic and potentially dangerous. Several said their parents had told them not to go. Once there, Jayde and her girlfriend were surprised to find protesters there, and they moved closer to find out what the protesters were shouting about. They quickly realized that one very loud group was protesting gay marriage. In Jayde's words, "that made us really mad!" So she and her girlfriend clasped hands and marched right through the middle of the protesters, trying to "get in their face." Jayde said the protesters were surprised but let the two girls pass. She told this story with pride, and the group of listeners responded with admiration that she and her friend had been bold enough to attend the rally and heckle the protesters.

In this example, Jayde constructs herself as an active participant in a political activity. In her narration, she is a protester of protesters who engages in a very deliberate act of public opposition. Jayde's action to disrupt a group of political protesters with whom she disagreed may be a one-time experiment in political engagement for her. However, her pride in telling the story and her listeners' admiration for an act that challenged the status quo in her Latino/a community (by supporting gay rights and visibly plunging into a

political controversy) suggests that this identity could motivate her to future similar activity.

Dealing Real Estate for Mis Padres. One day when talking with a researcher, Becky (from Southside) confided her concern about having to negotiate the sale of her Spanish-speaking parents' house. As she described it, because neither of her parents spoke English, Becky—a good student and fluent in English--often served as the public face and translator for her family in dealings with public officials. Although accustomed to the role, Becky was uncomfortable as a "language broker" (Dorner, Orellana and Jimenez 2008, Orellana, Dorner and Pulido 2003) in a real estate deal. She worried that she would not understand all the English words in the technical language of real estate dealing, and that she would not always know a Spanish equivalent for the English words that make up real estate sale and purchase agreements. She worried that her parents would be mad at her if she stumbled to translate the legal language, and would blame her for undesirable outcomes, e.g., a lower-than-desired sale price.

Becky was one of several girls who told us about translating for her parents and older relatives when they had to interact with public officials, the legal and medical systems, and social service agencies. Although translation is not usually considered "civic engagement," these cases and other research on this topic (Dorner et al. 2008, Orellana et al. 2003, Valenzuela 1999) suggest that it may be an important means by which bilingual young people come into contact and form relationships with the public sphere.

Sponsoring Public Projects in Mexico. Tatum (from Aspire) was another interesting case. After knowing her for more than a year, she began to talk about an activity never mentioned before: representing the Mexican village where she was born in an organization of locals dedicated to raising money for social and public services in one Mexican state. Although Tatum was born in the village, she and her family came to the U.S. when she was 2 months old. She said her knowledge of the village came mostly from her mother who was born and raised there and a few visits that Tatum herself had made there. Tatum's job as a "representative" was to sell raffle tickets and solicit other donations for projects such as improving roads, the school, and the church in the village. According to Tatum, she identified strongly with the village, her grandparents still living there, and the many needs of a poor village. She proudly pulled up Google Earth to give us a tour of the village and said she spent many hours raising money and attending meetings where the group discussed and prioritized the village's requests for support. This activity, not listed by Tatum as "extracurricular," "after school," or "involvement in community affairs," was nonetheless part of the identity by which she wanted us to know her. It is also a form of both local and transnational civic engagement.

Discussion

Youth civic engagement is usually assessed in terms of self-reported participation in civic institutions—voting, following the news, and joining organized groups. Most of the girls in FREE reported low levels of participation in these civic activities and groups. Their participation was limited by interest, time, and status (too young to vote, not a U.S.

resident). However, their selection of engineering projects to pursue suggested a different form of civic engagement—thinking about others' limitations (disabilities) or community problems (lack of resources) that could be overcome and deciding to do something about them. Some engagements fostered by projects will probably be short-lived, but others may propel the girls into longer-term civic engagements such as Natali's with urban planning and Tatum's with multiple (social and personal) uses for solar cells. Further, the girls' lives outside of school and FREE suggest other forms of civic engagement—political protesting and brokering. Together, these results suggest there are more and varied forms of youth civic engagement than conventionally assumed.

One way of extending studies of civic engagement is to distinguish between "participation"—what a person is actually doing (spending time on/in); and "identification"—the extent to which a person commits him- or herself to an activity (Hodges, 1998). Applied to civic engagement, there could be civic activities in which young people participate and identify (designing a solar cell to join a family of entrepreneurs), others in which they participate but do not identify (extracurricular service activities for resume padding, discussing politics but not voting), and still others in which they participate but dis-identify (brokering real estate deals but not wanting to). As Diane Hodges describes this distinction:

> It [exposes] a split between a person's activities [participation] and their relations with participation [identification], a [possible] rupture between what a person is actually doing, and how a person finds themselves located in the "community" (1998, 273).

In some cases, participation will lead individuals to identify themselves (perhaps consciously, perhaps not) in terms of existing social categories and structures (as happens when Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger's [1991] process of "legitimate peripheral participation" is successful). In other cases participation can lead individuals to fake identification or to actively dis-identify. Another possibility is that participation leads individuals to manipulate, resist, or try and change existing categories and structures.

Fake (or strategic) identification and resistance may occur when individuals are compelled to participate but believe that the underlying premise for social categorization and structuring in the site of participation is likely to be false, e.g., when merit is said to be the basis for achievement yet money or legacy appears to determine achievement outcomes (Holland and Eisenhart, 1990; Willis, 1977, etc.). Hodges suggests that dis-identification can occur when participants cannot practice what she calls the "suppression of difference," i.e., cannot sublimate historicized identities (being a girl, being gay) in order to take on new ones (becoming an engineer, making a career of the military). Others have written about practices in which participants construct identities that are purposefully transgressive of hegemony (Holland and Lave, 2001). In short, "within participation, there are multiple possibilities for identification" (Hodges, 1998, 289).

Another important point is that some kind of participation is a necessary first step for any kind of engagement/identification (Holland and Lachicotte, 2007; Urrieta, 2007). Thus, another way to extend studies of civic engagement is to explore the opportunities—what Lave, Dorothy Holland and their colleagues call "sites (or communities) of practice" (Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner, and Cain, 1998; Holland and Lave, 2001; Lave and Wenger, 1991) —that youth actually have to participate in civic activities. The results reported here suggest that the urban high school curricula and extracurricular offerings for civic participation are sporadic and short-lived.

Drawing heavily on Vygotsky, Holland and Lachicotte (2007) argue that individuals develop commitments to identities (e.g., to an identity as civically engaged) as they participate over time in activities associated with a particular "figured world" (a culturally imagined and populated world, e.g., the figured world of schooling, engineering, or civic engagement). Social identities are constructed with respect to the roles configured by the cultural world (a good student, a promising engineer, a good citizen); personal identity is constructed by naming oneself (and reflecting on oneself as) an actor with an identity in that cultural world. Holland and Lachicotte write:

> The ability to organize oneself in the name of an identity, according to the Vygotskian perspective, develops as one transacts cultural artifacts with others and then, at some point, applies the cultural resource to oneself (2007, 113).

Holland et al. argue that when people are first learning about a figured world, obvious artifacts (including identity markers) are necessary to mediate the relationship between individual, activity and figured world. Later, artifacts may become internalized, making their explicit forms and uses no longer evident. Without sustained opportunities or sites to pursue this kind of identity development, persons experimenting with artifacts--such as a political discourse (Ariane), a playground design (Natali), a protest strategy (Jayde), or a form of community organizing (Tatum)—will not have a chance to develop mastery of them or be able to internalize them. If we want young people to develop identities as persons committed to civic engagement, we need to know what sites of practice contain possibilities for this development, what mediating artifacts are practiced there, and how the practices can be encouraged and sustained.

The importance of sites for sustained practice raises another possibility for future research: How are incipient interests or sentiments attracted to a cultural world and its identities in the first place? Marianne Gullestad (2003) refers to incipient interests as "sleeper identities"—unorganized sentiments that exist beforehand as a social history of a person's positioning, i.e., a personal history of being positioned by others and responding to it, i.e., one's *habitus* (Bourdieu), the historicized self (Hodges), or history-in-person (Holland and Lave, 2001). Gullestad's example is European Muslims who as "guests" in the countries where they live "are subject to a domestic etiquette that denies them the standing of member and invalidates their claims to civic and political rights even as it sanitizes the discrimination practiced upon them" (Holland and Lachicotte, 2007, 129). In Gullestad's view, the unorganized sentiments produced by this positioning

precondition European Muslims to find the cultural world of "radical Islam" and even the identity of "terrorist" appealing. Similarly, the positioning of young people and especially minorities in U.S. society may create histories-in-person that precondition them to find the mainstream world of civic engagement unappealing and thus to choose to affiliate with (and master the artifacts and identities of) nonmainstream groups (a Mexican village support group, a cleaning crew, a gang).

The results and theoretical developments reported here suggest many new, intriguing and potentially fruitful avenues for further investigation and understanding of youth civic engagement.

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