

Democratic Engagement

A Review at
Johns Hopkins University

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At a moment when democracy is under strain in the United States and abroad, and, relatedly, universities across the country are awakening to their role in cultivating democratic engagement, this report provides an inventory of democratic offerings at Johns Hopkins and identifies areas of potential focus and improvement looking forward in the years to come.

Executive Summary

This report was written in 2021 by SNF Agora Visiting Fellow Scott Warren, with assistance from a number of students, and from staff in the offices of the Provost, Development and Alumni Relations, and the President. To complete the review, the team relied on registrar and orientation data, surveys, interviews, an audit of innovative peer practices, and publicly available information. The hope is that this report stimulates an ongoing conversation on how Johns Hopkins might consider strengthening its approach to democratic engagement.

While the term *democratic engagement* is, in itself, challenging to define, the review suggests that a university that promotes democratic engagement should seek to instill in its students the knowledge, skills, values, and behaviors to become active participants in the democratic process. This sort of participation includes, but is not limited to, voting, participating in public debate, advocating on local issues, and engaging democratic institutions to address flaws in the society or the democracy itself, including enduring issues of inequality.

The review is divided into five areas we identified as most critical and relevant to questions of democratic engagement on campus: coursework, events and programming, elections and voting, local community engagement, and overall democratic culture. These five areas constitute specific ways in which universities can promote the aforementioned democratic knowledge, skills, values, and behavior requisite for active participation in the democratic process, and so provide a comprehensive perspective into the extent to which a university is effectively promoting democratic engagement.

A university that promotes democratic engagement should seek to instill in its students the knowledge, skills, values, and behaviors to become active participants in the democratic process.

The review used four main methods in order to collect data:

- **Building an inventory:** The team worked to undertake an inventory of coursework, campus events, and other activities with a democratic focus. This inventory adopted a definition of democratic engagement to assess which courses, events, and other activities should be considered democratically focused, and then the team worked with the registrar and other offices to obtain information on the number (and, where possible, other traits such as school and major) of the students who took those courses or participated in other democracy-related opportunities on campus.
- **Conducting campus-wide surveys:** The team worked with Student Affairs and the Center for Social Concern to include three questions on democracy in a random subset of the Enrolled Students Survey (sent to all undergraduates at the end of the academic year). The democracy questions in the survey were viewed by 1,350 students; 864 responded to at least one democracy question.
- **Undertaking in-depth interviews:** The team conducted deeper interviews on the question of democratic engagement with 35 student leaders identified by the Center for Social Concern who were democratically engaged in the university. The team also conducted interviews with 11 faculty members at the Homewood campus and engaged in informal conversations with more than 30 other members of the faculty and staff.
- **Benchmarking other university practices:** The team mapped out the broader landscape of democratic engagement at other colleges and universities, including best practices in many of the areas covered in this review.

Using this methodology, the top-line findings are as follows:

COURSEWORK

- For the purposes of this project, “democracy” is defined as the form of governance in which power is vested in citizens and exercised through a formal system of representation.
- According to the inventory, the launch and growth of the SNF Agora Institute has contributed to a **substantial increase in the number of democracy courses in the curriculum**, defined as any classes that, in substantial part, teach about democracy, democratic theory, democratic principles, democratic institutions, or democratic action. The number of democracy-focused undergraduate courses grew 44 percent from the 2019-20 to 2020-21 academic years alone.
- These courses, however, are being taken overwhelmingly by students in the social sciences and the humanities. **An education in deep issues of democracy is not reaching our students in STEM fields.**
 - 785 undergraduate students from the Krieger School of Arts and Sciences (Krieger) took at least one democracy-focused course over a two-year period from Fall 2019 to Spring 2021, out of the 4,524 unique students in Krieger in that period. Only 83 undergraduate students from the Whiting School of Engineering (Whiting) took a democracy-focused course during those two years, out of the 2,444 unique students in Whiting in those two years.
 - The under-representation of STEM students is even starker when one looks at particular departments in Fall 2019:

- Of the 485 biomedical engineering majors in Fall 2019, only four took a democracy-focused course that semester.
- Of the 405 computer science majors in Fall 2019, only seven took a democracy-focused course that semester.
- Of the 319 chemical and biomolecular engineering majors in Fall 2019, only two took a democracy-focused course that semester.
- The same is true for STEM majors in Krieger. Of the 429 molecular and cellular biology majors in Fall 2019, four took a democracy-focused course that semester.
- The same also holds if one looks not only at a single semester but the full two years from Fall 2019 to Spring 2021. For example, of the 575 unique biomedical engineering majors in this two-year period, only 19 took a democracy-focused course at any point during those two years.

■ This disparity persists despite signs that the level of **interest in democracy programming among STEM students appears comparable** to that of other students.

- An analysis of registration data from the 2021 new student orientation shows that equal proportions of students from Krieger and Whiting chose to register for the non-mandatory Democracy Day event. Thirty-four percent of the registrants for the event were from Whiting, almost precisely their representation in the incoming class.
- The 2021 Enrolled Student Survey asked students what future engagement opportunities they would be interested in. Nineteen percent of all students said they would be interested in classes that include democracy as a topic, while 15 percent of Whiting students said they would be interested in such courses. These numbers are not far removed from even the most popular responses, such as paid civic engagement opportunities in Baltimore (30 percent of all students and 19 percent of Whiting students).

Of the 485 biomedical engineering majors in fall 2019, only four took a democracy-focused course that semester.

One interpretation of this data is that STEM students are interested in democratic programming at levels comparable to the rest of the class, and will seek out those opportunities if given the chance, but face roadblocks in taking democracy courses due to requirements in their majors or a lack of awareness of the offerings. This interpretation would benefit from further inquiry, but we note it is not inconsistent with what was reported in interviews with students and the results of other studies such as the Johns Hopkins Second Commission on Undergraduate Education (CUE2) faculty report.

- Accordingly, **the university may want to consider ways to broaden its democracy-focused course offerings so that they reach the entire class**, including segments of the class such as STEM students whose academic experience does not tend to bring them into contact with democracy coursework. Options to expand the offerings include course or distribution requirements and the folding of democracy-related themes into new or existing STEM courses or programming, all steps other universities have taken. The implementation of the (CUE2) recommendations may provide an opportunity to make headway on this issue. Above all, the university will want to continue to make sure the courses are relevant to the studies of all students, no matter their major.

EVENTS AND PROGRAMMING

- According to the inventory, the number of **democracy-focused events on campus also has grown substantially** in recent years, from 15 such events in Fall 2019 to 27 events in Spring 2021, according to our comprehensive analysis. Again, the data indicate that this is primarily due to the maturation of the SNF Agora Institute.
- However, students report that they are often unaware of democracy-focused events on campus. Our own review revealed that **democracy-focused events do not appear in any single repository online and often are scattered across multiple websites**. The SNF Agora Institute website has come closest of late to serving as a one-stop repository for these events.
- Even for the events that do exist online, however, there is a deeper problem of **information about the events not making its way to students**. Students reported excitement once they heard of democracy-focused programming at the university but reported they were unaware of events unless they actively sought them out or happened to know of someone involved in them. STEM students in particular tended not to hear about these events.
- Therefore, **the university may want to work with student leaders** to undertake a review of its approach to communicating events to **identify a single online platform for democracy programming and a more effective way of making students aware of these opportunities**.
- Finally, with regard to orientation, the university has begun to offer effective democracy programming. Reports on Democracy Day this year were especially positive. The university should **consider carrying forward its successful orientation democracy programming while reviewing ways to further strengthen Democracy Day and other events**.

ELECTIONS AND VOTING

- The university has **launched a number of initiatives under the Hopkins Votes umbrella** in recent years to improve its students' participation in elections, and **the data suggest these efforts are paying off**. According to the National Study of Learning, Voting and Engagement, a national university voting study, the voting rate of undergraduate students nearly quadrupled from 7.5 percent in 2014 to 29.4 percent in 2018. The voting rate across all of Johns Hopkins's campuses—including its graduate and professional schools—increased from 14.4 percent in 2014 to 44.8 percent in 2018. (The comparable number for colleges and universities nationwide was 39.1 percent.) The data for 2020 has not been released. It should be noted that there is still substantial room for improvement.
- In interviews, **students expressed some concern about the lack of breadth** in the university's election-promoting initiatives. Some students observed that the university focuses almost exclusively on national elections and tends to ignore local affairs. Others said that the university's election promotion is voting-centric and that it could do more to promote election activities beyond voting—for example, volunteering at polling places. Still others said the university appears to only care about elections during presidential elections and wondered if the momentum can be sustained in out years.
- The university may want to undertake a review of its election programming in the wake of the 2020 election to **consider how best to build on the momentum of its recent initiatives**. The university may also want to review if there is sufficient staffing for a sustained, robust voting initiative on campus.

LOCAL COMMUNITIES

- The university has invested in partnerships with Baltimore through HopkinsLocal, BLocal, and other anchor institution initiatives in recent years. But to date, **this focus on Baltimore rarely has intersected with the university's democracy-oriented courses and programming.** According to the inventory, of the 71 democracy-oriented courses students took over a two-year period, only three involved the city of Baltimore in a meaningful way. Of the 42 democracy-oriented campus events discussed in this report, only five involved Baltimore. When the university focuses on democracy, it is most often talking about events on the national stage.
- **There are compelling reasons why local affairs should be a part of a young person's education in democracy.** Scholars argue that the intense nationalization of politics has contributed to the hollowing out of civic life and the disaffection many citizens feel with democracy today. Local politics can give students a stronger sense of agency and efficacy in democratic affairs. Internships in city agencies can be just as valuable or even more valuable than internships in a congressional office; the opportunity to influence change may be all the greater if a student partners with groups petitioning a local city council or state legislature than if they are doing the same with a group lobbying the US Congress.
- **The university should consider placing a stronger emphasis on Baltimore and Maryland in its democracy initiatives moving forward,** making democracy a greater part of its Baltimore-focused programs and Baltimore a greater part of its democracy initiatives.

DEMOCRATIC CULTURE

- One important path to inculcating in students a sense that their voice matters in democracy is to ensure they have a voice in their university, the institution that issues rules most immediately governing their lives and that they interact with most as they come into their identity as civic and political actors.
- At Johns Hopkins, a review indicates that **32 percent of the membership of university-policy advisory committees from the past eight years were students or postdoctoral fellows.** And 26 percent of the membership of advisory committees where students sat alongside faculty and staff were students or fellows.
- Even so, in surveys and interviews, **a number of students reported a sense of disconnect from the university.** These students said that they felt there were limited avenues through which they can communicate with the administration about university-policy issues of importance; and even when their voices are heard, they felt the administration does not act upon concerns raised.
- The university may want to consider ways to **strengthen the involvement of students in conversations** about university policy making. One initial step the university might take in this regard is making available to students a publicly available list of their classmates who sit on policy advisory committees, information that is simply unavailable right now.
- In interviews and surveys, many students and faculty underscored the importance of **diversity, inclusion, and equity** to a democratic culture on campus. The recommendations of the Roadmap on Diversity and Inclusion task force may begin to create an equitable space for the advancement of democratic-engagement efforts on campus. All democratic-engagement efforts should have the values

of diversity, inclusion, and equity at the forefront by centering historically underrepresented voices and ensuring that students understand the true history of democracy and racial oppression in this country and in Baltimore specifically.

- A number of students and faculty voiced uncertainty about whether supporting democracy was a stated part of the university mission. The university may want to consider a more explicit **declaration that democracy is a guiding principle for the university and an explanation of what democratic engagement means for the university** to help set the tone for the sort of democratic culture a university can demonstrate.

NEXT STEPS

- We believe **this report should be seen as a basis for further conversation, rather than the completion of a project**. A commitment to true democratic engagement needs to be sustained, and progress will not occur overnight—nor will success. Indeed, the findings in this report are limited in important respects. For example, although the findings rely in part on data and a widespread survey, they are also the product of direct conversations with a relatively small number of faculty and students.
- To that end, **the university may want to consider, as a next step, pursuing further discussion** with relevant members of the university community as appropriate, on some or all of these items. As examples: On the question of how democracy might feature more broadly in coursework, the university may want to consider convening a faculty committee, as other institutions such as the University of Chicago, Stanford University, and Purdue University have done. For the question of how to better communicate with students about democratic opportunities on campus, the answer may involve the SNF Agora Institute and the Communications and Student Affairs teams working with student leaders.
- More broadly, the university, the SNF Agora Institute, and other key stakeholders may want to consider **convening with students and other members of the university community more regularly** to discuss what democracy means to them and how concepts of democracy can be better integrated into campus life.

Democratic Engagement: A Review at Johns Hopkins University

INTRODUCTION

Over the last several years, Johns Hopkins University has designed, planned, and implemented a number of programs to promote and support democratic engagement at the university. These have included the expansion of campus-wide voter education and registration drives through its Center for Social Concern, a host of new programming focused on topics ranging from current news events to the women’s suffrage centennial, and, perhaps most prominently, the launch of the [SNF Agora Institute](#), which has assembled dozens of faculty and fellows to quickly become one of the leading centers for bridging the study of democracy with promising practice.

Against the backdrop of the tumultuous 2020 election, an insurrection at the US Capitol, and a nationwide racial reckoning and renewal of civil rights efforts, the time is ripe to take stock of the efforts underway on campus and identify how else the university might instill a vibrant democratic education and culture on its campus. At a moment in which many institutions of higher education are starting to explore how to cultivate democratic competency in their student bodies, Johns Hopkins is well positioned to serve as a model for how to deepen the institution’s commitment to the democratic communities of which it is a part: Baltimore, the State of Maryland, and the United States more broadly. When democracy is under strain at home and abroad and citizens’ trust in institutions is eroding, acting purposefully as a university is more than just an opportunity—it is an urgent need.

In this spirit, SNF Agora Institute Visiting Fellow Scott Warren, the founder of the national civics education organization Generation Citizen and an experienced democratic-engagement practitioner, led a review and analysis of how the university is currently advancing democracy on campus and how it might consider strengthening its approach, with the support of students, faculty, and staff throughout the university.

The project—which should be seen as a work in progress rather than having a finite end date—seeks to do the following:

- Collect and analyze information on democratic engagement at Johns Hopkins through a systematic review of courses, events, and other activities.
- Interview audiences—including students, faculty, staff, and members of the surrounding community—to determine how they experience democracy-oriented opportunities at Johns Hopkins.
- Start to define what democratic engagement might mean for purposes of a university.
- Include a benchmarking analysis of how peer universities are incorporating democratic work into classroom and campus life.
- Identify ways Johns Hopkins might consider strengthening its approach to democratic engagement.

Along the way, this work necessarily touches on a range of questions relating to the role of a university in a democracy:

- What do we mean by “democratic engagement”?
- What is the difference between democratic engagement, political engagement, and civic or community engagement?
- What does advancing a democratic culture at a university feel and look like?

- What does it mean for education and research to have a democratic lens?
- What is the relationship between student participation in the decision-making of the university and overall democratic engagement?
- To what extent should engagement in its local community feature in a university's focus on democracy?

This review does not aim to answer these questions conclusively but rather seeks to sketch some initial thoughts on them. And above all, it proposes that an effort by the university to engage students and faculty in a conversation around these questions could be a valuable step—in itself—in exhibiting a commitment to the project of democratic engagement on campus.

This review focused on five different areas: coursework, events and programming, elections and voting, local communities, and democratic culture.

This report benefited from the insights of colleagues at the SNF Agora Institute and the assistance of individuals in the Johns Hopkins University offices of the Provost, the President, and Development and Alumni Relations. Madison Mandell, the director of Brown Votes who is active in voter and democratic-engagement efforts throughout the country, was the lead in preparing a peer benchmarking analysis. And in the spirit of this report's theme of including students in the work of democracy, this project could not have been possible without Johns Hopkins undergraduate students Haadiya Ahmed and Genesis Aire. Ahmed is a junior in

the Krieger School of Arts and Sciences. She has interned with the Department of Homeland Security and the Peace Corps. Aire is also a junior in the Krieger School of Arts and Sciences who is majoring in international studies, sociology, and the Writing Seminars program. She is deeply invested in nonprofit work, explicitly dedicated to ensuring equity across the sector. Aire is currently an intern with the Community Impact Internship Program through the Center for Social Concern, placed at Dent Education. Her previous nonprofit experience includes the Innocence Project and Matriculate.

METHODOLOGY

The review focused on five different areas: coursework, events and programming, elections and voting, local communities, and democratic culture. To date, this project proceeded principally along four tracks.

Inventory. We worked to undertake an inventory of coursework, campus events, and other activities with a democratic focus, as defined below. Where possible, the inventory also incorporated information from the Office of the Registrar and other sources to investigate the extent to which the student body is being exposed to these offerings. While any single accounting of democracy initiatives will necessarily be imprecise, the hope is that this inventory provides some insight—and an objective gauge—of how much the university community is coming into contact with democratic programming.

For the class inventory, we explored Krieger and Whiting courses listed in the Johns Hopkins Student Information System for the four semesters from Fall 2019 to Spring 2021.

For the events inventory, the review looked at events on [Johns Hopkins Events](#), the [SNF Agora website](#), and [Hub Announcements](#), which archives announcements sent via email weekday mornings. Then, we undertook a survey of the websites of departments that had featured democracy courses in our course inventory (this included the departments of Anthropology, Classics, History, Political Science, Philosophy,

and Sociology as well as the programs in East Asian Studies, Latin American Studies, International Studies, and Jewish Studies; the Program for the Study of Women, Gender, & Sexuality; and the Center for Africana Studies). Finally, we undertook an examination of student organizations and their respective websites and social media pages and back issues of the student newspaper.

Except where otherwise noted, the other inventories in this review relied principally on publicly available information and discussions with relevant staff.

Surveys. We worked with Student Affairs and the Center for Social Concern to include three questions on democracy in a random subset of the Enrolled Students Survey (sent to all undergraduates at the end of the academic year). The democracy questions in the survey were viewed by 1,350 students and 864 responded to at least one democracy question.

In the Enrolled Student Survey, more than 860 students responded to at least one democracy-related question.

We also sent a more detailed survey to certain email lists, including that of the Center for Social Concern and existing student organizations. That more detailed survey was filled out by 52 students. The team sent a similar survey to 32 faculty members interested in democratic-engagement work. The recommendations for these faculty members came from university administrators and other faculty members. Only six faculty members filled out the survey, leading to limited value. Finally, with help from the Office of Development and Alumni Relations, the team sent a survey to a curated list of 45 recent alumni who that office recommended because of their past involvement in democratic- or civic-engagement activities at Johns Hopkins. The survey followed similar themes to the student and faculty survey, and each alum received two follow-up emails. Seventeen alumni filled out the survey.

Interviews. We also conducted in-depth interviews on the question of democratic engagement with 35 student leaders identified by the Center for Social Concern who were democratically engaged in the university. The interviews were conducted by Haadiya Ahmed and Genesis Aires, the two undergraduates involved in the study. Each interview took place on Zoom and was approximately 45 minutes to one hour in length, using a pre-set list of questions. Similarly, the team also conducted interviews with 11 faculty members at the Homewood campus and engaged in informal conversations with more than 30 other members of the faculty and staff. These informal conversations helped to identify the students and faculty members who were sent the survey and participated in the interviews. There was a bias in interviewing students and faculty members who were already deemed deeply engaged in democratic-engagement work.

Benchmarking. Last, we worked to map out the broader landscape of democratic engagement at other colleges and universities, including best practices in many of the areas covered in this report. This included interviewing 23 campus leaders at institutions across the country engaged in voter and democratic-engagement work. We are hopeful that this landscape analysis provides concrete ideas and enhances the recommendations of this project. The overall peer mapping is included as a separate report, which will be promoted widely throughout the higher education sector, and specific recommendations are included throughout this paper.

LIMITATIONS

It is worth acknowledging up front that this project had natural limitations. These included:

Sample size. The completion rate of the comprehensive survey was low, leading to a lower number of respondents across all surveys. The same is true of the sample size for interviews.

Selection bias. The recipients of the more detailed student survey and those students who were interviewed were principally student leaders from a social sciences or humanities background who were already democratically engaged. Therefore, their opinions may not be fully representative of the entire student body. The same is true of the surveys and interviews of the faculty.

Interviewer influence. Two of the three interviewers were students, and interviewers knew a number of the students personally.

Limited faculty involvement. This is not a faculty-led effort, even though it touches on questions core to the academic mission. Faculty were surveyed and interviewed but not directly involved in crafting the findings or recommendations. The lead of the project, Scott Warren, is a practitioner, not a scholar, and is guided by this lens. Still, Warren's efforts have explicitly and purposefully sought to bridge the divide between the academy and practitioners. We hope that this report prompts follow-up discussions among faculty groups and that the different perspectives offered from both sides of that divide will lead to productive and iterative results in the wake of this report.

DEFINITIONS

As we began this project, we immediately faced the challenge of how to arrive at a definition for democratic engagement. This challenge took two forms—one broad, one narrow.

The broader challenge was what the term *democratic engagement* should mean for a university that wants to promote it. Students on campus view democracy through a wide variety of lenses. Political engagement, for some we interviewed, is most naturally aligned with electoral behavior, such as voting. Others tended to view democratic engagement as co-extensive (or at least similarly extensive) with

civic engagement, and so it might include everything from volunteering in civic life to petitioning one's political representatives. In fact, some advocated for using the term *community engagement*, a holistic way of describing any work that is done within the larger Johns Hopkins and Baltimore communities.

Of course, there is no one correct definition. As explained below, however, we do believe that there is value to working toward a definition—even if only so that the university community together can follow a shared vision and mission of what the university is hoping to achieve.

To that end, we offer observations on what the university might choose to mean when it seeks to promote democratic engagement on this campus.¹ These observations emerged in part from our conversations with members of the campus community about their own experiences with democracy, literature on the topic, and the aforementioned surveys and interviews.

Students on campus view democracy through a wide variety of lens, ranging from electoral behavior to civic engagement.

- A university that promotes democratic engagement should seek to instill in its students the **knowledge, skills, values, and behaviors** to become active participants in the democratic process. The sort of participation this contemplates includes, but is not limited to, voting, participation in public debate, advocacy on local issues, and engaging democratic institutions to address flaws in the society or the democracy itself, including enduring issues of inequality. This definition is meant to be more encompassing than electoral and political activity but more specific than any form of general civic or community engagement, which—however valuable in its own right—does not necessarily teach to democratic aims.
- Democratic engagement can occur at all levels of society, **from the national to the hyper-local**. Still, Americans can be overly focused on national politics, a trend that could be contributing to affective polarization, a sense of frustration with democracy among citizens, and an absence of community buy-in for local democratic outcomes.² At the same time, undergraduate students are only in Baltimore for four years; some of the most serious threats to democratic institutions and norms may be occurring at the national level, and many students (including, notably, international or even out-of-state students) may gravitate more toward democratic engagement in non-local settings. Even so, in light of the importance of local politics to democratic life, and of our university to Baltimore, we believe the university has a special role to play in strengthening democratic engagement with an eye to local and state governance and politics. This is a question, though, that should continue to be interrogated.
- Democratic engagement is meaningless if it does not reflect a commitment to **diversity, equity, and inclusion**. The importance of a diversity, equity, and inclusion framework should be self-evident—our efforts to improve and perfect our American democracy have historically been stymied by the oppression of racial and ethnic minorities and women that has defined the United States since its inception. At a moment when we are actively recognizing the extent to which racial equity must be at the fore, democratic-engagement work should uphold and articulate issues of diversity, equity, and inclusion. To that end, any recommendations that follow from this report should ensure they have equity as a foundation to their implementation.
- A university itself is not a democracy, nor should it be. However, it is the institution where students, at the moment they are coming fully into democratic citizenship (often voting for the first time), most closely interact with the rules that affect their lives and develop a sense for their own agency in shaping those rules. Encouraging a more holistic democratic culture at the university itself, in which students feel that their voices matter, can help to foster broader and effective democratic engagement writ large. Indeed, a study by a team of researchers at the Tufts University Institute for Democracy and Higher Education looked at five colleges and universities with voting rates between 5 and 20 percent higher than expected. They found that these colleges and universities shared five specific attributes with remarkable consistency: One of those attributes was that students at these institutions had an **authentic decision-making role on campus and were told their voices mattered**.³

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The narrower definitional question concerned the immediate task of sorting through what counts as democratic focus for the purposes of this report. There is no simple, off-the-shelf definition for an analysis such as this, at least not one that would easily be applied to course offerings and events on a university campus. And any definition would inevitably be imprecise in theory and in practice: It would likely be overinclusive or underinclusive in the eyes of certain readers, the application of the definition to any particular course or event relies on the subjective assessment of the authors, and the authors in this report had available to them imperfect information in applying the definition (in particular, course syllabi were rarely publicly available).

All that said, some definition is necessary to undertake the report. We recognize that others may well have chosen to draw a different set of boundaries. But we are comforted by the fact that the challenge of developing a definition is, at some point, an inevitable one, and there is no better time to start than now. If a university hopes to assess the state of democratic engagement on campus, it needs to know what it is aiming at; if it seeks to strengthen that engagement, it needs to know what is missing. Our hope is the definition we use will be a helpful step forward toward that goal.

RATIONALE

This report is being written at a time of urgency for democracy.

It is now, perhaps, clichéd to note that the American democratic experiment is at risk. However, the risk is demonstrably real. This is not just due to the last four tumultuous years but, rather, decades of underinvestment in civic-engagement and democratic institutions. The result is a lengthy list of facts that begin to depict the true crisis that our democracy faces today.

The level of democracy under which the average citizen lives worldwide has fallen to its lowest levels in twenty years.

According to one report, we are in the midst of a rapidly accelerating wave of autocratization, with 68 percent of the world's population now living in autocracies and the number of democratizing countries falling by half in the last decade.⁴ The level of democracy under which the average citizen lives worldwide has fallen to its lowest levels in twenty years. The situation is no less fraught in the United States, where Americans are fast losing faith in democracy, and in each other. Less than a quarter of Americans say they can trust the government to do what is right, down from almost 75 percent in 1960 and 40 percent in the fall of 2000.⁵ Fifty-seven percent of Republicans now see the Democratic Party not as the political opposition but as enemies; 41 percent of Democrats say the same about Republicans.⁶

The Economist now ranks the United States as only the world's 25th most democratic nation and has assigned it a label of a "flawed democracy" for the fifth consecutive year—the United States' score has fallen or held constant for fifteen straight years.⁷

The trendlines are especially alarming among the youngest Americans. Far more young Americans today than in the past—and far more of the young than their elders—say that having a democratic political system is a "bad" or "very bad" way to run the country.⁸ And although the young today express historically high levels of interest in volunteering and service, they voice historically low levels of interest in forms of democratic engagement such as jury service or voting.⁹ Coming of age in a time of deep economic, racial, and climate-based issues, and facing a government they see as non-responsive to these pressing concerns, young people appear to be increasingly fed up with democracy.

On the other hand, there are also the earliest signs of a political awakening among the young. Tufts University's Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE), which focuses on youth democratic engagement, estimates that as many as 55 percent of eligible voters in the 18- to 29-year-old demographic participated in the 2020 election, up fully 11 points from 2016.¹⁰ According to Tufts' National Study of Learning, Voting, and Engagement, the 2020 national student voting rate was 66 percent, up from 52 percent in 2016, and nearly equal to the voting rate for the full population (67 percent). In many states, including Georgia, young people may well have swung the results.¹¹ Youth-led movements on issues such as gun violence, racial injustice, and climate change have shaped the global landscape. And the pandemic, and the inequities further unmasked by it, could yet catalyze an incoming generation eager to help create a better, more equitable society than the one they grew up in.

The question becomes an open one: Will young people be equipped with the capacity to serve as effective democratic citizens, at a moment when democracy itself desperately needs them?

Universities have all too often treated an education in democracy as something more appropriate for K-to-12 schools.

Colleges and universities have a unique role to play in charting the answer.¹² Historically, one of the primary purposes of higher education was seen as training the next generation of citizens to take the reins of our democracy.¹³ Today, the reality is often much different. Facing competing priorities and budgetary pressures, fearful of controversy and dissent, and without any obvious consensus within or without that democracy is part of the remit of the academy, colleges and universities have tended to shy away from a purposefully democratic focus. Outside of individual courses in the social sciences that students can take at whim, universities have all too often treated an education in democracy as something more appropriate for K-to-12 schools. They have not tended to lean into democracy outside of the classroom either, often leaving speakers or events to the responsibility of students themselves.

Recognizing this, an influential report from the National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement called on universities to reclaim higher education's civic mission. A number of universities, including Johns Hopkins, have started to embrace more fully their role as institutions that effectively cultivate and promote democratic engagement.

To that end, this project aims to chart the progress so far, point to possible omissions or barriers, and identify ways in which Johns Hopkins can ensure it is authentically and vigorously fulfilling this role. To reiterate an earlier point: This audit and report should not be seen as final. Rather, it should be seen as the invitation for a start of a conversation—between students, faculty, administration, staff, and the wider community. And perhaps most important, its creation and promotion should be seen itself as an important moment of self-reflection—to ensure that the institution concretely values cultivating local and deep democratic engagement among all of its constituency, as an active stakeholder in the Baltimore community, as a steward of facts and knowledge for broader society, and as part of its mission “to bring the benefits of discovery to the world.”

Analysis

I. COURSEWORK

A. Inventory

The team started with an inventory of the democracy-focused courses in the undergraduate curriculum.

The criteria the team adopted to determine whether a course was democracy aligned was:

1. Any classes that, in substantial part, teach about democracy, democratic theory, democratic principles, democratic institutions, or democratic action. For purposes of this project, *democracy* is defined as the form of governance in which power is vested in citizens and exercised through a formal system of representation.
2. Any classes where the faculty member described the course, in the course description, as one in substantial part about democracy or its theory, principles, institutions, or action.
3. If a course was tagged or described as an SNF Agora Institute course, an entity whose very mission is to strengthen democracy, the faculty member presumably intended the course to be democracy focused.

This definition purposefully omits courses that might address specific policy areas (for example, economic reform, foreign policy) without an additional focus on the democratic process. It also omits courses that teach values and skills that are important to democratic citizenship but do not go further to address democratic institutions, democratic theory, democratic activism, and the like. *This is not to suggest that such courses fail to contribute to a democratic education.* In fact, it bears emphasis that to the extent that skills such as critical reasoning and values such as respect for difference are integral to democratic engagement, the vast majority of courses at Johns Hopkins—across nearly all departments—might be said to provide a training in at least some of the competences for democracy.

The team undertook an inventory of the democracy-focused courses in the undergraduate curriculum.

Rather, the team saw this course inventory as directed at a particular question:

Once a university decides that these generalized skills and values are necessary but not enough on their own to provide a deep education in democratic citizenship, then are those courses being taught at our university and, if there are gaps, what form do they take and where do they exist?

To conduct the audit, reviewers looked at every undergraduate course from the Krieger School of Arts and Sciences and the Whiting School of Engineering listed in the Student Information System for Fall 2019, Spring 2020, Fall 2020, and Spring 2021.¹⁴ To determine whether a course fell within the above definition, the reviewers looked at the course description, the name of the course, the course's tags and department affiliation, and any other publicly available information. They did not have all of the information one might want at hand for this decision: For example, syllabi for the courses generally were not available online. Of course, as noted earlier, there is no small amount of subjectivity in its application; people may reasonably disagree as to whether a particular course

description indicates the teaching of “democratic theory,” or whether it did so in substantial part. That said, the team of reviewers incorporated objective criteria into the definition where they could—in particular, the second and third part of the definition—and went to some lengths to try to apply a consistent standard across the various courses to the extent possible.

The reviewers included Special Opportunities for Undergraduate Learning (SOUL) courses taught during a session but did not include intersession or summer courses, to have a more similar comparison of different semesters.¹⁵ They also did not include any course that had been listed but was eventually canceled. Finally, the reviewers did not include courses that were open only to graduate students, on the theory that the core focus of this report is whether undergraduates are broadly exposed to a democracy education or not. A full list of courses identified as democracy focused can be found in Appendix A.

The reviewers then sent the list to the Office of the Registrar for an analysis of how many students took each course, the students’ majors, and the students’ demographics, including year, gender, and ethnicity. That analysis revealed the following.

Number of courses. The growth from 30 courses in the 2019-20 academic year to 41 courses in the 2020-21 academic year appears to be due principally to the steady arrival over time of a full cohort of SNF Agora-affiliated faculty and fellows. One can see this from a review of the democracy-focused courses taught specifically by SNF Agora faculty or fellows each semester.

Semester	Number of distinct democracy-focused courses taught each semester	Number of democracy-focused courses taught specifically by SNF Agora faculty or fellows each semester
Fall 2019	15	1
Spring 2020	15	1
Fall 2020	24	7
Spring 2021	17	6

Number of students. Out of the 7,444 unique students at Johns Hopkins University between Fall 2019 and Spring 2021, 877 took at least one democracy-focused course during this two-year period (11.8%).

Semester	Total number of students	Students who took a democracy-focused course
Fall 2019	5,944	403 (6.8%)
Spring 2020	5,667	231 (4.1%)
Fall 2020	5,991	373 (6.2%)
Spring 2021	5,705	305 (5.3%)

Divisions. Out of the 4,524 unique students in the Krieger School of Arts and Sciences between Fall 2019 and Spring 2021, 785 unique students took at least one democracy-focused course during this two-year period (17.4%).

Semester	Total number of Krieger School students	Number of students who took at least one democracy course
Fall 2019	3,670	376 (10.2%)
Spring 2020	3,446	222 (6.4%)
Fall 2020	3,599	334 (9.3%)
Spring 2021	3,412	273 (8.0%)

Meanwhile, far fewer Whiting students took a democracy-focused course. Out of the 2,444 unique students in the Whiting School of Engineering between Fall 2019 and Spring 2021, 83 students took at least one democracy-focused course during this two-year period (3.4%).

Semester	Total number of Whiting School students	Number of students who took at least one democracy course
Fall 2019	1,922	25 (1.3%)
Spring 2020	1,878	7 (0.4%)
Fall 2020	1,988	36 (1.8%)
Spring 2021	1,913	30 (1.6%)

Of all of the students who took a democracy course, 9.5 percent were in Whiting, even though they represent 32.5 percent of the student body.

Majors

When one looks at which majors were most or least represented in democracy-focused courses relative to their representation in the university as a whole, one finds the top five majors are:

1. Africana Studies
2. Political Science
3. International Studies
4. Philosophy
5. History

And the bottom five majors are:

1. Chemical and Biomolecular Engineering
2. Environmental Engineering
3. Biomedical Engineering
4. Computer Science
5. Electrical Engineering

An imbalance appears if one drills down into several of the most popular STEM majors. Exceptionally few students in these majors (in either Krieger or Whiting) took democracy-focused courses.

Computer science (Whiting). Of the 574 unique computer science majors between Fall 2019 and Spring 2021, there were 22 unique students who took at least one democracy course during this two-year period (3.8%).

Semester	Total number of computer science students	Number of students who took at least one democracy course
Fall 2019	405	7 (1.7%)
Spring 2020	417	4 (1.0%)
Fall 2020	446	10 (2.2%)
Spring 2021	438	6 (1.4%)

Biomedical engineering (Whiting). Of the 575 unique biomedical engineering majors between Fall 2019 and Spring 2021, there were 19 unique students who took at least one democracy course during this two-year period (3.3%).

Semester	Total number of biomedical engineering students	Number of students who took at least one democracy course
Fall 2019	485	4 (0.8%)
Spring 2020	466	1 (0.2%)
Fall 2020	450	8 (1.8%)
Spring 2021	436	8 (1.8%)

Chemical and Biomolecular Engineering (Whiting). Of the 392 unique chemical and biomolecular engineering majors between Fall 2019 and Spring 2021, there were seven unique students who took at least one democracy course during this two-year period (1.8%).

Semester	Total number of chemical and biomolecular engineering students	Number of students who took at least one democracy course
Fall 2019	319	2 (0.6%)
Spring 2020	298	0 (0.0%)
Fall 2020	332	3 (0.9%)
Spring 2021	323	4 (1.2%)

Molecular and Cellular Biology (Krieger). Of the 636 unique molecular and cellular biology majors between Fall 2019 and Spring 2021, there were 25 unique students who took at least one democracy course during this two-year period (3.9%).

Semester	Total number of molecular and cellular biology students	Number of students who took at least one democracy course
Fall 2019	429	4 (0.9%)
Spring 2020	415	3 (0.7%)
Fall 2020	505	16 (3.2%)
Spring 2021	476	6 (1.3%)

International Studies (Krieger). Of the 315 unique international studies majors between Fall 2019 and Spring 2021, there were 186 unique students who took at least one democracy course during this two-year period (59%).

Semester	Total number of international studies students	Number of students who took at least one democracy course
Fall 2019	258	104 (40.3%)
Spring 2020	237	62 (26.2%)
Fall 2020	233	91 (39.0%)
Spring 2021	222	65 (29.3%)

Political Science (Krieger). Of the 100 unique political science majors between Fall 2019 and Spring 2021, there were 93 unique students who took at least one democracy course during this two-year period (93%).

Semester	Total number of political science students	Number of students who took at least one democracy course
Fall 2019	52	34 (65.4%)
Spring 2020	76	30 (39.5%)
Fall 2020	74	52 (70.3%)
Spring 2021	70	46 (65.7%)

Even starker imbalances appeared when we looked at which students receive a more extensive education in democracy. A total of 337 students took more than one democracy course over this two-year period. Sixteen of them were from Whiting when they took at least one such course, and 11 were from Whiting for all of their democracy courses (some students switched from Krieger to Whiting or vice versa). Similarly, 164 students took three or more democracy courses over this two-year period. A total of three of them were from Whiting when they took at least one course, and a single student was from Whiting for all of the courses.

B. Surveys and Interviews

The Enrolled Student Survey, given to all undergraduate students at the end of the academic year, included this question in a random subset of the students:

“What future civic-engagement opportunities would interest you?”

Nineteen percent of students said they were interested in classes that include democracy as a topic.

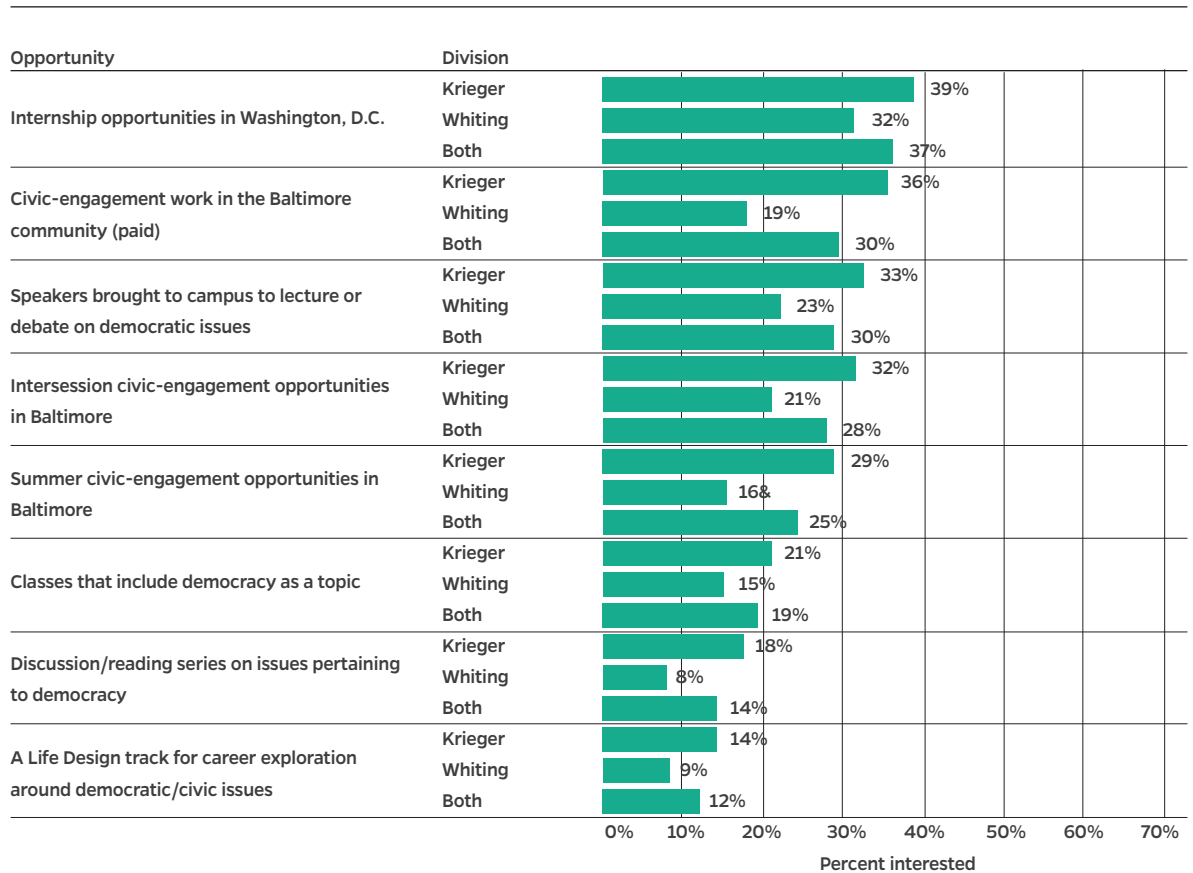


Fig. 1. Source: Enrolled Student Survey. Percentages are based on the number of students who viewed this question (N = 1,323). Since students could choose multiple answers, the percentages exceed 100%.

While 19 percent of all students and 21 percent of Krieger students said they were interested in classes that include democracy as a topic, 15 percent of Whiting students said the same, suggesting that there are much higher levels of interest among Whiting students—both as an absolute number, and relative to their Krieger counterparts—than is reflected in actual enrollment numbers. Or, to put it differently, our inventory of courses revealed that 17.6 percent of Krieger students took at least one democracy-focused course during the two-year period in question, a figure similar to the number of Krieger students who said they would be interested in a course (21 percent). But, our inventory showed that only 3.4 percent of Whiting students took at least one such course during this period, substantially less than the number who express interest in such a course (15 percent). Of course, one might well wonder if the fact that only 19 percent of students said they would be interested in democracy courses is concerning in and of itself, but it is important to note that these numbers are

not too far removed from the most popular responses in the survey, such as paid civic-engagement opportunities in Baltimore.

In interviews, given to a subset of student leaders on campus, students pointed out that there is a need to ensure that democratic engagement is better integrated into overall coursework for students. One student leader said they rely on external resources or seek out programming offered by the Center for Social Concern for such education, rather than finding it in their core classwork.

The faculty and staff survey also pointed to a need for more robust democratic and civic engagement in the curriculum. The survey included the question:

“Do you think Johns Hopkins is doing an effective job at promoting civic engagement among the student body? If yes, how? If not, how can it do better?”

One respondent answered: “Students at Hopkins are very motivated and focused on discipline, but it will take curriculum and professors to articulate why it is important in these fields to make a change on campus. Until it is more integrated effectively through curriculum, it will always be an opt-in through service or community-based learning (also be a self-selecting group of students) until it feels urgent/vital within curriculum and faculty practices.”

That survey also asked:

“What support have you received from the University to incorporate these aspects within your coursework? What additional support do you require?”

One professor responded: “None. Teaching grants for community engagement course development is necessary. TA [teaching assistant] support for those courses and RA [resident assistant] support for course development is also necessary.”

Similar sentiments were repeated by respondents to the alumni survey. One alum explained: “Course work wise there was no mandatory education in this area for an engineer. Generally, most scientists and engineers lack the liberal arts background (epistemology, etc.) to think critically about civic practices.”

C. Peer Mapping

Other colleges and universities have launched new initiatives to incorporate democracy more actively into their curricula.

- **Stanford** is piloting a new mandatory first-year curriculum in civic, liberal, and global education that includes a course titled Citizenship in the 21st Century.
- The **University of Chicago** is developing a new democracy-focused minor.¹⁶
- **Purdue University** recently unveiled a new citizenship literacy requirement that students will complete by passing a required exam and either (1) taking one of twelve required courses, (2) listening to twelve podcasts created by the Purdue Center for C-SPAN Scholarship and Engagement, or (3) attending six approved civics-related events.¹⁷
- The **University of Virginia** recently launched a new curriculum, the first in forty years, that includes a set of critical-engagement courses that all first-year students will be required to take. To fulfill general education requirements, students can take democracy-themed forums on topics such as corruption, governance and institutions, and ideals and injustice.

- **Florida** and **Missouri** have passed laws requiring college students at state colleges and universities to demonstrate civic literacy and an understanding of American democracy to graduate, generally through a test or a required course.

D. Recommendations

- **Incorporate democracy content more deeply in the curriculum.** While the university is offering more democracy-focused courses, they are not reaching most of the class—and, in particular, they are almost entirely failing to touch students in STEM fields. As one student put it, “The university could do a better job at reaching all students, not just ones that already have an interest.” To ensure that a

While the university is offering more democracy-focused courses, they are not reaching most of the class—and, in particular, they are almost entirely failing to touch students in STEM fields.

broader cross-section of students take these courses, many respondents proposed that schools and departments might consider encouraging students to take existing democratic courses through distribution or degree requirements. The CUE2 report, released in November 2020, found that the relatively high rates of required courses in the Whiting school may be crowding out interest in other non-major-related courses. The implementation of the CUE2 recommendations may provide a unique opportunity for the university to make progress on the goals in this report.

- **Integrate democratic engagement into STEM coursework.** The university also might consider the more deliberate incorporation of democratic engagement into STEM courses and programming in particular. Examples of models in this field could include democracy-focused hack-a-thons; STEM coursework analyzing public problems pertaining to climate change, science communication, and sustain-

ability; and incorporating community-based learning into more courses and disciplines outside of the social science fields.

- **Develop and promote a roster of democracy-focused courses.** A single list of democracy-focused courses does not currently exist. The SNF Agora web page—which compiles courses offered by SNF Agora faculty and fellows and related courses faculty colleagues have requested to be listed—comes the closest, but it is not meant to be exhaustive, and so it omits many of the courses that we found in our audit. Of course, the SNF Agora web page does not need to use the exact definition we derived for purposes of the audit. Even so, we recommend that the university, whether through the SNF Agora site or another platform, make an effort to develop for students a comprehensive list of democracy-focused courses so that students can more easily identify options that they might find appealing.¹⁸
- **Provide support to faculty for democratically engaged coursework.** Faculty members noted the limited pool of funds available to them to successfully implement democratic-engagement opportunities for students and that democratic- or civic-engagement work is rarely incentivized through promotion or related policies. A modest allocation of funding—akin to earlier university initiatives such as the Gateway Sciences Initiative—and a review of faculty incentives to identify areas where they cut against democratically or civically engaged work could help nurture democracy green shoots to emerge in the curriculum.

II. EVENTS AND PROGRAMMING

A. Inventory

The team also undertook an inventory of events and programming on the Homewood campus. The criteria used were similar to those for coursework:

1. Any events on the Homewood campus open to the university community that, in substantial part, relate to democracy, democratic theory, democratic principles, democratic institutions, or democratic action.
2. Any events on the Homewood campus open to the university community where the event is described in promotional materials as, in substantial part, about democracy or its theory, principles, institutions, or action.
3. If an event was affiliated with the SNF Agora Institute, the event presumably was intended to be democracy oriented.¹⁹

We applied this definition to events and programming in two separate semesters: Fall 2019 and Spring 2021.²⁰

The resulting list can be found in Appendix B.

As with courses, the number of democracy-focused events has grown over time. Once again, this appears to be due to the growth of the SNF Agora Institute.

Semester	Number of distinct democracy-focused events	Number of events sponsored or affiliated with SNF Agora
Fall 2019	16	4
Spring 2021	27	23

Even as the number of events grew, there was no single location online or off where all of these events could be found, although the SNF Agora website recently has come close:

- A search of the central Johns Hopkins Events page (events.jhu.edu) turned up zero (out of 16) democracy-oriented events for Fall 2019 and eight (out of 27) for Spring 2021. The earliest events on the page are from October 2019, so the offerings might have been taking some time to ramp up.
- Meanwhile, the SNF Agora page showed three (out of 16) democracy-oriented events for Fall 2019 and 22 (out of 27) for Spring 2021, including many events that did not turn up on the Johns Hopkins Events site.
- No other location showed more than a handful of these events.

With regard to new-student orientation programming in particular, there has been a substantial ramp-up in democracy- and election-related activities. Orientation presents a specific opportunity to ensure that students see democratic-engagement efforts as foundational and integrated into the university's culture.

As students arrived on campus in the fall of 2021, the university introduced Democracy Day, a collaborative, campus-wide series of events during orientation featuring educational opportunities for all first- and second-year students. The event included speeches by President Ronald Daniels, SNF

Agora Director Hahrie Han, and Baltimore Councilwoman Odette Ramos; pop-up seminars by more than 15 Johns Hopkins faculty on democracy-oriented topics; an academic meet and greet with SNF Agora faculty and fellows; a voter registration booth; and opportunities to meet student organization and community association leaders from around Johns Hopkins and Baltimore. More than 550 students participated in the event, and more than 400 students logged into TurboVote as a result.

A review of the registrants to Democracy Day is instructive. Whiting students represented 34.3 percent of the incoming class and 34 percent of registrants for Democracy Day. While just analyzing one event, this data may suggest that STEM and non-STEM students alike are interested in democracy-focused opportunities and will pursue those opportunities if they know about them and can fit them into their schedule.

Other orientation programs tailored to democratic engagement over the last two years include:

- First-year students received a newsletter focused on civic engagement with information on specific programming and events across Johns Hopkins departments.
- Academic freedom panels were held for students including faculty from multiple schools and the SNF Agora Institute, with Provost Sunil Kumar as moderator.
- The SNF Agora Institute and Hopkins Votes co-hosted a virtual session (in light of the pandemic) to discuss the 2020 election and provide an overview of the support provided to students relating to voter registration and ballot access.
- In 2020, the Center for Social Concern offered a virtual civic on-ramp experience for incoming first-year students. Facilitated by staff and student leaders, students met with local community leaders and elected officials to create their plan for community engagement throughout their time at Johns Hopkins.
- The convocation message included a call to action for our students, stressing themes of democratic and civic engagement.
- First-year mentors engaged each of their students in discussions regarding community engagement and voter preparation, ensuring that each incoming student was encouraged to participate in the democratic process.
- Trained by the Center for Social Concern, first-year mentors provided content and conversation regarding Baltimore and pathways to engagement at a session titled “Baltimore 101: An Overview of the History of Baltimore.”
- The Center for Social Concern and Student Transitions & Family Engagement provided student leaders with the script and facilitation efforts to provide every first-year student with an experience to promote the assets surrounding the Homewood campus, focusing on community organizations, student resources, and local engagement opportunities.
- The Center for Social Concern has offered HopkinsCORPS, a civic-engagement opportunity for incoming first-year students to connect with one another and the Baltimore community. Annually, the week-long program engages between 30 to 50 students to focus on education, action, and reflection.

B. Surveys and Interviews

In the Enrolled Student Survey, when asked “Which of the following opportunities are you interested in?”, the third most frequent answer was “Speakers brought to campus to lecture or debate on democratic issues.”

When prompted in the more detailed comprehensive survey to explain why they believe the university may be doing an ineffective job, and how the university can do better, many students described finding opportunities for engagement as a cumbersome process and needing to go out of their way to seek out opportunities rather than having them easily available. Students expressed that current mechanisms of disseminating information to students about these opportunities are not effective and the university should think through more creative and direct ways to reach and engage students, especially those who are not already interested in politics and disposed to seek out opportunities themselves.

As one student put it, “There are amazing opportunities for students who actively seek them out, which is awesome! However, it is very easy to go through four years of college without being civically engaged at all.” Another said, “It’s hard to know how to get involved unless you actively look for ways to get involved or happen to be friends with the right students.” Another called for “more promotion on Hopkins groups as many students not engaged with the CSC [Center for Social Concern] or civic groups are unaware of available opportunities.”

Many students described finding opportunities for engagement as a cumbersome process and needing to go out of their way to seek out opportunities rather than having them easily available.

Similar comments were repeated time and again:

- “I know JHU has the initiatives out there, they just need to make them more well-known.”
- “Making opportunities more available.”
- “Publicly broadcasting it more.”
- “I think that the university could send out more information regarding any sort of opportunities for democratic and civic engagement.”

Several respondents from STEM backgrounds mentioned being particularly underexposed to these opportunities, calling for democratic and civic engagement to be integrated across disciplines. For example, one such student explained, “I know remarkably few STEM majors (the vast majority of the campus) who are involved in those activities.”

C. Peer Benchmarking

Other universities have taken up a number of innovative campus programs that may be worth exploring at Johns Hopkins. Examples include:

- To engage populations of students outside of the social sciences, in early 2021, **Arizona State University** (ASU) held a “hack for democracy” during which students could sign up to evaluate democracy issues through a technological lens (for example, how to leverage artificial intelligence

to create a more efficient and equitable voting system). The event also featured guest speakers, including some local officials.

- **East Carolina University** (ECU) began an award-winning co-curricular program in 2017 called Citizen U. Citizen U facilitators held a course once a week after class hours for 8 to 10 weeks. Topics ranged from voting to personal financial literacy to knowing one's rights in various circumstances. These conversations often were facilitated by community members and featured guest speakers. While students did not receive course credit for attending, this program fulfilled certain requirements for students in academic programs with co-curricular requirements. Other universities in North Carolina have since replicated their model.
- At **James Madison University**, inspired by the civic culture that flourished in public squares in ancient times, students set up tents in a main area on campus to create their own version of a public square. At this public square, students pose a question on a topic of interest, such as racial justice, the census, the pandemic, and immigration justice. After the question is asked, students have the opportunity to write out a response on a note card; those cards are then displayed in the tent for anyone to read and engage with. The question and cards are a jumping-off point for discussion. This event incorporates an advocacy component as well as students are ultimately tasked with proposing action items related to their responses.
- **Princeton University** designed a voting and civic-engagement learning module that was displayed on Canvas during orientation. The module also contained a walk-through of the TurboVote platform, and all first-years were required to watch it and take a quiz at the end.

D. Recommendations

- **Communicate democracy events more strategically to the student body.** Democracy-focused events and programming have become more common on the Homewood campus of late. While the most engaged students are aware of these opportunities, much of the rest of the class, including the students we want to reach most—those who are not already democratically active—are not. Announcements of democratic events are scattered across different websites and, in any event, rarely seem to find their way to students. The university should consider finding a way to collect the democracy-focused programming on one calendar or list, and then—along with civic events more broadly—work with student leaders to ensure those opportunities are being communicated to students in a manner they are likely to see.
- **Focus on STEM–democracy intersected programming and events.** As with coursework, there is a particular opportunity to ensure that STEM students come into contact with programming that is democracy focused or adjacent. This might include talks or conversations focused on topics such as science and democracy or focused on specific public issues such as artificial intelligence and the public good.
- **Continue to lean into orientation programming.** It is fair to say that Johns Hopkins's democracy-related orientation activities are now leading edge. They are also well received. Anecdotally, students have reported that Democracy Day in particular underscored that the university is taking democracy seriously. The university should consider reviewing and evaluating Democracy Day and the other democracy-oriented elements of new-student orientation and consider how best to institutionalize it (so that it endures in later years) and strengthen it further (in light of ongoing feedback).

III. ELECTIONS AND VOTING

A. Inventory

The last several years have seen Johns Hopkins make a substantial push to promote voting and other election-related activities. The data suggest these initiatives have worked. Adjusted voting rates using National Study of Learning, Voting, and Engagement (NSLVE) data show:²¹

■ Johns Hopkins University's undergraduate voting rate for 2020 (presidential):	74.6%
■ Johns Hopkins University's undergraduate voting rate for 2018 (midterm):	32.8%
■ Johns Hopkins University's undergraduate voting rate for 2016 (presidential):	47.0%
■ Johns Hopkins University's undergraduate voting rate for 2014 (midterm):	8.4%

The Johns Hopkins undergraduate voting rate in 2020 exceeded the national undergraduate voting rate by more than 12 percent. In 2019, Johns Hopkins received national recognition from the ALL IN Campus Democracy Challenge for the most improved voting rate at a large, private institution.

Examples of the featured election-related programming from the last several years include:

- **Hopkins Votes.** This is a nonpartisan student-focused initiative that works to ensure that every Johns Hopkins student is registered and ready to cast their ballot in every election. The initiative used a combination of TurboVote, a Hopkins Voter tool kit, Voter Tuesday Office Hours, student ambassadors, and other programming to drive turnout. During the COVID-19 pandemic, the effort included a virtual registration hour and online registration and voting events.
- **Centralized site.** Hopkins Votes launched a university-wide website to gather in one place the resources and information the community might need for voting. This site includes information on voter registration and planning through TurboVote at Johns Hopkins, information on where to vote and how to get there, and tool kits for students, faculty, and staff to support nonpartisan voter engagement.
- **National Voter Registration Day.** The Annual National Voter Registration Day effort engaged student volunteers, nonprofit organizations, and student groups to enhance the recognition of the importance of confirming registration details in September. Students and staff facilitated voter registration and information updates. 2018 and 2019 including a National Voter Registration Day picnic; 2020 offered virtual support. Staff, faculty, and students were encouraged to utilize a Hopkins Votes Zoom background in 2020 to show that they were “registered and ready.”
- **Voter Registration Tuesdays.** Zoom calls made available through the Fall 2020 semester with volunteers served as voter support for students.
- **Integrated voter registration messages.** In collaboration with various departments, Hopkins Votes messaging was introduced to students in key areas of their student experience. Pop-up messaging was required through the university's student organization and event management platform, the housing platform, and the university-wide community engagement platform, asking students if they were registered and providing a click-through to TurboVote.
- **Hopkins Votes 100% Challenge.** Hopkins Votes worked in collaboration with student organizations and Johns Hopkins athletics teams to create the 100% Challenge. All teams and organizations who confirmed 100 percent of eligible students completed voter registration were celebrated via social media and recognized as a 100% Challenge partner.

- **Hopkins Votes pre-orientation.** Three days of pre-orientation were offered in 2020 to provide incoming first-year students with an overview of Baltimore-themed democratic engagement, connections to local politicians and voter-engagement organizations, and voter-engagement activities with Hopkins Votes.
- **Educational initiatives.** In 2020, the SNF Agora Institute provided programming focused on democratic engagement, voting, and the impact of this election cycle, including a six-week webcast series and a virtual conference on global youth activism. The Johns Hopkins Hub launched a series of short essays and brief question-and-answer (Q&A) sessions on democracy. Additional programming, offered by the CSC, incorporated “create your plan to vote” messaging with all civic-engagement programs operated through the center.
- **STEMulate the Vote.** The Johns Hopkins Science Policy Group established the STEMulate the Vote initiative to promote voting and bring hard science to the forefront of the political conversation through a social media campaign, op-eds for science blogs and websites, and a virtual seminar series.
- **Transportation.** The university offered transportation to ballot boxes and voting locations along university shuttle routes and extra shuttles on Election Day for all students and employees.
- **Election Day.** No student, except for those on clinical rotations, was required to attend live classes on Election Day, and any student who needed time to vote or volunteer in support of the election could access a recording of classes held on that day or take advantage of other options for instruction. To support staff voting, the university promoted its long-standing policy, grounded in Maryland state law, that allows all employees to take up to two hours of paid time off to vote.
- **Celebrating the centennial of women’s suffrage.** The year-long initiative engaged internal and external committees to facilitate over 20 events related to the centennial commemoration and voter engagement.
- **Classroom visits.** Through Hopkins Votes, informational sessions were provided to courses upon request of faculty or program partners to discuss the importance of voter engagement and provide access to informational material.
- **Messages to community.** University leaders, including President Daniels, sent messages to the university community encouraging them to vote and highlighting these opportunities.

Students applauded the university’s efforts on election-related activities but identified areas of potential improvement.

B. Surveys and Interviews

In surveys and interviews, students applauded the university’s efforts on election-related activities such but identified areas of potential improvement.

In the in-depth interviews, students called for a more consistent voter-engagement effort rather than one that seems to emerge every four years for presidential elections. One student suggested that the university’s election promotion was voting-centric and that it could do more to promote election activities beyond voting, such as volunteering at polling places.

Respondents also suggested in interviews that the university could focus more of its election programming on Baltimore and Maryland politics rather than what was perceived to be a focus on

national issues and candidates. As one student put it, “The efforts to help students get registered to vote are very good but could do more on fostering engagement with local issues.” Finally, several students offered that the university should consider making Election Day a university-wide holiday.

C. Peer Benchmarking

Other institutions also have leaped into action in recent years. Some innovative peer practices from which Johns Hopkins might draw inspiration include:

- **Integrating voter registration with course registration.** **Stanford** has incorporated a voter registration element into course registration. On Stanford’s course registration portal, a page includes voter registration information and directs students to TurboVote. Sean Casey, a leader of Stanford Votes, noted that this integration was the “single most effective thing we did” in regard to increasing voting turnout rates on campus.
- **Focusing on disciplines with lower turnout.** Students at **ECU** created handouts customized to particular majors with historically low turnout. The handouts displayed NSLVE data and emphasized how elections and voting were consequential to that specific field of study.
- **Classroom visits.** Many institutions, such as the **University of Texas (UT)** at Austin and **Piedmont Virginia Community College**, have implemented a system in which student representatives visit classrooms and deliver brief presentations or voting-related announcements. Students at Piedmont indicated that these visits were their most effective turnout tactic.
- **Distributing information about local referenda.** In spring 2020, there was a question on the ballot in a Rhode Island special election concerning affordable housing. **Brown** Votes worked with Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere (HOPE), whose mission is to “conduct outreach and collaborate with community partners on projects that support structural reforms aimed at ensuring equitable treatment for housing-insecure individuals,” to inform the student body about this referendum.
- **Student-operated hotline.** Students at **UT Austin** created a Google Voice number dedicated to fielding election-related questions and concerns. Students could call the number and student representatives would respond in real time.
- **Polling Stations.** **UT Austin** and **ASU** worked with local officials to place polling centers or ballot boxes on campus. This is a policy that Johns Hopkins has investigated in detail; it is easier to get polling places on public campuses than private universities for a variety of reasons.

D. Recommendations

- **Maintain the momentum and broaden the focus to non-presidential years and local elections.** Hopkins Votes has been well received and effective. Still, there may be opportunities to build on its work. Leadership should consider whether there is an opportunity to adopt additional reforms from other campuses and, in particular, maintain momentum for non-presidential elections and local elections. The Maryland statewide elections in 2022 provide an immediate opportunity to put such a plan into practice.
- **Consider a full-time Hopkins Votes coordinator.** As the university continues to amplify its activities in this space, it should consider whether additional, dedicated staffing is needed.

- **Engage in legislative and executive advocacy on election-related matters of relevance to higher education.** Consider opportunities for advocacy for higher-education-related voting initiatives at the national, state, and local levels.

IV. LOCAL COMMUNITIES

A. Inventory

Johns Hopkins University has undertaken a range of activities in recent years to deepen the relationship between the university and Baltimore. Examples include:

- HopkinsLocal, an initiative launched in 2015 aimed at expanding economic opportunity in Baltimore through its purchasing, construction, and hiring activities, has led to more than \$50 million in additional spending in local businesses, 1,000 people hired from Baltimore City ZIP codes, and 23.5 percent of construction spending going to minority-owned, women-owned, or disadvantaged business enterprises in fiscal year 2018.
- Johns Hopkins helped to open and provide the curriculum of Elmer A. Henderson: A Johns Hopkins Partnership School, a K-to-8 public contract school that opened in January 2014, which was East Baltimore's first new school in more than 20 years.
- The Baltimore Scholars Program gives Baltimore City Public School graduates with significant need a full-ride scholarship (or a cap on their family's contribution plus a loan-free financial aid package, depending on their family income).
- Johns Hopkins partnered with Baltimore City Public Schools, Kaiser Permanente, and the University of Maryland, Baltimore to launch one of Maryland's first two P-TECH (Pathways in Technology Early College High School) programs at Paul Laurence Dunbar High School.
- Johns Hopkins collaborated with Warby Parker and other stakeholders to launch Vision for Baltimore, an initiative that has tested the vision of more than 64,000 students and distributed more than 8,000 pairs of glasses to children across the city. Research has shown that students who received eyeglasses through the program scored higher on reading and math tests.
- The CSC operates a number of immersive experiences for students across Baltimore City, including:
 - The Community Impact Internships Program, a selective, paid summer internship program, pairs Johns Hopkins undergraduate students with nonprofit organizations and government agencies to work on community-identified projects.
 - The France-Merrick Civic Fellowship (beginning in 2019) offers up to seven fellowships annually for juniors and seniors to immerse in a chosen focus area related to civic and community engagement.
 - Baltimore First is a student-led initiative that connects more than 100 students each semester to a reoccurring service opportunity within the community. Students participate in education sessions and serve weekly or biweekly with their matched organization.
 - The annual B'More intersession program offers first-year students the opportunity to participate in one-week courses (1 credit) and supplemental programming to enhance their understanding of and engagement with Baltimore City.

Despite these many examples, it is striking how rarely a focus on Baltimore City has found its way into democracy-oriented courses or programming on campus.

- Of the 66 democracy-oriented courses listed in Appendix A, only three involved Baltimore City in some meaningful way. (Two of the three were *Baltimore and Beyond*, which were offered in Spring 2020 and Spring 2021, and the other was *History Research Lab: Discovering Hard Histories* at Hopkins.)
- Of the 43 democracy-oriented campus events listed in Appendix B, only five significantly involved Baltimore issues.
- Of the 32 non-academic speakers who came to campus, 24 were from Washington, DC, or obviously focused on national politics. Only eight were from Baltimore City or obviously focused on local politics.

It is evident that even as the university has ramped up its democracy work, it has done so principally with a focus on the national or international rather than the local. As an anchor institution in Baltimore, Johns Hopkins has an important role to play in helping to strengthen the overall democratic fabric of the city. As discussed earlier, there is reason to believe that promoting local democratic engagement—in Baltimore and in students’ local communities, where possible—can pay substantial and important dividends. This engagement can increase a sense of democratic agency among students by showing them that political change can occur in one’s own backyard and that democratic action need not be distant or remote, could help to improve the university’s relationship with the city, and provide a closer personal relationship with the democratic actors they are seeking to help and engage.

As an anchor institution in Baltimore, Johns Hopkins has an important role to play in helping to strengthen the overall democratic fabric of the city.

Johns Hopkins University engages in significant educational, research, and service activities that do have a direct impact on effective democratic participation at a state and national level. Even so, we believe that the university should take care not to neglect its relationship with Baltimore. As an anchor institution of Baltimore City, Johns Hopkins holds a special and specific commitment to the community it resides in. Because of the stature and size of the university, and its status as a large employer of Baltimore residents, the health and well-being of the university is inextricably tied to the physical, social, and economic success of Baltimore. Among its other benefits, a more layered tapestry of engagement that connects with the residents of the city as fellow democratic citizens could promote a stronger relationship with the community and encourage students to not engage on behalf of Baltimore, but with and for Baltimoreans.

B. Surveys and Interviews

Twenty-five percent of students in the Enrolled Student Survey said they would like to see “a more robust, continuous, and frequent promotion of participation in local politics and processes of the greater Baltimore community.”

One student observed, “There is a negative amount of interaction with Baltimore City government and their issues or even Maryland State gov, and where there is it is not widely advertised like the CIIP [Community Impact Internships Program] and the Center for Social Concern should be propped

”There are countless emails sent to me each week about on-campus events and activities, but I think it would be more valuable to have more emails about community engagement.”

up more than they are.” Still another proposed “more focus on local politics and elections (not just in Baltimore, but to some extent an amount of information about localities across the country).” Another student noted, “It would be nice if Hopkins could send out weekly opportunities to volunteer, protest, or intern in Baltimore. There are countless emails sent to me each week about on-campus events and activities, but I think it would be more valuable to have more emails about community engagement.”

In interviews, faculty acknowledged that, while their courses might focus on democracy or civic engagement as a discipline, their classes often did not include integration with the greater Baltimore community. One faculty member said, “When we invite people to speak, we get professors from all over the world. We should value voices outside our doorstep as well.”

In surveys, alumni emphasized similar themes. One alum said, “The university should also connect its students with the local government. Why doesn’t the university offer a permanent program of providing interns to the Baltimore City Council and city agencies? Other universities do these things, and by not doing so, it further retrenches the idea that the university seeks to be apart from Baltimore, not a part of it.” Another said, “I think Hopkins really encouraged students to get involved in helping the community through volunteering, but less so in being engaged with the city of Baltimore in terms of creating civic change.”

C. Peer Benchmarking

Approaches that other universities have used to engage students in local democratic activities and politics include:

- At **ASU**, students have the chance to consistently hear from local legislators in an informal and comfortable setting over breakfast, three to four times per semester.
- The Center for Civic Engagement at **James Madison University** has helped students to join a coalition of local organizations led by United Way that collaborates on advocacy projects related to local issues; they work on topics such as education, health care, transportation, and disability rights. The coalition had an opportunity to weigh in as the city council was attempting to tackle these issues.
- **Columbia University** hosted a Manhattan District Attorney Forum, during which students could hear candidates address topics specifically relevant to college students in New York City.
- The **University of Florida (UF)** hosted a Q&A event with Florida Secretary of State Laurel Lee. The director of government relations for the university and political science professors moderated this event, with approximately 100 students attending. Students asked Secretary Lee about her duties overseeing elections, especially in the contest of the election debates embroiling the country.

D. Recommendations

- **Integrate the local and the democratic.** Local politics so far has only rarely been part of university democratic programming. And yet, students are hungering for precisely this sort of engagement. As discussed earlier, local involvement in politics can play an invaluable role in a democratic education, giving students a greater sense of power and understanding of democracy at work. A more layered tapestry of engagement that connects with the residents of the city as fellow democratic citizens also could promote a stronger relationship with the community around and encourage students to not engage on behalf of Baltimore, but with and for Baltimoreans.²² We recommend the university work to marry its local engagement to its democratic engagement, through local internships, forums for local officials, and the like.
- **Equip faculty to address local democratic affairs.** In a challenging election year, faculty and students alike noted that faculty were not always equipped to address the challenging politics of the day. While the university has provided some ad hoc resources for these purposes, it is worth being more intentional and providing specific faculty training on how to address current events, and especially local events, effectively and with sensitivity.

V. DEMOCRATIC CULTURE

A. Inventory

Unlike many institutions of higher learning, Johns Hopkins does not have a faculty senate or similar governance body with university-wide remit. Instead, the university has adopted a number of subject-specific university-level advisory committees to give faculty and students a voice in institutional affairs.

Some of these bodies are responsible principally for faculty issues and so are only comprised of faculty and administrators. Examples of these bodies include:

- Faculty Budget Advisory Committee
- Tenure Advisory Committee
- Assembly of Faculty Body Leaders
- Faculty Advisory Committee on International Affairs

Others have a remit over a broader range of activities, and these bodies tend to have multiple student members. A list of bodies established in the last eight years, both standing and ad hoc, includes:

- Diverse Names and Narratives Project Task Force (est. 2021)
 - 2 students (1 undergraduate/1 graduate) out of a total 14 members
- Roadmap on Diversity and Inclusion 2020 Task Force (est. 2020)
 - 6 students (3U/3G) out of 44 members
- Student Services Excellence Initiative Student Advisory Committee (est. 2020)
 - 20 students (4U/16G) out of 20 members

- Hopkins Student Center Advisory Committee (est. 2020)
 - 5 students (4U/1G) out of 21 members
- The Committee to Establish Principles on Naming (est. 2020)
 - 3 students (1U/2G) out of 22 members.
- Hopkins Votes Advisory Committee (est. 2018)
 - 5 students (5U/0G) out of 5 members
- Police Accountability Board (est. 2019)
 - 4 students (2U/2G) out of 15 members
- Sustainability Leadership Council (est. 2019)
 - 30 students (10U/20G) out of 78 members
- Student Advisory Committee for Public Safety (est. 2018)
 - 6 students (2U/4G) out of 6 members
- The Second Commission on Undergraduate Education (est. 2017)
 - 4 students out of 30 members
- Committee on the Biomedical Scientific Workforce (est. 2017)
 - 2 students (0U/2G) out of 18 members
- The Task Force on Student Mental Health and Well-Being (est. 2016)
 - 11 students (5U/6G) out of 27 members
- Provost’s Sexual Violence Advisory Committee (est. 2014)
 - 9 students (5U/4G) out of 29 members
- The Public Interest Investment Advisory Committee (est. 2014)
 - 4 students (2U/2G) out of a total 13 members²³

This list is not exhaustive: For example, it does not include the University Pandemic Academic Advisory Committee, a 27-person committee of administration and faculty members that was convened to lend a faculty perspective to how to safely and effectively pursue the university’s missions amid the COVID-19 pandemic, and that works in tandem with a 14-student strong Planning Student Advisory Committee. And there were other committees where we were unable to identify the composition of their membership.²⁴

That said, of all of these listed committees, students and postdoctoral fellows represent 32 percent of the membership. And of those committees where students sit alongside faculty, staff and others—that is, if we exclude student-only committees—students and postdoctoral fellows represent 26 percent of the membership.

B. Survey and Interviews

Respondents to surveys and interviews explained that they felt there is a disconnect between students and the administration. For example, one student opined that there is no forum or platform through which students can express their thoughts and opinions directly to the administration. The

student mentioned not knowing the roles and/or names of all administration figures, underscoring their barriers to communication: “How do I know who to go to if I don’t know what they do and how they can support me?”

Students said they felt there were limited avenues through which they can communicate with the administration about university policy issues of importance, and even if their voices are heard, they felt the administration does not act upon concerns raised. Several students and faculty referenced the efforts to implement a university police department as an episode they believe did not speak to democratic process and as a reminder that the university needs to continue efforts to make sure that students feel their voices are heard. As articulated by one faculty member, even though the university itself is not a democracy, the university may struggle to instill democratic values within its student body if it is not understood as representing and practicing those ideals.

Even though the university itself is not a democracy, the university may struggle to instill democratic values within its student body if it is not understood as representing and practicing those ideals.

Many of the interviews and surveys, detailed in Appendix C, also noted the importance of ensuring that university democracy efforts focus on issues of diversity, equity, and inclusion. One faculty member underscored that the university must implement an anti-racist framework for any democratic-engagement work to be effective. Respondents emphasized that the university might do more in articulating whether democratic engagement is in fact part of the university’s publicized mission and questioned whether the university is promoting democratic engagement enough at the institutional level.

Separately, students underscored the need to involve students and other members of the university community in its democratic-engagement programming. They advised that any democratic-engagement initiative should not be limited to a top-down approach—for it to be successful, it needs to be bottom-up as well, with efforts aimed at fostering grassroots, student-led initiatives.

C. Recommendations

- **Promote student voices within the university itself.** There is substantial student representation on university committees. Still, students hunger for a stronger voice in the direction of the university. The university should not be—and is by definition not—a democratic institution. Nonetheless, students’ desire for a greater voice is meaningful: As discussed earlier, the evidence suggests that if students are to feel a sense of agency in the nation’s democracy, they will need to feel that they have a voice in the institution that, even if not a democracy itself, issues rules that affect their lives as they mature into adulthood. This does not, of course, mean that their opinions must become policy. But they should feel their opinions are heard. Accordingly, the university might consider ways to continue to strengthen and stimulate student voice within the university.
- **Make publicly available a list of student opportunities for university committee service and of student members on university committees.** There is no website that provides a list of student members on university committees. (There are partial lists of committees on the Student

Affairs website, but those lists do not include a roster of the undergraduate students on those committees.) The university should consider putting together such a list: If students are to feel democratically engaged, they should be able to know who represents them on the advisory committees on university policy issues.

- **Embrace diversity, equity, and inclusion as part of democratic engagement.** As noted, many respondents underscored the importance of diversity, inclusion, and equity to a democratic culture on campus. Doing so might mean ensuring that definitions and visions of democracy and engagement stem from multiple social and cultural backgrounds, adequately preparing students to comprehensively understand the context to which they would be entering any outside community setting before actually engaging in the work and adopting a focus on democratic values of inequity and debate that make space for listening to the voices of those of different backgrounds and perspectives. The recommendations of the Roadmap on Diversity and Inclusion task force are expected to create an equitable space for the advancement of democratic-engagement efforts on campus.
- **Make democratic engagement more explicitly part of Johns Hopkins's mission.** An announcement of the ways in which democracy informs the university, a declaration of principles on what democracy means to the university, or even an explicit attempt at defining democratic engagement for the university could help set the tone for the type of culture Johns Hopkins wants to help create. Students report that recent speeches, programming, and letters to the community have done strong work on this score.

CONCLUSION

Democracy itself, as an ideal, is a concept that is both not static and can never be perfected. Democracy's role and status within the university should be similarly defined.

Building a culture of democracy cannot and will not happen overnight, or in a year, or in multiple years. This must be an enduring pursuit of the university, even if the attention of the nation (and the university) turns to other crises. The work of promoting democratic engagement needs to be iterative, constant, and all-encompassing. It may be advisable to form an informal or formal board of students, faculty, and community members that can help advise on and hold the university accountable for promoting deep democratic-engagement work, a structure that has been successfully implemented at other universities. Convenings where these themes are discussed among leadership, faculty, and students also could be useful in keeping this topic in active development.

To reiterate an earlier point: This audit and report should not be seen as final. Rather, it should be seen as the invitation for a start of a conversation between students, faculty, administration, staff, and the wider community. And perhaps most important, its creation and promotion should be seen itself as an important moment of self-reflection—to ensure that the institution concretely values cultivating local and deep democratic engagement among all of its constituencies, as an active stakeholder in the Baltimore community, as a steward of facts and knowledge for broader society, and as part of its mission to bring the benefits of discovery to the world.

Appendix A. List of Democracy-Focused Courses

Most recent update: November 8, 2021

SPRING 2021

AS.040.214 (01)

Antigone's Echoes: Activism and the Law from Ancient Greece to Today

Departments: AS Classics, AS Dean's Teaching Fellowship Courses, AS English, AS Political Science, AS Theatre Arts & Studies

Instructor: R. Warwick

Where should the law come from, the individual or the state? What does it mean to apply a law equitably? How can one protest an unjust system? These are just a few questions that *Antigone*, long considered to be one of the most important dramatic works in the Western tradition, has raised for philosophers and playwrights across the centuries. In this class we will read several versions of Sophocles' *Antigone* and explore this character's enduring relevance to theories of gender, performance, world literature, and politics. Dean's Teaching Fellowship course.

AS.100.450 (03)

History Research Lab: Discovering Hard Histories at Hopkins

Departments: AS History, AS Agora Institute, AS Program in Museums and Society

Instructor: M. Jones

It is time at Johns Hopkins University to rewrite our own history, one that takes a frank look at how race and racism have shaped the university and its community. This research seminar will build upon the recent revelations about founder Johns Hopkins, his family, and their relationships to slave holding. Taught as part of the Hard Histories at Hopkins Project, this seminar will center on new student research into the private and public records of early America, aiming to provide new insights into the nature and extent of Mr. Hopkins's involvement in slavery and the lives of those Black Americans whom he held enslaved. Students will read deeply into the history of slavery, will learn new research techniques, and will publish the results of their work as part of the Hard Histories at Hopkins Project. Students will also participate in public seminars where, alongside experts, they will bring this history to broader audiences, including the university community and residents of Baltimore.

AS.190.101 (01 - 06)

Introduction to American Politics

Departments: AS Political Science, AS International Studies

Instructor: A. Sheingate

This course examines the ideals and operation of the American political system. It seeks to understand how our institutions and politics work, why they work as they do, and what the consequences are for representative government in the United States. Emphasis is placed on the federal government and its electoral, legislative, and executive structures and processes. As useful and appropriate, attention is also given to the federal courts and to the role of the states. The purpose of the course is to understand and confront the character and problems of modern government in the United States in a highly polarized and plebiscitary era.

AS.190.180 (01 - 04)

Introduction to Political Theory

Departments: AS Political Science, AS International Studies

Instructor: P. Brandese

This course investigates core questions of what constitutes political freedom, what limits on freedom (if any) should be imposed by authority, and the relationship between freedom, responsibility, and political judgement. Spanning texts ancient, modern, and contemporary, we shall investigate how power inhabits and invigorates practices of freedom and consent. Among the questions we will consider: Can we always tell the difference between consent and coercion? Are morality and freedom incompatible? Is freedom from the past impossible? By wrestling with slavery (freedom's opposite) we will confront the terrifying possibility that slavery can be both embodied and psychic. If our minds can be held captive by power, can we ever be certain that we are truly free? The political stakes of these problems will be brought to light through a consideration of issues of religion, gender, sexuality, civil liberties, class and race.

AS.190.308 (03)

Democracy and Dictatorship: Theory and Cases

Departments: AS Political Science, AS International Studies

Appendix A. List of Democracy-Focused Courses *continued*

Instructor: S. Mazzuca

The course will cover three topics: 1) The conceptualization of political regime, democracy, and authoritarianism. We will also consider neighboring concepts of other macro-political structures—government, state, and administration—in order to be able to demarcate what is distinctive about the study of political regimes. 2) The characterization of political regimes in most Western and some non-Western countries, in history and today. We will centrally focus on the so called “Waves of Democratization,” but we will also consider stories with less happy outcomes, that is, processes that led to the breakdown of democracies and the installation of repressive dictatorships. 3) The explanation(s) of the stability and change of political regimes around the world. Theoretical accounts of regime change come in many flavors—emphasis on economic versus political causes, focus on agents and choices versus structures and constraints, international versus domestic factors, among others. We will consider most of them.

AS.190.326 (01)

Democracy and Elections

Departments: AS Political Science, AS International Studies

Instructor: R. Katz

An examination of most aspects of democratic elections with the exception of the behavior of voters. Topics include the impact of various electoral systems and administrative reforms on the outcome of elections, standards for evaluations of electoral systems, and the impact of the Arrow problem on normative theories of democratic elections.

AS.190.332 (01)

The University in Democracy

Departments: AS Political Science, AS International Studies

Instructor: R. Daniels

From the founding of the United States to the COVID-19 pandemic, modern universities have evolved into expansive, complex institutions that play a variety of indispensable roles in the support of democratic societies. They educate citizens as well as specialists; produce new knowledge that shapes discourse and public policy; foster reasoned debate; and act as engines of social mobility. They also incite a great deal of controversy, criticism, and distrust, including for how they have performed these roles. In this course,

we will study the centuries-long relationship between universities and democracy, and assess how successfully these institutions (including Johns Hopkins) are fulfilling their most profound functions today.

AS.190.334 (01)

Constitutional Law

Departments: AS Political Science, AS International Studies

Instructor: E. Zackin

Topics include executive and emergency power, racial and gender equality, and selected free speech and religious freedom issues.

AS.190.473 (01)

Political Polarization

Departments: AS Political Science, AS Agora Institute, AS International Studies

Instructor: S. Teles

The American constitutional order, which was designed to operate without political parties, now has parties as divided as any in the democratic world. This course will examine explanations of how this happened, the consequences of party polarization for public policy and governance, and what if anything should be done about it.

AS.191.322 (01)

Political Thought and the Horror of Theatricality

Departments: AS Political Science, AS International Studies

Instructor: D. Vinketa

Actors provoke horror in political philosophers: from Plato’s flamboyant poet corrupting the youth of Athens, to the early Christian theologians equating theatricality with sodomy and satanic debauchery, all the way to the Enlightenment thinkers suspecting the licentious actors of working in secret to subvert the public fraternity. It seems that at the very heart of political philosophy there lies the figure of a perverted jester perpetually working to undermine the entire social order with his artful wiles. Is the political ideal of deliberative democracy permanently bedeviled by the phantasm of a cunning histrionic bogeyman turning our public debates into theatrical spectacles and inciting our reasonable citizens to degenerate into impassioned fools? Considering the various contemporary articulations of identity politics, inviting us to cast off our masks and to take pride in our authentic selves, could it be the case that, rather

Appendix A. List of Democracy-Focused Courses *continued*

than ridding ourselves of this naive political fiction, we are merely reliving an extension of a two-millennia-old horror story of theatricality? Are we still subconsciously terrified of actors? Sign up to find out.

AS.192.150 (01)

States, Regimes & Contentious Politics

Departments: AS International Studies, AS Political Science

Instructor: A. Lawrence

This course introduces students to the study of politics and political life in the world, with a particular focus on the Middle East, Latin America, and Africa. Throughout the course, we will analyze the sources of order and disorder in modern states, addressing a series of questions, such as: *Why did nation-states form? What makes a state a nation? Why are some states democracies while others are not? How do people organize to fight oppression? Why does conflict sometimes turn violent? What are the causes of ethnic war?* Drawing on a mix of classic works and contemporary scholarship, we will discuss the answers that scholars have formulated to address these and other questions, paying special attention to research design and the quality of argumentation.

AS.196.301 (01)

Social Entrepreneurship, Policy, and Systems Change: The Future of Democracy

Departments: AS Agora Institute, AS Political Science

Instructor: S. Warren

This course will explore the dynamics and interplay between social entrepreneurship, social change, and policy. Students will explore frameworks for social transformation and systems change, and explore whether stable governance and effective policies are necessary for sustainable change. The course will examine the intersection between social change and policy change, examining how the two concepts intersect while focusing on the end goal of systems change. Students will examine different case studies of social transformation (or proposed social transformation) from across the United States and world. Guest speakers will include diverse practitioners of social entrepreneurship who think about long-term pathways to transformative social change and dynamic policymakers. While the course will include case studies on broader domestic and international challenges and models of social transformation, a larger focus will be on specific local social problems and solutions. This will manifest through class discussions and a final project based on the surrounding community.

AS.196.306 (01)

Democracy by the Numbers

Departments: AS Agora Institute, AS International Studies

Instructor: B. Corrigan

How is democracy doing around the world? This course will help students to answer this question and ask their own questions about political systems by examining a variety of quantitative measures of facets of democracy in the US and internationally. We consider general indices as well as those that focus on specific normatively-appealing aspects—the absence of fraud in and broader integrity of the electoral process itself, the guarantees of fundamental human rights to all, governments' effectiveness and accountability to the public, the equity of both representation and policy outcomes for minority groups and those historically disadvantaged or excluded, and the possibility and extent of civic engagement in nongovernment institutions. Wherever possible, the course will present evidence about the kinds of institutions and policies that seem to bolster democracy. Students can expect to gain hands-on experience with publicly-available subnational and national indicators of electoral and democratic quality.

AS.196.311 (01 - 04)

Democracy

Departments: AS Agora Institute, AS History, AS International Studies

Instructor: A. Applebaum, Y. Mounk

Democracies around the world are under threat. This course introduces students to the philosophical foundations of democracy as well as the history of democratic revolutions, institutions, and principles. How can we defeat the most important contemporary challenges to democracy, including populism, authoritarianism, and disinformation? And how can we revive the “democratic spirit”—in America and around the world?

AS.196.364 (01)

This is Not Propaganda

Departments: AS Agora Institute, AS English, AS History, AS International Studies, AS Political Science, AS Sociology

Instructor: P. Pomeranzev

We live in an era of disinformation' mass persuasion and media manipulation run amok. More information was meant to improve democracy and undermine authoritarian regimes—instead the opposite seems to be

Appendix A. List of Democracy-Focused Courses *continued*

happening. This course will take you from Russia to South Asia, Europe to the US, to analyze how our information environment has been transformed, why our old formulae for resisting manipulation are failing, and what needs to be done to create a model where deliberative democracy can flourish.

AS.230.224 (01)

Freshman Seminar: Public Opinion and Democracy

Departments: AS Sociology, AS Freshman Seminars, AS International Studies

Instructor: S. Morgan

How does public opinion shape electoral behavior and the contours of democracy in the United States, and how have these relationships changed as techniques for measuring public opinion have evolved since the early twentieth century? To consider this question, the course introduces alternative perspectives on the features of a healthy democracy, including both historical perspectives and current arguments. Interweaved with this material, the course examines how public opinion is measured and interpreted by private pollsters, survey researchers, and data journalists. Emphasis is placed on the alternative claims that opposing analysts adopt as well as how the technologies of data collection and analysis shape the permissibility of conclusions. Students will learn to interpret public opinion patterns, which requires a brief presentation of basic concepts from survey sampling, including what to make of the polling industry's most boring concept: margin of error.

AS.230.357 (01)

Baltimore and Beyond

Departments: AS Sociology, AS Center for Africana Studies, AS Political Science

Instructor: S. Deluca

This course uses the city of Baltimore as a lens through which to explore issues of urban inequality. We will focus on Baltimore's history of racial segregation and concentrated poverty, and its effect on the social and economic well-being of the city and its residents, with attention to education, employment, health, and crime. Students will learn how to employ census data, GIS approaches, and sociological research to inform questions about population change, inequality, and the distribution of resources across the city and metropolitan region. Students will also work on one or more policy-relevant studies based in Baltimore, including: a project on abandoned and vacant housing, a desegregation

intervention, and a longitudinal study of inner city youth. Finally, students will become familiar with Baltimore City's programs and policy approaches to addressing the city's most pressing problems and will design innovative and effective and innovative solutions as part of their course assignments. Enrollment restricted to Social Policy minors only.

FALL 2020

AS.100.241 (01 - 02)

American Revolution

Departments: AS History, AS International Studies

Instructor: P. Morgan

This course provides an intensive introduction to the causes, character, and consequences of the American Revolution, the colonial rebellion that produced the first republic in the Americas, and set in motion an age of democratic revolutions in the Atlantic world. A remarkable epoch in world history, the revolutionary era was of momentous significance.

AS.100.301 (01)

America After the Civil Rights Movement

Departments: AS History, AS Center for Africana Studies, AS East Asian Studies

Instructor: N. Connolly

This course explores the history of late twentieth-century America by examining the social, economic, and political legacies of 1960s civil rights protest for the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s.

AS.100.450 (01)

History Research Lab: Histories of Women and the Vote

Departments: AS History, AS Center for Africana Studies, AS Study of Women, Gender, & Sexuality

Instructor: M. Jones

The year 2020 will mark 100 years since the 19th Amendment guaranteed American women the right to vote. Or did it? This course will examine the long history of women's voting rights in the United States, including the story that extends from a convention at Seneca Falls, New York, to a constitutional amendment. It will also examine alternative stories, especially those of women of color whose campaigns for the vote did not end in 1920—and continue until today.

Appendix A. List of Democracy-Focused Courses *continued*

AS.150.355 (01)

Philosophy of Law

Departments: AS Philosophy, AS International Studies

Instructor: D. Moyar

In this course we will examine major issues in the philosophy of law, including the nature of law, the role of the Constitution in legal decisions, and the justification of punishment. No previous knowledge of law or philosophy is required.

AS.180.338 (01)

Political Economy and Development

Departments: AS Economics, AS International Studies

Instructor: F. Campante

Good governance is associated with desirable outcomes across countries and societies: higher life satisfaction, greater income per capita, lower child mortality, longer life expectancy, less disease, etc. But these statistical associations in the data are not sufficient to establish either that good governance truly causes such societal outcomes or what types of policies produce them. This course asks: What are the determinants of good governance? Is good governance “good” beyond its intrinsic desirability? If so, how? We use a data-driven approach, focusing on quantitative empirical methods and their applications to policy. The goal is to develop skills to be savvy consumers, as well as producers, of policy-relevant evidence related to issues of governance, in rich and poor countries alike. Topics will include: democracy, corruption, conflict, culture, mass media, quotas, and foreign aid.

AS.190.180 (01 - 06)

Introduction to Political Theory

Departments: AS Political Science, AS International Studies

Instructor: J. Culbert

This course serves as an introduction to the study of political thought. Political thought critically considers what we think we mean when we talk about ‘the political,’ reflections that often lead political theorists to examine not only various kinds of political regimes, institutions, and practices but also to explore matters of ethics, morality, anthropology, history, and biology. This particular course will focus on classical debates about freedom, equality, authority, and justice that have been revisited and revised by feminist political theorists such as Mary Wollstonecraft, Simone de Beauvoir, Audre Lorde, Catharine MacKinnon, bell hooks, Iris Marion Young, and Wendy Brown.

AS.190.137 (01)

Freshman Seminar: Choosing a President

Departments: AS Political Science, AS Freshman Seminars, AS International Studies

Instructor: R. Lieberman

This fall, as they have done every four years for more than 230 years, Americans will elect a president. Presidential elections are one of the more peculiar rituals in American politics, but they are enormously consequential. In this course we will track the 2020 presidential campaign in real time while exploring the history and politics of presidential elections and considering how presidential elections affect other aspects of American politics. The course will involve a combination of reading and writing with hands-on research and exploration projects.

AS.190.333 (01)

American Constitutional Law

Departments: AS Political Science, AS Agora Institute, AS International Studies

Instructor: E. Zackin

This course covers enduring debates about the way the Constitution has structured the US government and about which powers the Constitution assigns to the federal government and to the states. We will examine these debates in the context of American political history and thought by studying the writings of prominent participants and landmark Supreme Court cases.

AS.190.366 (01)

Free Speech and the Law in Comparative Perspective

Departments: AS Political Science, AS International Studies

Instructors: R. Katz, E. Zackin

This class explores the ideas and legal doctrines that define the freedom of speech. We will examine the free speech jurisprudence of the US in comparison to that of other systems, particularly the jurisprudence of the European Court of Human Rights and the Supreme Court of Canada.

AS.190.387 (01)

Parties and Elections in America

Departments: AS Political Science, AS Agora Institute, AS International Studies

Instructor: D. Schlozman

Considers how parties and elections structure political conflict, and facilitate (or not) democratic control of

Appendix A. List of Democracy-Focused Courses *continued*

government. Topics include campaigns, voting behavior, election administration, money in politics, presidential nomination, and party coalitions.

AS.190.406 (01)

The Executive Branch

Departments: AS Political Science, AS International Studies

Instructor: B. Ginsberg

In the 19th century, America was noted for its courts, political parties, and representative institutions. Today, America's political parties and representative institutions have declined in importance while the institutions of the executive branch have increased in importance. This seminar will examine the nation's key executive institutions and aspects of executive governance in the US. Students will alternate primary responsibility for week's readings. Every student will prepare a 10-15 page review and critique of the books for which they are responsible in class.

AS.190.437 (01)

Race and Ethnic Politics in the United States

Departments: AS Political Science, AS Agora Institute, AS Center for Africana Studies, AS International Studies, AS Sociology

Instructor: V. Weaver

Race has been and continues to be centrally important to American political life and development. In this course, we will engage with the major debates around racial politics in the United States, with a substantial focus on how policies and practices of citizenship, immigration law, social provision, and criminal justice policy shaped and continue to shape racial formation, group-based identities, and group position; debates around the content and meaning of political representation and the responsiveness of the political system to American minority groups; debates about how racial prejudice has shifted and its importance in understanding American political behavior; the prospects for contestation or coalitions among groups; the "struggle with difference" within groups as they deal with the interplay of race and class, citizenship status, and issues that disproportionately affect a subset of their members; and debates about how new groups and issues are reshaping the meaning and practice of race in the United States.

AS.191.309 (01)

Theory of Conversation

Departments: AS Political Science, AS Agora Institute, AS Dean's Teaching Fellowship Courses, AS International Studies

Instructor: C. Higgins

What are the purposes of conversation, and how do we navigate these purposes? How do we excuse, justify, and explain ourselves to one another; how do we forgive each other; how do we come to agree with one another? When do we reach the conclusion that we have nothing more to say, and why? In this course, we will approach these and similar questions through the tradition of ordinary language philosophy as represented by Wittgenstein, Austin, and Cavell. We will then apply the method of ordinary language philosophy to conversations found in the plays of Beckett and Shakespeare, as well as the films of Hawks and McCarey. Students will be expected to write a short paper each week.

AS.191.315 (01)

The Domestic Politics of Israel

Departments: AS Political Science, AS Dean's Teaching Fellowship Courses, AS International Studies, AS Jewish Studies Program

Instructor: A. Dolinsky

Israel's politics and history are complex, involving multiple military conflicts, domestic struggles, and dynamic international relationships. This course will focus on Israel's domestic politics by tracing the story of the development of its party system and the parties composing it. A parliamentary democracy with a proportional representation electoral system, Israel's party system includes multiple parties who represent the various segments of Israeli society. What are the origins of this party system and the parties within it? What changes have they experienced and what are the factors that influence those changes? Who are the important actors and what might be motivating them? How have these parties influenced the development of Israel's domestic politics? Using both historical and statistical materials, these questions and others will serve as our guide on a journey to a better understanding of Israel's domestic politics, from its inception to the present day.

Appendix A. List of Democracy-Focused Courses *continued*

AS.191.348 (01)

Demons of Democracy

Departments: AS Political Science, AS Dean's Teaching Fellowship Courses, AS International Studies, AS Study of Women, Gender, & Sexuality

Instructor: S. Najjar

This course examines how a political discourse of deviancy, which produces a suspicion and a demonization of the Other, has legitimized the subsequent marginalization of specific groups from the democratic sphere. How has democracy, which promises a universal inclusivity of all its citizens, justified the historical and ongoing exclusion of certain marginalized groups from participating in political life? In this course, we will gain deeper insight into the logics of “demon-making” by turning to Black, feminist, and queer critiques of democracy’s core tenets, particularly the values of inclusion, representation, and diversity. We will pay special attention to these scholars’ critiques of the Rational Man, conceived by Enlightenment thinkers to be the ideal subject of political life.

AS.192.315 (01)

Politics of India

Department: AS International Studies

Instructor: P. Suryanarayan

India is the world’s largest democracy and its second most populous country. This course introduces core issues in the study of modern Indian politics. The class is organized around the following topics: We trace India’s journey to Independence; the consolidation of democracy in the early decades; the relationship between the state and the economy; the state’s institutional architecture; how political parties and electoral campaigns operate; the threats posed by corruption, criminality and dynastic politics; the role of caste and religion in shaping politics; the political and economic consequences of economic liberalization; elections; and the recent rise of right-wing hindutva in the country. The focus is on building knowledge and understanding of the Indian case. But we will also consider to what extent India’s experience is reflective of more general theories of politics, and how they might change because of what India can teach us. Class sessions will be interactive, with plenty of opportunity for group discussion. The reading list is diverse and draws from political science, sociology, history, and anthropology.

AS.192.404 (01)

Democracy, Autocracy, and Economic Development: Korea, Indonesia, and Myanmar

Departments: AS International Studies, AS East Asian Studies, AS Political Science

Instructor: G. Dore

East Asia’s “miracle growth” has not gone hand in hand with a decisive move toward democracy. The course explores the reasons why democratization proceeds slowly in East Asia and seems to be essentially decoupled from the region’s fast-paced economic growth. The course is divided into three parts. Part I introduces the specifics of East Asia’s economic development strategies as well as key concepts of democracy, authoritarianism, and military rule and the tensions between these theories and the East Asian experience. Part II will focus on the economic and political development experiences of Korea, Indonesia, and Myanmar in light of what was discussed in Part I. Finally, Part III presents lessons emerging from the comparison of Korea’s, Indonesia’s and Myanmar’s economic and political developmental trajectories.

AS.196.300 (01)

Getting to Truth: How to Navigate Today’s Media Jungle

Departments: AS Agora Institute, AS International Studies, AS Political Science

Instructor: S. Shane

Our democratic system depends on an informed public, but media today are polarized along ideological lines, undercut by economic and technological change and sometimes polluted with bogus stories written for profit or spin. In this course, taught by a veteran journalist, we will discuss the evolution of news, examine the current challenges and assess what citizens can do to get a fair understanding of what’s going on. We’ll use many concrete examples and students will have multiple writing assignments.

AS.196.301 (01)

Social Entrepreneurship, Policy, and Systems Change

Departments: AS Agora Institute, AS Political Science

Instructor: S. Warren

This course will explore the dynamics and interplay between social entrepreneurship, social change, and policy. Students will explore frameworks for social transformation and systems change, and explore whether

Appendix A. List of Democracy-Focused Courses *continued*

stable governance and effective policies are necessary for sustainable change. The course will examine the intersection between social change and policy change, examining how the two concepts intersect while focusing on the end goal of systems change. Students will examine different case studies of social transformation (or proposed social transformation) from across the United States and world. Guest speakers will include diverse practitioners of social entrepreneurship who think about long-term pathways to transformative social change and dynamic policymakers. While the course will include case studies on broader domestic and international challenges and models of social transformation, a larger focus will be on specific local social problems and solutions. This will manifest through class discussions and a final project based on the surrounding community.

AS.196.302 (01)

Science and Democracy

Departments: AS Agora Institute

Instructor: A. Levine

What role does scientific expertise play (or not play) in American democracy? What role should scientific expertise play (or not play) in American democracy? These are the key questions we'll address in this class, focusing on a wide range of examples such as government responses to public health crises, environmental crises, and war. We'll tackle these questions from multiple angles, drawing on ideas from across the social sciences, including political science, psychology, sociology, economics, history, and communication. We'll focus largely on the United States, though in some cases compare the US experience with other democracies to understand how unique aspects of our democratic institutions influence the link between science and democracy.

AS.196.364 (01)

This is Not Propaganda

Departments: AS Agora Institute, AS International Studies, AS Political Science

Instructor: P. Pomeranzev

We live in an era of disinformation's mass persuasion and media manipulation run amok. More information was meant to improve democracy and undermine authoritarian regimes—instead the opposite seems to be happening. This course will take you from Russia to South Asia, Europe to the US, to analyze how our information environment has been transformed, why our old formulae for resisting manipulation are failing,

and what needs to be done to create a model where deliberative democracy can flourish.

AS.230.396 (01)

Politics and Society

Departments: AS Sociology, AS International Studies

Instructor: J. Andreas

This seminar surveys key problems of political sociology including the rise of the modern state, the origins and nature of liberal democracy, sources of authority, the relationship between political and economic power, the nation-state and nationalism, states and war, ideology and political contention, collective identity, social movements, and social revolutions. Fulfills Comparative Politics for International Studies.

AS.360.111 (01)

SOUL: Designing Problem-Solving Spaces for Democracy

Departments: AS Interdepartmental, AS Agora Institute

Instructor: H. Han

Any democratic institution has to grapple with the question of how to design spaces that enable inclusive deliberation, free contestation of ideas, and accountable governance processes. Too often, contemporary debates about deliberation and governance focus solely on the rights of the speaker, and the question of who has the right to say what, where, and how. This class will flip that question on its head, focusing instead on what research teaches us about how to design a plurality of spaces that enable both deliberative and participatory democracy for all kinds of people. Students will read and discuss the research as well as try implementing the findings in labs, to consider and test their applicability to real life.

AS.360.111 (02)

SOUL: Russia, 2016 & the Future of Information Warfare

Departments: AS Interdepartmental, AS Agora Institute

Instructor: S. Shane

As the 2020 election approaches, this SOUL course will examine Russia's pioneering influence operation in the American presidential election of 2016, its impact, and its implications for democracy. We will study the polarized American media coverage of the Russian operation. The course will touch on some of the most urgent and contentious issues that evolving technology has created for policymakers and for the preservation of democracy.

Appendix B. List of Democracy-Focused Events

SPRING 2021

Ask Johns Hopkins Anything (AJHA)

Date: January 8, 2021

Organization: SNF Agora Institute at Johns Hopkins University

JHU archival location: SNF Agora Events

Speakers: **Anne Applebaum**, SNF Agora Senior Fellow, Johns Hopkins University, Senior Fellow of International Affairs, SAIS; **Sheldon Greenberg**, Professor of Management in the Division of Public Safety Leadership, Johns Hopkins School of Education; **Hahrie Han**, Inaugural Director, SNF Agora Institute & Professor, Department of Political Science, KSAS; **Grace Park**, SNF Agora Visiting Fellow, Johns Hopkins University, Former United States Army Captain; **Peter Pomerantsev**, SNF Agora Senior Fellow, Johns Hopkins University, Co-director of the Arena Initiative; **Sebastian Mazzuca**, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Johns Hopkins University; **Yascha Mounk**, SNF Agora Senior Fellow, Johns Hopkins University, Associate Professor of the Practice of International Affairs, SAIS; **Ashley Quarcoo**, SNF Agora Visiting Fellow, Johns Hopkins University, Senior Fellow with the Democracy, Conflict and Governance Program, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; **Scott Warren**, SNF Agora Visiting Fellow, Johns Hopkins University, CEO, Generation Citizen; **Ronald Weich**, Dean and Professor of Law, University of Baltimore

Climate Change, Public Health, and the US Supreme Court

Date: January 28, 2021

Organizations: SNF Agora Institute at Johns Hopkins University; Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health Center for the Law and Public Health

JHU archival location: SNF Agora Events; Undergraduate Program in Public Health Studies Website

Speakers: **Moderator, Thomas A. Burke**, Jacob I. and Irene B. Fabrikant Professor and Chair in Health Risk and Society at Johns Hopkins University Bloomberg School of Public Health, Department of Health Policy and Management; **Panelist, Sara E. Gross**, chief of the Affirmative Litigation Division at the Baltimore City Department of Law, serving as counsel for mayor and City Council; **Panelist, Robert Percival**, Robert F. Stanton Professor of Law and director of the Environmental Law Program at the University of Maryland School of Law; **Panelist, Amir Sapkota**, Professor, Maryland Institute for

Applied Environmental Health within the University of Maryland's School of Public Health.

Faith, Race, and Politics: One Year Later

Date: February 3, 2021

Organizations: SNF Agora Institute at Johns Hopkins University; UNDIVIDED

JHU archival locations: SNF Agora Events; the Hub (post event)

Speakers: **Hahrie Han**, Inaugural Director, SNF Agora Institute & Professor, Department of Political Science, KSAS; **Kristin Kobes Du Mez**, Professor of History and Gender Studies at Calvin University; **Chuck Mingo**, founder of UNDIVIDED; **Ed Stetzer**, Professor and Dean at Wheaton College, Executive Director of the Wheaton College Billy Graham Center.

Renewing the Republic Series: How to Restore the Guardrails of Democracy

Date: February 4, 2021

Organizations: SNF Agora Institute at Johns Hopkins University; The National Constitution Center

JHU archival location: SNF Agora Events

Speakers: **Moderator, Jeffrey Rosen**, President and CEO of the National Constitution Center; **Panelist, Anne Applebaum**, SNF Agora Senior Fellow, Johns Hopkins University, Senior Fellow of International Affairs, SAIS; **Panelist, William B. Allen**, Emeritus Dean of James Madison College and Emeritus Professor of Political Science at Michigan State University; **Panelist, George Will**, Pulitzer-prize winning journalist; **Panelist, Daniel Ziblatt**, Eaton Professor of the Science of Government, Harvard University, SNF Agora Visiting Fellow, Intersession 2019.

SNF Agora Student Forum: Closing the Civilian-Military Divide

Date: February 10, 2021

Organizations: SNF Agora Institute at Johns Hopkins University

JHU archival location: SNF Agora Events

Speakers: **Grace Park**, SNF Agora Visiting Fellow and a former United States Army Captain; **Lieutenant Colonel (LTC) Angelique Pifer**, Army Strategic Intelligence Officer (FA 34), Professor of military science, Johns Hopkins University Army Reserve Officer Training Corps Blue Jay Battalion.

Appendix B. List of Democracy-Focused Events *continued*

SNF Agora Seminars: Lilliana Mason, Radical American Partisanship: Mapping Violent Hostility, Its Causes, & What It Means for Democracy

Date: February 19, 2021

Organization: SNF Agora Institute at Johns Hopkins University

JHU archival location: SNF Agora Events

Speaker: **Lilliana Mason**, Associate Professor of Government and Politics at the University of Maryland, College Park, Author of *Uncivil Agreement: How Politics Became Our Identity* (University of Chicago Press).

Democratic Spaces Series: Disability, Access, and Advocacy

Date: February 23, 2021

Organization: SNF Agora Institute at Johns Hopkins University, Johns Hopkins University Disability Health Research Center

JHU archival location: SNF Agora Events

Speakers: **Moderator, Bonnielin Swenor**, epidemiologist and associate professor at the Johns Hopkins Wilmer Eye Institute and the Epidemiology Department at the Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health; **Panelist, Gregg Beratan**, nonprofit manager; **Andrew Pulrang**, disability-focused freelance writer, online activist, and former Center for Independent Living director, contributing writer for forbes.com; **Panelist, Alice Wong** (she/her), disabled activist, media maker, and consultant, founder and director of the Disability Visibility Project, an online community dedicated to creating, sharing, and amplifying disability media and culture.

Transformative Justice: How You Can Create Change on Campus

Date: February 26, 2021

Organizations: SNF Agora Institute at Johns Hopkins University; Johns Hopkins University Black Student Union; Johns Hopkins University Black Student Athlete Association

JHU archival location: SNF Agora Events

Speakers: **Brandon Scott**, Mayor of Baltimore City; **Reverend Kobi Little**, President, Baltimore City NAACP; **Bilphena Yahwon**, Baltimore based writer, abolitionist, and restorative practice specialist.

Seminar on Democracy: Past, Present, and Future: Populism After Trump

Date: March 4, 2021

Organizations: SNF Agora Institute at Johns Hopkins University; Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies (CES) at Harvard University

JHU archival location: SNF Agora Events

Speakers: **Anne Applebaum**, SNF Agora Senior Fellow, Johns Hopkins University, Senior Fellow of International Affairs, SAIS; **Daniel Ziblatt**, Eaton Professor of the Science of Government, Harvard University, SNF Agora Visiting Fellow, Intersession 2019.; **Steven Levitsky**, Professor of Government, Harvard University.

The Impact of Indian-Americans on US Politics

Date: March 15, 2021

Organizations: SNF Agora Institute at Johns Hopkins University; Hopkins at Home; Johns Hopkins India Institute

JHU archival locations: SNF Agora Event; JHU Events; Hopkins at Home

Speakers: **Hahrie Han**, Inaugural Director, SNF Agora Institute & Professor, Department of Political Science, KSAS; **Raj Gupta**, Chair of the Johns Hopkins India Institute Advisory Board; **The Honorable Ami Bera**, Member of the US House of Representatives (CA-07); **The Honorable Pramila Jayapal**, Member of the US House of Representatives (WA-07); **Deepak Raj**, Chair of the New Jersey State Investment Council and Founder and Managing Director of New Jersey-based private investment firm Raj Associates.

Democracy Abroad: An IDEAL@JHU INFO

Date: March 17, 2021

Organizations: IDEAL Johns Hopkins University

JHU archival location: IDEAL JHU Facebook Page

Renewing the Republic Series: Compromise and the Constitution in a Polarized America

Date: March 17, 2021

Organizations: SNF Agora Institute at Johns Hopkins University; The National Constitution Center

JHU archival location: SNF Agora Events; JHU Events

Speakers: **Moderator, Jeffrey Rosen**, President and CEO of the National Constitution Center; **Panelist, Steve Teles**, Professor of Political Science, Krieger School of Arts and Sciences; Senior Fellow, Niskanen Center; **Panelist, Sarah Binder**, Professor of Political Science, George Washington University; **Panelist, Reihan Salam**, fifth president of the Manhattan Institute, and Contributing Editor at *The Atlantic*, *National Affairs*, and *National Review*.

Appendix B. List of Democracy-Focused Events *continued*

Democratic Spaces Series: Dissent and Disagreement

Date: March 17, 2021

Organization: SNF Agora Institute at Johns Hopkins University

JHU archival locations: SNF Agora Events; JHU Events

Speakers: **Moderator, Dahlia Lithwick**, senior editor at *Slate*; **Panelist, Martha Jones**, Society of Black Alumni Presidential Professor, professor of history, and professor at the SNF Agora Institute at Johns Hopkins University; **Mame-Fatou Niang**, associate professor of French and francophone studies at Carnegie Mellon University; **Panelist, Suzanne Nossel**, CEO of PEN America, author of *Dare to Speak: Defending Free Speech for All*.

SNF Agora Seminars: Noliwe Rooks, “They Tried to Kill Us With Their Democracy, So We Fought Them With Ours’: A Story of Segrenomics, Racism, and Health in the Battle for Education in Detroit”

Date: March 19, 2021

Organization: SNF Agora Institute at Johns Hopkins University

JHU archival location: SNF Agora Events

Speaker: **Noliwe Rooks**, W.E.B Du Bois Professor at Cornell University

Calling In: A Conversation with Loretta J. Ross

Date: March 23, 2021

Organizations: SNF Agora Institute at Johns Hopkins University; Johns Hopkins University Female Leaders of Color; Johns Hopkins University Multicultural Leadership Council; Johns Hopkins University Foreign Affairs Symposium; Johns Hopkins University Provost’s Office; Johns Hopkins University Office of the Dean of Student Life

JHU archival location: SNF Agora Events

Speaker: **Loretta J. Ross**, associate professor at Smith College in the Program for the Study of Women and Gender.

Hard Histories Book Talks: William G. Thomas III

Date: March 29, 2021

Organizations: SNF Agora Institute at Johns Hopkins University; Hard Histories at Hopkins

JHU archival location: SNF Agora Events

Speakers: **Martha Jones**, Society of Black Alumni Presidential Professor, Professor of History, and Professor

at the SNF Agora Institute at Johns Hopkins University; **William G. Thomas III**, the Angle Chair in the Humanities and Professor of History at the University of Nebraska

Power and Protest: An IDEAL Panel

Date: April 6, 2021

Organizations: SNF Agora Institute at Johns Hopkins University; IDEAL Johns Hopkins University

JHU archival location: IDEAL JHU Facebook Page

Speakers: **Moderator, Scott Warren**, Visiting Fellow, SNF Agora Institute at Johns Hopkins University, visiting fellow, German Marshall Fund; **Noor Mir**, Digital Democracy Advisor for the Women’s March, Owner of DC Consulting Firm, Action Lab; **DeRay McKesson**, Leader and Community Organizer for Black Lives Matter, Co-Founder of Campaign Zero; **Phillip Jackson**, Reporter at the *Baltimore Sun*, Member of the National Association of Black Journalists; **Stuart Shrader**, Associate Director of the Program in Racism, Immigration, and Citizenship, and Assistant Research Scientist, Johns Hopkins University.

The Influence of the Black Woman’s Vote in the South

Date: April 8, 2021

Organization: Hopkins at Home

JHU archival locations: JHU Events; Hopkins at Home

Speaker: **Martha Jones**, Society of Black Alumni Presidential Professor, Professor of History, and Professor at the SNF Agora Institute at Johns Hopkins University

Democratic Spaces Series: Race & Reconciliation in a Diverse Democracy

Date: April 21, 2021

Organization: SNF Agora Institute at Johns Hopkins University

JHU archival locations: SNF Agora Events; JHU Events

Speakers: **Moderator, Ashley Quarcoo**, SNF Agora Visiting Fellow, Johns Hopkins University, Senior Fellow with the Democracy, Conflict, and Governance Program, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; **David Fakunle**, Adjunct Assistant Professor, University of Florida and Associate Faculty, Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health; **Ereshnee Naidu-Silverman**, Senior Director for the Global Transitional Justice Initiative, ICSC.

Appendix B. List of Democracy-Focused Events *continued*

SNF Agora Seminars: Neil Lewis, “What Is ‘Reasonable’? How the Legal System Shapes Citizen Judgments”

Date: April 23, 2021

Organization: SNF Agora Institute at Johns Hopkins University

JHU archival location: SNF Agora Events

Speaker: **Neil Lewis**, behavioral, intervention, and meta-scientist, Cornell University and Weill Cornell Medicine; assistant professor, department of communication, division of general internal medicine, Weill Cornell Medicine; contributor for *FiveThirtyEight*.

Restoring the Guardrails of Democracy: The State of Voting Rights Today

Date: April 27, 2021

Organizations: SNF Agora Institute at Johns Hopkins University; National Constitution Center

JHU archival location: SNF Agora Events

Speakers: **Moderator, Jeffrey Rosen**, president and CEO of the National Constitution Center; **Panelist, Theodore Johnson**, Brennan Center for Justice; **Ilya Shapiro**, Cato Institute; **Panelist, Kim Wehle**, author, *What You Need to Know About Voting—And Why*.

Book Presentation: “Prisms of the People: Power & Organizing in 21st Century America”

Date: May 3, 2021

Organizations: SNF Agora Institute at Johns Hopkins University; Johns Hopkins University SAIS Europe; The Weizenbaum Institute for the Networked Society

JHU archival location: SNF Agora Events

Speakers: **Hahrie Han**, Inaugural Director, SNF Agora Institute & Professor, Department of Political Science, KSAS; **Michael Vaughan**, Postdoctoral Research Assistant, Research Group 15: Digitalisation and the Transnational Public Sphere, Weizenbaum Institute for the Networked Society, Germany; **Nina Hall**, Assistant Professor, International Relations, Johns Hopkins University SAIS Europe, Italy.

Hopkins on the Hill: How Does Federal Research Funding Work?

Date: May 5, 2021

Organizations: Hopkins at Home; Hopkins on the Hill

JHU archival locations: JHU Events; Research, Hopkins on the Hill

Speakers: **Cybele Bjorklund**, Vice President for Federal Strategy at Johns Hopkins University and Johns Hopkins

Medicine; **Denis Wirtz**, Vice Provost for Research and Theophilus Halley Smoot Professor in the Department of Chemical and Biomolecular Engineering; **Keri N. Althoff**, Provost’s Fellow for Research Communication, Associate Professor of Epidemiology, Bloomberg School of Public Health and the School of Medicine

SNF Agora Seminars: Musa al-Gharbi, “We Have Never Been Woke”

Date: May 14, 2021

Organization: SNF Agora Institute at Johns Hopkins University

JHU archival location: SNF Agora Events

Speaker: **Musa al-Gharbi**, Paul F. Lazarsfeld Fellow, Sociology, Columbia University

A Global Vaccine Access Strategy?: The Moral Imperative for an Equitable Approach

Date: May 19, 2021

Organizations: SNF Agora Institute at Johns Hopkins University; Democracy Moves

JHU archival location: SNF Agora Events

Speakers: **Moderator, Scott Warren**, visiting fellow, SNF Agora Institute at Johns Hopkins University, visiting fellow, German Marshall Fund (GMF); **Panelist, Frida Romay Hidalgo**, attorney, National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM); **Panelist, Priti Krishtel**, attorney, co-founder of I-MAK; **Panelist, Reshma Ramachandran**, health services researcher, family physician, and National Clinician Scholars Program fellow, Yale School of Medicine.

The Vision Chat Series: The Future of Baltimore: Vision Chat with Brandon Scott

Date: May 20, 2021

Organization: Office of Integrative Learning & Life Design

JHU archival location: JHU Events

Speakers: **Brandon Scott**, Mayor of Baltimore City; **Farouk Dey**, Vice Provost for Integrative Learning and Life Design, Johns Hopkins University.

Democratic Spaces Series: Bridging the Urban Rural Divide

Date: May 21, 2021

Organizations: SNF Agora Institute at Johns Hopkins University; Urban Rural Action

JHU archival locations: SNF Agora Events; JHU Events

Speakers: **Moderator, Joe Bubman**, founder and Executive Director of Urban Rural Action; **Panelist, Samar S. Ali**, Research Professor of Political Science and Law,

Appendix B. List of Democracy-Focused Events *continued*

Vanderbilt University, Founding President and CEO of Millions of Conversations, Co-Chair of the Vanderbilt Project on Unity & American Democracy; **Panelist, Dee Davis**, Founder and President, Center for Rural Strategies; **Panelist, Christiana McFarland**, Research Director at National League of Cities.

FALL 2019

Democracy Dialogues Series: Moral Outrage, Digital Media, and (Un)Civil Discourse

Date: September 23, 2019

Organization: SNF Agora Institute at Johns Hopkins University

JHU archival locations: SNF Agora Events; Today's Announcements; SNF Facebook page; the Hub (post event)

Speakers: **Molly Crockett**, Professor of Psychology, Yale University; **Hahrie Han**, Inaugural Director, SNF Agora Institute & Professor, Department of Political Science, KSAS.

"Comparative Perspectives on Free Speech and Trademarks: The US Supreme Court in *Matal v. Tam*"

Date: October 11, 2019

Organization: East Asian Studies Department

JHU archival location: East Asian Studies Department Website

Panel Discussion: Racism, Immigration, and Populism in the Americas

Date: October 14, 2019

Organization: Program in Latin American Studies

JHU archival location: Program in Latin American Studies Website

Speakers: **Thea Riofrancos**, Providence College; **George Ciccariello-Maher**, Hemispheric Institute, New York University

IDEAL Johns Hopkins University INFO: Voter Suppression

Date: October 23, 2019

Organization: IDEAL Johns Hopkins University

JHU archival locations: IDEAL JHU Facebook Page; JHU Newsletter (post event)

Jim Acosta, Journalist and CNN Chief White House Correspondent

Date: October 29, 2019

Organization: Milton S. Eisenhower Symposium

JHU archival locations: Milton S. Eisenhower Symposium Website; Today's Announcements

Speaker: **Jim Acosta**, journalist, CNN Chief White House Correspondent

Lecture 3: Penicillin, Boiling, and the Democratic Peace – The Thalheimer Lectures by Nancy Cartwright

Date: October 31, 2019

Organization: Johns Hopkins University Department of Philosophy

JHU archival location: William H. Miller III Department of Philosophy Website

Speaker: **Nancy Cartwright**, Professor of Philosophy, University of California at San Diego, University of Durham.

Conference: Latin America in the Liberal International Order

Date: November 3, 2019

Organizations: Program in Latin American Studies; Latin America in a Globalizing World Initiative, Johns Hopkins University; The Center for Latin American and Latino Studies, American University

JHU archival location: Johns Hopkins University program in Latin American Studies Website

Speakers: **Daniel Deudney**, Professor of Political Science, Johns Hopkins University; **Tom Long**, Associate Professor of Politics, University of Warwick; **Margaret Keck**, Professor Emeritus of Political Science, Johns Hopkins University; **Max Paul Friedman**, Professor of History, American University; **Arlene Tickner**, Professor Titular de Ciencia Política, Universidad del Rosario.

The Seminar: Julian Zelizer

Date: November 11, 2019

Organization: Johns Hopkins University Department of History

JHU archival location: Department of History Website

Speaker: **Julian Zelizer**, Malcolm Stevenson Forbes, Class of 1941 Professor of History and Public Affairs, Princeton School of Public & International Affairs

Appendix B. List of Democracy-Focused Events *continued*

College Democrats Debate College Republicans

Date: November 11, 2019

Organizations: College Republicans; College Democrats at Hopkins; Political Science Steering Committee

JHU archival location: JHU Newsletter (post event)

Moderator: **Renee Robinson**, undergraduate, Johns Hopkins University, President of the Political Science Steering Committee.

Digital Media in the 2020 Election

Date: November 12, 2019

Organization: SNF Agora Institute at Johns Hopkins University

JHU archival location: SNF Agora Events

Speakers: **Jesse Baldwin-Philippi**, associate professor, Communications and Media Studies, Fordham University; **April Glaser**, journalist, *Slate*; **Sasha Issenberg**, author, *Victory Lab: The Secret Science of Winning Campaigns*; **Daniel Kreiss**, associate professor, University of North Carolina, Hussman School of Journalism and Media; **Nancy Scola**, senior technology reporter, *POLITICO*; **Scott Shane**, reporter, *New York Times*, Washington bureau

Jake Sullivan, Former Policy Advisor to Hillary Clinton's 2016 Campaign and Former National Security Advisor to Vice President Joe Biden

Date: November 13, 2019

Organizations: SNF Agora Institute at Johns Hopkins University; Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, Henry A. Kissinger Center for Global Affairs; Milton S. Eisenhower Symposium

JHU archival locations: Milton S. Eisenhower Symposium Website; JHU Newsletter (post event)

Speaker: **Jake Sullivan**, former policy advisor, Hillary Clinton's 2016 Campaign, former national security advisor, Vice President Joe Biden.

Politics of Hair with Delegate Stephanie Smith

Date: November 19, 2021

Organizations: Knotty by Nature (student group); Konjo Naturally; Heritage365, an initiative of the Johns Hopkins University Office of Multicultural Affairs

JHU archival location: JHU Newsletter (post event)

Speaker: **Stephanie Smith**, Maryland Delegate, 45th District (Baltimore City)

Baltimore City Councilman Zeke Cohen

Date: November 19, 2019

Organization: Johns Hopkins University College Democrats

JHU archival location: JHU Newsletter (post event)

Speaker: **Zeke Cohen**, Baltimore City Councilman, 1st District

Democracy Dialogues: Activism in Exile, with Togolese pro-democracy advocate Farida Nabourema

Date: November 20, 2019

Organizations: SNF Agora Institute at Johns Hopkins University; Foreign Affairs Symposium; Milton S. Eisenhower Symposium

JHU archival locations: SNF Agora Events; Milton S. Eisenhower Symposium Website

Speaker: **Farida Nabourema**, activist and writer

IDEAL@JHU INFO: Money in Politics

Date: December 4, 2019

Organization: IDEAL Johns Hopkins University

JHU archival location: IDEAL JHU Facebook Page

Appendix C. Summary of Surveys and Interviews

SURVEYS

ENROLLED STUDENTS

(1) Have you participated in any of the following civic-engagement opportunities? Check all that apply.

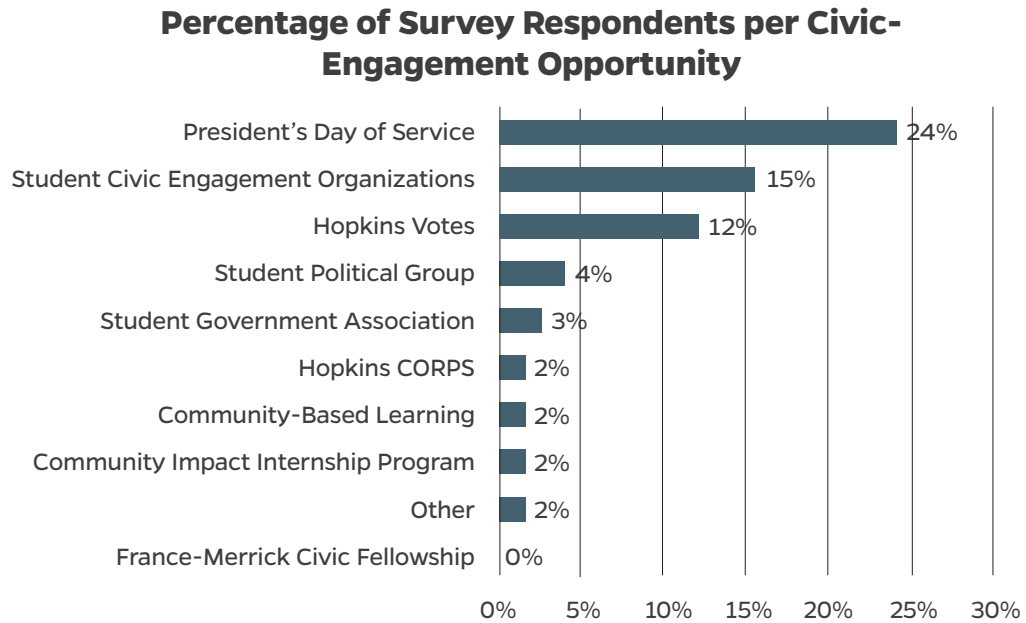


Figure 1: Distribution of Survey respondents per civic-engagement opportunity | Source: Enrolled Student Survey

Approximately half of all survey respondents (n = 1594) were presented with the local-civic-engagement questions; the percentages are based on respondents who saw the questions (n = 1309; others had dropped off the survey before reaching these questions).

Distribution of Student Level per Civic-Engagement Opportunity

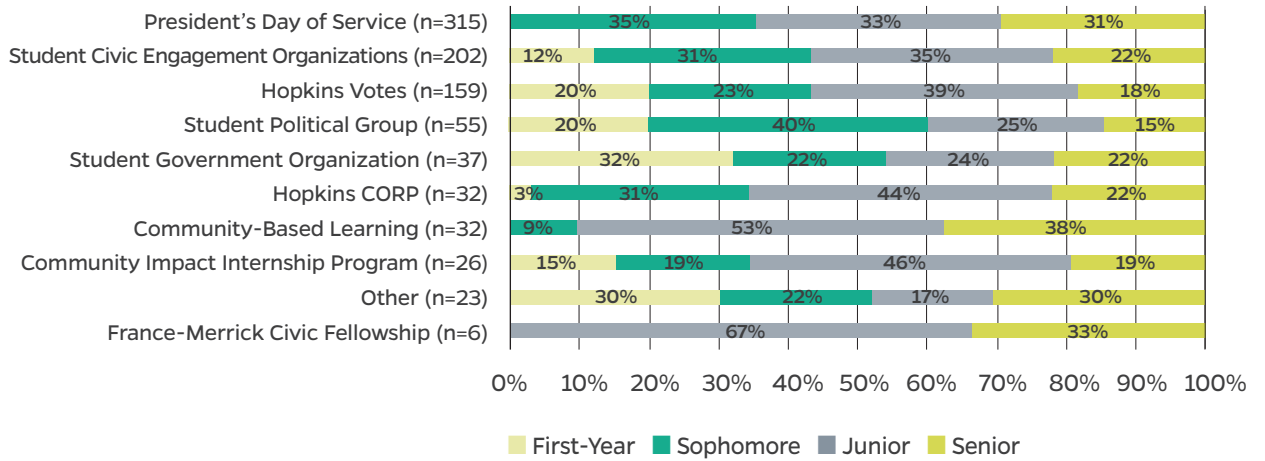


Figure 2: Distribution of student level per civic-engagement opportunity | Source: Enrolled Student Survey

Distribution of Major Area per Civic-Engagement Opportunity

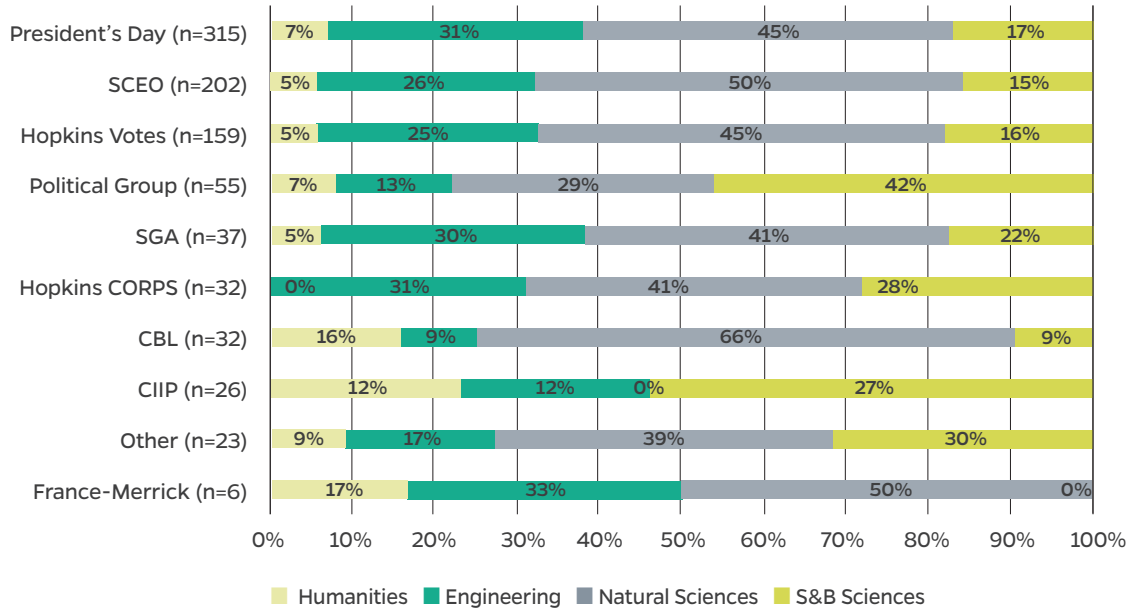


Figure 3: Distribution of major area per civic-engagement opportunity | Source: Enrolled Student Survey

Appendix C. Summary of Surveys and Interviews *continued*

Unsurprisingly, first-years were the least involved in civic-engagement opportunities compared to the other classes. Given that part of the 2020-21 school year was predominantly remote, the lack of first-years involved in civic engagement is most likely due to lack of exposure to such opportunities. Juniors reported the most involvement in civic engagement.

For the most part, the most represented major area among students who participated in civic-engagement opportunities in the past year was natural sciences (44 percent of students reporting civic-engagement). Humanities was the least represented major area, consisting of only 6 percent of respondents involved in civic engagement. Again, these data outputs might not perfectly represent the sample since many students were involved in multiple civic-engagement opportunities.

(2) What future civic-engagement opportunities would interest you?

2021 Enrolled Student Survey
Which of the following opportunities are you interested in?

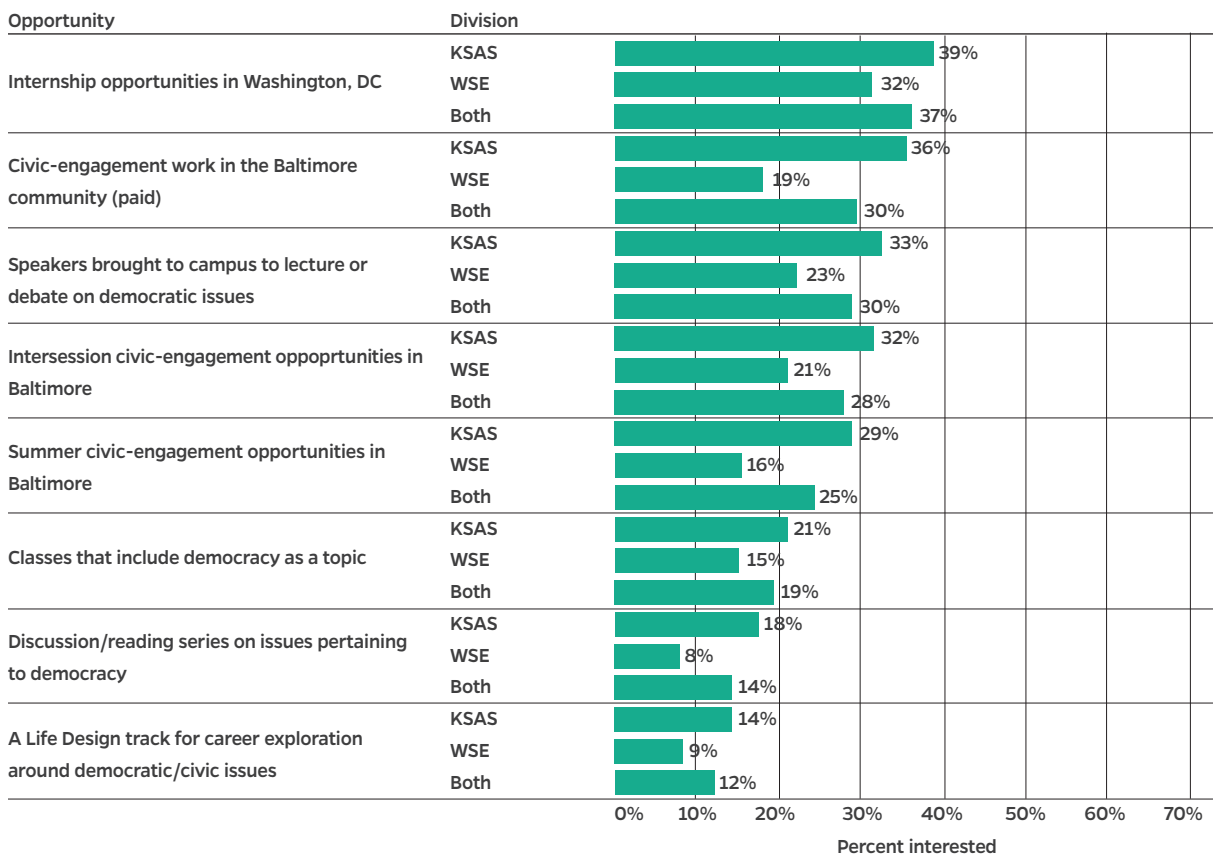


Figure 4: Distribution of responses indicating interest in civic-engagement opportunities

Percentages reflect the number of students who answered this question (n=858). Since students could choose multiple answers, the percentages exceed 100 percent. Source: Enrolled Student Survey.

The most popular choice was for an internship opportunity in Washington DC.. The least popular choice was to have a Life Design track for career exploration around democratic/civic issues.

Appendix C. Summary of Surveys and Interviews *continued*

(3) What does democratic engagement mean to you?

Qualtrics Text IQ was used to categorize comments into five main themes: **community, voting, support, awareness,** and **government**.

Common themes	Key words	% of comments	Example
Community	community, local, others, state, county, people, society	41%	It means getting involved in your community in terms of politics and trying to better the community through educational awareness.
Vote	vote, election, voting, elected officials, democracy, voter	36%	Learning about your potential leaders, voting for them, and keeping them to the promises they made.
Support	concern, event, involvement, debate, advocate, interest, majority, duty, voice, action, advocacy	27%	Advocating for equity and speaking for those in need.
Awareness	talk, attempt, care, conversation, opinion, opportunity, impact, news, educate, school, inform, aware, awareness	25%	Democratic engagement means educating yourself about social and government issues and using your voice/actions to contribute to a cause.
Government	government, politics, office, administration, democracy, ideology	22%	Democratic engagement means, as the name implies, to be personally involved in governmental processes (whether that be locally, statewide, or nationwide) through either civic interest groups or playing a role in government itself.

Figure 5: *Distribution of responses indicating interest in civic-engagement opportunities* | Source: *Enrolled Student Survey*

The most popular theme was community, accounting for the most responses with almost 41 percent. It should be noted that many responses fell under multiple themes, further emphasizing that democratic engagement is multifaceted for many individuals.

DETAILED STUDENT SURVEY

Fifty-two undergraduate students completed an online survey on civic-engagement at Johns Hopkins, revealing the following:

(1) What is your class affiliation?

Year	Number of Responses	Percentage
First-year	8	15%
Sophomore	12	23%
Junior	13	25%
Senior	18	35%
Graduate	1	2%

(2) What is your major? Please also list pre-professional affiliation, such as pre-med, pre-law, etc.

Note: Majors exceed the number of survey respondents because double majoring is very common at Johns Hopkins; the majority of respondents were social sciences and humanities majors with the massive majority being international studies majors.

International Studies: 19 (~30%)

- Pre-Law: 4

Molecular Cellular Biology: 5 (7%)

- Pre-Med: 5

Economics: 5 (7%)

Political Science: 4 (6%)

- Pre-Law: 2

Computer Engineering: 3 (5%)

Applied Math and Statistics: 3 (5%)

Public Health: 3 (5%)

- Pre-Med: 3

Chemical Bioengineering: 3 (5%)

Sociology: 3 (5%)

Psychology: 3 (5%)

- Pre-Med: 1

Philosophy: 2 (3%)

Writing Seminars: 2 (3%)

History: 2 (3%)

- Pre-Law: 1

Medicine, Science, and the Humanities: 1 (1.5%)

Bioethics: 1 (1.5%)

Mechanical Engineering: 1 (1.5%)

Romance Languages: 1 (1.5%)

Civil Engineering: 1 (1.5%)

Earth and Planetary Sciences: 1 (1.5%)

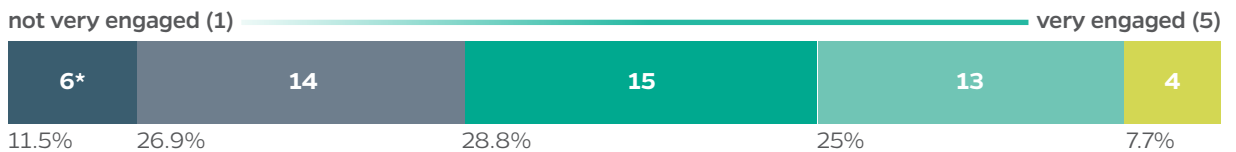
Biology: 1 (1.5%)

(3) What does democratic and civic engagement look like to you? How would you define the term?

Many respondents echoed similar ideas such as community outreach, engagement with government entities, outreach to nonprofits, addressing problems within the communities, voting, and advocacy. **One illustrative quote can be found below:**

“The core of democratic and civic engagement is ensuring that you are an active and engaged member of any community you’re a part of. Whether this is the JHU community, the Baltimore community, the communities in our hometowns, or a larger national community, civic and democratic engagement includes but must not end with simply voting—organizing, protesting, working with community organizations and nonprofits, mobilizing our communities, etc. are all democratic and civic engagement, and each person must find what works best for them.”

(4) How civically and democratically engaged are you within the Johns Hopkins and Baltimore community?



The mean score of civic engagement on this scale is 2.79.

* number of responses

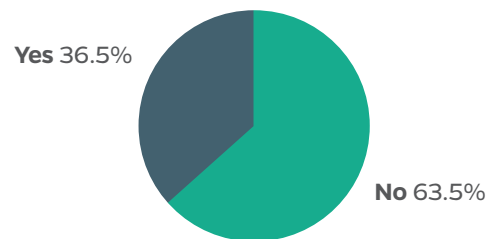
(5) Are you participating in any specific democratic or civic practice initiatives?

33 responses **no** (63.5%)

19 responses **yes** (36.5%)

If so, which ones and why? The most commonly mentioned initiative has been volunteering for various Baltimore-based organizations.

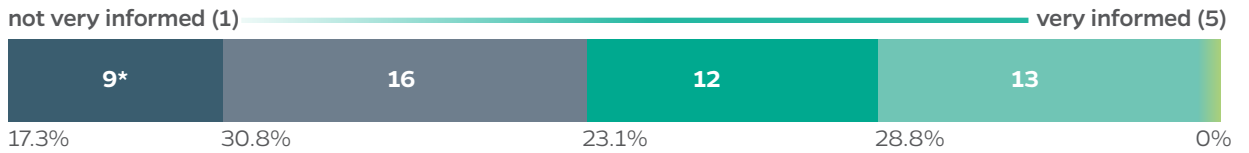
- Volunteering
- France-Merrick Fellowship
- Young Democratic Socialists of America
- Newsletter
- Public Policy Advocacy



If not, are you aware of any on-campus initiatives? Which ones do you find most compelling? The majority of respondents were not aware of any on-campus initiatives; those that were named are listed in order of popularity.

- Hopkins Votes
- Student protests (Coalition Against Policing by Hopkins)
- Democracy Moves
- CSC Groups
- Diversity, equity, and inclusion Initiatives

(6) How informed do you feel about Hopkins’s civic-engagement opportunities and initiatives?

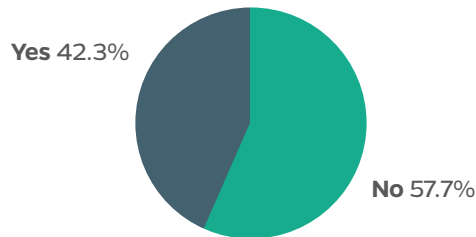


The mean score of civic engagement on this scale is 2.58.

* number of responses

(7) Do you feel that you personally have received adequate instruction on democratic values and civic practices in your coursework?

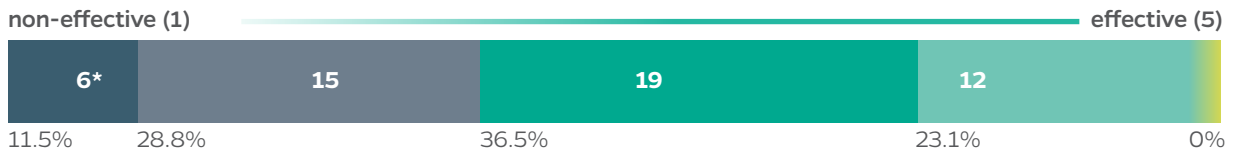
- Thirty students selected **no**, they have not received adequate instruction on democratic values and civic practice in their coursework (57.7%); 23 students said **yes**.
- Of the 42.4 percent responding yes, 17 responses are from individuals with a social-science major affiliation (international studies, political science, public health), revealing that these students are more exposed to such instruction.



If yes, please list the course or program below.

- Nearly all responses, 88 percent, mention courses within the political science, sociology, and international studies departments. One response mentions the CSC as their source of civic education that is “introducing and applying civic-engagement frameworks.” Interviews conducted with students working in the CSC corroborated this point.
- Courses mentioned: Lectures on Public Health and Wellbeing in Baltimore; Social Entrepreneurship and Social Change; Aitchison Public Service Fellowship; Intro to Comparative Politics; The University in Democracy; This Is Not Propaganda; Battle for Ideas in World Economy; Policy, Politics, and Power in Health Equity; Intro to American Politics; Urban Politics and Policy; Democracy and Dictatorship; Freshman Seminar: Choosing a President; Sociology 101; Law and Equality in Society

(8) Do you think Johns Hopkins is doing an effective job at promoting democratic and civic engagement among the student body?



71.2% (37/52) of respondents selected the bottom half of the scale (3,2,1).

* number of responses

How so? How can the university do better?

Approximately one-third of respondents describe finding opportunities as a cumbersome process and having to go out of their way to seek out opportunities rather than having them easily available. Students mentioned the university can take a stronger role in advertising and highlighting such opportunities to all students, especially those who do not already have an interest in the topic and are not predisposed to being engaged.

Three respondents from STEM backgrounds mention being particularly unexposed to these opportunities, calling for civic engagement to be integrated across disciplines. **See the relevant comments below:**

- “There are amazing opportunities for students who actively seek them out, which is awesome! However, it is very easy to go through four years of college without being civically engaged at all. The university could do a better job at reaching all students, not just ones that already have an interest.”
- “It’s hard to know how to get involved unless you actively look for ways to get involved or happen to be friends with the right students.”
- “I think the university’s civic-engagement efforts are effective at reaching those who are already predisposed to being engaged. I myself have followed political and civic issues since I was little, so naturally I was going to find small ways to get involved at Hopkins. Even still, I haven’t gotten very involved. I know remarkably few STEM majors (the vast majority of the campus) who are involved in those activities. More than anything, I think a sense of civic responsibility must be taught in STEM courses. I don’t know how this could be done, but I suspect it would have a great impact.”
- “While there are great civic-engagement programs run by the CSC, these only reach populations of students who are already engaged. There need to be school-wide initiatives that bring civic engagement front-and-center”
- “Very few engineers are involved in SGA [Student Government Association]. Usually the same group of a few kids running for the same positions.”
- “Ensuring that all students, not just those who have previously engaged with the CSC, are being given opportunities to truly be engaged.”

The majority of students interviewed mentioned a need for more consistent engagement, especially outside of presidential election years, and a university-led push for engagement with local politics in Baltimore City; 15.4 percent of responses point out limited integration of the university within the Baltimore community, emphasizing that the university must actively work to bridge this gap and become committed to Baltimore. **See the relevant comments below:**

- “I feel as though Hopkins promotes civic engagements only around major elections. If it wants to see change in the JHU/Baltimore community, it should be more consistent and engaged throughout the year with students. I feel as though there is only a big push every four years for the presidential elections.”

Appendix C. Summary of Surveys and Interviews *continued*

- “GOTV [Get Out the Vote] drives and information campaigns ahead of the November 2020 elections. Maybe more focus on local politics and elections (not just in Baltimore, but to some extent an amount of information about localities across the country). Mandating Election Day as a university-wide paid holiday where all classes are canceled, and university operations are suspended so that everyone has the ability to vote. Organizing information campaigns and tabling events to promote Baltimore initiatives that directly impact students.”
- “There is a negative amount of interaction with Baltimore City government and their issues or even Maryland State gov, and where there is it is not widely advertised like the CIIP and the Center for Social Concern should be propped up more than they are.”
- “Most of the democratic engagement happens from non-administrative sides of the university (like HolDems, Hopkins Votes, etc.), and the administration actively ignores community concerns and pressures lawmakers in Maryland.”
- “The university can do better by actually investing into and being committed to the community where it is. I feel like it’s a whole separate world from the rest of Baltimore.”
- “The efforts to help students get registered to vote are very good but could do more on fostering engagement with local issues.”
- “JHU emphasizes the importance of voting. The administration also does a decent job at communicating the privileged position we students occupy in a polity and encourages us to be aware about the impact we can have.”
- “I think the university promotes civic engagement within its campus but fails to adequately encourage or teach students how to engage with the greater city of Baltimore.”

Overall, 23.7 percent of responses mention that the university can take a stronger role in raising awareness of existing and upcoming opportunities; one response states that currently, this role to advocate is delineated to student groups who may not have as large of an influence across campus.

Responses reveal that students at large feel uninformed and unaware of what the university is doing and how they themselves can become involved, calling for greater transparency in these efforts. Some respondents mention that current mechanisms of disseminating information, for example, email, are not effective, and the university must strategize more creative and direct ways to reach and engage community members. **See their comments below:**

- “More promotion on Hopkins Groups as many students not engaged with the CSC or civic groups are unaware of available opportunities.”
- “I know JHU has the initiatives out there, they just need to make them more well-known.”
- “Connect more students to already ongoing community led efforts (other than CIIP and France-Merrick [Civic Fellowship]).”
- “More announcements about relevant events.”
- “Publicly broadcasting it more.”
- “I honestly wasn’t aware of any stuff we were doing, so if I was that would be cool. Other than the register to vote stuff.”

One student states that the university should not advance a set of neoliberal ideals onto the student body but rather create space for students to express and develop their own individual beliefs and opinions. This sentiment was corroborated in interviews as well during which members questioned the university’s actions as an “indoctrination” or “standardization” of neoliberal and democratic values. Considering Johns Hopkins community members come from

Appendix C. Summary of Surveys and Interviews *continued*

diverse backgrounds, community members must be given the resources and space to advocate for what they believe in, and the university be in active support of initiating dialogue and debate among students. **See their comments below:**

- “The university can do better by remembering that not all students are progressives and faculty shouldn’t indoctrinate students as such. I think the university leadership sometimes suppresses engagement that challenges their beliefs.”

One survey response mentions: “creating more spaces and committees that include BIPOC [Black, Indigenous, and People of Color] voices, Low-Income, and First Gen communities,” ensuring all students have equitable access to elevating and empowering their communities. This view was also corroborated in several conversations with students and community members from BIPOC, low-income, and first-generation communities.

One response mentions the performative nature of the university’s actions, stating: “I think a lot of their work has seemed performative to me. Announcements will come out about taking accountability for grievances raised by students regarding Hopkins’s past and present, but nothing really comes of it. I’m not sure what actual change looks like, but this isn’t it.” This point was corroborated in conversations with student leaders.

Another survey response states the university must include student voices in its decision-making processes and actively act upon the concerns of the student body. Interviews with student leaders strongly echoed this point.

The university can listen to students’ voices when making important decisions. For instance, the majority of students surveyed (including those from disadvantaged backgrounds) advocated for an A-/A grading policy during the Spring 2021 semester, but Johns Hopkins opted for universal P/F instead.

(9) Are there any democratic or civic practice initiatives you would like to see at Johns Hopkins?

Twenty-five percent of students who responded proposed a more robust, continuous, and frequent promotion of participation in local politics and processes of the greater Baltimore community. One response proposes an initiative that embeds Johns Hopkins members with neighborhood associations in the area to address hyper-local issues.

Nearly 10 percent of responses mention a more centralized voter education initiative, particularly for local and state elections.

One response mentions giving student-run entities like the SGA greater power and role in enacting change on campus. Another student echoes this by saying they would like to see more student-administration collaboration and perhaps the creation of a space where students can freely express their issues.

One response mentions making Election Day a university-wide holiday; in interviews, several student leaders mentioned this initiative as well.

Some illustrative quotes:

- “Democracy does not discriminate, and likewise we should not overlook the things happening on our campus as well.”
- “I would like to see more round-table student discussions. There is an overall lack of other opportunities like these (to listen, talk and debate issues) at Hopkins.”
- “Democracy at JHU does not fully apply to the Baltimore community, as JHU has shown that not every voice matters. Only those profitable or that better the Hopkins name and ranking are heard.”
- “Some departments might want to consider having certain classes that are required for distribution requirements to have a civic engagement component.”
- “I would like to see groups that inform the student body regarding Baltimore/JHU decisions.”
- “Free travel to DC to attend protests and other related events in DC.”

(10) Do you feel your voice and input matters at Johns Hopkins?



Overall, 46.1 percent of respondents selected 1 or 2, indicating they believe their voice and input does not matter at Johns Hopkins; 28.8 percent of respondents selected 3, indicating a neutral stance toward the question or that they are uncertain of whether their voice matters; and 25 percent of students voted a 4 or 5, indicating they believe their voice and input do matter.

* number of responses

(11) What are some mechanisms you think have allowed the student body to communicate with the administration?

Just over 44 percent (44.2 or 23/25) of responses mention the SGA as an intermediary entity between the administration and the student body. Some less mentioned but equally notable mechanisms include offices such as Student Life, Counseling Center, and Multicultural Affairs; working groups; town halls; and task forces. Despite aforementioned entities, general sentiments revolve around the fact that there is limited interaction between administration and students and no consideration of student input in administrative decisions.

FACULTY SURVEY

(1) What does civic and democratic engagement look like to you and how would you define it?

- “Students understanding the systems around them (democratic engagement) and exploring their communities (civic) with curiosity, good will, and a hunger to learn.”
- “Political learning and working collectively to build, transform, improve aspects of our democracy and local communities.”
- “Inclusive participation in a range of multimodal and many-tiered forms from protest to public office.”
- “Having the knowledge, skills, and habits that allow meaningful analysis of domestic and international issues, reasoned voting patterns, community involvement, and civil tolerance for those with whom one disagrees.”

(2) Are there any civic-engagement elements you would like to introduce in your other courses? What do you envision this looking like?

- “I would like to incorporate student engagement in prison and police reform.”
- “I’d like to have my students work with grassroots organizations in the city, we just haven’t done that work yet. I’ve connected with the Office for Community Engagement, but COVID happened.”
- Most respondents mentioned that the subject material of the class wasn’t applicable, or they didn’t know how to implement it.

(3) What support have you received from the University to incorporate these aspects within your coursework? What additional support do you require?

- “None. Teaching grants for community engagement course development is necessary. TA support for those courses and RA support for course development are also necessary.”

(4) Are there specifics in terms of civic knowledge or skills that you think all Johns Hopkins students should receive? How would you imagine providing that to students through classroom and co-curricular instruction?

- “In a paradoxical sense, Hopkins is trying to create leaders but the leadership we need in terms of civic engagement is participatory.”
- “When people in a workplace are more engaged in the decision process, instead of a top-down approach, it has more of an effect on their engagement outside of the workspace. With more classroom engagement and more critical, collaborative pedagogy collaboration, it would ripple out to students in their engagement.”

(5) Do you feel Johns Hopkins invites and teaches faculty and students to effectively engage civically in the Baltimore community? How does this occur effectively or ineffectively? Are there specific initiatives you have seen work effectively?

- “Hopkins has an unequal relationship with Baltimore. It’s important to be very intentional and mindful and be more aware that there is culture and knowledge capital right there in Baltimore. We don’t always have to be giving. We can assist. When we invite people to speak, we get professors from all over the world. We should value voices outside our doorstep as well.”

Appendix C. Summary of Surveys and Interviews *continued*

- “During the pandemic, Hopkins cut funding for community-based learning or CSC initiatives. This is where they cut funding. Hopkins faculty build trust with community partners and then they can’t pay them, it perpetuates the worst not the best of Hopkins. Hopkins follow through is very valuable. Not just in a one-time lecture series but when Hopkins is showing up financially or otherwise on an ongoing basis.”
- “Imagining America is an initiative that Hopkins could also be a part of. Institutions such as the University of Southern California and MICA are a part of it. It’s difficult for people interested in civic engagement to find each other and this organization provides opportunities for graduate, undergraduate and faculty to engage. It could bring a lot of civic energy to Hopkins.”
- “Hopkins is conservative in certain ways that it operates. Not in a political sense, but the way that change is enacted is more traditional/old fashion. In terms of faculty governance, things move very slowly in a top-down approach. Community based and collaboration isn’t rewarded in the tenure process so it’s hard to incentivize it for other faculty members.”

(6) Do you think Johns Hopkins is doing an effective job at promoting civic engagement among the student body? If yes, how? If not, how can it do better?

- “Hopkins doesn’t provide an institutional memory for students that are civically engaged. Every few years, there are students that are engaged, but after some time, they graduate. Hopkins could implement programs that leave a legacy after students graduate.”
- “In a general sense, Hopkins could prioritize and incentivize civic engagement instead of just teaching about it or making it participatory. They could teach students that the same kind of civic engagement isn’t for everybody.”
- “Students at Hopkins are very motivated and focused on discipline but will take curriculum and professors to articulate why this is important in these fields/make a difference to make a change on campus until it is more integrated effectively through curriculum, it will always be an opt in through service or community based learning (also be a self-selecting group of students) until it feels urgent/vital within curriculum and faculty practices.”

ALUMNI SURVEY

Notes:

Upon complete analysis of the Alumni Survey, we have found that the results of this survey strongly corroborate those from the Student Survey.

The strong level of civic involvement evident among the survey’s respondents may be due to the selection bias in recruiting participants.

Responses also parallel the time at which the respondent graduated from Johns Hopkins. Those graduating earlier than 2015 note very little civic-engagement opportunities. Those graduating in the past few years note a greater number of opportunities but continue to underscore themes of decentralization, limited integration, and need for proactive, not reactive, response.

Notably, Hopkins Votes is not mentioned as much in the Alumni Survey. This may lead us to conclude that Hopkins Votes as an entity has only become a more popular source for current students.

(1) What is your class affiliation?

- A majority of the respondents were graduates from 2009 to 2012.

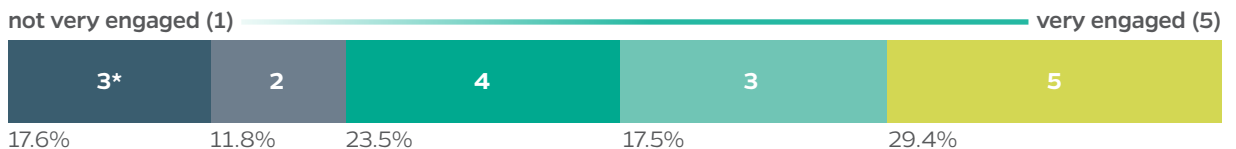
(2) What is your major? Please also list pre-professional affiliation, such as pre-med, pre-law, etc.

- 88.2 percent of respondents were social science majors from the Krieger School of Arts and Sciences (six international studies, four political science, two economics, three public health)
- One respondent was a STEM discipline: biomedical engineering

(3) What does democratic and civic engagement look like to you? How would you define the term?

- 35.3 percent of respondents included meaningful community involvement in local sociopolitical processes as part of their definition.
- 35.3 percent of respondents mentioned being aware of democratic processes and tackling public issues through advocacy of policies at the local, state, and federal level.
- 23.5 percent of respondents underscored the value of organizing and mentioned advocating for marginalized communities who are disproportionately affected by community processes.
- Two respondents mentioned the value of relationship building and storytelling—listening to community voices to determine their needs and areas of growth.

(4) During your time at Johns Hopkins, how civically engaged were you within the Johns Hopkins and Baltimore Community?

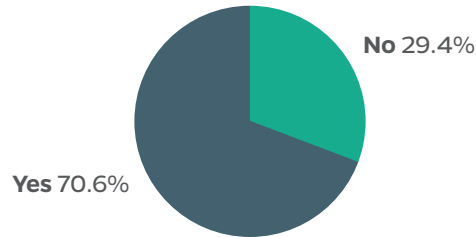


The mean score of civic engagement on this scale is 3.29. This mean score is higher than that recorded from the Student Survey.

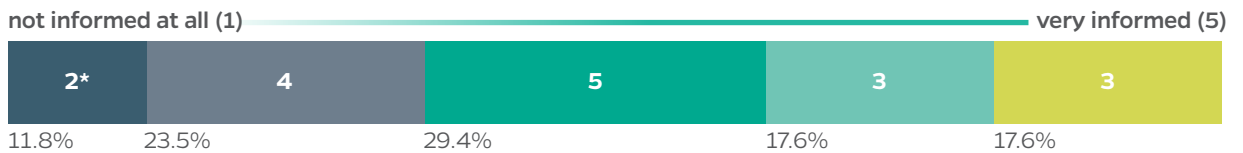
* number of responses

(5) Did you participate in any specific democratic or civic practice initiatives?

- 12 respondents (70.6%) selected **yes**
- 5 respondents (29.4%) selected **no**



(6) How informed did you feel about Hopkins’s civic-engagement opportunities and initiatives?

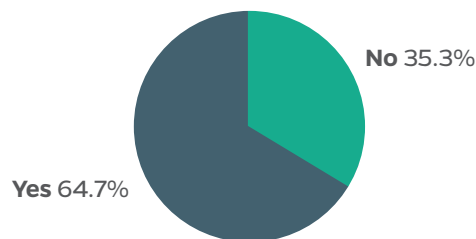


The mean score of civic engagement on this scale is 3.05.

* number of responses

(7) Do you feel that you personally received adequate instruction on democratic values and civic practices in your coursework? If yes, please list the course or program below.

- 64.7 percent of respondents voted **yes**
- 35.3 percent of respondents voted **no**



Eight out of 10, or 80 percent, of respondents mention political science courses; the other two respondents mention courses offered by Public Health Studies and Sociology departments. **Some illustrative quotes are included below:**

- “I don’t recall any classes at that time that were directly teaching civic engagement.”
- “Most of my coursework was in disciplines like English, Classics, and Sociology where these areas were not discussed.”
- “As a Sociology major most of my classes were about policy and society but most of them didn’t really relate to what we could do.”

(8) While a student, did you think Johns Hopkins was doing an effective job at promoting civic engagement among the student body?



* number of responses

23.5 percent of students selected 4 or 5 indicating they believed Johns Hopkins was doing an effective or somewhat effective job at promoting civic engagement during the time of their enrollment; 52.9 percent of students selected 1 or 2 indicating they believed Johns Hopkins was ineffectively or poorly promoting civic engagement during the time of their enrollment.

How so? How can the university do better?

29.14 percent of responses mentioned integrating civic education into the curriculum. Three of these respondents underscored the comparatively limited civic involvement among those from STEM disciplines, calling for greater civic education in their curricula. Illustrative quotes:

- “Requiring non poli sci majors to take required coursework.”
- “Coursework wise there was no mandatory education in this area for an engineer. Generally, most scientists and engineers lack the liberal arts background (epistemology, etc.) to think critically about civic practices.”
- “Whether a mandatory class, or some kind of discussion/orientation around the topic, would be helpful or not is beyond my expertise.”
- “From a curricular standpoint, Hopkins needs to infuse its curriculum with civic engagement and inspire students to connect what they learn in their majors and minors, with what’s going on in the real world. Every Hopkins course should also include a civic component, where the coursework is in some way linked to civic involvement. This is especially important in the STEM fields, where civic involvement is far less valued or visible than in the humanities, let alone ‘traditional’ civic majors like Political Science, Economics, or International Studies. Moreover, Hopkins majors should become more interdisciplinary: from more cross-listed courses to more multi-student, multi-major research projects, Hopkins majors should actively encourage the exchange of knowledge across academic boundaries, which would in turn promote the kind of mutual understanding and openness that is so fundamental to democracy.”
- “It should be mandatory for all students to take an Ethics class and/or a Sociology/Civics class. A lot of students at Hopkins are STEM and don’t really engage with political or civic issues. Having an Ethics class would help students have some understanding of the context in which they do their work. Science is deeply entwined with society and to treat them as separate is not only not aligned with the liberal arts values but is also irresponsible.”

41.2 percent of responses mentioned strengthening community engagement opportunities at Johns Hopkins within both the university and with the Baltimore community at large. Several respondents highlighted the need for the university to build stronger, meaningful, and action-oriented engagement with Baltimore City and to encourage students to individually become integrated in the community’s social change networks and processes.

- “The university should be more willing to engage in Baltimore political issues which help the city and university. Why doesn’t the university lobby for light-rail or BRT [bus rapid transit] connections to its campuses? The university should also be open to integrating its students and staff into the city’s built environment. For instance, why is no bus pass automatically provided to students? Why doesn’t the university

Appendix C. Summary of Surveys and Interviews *continued*

build more mixed-use housing? Why doesn't the university invest in real estate in nearby marginalized communities like Waverly? The university should also connect its students with the local government. Why doesn't the university offer a permanent program of providing interns to the Baltimore City Council and city agencies? Other universities do these things, and by not doing so, it further retrenches the idea that the university seeks to be apart from Baltimore, not a part of it."

- "From a community perspective, Hopkins needs to show that civic engagement isn't done alone, and in fact involves as many stakeholders as possible. Among its academic peers, Hopkins can create coalitions and pacts where universities actively lobby for more democratic practices at a national level (for instance, national funding for student voter registration and transport) and work to hold each other accountable by integrating civic engagement into ranking systems. Governmentally, Hopkins can use its growing presence in DC to create paid, concrete tracks for students from all majors and disciplines to intern/work in DC or Annapolis and participate in the policy-making process. Economically, Hopkins can build on the business relationships it has to push businesses to integrate civic health and diversity and inclusion into their mission statements and long-term business plans. Civically, Hopkins can partner with nonprofits and civic groups, to engage in democratic advocacy campaigns (such as TurboVote, or the Census-completion campaign it did in 2020)."
- "I think Hopkins really encouraged students to get involved in helping the community through volunteering, but less so in being engaged with the city of Baltimore in terms of creating civic change. Yes, it's great to tutor kids or have the President's Day of Service, but I feel like many Hopkins students act or feel like tourists in Baltimore rather than residents."
- "I think informing students about real-world opportunities for engagement that are individual, not necessarily organized, is important."

47.5 percent of respondents highlighted that the university's civic-engagement efforts have increased over time, especially for graduates within the past few years. All highlighted that growth is stagnant as awareness of opportunities is limited and existing work can be strengthened.

- "I think JHU's efficacy at promoting civic engagement generally increased during my time as a student, but there were times where that growth was tested."
- "During my freshman and sophomore years, JHU was only just beginning to learn what it meant to be a civically supportive university. For instance, the university seemed to be more concerned with student entrepreneurship initiatives than student civic engagement (though the entrepreneurship initiatives have certainly benefited the student body)."
- "There were opportunities to get involved for those students who were interested."
- "I believe opportunities were available to those who sought it."
- "Wasn't aware of initiatives; it was also 10 years ago."
- "I think the University has improved significantly since I was a student."

One participant refers to the university's "retroactive instead of proactive" civic-engagement efforts, underscoring that the university must employ community-centered action that caters to the needs of all its student body, particularly those from underrepresented minority groups.

- "When the university did respond to student civic engagement efforts, such as those supporting BIPOC students after the Ferguson protests, it did so with a highly academic forum and without a full understanding of the challenges that BIPOC students face on campus. In addition, what civic actions the university did take were largely retroactive instead of proactive."

Five respondents stated that the university needs to reform and redesign its internal decision-making and policy-making processes, transitioning from a top-down approach to a bottom-up approach. This will ensure that all community members' voices are reflected and experiences accounted for in the university's framework.

Appendix C. Summary of Surveys and Interviews *continued*

- “I think the university can improve its support of student civic engagement by setting a positive example with its internal policy processes; implementing a more interdisciplinary and civically-minded curriculum; and by building models of good civic engagement with other academic, governmental, civic, and economic stakeholders in Baltimore and the country as a whole.”
- “Internally, Hopkins should strive to make policy decisions in a democratic and consultative manner, such that students, faculty, staff, and alumni are given as much of a say in the long-term direction of the university as any Trustee.”
- “Hopkins should make policy from the ground-up, not the top-down. And if it does need to make policy from the top-down, it should try to clearly lay out its thought processes and include students and staff in the implementation of the solution.”
- “I think the university jeopardized its progress in supporting student civic engagement when it attempted to establish a university police force. While I don’t doubt whether university leaders had benevolent intentions in that effort, I do believe that attempting to establish a new police force in Baltimore, during the term of a racist US President, seriously harmed the university’s relationship with BIPOC students, who form a significant portion of the student population involved in civic engagement efforts. I also believe that the more rational justifications for the police force were only voiced behind closed doors—such as keeping Hopkins safe without the use of the BPD [Baltimore Police Department] or by establishing a more vetted and educated police force. In public, it was more common to hear about rising crime rates in Baltimore and the threat they posed to the university. Process-wise, Hopkins also moved ‘backwards,’ starting with the solution (the police force) and then moving toward the process (community forums, meetings, surveys), when it should have started with the latter and engaged in a more ‘crowd-sourced’ method of finding solutions for public safety.”

(9) Did you feel your voice and input mattered at Johns Hopkins?



* number of responses

52.9 percent of respondents selected 4 or 5 indicating they believe their voice and input mattered or somewhat mattered at Johns Hopkins; 35.3 percent of respondents selected 1 or 2 indicating they believe their voice did not matter at Johns Hopkins or input was valued very little during their undergraduate experience.

STUDENT INTERVIEWS

Interviews were conducted with numerous student leaders, including Greta Maras, Lubna Azmi, Keidai Lee, Sam Mollin, Jayla Scott, Talia Shadrouti, Andrea Guillen, and Grace Wang. The following topics and issues were raised by students across interviews.

Integration of democratic engagement into coursework: Students noted that there is an opportunity to ensure that community engagement is further integrated into overall coursework for students. One student leader stated they rely on external resources and seek out programming offered by the CSC for such civic education.

Pursue centralization of activities: Students indicated a need for the centralization and further development of existing democratic-engagement initiatives. Some of this stems from a lack of awareness of existing opportunities. Students self-acknowledged that they are often unaware of current civic-engagement opportunities offered.

Address administration/student disconnect: Students said a disconnect exists between administration and students. Students feel there are limited avenues through which they can communicate with the administration. Their voices are not heard by administrative figures, and even if they are, students feel administration does not act upon concerns raised.

- “Administration needs to understand the student body and determine what they need by listening to them, not by making assumptions.”
- One student leader stated there needs to be appointment of administrative figures who can relate, understand, and empathize with students from diverse backgrounds, particularly students from underrepresented minorities and first-generation, limited-income identities.
- One student leader’s previous interactions with the administration were “disappointing and frustrating” because they were unable to understand why issues raised were pertinent: “They kept shutting me down and making it seem like my experiences were an individual problem and not valid.”
- One student mentioned that a forum or platform through which students can express their thoughts and opinions directly to administration is missing and needed at the university. This student also mentioned not knowing the roles and/or names of all administration figures, underscoring their barriers to communication: “How do I know who to go to if I don’t know what they do and how they can support me?”
- This forum could take place via an anonymous submission form or a centralized web page with contact information on how students can directly voice their opinions to the administration.

Cultural shift: Students discussed the presence of a university-wide culture, the “Hopkins Culture,” in which everyone, including staff, faculty, and students, are spread out too thin by becoming involved with many initiatives. Students also mentioned a large STEM focus of the university wherein students only from humanities and social science backgrounds participate in civic opportunities. Members also emphasized the preference of students to engage in professional development and career-oriented opportunities over community initiatives—some attribute this sentiment to university promotion of the individual over community.

- One student leader with Hopkins Votes mentioned the need for additional staff members to take on specific civic-engagement initiatives. They proposed assigning one specific person to lead Hopkins Votes because everyone at the CSC is too busy with the various initiatives they are starting up.
- One student leader mentioned the “self-selective engagement” among the student body: “If you select in there is a lot of opportunities for you to get involved and take part in those civic engagements but it depends on the individual.”

Greater role of university in facilitating civic engagement:

- One student leader stated they had to go out of their way to find voting information. They felt that these resources should be directly provided by the university rather than student groups having to create their own guides to circulate.
- One student leader stated that Election Day should be a day off for all students, whether they are voting or not, stating “this would let students vote without the stress of classes.”
- One student leader echoed the above sentiments, adding that the university should promote civic-engagement opportunities besides voting, for example, volunteering at polling places.
- One student leader proposed making all local, state, and federal election days as Days of Civic Engagement when the university encourages students to engage in community processes.

FACULTY AND STAFF INTERVIEWS

Interviews were conducted with numerous staff or faculty members at the Johns Hopkins Homewood campus. Those who allowed us to share names (some wished to remain anonymous) include: Hanna Jackson, Stephon Hamell, Stuart Schrader, Martha Jones, Victoria Harms, Jane Bennett, Gabrielle Dean, Astoria Edwards, Shawntay Stocks, Ashley Grant, Bertrand Garcia Moreno, Eliot Cohen, and Aliza Watters. The following topics and issues were raised across conversations.

Integrate democratic engagement into the overall Johns Hopkins mission: Faculty and staff noted that there is an opportunity to more explicitly incorporate civic engagement into the university's mission.

- One faculty member highlighted the university's profound emphasis on research but limited community integration and community application of research. Research itself is not necessarily non-democratic, but there is room for broader integration and an explicit focus on how the research promotes democratic engagement. The faculty member followed up by highlighting that "JHU must uphold the values it seeks to instill in its students" in reference to civic and community engagement.
- When asked what more the university can be doing, one staff member mentioned the absence of university-wide promotion of democratic engagement, stating staff members across different offices (CSC, Office of Multicultural Affairs) have played a larger role than the administration.
- One staff member explicitly asked whether democratic engagement is a part of the university's publicized mission. This corroborated sentiments expressed by others.
- Faculty mentioned that, while their courses might focus on democracy or civic engagement as a discipline, their classes did not include integration with the greater Baltimore community. As noted above, this may not make them less relevant to democratic engagement itself but is worthy of interrogation.
- Faculty mentioned that they might read books or articles pertaining to the community but lack actual communication with partners or leaders in the area.

Restructuring university framework to uphold anti-racist and diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) principles:

- One faculty member mentioned the university must implement an anti-racist framework for any democratic-engagement work to be effective.
- Another faculty member corroborated the statement above by highlighting the social and racial inequities that exist within the university, suggesting the undemocratic nature of the university in letting these persist and failing to address them. Inequities mentioned were in reference to the university's "hierarchical and white-dominant power structures and spaces" that limit the advancement of Black and Brown students, faculty, and staff.

Universal definition of democratic engagement:

- One faculty member drew attention to the name of the planning document as "the Democracy Plan," stating that it seems like an indoctrination of American liberal democratic values onto a diverse population of community members. They follow up by stating that "civic engagement looks differently for each person," emphasizing that the university must let students define their own meanings for civic engagement rather than putting one forth onto them.
- When asked if coursework should contain civic-engagement components, one faculty member suggested the university must "steer away from a standardization of set civic engagement values or ideals onto its student body" and rather provide space for more dialogue and discussion of pertinent global issues.

The university can better practice the principles it preaches:

- Several members note the “hypocritical actions” of the university in advancing democratic values, specifically with reference to the private police force the university is employing.
- When asked how the university can extend civic education to its students, one faculty member stated that the university cannot seek to instill democratic values within its student body if it itself does not represent and practice these ideals. This faculty member referenced the administrative response to protests against the police force at Garland Hall, stating that the university’s crackdown on student voices and protesting demonstrates how it wants students to be civically disengaged rather than civically engaged. They mentioned that their students utilized this incident as a means to become involved within the matters of the university, become engaged, and prove that “they are more than typical JHU students always in the lab.” They stated that their students used this form of engagement as a means to implement a cultural shift at Johns Hopkins. However, by shutting down the protests and preventing them from voicing their opinions, the university effectively diminished student motivation to become democratically engaged.
- One faculty member believes the university fails to practice democratic practices by not listening and acting upon the concerns of its community. They provide the example of the private police force as an example of where the university fails to hold true to its commitment to democracy and democratic engagement. They reference the private police force as a fundamentally undemocratic entity, as it violates both the safety and security of Black and Brown community members.
- Faculty members mentioned a lack of support on behalf of the university to create community-integrated classes.

Notes

- ¹ These observations emerged in part from literature on the topic: Kathleen Hall Jamieson, Peter Levine, Ted McConnell, and David B. Smith; eds., *The Civic Mission of Schools* (Philadelphia: Leonore Annenberg Institute for Civics of the Annenberg Public Policy Center at the University of Pennsylvania, 2011); The National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement, *A Crucible Moment: College Learning and Democracy's Future* (Washington, DC: Association of American Colleges and Universities, 2012); Educating for American Democracy (EAD), "Educating for American Democracy: Excellence in History and Civics for All Learners," iCivics, 2021.
- ² See, e.g., Lee Drutman, "America Has Local Political Institutions but Nationalized Politics. This Is a Problem.," Vox, May 31, 2018, <https://www.vox.com/polyarchy/2018/5/31/17406590/local-national-political-institutions-polarization-federalism>.
- ³ Nancy Thomas and Margaret Brower, "Politics 365: Fostering Campus Climates for Student Political Learning and Engagement," in *Teaching Civic Engagement Across the Disciplines*, ed. Elizabeth C. Matto, Alison Rios Millett McCartney, Elizabeth A. Bennion, and Dick Simpson (Washington, DC: American Political Science Association, 2017), 361-374.
- ⁴ Nazifa Alizada et al, *Autocratization Turns Viral. Democracy Report 2021* (University of Gothenburg: V-Dem Institute, 2021), https://www.v-dem.net/static/website/files/dr/dr_2021.pdf
- ⁵ Pew Research Center, "Public Trust in Government: 1958-2021," May 17, 2021, <https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2021/05/17/public-trust-in-government-1958-2021>; Pew Research Center, "Americans See Broad Responsibilities for Government; Little Change Since 2019," May 17, 2021, <https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2021/05/17/americans-see-broad-responsibilities-for-government-little-change-since-2019/>.
- ⁶ Anthony Salvanto, Jennifer de Pinto, Fred Backus, and Kabir Khanna, "Majority Favor Conviction as Impeachment Trial Begins, but Many Republicans Urge Loyalty to Trump — CBS News Poll," CBS News, February 9, 2021; Pew Research Center, "Partisan Antipathy: More Intense, More Personal," October 10, 2019, <https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2019/10/10/partisan-antipathy-more-intense-more-personal/>.
- ⁷ For reference: 8.2, 2006; 8.2, 2008; 8.18, 2010; 8.11, 2011; 8.11, 2012; 8.11, 2013; 8.11, 2014; 8.05, 2015; 7.98, 2016; 7.98, 2017; 7.96, 2018; 7.96, 2019; 7.92, 2020 in The Economist Intelligence Unit, "Democracy Index 2020: In Sickness and in Health," *The Economist*, February 2, 2021, <https://www.eiu.com/n/campaigns/democracy-index-2020/>.
- ⁸ Yascha Mounk & Roberto Stefan Foa, "Yes, People Really Are Turning Away from Democracy," *Washington Post*, December 8, 2016, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2016/12/08/yes-millennials-really-are-surprisingly-approving-of-dictators/>. Other surveys confirm that "[t]he young are the age group least likely to believe 'democracy serves the people' and the most likely to think 'democracy serves the elite.'" See Baker Center for Leadership & Governance, "2018 American Institutional Confidence Poll," <http://bakercenter.wideeyeclient.com/aicpoll/>.
- ⁹ Foa, R.S., Klassen, A., Wenger, D., Rand, A. and M. Slade, *Youth and Satisfaction with Democracy: Reversing the Democratic Disconnect?* (University of Cambridge, United Kingdom: Bennett Institute for Public Policy, Centre for the Future of Democracy, October 2020), <https://www.bennettinstitute.cam.ac.uk/publications/youth-and-satisfaction-democracy/>; also see Centre for the Future of Democracy, *The Global Satisfaction with Democracy Report 2020*, (University of Cambridge, United Kingdom: Bennett Institute for Public Policy, 2020), <https://www.bennettinstitute.cam.ac.uk/publications/global-satisfaction-democracy-report-2020/>.

- ¹⁰ Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement, “Half of Youth Voted in 2020, An 11-Point Increase from 2016,” Jonathan M. Tisch College of Civic Life, Tufts University, April 29, 2021, <https://circle.tufts.edu/latest-research/half-youth-voted-2020-11-point-increase-2016>.
- ¹¹ Rick Rojas, “Phone Calls, Texts and Tinder — Georgia Campaigns Court Young Voters,” *The New York Times*, updated January 6, 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/04/us/georgia-runoff-young-voters.html>; Ella Nilsen, “Why Georgia Was So Competitive for Democrats This Year,” *Vox*, November 5, 2020, <https://www.vox.com/21551547/georgia-competitive-democrats-biden-2020>.
- ¹² Ronald J. Daniels, “University in Liberal Democracy,” lecture at the Association of American Law Schools Annual Meeting, Washington, DC, January 3, 2020, <https://president.jhu.edu/meet-president-daniels/speeches-articles-and-media/association-of-american-law-schools-annual-meeting/>; Tony Gallagher, “The Democratic Imperative for Higher Education: Empowering Students to Become Active Citizens,” *Liberal Education*, Association of American Colleges and Universities, vol. 107, no. 2 (Spring 2021), <https://www.aacu.org/article/the-democratic-imperative-for-higher-education>; Sylvia Hurtado, “‘Now Is the Time’: Civic Learning for a Strong Democracy,” *Dædalus*, American Academy of the Arts and Sciences, vol. 148, no. 4 (Fall 2019), 94–107, https://doi.org/10.1162/daed_a_01762.
- ¹³ Hurtado, “‘Now Is the Time’: Civic Learning for a Strong Democracy;” Derek Curtis Bok, *Beyond the Ivory Tower: Social Responsibilities of the Modern University*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), p. 5; Ronald J. Daniels, *What Universities Owe Democracy* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2021).
- ¹⁴ They did so in order to allow a view of at least some semesters that did not occur during a national election or the COVID-19 pandemic and to allow a rough comparison over time.
- ¹⁵ One or two democracy-oriented summer courses were taught each year, along with a handful of one-credit intersession courses, with titles ranging from “Practicing Democracy to Polarization and Democracy” to “Russia, 2016, and the Future of Information Warfare.”
- ¹⁶ In the meantime, they have assembled their democracy-oriented courses in a centralized place online: <https://democracy.uchicago.edu/courses/>.
- ¹⁷ The courses are “Debating Public Issues,” “Rhetoric in the Western World,” “United States Politics and the Media,” “American Political Communication,” “American History to 1877,” “United States Since 1877,” “Recent American Constitutional History,” “American Government and Politics,” “Introduction to Public Policy and Public Administration,” “Campaigns and Elections,” “US Constitutional Law I,” “US Constitutional Law II,” and “Cornerstones in Constitutional Law.”
- ¹⁸ The University of Chicago provides one example for what this might look like. In October 2018, the University of Chicago Center for Democracy launched its inaugural event alongside ambitious plans to develop an interdisciplinary cluster of undergraduate courses focused on democracy, including the Erosion of Democracy elective, taught by the Center’s director, Professor Susan Stokes, in Spring 2019 and Fall 2020. In the 2019–2020 annual report, and in the relevant literature provided on the Center’s website, the Center says it “has embarked on a major new effort, called the ‘Democracy Curriculum’ program, in collaboration with the UChicago Social Sciences Collegiate Division. This program focuses on growing the offerings to UChicago undergraduates in the area of democracy. This program will identify and formalize existing curricular and extracurricular activities and determine areas for additional opportunities.” One can find the list of courses here: Democracy Courses at UChicago, <https://democracy.uchicago.edu/courses/>. More information on the inaugural event can be found in Kevin Kromash’s, “CCD’s inaugural event featured in *The Chicago Maroon*,” *The Chicago Maroon*, October 23, 2018, <https://democracy.uchicago.edu/2018/10/23/ccds-inaugural-event-featured-in-the-chicago-maroon/>.

- ¹⁹ One note is that this definition confines itself to events open broadly to the university community. The definition therefore includes most speeches, panels, debates, exercises, and similar programming but excludes the internal meetings of student-run organizations, talks open only to a select audience, or similar activities that are open only to a small portion of the body. The reasons for this are several, including that it would be impossible to tally many of these meetings. But ultimately, they reduce to the fact that the focus of this report is on steps that the university might take to better acquit its mission to the student body and the broader community and students should not need to create and figure out a democratic education entirely on their own.
- ²⁰ The team chose to use only two semesters in this analysis because, unlike with courses, the full list of university events does not live in a single place, and so the inquiry is unbounded and more painstaking. And the team chose these two semesters in particular because they wanted to use periods where the advent of Agora events intersected with the development of a more robust archive (the Johns Hopkins Events Page); the striking dearth of archival material on democratic events from 2019 and before, which led us to believe that what we'd find wouldn't be fully representative of what was offered; and the team wanted to include at least one semester from before the COVID-19 pandemic and the 2020 election.
- ²¹ The Johns Hopkins Office of Institutional Research worked with staff from the Institute for Democracy & Higher Education, which conducts the NSLVE study, and our own internal data to provide these figures.
- ²² Susan Ostrander, a professor of sociology at Tufts University, noted the importance of this local community engagement in a comparative study of democratic engagement on five campuses. Specifically, Ostrander observed that effective local engagement occurs when there is “willingness and ability of the university to share power, decision making, and material resources with local communities and to actively and consistently demonstrate this in how the work is organized.” See Susan A. Ostrander, “Democracy, Civic Participation, and the University: A Comparative Study of Civic Engagement on Five Campuses,” *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, vol. 33, no. 1 (March 2004): pp. 74-93, doi: 10.1177/0899764003260588.
- ²³ For purposes of this count, doctoral students and postdoctoral fellows were counted as graduate students. The committees that touch on community affairs also have community representatives. For example, the Roadmap on Diversity and Inclusion 2020 Task Force has three community representatives on it, and the Police Accountability Board, which has since been paused, had four, with one community representative who had yet to be named.
- ²⁴ The Student Government Association and the Graduate Representative Organization at Homewood campus are also both representative student bodies that liaise with the administration in formal and informal ways. Each division also has its own shared governance and advisory bodies, and these also frequently have student representation.