
Vol. 19 No. 4
2015

*Journal of
Higher Education
Outreach
& Engagement*

A Publication of The University of Georgia

Journal of Higher Education Outreach & Engagement

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*Journal of Higher Education
Outreach & Engagement*

Volume 19, Number 4, 2015

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Among college students, public service motives influence choice of major or job. Although the link between public service motives and prosocial behavior has been established among working adults, researchers have not adequately examined how these motives affect the reported behavior of precareer students. In this article, the authors explored how public service motives and certain demographic characteristics were related to the service orientation of college freshmen. More specifically, they examined whether public service motivation was related to a student's proclivity to enroll in service-learning courses and volunteer frequently. Results indicated that public service motives were positively associated with both curricular and extracurricular public service activities among first-year college students. Race and gender were found to be key traits affecting engagement. The implications of these findings for public service research and education are discussed.

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From the Guest Editor—Shannon O. Wilder

Exploring the Tension Between Access and Engagement

Hanging above the couch in my office is designer Saul Bass's iconic movie poster for Hitchcock's film *Vertigo* (1958). The image is one of the most famous and recognizable movie posters of all time, with its stark silhouette of a man and woman struggling against a geometric white vortex and vivid orange background. In the decade I have spent working in community engagement at the University of Georgia (UGA), more people than I can count have sat on that couch—vortex spiraling above their heads—sharing their aspirations for engaging with the community, as well as the challenges and new questions they are facing in their work. For many, reflecting on their work as engaged scholars induces a sort of “academic vertigo” or disequilibrium as they explore ways of working with and in communities, how scholarship is shaped by this interaction, and the ways institutional approaches to engagement are articulated and implemented—sometimes in contradictory ways. As these scholars find their footing, they are asking provocative questions inspired by the tensions experienced in “doing” outreach and engagement, none more common than the question of access, a theme I hear about almost daily both from community partners looking for a “way in” to access university resources, and from scholars and practitioners unsure of how to partner with diverse communities.

The question of access—which can have multiple meanings, from admissions to building trust for truly bidirectional partnerships—is fundamental to the work we do in the Office of Service-Learning. It is also often a central point of tension because like most universities, we are enmeshed in an institutional and community context that is both encumbered and empowered by a long history. As a public university, we do not have a walled or gated campus. In fact, the logo of the university is the Arch, a symbol based on an iron arch that is perched at the intersection of downtown Athens and the most historic part of our campus. The Arch, unlike a door or gate, is literally and figuratively always open. It is a symbol of access to higher education and is also used as a metaphor when we talk about community engagement as an institution, both for university students and faculty who become engaged “beyond the Arch” and for communities and prospective students who pass this access point as they are symbolically welcomed onto campus. As

a highly selective institution with a steadily growing percentage of students from underrepresented groups, we must acknowledge that our commitment to engagement asks us to consider our role in promoting college access equitably and whether the Arch is truly open to all, especially those in our local community where, for historical reasons, the university may be perceived as a closed, inaccessible, and sometimes unwelcoming environment.

Athens, Georgia—home of the University of Georgia—is one of the poorest counties of its size in the nation, with a nearly 38% poverty rate. Years of joint community–university efforts have developed programs such as the Professional Development School Partnership between the Clarke County School District (CCSD) and UGA’s College of Education, which was recognized in 2014 as an exemplary project for the W. K. Kellogg Foundation Community Engagement Scholarship Award presented by APLU. Dr. Philip Lanoue, CCSD’s superintendent, was honored by AASA, the School Superintendents Association, as this year’s National Superintendent of the Year. He cites partnerships as a key to CCSD’s rising graduation rates (which have now topped the state average) and a rapidly closing achievement gap between students at vastly different ends of the socioeconomic spectrum, all while dealing with very real demographic challenges that translate to many individual students with enormous needs.

Despite the successes in our local school system and the university’s contributions to them, I am frequently reminded of a comment by a school counselor at a community planning meeting a few years ago: “For most of the students in this community, the university might as well be Paris, France.” So many have never stepped foot on this campus, convinced they do not belong here. For them, the Arch is not a gateway to opportunity. What are we doing to help them walk through that Arch? As a community-engaged institution, what responsibility do we have to all students in the K-12 to higher education pipeline to not only introduce them to opportunities, but also make sure they have the tools and preparation needed to make college an attainable goal? And for higher education generally, how does this relate to the larger questions of how we more closely align our aspirations to become open, responsive, and community-engaged institutions with an often “messy” process of engaging with complex issues and grappling with the conflicting messages we sometimes send about our institutional commitment to community engagement?

The opening essay for this issue of the *Journal of Higher Education Outreach and Engagement* beautifully adopts this theme

of the tension between access and engagement in a different context as Phoebe Haddon, chancellor at Rutgers University–Camden, and Nyeema Watson, assistant chancellor for civic engagement, ask us to consider how a university and local community’s uniquely intertwined history can serve as a catalyst for engagement, often successfully around the most complex and troubled issues we share—those spaces where the tension between our ideals of access and the practicalities of engaging with enormous social and community challenges collide. Haddon and Watson explore the barriers to college access, an almost universal point of tension between universities and underrepresented communities. Reminding us this is not just a local concern, they present research that frames the importance of this debate nationally, particularly for low-income students who face much higher barriers to college access than their peers with higher socioeconomic status (*Executive Office of the President, 2014*). As a result, Rutgers–Camden has fostered partnerships that are filling gaps in the local education system and providing important resources for more students to explore college opportunities and learn how college can be an attainable goal. This systematic approach to breaking down barriers to college access is possible only because Rutgers–Camden has embraced the principles of anchor institutions to become “a change agent and engine of socioeconomic development” (*Taylor & Luter, 2013, p. 7*), leading to an institutional focus on creating pathways for better college access in the local community of Camden. Through these examples, they also remind us that an institutional approach to engagement requires moving beyond “simply spaces for our faculty and students to ‘serve’ and develop civic-mindedness,” an approach that merely serves to perpetuate paternalism and exploitation of vulnerable communities. Instead, Haddon and Watson challenge us to push toward creating new spaces for collaboration and engagement—despite the attendant tensions, conflicts, “messiness,” and the disequilibrium this work can inspire in those who undertake it—in order to make the most troublesome and lingering issues in the community true campus priorities.

In this issue of *JHEOE*, I invite you to consider how “engagement” is not an ending point but instead a process of becoming and discovery where we are challenged to be nimble, responsive, and invested in the deepest needs of our community partners. It requires us to embrace the imbalance, the tension, and the risk that is generated by sharing responsibility and ownership of those needs. It calls us to be uncomfortable in our practice and scholarship. In the pages that follow, we see how these conflicted spaces

create new opportunities for scholarship, teaching, and outreach through engagement. The process is one of disruption that asks us to change—individually and institutionally—as we create more open and accessible systems within what has been a traditionally closed ecosystem in higher education and in so doing, move our values and ideals one step closer to reality.

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About the Guest Editor

Shannon O. Wilder is the director of the University of Georgia Office of Service-Learning and an associate editor for the *Journal of Higher Education Outreach and Engagement*.

REFLECTIVE ESSAYS

Serving a “City Invincible” With Access and Engagement

Phoebe A. Haddon and Nyeema C. Watson

Engraved on the south side of City Hall in Camden, New Jersey, not too far from the Rutgers University–Camden campus, are the words of the poet Walt Whitman: “In a dream I saw a city invincible,” from his poem “I Dream’d in a Dream.” On the front of the building, there is etched a passage from Proverbs 29:18: “Where there is no vision the people will perish.” The city of Camden has faced considerable challenges over the past several decades, struggling to recapture the economic vitality that it was known for during the boom of the industrial revolution, when RCA/Victor, the Campbell Soup Company, and the New York Ship Building Company brought tens of thousands of jobs into the city.

Founded in the 1920s, during the period of economic boom in Camden, Rutgers University–Camden began as the South Jersey Law School and the College of South Jersey. In 1950, the two schools became the Camden campus when they merged with Rutgers, the state university of New Jersey. During the subsequent years, Rutgers’s relationship with its host city could be characterized as “cordial,” but the university focused inward. Construction during the 1960s and 1970s resulted in facilities that faced into the liberal center of campus, delivering the perception of a university turning its back on what was becoming by then a struggling community.

The long-term effects of deindustrialization and social and racial inequity became more visible in the city during the time when Rutgers–Camden was building out the campus. Today, they continue to challenge Camden, where African Americans make up 48% and Hispanics 47% of the city’s population, and the unemployment rate is 12%, more than double the national average. Only 37% of Camden residents over age 25 have graduated from high school and among those high school graduates, less than 10% have earned either a 2-year or 4-year college degree (*U.S. Census Bureau, 2015*). Furthermore, more than one third of Camden residents—40%—currently live below poverty levels, and 54% of children under age 18 are living below poverty (*U.S. Census Bureau, 2015*). These numbers are even more staggering when considering that 44% of

Camden's population (77,344 people) is under age 24 (*U.S. Census Bureau, 2015*).

However, this "city invincible" is in the midst of resurgence. Economic development initiatives are bringing into the city corporations such as Subaru, the Philadelphia 76ers, Lockheed Martin, and Holtec, along with technology and manufacturing companies that will bring new jobs and strengthen the economic foundation of Camden. Public safety has been greatly enhanced, the city's community policing efforts catching the attention of President Barack Obama, who visited Camden in 2015.

However, the key to truly transforming the city lies in transforming the educational landscape for Camden's youth. High quality K-12 education and access to higher education are imperative for moving Camden youth out of generational poverty, and the city struggles to make significant gains in these areas. As we started to think more deeply as an institution about how to engage the city in meaningful ways, it became clear we needed to make educating Camden's K-12 youth and supporting their transition to and through higher education a key part of our mission as a university.

Camden K-12 Background

More than 15,000 Camden youth attend K-12 schools in the city and over the years, Camden's public schools have faced significant challenges in raising the level of achievement of their students. In 2014, for example, 23 of the 26 schools in the district had the lowest schoolwide proficiency rates in New Jersey, with three of the public schools designated as the absolute lowest performing schools in the state. In the 2012–2013 school year, only 21% of K-8 students in the district reached proficiency in language arts literacy, and only 31% attained proficiency in math. High school students did not fare much better, with only 41% reaching proficiency in language arts literacy and 18% in math.[Citation – Camden City Schools Superintendent Presentation, Wednesday, January 8, 2014]]

Graduation rates have increased over the past 2 years: 62% of Camden high school students graduated in 2014, up from 56% in 2013 and 41% in 2012. Nonetheless, a significant gap remains between Camden public school students and their peers in schools across New Jersey in relation to college and career readiness. During the 2013–2014 school year, only 32% of seniors in Camden's two traditional comprehensive high schools, Woodrow Wilson High School and Camden High School, took the SAT. In school districts with comparable demographics, 72% of students took the exam.

Among the students from the two schools who took the SAT, none met the College Board SAT benchmark score of 1550, and three were considered college-ready (*Camden City School District, 2014*).

Despite these sobering statistics, students in the public schools are eager to learn, and their parents have high expectations of them. Students and their families have long sought rigorous and engaging educational experiences, both during and outside the school day, that will increase academic achievement and provide a pathway to higher education. Over the past 2 years, a newly appointed state superintendent of the public schools has begun to respond to and address the needs and desires of students and families by reducing the administrative bureaucracy that prevented parents from advocating for their children; increasing professional development, training, and mentoring of school leaders and teachers; and partnering with nonprofit charter school operators to convert several schools to charter–public hybrid “renaissance” schools. Students and families have said that they have seen some progress in the schools, though huge challenges still remain—especially for those students who wish to transition to higher education upon graduation.

Barriers to College Access

These are matters of particular concern to me, as the chancellor of Rutgers in Camden, but I also know that thousands of low-income students face barriers to college access every year in our neighboring Philadelphia and across the nation. According to a recent White House report (*Executive Office of the President, 2014*), research shows that the level of a student’s academic achievement by eighth grade has a greater impact on college and career readiness than high school achievement. However, low-income students are less likely to take a core curriculum and less likely to meet readiness benchmarks on college entrance exams than their peers from higher income families.

For those low-income students who do graduate high school, many are much less likely to enroll in college. Access to college advising and mentorship is important for all students as they prepare for college, yet students from low-income families and disadvantaged backgrounds have few mentors to turn to, and school guidance counselors are often too overwhelmed to provide students the additional necessary guidance and support to navigate the college application process. In 2012, only 52% of children from low-income families enrolled in college immediately after gradu-

ating from high school, compared to 82% of graduating students from families in the top fifth of income distribution (*Executive Office of the President, 2014*).

Once in college, these students continue to face challenges. Many students enter college underprepared and at 4-year institutions, low-income students have the greatest remediation needs. They also are less likely to attend colleges and universities that give them the best chances for success, believing that the cost of attendance is out of reach at such small liberal arts colleges and highly selective universities, mainly because they are often not fully aware of their options (*Executive Office of the President, 2014*). Even when low-income students gain access to college, they are less likely to complete college than higher-income students. These challenges highlight the need for interventions at earlier ages to better prepare low-income students for college. Unfortunately, these students often are enrolled in poorer districts where those interventions are not occurring.

The Impact of Higher Education

We know that earning a college degree leads to greater lifetime earnings, as well as lower levels of unemployment and poverty. Data confirm that far more people from high-income families (half) earn a bachelor's degree by age 25 than do those from low-income families (1 in 10; *Executive Office of the President, 2014*). According to a recent study by Georgetown University's Center on Education and the Workforce, of the 2.9 million "good jobs" created from 2010 to 2014, defined as those with median annual earnings of \$42,700, fully 2.8 million (97%) have gone to workers with at least a bachelor's degree (*Carnevale, Jayasundera, & Gulish, 2015; Stilwell, 2015*). Furthermore, according to a previous Georgetown study (*Carnevale, Rose, & Cheah, 2011*) on the long-term value of a college degree, people who hold bachelor's degrees earn about \$2.27 million over their lifetime, more than counterparts with some college (\$1.55 million) or a high school diploma (\$1.3 million).

Many universities ascribe their community-based commitments to their roles as anchor institutions. According to the Anchor Institutions Task Force (AITF), an anchor institution must imbue its mission with social purpose, emphasizing such core values as "democracy, equity, social and racial justice, place and community," in order for that institution to "become a change agent and engine of socioeconomic development" (*Taylor & Luter, 2013, p. 7*).

Late in the 1990s, Rutgers University–Camden made a strategic decision to embrace the guiding principles set forth by the AITF. The university began to transform its culture to become *of* the community in addition to being *in* the community. Community engagement emerged as a pedagogical opportunity for faculty and students alike, albeit in an ad hoc manner. In 2009, Rutgers–Camden formalized its commitment to civically-engaged learning with the creation of an Office of Civic Engagement and the appointment of an executive-level leadership position with campuswide responsibility for developing civically engaged learning courses and programs.

As an anchor institution, we are committed to the city not just because we are a “fixed asset,” but because our larger purpose is to “play a vital role in the building of a better, more democratic and just society” (*Taylor & Luter, 2013, p. 1*). Through our civic engagement initiatives, we ask ourselves as an institution how to leverage the resources of the university to address complex societal problems that exist in the city of Camden, especially those affecting youth and education.

Through partnerships with faculty, deans, and administrators, Rutgers University–Camden has built a solid foundation of courses that incorporate some element of community engagement. These courses, many of them undergraduate, reflect our longstanding commitment to experiential learning by providing our students with rich learning experiences, and faculty with innovative opportunities to advance their research projects and teaching skills. The programs cut across every academic unit at Rutgers University–Camden, from the humanities and arts to law, business, and nursing.

K-12 Education Outreach at Rutgers University–Camden

In tandem with the growth of civic engagement in its academic mission, Rutgers University–Camden has identified core areas of emphasis that place students, faculty, staff, and alumni into partnerships with the community focused on Camden youth and their education. By engaging the critical resources of the university to create academically enriching and rigorous programming for students in grades K-12, Rutgers University–Camden is focused on achieving better outcomes for youth and families in the city of Camden and creating pathways for youth to access higher education. Each initiative builds and expands on another, connecting

Camden youth to Rutgers programs from elementary to high school and supporting them while they attend Rutgers or other institutions of higher education to college completion.

Rutgers–Camden has made a signature commitment to supporting all K-12 institutions in the city of Camden through a variety of civic engagement efforts, described below.

Rutgers North Camden Schools Partnership. This collaboration between Rutgers–Camden, the Camden City Public Schools, Mastery Charter Schools, and the Camden Community Charter School serves more than 300 students in grades K-8 and their families through a university-assisted community schools approach. It seeks to increase student achievement by providing an integrated system of partnerships that promote academic success, support positive social and emotional development, and engage families and community members in an effort to strengthen the North Camden neighborhood.

Ignite. Launched in 2012 and supported by funding from the New Jersey Department of Education, Ignite is a STEM (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics) program aimed at “sparking discovery” through experiential and inquiry-based instruction. Camden students in fourth through eighth grade receive daily academic enrichment through health and wellness activities, express themselves creatively through visual and performing arts programming, and begin to focus on their futures with early college awareness workshops offered by the Hill Family Center for College Access in their school sites across the neighborhood. During the summer, Ignite students come to campus, where they spend their days working closely with Rutgers–Camden faculty, staff, and students and experiencing life on a college campus. The intention underpinning all of the efforts of Ignite and the Rutgers North Camden Schools Partnership is for these Camden youth to envision themselves as future college students and to begin creating their own path to higher education. For Rutgers–Camden, this civic engagement initiative is the beginning of building the pipeline to college.

In addition to our elementary and middle school initiatives, Rutgers–Camden has developed more intentional educational pathway opportunities to increase the number of underrepresented students in and around the city who apply to, enroll in, and complete postsecondary education, including Rutgers Future Scholars and The Hill Family Center for College Access.

Rutgers Future Scholars. Each year, this program introduces 50 first-generation, low-income, academically promising rising eighth graders from the Camden City schools to the promise and opportunities of a college education. Beginning in the summer preceding their eighth-grade year, Scholars become part of a unique precollege experience of year-round university academic programming and enrichment events, support, and mentoring that continues through high school and college. For Scholars who complete the precollege part of the program with an academic record suitable for admission to Rutgers University, Rutgers provides 4 years of tuition-free college education. Currently there are 250 Scholars in eighth to 12th grade in Camden and 68 Scholar alumni in college, with an additional 22 Scholar-alums to be added for the 2015–2016 school year.

The Hill Family Center for College Access. The Center was created in 2011 by the generous donations of two brothers, Dr. Washington Hill and Dr. George Hill, both former Camden residents and graduates of Rutgers–Camden. The Hill Center seeks to help underrepresented, economically-disadvantaged youth in and around the city make the transition to higher education. The Center provides workshops in high schools and on campus for students in Grades 11 and 12. Trained Rutgers students assist students and their families in understanding higher education options, exploring career and academic interests, and securing financial aid through scholarships and FAFSA (Free Application for Federal Student Aid) completion. The Hill Center also offers workshops to students in Grades 6 to 10 to build early college awareness and provides on-campus tours at Rutgers–Camden to expose students to college life. Since opening in 2011, the Hill Center has provided assistance to over 1,800 students in and around the city of Camden.

Over the past year, there have been significant changes to the K-12 landscape in Camden. Charter and renaissance schools have been expanding in order to provide additional educational options for families. In traditional public schools, the focus has been on increasing the capacity of school leaders and the rigor of the curriculum so that more students are college- and career-ready upon graduation. Furthermore, in 2015, the Obama Administration designated Camden a Promise Zone. Under the Promise Zone initiative, the federal government partners with local leaders in high-poverty communities “to increase economic activity, improve educational opportunities, leverage private investment, reduce violent crime, enhance public health and address other priorities identi-

fied by the community” (*United States Department of Agriculture, 2015, para. 1*).

To further those efforts, representatives from Rutgers University–Camden were among hundreds of higher education leaders who participated in the White House College Opportunity Day of Action in December 2014 in Washington, D.C. During the summit, Rutgers–Camden promised to continue its commitment to promote completion, create K-16 partnerships to advance college readiness, invest in the First Lady’s Reach Higher initiative, and increase the number of college graduates in the fields of science, technology, engineering, and mathematics.

According to Rutgers University–Camden enrollment records, since 2008, 1,044 Camden high school students applied to Rutgers University–Camden, with 404 being admitted (38%). Of the 404 admitted students, 196 came to Rutgers–Camden. Within that same timeframe, 513 students from Camden attending other colleges applied to Rutgers–Camden to transfer, and 248 were admitted (48%). Out of that group, 162 students transferred to Rutgers–Camden.

The collective results of these initiatives, including early indicators of student academic growth evidenced in programs like Ignite and the number of Camden students who have successfully transitioned into college, give us hope that civic engagement efforts like these can create a pathway out of poverty and educational inequity and a more positive outcome for Camden youth. Although the core of this work is focused on strengthening the educational experiences of youth in the city and providing them access to opportunities that we hope one day will allow them to realize their own dreams, these initiatives have done more than that. These K-12 initiatives have not only allowed us to mobilize the vast resources of the university in service to the students and families of Camden, but also helped advance Rutgers’s teaching, research, and service mission and the civic development of its undergraduate and graduate students through their deep engagement with this work.

Civic engagement activities are the result of mutually articulated interests and seek mutually beneficial outcomes. Rutgers–Camden’s K-12 efforts are not simply spaces for our faculty and students to serve and develop civic-mindedness, but act as efforts to collaboratively address critical problems in the community. It is through partnerships and collaborations that we are seeking to live out the public service mission of higher education. If access to higher education is key to lifting individuals and families out

of poverty, our efforts need to help students understand not only how to get to college but how to create pathways for themselves and their families to access high quality education and enrichment opportunities.

We must not leave transforming the K-12 educational system only to those in the system; it is our responsibility as an anchor institution to use our intellectual and financial resources and human capital to address the challenges that confront the city and its students.

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RESEARCH ARTICLES

Picturing Service-Learning: Defining the Field, Setting Expectations, Shaping Learning

David M. Donahue, Derek Fenner, and Tania D. Mitchell

Abstract

This study used content analysis and audiencing to understand how service-learning is presented visually by institutions of higher education and interpreted by college students. Data included 834 photographs from the service-learning web pages of 63 four-year institutions in California. The majority showed a narrow range of direct service including engaging with young people in out-of-classroom activities, tending gardens, tutoring, and working at a building site. Looking at a selection of these photos, a sample of 14 college students questioned definitions and power dynamics of service and noted a pattern of those serving being White and those served being people of color. Images were perceived differently by viewers depending on their backgrounds, experiences, and perspectives. If service-learning is to draw on the talents of students from diverse backgrounds and develop the knowledge, skills, and commitment to engage with society's complex problems, then the visual representation of service should reflect those aims.

Introduction

An internet search for images of “service-learning” may lead the seeker to ask, “Why are there so many pictures of young people gardening?” Photographs of young people pushing wheelbarrows, wielding shovels, planting tomatoes, and pulling weeds appear repeatedly online as representations of service-learning.

Service-learning is a pedagogical strategy that employs community service and reflection on service to support students in meeting academic learning goals and developing greater community and social responsibility (Eylar & Giles, 1999; Jacoby & Associates, 1996). Faculty consider it a way to bridge theory and practice, encourage active learning, and develop students' skills in leadership, communication, cultural understanding, and critical thinking (Burbach, Matkin, & Fritz, 2004; Deeley, 2010; Sedlak, Doheny, Panthofer, & Anaya, 2003). Service-learning projects can connect to any community issue or social problem through direct or indirect forms of service, and a critical service-learning approach advocates these projects be aimed toward social justice (Mitchell, 2008). Given all

the possible ways to reach these goals, why are images of gardening used so frequently to represent service-learning?

Certainly, gardens make for aesthetic images. They beautify cities, turning abandoned lots into lush oases. Gardens also connect to compelling stories. They yield fresh fruits and vegetables and bring young people together with others in the community (Dyment & Bell, 2008). They provide opportunities to learn about growing cycles and nutritious foods (Williams & Brown, 2012). They give students, particularly in K-12 schools, the chance to break away from passive learning at desks and work collaboratively in fresh air (Williams & Brown, 2012) and significantly increase their academic self-efficacy and self-esteem (Hoffman, Wallach, Sanchez, & Carifo, 2009). These reasons might lead one to conclude that gardens are a wonderful representation of service-learning practice.

However, gardens also present a relatively apolitical, noncontentious view of service, learning, and community life. Agencies of the United States government like the Corporation for National and Community Service that fund service-learning require that service be politically nonpartisan and avoid advocacy-oriented work such as “attempting to influence legislation” or “engaging in protests” (Corporation for National and Community Service, 2014, p. 20). To those who worry about real and imagined accusations of community service-learning as indoctrination (Speck, 2001), images of gardens may assuage such concerns and help to build a broad constituency for service-learning. Even in an era of standards and accountability in education as measured by high-stakes tests, many schools have gardening programs (Williams & Brown, 2012). Generally, images of gardens portray community life as a place without disagreement over substantive issues, where point of view is less important than a readiness to get one’s hands dirty. In an era when political discourse employs bare-knuckled rhetoric at best and devolves to name-calling and misrepresentation at worst, images of civic engagement without conflict may seem comforting and reassuring.

As the example of gardening indicates, photos of service-learning may be more than aesthetically pleasing images; they can hold social, cultural, and political meanings that are easier to understand when the viewer brings more knowledge of the context of schools and society where service takes place. Writing about visual literacy, or the ability to “read” or make meaning of images, Natharius (2004) wrote, “The more we know, the more we see” (p. 238). Visual images shape our understanding in the same way as words in a text (Arnheim, 1974). In numerous books and journal

articles, service-learning is defined, critiqued, and reframed; however, the photographs of service-learning in brochures and on websites also inform how service-learning is defined, implemented, and understood, particularly by college and university students engaging in service-learning who are less likely to read critical studies of service-learning as pedagogy and more likely to log on to the website of their institution's center for service-learning or community engagement. In this way, photos are performative (Holm, 2008). They serve to communicate a message about what service-learning is and can be for the audience viewing those images.

We also recognize, however, that many issues, voices, and perspectives are involved when taking, selecting, and publishing images. From gaining permission to proper lighting, from resolution to composition, a number of factors are involved in producing the images that come to represent service-learning on the web pages of colleges and universities. "Images work by producing effects every time they are looked at" (Rose, 2007, p. 10). This research seeks to explore these effects by documenting the predominant images of service-learning on the websites of service-learning centers at California colleges and universities. We asked: What meanings about service-learning might be conveyed by those images? This two-part study used content analysis and audiencing (Rose, 2007) to help practitioners and advocates of service-learning in higher education determine whether the visual messages selected are consistent with the goals of service-learning, particularly goals around creating learning opportunities that are inclusive of students from diverse backgrounds and that prepare students for participation in democratic community life.

Visual Culture and Negotiating Meaning From Images

This study draws on literature at the intersection of visual culture and Hall's (1980, 1997) model of encoding/decoding images. Understanding visual culture, the visual environment that surrounds us, is important because as Anderson and Milbrandt (2004) pointed out, "people are formed by their culture, and at the beginning of the twenty-first century, our culture is overwhelmingly constructed and overwhelmingly visual" (p. 56). Visual images do not stand alone as containers of messages. Instead, the meaning of images is created in a "third space" (Stevenson & Deasy, 2005) between the image and the person observing it. In that third space, factors such as the cultural context; intentions of the image's cre-

ator; and personal experiences, beliefs, and values of the image's viewer shape the meaning-making process (Evans & Hall, 1999).

Because these personal experiences and cultural contexts are multiple, so are the meanings that can be made from a visual image. Developing the capacities to think critically in this third space about the multiple meanings of images is crucial to visual literacy. Critical visual literacy includes interrogating images with questions such as what is present and what is absent in an image, what is at stake in the way an image represents people or events, who is framing an image, and how is an image's meaning affected when we place ourselves inside the image?

Hall's (1980) model of encoding and decoding messages is situated in this understanding that images have multiple meanings that are shaped by cultural and personal contexts. Images are encoded with meaning by their creators, and meaning is decoded by viewers of images. In some cases, the encoded and decoded meanings are the same, a situation Hall describes as "perfect hegemony." In other cases, the encoded and decoded meanings are different—for example, when an image is encoded with a message of a dominant group or ideology in society and decoded by a viewer from a different group or holding a different ideology. The process of meaning making from images is active, not passive, and this is particularly true when the encoded meaning of an image is different from the viewer's cultural context or ideology (Rose, 2007).

Hall described three social positions for the viewers of images: dominant, oppositional, and negotiated. The *dominant* position describes a viewer accepting the dominant or intended meaning of a message, while *oppositional* describes not accepting such intended meanings; *negotiated* refers to something in between. "The negotiated position is a completely open category for viewers who primarily fit into the dominant ideology but need to resist certain elements of it" (O'Donnell, 2005, p. 527). Negotiating images is what most people do most of the time—for example, when they make meaning from the imagery of a patented drug advertisement or fast food commercial (O'Donnell, 2005). These social positions are not predetermined or unvarying. Writing about the viewers of images, Fiske (1996) stated, "People are neither cultural dupes nor silenced victims, but are vital, resilient, varied, contradictory, and as a source of constant contestations of dominance, are a vital social resource, the only one that can fuel social change" (p. 220).

Dominance, opposition, and negotiation are particularly relevant to photographic images of service-learning, which may

include persons from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds engaged in work that is not without political meaning. As Smith and Price (2005) noted, “photographs... have the ability to portray the roles that are appropriate for different types of people” (p. 128). Those roles can indicate perceptions of those serving and those being served in a service-learning relationship. The expression types of people can refer to any number of dimensions of identity, such as race, ethnicity, and gender. In each case, photographs can shape understanding of different types of people in various roles, reflecting, for example, who is *privileged* to serve and who *needs* the service. In addition, photographs may illustrate the assumptions, conscious or not, of service-learning programmers.

Whether they are encoded with messages representing the ideology, assumptions, or stereotypes of the dominant racial group or political ideology or decoded in a manner drawing on those same ideologies, assumptions, or stereotypes, images have power. “Visual imagery is never innocent; it is always constructed through various practices, technologies and knowledges” (Rose, 2007, p. 26). Images of service-learning, in particular, have the potential both to reinforce ideas about the inherently unequal positions of people based on their identity and to challenge such inequality. Similarly, images of service-learning can reinforce notions of what are considered acceptable forms of addressing social ills. Such images may also carry messages that limit viewers’ ability to think about what a different, more equal and just society might look like and how citizens could work to achieve it.

This research took a critical approach to visual images. Using content analysis and audiencing, this research responds to Rose’s (2007) call for a visual methodology that “thinks about the agency of the image, considers the social practices and effects of its viewing, and reflects on the specificity of that viewing by various audiences” (p. 26).

Content Analysis

The first part of this research used content analysis, which involves “counting the frequency of certain visual elements in a clearly defined sample of images” (Rose, 2007, p. 61). Analysis is focused on the image itself and particularly the service work (i.e., the work being done), the service activity (i.e., direct versus indirect service), and the issue addressed by the service activity (i.e., political or apolitical).

This research began by looking at the website of each of the 148 four-year institutions of higher education in California for information about their service-learning programs. Information about these programs was found under various headings including service-learning, community service-learning, community engagement, and civic engagement. Some colleges and universities included no information about service-learning online. We found 63 college and university websites with information about service-learning: 36 private institutions (half of which were religiously affiliated), 18 California State Universities, and nine University of California campuses. Where websites included photographs, those images were captured for analysis along several dimensions. We found and captured a total of 834 photographs: 29% ($n = 243$) from private institutions, 54% ($n = 131$) of which were from religiously affiliated colleges and universities; 46% ($n = 383$) from California State Universities; and 25% ($n = 208$) from University of California campuses.

All images were coded according to the service activity featured. Service was categorized by type of activity (e.g., gardening, serving food in a shelter, cleaning up a park or creek). These activities were also coded as direct or indirect. Service where students worked directly with persons or in environments affected by social problems—for example, serving food to the homeless or cleaning up a polluted creek—was defined as direct. Service where students worked to alleviate a social problem, but without coming in contact with people or environments affected by those problems—for example, organizing a fundraiser for an environmental group—was defined as indirect. Captions helped identify instances of indirect service.

Service, as represented in the images, was also coded according to the issue addressed as explicitly political and contentious or apolitical and noncontentious. Political and contentious service was defined as participating in activities of a partisan nature or activities that made a statement about an explicitly political issue such as the Affordable Care Act, or an issue where social and political consensus is lacking, such as marriage equality for same-sex couples. Activities that are generally considered charitable were defined as apolitical. This definition included pictures of beach clean-ups, food drives, and gardening. Of course, any activity—even gardening—can be political and contentious. For example, a garden may grow on land expropriated from an absentee landlord, or it may be used to make a statement about the economic inequities of food deserts in large cities or the dangers of agribusiness and genet-

ically modified foods. Absent banners or captions proclaiming such intentions, images of gardens, and other charitable forms of service were considered to be neither political nor contentious.

Of the 834 photographs captured from service-learning websites, 47% ($n = 391$) illustrated some kind of service. The most common forms of service included engaging with young people in out-of-classroom activities like athletics, art, or holiday celebrations ($n = 85$); tending to a garden or restoring a habitat ($n = 72$); tutoring or reading to young people ($n = 69$); or painting or hammering at a building site ($n = 60$). Service in communities overseas ($n = 22$) as well as service with the elderly ($n = 21$), in soup kitchens and food banks ($n = 15$), in response to disasters ($n = 8$), or with animals ($n = 6$) trailed considerably. Some photos of service (e.g., students with packing boxes) could not be categorized.

Interestingly, more than half (53%, $n = 454$) of the photographs curated from the websites did not portray service at all. Rather than showing engagement in some type of service activity, these photos included group portraits of college and university students posing at service sites. Other common types of photos that did not portray actual service included portraits of student service leaders and various award ceremonies celebrating service. This breakdown between photographs of service and those not showing service held steady across all categories of institutions. On the websites of private institutions, 53% illustrated service (51% for religiously affiliated schools). Of the photographs on websites of public institutions, 48% of the photos from the California State Universities and 38% of the photos from the University of California campuses included some aspect of service.

Overwhelmingly, when service is portrayed, it is direct. Of the 391 photos of service, 98% ($n = 382$) portrayed direct service. Images depicting indirect service were rare, and these photos included shots of students staffing tables at service fairs for various organizations or engaging in fundraising drives. None of the private institutions included photos of indirect service and of the few that were found, two came from California State Universities and seven from University of California campuses.

Equally striking was the lack of partisan politics or democratic contention in the photos. We identified eight photos, just 2% of the photos portraying service, that could possibly suggest anything partisan or contentious about service, and those few examples were spread across types of institutions. These photographs included a picture of a flyer encouraging students to “Educate, Agitate,

Organize,” which hints that service-learning might have the potential to trouble inequity and support systemic change. Another photo showed students working on a panel of a mural titled “Who Was Homer Plessy?” which could suggest challenging racial injustice. Another photo showed young people picking crops in a field—not a community garden. This photo without caption could be read as students organizing or standing in solidarity with farm workers. Two photos from different institutions showed students marching behind a banner. Although the photos might have documented a parade, they could also be read as representing a protest march or rally. In a different photo, one student in a group portrait is wearing an Obama t-shirt, which could lead one to perceive this photo as a group portrait of campaign volunteers. A photo of another student under the banner “I Pledge” showed her holding a sign saying, “to be involved with Bulldog Pantry and Food not Bombs”—the latter is an organization known for direct action. Another photo showing a college student working with two adults at a volunteer legal center could be viewed as supporting those who are accused of breaking the law or expanding legal protections for the accused. Yet another photo captured comic books with LGBTQ themes from the Queer Comics Project organized by students at an art college, potentially representing advocacy for greater representation of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer people. Although it is not possible to generalize from such a small number of images, it is interesting that six of these eight photos were from private institutions. Public institutions, which are more dependent on public funding, are perhaps careful to avoid images that could be construed as partisan or contentious.

In describing these photos, we have suggested how they might be read, especially in cases that lacked supporting captions to provide a frame for interpreting the image. Without these captions, we do not know if our interpretation, in fact, described what students would have described themselves as doing. For example, we assumed that a photo of students with trash bags at a beach was a clean-up activity. Had we assumed a critical service-learning approach, we might conclude that students had bags of props for an Earth Day demonstration; however, this is a less likely alternative. Similarly, we made commonsense assumptions about the presence or lack of political service in photos. For example, photos of gardens without captions could be read as contentious, but only if one made assumptions about gardening as squatting on unused urban land or gardening as protest against genetically modified crops. Such assumptions would be a stretch for most service-

learning projects, where gardens are more typically opportunities to grow food for soup kitchens or teach young people about science and nutrition (*Williams & Brown, 2012*). In reading these photos, absent context suggesting otherwise, our analysis looked to the “social effect of an image’s meaning” (*Rose, 2007, p. 78*), and we concluded that most of the images of service represented in our sample showed people helping individuals rather than addressing root causes of social inequities as a critical service-learning pedagogy would suggest (*Mitchell, 2008*). The images portrayed service as an action for which students can be rewarded and celebrated. Absent context or captioning, reading the photos as representative of a more transformative service activity would require assumptions and inferences from the research team that felt inconsistent with the images curated.

Audienicing

Audienicing studies in visual methodologies recognize that audiences, in this case people viewing the images of service on college and university websites, are actively involved in making sense of the media they consume (*Rose, 2007*). Audiences decode the significant messages by “bringing their own knowledges and understandings to bear” (*Rose, 2007, p. 200*). Employing this poststructuralist view of active and personal meaning making from images, the second part of this research used audienicing as its method. In this case, the participants were in a course at Mills College called Social Change Leadership Seminar: Theory and Practice. These 14 students served as the audience to decode service-learning images from our content analysis database. The course description stated, “This course will examine diverse approaches to civic and democratic leadership with special attention to the roles of race, class, and sex/gender expression identity in various realms of social change” (*Mills College, 2014, para. 1*). The course is part of a larger program where students engage in course-related community projects and study multiple perspectives on various social issues and the role individuals and groups can play in addressing those issues.

College classrooms are frequently sites of audience studies (*Rose, 2007*), and in particular this focus on college students’ sense-making is appropriate as college and university service-learning websites are frequently marketed toward current or prospective students. These 14 students were an interested and savvy audience for college and university service-learning web pages. They were also a diverse group. Six identified as students of color and the same number as LGBTQ. Half were first-generation college students.

Because of its small size, this sample does not lend itself to generalizations about how college students interpret service-learning imagery but from a qualitative standpoint, it does lend itself to raising important questions about the potential for variability in how such imagery is interpreted.

To understand the meaning students make from service-learning images, we created a Prezi (using presentation software at <http://prezi.com>) with 15 photos from three institutions of higher education to show students for the audience study. We used images from the institution with the most photographs on its website from each of three categories: private institution, California State University, and University of California campus. These were, respectively, a private, religiously affiliated college with 22 images; a California State University with 78 images; and a University of California campus with 55 images. We intended to show all photographs to students in our focus group but because the needs of the class that day meant the instructor gave us much less time for this activity than what we originally planned, we showed only the first two, three, and three images for each school. While not ideal, the photos in the full Prezi were only a small subset of those on each school's service-learning web page.

For each photo, we asked students to respond individually in writing to three prompts: (1) whether the image portrayed service and to explain their thinking; (2) what they noticed about the identities of persons in the photos, prompting for race, class, and any other relevant aspects of identity in the photos; and (3) why they thought the photo had been included in a service-learning website. Students had about three minutes per image to answer these prompts and after they finished writing about each photo, we spent approximately 15 minutes discussing the images overall with students.

In asking students to ascribe identity to people in the photos, we do not claim that the focus group students accurately coded how persons in the photos would describe themselves, nor did we ask them to try to achieve this. Instead, we stressed the perceived nature of identity and asked them to code based on how they "read" the photos. Race, gender, and other aspects of identity are socially constructed rather than biologically determined. Photos of service are chosen with intention by those creating the websites (those encoding the images) and interpreted by each viewer (those decoding the images). Considerations of identity such as race and gender shape the meaning given to images when website creators—the image encoders—determine which ones to publish online and

when website viewers—the image decoders—read websites. This part of the study was designed to “consider the voices constructing the lenses used to view and study service-learning” and explore such constructed meanings (*Gilbride-Brown, 2011, p. 34*).

The students brought multiple perspectives to reading these images, representing the “different subject positions” students brought to the class and to their experiences of service (*Green, 2003, p. 283*). In some cases, their readings probably aligned with what the creators of the web pages intended to convey, such as the idea that service makes everyone smile and service brings people together. In other cases, the students brought a more critical reading that questioned potential assumptions behind the photos. In these cases, the students’ readings departed from what we assume was most likely intended by the service-learning web pages’ creators. Students noted a pattern of those serving being White and those served being people of color. Many questioned whether these photos were intended to convey messages about who serves and who needs service. And because the sample included only one unambiguous picture of people of color serving, some students ascribed cynical intentions to this photo, implying that web page creators included it to show that not all students in the serving role are White. Other students, however, appreciated the way such photos challenged stereotypes of people of color and the dynamics of service-learning relationships.

One photo from a private Catholic liberal arts college illustrated these divergent readings. The image shows a White female college student holding her arm around an elementary school-age African American girl. Some said the image portrayed service as mentoring or giving attention to young children. One student commented that the photo portrayed how service “could make a difference for youth of color” and pointed out that the participants’ smiles indicated a positive impact. Picking up on those smiles, another wrote that the photo showed how people from different backgrounds can work together. A third student wrote that the photo “potentially illustrates the bonds that can be formed through service learning” and that service can be “multicultural and transcend difference.” Yet another suggested that the photo could illustrate two family members, “an aunt and niece hanging out,” rather than service.

Other students took a more critical stance and questioned what the photo portrayed. One student wrote, “Honestly the words ‘white savior’ jumped to mind, but I’m not sure if that’s what they [the web site creators] were going for.” Two other students used the term “white savior” to describe this photo. Another three students

put the words “serving” or “helping” in quotation marks when writing about the image, indicating their questioning of the relationship between the White woman and African American child. One wrote that the image played on a “stereotype of who serves and who NEEDS service” (emphasis in original). Two students asked some version of the question “Is it service because it’s a White student with a young Black girl?” One of these two students answered that the assumption seems to be that White females do service. A different student wrote in frustrated response to this picture, “Why is it only ‘people of color’ being served, not ‘white people’? Why is it never *clear* what service ‘people of color’ are providing? Where is the *context*?!” (emphasis in original). One student thought the photo probably illustrated how the college lacked diversity.

A photo from the state university showing a young White male reading with two middle school-age youth of color evoked similar responses from the audiencing group. Some students noted the seemingly positive relationship between the college student and the younger people, but other students commented that it reinforced the notion that White people teach or “help” (in quotation marks) people of color and that service reinforces notions of the “white savior” (Cole, 2012). The students in our audiencing study were naming the power relationships they perceived and making explicit, as Green (2003) contended is necessary, “how whiteness and class privilege function in the service-learning paradigm” (p. 277).

Another photo from the University of California campus showed a man of color being immunized in a medical clinic by two White people. This photo, more than the others, seemed to spark the most cynicism, with one student noting that it might be meant to “boost the ego of college students” who can get “direct medical training in the real world.” Another wrote, “Service in your intended field = Bonus! Looks good for graduate schools, medical schools.” One student wrote that the photo sent the message that “white students or students who can be perceived as white are the key to fixing racial oppression by providing services which eliminate the need for people of color to exhibit agency.” Another wrote that “medical attention is legitimate service,” but Whites are “active leaders/participants/helpers, people of color are receiving service.” Such strong responses speak to a variety of perceptions: that service can do more harm than good, can fail to address problems leading to the need for service, or may be used to derive individual benefits for those serving (Peterson, 2009); it may also reflect mistrust of medical research and care among communities of color (Brandon, Isaac,

↻ *LaVeist, 2005*). Many photos on websites are displayed without captions or stories, and one student described what might happen in such cases with her comments on this photo: “There is a clear power dynamic. [College] students/faculty giving/immunize poor people of color. This picture makes me assume people of color are poor. I create my own story.” This student’s comment is a powerful reminder of Holm’s (2008) assertion that “how a photograph will be interpreted cannot be entirely controlled or predicted” (*para. 9*).

The students constructed different messages when people of color were seen as more than recipients of service in photos. One image from a California State University showed a male college student who was perceived to be Asian American planting in a garden. One student wrote, “I think this photo was used to show someone other than a white person in service.” Another student noted that the person of color in the photo was not clearly serving someone, writing that the picture showed “you can serve your community without working with other people.” More explicitly, another student wrote, “It’s interesting that it’s the only person of color (appears to be Asian) thus far that is in an active role (vs. getting a service) and it doesn’t involve people (plants).” Two other students commented on this same dynamic.

In the one photo that included only people of color all sitting around a table in a school setting, suggesting tutoring or after-school activities, students inferred a different dynamic. None of the students ascribed cynicism to the persons included in the photo. One student wrote, “This photo shows a happiness, sense of ease and enjoyment.” Another wrote of the college students, “I like how they are sitting down with them and the youth seem to be having a good time.” Another wrote that the photo “suggests that people of color can help other people of color.” More exuberantly, one student wrote, “I like this one! It’s ambiguous as to who the service people are and it’s truly diverse in ethnicity.” Another student picking up on the same ambiguity wrote, “I guess there’s not a clear power dynamic in this photograph. Who is serving who? I like that!”

The audiencing study reveals that images do indeed “produce effects every time they are looked at” (*Rose, 2007, p. 10*). The 14 students in this audience thoughtfully considered their position in relation to the selected photos and made meaning of the images they viewed. In their readings, power dynamics were revealed, definitions of service were challenged, and the intentions of those who selected the images for the websites were questioned.

Discussion

Taken together, the photographs on the web pages of California colleges and universities present an aggregate visual portrait of service-learning. Whether this portrait reflects the totality of service-learning as practiced across diverse institutions of higher education is uncertain. What is more certain, however, is that these images reflect how higher education faculty and staff responsible for service-learning choose to represent it to the public. These images also have the power to shape who is attracted to service-learning and why. This aggregate visual portrait suggests that service-learning is mostly about charity, is not clearly connected to working for social justice, serves individual achievement as much as community needs, and does little to facilitate students' connection to political processes.

Almost two decades ago, Kahne and Westheimer (1996) outlined a conceptual framework that considered the moral, political, and intellectual domains of service-learning along two orientations—charity and change. Since the construction of that framework, service-learning has grown and become more widely embedded in the fabric of higher education. This research shows that the images currently on college and university websites present service-learning as direct service or charity. Photographs of tutoring, gardening, and building houses may predominate because they are the easiest forms of service to document, but they are also the most common expressions of service seen in higher education community engagement experiences (Mitchell, 2013).

Pictures of charity may also reflect the orientation of college students, staff, and faculty toward service-learning. Morally, a charity orientation favors *giving* over *caring*. Although nothing in the images suggests a lack of care, that they portray students giving time and resources remains the more straightforward interpretation. Politically, charity promotes responding to problems rather than participating proactively to bring about change. Images of tutoring and hammering nails suggest responding to inequitable education and inadequate housing. Intellectually, charity supports engagement in experience over more critical inquiry about experience. Images more easily capture doing—engaging—over reflecting, and thus addressing current problems over imagining different worlds.

Images on college and university websites may also reflect the response of faculty and administrators to tensions within service-learning. Analyzing the limits of service-learning, Butin (2006)

pointed out the political tensions inherent in the pedagogy when it is framed as a universal, transformative practice. He saw service-learning in a “double bind,” noting that if service-learning “attempts to be a truly radical and transformative (liberal) practice, it faces potential censure and sanction. If it attempts to be politically balanced to avoid such an attack, it risks, losing any power to make a difference” (pp. 485–486). This double bind comes about because the advocates of service-learning present it as politically neutral while also making claims for its power to transform individuals and create dispositions toward achieving social justice.

Indeed, a recent *Time* magazine cover story (Klein, 2013) described how service “saves” veterans with posttraumatic stress. One veteran quoted in the article said, “Nobody can argue with helping to paint a wall for a disabled or homeless kid. That’s just good. There’s no bad in that” (p. 26). The purpose of service-learning in higher education, however, is not “saving” students, but equipping them with intellectual skills such as critical thinking and methodical inquiry. Unfortunately, as Kahne (quoted in *The New York Times*) noted, “most service programs do not examine causes of social problems or possible solutions” (Tugend, 2010, para. 11) and therefore leave students ill-prepared to examine causes and engage in solutions to critical community concerns.

The photographs on college and university websites represent, in the words of the veteran quoted in the *Time* story, service “that’s just good.” The photographs do not capture intellectual transformation or work for social justice that may be more politically contentious—and admittedly harder to represent—than service “that’s just good.” Just as Davis (2006) warned that the failure to complicate the conversation about service may have a detrimental effect, the failure to present a more complex view of service-learning through the images on program websites may lead to a complacent and celebratory view of service that denies the critical concerns communities face. Butin (2007) used the term “dilution” to describe this process of making “difficult practices amenable to all” and noted the irony of “undercutting and avoiding the very difficulty originally meant to be engaged” (p. 2).

We encourage service-learning practitioners to use the imagery illustrating their work as the starting point for interrogating the nature of service-learning in their classrooms and institutions. We appreciate the difficulty of capturing critical perspectives and concepts from service-learning in images. We believe, however, that images can be important starting points for questioning processes and outcomes from service-learning using a critical perspective.

Does service-learning go beyond direct service as a form of charity to include indirect forms of service, activism, and political participation to address root problems? Does it create opportunities for developing more critical understanding from multiple perspectives on social problems, as well as the social and economic systems that perpetuate those problems? Does it allow for more equitable participation, blurring binary identities of those serving and served or teaching and learning? Does it deconstruct or reimagine unequal relationships of power, including along lines of race and class? If the answers to these questions are positive, then addressing the limitations of the images is important. If the answers are negative, then addressing the limits of the service-learning initiatives becomes necessary.

A picture may be worth a thousand words according to the adage; however, images need context, and we encourage service-learning website designers to provide that context in writing so that when those images are decoded by viewers, service is not “diluted” to being “just good” or simply a paternalistic gesture exercising race and class privilege. We also encourage those designing service-learning web pages to examine their own assumptions about the messages encoded in photos of service and to consider multiple perspectives as they imagine how images are decoded. Recognize the influence of different subject positions (*Green, 2003*) and how images will speak differently to viewers depending on their backgrounds, experiences, and perspectives. If service-learning is to draw on the talents of students from diverse backgrounds and to engage students in the type of community work that might develop the knowledge, skills, and commitment to engage with society’s complex problems, then the images selected to represent those aims should be reflective of those intentions.

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Identifying Student Traits and Motives to Service-Learn: Public Service Orientation Among New College Freshmen

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Abstract

Among college students, public service motives influence choice of major or job. Although the link between public service motives and prosocial behavior has been established among working adults, researchers have not adequately examined how these motives affect the reported behavior of precareer students. In this article, the authors explored how public service motives and certain demographic characteristics were related to the service orientation of college freshmen. More specifically, they examined whether public service motivation was related to a student's proclivity to enroll in service-learning courses and volunteer frequently. Results indicated that public service motives were positively associated with both curricular and extracurricular public service activities among first-year college students. Race and gender were found to be key traits affecting engagement. The implications of these findings for public service research and education are discussed.

Introduction

Volunteering is a common activity among young adults (Lopez & Marcelo, 2004). Many colleges and universities team with student organizations focused on facilitating volunteer engagement as a part of campus life, helping college students find an extracurricular outlet to make a difference in the community and the world. Flanagan and Levine (2010) observed that "as the transition to adulthood has lengthened... colleges have become perhaps the central institution for civic incorporation of younger generations" (p. 159). Colleges and universities have also embraced public service engagement in their curricula. Service-learning courses are becoming a more common part of higher education throughout the country (Campus Compact, 2006; Steinberg, Bringle, & Williams, 2010). By infusing course curricula with opportunities for students to serve the community, colleges hope to enhance student learning, increase awareness of public problems, help alleviate such problems, and promote the university's general purpose (e.g., Buch & Harden, 2011; Fitzgerald, Bruns, Sonka, Furco, &

Swanson, 2012). Service-learning helps students connect classroom learning with the real and tangible benefits they can offer society.

Public service motivation is the desire to make a meaningful contribution to society (Perry & Hondeghem, 2008). The concept can consist of a “predisposition to respond to motives grounded... in public institutions” (Perry & Wise, 1990, p. 368) or a broader desire to perform public, community, and social service (Brewer & Selden, 1998). Public service motivation has been studied among employees of public and private organizations over the last 15 years; however, relatively little effort has been made to understand how public service motives emerge in precareer college students and influence their service-related behaviors.

Recently, scholars have identified the role of secondary education in socializing individuals toward public service and cultivating public service motivation within individuals (Kjeldsen & Jacobsen, 2012). Other scholars have examined public service motivation’s relationship with the giving and volunteering decisions of undergraduate students (Clerkin, Paynter, & Taylor, 2009). Despite these examples, public service motives remain understudied outside the context of employment (see Brewer, 2003; Houston, 2006). To the extent that public service motivation emerges over an individual’s lifetime and becomes a stable orientation, scholars might expect to see it emerge in individuals well before they enter their career or even graduate school. This study examined the relationship between public service motivation and public-service-related activities among college freshmen. The authors examined two ways that a public service orientation might manifest itself among college students: (a) *curricular*—students express their desire for service-learning in course selection and (b) *extracurricular*—students participate in volunteer organizations.

Public Service Motivation and Public Service

More than two decades ago, Perry and Wise (1990) expounded on the foundations of individual motivation to perform public service. They argued that this type of motivation would lead a person to seek a public service career, and they hypothesized that persons with higher levels of public service motivation would be more likely than others to seek membership in a public organization (Perry, 1996, 1997).

This early scholarship also suggested that public service motivation was multidimensional and comprised rational, norm-based,

and affective motives (*Knoke & Wright-Isak, 1982; Perry, 1996*). In short:

Rational motives (e.g., attraction to public service) involve actions grounded in individual utility maximization. Norm-based motives (e.g., commitment to public values and self-sacrifice) refer to actions generated by efforts to conform to norms. Affective motives (e.g., compassion) refer to those triggers of behavior that are grounded in emotional responses to various social contexts.” (*Perry, 1996, p. 6*)

These motives are manifested in various forms of public service motivation that are considered dimensions of the concept, such as (a) compassion, (b) self-sacrifice, (c) commitment to public values, and (d) attraction to public service (*Kim et al., 2013; Perry, 1996*). Over time, the definition of public service motivation has evolved to become more outward-looking. Although once conceived of as simply wishing to join a particular type of organization, public service motivation is now seen as a strong desire to perform public, community, and social service regardless of the institutional setting (*Brewer, 2003, p. 20*). Public service motivation is thus conceived of as a general prosocial motivation—“the desire to benefit other people” (*Grant, 2008a, p. 48*)—and reflects a broad concern for society (*Vandenabeele, 2008*). An employee’s public service motives can also be related to the content of a particular job or task (*Christensen & Wright, 2011*), regardless of organization type. As a consequence, public service motivation is commonly thought to drive prosocial behavior both inside *and* outside organizations.

Although relatively few scholars have looked at public service motivation as an emergent construct in adolescents and undergraduate students, a well-developed literature reflects research into public service motivation in adults and public service professionals. Many studies have found public service motivation to be a predictor of public-service-oriented behaviors including individual participation in volunteering (*Coursey, Perry, Brudney, & Littlepage, 2008*), donating blood and money (*Houston, 2006*), and other prosocial and organizational citizenship behaviors (*Pandey, Wright, & Moynihan, 2008*).

In short, there is a lack of research on precareer studies to help us understand the influence of public service motives. An important facet of our investigation is the belief that organizations and organizational experiences impart public service motivation to employees

through culture and socialization (*Grant, 2008b; Moynihan & Pandey, 2007*), which stands in contrast to speculation that such motives may be an intrinsic trait present at birth or shortly after—perhaps in the preschool years before children are typically integrated into organizations such as churches, daycares, or schools (*Brewer, 2006*). Perry (*1997*) and subsequent scholars started distinguishing among these issues in studies of the antecedents of public service motivation. The origin and development of these motives, however, remain elusive.

This study intentionally explored whether public service motivation and public-service-oriented behavior were already present and linked in young, precareer college students. The authors hypothesized that students with higher levels of public service motivation may demonstrate both stronger curricular (i.e., choosing to enroll in service-learning elective courses) and extracurricular (i.e., frequency of volunteering) service orientations. Evidence supporting such a hypothesis would raise the possibility that public service motivation may influence behavior well before individuals enter the professional work environment, which could have major implications for educational institutions in promoting civil society. One such implication is that colleges and universities seeking to fulfill their roles as central institutions in civic engagement (*Flanagan & Levine, 2010*) should try to facilitate, develop, or recognize nascent public service motives in young adults.

Curricular Service Orientation: Public Service Motivation and Undergraduate Volunteerism

Before individuals choose a career—or even a college major—they often have the opportunity to volunteer and participate in public and community-based programs. In recent years, many elementary and secondary schools and universities have adopted service-learning programs as a mechanism to link community engagement with their educational curriculum (*Bringle & Hatcher, 2000; National Service-Learning Clearinghouse, 2013*).

Service-learning has been defined as a teaching and learning strategy that integrates meaningful community service with instruction and reflection to enrich the learning experience, teach civic responsibility, and strengthen communities (*Stanton, Giles, & Cruz, 1999*). According to Eyer and Giles (*1999*), service-learning enhances the community through the service provided, but it also has powerful learning outcomes for the students providing a service. The service-learning model experience enhances under-

standing in a way that leads to more effective action (Eyler & Giles, 1999). Although service-learning programs vary widely, their key characteristics include “opportunities to engage in problem-solving by requiring participants to gain knowledge of the specific context of their service-learning activity and *community* challenges, rather than only to draw upon generalized or abstract knowledge from a textbook” (National Service-learning Clearinghouse, 2013).

There has been a surge in service-learning scholarship, some of which relates service-learning to public-service-oriented motives. For example, Markus, Howard, and King (1993), using an experimental design with a randomized control group, found that students in service-learning sections had more positive course evaluations, higher scores on midterm and final examinations, and—of particular interest to scholars—more positive beliefs toward service and the community (see also Astin & Sax, 1998; Strage, 2000, 2004), increased political and civic engagement (Astin, Sax, & Avalos, 1999; Giles & Eyler, 1998), and increased volunteering (Astin et al., 1999; Tomkovich, Lester, Flunker, & Wells, 2008).

Student engagement scholars have explored the motivations of faculty in offering or avoiding service-learning courses (Abes, Jackson, & Jones, 2002; Darby & Newman, 2014). However, with a few exceptions (see Coles, 1999; Waterman, 1997), the vast majority of service-learning studies fail to provide systematic assessments of why new university students might select into a service-learning course or curriculum. As a consequence, educational institutions are unable to identify students who are likely to be drawn to or have knowledge of service-learning curricula, although many institutions and degree programs treat the students’ expressed interest or prior experience in performing service-related activities as a criterion for admission. This study sought to address this research gap vis-à-vis the theory of public service motivation.

Although there are no studies to help us explicitly hypothesize the relationship between public service motivation and service-learning in higher education, participation in a service-learning course has the potential to serve as a proxy for correlation of public service motives and prosocial behaviors. First, service-learning’s focus on the community is conceptually aligned with public service motivation’s commitment to public values and the public interest. Second, the largely voluntary nature of service-learning curricula may also be aligned with public service motivation’s self-sacrifice and compassion subdimensions. Considering the shared conceptual space of the variables, we believed that an examination of the

relationship among them would be useful and hypothesized the following:

H1 Students with higher levels of public service motivation will be more likely to enroll in a service-learning course.

Extracurricular Service Orientation: Public Service Motivation and Undergraduate Volunteerism

The authors also considered the relationship between public service motives and *extracurricular* behavior. The authors use volunteering or volunteer service as an example of such extracurricular behavior. The Corporation for National and Community Service (Dote, Cramer, Dietz, & Grimm, 2006) documented that college students are volunteering at slightly higher rates than adults (at 30% and 29%, respectively) and that popular volunteer activities for college students include tutoring, mentoring, fundraising, coaching, and disaster relief.

In addition to the previously cited works drawing a positive association between public service motivation and volunteering, donating blood, and charitable giving (Coursey et al., 2008; Houston, 2006), at least one other study led us to believe that student public service motivation would be positively related to a college student's voluntary behavior. In a discrete choice experiment conducted with undergraduates at North Carolina State University, Clerkin, Paynter, and Taylor (2009) found that students with higher levels of public service motivation were more likely to choose donating or volunteering over the status quo. We therefore hypothesized:

H2 Students with higher levels of public service motivation will report higher levels of extracurricular volunteerism.

Understanding the motivational drivers of students' curricular and extracurricular service participation will provide a more complete understanding of the role of service-learning and volunteering in the formative precareer stages. Additionally, future research along these lines can shed light on the degree to which institutions of higher education, via service-learning curriculum, can develop and reinforce public service motivation within individuals. We recog-

nize here that as higher educational environments of engagement become more integrated, it may be less important to examine what we have termed extracurricular volunteering independently from curricular service-learning. However, we submit that testing the aforementioned hypotheses will help fill an important gap in the current literature.

Methods

Procedures

Our survey was approved by the human subjects/IRB office and then administered to undergraduate students at a large public university in the United States at the beginning of the Spring 2012 semester. The survey was administered in introductory American government courses offered by the Department of Political Science. In this case, state law required that all university students take the class, so the students enrolled comprised a consistently representative sample of undergraduate students at the university. Participation was voluntary, and students were given time during class to individually complete the survey. Nearly every student present participated. The authors administered a total of 565 surveys and received 555 usable responses over a 2-week window for a response rate of 98.23%. Some students were absent when the survey was administered. A total of 778 students were enrolled in the courses surveyed, so our respondents represented 71.33% of all students enrolled.

In addition to questions designed to measure public service motivation (instrument described below), the survey asked for information regarding respondents' gender, race/ethnicity, age, employment status, political ideology, religiosity, parents' education, and family income. The authors also asked questions regarding the employment sector in which their parents spent most of their careers (i.e., public sector, nonprofit sector, or private sector) and in which of those three sectors a respondent would most prefer to work in following graduation. Additional questions probed respondents' familiarity with and preference for service-learning activities in their courses and the frequency of their volunteer service.

Participants

Our respondents accurately reflected the basic demographics of first-year students at the university in question: predominantly female (61%) and White (80%). Respondents ranged in age from

18 to 40 years, with the modal age being 19 years. To see if non-traditional students were affecting the results, we reran the models using responses only from students under the age of 22 (97% of the sample). There was no substantive difference in the results. We included the full sample to avoid making an arbitrary cutoff with respect to age. The median annual family income for these students was between \$95,000 and \$110,000 (see Table 1).

Variables and Measurement

Public service motivation. A number of scales have been used over the past 20 years to measure public service motivation, including Perry's (1996) original 24-item scale, the Grant prosocial index (see Grant, 2008a), the five items used by the Merit Service Protections Board (MSPB-5; Wright, Christensen & Pandey, 2013), and variations thereof. Recently, Kim et al. (2013) constructed and validated an international public service motivation scale using rigorous testing from multiple samples in numerous countries. We used this same scale to measure public service motivation. We summed responses to these survey questions and formed a unidimensional index that can range from 16 to 80, although the range we actually observed was from 33 to 80. The alpha coefficient of the 16 items was 0.90.

The index can also be examined subdimensionally (see Perry, 1996). In this study, we explored its four subdimensions as follows: compassion ($\alpha = .81$), self-sacrifice ($\alpha = .78$), attraction to public service ($\alpha = .81$), and commitment to public interest ($\alpha = .65$). We estimated the effect of each dimension on the respective dependent variables. Although we did not specify formal hypotheses on these subdimensional relationships, the findings are discussed in the Conclusion and may serve to motivate future research.

Curricular service-learning—importance of service-learning in selecting classes. The first dependent variable that was explored in the models was the importance of service-learning opportunities demonstrated by students when choosing their courses. We measured the variable using three response categories: unimportant, neutral, and important.

Curricular service-learning—familiarity. Although many primary and secondary schools offer service-learning opportunities, we decided to control for these new college students' familiarity with service-learning when asking how significant service-learning was in students' course decisions. This variable was measured using a single-item Likert response ranging from 1 (*not familiar at all*) to

3 (*very familiar with service-learning*). We included this as a control variable in the model examining the relationship between public service motivation and the value placed on service-learning in selecting classes.

Extracurricular volunteer service participation. The second dependent variable of interest was the extent to which students reported volunteer behavior. This variable reflected the frequency with which individual students reported participating in public, community, or social service that was not part of their educational curriculum (e.g., mentoring, fundraising, and coaching). The frequency of their participation was measured on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*never participates*) to 4 (*participates weekly*).

Control variables. In addition to the variables specified above, the authors controlled for other factors that might be related to the dependent variables. The student's gender was included as a dummy variable (1 = female, 0 = male), as was race (1 = non-White, 0 = White). Political orientation was controlled for using a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 to 10, where 1 = *very conservative* and 10 = *very liberal*. Religiosity was controlled for using a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 to 10, where 1 = *not religious at all* and 10 = *very religious*. Income level was controlled for in 10 classifications ranging from less than \$15,000 per year to more than \$140,000 per year. Descriptive statistics for these measures, as well as the independent and dependent variables discussed above, are shown in Table 1. A correlation matrix is provided in Table 2.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics

Variable	B	M	SD	Min	Max
Public service motivation ($\alpha = .90$)	320	62.77	8.29	33	80
Commitment to public values ($\alpha = .65$)	380	16.87	2.26	9	20
Compassion ($\alpha = .81$)	421	16.69	2.55	8	20
Self-sacrifice ($\alpha = .78$)	391	12.72	2.80	4	20
Attraction to policy making ($\alpha = .81$)	391	16.52	2.42	8	20
Volunteering	492	2.61	0.79	1	4
Service-learning knowledge	465	1.65	0.81	1	3
Service-learning importance	432	1.53	0.69	1	3
Political orientation	464	4.71	2.06	1	10
Religiosity	469	6.37	2.95	1	10
Income	421	6.73	2.58	1	10
Minority	469	0.19	0.39	0	1
Female	482	0.61	0.49	0	1

Table 2. Correlation Matrix for Survey Responses

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1 Public service motivation	1.00												
2 Commitment to public values	0.76	1.00											
3 Compassion	0.81	0.55	1.00										
4 Self-sacrifice	0.81	0.43	0.50	1.00									
5 Attraction to policy making	0.87	0.58	0.62	0.64	1.00								
6 Volunteering	0.31	0.08	0.28	0.27	0.37	1.00							
7 Service-learning knowledge	0.22	0.11	0.17	0.18	0.24	0.30	1.00						
8 Service-learning importance	0.25	0.13	0.19	0.23	0.27	0.33	0.49	1.00					
9 Political orientation	0.27	0.23	0.26	0.23	0.16	-0.03	0.07	0.05	1.00				
10 Religiosity	0.07	-0.07	0.09	0.10	0.08	0.30	0.00	0.10	-0.40	1.00			
11 Income	0.03	0.00	0.02	-0.01	0.09	0.20	0.08	-0.01	-0.19	0.07	1.00		
12 Minority	0.06	-0.02	0.10	0.10	-0.01	0.05	-0.02	0.12	0.24	-0.01	-0.13	1.00	
13 Female	0.16	0.09	0.21	0.03	0.20	0.21	0.19	0.22	0.07	0.07	0.00	-0.05	1.00

Results and Discussion

Curricular Public Service

The first set of models examined the relationship between public service motivation and the importance of service-learning in choosing elective courses while controlling for an individual's knowledge of service-learning (H1). Table 3 contains the results of this analysis. To properly test this relationship, it was important to control for knowledge of service-learning because without this knowledge, students cannot properly assess its role in their future plans. We thus controlled for this variable using dummy variables for each category.

Table 3. Ordered Logit—Public Service Motivation and Service-Learning

	(1)		(2)	
	B	SE	B	SE
Service-learning knowledge (unfamiliar excluded)				
Neither familiar nor unfamiliar	0.99*	(0.39)	0.96*	(0.39)
Very familiar	2.92	(0.41)	2.87**	(0.41)
Unidimensional public service motivation				
Commitment to public interest		0.06**		
Compassion			-0.03	(0.09)
Self-sacrifice			-0.04	(0.09)
Attraction to public service			0.11	(0.07)
			0.18*	(0.10)
Female	0.71*	(0.33)	0.78*	(0.34)
Minority	0.97*	(0.41)	1.01*	(0.41)
Family Income (incomes less than \$15,000 excluded)				
\$15,001-\$30,000	0.96	(1.40)	0.91	(1.42)
\$30,001-\$45,000	0.15	(1.40)	0.09	(1.42)
\$45,001-\$60,000	0.09	(1.37)	0.06	(1.38)
\$60,001-\$75,000	0.25	(1.37)	0.39	(1.38)
\$75,001-\$95,000	-0.48	(1.42)	-0.63	(1.44)
\$95,001-110,000	0.33	(1.35)	0.40	(1.36)
\$110,001-\$125,000	0.94	(1.38)	-1.09	(1.40)
\$125,001-\$140,000	-0.17	(1.45)	-0.15	(1.46)
More than \$140,000	0.22	(1.35)	0.23	(1.36)
ϕ_1	7.78**	(2.22)	7.42**	(2.29)
ϕ_2	10.17**	(2.27)	9.85**	(2.33)
Observations	249		249	
Pseudo R ²	0.242		0.251	

Note. * $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$. * $p < 0.10$.

In the unidimensional model (Model 1), public service motivation had a significant and positive relationship with the importance of service-learning. This is particularly noteworthy in light of the positive and highly significant dummy variable that probed a respondent's familiarity with service-learning, which could have "drowned out" correlates like motivation. This showed some support for H1. In this model, race and gender were also statistically significant at the .05 level.

To facilitate our interpretation of the model, Figure 1 plots the predicted probability of selecting a category at each value of one standard deviation above and one standard deviation below the mean of public service motivation (indicated by the vertical dotted line). This graph shows a decrease in the predicted probability of a student responding that service-learning is "unimportant" as their level of public service motivation increases. Similarly, the likelihood of selecting "important" increases as level of public service motivation increases.

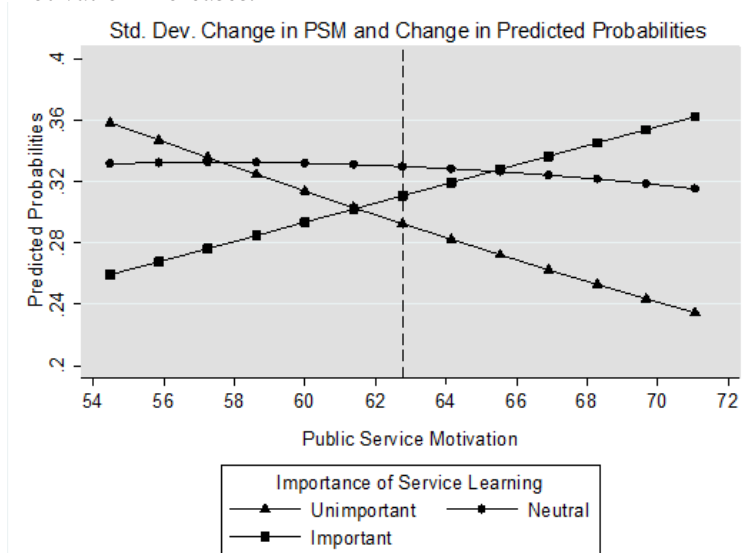


Figure 1. Substantive impact of public service motivation on students' value of service-learning.

Interestingly, when we examined public service motivation's subdimensions (Model 2, Table 3), only attraction to public service was statistically significant ($\beta = .18$), but at the marginal alpha level of .10. This may suggest that instrumental motives like attraction to public service and policy making are key to public involvement in the curricular setting. There was a similar finding in the extra-

curricular results. Minority and female students were more likely to attach importance to service-learning with respect to selecting particular courses. To guide our interpretation of the coefficient of attraction to public service, the predicted probabilities for selecting each category of the importance of service-learning in course selection were calculated and graphed for each value of attraction to public service (see Figure 2).

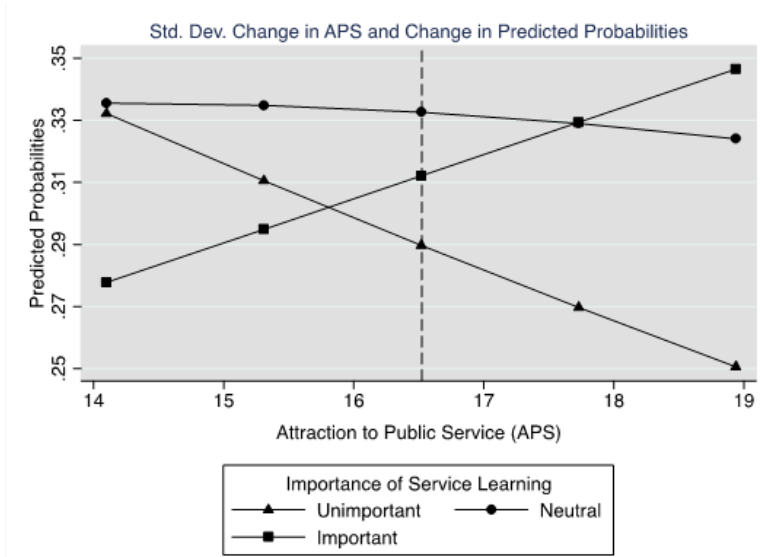


Figure 2. Substantive impact of attraction to public service on students' value of service-learning.

In this graph, the predicted probability of saying that service-learning is “unimportant” decreased as attraction to public service increased from one standard deviation below to one standard deviation above the mean. The predicted probability of selecting “important” increased across the range of attraction to public service values.

There was also a positive relationship among both the female and minority dummy variables and the importance of service-learning. This indicates that both female students and minority students were more likely to participate in service-learning than their male and White counterparts.

Extracurricular Public Service

To analyze the relationship between public service motivation and extracurricular volunteering, we used ordered logistic regres-

sion (OLS) models. In addition, we ran OLS regressions on the limited dependent variables. The significance and directionality of the effects were similar to those of the first OLS (see Table 3). The findings concerning public service motivation's relationship with a student's extracurricular volunteering frequency are reported in Table 4.

Table 4. Ordered Logit—Public Service Motivation and Volunteering Frequency

	(1)		(2)	
	β	SE	β	SE
Public service motivation	0.08**	(0.02)		
Commitment to public interest			-0.23**	(0.08)
Compassion			0.07	(0.08)
Self-sacrifice			0.05	(0.06)
Attraction to policy making			0.41**	(0.09)
Female	0.76**	(0.28)*	0.59*	(0.29)
Minority	0.49	(0.37)	0.46	(0.38)
Family income (incomes less than \$15,000 excluded)				
\$15,001-\$30,000	-4.80**	(1.46)	-4.88**	(1.45)
\$30,001-\$45,000	-3.15*	(1.39)	-3.10*	(1.37)
\$45,001-\$60,000	-2.99*	(1.37)	-3.02*	(1.37)
\$60,001-\$75,000	-3.05*	(1.35)	-2.89*	(1.34)
\$75,001-\$95,000	-2.25	(1.37)	-2.41*	(1.35)
\$95,001-\$110,000	-2.51*	(1.34)	-2.43*	(1.33)
\$110,001-\$125,000	-2.22	(1.35)	-2.18	(1.34)
\$125,001-\$140,000	-2.47	(1.39)	-2.54*	(1.37)
More than \$140,000	-1.73	(1.33)	-1.70	(1.31)
ϕ_1	0.09	(1.77)	-0.03	(1.82)
ϕ_2	4.56*	(1.80)	4.90**	(1.87)
ϕ_3	6.68**	(1.83)	7.11**	(1.90)
Observations	252		252	
Pseudo R ²	0.184		0.222	

Note. * $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$. * $p < 0.10$.

Model 3 tested the relationship between public service motivation (measured as a unidimensional/global construct) and student volunteering. Results indicate that students with higher levels of public service motivation reported volunteering slightly more often than students with lower levels of public service motivation ($\beta = 0.08$, $p < .01$). In addition, being female was positively associ-

ated with the students' frequency of extracurricular volunteering ($\beta = 0.76, p < .01$).

The estimated coefficients did not provide a substantive understanding of the nature of the relationship between public service motivation and the reported frequency of student volunteering. Although H2 was supported by the coefficient, we further investigated the substantive effects of the relationship by plotting the predicted probabilities that students would select a specific frequency of volunteering (i.e., "never," "yearly," "monthly," and "weekly") for different levels of public service motivation. Figure 3 shows the predicted probabilities of selecting a particular response across public service motivation values range from one standard deviation above and one standard deviation below the mean (see dotted vertical line in the figure). The predicted probability of selecting "never" and "yearly" both decreased as the level of public service motivation increased. There was an increase in the predicted probability of selecting "monthly" or "weekly" as public service motivation increased.

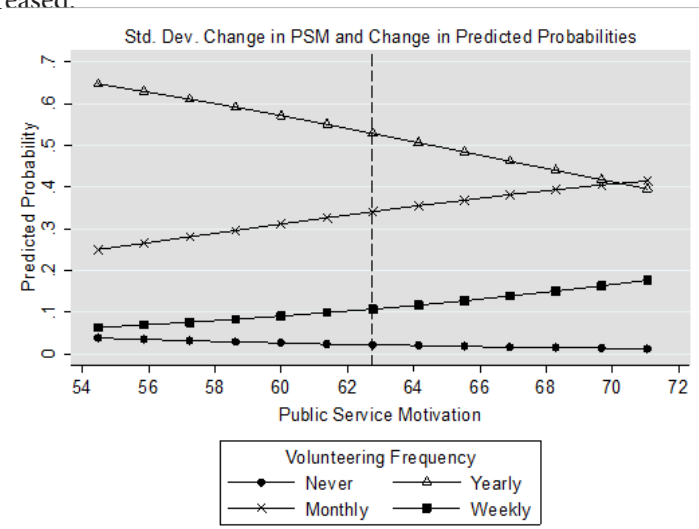


Figure 3. Predicted probability that public service motivation will have a substantive impact on students' extracurricular volunteering.

Model 4 moved beyond public service motivation as a global/unidimensional construct and explored whether certain public service motivation subdimensions were important to a student's pre-career public service orientation. Interestingly, much of public service motivation's positive association with extracurricular volunteering appeared to be correlated with students' attraction to public

service ($\beta = 0.41, p < .01$), which some scholars have described as an instrumental—as opposed to an affective or values-based—motive (Kim & Vandenberg, 2010). Instrumental motives are those that capture “the extent to which individuals want to participate in the public policy process or other activities that contribute to their community or society” (Kim et al., 2013, p. 83).

The subdimension of “commitment to public values” was negatively related to extracurricular volunteering ($\beta = -0.23, p < .01$). Some scholars consider commitment to public values a values-based motive that reflects “the extent to which an individual’s interest in public service is driven by their internalization of and interest in pursuing commonly held public values such as equity, concern for future generations, accountability and ethics” (Kim et al., 2013, p. 83). This may mean that some individuals focus on the tangible aspects of public service such as volunteering, while others are energized by the less tangible aspects like public values. If so, these two orientations may be at odds: Individuals who are motivated by deep-seated values may be reluctant to take action, and conversely, individuals who are more pragmatic and have less durable value sets may rush to action.

One possible conclusion is that precareer extracurricular public service is associated with very particular forms or subdimensions of public service motivation. Instrumental motives are positively related to volunteering and outweigh the negative effects of values-based motives in our sample. Affective motives seem to matter very little. Why is this so? The authors can only speculate that extracurricular volunteering, although generally praiseworthy, is attractive to instrumentally-motivated students as a means to an end. Perhaps that end is the personal satisfaction of making a decision that is beneficial to one’s community or self. Students largely driven by values-based motives, on the other hand, may recognize that extracurricular service can be temporary and even self-serving. These students may seek other public service opportunities to sate their values-based needs. Another possible explanation is that an individual’s public service motivation evolves from instrumental to values-based over the course of a lifetime, possibly becoming more durable.

To get a better substantive interpretation of the relationship between these two public service motivation subdimensions and volunteering, we graphed the predicted probability of each outcome from one standard deviation below to one standard deviation above the mean of both the commitment to public values (CPV) and attraction to public service subdimensions. Interestingly,

the relationships of CPV to volunteer frequency (Figure 4) and of attraction to policy making to volunteer frequency (Figure 5) stand in sharp contrast. As respondents' commitment to public values increased, the predicted probability of responding "never" and "yearly" actually increased. As commitment to public values increased, the predicted probability of respondents' volunteering "weekly" and "monthly" decreased. In other words, values-based public service motives decreased the probability of regular (weekly/monthly) extracurricular volunteering but increased the probability of episodic (yearly) volunteering or not volunteering at all.

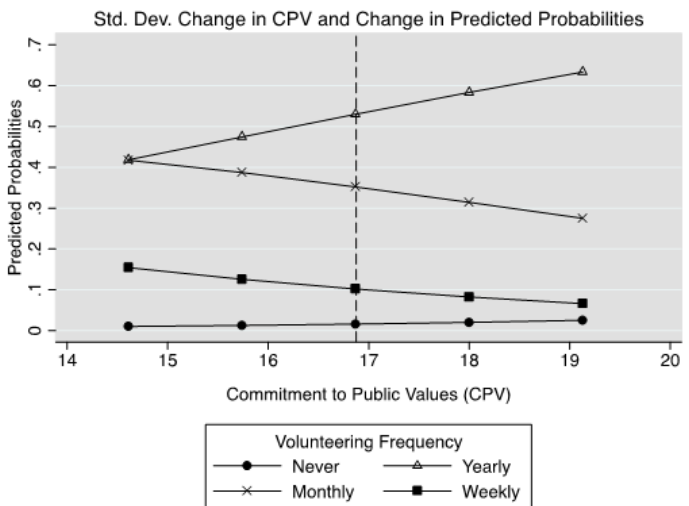


Figure 4. Predicted probability that commitment to public values will have a substantive impact on students' extracurricular volunteering.

As shown in Figure 5, the predicted probability of selecting "never" and "yearly" decreased across the range of values as attraction to public service increased. One possible explanation is that students with higher levels of instrumental public service motives reported wanting more regular opportunities for extracurricular volunteering. The predicted probability of volunteering "monthly" and "weekly" increased as attraction to public service increased.

Beyond public service motives, being female was also positively related to volunteerism in this model ($\beta = 0.59, p < .05$). It appears that female students volunteered more frequently than their male counterparts. Prior research has shown that women tend to have higher levels of public service motivation than men, and their motives are likely to be more compassionate (DeHart-Davis, Marlow & Pandey, 2006). This raises interesting questions about the

possible interaction between public service motivation and gender as a predictor of service-learning, volunteering, and other important civic behavior.

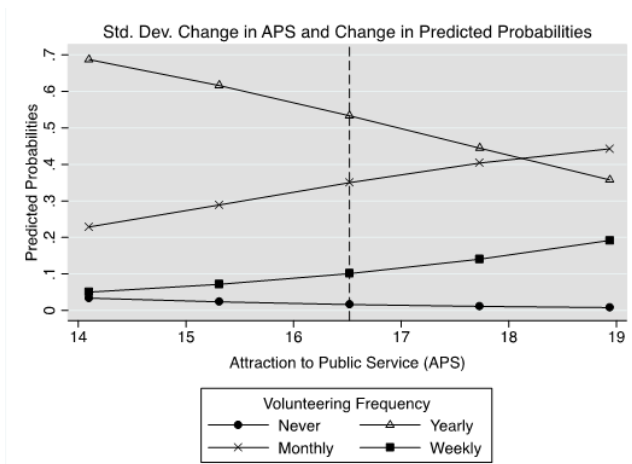


Figure 5. Predicted probability that attraction to public service will have a substantive impact on students' extracurricular volunteering.

Conclusion

In this study, the relationship between precareer public service motivation among college freshmen and their campus-related public service in the form of service-learning (curricular) and participation in voluntary activities (extracurricular) was explored. Student public service motivation was strongly and positively related to both aspects of public service orientation. Our findings raise the possibility that public service motivation matters well before the student has chosen a vocational setting, and public service motivation moves students to prioritize both curricular and extracurricular public service. These findings have important implications for educational institutions that seek to instill civic values in students and promote civic culture in society.

We recognize several limitations of these findings. First, there is a possibility of common source bias since all variables were self-reported. Secondly, we were unable to make causal attributions because of the cross-sectional survey design employed. For instance, it is certainly possible that curricular and extracurricular service involvement might foster higher levels of public service motivation rather than the reverse. However, we believe that sur-

veying students early in their college experience attenuates some of these concerns about causal direction. Furthermore, our findings are consistent with those found in other university and occupational settings (Houston, 2006).

We not know the extent to which these findings apply to higher education across the nation; we note that family incomes trended toward affluence for our particular population. Although this may not be unusual for students at flagship research universities, future research should include students from other universities and higher educational contexts, including other large public and private universities, small liberal arts colleges, community colleges, and for-profit universities. Future research should also strive to more objectively assess students' enrollment in service-learning courses and their volunteer activities, which were self-reported in this study. Another possibility that deserves future attention is explicitly surveying a more complete set of public service/engagement activities beyond service-learning and extracurricular volunteering.

Our findings suggest that public service motivation's positive association with students' curricular/extracurricular service orientation is driven by a particular subdimension of the concept: instrumental motives. This is not unprecedented in public service motivation research (e.g., Kim *et al.*, 2013). Instrumental motives, captured in the attraction to public service items, seem to drive a student's collegiate public service orientation. This is not altogether surprising and suggests that students may use curricular and extracurricular service in order to become involved in decision or policy processes that contribute to their broader communities. Some students may also exhibit these civic attitudes and behaviors to gain an edge in university admissions, win scholarships, and land good jobs. These more self-interested aims are consistent with the instrumental motives we found, and they may be the starting point of a process that eventually instills deep-seated public service values and motives. In many respects, one might argue that this is one of the purposes of college life—to build community and provide a microcosm in which leadership and decision making can be developed. Furthermore, the prominence of instrumental motives may reflect the fact that most college students have not yet been socialized into professional organizations where affective and values-based motives may be more salient. Past research has shown that these types of public service motives grow stronger with years of experience and tenure in an organization (Ritz, Brewer, & Neumann, 2013).

The broader implications of our findings range across public administration scholarship, pedagogy, and practice and extend into higher education generally. Our study is one of few to unpack the significance of public service motivation before individuals embark on a professional career. A more complete understanding of the development and manifestation of public service motivation would potentially aid our understanding of its effects as individuals transition into public service education and public service jobs. This reflection yields some major questions worth exploration: When do public service motives emerge? How do they develop? What are the consequences for individuals and society?

For those interested in student engagement more broadly, our findings indicate that student public service motivation may be an important determinant of the extent to which students engage in student life and community involvement. Because these are important determinants of matriculation and college success (*Kuh, Cruce, Shoup, Kinzie, & Gonyea, 2008*), universities may need to consider new ways to cultivate and strengthen a public service orientation among students. Championing the importance of government and public employees in society; recognizing the myriad ways that public, nonprofit, and private organizations can contribute to the public good; and acknowledging the seminal role of citizens in building a just society would all be a good start.

Our research also highlights the importance of biodemographic traits in better understanding freshman orientation toward curricular and extracurricular engagement. We found that female and minority students were more likely to identify the importance of service-learning with respect to course selection, and female respondents were also more likely to report extracurricular engagement. To some extent, this mirrors what scholars have discovered concerning faculty orientation in offering service-learning courses (e.g., *Abes et al., 2002; Vogelgesang, Denson, & Jayakumar, 2010*). Although we cannot ascertain whether students actually selected service-learning courses in the following semesters, we think this is a valuable direction for future research—connecting aspirational inclinations with behavioral consequences. Institutions of higher education could better use these findings to appropriately target segments of the student population that may be more inclined to seek out engagement opportunities. To the extent that such engagement has substantial benefits for female and minority students, we see this as a promising possibility.

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Students' Emotions in Academic Service-Learning

Elise Noyes, Alexa Darby, and Christopher Leupold

Abstract

Research has demonstrated the importance of emotions in learning, and academic service-learning (AS-L) has become an increasingly popular pedagogy. However, few studies have investigated emotional experiences specific to AS-L. The purpose of this mixed-methods study was to examine students' emotions related to their AS-L class. Results from the quantitative component revealed that students have emotional experiences both on site and in class that are specific to AS-L. The qualitative interview results supported the quantitative finding that excitement/enjoyment is the most frequently experienced emotion and that the majority of emotional experiences occurred on site. The findings demonstrate the importance of emotions in facilitating the intellectual and personal development of students in AS-L and emphasize the need for faculty to be mindful and intentional in helping students navigate these experiences and integrate them with the course content.

Introduction

Cognitive research has demonstrated the interconnectedness of emotions and learning (Felten, Gilchrist, & Darby, 2006). Contemporary scholarship on academic service-learning (AS-L) has found increased educational benefits and improved achievement outcomes from the structured experiential pedagogy of AS-L compared to that of traditional classroom settings (Eyler, Giles, & Braxton, 1997). Few researchers, however, have explored how emotions affect the academic outcomes and cognitive processes associated with AS-L. This gap in research limits our ability to maximize the AS-L experience for students' personal and intellectual growth. The present study explored students' emotional experiences in their AS-L courses, with the goal of improving the effectiveness of pedagogical practices and academic outcomes associated with AS-L.

Early research in AS-L focused primarily on its philosophical origins and orientation, including its focus on reflective practices and its emphasis on achieving specific academic outcomes (Astin, Vogelgesang, Ikeda, & Yee, 2000; Eyler, 2002; Saltmarsh, 1996). More recently, research on academic achievement in AS-L has begun to

investigate the relationship between emotions and achievement (Felten *et al.*, 2006; Pekrun, 2006). Previous findings linking AS-L, emotions, and achievement provide a frame of reference through which to view the present study.

Origins, Practices, and Outcomes in AS-L

Dewey's (1938) pragmatic philosophy of experiential education laid the original groundwork for the development of AS-L. Using Dewey's ideas, liberal arts education created its own philosophy of community service-learning based on a "conception of education that integrates thought and action, reason and emotion, mind and body, leisure and work, education and life, and connects individuals to their community and natural contexts" (Saltmarsh, 1996, *p.* 14). Within this framework, AS-L practices have been shaped by five of Dewey's ideas: linking education to experience, democratic community, social service, reflective inquiry, and education for social transformation (Saltmarsh, 1996). Present-day AS-L can be thought of as an integration of curriculum content with ongoing community-based service (Rosing, Reed, Ferrari, & Bothne, 2010). Stated another way, students apply the theories and concepts they learn in the classroom to meet or address a community need, which can then facilitate a deeper understanding and application of course material.

The service-learning literature cites reflection as an integral element in connecting the academic and service experiences (Felten *et al.*, 2006; Saltmarsh, 1996). Eyler (2002) found that the amount and type of reflection students engaged in affected the benefits they received from AS-L. These benefits included progressing to a post-formal reasoning stage of development and resolving the conflict between new experiences and old assumptions by consciously restructuring their schemas. To achieve such outcomes, however, reflection activities must involve "the intentional consideration of experience in light of particular learning objectives" (Eyler, 2002, *p.* 518) and must be closely integrated with course content (Eyler, 2002; Hatcher, Bringle, & Muthiah, 2004).

Compared to students engaged in traditional courses or community service alone, students in undergraduate AS-L courses obtain significant benefits related to their attitudes, cognitive and writing skills, values, and understanding of social issues (Astin *et al.*, 2000; Eyler *et al.*, 1997; Osborne, Hammerich, & Hensley, 1998). Preliminary findings on the long-term benefits of AS-L are also promising, with students in activity-based courses obtaining

higher grades than those in traditional sections of the same course (Strage, 2004).

Emotions, Learning, and Achievement

With the intensive focus on academic outcomes nationwide, some researchers have sought to identify “achievement emotions” that are “tied directly to achievement activities or achievement outcomes” (Pekrun, 2006, p. 317). Such emotions are mediated by social and cultural contexts, personality factors, and achievement goals. Achievement goals may be either mastery-oriented, intrinsic goals focused on learning activities or performance-based, extrinsic goals focused on outcomes. Pekrun (2006) described findings indicating the impact of both activity-related emotions such as enjoyment, frustration, and boredom and outcome-related emotions, both prospective and retrospective, including joy, hope, pride, anxiety, hopelessness, shame, and anger. Outcome emotions may be activating, encouraging learning and effort as in the case of hope, or deactivating like boredom; emotions may also have a positive or negative valence, indicating whether the individual anticipates success or failure. For example, relief is a positive deactivating emotion since it occurs when no further effort is required to succeed, whereas anxiety is a negative activating emotion acting as an attempt to prevent failure.

Pekrun's (2006) control-value theory of achievement emotions builds on this foundation. Pekrun posited that the perceived control over and value of an activity are “central to the arousal of achievement emotions” (p. 315) and that emotions play a functional role in the learning process. He also noted that the reciprocal relationship between emotions and achievement can create either positive or negative feedback loops in the environment-appraisal-emotion-achievement outcome cycle. Previous studies have supported his theory, as tested by his Achievement Emotions Questionnaire (AEQ). Initial feelings of hopefulness or helplessness influenced students' achievement of both mastery and performance-based goals, which subsequently predicted discrete emotions such as enjoyment or anxiety, which in turn predicted academic achievement (Daniels et al., 2009; Pekrun, Goetz, Frenzel, Barchfeld, & Perry, 2010).

The Value of Research on Emotions in AS-L

AS-L is becoming increasingly popular across academic disciplines (National Survey of Student Engagement, 2010). It thus should

be researched continuously to evaluate its effectiveness and find ways to improve it. Researchers have focused specifically on academic outcomes and reflection in AS-L, yet they have done little to integrate their findings with emerging research about the role of emotions in cognitive processes and learning, or with understandings of students' perceived control over and valuing of learning activities (Eyler, 2002; Felten et al., 2006; Pekrun, 1992). By investigating the interrelatedness of emotions, learning, and achievement, the present study aimed to fulfill Dewey's goal of integrating emotions, community experience, and education to foster social change through personal transformation (Dewey, 1938; Saltmarsh, 1996).

Hypotheses

Because of the salience of the control and value issues presented at a service site (Pekrun, 2006), it was hypothesized that participants would have more emotional experiences on service sites than in the other domains. Due to the exploratory nature of this study and its introduction of the service domain to the study of emotions in learning settings, the other predictions were more general in nature. In summary, it was hypothesized that the overall patterns found in Pekrun et al.'s (2010) study would be replicated here for the newly added domain (service site). Based on Pekrun's (2006) control-value theory of emotions, the present study used the AEQ (Pekrun et al., 2010) to measure emotions. We predicted that positive correlations would exist among various positive emotions (enjoyment, hope, pride) within and across domains (in class, assignments, tests, and service). Similarly, we predicted positive correlations would exist among various negative emotions (anger, anxiety, shame, hopelessness, boredom, relief) within and across domains, and negative correlations between positive and negative emotions within and across domains.

For the interviews, no predictions were made regarding specific emotions. However, based on the existing literature and the rewarding yet stressful nature of AS-L experiences, we predicted that participants would report a broad range of the positive and negative emotions that Pekrun et al. (2010) found and that most emotional experiences would occur on site.

Methods

Participants

Participants included 212 (32% male, 68% female) undergraduate students enrolled in 11 different AS-L courses during the Spring 2012 semester at a small, private liberal arts college in the southeastern United States. The majority were first- or second-year students (36% and 41%, respectively); only 16% were third-year and 7% fourth-year. Most participants (63%) had no prior AS-L experience, 26% had taken one or two AS-L classes, 4% had taken three or four AS-L classes, and 7% had taken five or more AS-L classes. Sixty-three percent (63%) anticipated receiving an A in their current AS-L course, 26% anticipated a B, 6% anticipated a C, and one participant anticipated an F. Three questionnaires were excluded from analysis because participants did not properly complete one section; missing values were handled by pair-wise deletion.

Classes were selected using convenience sampling within multiple disciplines (sociology, psychology, human services, engineering, public administration, communications, and philosophy) that incorporated either direct ($n = 9$) or project-based ($n = 2$) service. Examples include a philosophy class about human-animal relationships serving at a local animal rescue; an engineering class educating elementary school children about engineering concepts, a sociology class tutoring struggling students from local schools, and a communications class assisting with projects for a local women's assistance organization. Instructors were contacted using the AS-L electronic mailing list, allowing them to elect to participate. The hours of service required in these courses varied: 44% of participants were required to complete 10-20 service hours, 38% needed 21-30 hours, 14% needed 31-40 hours, and 5% needed 41 or more hours.

Thirteen interview participants were recruited from an announcement made in the AS-L courses in which participants completed the questionnaire; interview participants received \$10 Target gift cards as compensation for their time. Two of the interview participants were enrolled in sociology AS-L classes, three in psychology, one in both a sociology and a psychology course, three in communications, one in human services and communications, two in philosophy, and one in engineering.

Measures and Procedure

This study used mixed methods of data collection to provide both an overview of relevant emotions (quantitative) and descriptive depth of emotional experiences (qualitative). The quantitative measure was based on Pekrun et al.'s (2010) AEQ. The original AEQ consists of three sections, each corresponding to an academic domain (in class, working on assignments, during a test). It contains Likert-scale items (1-5) relating to the identified achievement emotions: enjoyment, hope, pride, relief, anger, anxiety, shame, hopelessness, and boredom. Items include such statements as "My hopes that I will be successful motivate me to invest a lot of effort." In their analysis of the entire scale, researchers demonstrated its reliability and construct validity for distinct dimensions (domains and emotions) through factor analysis for all subscales and its external validity related to students' control-value appraisals, learning, and academic outcomes (Pekrun et al., 2010).

For the present study, we obtained permission to use the scale and develop new items for a fourth academic domain, the AS-L site, to investigate emotional experiences unique to this domain (see Table 1 for descriptive statistics). The new items included statements such as "I enjoy our class discussions about our experiences at the service-learning site" and "I am frustrated when I go to our service-learning site and don't like what we are doing." Researchers piloted the new items with a group of AS-L students during their class time and ran a reliability test afterward, finding a Cronbach's alpha of .71. Participants completed the questionnaires midway through the semester, either in class or in individual sessions with one of the researchers if they were unable to complete it during class time. Questionnaires were completed voluntarily and took participants from 30 to 75 minutes; no compensation was given.

The qualitative dimension of the research included conducting open-ended interviews with AS-L students who completed the AEQ to further explore their emotional and academic experiences related to AS-L. The interview questions expanded on the AEQ items, asking students to describe an emotional experience related to their AS-L class. Participants were interviewed individually by one of the researchers for 30 to 60 minutes and received a \$10 Target gift card as compensation. Data were interpreted in the context of existing literature on AS-L, academic achievement, and emotions related to Pekrun's (2006) control-value theory of emotions. Researchers ran multiple statistical tests in the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS)—including descriptive statistics, *t*-tests, ANOVAs, reliability, and correlations to deter-

mine internal validity—on the questionnaire data and thematically coded the transcripts using an inductive approach (Boeije, 2010).

Table 1. AEQ Scale Statistics (Raw Score)

	No. of Items	Possible Range	Observed Range	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	α
Service-related emotions						
Enjoyment	4	4-20	4-20	13.80	3.27	.80
Hope	3	3-15	5-15	11.47	1.97	.58
Pride	3	3-15	4-15	11.39	2.08	.60
Anger	4	4-20	4-17	10.02	2.94	.59
Anxiety	4	4-20	4-18	0.73	2.62	.50
Shame	3	3-15	3-12	6.63	1.94	.35
Hopelessness	3	3-15	4-18	5.68	2.35	.71
Boredom	3	3-15	3-14	5.68	2.35	.71
Class-related emotions						
Enjoyment	10	10-50	12-50	30.22	8.09	.90
Hope	8	8-40	11-40	29.25	5.36	.84
Pride	9	9-45	11-45	31.04	5.97	.85
Anger	9	9-45	9-45	16.60	7.25	.91
Anxiety	12	12-60	12-49	23.63	7.09	.83
Shame	11	11-55	11-46	21.38	7.55	.89
Hopelessness	10	10-50	10-42	16.81	6.23	.89
Boredom	11	11-55	11-54	31.23	11.24	.94
Learning-related emotions						
Enjoyment	10	10-50	9-47	20.07	6.97	.84
Hope	6	6-30	8-30	20.47	4.88	.88
Pride	6	6-30	4-30	21.01	5.11	.88
Anger	9	9-45	9-45	20.18	7.82	.90
Anxiety	11	11-55	11-48	26.72	8.93	.88
Shame	11	11-55	11-52	24.27	8.34	.88
Hopelessness	11	11-55	10-43	18.65	7.15	.91
Boredom	11	11-55	10-49	27.16	9.20	.91
Test-related emotions						
Enjoyment	10	10-50	3-47	27.58	6.98	.83
Hope	8	8-40	2-40	25.67	6.11	.85
Pride	10	10-50	9-49	31.22	7.66	.89
Relief	6	6-30	6-30	19.04	5.56	.86
Anger	10	10-50	9-46	21.50	7.10	.85
Anxiety	12	12-60	2-55	31.74	8.38	.83

Shame	10	10-50	10-50	21.44	7.11	.83
Hopelessness	11	11-55	11-47	20.70	7.70	.91

Quantitative Results

Preliminary analyses were conducted to explore potential significant gender and/or class rank differences for total emotional experiences in each domain. None were found, and data were collapsed for further analyses and hypothesis testing.

The raw score scale statistics for each academic domain and reliabilities for the AEQ measures are reported in Table 1. The Cronbach's alphas for all of the original AEQ scales were strong and comparable to or higher than Pekrun et al.'s (2010). The newly developed service-related emotions scale exhibited good reliability for the emotions of enjoyment and boredom ($\alpha = .80$ and $.71$ respectively). Although reliabilities for the other emotions were lower ($\alpha = .35$ to $.60$), the scales were retained given the exploratory nature of the study and its specific focus on AS-L.

Hypothesis Testing

Total emotional experiences by domain. Because the number of items for the AEQ subscales range from three to 12 (see Table 2), comparison of domain mean differences first required establishing a common metric for the scales. This was accomplished by multiplying each scale's raw score by 12 (the greatest number of items of any scale), then dividing it by the scale's original number of items, thereby transforming all scales to reflect a 12-item scale. The total domain-adjusted means and standard deviations for emotional experiences were as follows: service (on site), $M = 284.50$, $SD = 27.81$; class, $M = 245.16$, $SD = 25.50$; test, $M = 250.21$, $SD = 39.80$; and learning, $M = 252.11$, $SD = 34.60$.

Table 2. Correlations of AEQ Emotions Within Settings

	Enjoyment	Hope	Pride	Anger	Anxiety	Shame	Hopelessness	Boredom
Class-related								
Enjoyment	—	.70*	.68*	-.61*	-.33*	-.17*	-.46*	-.77**
Hope		—	.77*	-.60	-.58*	-.42*	-.66*	-.50*
Pride			—	-.45*	-.45*	-.31*	-.52*	-.42*
Anger				—	.48*	.30*	.68*	.71**
Anxiety					—	.76**	.78**	.38*
Shame						—	.55*	.23*
Hopelessness							—	.51*
Boredom								—
Learning-related								
Enjoyment	—	.65*	.73**	-.27*	-.08	-.09	-.26*	-.38*
Hope		—	.72**	-.47*	-.47*	-.47*	-.60*	-.49*
Pride			—	-.30*	-.17*	-.26*	-.47*	-.36*
Anger				—	.65*	.56*	.69*	.76*
Anxiety					—	.78**	.70**	.53*
Shame						—	.77**	.47*
Hopelessness							—	.58*
Boredom								—
Test-related^b								
Enjoyment	—	.75**	.78**	.44*	-.03	-.15	-.21	
Hope		—	.79*	.43*	-.30	-.43	-.50	
Pride			—	.59*	-.05	-.25*	-.39*	
Relief ^a				—	.25*	.04	-.08	
Anxiety					—	.70**	.63*	
Shame						—	.82**	
Hopelessness							—	
Service-related								
Enjoyment	—	.63*	.67*	-.44*	-.22*	-.20*	-.16*	-.62*
Hope		—	.70**	-.26*	-.35*	-.25*	-.19*	-.49*
Pride			—	-.28*	-.29*	-.25*	-.18*	-.58*
Anger				—	.41*	.38*	.34*	.46*
Anxiety					—	.52*	.51*	.31*
Shame						—	.47*	.34*
Hopelessness							—	.23*
Boredom								—

Note. ^a In the case of test-related emotions, anger is replaced by relief. ^b Boredom was not included as a test-related emotion.

* $p < .05$. ** $r > .70$.

To test the hypothesis that most emotional experiences would occur on site in the service setting, a within-subjects repeated measures ANOVA was performed. Using a Greenhouse-Geisser correction, a statistically significant difference in emotional experiences among domain means was found ($F[2.36, 473.48] = 101.74, p < .01, \eta^2 = .34$). To identify where the specific mean differences existed, pairwise comparisons using a Bonferroni adjustment were performed. As hypothesized, students reported significantly more emotional experiences (at the $p < .01$ level) while in the service setting rather than when in class, during tests, or while working on assignments. In addition, these follow-up comparisons found that more emotional experiences were reported while working on assignments than in class ($p < .01$).

Domain-specific emotions. To ascertain whether the same relative patterns of emotions were experienced across domains, the means of emotions within each domain were weighted to adjust for the scales' different numbers of items. Raw means (see Table 2) were multiplied by the maximum number of a scale's items from that particular domain (i.e., 4 for service, 12 for class, etc.) and divided by that scale's original number of items. This equalization procedure enabled comparison within domains on a common metric. In examining the rank ordering of emotions within each domain, the patterns were fairly similar for class, learning, and test. In general, the most frequently experienced emotions in each domain were hope and pride, and to a lesser extent, enjoyment. Within each of these three domains, hopelessness, anger, and shame were the emotions least experienced.

A major focus of this study was to explore emotions experienced in service settings; thus, the pattern of emotions experienced in each domain was examined and compared to those of the others. Pride and hope were the most frequently experienced emotions in service; however, hopelessness was also among the most often cited. This contrasts sharply with findings from the other domains, in which hopelessness was experienced the absolute least. Service also resembled the other domains in that shame and anger were among the least frequently experienced emotions. Although the overall pattern for service was similar to that found in other domains, another notable finding was that boredom was the least frequently experienced emotion in service, whereas it was experienced far more frequently in the other domains.

Emotion correlations within and between domains. To test the prediction that directional relationships within and between settings would be comparable to those found in Pekrun et al.'s

(2010) original study, Pearson's two-tailed correlations were conducted for each of the emotions scales within each academic domain. Table 2 shows correlations between emotions within academic settings, and Table 3 shows these correlations across settings. As hypothesized, positive emotions were generally positively correlated with one another, and negative emotions were generally positively correlated with one another. The findings for each domain, however, did not carry over to the others to the extent they have in previous studies using the AEQ. This suggests that AS-L class experiences have more domain-specific emotions than traditional courses (Lichtenfeld, Pekrun, Stupnisky, Reiss, & Murayama, 2012; Pekrun et al., 2010). Consequently, the original hypothesis was not fully supported.

Table 3. Correlations of AEQ Emotions Across Settings

	Class-Related Emotions							
	Enjoyment	Hope	Pride	Anger	Anxiety	Shame	Hopelessness	Boredom
Learning-related								
Enjoyment	.63*	.56*	.65*	-.24*	-.18*	-.04	-.24*	-.38*
Hope	.46*	.66*	.69*	-.31*	-.49*	-.38*	-.45*	-.30*
Pride	.50*	.67*	.77**	-.31*	-.32*	-.19*	-.42*	-.31*
Anger	-.42*	-.52*	-.36*	.64*	.59*	.46*	.63*	.56*
Anxiety	-.20*	-.39*	-.27*	.39*	.63*	.56*	.44*	.30*
Shame	-.19*	-.46*	-.33*	.37*	.70**	.70**	.53*	.29*
Hopelessness	-.39*	-.67*	-.54*	.57*	.73**	.60*	.76**	.41*
Boredom	-.65*	-.55*	-.45*	.67*	.52*	.37*	.57*	.80**
Test-related								
Enjoyment	.28*	.22*	.34*	-.12	-.20*	-.10	-.14*	-.20*
Hope	.26*	.32*	.40*	-.16*	-.35*	-.30*	-.26*	-.17*
Pride	.33*	.34*	.45*	-.24	-.32*	-.27*	-.27*	-.24*
Relief ^a	.16*	.09	.21*	.05	.06	.06	.00	-.03
Anxiety	.01	-.15*	-.08	.12	.32*	.31*	.18*	.05
Shame	-.06	-.24*	-.10	.30*	.45*	.43*	.38*	.12
Hopelessness ^b	-.21*	-.40*	-.31*	.38*	.49*	.44*	.51*	.23*
Service-related								
Enjoyment	.70**	.58*	.48*	-.58*	-.27*	-.15*	-.42*	-.55*
Hope	.58*	.64*	.57*	-.46*	-.39*	-.25*	-.52*	-.38*
Pride	.57*	.63*	.63*	-.45*	-.40*	-.34*	-.48*	-.39*
Anger	-.32*	-.33*	-.20*	.49*	.35*	.23*	.36*	.41*
Anxiety	-.21*	-.38*	-.31*	.30*	.58*	.43*	.43*	.20*

Shame	-.09	-.25*	-.19*	.22*	.48*	.39*	.39*	.09
Hopelessness	-.08	-.15*	-.11	.17*	.30*	.23*	.23*	.06
Boredom	-.51*	-.52*	-.42*	.55*	.39*	.25*	.56*	.51*
Learning-Related Emotions								
	Enjoyment	Hope	Pride	Anger	Anxiety	Shame	Hopelessness	Boredom
Test-related								
Enjoyment	.41*	.41*	.34*	-.23*	-.17*	-.15*	-.20*	-.29*
Hope	.31*	.48*	.41*	-.29*	-.36*	-.37*	-.39*	-.29*
Pride	.35*	.41*	.45*	-.25*	-.25*	-.26*	-.36*	-.32*
Relief ^a	.22*	.10	.21*	.10	.16*	.10	-.04	.02
Anxiety	-.01	-.26*	-.06	.25*	.49*	.44*	.33*	.10
Shame	.04	-.24*	-.10	.39*	.46*	.58*	.50*	.23*
Hopelessness	-.08	-.32*	-.27*	.42*	.40*	.53*	.60*	.28*
Service-related								
Enjoyment	.44*	.29*	.25*	-.41*	-.15*	-.14*	-.32*	-.45*
Hope	.44*	.45*	.47*	-.34*	-.19*	-.20*	-.41*	-.40*
Pride	.43*	.44*	.51*	-.35*	-.23*	-.26*	-.41*	-.42*
Anger	-.08	-.22*	-.19*	.44*	.34*	.42*	.41*	.43*
Anxiety	-.12	-.34*	-.20*	.37*	.38*	.45*	.49*	.33*
Shame	-.02	-.21*	-.11	.27*	.39*	.40*	.43*	.25*
Hopelessness	-.04	-.29*	-.10	.28*	.27*	.27*	.28*	.17*
Boredom	-.31*	-.27*	-.18*	.44*	.19*	.23*	.41*	.45*
Test-Related Emotions								
	Enjoyment	Hope	Pride	Relief	Anxiety	Shame	Hopelessness	
Service-related								
Enjoyment	.18*	.19*	.28*	.16*	.02	-.10*	-.22*	
Hope	.18*	.28*	.30*	.15*	-.06	-.12	-.26*	
Pride	.17*	.25*	.35*	.15*	-.07*	-.11	-.24*	
Anger	-.18*	-.26*	-.24*	.00	.18*	.32*	.30*	
Anxiety	-.17*	-.19*	-.25*	.11	.27*	.39*	.37*	
Shame	-.04	-.16*	-.15*	.14*	.27*	.39*	.33*	
Hopelessness	-.10	-.17*	-.16*	.05	.25*	.35*	.28*	
Boredom	-.11	-.14*	-.19*	-.18	.06	.19*	.28*	

Note. ^aIn the case of test-related emotions, anger is replaced by relief. ^bBoredom was not included as a test-related emotion.

* $p < .05$. ** $r > .70$.

Within settings, class-related enjoyment was strongly negatively correlated with class-related boredom ($r = -.77, p < .05$), suggesting that experiencing the former positive emotion mitigates the experience of the latter deactivating emotion (Pekrun, 2006). Class-related hope and pride were significantly strongly positively correlated at the $p < .05$ level ($r = .77$), as were class-related boredom

and anger ($r = .71$), anxiety and shame ($r = .76$), and anxiety and hopelessness ($r = .78$). These findings support Pekrun's (2006) control-value theory of achievement emotions, in which positive emotions create positive feedback loops for the environment-appraisal-emotion-achievement outcome cycle.

Although the causality of the present findings cannot be determined given the nature of the study, the results of the relationships among positive and negative emotions support Pekrun's (2006) theory. Strong positive correlations were also found between learning-related pride and hope ($r = .72$) and enjoyment ($r = .73$), learning-related shame and anxiety ($r = .78$), learning-related hopelessness and shame ($r = .77$), learning-related boredom and anger ($r = .76$), test-related hope and enjoyment ($r = .75$), test-related pride and enjoyment ($r = .79$) and hope ($r = .79$), test-related shame and anxiety ($r = .70$), and service-related hope and pride ($r = .70$). All of these relationships were statistically significant at the $p < .05$ level.

Additional significant findings emerged to further support this line of thought. Across settings, class-related pride and learning-related pride ($r = .77$), class-related hopelessness and learning-related hopelessness ($r = .76$), and class-related boredom and learning-related boredom ($r = .80$) were each strongly positively correlated, demonstrating how those particular emotions seem to be interconnected with class and assignment-based situations. Class-related anxiety was strongly positively correlated with learning-related hopelessness ($r = .73$) and learning-related shame ($r = .70$), which follows Pekrun's (2006) control-value theory of achievement emotions. Because anxiety, which can be an activating or deactivating emotion depending on the situation, occurs in response to circumstances of less perceived control, it can evoke feelings of shame or hopelessness if students perceive failure. In this instance, for students experiencing anxiety, this responsive anxiety may have carried over to their work on their assignments.

Following the same logic, class- and learning-related shame were strongly positively correlated ($r = .80$), as were class- and service-related enjoyment ($r = .70$). This suggests that positive class and service experiences reciprocally influence one another and may perpetuate positive feedback loops in the environment-appraisal-emotion-achievement outcome cycle (Pekrun, 2006). No significant correlations were found between settings other than class and learning situations and class and service experiences.

Qualitative Results

Researchers conducted data analysis by transcribing and coding the interviews to identify recurrent themes using the inductive approach (Boeije, 2010). Two researchers independently coded each transcript, with interrater reliability of 89.5% for emotions and 100% for situations. All 13 participants identified a variety of emotions related to their AS-L experiences, supporting the original hypothesis. Additionally, results showed that a majority of the emotional experiences occurred on site (73%), with fewer related to the general experience (10%), class experiences (10%), or working on assignments (7%). Emotional events on site often occurred when something “negative” turned into something “positive” or when an event offered a lesson to be learned. The emotion most often related to class was boredom. If students enjoyed their service, they often enjoyed working on assignments more but didn’t necessarily want to go to class more.

Service experiences were sometimes enhanced or influenced by the course content, but the level of integration and connection of the service and course content mediated this effect. Only in some cases did the service help students with the course content (e.g., in the philosophy and engineering courses and in one psychology course). The psychology student noted that when assignments “link back to the site... it helps me learn the information in class more by going to the site and relating the material back.”

When the service was less integrated with the class, students often reported feeling a sense of disconnection between the two or reported that their classroom knowledge helped their service, as in the communications class, but not vice versa. Doris, a communications student working at a women’s assistance center, suggested incorporating insights from the site to the classroom and connecting them to course material. She reflected, “I think maybe showing a little more connection between [the class] and our service-learning but then also with other areas that we would be going into with PR [public relations].”

Many students expressed a desire for more opportunities to share and reflect on the personal dimensions of their experiences in class with their peers and professors; in addition, many mentioned talking with their parents about these experiences. One sociology student working in the schools noted:

I know a lot of people have had some really awesome experiences. And some have had some struggles with different things, and I think talking about it is good

because, like, I'm sure I've had some similar experiences to someone else at another organization. So if we can share like our stories and how we've dealt with the different situations, then I think that's really beneficial to get, like, I don't know, the advice of your peers.

Overall, students described their service experience as very worthwhile. As one student reflected, "It definitely makes you realize that what we're learning in class is very applicable in the real world and that it makes a difference for people... not only the organizations, but the people that these organizations are working with."

Excitement/Joy

All participants cited emotions of excitement/joy in their AS-L experiences. Excitement/joy occurred most frequently on site (72%), followed by in class (13%), in general (10%), and while working on assignments (4%). Responses reflected Pekrun's (2006) control-value theory of achievement emotions, in which students' engagement in positively-valued activities where they feel in control leads to activity-based feelings of enjoyment.

Through Matt's engineering class, he helped elementary school students participate in after-school engineering activities. One afternoon the children used paper to build tables that had to hold three textbooks. When asked about the experience, Matt reflected:

I guess it'd be just kind of excited that they succeeded. My group was a group of only fourth graders, and there were a lot of fifth graders in the engineering program. And to see that they kind of beat all these fifth graders and they knew it, it was kind of like it was good to see how excited they were about that. So I guess I'd say excited and achieved, I don't know... successful.

Matt's ability to positively affect his students' experience made him feel positive as well, illustrating the manifestation of enjoyment from student-perceived positively valued and controllable activities (Pekrun, 2006). Matt's emotional response highlights how meaningful students typically find their on-site experiences and how enjoyment can promote engagement.

Anger/Frustration

Anger/frustration was reported in 77% of the interviews (64% on site, 24% in class, 12% in general, and 0% while working on

assignments). In both positively and negatively appraised AS-L situations, students reported activity-based feelings of anger and frustration, which Pekrun's (2006) control-value theory of achievement emotions would ascribe to students' perceiving that they had little control.

On site, anger and frustration usually occurred in response to a larger social issue the student was confronting. Mary, who tutored students in a high school dropout prevention program, felt angry after learning that a student's friend was being deported: "It really frustrates me that a 17-year-old kid who's probably been here for a very long time is getting sent back to Mexico. It just—oh my gosh. Oh, it makes me pretty mad!" Mary thought not only about the individual who was affected but also about the larger societal issue surrounding the situation. She saw the situation in a negative light and attributed control to forces outside herself, resulting in her retrospective and outcome-based anger (Pekrun, 2006).

Sad/Upset

Sad/upset feelings were identified by 77% of the students (97% on site, 3% in general, 0% in class and while working on assignments) and were most often related to the broader social problems surrounding the service site's mission. Feelings of sadness or being upset were not included in Pekrun's (2006) control-value theory of emotions, as that original list of emotions was generated purely on the basis of academic settings (Pekrun et al., 2010). The presence of sadness in the current study suggests that this emotional category may be unique to AS-L. Logically, feelings of being sad or upset may occur more frequently in AS-L than in traditional courses given the nature of the course content and application.

Doris experienced sadness/being upset as a result of understanding the social problems her organization addressed. She recalled that on her first day, the domestic violence center director briefed them on what to expect:

[She] gave us kind of like the background on it and told us some stories that are just really heartbreaking because it's mostly kids who get sexually abused, some women, more likely kids, though, because older people don't tend to report it as much. And it's just heartbreaking some of the stuff they tell you... it's kind of tough.

Doris's sadness stemmed from recognizing the abuse these clients had experienced, an emotion that fostered empathy and

character building (Pekrun, 2006). Such feelings of sadness or being upset emerged from a growing awareness of social problems, from an inability or uncertainty about how to handle difficult situations, or even from seeing their service experience come to an end. These “negative” emotions were complex in that they did not necessarily pertain to negative outcomes directly related to the student (Pekrun, 2006). Students with such negative retrospective emotional experiences were nevertheless able to construct greater meaning from them, rather than allowing them to become obstacles that inhibited their development.

Rewarded/Inspired

Feelings of being rewarded/inspired were reported by 77% of participants (74% on site, 19% while working on assignments, 7% in general, and 0% in class). Students found their service experience personally rewarding or felt inspired by overcoming some difficulty. Although not included in Pekrun's (2006) control-value theory of achievement emotions, feelings of being rewarded/inspired are thematically similar to the outcome/retrospective-based emotions of pride and gratitude. Each of these emotions results from a positive valuing of the situation with high levels of perceived self or other control, which is consistent with student reports.

Robin had an inspiring experience at her service site that demonstrates the benefits of having an effective community partner. Robin was in a psychology class, working in a local elementary school. The principal of the elementary school spoke to her class as an orientation to their service. Robin reported, “I was totally inspired by his love for the kids and how he isn't going to give up on them... I just really appreciate his passion for what he does, and it inspires me to be that sort of teacher that affects kids.” Students reported feeling inspired by seeing others at their service site overcome difficulties or obstacles and consequently felt motivated to do likewise. This reflects the influence on students' emotional experiences of indirect feedback from observing the achievement of others (Pekrun, 2006).

Summary of Qualitative Results

Students' multidimensional emotions in response to on-site, in-class, and learning-related experiences in AS-L reveal not only the applications of Pekrun's (2006) control-value theory of achievement emotions for understanding and predicting emotional and academic outcomes, but also the nature of service itself as inte-

grated into academic learning in higher education. Students' reflections on their emotions and related experiences demonstrate that emotions and cognitions are intricately interwoven and inseparable, especially in particular contexts.

Achievement emotions, and emotions in general, were most often experienced on site and comprised a complex mix of positive and negative valences. Positive emotions often encouraged student engagement and motivated perseverance, as Pekrun (2006) would predict, whereas negative emotions facilitated further action and cognitive reevaluation. Additionally, students' perceived control over various contexts mediated their emotional experiences, as did environmental factors such as the quality of the learning environment and the relationship with the community partner or service organization.

Discussion

A major finding of this study was that service sites are indeed legitimate settings to consider when examining the relationship between students' emotional experiences in different learning domains. Moreover, results suggest that service settings have more power to produce emotional experiences than traditional classroom settings. This study offers strong support for this original prediction; in addition, it supports other hypotheses regarding patterns within and between domains. The general trends for the domain-specific emotions indicated that students experienced positive emotions more often than negative emotions across domains. More relevantly, students reported feelings of hopelessness more frequently and boredom less frequently at their service site than in other domains, highlighting the engaging yet often frustrating aspects of the service experience and supporting the importance of structured reflection to help students navigate challenging situations (Eyler, 2002; Hatcher & Bringle, 1997).

Within and across domains, results supported the hypotheses based on Pekrun et al.'s (2010) study that positive emotions are positively correlated with one another (creating positive feedback loops), negative emotions are also positively correlated (creating negative feedback loops), and positive and negative emotions are negatively correlated (Pekrun, 1992). In the present findings, however, emotions did not carry over across domains to the extent they did in Pekrun et al.'s (2010) study, suggesting greater domain specificity for emotional experiences in AS-L and only partially supporting the hypothesis. In the AS-L portion of the measure,

class- and service-related enjoyment were significantly positively correlated, demonstrating how the broad conceptual foundation of Pekrun's (2006) control-value theory of emotions illuminates aspects of the AS-L experience. Additionally, strong positive correlations between service-related hope and pride highlight the salience of these emotions for students working on site, indicating the perceived value and sense of efficacy students attain in these settings.

Although no specific predictions were made regarding the qualitative aspect of the study, the researchers' general hypothesis that students would report a broad range of both positive and negative emotions was supported. Excitement/enjoyment was most frequently cited, confirming Pekrun et al.'s (2010) quantitative study of the AEQ and suggesting that this is an important emotion in learning. Interview participants referenced all the achievement emotions as well as feelings of being sad/upset, stressed, comfortable/relaxed, and shocked, which were not included in the original theory (Pekrun, 2006). The presence of these emotions (as students labeled them) in AS-L supports the notion that AS-L classes evoke both emotional experiences similar to those characteristic of traditional classrooms and emotional experiences unique to AS-L, although the latter may differ in degree or in kind. As the researchers hypothesized, participants reported that the majority of emotional experiences occurred on site, suggesting that strongly-activated emotions of both positive and negative valence characterize this domain.

This study was limited in several ways. Perhaps the greatest limitation was the correlational nature of the study itself: Correlational designs offer insight but do not allow conclusive statements about causality. Because of the amount of time required to complete the survey, it was not possible to collect data at multiple intervals throughout the semester, which limited the sample size. Because of the AEQ's length, students may or may not have answered the questions reflectively, particularly toward the end, due to fatigue. Some students also chose to withdraw before completing the entire AEQ, possibly due to fatigue or discomfort; as a result, the sample was potentially positively skewed or less representative of the students in each particular class.

Several avenues of exploration and analysis merit further research. To address some of the study's limitations, future research should administer an abbreviated version of the AEQ at multiple intervals to track students' experiences over time. Similarly, researchers should obtain objective measures of academic achieve-

ment and introduce additional measures of emotional experience to further corroborate those in the AEQ, such as the cognitive and affective measures used in Astin et al.'s (2000) study. Researchers could also use random assignment to track academic and affective outcomes in AS-L versus traditional courses, to investigate causality and build on the research of Osborne et al. (1998). Further development of the AS-L section of the questionnaire to include more items or make the existing items more reliable would also strengthen future studies.

The findings demonstrate the applicability of Pekrun's (2006) control-value theory of achievement emotions and the AEQ to AS-L and the broader AS-L literature (Pekrun et al., 2010). Understanding the emotional context behind academic outcomes helps clarify individual and pedagogical achievement potential and success in AS-L courses, which are important benchmarks in justifying the extra time and energy needed to teach an AS-L class (Eyler et al., 1997). The findings also reaffirm the importance of structured reflection and integrated content. Previous studies using objective measures of student achievement outcomes demonstrated the significance of the amount and type of reflection and integration (Astin et al., 2000; Eyler, 2002; Hatcher & Bringle, 1997; Osborne et al., 1998). In this study, students themselves articulated how essential this is. The fact that students verbalized the benefits of connecting course content explicitly, specifically, and intentionally to the service and reflection activities—and the detriments of failing to do so—reflects a motivation to weave together the personal and intellectual that faculty should encourage and cultivate.

As Dewey noted, "education is a social process; education is growth; education is not a preparation for life but is life itself" (1997, p. 155). Investigating students' emotions in AS-L not only facilitates a better understanding of their subjective experience and its relationship to academic outcomes, but also offers empirical evidence for reframing the cognitive/affective dichotomy that is so problematically pervasive (Felten et al., 2006). It illuminates how one's thoughts (and therefore intellect) are bound to one's feelings, challenging the traditional associations with education and experience, respectively. Only when pedagogical practices can reconcile this false dichotomy, recognizing how cognition and emotion cocreate and direct each other, will we be able to fully achieve the goals of AS-L and learning in general: to cultivate critical thinking and reflection, deep knowledge, agency and informed action, and a greater sense of balanced well-being for individuals and their communities.

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Examining Our Interdependence: Community Partners' Motivations to Participate in Academic Outreach

Douglas Barrera

Abstract

Although the literature on institutional civic engagement within higher education is quite extensive, the community perspective on such endeavors remains an underdeveloped area of study. This is particularly true of outreach programs emanating from the university intended to support college preparation of under-represented students. The purpose of this study was to explore the motivations of high school professionals for participating in university outreach programs, and to understand how these individuals view their partnerships with higher education at a time when public funding for education at all levels is under siege. Moving beyond partnership models that strictly focus on one organization's need for resources from the other, the findings here point to civic interdependence as the lens by which we can understand community partners' reasons for collaborating with higher education institutions.

Introduction

The title of Derek Bok's 1982 book, *Beyond the Ivory Tower*, is at once a call to arms for institutions of higher education to engage their local communities and a recognition of the historical distance colleges and universities have put between themselves and the outside world. Because higher education has historically been seen as a venue for the modeling of democratic ideals, proponents of community engagement focus on its capacity to take on the challenge of our most pressing social needs (Harkavy, 2004; Maurana & Goldenberg, 1996; *National Task Force on Civic Learning*, 2012; Nyden, 2003). This is particularly relevant to addressing educational advancement among those from backgrounds that typically are underrepresented in postsecondary study. Rather than accepting that K-12 and higher education occupy separate domains, proponents of a strong pipeline believe that colleges and universities must act to prepare low-income students and students of color to advance past high school (Gándara, 2002, 2005; Tierney & Jun, 2001). Thus, efforts to blur the boundaries separating college campuses from their primary and secondary counterparts are motivated not only by potential benefits to the

individual institutions, but by a sense of the social responsibility that higher education is mandated to accept.

In particular, this issue of college access among underrepresented youth is pertinent for both the K-12 population and the university constituency. As the income gap in the United States continues to grow, access to college for low-income students becomes increasingly vital if we are to meet the democratic demands of a diverse society. That said, affirmative action programs to increase minority enrollment in 4-year institutions have been eliminated in many states, leaving underrepresented students, many of whom lack financial resources, at a severe disadvantage in their pursuit of a college education (*Gándara, 2005; Hurtado & Cade, 2001; Pusser, 2001*). Thus, while K-12 schools become majority minority, 4-year colleges and universities admit a student population that is increasingly less diverse and subsequently risk becoming irrelevant to the underserved youth within their regions.

Recognizing this problem, most institutions of higher education have developed college preparation outreach programs in an attempt to reverse the opportunity gap. In fact, educators and policymakers are placing increasing hopes on early intervention programs to enlarge the pool of eligible applicants from underrepresented communities (*Gándara, 2002*). However, at a time of substantial budgetary reductions to higher education from the public sector, “nonessential” programs are likely to face the sharpest blades, which means that such institutional efforts as offering assistance to underrepresented youth in preparing for and gaining admission to college will probably see smaller budgets and declining support, all while the colleges face a pool of applicants that continues to grow. In essence, the need is growing while the resources to meet the need are declining.

Accordingly, if higher education is to continue to work toward reducing the postsecondary access gap, it is necessary to know just how important such efforts are for those in the schools who rely on such assistance. This is not merely an economic issue. Beyond the need for resources, higher education needs to demonstrate that it is accountable to the public interest. Improving underrepresented students’ educational trajectories represents a relevant and tangible realization of public commitments on the part of colleges and universities to support their local communities.

In order to understand how institutions of higher education are maintaining their community partnerships for this purpose, it is necessary that we glean some comprehension of what these rela-

tionships mean for the teachers and counselors who work directly with local colleges to help their students. "The continued involvement of community partnerships with higher education institutions requires attention to their motivations and perceptions of the benefits of the partners from their own perspective" (Sandy, 2007, p. 5). Therefore, this study attempted to bring to light the rationale among school personnel for participating in efforts to improve college eligibility among underrepresented students.

For the purposes of this study, two outreach programs emanating from one public, urban higher education institution were examined to better understand the community partners' motivations to collaborate. In its own way, each program seeks to develop college aspirations among high school students, and better prepare them for the college application process. With the understanding that access to the university's resources may not be the sole impetus, a modification of resource dependence theory was employed to gain a more nuanced understanding of partner motivations, extending the explanation beyond a simple economic model of resource acquisition. Likewise, the study explored how participation in outreach programs affected community members' overall views of the postsecondary institution and its commitment to addressing social issues within the community. Two research questions guided the study:

1. Why do community partners participate in college preparation outreach?
2. How is motivation to participate in outreach programs affected by the community partners' views of the university's commitment to diversity and social responsibility?

Background

The frameworks for successful community-campus partnerships illuminated in many studies were established by examining the nature of those relationships (Bingle & Hatcher, 2002; Clayton, Bingle, Senor, Huq, & Morrison, 2010; CCPH Board of Directors, 2013; Marullo & Edwards, 2000; Wolff & Maurana, 2001), specifically looking at the elements required for successful partnership. Although the literature is not extensive, studies have also been conducted that focus on the motivations of the partnering bodies, with differing findings based on the constituency. Universities, for example, may enter into community-building relationships because they fear that further deterioration in the community will encroach upon

their safety. In addition, the enhanced connection to the community that comes with engagement often helps to build trust and goodwill with other constituencies, such as politicians, business leaders, and other influential citizens (Clayton *et al.*, 2010; Cox, 2000; Harkavy, 1998). Trust is especially relevant for academic outreach: The number of stakeholders involved, and often a history of exploitive relationships between universities and urban communities, requires the laying of groundwork before student outcomes can be achieved (Jarsky, McDonough, & Núñez, 2009; Mayfield, Hellwig, & Banks, 1999).

Previous studies that have examined academic outreach relationships between higher education and community constituencies have tended to focus on the elements needed for true partnerships to emerge. Among the necessary components, as outlined in the literature, are a system of trust (Gonzalez & Moll, 2002; Grubb, Lara, & Valdez, 2002; Yonezawa, Jones, & Mehan, 2002), demonstrating respect for community resources (Tierney, 2002; U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, 2001), a structure of regular communication (Gándara, 2002; Gándara & Moreno, 2002; Kezar, 2011), and the development of shared goals (Oakes, Rogers, Lipton, & Morrell, 2002). However, explorations of these elements still do not focus on community members' motives for collaboration. Instead, the concentration is on the structural norms of such efforts.

For community stakeholders, varying factors often motivate participation in the university's broad community engagement efforts. The most obvious motivation falls under what Kecskes (2006) terms the hierarchist frame, where the partner needs help in delivering services to their clientele, and the college is seen as possessing valued resources. Most community partners for efforts such as service-learning or academic outreach are nonprofit organizations or schools, which are historically understaffed. Help from university students or staff can increase such entities' capacity for their programmatic work (Bell & Carlson, 2009; Edwards, Mooney, & Heald, 2001). This is particularly true for participating in academic outreach, where specific outcomes are anticipated (e.g., more students applying to and being accepted into college).

Similarly, many believe that establishing relationships with their higher education counterparts may result in gaining access to university resources down the road (such as knowledge, money, or access to decision makers), which the stakeholders either do not possess at all or are in short supply of (Basinger & Bartholomew, 2006; Bell & Carlson, 2009; Cox, 2000; Edwards, Mooney, & Heald, 2001; Sandy, 2007). Connections to administrators, faculty members, and

the latest research all emerge as important goals. This arrangement creates a power imbalance between the institution as resource provider and the community organization as recipient, but because the access desired often comes at no direct monetary cost, community partners may consider any potential difficulty arising from the imbalance to be worth the risk.

Because a central purpose of this study was understanding why school personnel participate in outreach programs emanating from the university, a theoretical framework was needed. The findings revealed that a need for resources, and particularly for college preparation support, was a guiding impetus for collaborating. That said, although resource dependence theory explains much of the motivation to establish and sustain interorganizational relationships, its focus on power dynamics between partners is not as relevant to the partnerships studied here as is the belief common to both organizations that access to higher education for underrepresented students must be broadened, a goal driven by a desire for social justice and social transformation. Therefore, I propose a modification to resource dependence theory that captures the collaborative nature of such partnerships, which I term *civic interdependence*.

Civic Interdependence

In order to understand the interdependency between a university and its local schools, we must first be aware of the dynamics that exist when one organization is dependent upon another. Defining resource dependency, Johnson (1995) states: "The resource dependence argument suggests that a given organization will respond to and become *dependent* on those organizations or entities in its environment that control *resources* which are both critical to its operation and over which it has limited control" (p. 1). In considering such a structure, most point to Emerson's (1962) treatise on power imbalances that can emerge when two or more organizations establish an association. For Emerson, power is a factor of one actor's dependence on another. (This is true for individuals and organizations, both of which can be considered singular actors under Emerson's description.) Actor A depends on actor B if his aspirations can be achieved only through appropriate actions taken by B. In such a relationship, B is the more powerful partner. Emerson described dependence thus: "(Dab). The dependence of actor A upon actor B is (1) directly proportional to A's *motivational investment* in goals mediated by B, and (2) inversely proportional to the *availability* of those goals to A outside of the A-B relation" (p. 32). Correspondingly, the power of actor B over actor

A (Pba) is defined by the resistance from A that can be overcome by B. Therefore, the power of B over A is directly attributable to A's dependence on B. "In short, power resides implicitly in the other's dependency" (p. 32).

In dependent relationships, power between the parties can either be balanced or unbalanced. However, unbalanced relationships are unstable due to the power differentials, which in turn cause cost reduction steps, balancing operations, or both. Thus, because resource acquisition can be unpredictable, organizations will take action to make the stream of incoming essential resources more stable.

In an attempt to increase the certainty surrounding the flow of critical resources into the organization, reduce dysfunctional relationships of dependence shared with other organizations, and in effect increase organizational autonomy within its environment, strategic decisions are made by organizational leaders to minimize the constraints imposed by the environment. (Johnson, 1995, p. 8)

Accordingly, the importance of the exchanges between organizations varies for the parties involved. Some are trivial, whereas others are essential. Depending on the exchange balance, the relationship between organizations can take various forms: dependent, reciprocal, or dominant (Johnson, 1995).

In the case of academic outreach from higher education to secondary schools, it would appear on the surface that colleges and universities have a dominant relationship with their school partners because of the resources that they provide to the schools. However, although the schools in one of the programs detailed below are dependent upon the university for the resources it provides, it is also true that the university is dependent on these schools to fulfill both its community engagement goals and its desire for a more diverse student body. In the other program studied here, the university's dependence on the schools is even greater because it relies on the teachers and counselors at the schools to implement the programmatic activities. Therefore, it is posited that rather than a one-way resource-dependent relationship, the relationship between the schools and the university is one of interdependence, reinforcing the P-20 model that does not view the levels of education as separate entities, but rather as links in a chain (Jarsky et al., 2009; Moran, Cooper, López, & Goza, 2009).

Therefore, in cases like those studied here, the control of resources is not as important as whatever outcome both partners consider essential. Johnson (1995) highlighted this idea in discussing organizational interdependence. As he stated, because one organization rarely possesses or controls all of the various resources it needs for survival, organizations are interdependent with other organizations. "These assumptions provide an important basis for understanding and conceptualizing the nature of organizational and inter-organizational behavior and activity" (p. 4). Lundin (2007) cited exchange theory as providing a foundation for explaining cooperation, which is a consequence of resource interdependence. Like Johnson, he asserted that a lack of resources ultimately provides the motivation for working together.

An organization will avoid interactions with others if the benefits of cooperation do not exceed the costs, since cooperation is complicated, is costly, and involves a loss of autonomy. But if organization A needs resources from organization B and organization B needs resources from organization A, there is a good chance that cooperation will take place. (Lundin, 2007, p. 652)

What this says, then, is that organizations form partnerships not only out of a need for resources that others possess, but because of shared goals. This is a variation of Emerson's ideas about the role of power in dependent relationships, as it highlights the importance of shared beliefs about the partnership and the environment that affects it. Johnson (1995) pointed out how interdependence is different from traditional thoughts on dependent organizations: "Resource dependence theory assumes that organizational behavior and structures are shaped primarily by materialistic forces. Absent among its advocates are discussions regarding the role of rival influences and determinants, e.g., cultural, ideological and institutional factors and considerations" (p. 16). To this, I might add environmental conditions—for example, cases in which both parties are affected by economic conditions that determine a level of interdependence (or, conversely, a termination of the relationship altogether). Broader social-historical and policy conditions affect educational institutions at all levels and influence not only what they do, but also how they organize to persist in achieving social transformation goals (Hurtado, Alvarez, Guillermo-Wann, Cuellar, & Arellano, 2012).

Consequently, resource dependence theory's emphasis on power imbalances and what organizations do to reduce their dependencies on other organizations does not fully explain the relationships between schools and their university partners. What emerged in this study, on the other hand, is that although schools do depend on universities for college preparation assistance, they also view the university as having a responsibility to offer such services—that it is part of the social charge of public higher education institutions. So rather than wanting to reduce their dependence on the university, they want as much university engagement as possible.

Similarly, the school partners maintain that the university is dependent on the schools to enact these programs, which serve as a major component in the institution's overall efforts to increase the diversity of its enrollment. Without schools to partner with, the outreach programs would be nonexistent. From a philosophical standpoint, the university seeks to increase the number of schools and students it works with or in other words, to increase its dependency on the schools for prepared students. And yet, environmental constraints—mostly financial—preclude the university from relying on schools without some level of intervention on its part.

Building on Emerson's conception of resource dependency, I suggest that a shared ideology behind the partnership (beyond that of having shared goals for the program outcomes) serves as an important motivation for the relationship to develop. In the face of strong external barriers to fulfilling their collective desires to increase postsecondary access for underrepresented students, personnel at both the school and the university need resources that the other partner institution possesses. But rather than engaging in efforts to decrease dependency, as is apparent in Emerson's model, school and university partners look at collaboration as an aspect of a shared ideology to tackle the access gap together.

Therefore, I proposed that what motivates both the school personnel and the university staff to work together on college preparation programs is a measure of civic interdependence, which is marked by a mutual dependence on resources that partnering organizations possess, as well as a shared belief that the organizations should be working together to achieve social justice aims. Such a framework adds to the civic engagement literature regarding how we view a successful community-campus partnership because it examines not just how the most successful outcomes from the relationship can be achieved, but also why the institutions should collaborate at all.

Research on institutional civic engagement tells us that community partners participate in initiatives like service-learning because they want to educate college students about issues that exist within the community in order to develop the next generation of professionals who will adopt the social change cause. In addition, they see colleges and universities as resource banks from which they can draw support for their work (*Barrera, 2008; Bell & Carlson, 2009*). However, previous research has failed to provide a theoretical framework to guide our understanding of why school partners participate in academic outreach. Thus, the findings that surfaced in this study present an emergent model of civic interdependence that helps explain the motivation behind the community partners' participation in the two programs under examination here.

Methods

A case study of two separate outreach programs at a single public research university, which I will refer to as University of the Public (UP), was employed to explore how program variation affected the motivation of community partners to engage (approved as IRB #11-000895). One of UP's programs, University Outreach (UO), sends trained full-time staff and part-time undergraduates into the schools to prepare students for the college application and admissions process, as well as to provide technical assistance to the school's college counseling staff. During the 2010–2011 academic year, the program provided the full range of its services to 39 high schools in the surrounding regions. UO exists as part of a systemwide effort to increase the diversity of enrollment in higher education. Although the specific intention for the program is to prepare underrepresented students for postsecondary educational attendance, participation does not guarantee admission to any institution, nor does it necessarily promote attendance at UP (University Outreach staff are adamant that they are not recruiters). To be admitted to the program, students must meet certain criteria, including coming from a low-income family, attending a school with a limited college prep curriculum, being a first-generation college student, or attending a school with below-average SAT/ACT scores. According to data reported by the program, since 1991 approximately 82% of high school seniors who have participated in UO have gone on to attend a postsecondary institution, 62% have attended a 4-year institution, and 25% have attended a campus within the state's elite public university system.

The other program, Science and Math Outreach (SMO), provides stipends to math and science teachers in high schools and

middle schools, as well as to a small number of college counselors in those schools, to coach students on extracurricular projects, with the intention of developing interest among underrepresented students in the STEM (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics) fields. The hope is that their efforts will result in more of these students graduating from college with STEM degrees. For its part, SMO at UP currently operates in 11 high schools in the geographic area surrounding the university. Because other post-secondary institutions in the region also administer SMO high school programs, the choice of partnering schools is limited to those in close proximity to the university that demonstrate a need for services for educationally disadvantaged students. In addition to tutoring SMO participants after school to prepare them for an annual science competition, the teachers serve as college counselors for students in the program, giving them information on the college application process, financial aid, and the SAT and ACT. Although outcome data for SMO is not as accessible, its website reports that 53% of participants who graduate from high school go on to major in STEM fields in college.

Because the primary goal of this study was to hear directly from community stakeholders about their reasons for participating in outreach efforts, 21 counselors and teachers at partnering schools were interviewed to learn why and how they participate in these programs. In addition, four university program staff members were interviewed in an effort to explore how much agreement exists between school and university partners. Interview questions focused on participants' understanding of the purpose of each program, the length of their participation, and their motivations to participate.

Analyses were first conducted by the specific case (outreach program), followed by a cross-case synthesis. All analyses focused on why the community partners participate in the university's outreach efforts, and how their view of the institution's commitment to a diverse student body and social responsibility affected their interest in participating. In coding the data, I followed a constant comparative methodology in which themes that emerged from the data were compared to one another, both within each case and across the cases (*Babbie, 2007*).

This study presents the findings from these interviews, focusing first on why the school partners want to participate, then moving on to why they think it is important for the university to be engaged in this work. As examined in the theoretical framework, a scenario emerges in which dependence on resources is a driving force

behind the school personnel's decision to involve themselves in these programs; however, these personnel also believe that a level of civic interdependence exists between the institutions based on a shared view that access to postsecondary education needs to be expanded for underrepresented students.

Analysis of the responses in the aggregate yielded rationales for participation that can be divided into four philosophical motivations shared by the school partners and the program staff members: a mutual need for resources, a mutual social responsibility to address the college access gap among underrepresented students, a shared commitment to take on this challenge, and a shared desire to increase the engagement between institutions of higher education and their local schools.

Results

Mutual Need for Resources

College counselors in urban public high schools have a nearly impossible job. Faced with thousands of students to advise, they are pressed to transmit information about the college application process to an overwhelming caseload. Although there is no consensus on the counselor-to-student ratio, the research reveals that in urban public high schools, each college counselor will likely have a caseload of no fewer than 300 students and possibly more than a thousand (*McDonough, 2005*). However, a number of the counselors interviewed for this study remarked that they are the only college counselor for their school, typically serving an enrollment of several thousand. Consequently, when asked why they participate in the University Outreach program, the most common response was because it helps ease the burden that has been placed upon them, even to a small extent. Beatrice and Olivia, counselors at two large high schools who have been regular participants in the program for a decade, detailed their need by discussing how the overwhelming number of students they must serve leads them to welcome collaborators who are well-informed, particularly those who can work with the students one-on-one, which helps them achieve the goals laid out for their college centers.

The counselors contended that a program like University Outreach is "indispensable" in reaching far more students than they can by themselves. Roberto, who has participated in the program for 11 years, asserted that the assistance he receives from the program removes some of the burden he faces as the one college

counselor for his school. “They’re, like I said, an extension of my office. And those 90 kids that they counsel are 90 kids I don’t really have to worry about all that much.... It just makes my job a lot easier.”

Indeed, easing the burdens associated with college counseling is a significant attraction to partnering with the university in this way. Because of the overwhelming responsibility that these individuals face, a program that can support them in what they do provides not only a tangible resource, but also helps to remove some of the emotional burden of facing such a steep challenge. “With the outreach that I get from University of the Public, it really, really takes away some of that edge where I’m not so burnt out at the end,” remarked Susan, a counselor for 10 years. The counselors know that they cannot possibly provide college advising to all the students in the school, or even all the students who are or should be college bound. However, a resource like UO allows them to connect with more of their students. Said one counselor, “They [the counselors at the schools] work for a very large population of students. And so, to have that help is just a godsend.” Echoing this sentiment, Loretta wondered aloud whether the same number of underrepresented students would receive counseling at her school:

I see them [UO] as part of my personal support system. And I see the effectiveness of what they’re doing with my students.... And I worry if they weren’t there, how many students would be reached and get that guidance and support, because I know that I can’t do it all.

This point is not lost on the University Outreach staff at UP, who shared the concerns over the need for counseling services in the schools. Because their mission is to increase the number of underrepresented students in higher education, they do not want to see college counseling fall by the wayside. If that happens, they know that these students will not receive the information they need to navigate the college application process. Gerardo, a senior site manager for UO, commented on that fact: “If we were not there, I think they would be extremely overwhelmed. In my opinion, that’s the best reason [the counselors participate].”

The motivations for the teachers and counselors who participate in Science and Math Outreach are somewhat different from those who work with University Outreach. Because this program is established as a way to increase student interest in the STEM fields by eliciting participation in math and engineering competitions

such as model bridge building, there is not a sense of feeling overwhelmed by the task at hand. Rather, they see SMO as a resource in helping them teach their subject matter in a manner that extends beyond the classroom, which dovetails with the program's goal to support state standards in science and math. Accordingly, a major attraction for those in the schools is having the opportunity to teach the theoretical concepts of their disciplines in a hands-on approach that often makes the material more comprehensible for their students.

Reflecting on how the SMO projects supplement the learning in the classroom, Enrique, a math teacher at City High, said that connection is something he takes into consideration both as a teacher and as an SMO project coordinator: "Whatever I do in the classroom, I'm always thinking about 'How is this going to help them do this project better, or how is this project going to enhance their learning in the classroom?'" Ernesto, who had just completed his first year as an SMO coordinator, expressed a similar sentiment: "Well, I think SMO makes you think about what you teach in a different way. Again, you start thinking outside of the classroom." It is this aspect of reaching students who may not normally be interested in these disciplines that is most intriguing about the SMO program for the teachers and counselors who participate. At many of the partnering schools, opportunities like SMO are not common, so being able to organize students outside the classroom for a scholarly purpose is a welcome change. "Whether they recognize it or not, they're learning a lot of concepts that they wouldn't probably grasp from theory only," says Victoria, one of the SMO counselors interviewed. Like the counselors who collaborate with University Outreach, the participants in SMO see the program as providing a resource that allows them to approach their jobs differently. Enersto remarked, "Because, you know, I'm a math teacher, and I love math and I wanted these kids to see that there didn't have to be just the formulas in the textbook—it has more to it than that. So getting them to use their hands and think outside of the classroom and outside the box and building things and getting more hands-on was something I was excited about."

Mutual Responsibility to Increase Access for Underrepresented Students

All of the reasons for participating in an outreach program outlined above are factors reflecting limited resources within the schools. If provided with enough time, money, and manpower, the schools probably could provide for their students without the aid

of a higher education partner. However, the school partners do not just see this as a matter of resource acquisition. They believe that their university partners should shoulder some of the burden involved in increasing the number of underrepresented students gaining admission to college, and therefore it is the university's responsibility to use its own unique attributes to address this social problem. For example, interviewees repeatedly mentioned a resource that cannot be duplicated by the school personnel: the prestige that accompanies a university-based program. The cachet that comes with the university is a stronger influence with the students and, moreover, "the inside information" is an important element when it comes time to discuss the application process with parents. Roberto shared, "They're very valuable because a lot of students, they hear my voice a lot. But sometimes—and even parents—when they hear it from a UP rep or UP person, it just has more weight and they listen more carefully."

The staff from University Outreach recognized this fact, and they understand what it means for the students they work with at the schools. As Ingrid, a UO site coordinator, pointed out, this is an important reason for the collaboration between the partnering institutions:

The connection that we have, that we create between the school and the university—I think that's a big thing too. I mean, a lot of stuff they can say themselves, but if somebody from UP or somebody from the university says it, it means different things to the students.

The attachment to an institution with the name value of University of the Public also emerges as an important factor for SMO. For the teachers and counselors recruiting students to participate in the SMO activities, citing the source of the program is a benefit. "And, of course, the name UP—it's a big attractor for the kids too... I think that's a huge magnet to the program because it is attached to a top university," said Victoria.

The prestige of these programs is not lost on the school partners, either. The teachers who serve as SMO coordinators at their respective schools appreciate being a part of a larger effort.

I really like that it's state-backed. It's not just a little high school initiative that nobody knows about. To me, there's power in that. And I hadn't really realized that until I got into it... I wouldn't want to start a little sci-

ence club that nobody knew about. I want to be part of a national movement.

This sentiment from Robert, a teacher at Pacific Point High School, demonstrates what it means for both him and the school to be involved with such an initiative. Another SMO teacher echoed this sentiment: “It’s good for the school. It looks good that we participate in that kind of thing.”

Despite the prestige factor, it is also true that the school partners do not feel as though there exists a one-way dependence, such that the university does not benefit from the association. On the contrary, the counselors and teachers interviewed saw the programs as collaborations in which reciprocal benefits, and thus mutual dependencies, exist. Sandra asserted, “We could easily go to [a local private university], who has a lot more money, and they’re much more resourceful, but that’s where everybody is going.” The importance of this sentiment cannot be overstated. It is evident that those involved in the partnership share in the mission of a public university to take on the challenge of this work. In essence, the university would be in a worse position without the participation of those in the schools. Thus, the two cases studied here demonstrate that the relationship between parties is not based on a struggle for control. Rather, the collaborations reflect a shared philosophy about the need to close the access gap and who bears the responsibility for doing so.

In many cases, this shared philosophy reflects that the counselors, teachers, and outreach staff members know what it is like to be an underrepresented student trying to navigate the college admissions process. A number of the teachers and counselors in these two programs reported that they do so because of what they went through as teenagers. Enrique, a teacher serving as a SMO coordinator at City High, explained how he sees himself in his students:

Because I’m much like them. I come from a similar background, and I went into a technical major, and I know how difficult it was for me as a physics major and not having the necessary tools to survive in things such as physics.

Like Enrique, Tina, who has partnered with UO for 17 years, indicated that her dedication to this work came out of her own experience of being uninformed about the college application process as

a high school student. She knows how confusing it can be and is therefore motivated to ease the process for her students.

For these participants, involvement in outreach programs is a way to make improved educational outcomes more likely for their students. This may also be why one third of the informants have participated in outreach programs in addition to University Outreach or Science and Math Outreach. They see a significant value in partnering with local institutions of higher education and as noted in the previous section, they can certainly use the help. They appreciate that a university like UP is willing to work with their school districts to provide assistance in reaching their goals. But beyond that, as this study has revealed, these school partners believe that the university, particularly as a public institution, has a responsibility to increase access to higher education for their students.

I think it's the responsibility of UP to make sure they're taking a good look and giving these kids who may be marginal, somewhat, [a chance]. You know, let's say you want a 2200 [based on a perfect score of 2400] on the SAT. I would give an African American or a Hispanic kid who got an 1850—I'd give them a chance. Because that kid has been disadvantaged so much. They simply cannot keep up with kids who have gone to private schools on the East Coast, been tutored all through life by the best. Our Blacks and our Browns coming out of public schools cannot keep up with them. And it is the responsibility of University of the Public to try to help them, mentor them on our campuses, tutor them on our campuses, and then you will get a few more of them entering, whether it's Black or Brown.

This statement by Andrea in many ways sums up how the school partners feel about the responsibility of higher education institutions to address the access gap. They do not see it as a problem that exists solely within the K-12 system. On the contrary, they view postsecondary institutions as having as important a role in solving this problem as their primary- and secondary-level counterparts. The idea that colleges and universities should exist as the "ivory tower" simply does not play well in schools where it is a daily struggle to provide even a satisfactory education. As noted above, these schools have limited resources to offer their students. They need the help that institutions of higher education can pro-

vide, which means that they want the universities to be more attentive to this issue. "I truly think that higher education needs to be more accessible to students, especially the students that come from these communities," remarked one counselor.

It is through discussing the school partners' beliefs about the role of higher education in addressing the access gap that the interdependence of these organizations is most evident. Although the schools know that they are responsible for preparing their students for a higher level of education, they are also confident that postsecondary institutions have a mandate to help in this effort. This is especially true for a public school like UP, as Linda, the counselor at Riley High School, asserts: "Gosh, as it functions as an arm of the government, because it is a state-run school, I do think so, yes.... We pay tax dollars, and this is a community in our state. This is a subpopulation of our state." Or, as Roberto commented, "I think they're aware that they have an obligation to make it accessible to the residents of [the state]." The community partners clearly believe that these institutions are responsible for working with the schools to improve the chances for underrepresented students. And if the universities are going to do that through programs like University Outreach, they need the schools' collaboration.

Beyond preparing underrepresented students for admission to postsecondary study, higher education has much to gain from assisting in these efforts, according to the school partners. A number of the counselors who participate in University Outreach noted UP's publicly stated diversity goals for its campus, among them that the university should be reflective of the surrounding population. Of course, what that means more than anything else is that the school should have a student enrollment that encompasses a variety of racial, ethnic, gender, religious, and income backgrounds. In order to reach these goals, the institution cannot restrict its focus to that which happens on campus. As college counselor Susan observed, the only way for UP to remain as a prestigious and a diverse institution is for it to engage the local community: "So you know, if you want to claim that you want to be culturally diverse and educationally diverse, then you're going to have to extend yourself, especially in areas that don't automatically get that information." Perhaps for that reason, the counselors see a program like University Outreach as not only being responsible for working with those students who may be eligible to apply to UP, but also for helping those students who may have a better chance of getting into colleges viewed as less prestigious. One counselor commented, "Well, if they don't, who's going to do it?"

Not surprisingly, given the shared ideology regarding the need for more services for students in these high schools, the UO staff at UP agreed that they have an obligation to do this work, particularly as a public university. But as Ingrid claimed, for UP as an urban institution, the responsibility is most closely felt at home. “To see a university that’s in a city that might not have its own residents going to school, it’s like, ‘Why aren’t they doing the same thing that they’re doing with the rest of the world, with science and everything, in their own community?’”

The school partners who work with Science and Math Outreach have a similar view of the university’s responsibility to reach out to those beyond the campus. Enrique, an SMO coordinator at City High School, is adamant that the university should be engaging the schools in this way:

We are interdependent and they should help out the community and they should make sure that everybody in the community has equal access. They [the students] should be ready to go to college, and they [the university] should get them ready to go to college and make sure they have those programs out there. No, they don’t have to because, I mean, let’s face it, they get more applicants than they ever need.... So they don’t need to. However, I think they should.

In many ways, the comments by the school partners reveal a moral implication for these types of partnerships. For many of them, this is not about altruism, or even “giving back.” Rather, working to reduce the access gap is one of the central purposes for the existence of these public institutions, as a counselor at Pacific Point High School who works with students in the SMO program asserted:

Sure. That’s why they are in the job that they are in. You’re there to serve. You’re a public university, right? And, you’re there to serve the public. Bottom line. And, to build leaders and to give everyone an opportunity to do something with their lives.

Shared Commitment to Addressing the Educational Access Gap

The website description of the statewide program makes it clear that the university’s mission for University Outreach is to

supplement a systemwide effort to see more underrepresented students gaining admission to college. Reflecting the university's commitment to expanding opportunities for these students, the program staff members make themselves accessible to all the students at their partnering schools, not just those who have been chosen to participate in specific program activities. Because the university considers this a distinctive characteristic of the program, it is reflected in the service agreement text. "We are there to be a support to the school and not 'exclusively' for [UO] students but any student, parent or school personnel seeking college prep information."

The university's stated commitment to its goals indicates that it depends on the schools to carry out this task. Under Emerson's (1962) conception of resource dependency, this places the schools in a position of power over the university, for if the schools chose not to participate, UP would not be able to perform its outreach responsibilities. However, the school partners share the university's desire to expand opportunities for their students and therefore, as a result of their interdependence, are generally pleased with UP's commitment to this cause. In the college counselors' view, a program like UO represents the university's dedication to increasing the diversity on campus so the student body will better reflect the demographic makeup of the state. That is why a program like this, which helps prepare underrepresented students to be competitively eligible for admission to a 4-year university, is so important. Through their partnership, the school personnel believe that UP is committed to meeting these diversity outcomes.

Many college counselors agreed with the perspective of a long-time partner who said the university is doing what it should given that personnel on campus have publicly expressed a commitment for the university to become more diverse:

So if you're going to claim one thing, you've got to be able to back it up. They're claiming it, and they're backing it up. If they didn't care about being culturally diverse, if that was not one of their goals ... then it would be okay. But that's not what they say. If you're going to be true to your philosophy, then you have to provide some kind of access for them (the students).

The university's commitment to increasing access for students who may struggle to get into college is also a common sentiment among those who partner with the Science and Math Outreach

program. To Ines, a teacher at Flower High, the university's sponsorship of a program like SMO makes that dedication obvious. "Well, I mean the program is supposed to be for underrepresented students, you know, to expose them to science, so... I don't know why they would request that type of student if that wasn't who they were looking to help."

Demonstrating a shared commitment becomes particularly important when outside forces threaten to damage existing partnerships. In an era of funding cuts to higher education, programs like these often are viewed as a low priority. The school partners understand that the programs have faced budgetary rollbacks in recent years and now must operate in a different fashion. But rather than sully their view of the institution's commitment to providing support to the schools, it has made them more appreciative that the university continues to do what it can to improve their students' chances. Nan, a counselor at Valley High, says that is reflective of the institution's social responsibility:

I really commend them, because this has been a tough time for them, I know, with all the cuts. And they've all hung in there, and I think that really speaks to me about their level of commitment and their desire to continue this program and really make it something valid and relevant for all of us.

In some ways, this dedication on the part of the university in the face of reduced resources has made the school partners even more loyal toward their university counterparts. Therefore, they want to stand up for what UP has meant for them and the students that they work with, as evidenced by Randy, a counselor and former student at UP:

When you first called me, I was pretty skeptical of what your perspective was of the program, because due to cuts, you can tell the state perspective is [that the program is] nonessential. But from the school site perspective and from the alumni perspective and from the UP student perspective, it is definitely essential. I was just at African American alumni graduation this past Saturday or Sunday. Two of my students from that freshman class were walking across that stage [at] UP.... So I'm saying there's programs, though it may not be a huge benefit,

a huge help, every bit helps, and you're seeing a return on your investment.

Desire to Increase Engagement

Research on exchange relationships between organizations suggests that collaborations rarely exist solely within a dyadic association. Rather, most organizations belong to exchange networks, in which participant interaction with one partner impacts the entire network. "Networks are composed of exchange relations that are *connected* to the extent that exchange in one relation affects or is affected by the nature of the exchange in another relation" (Cook, Cheshire, & Gerbasi, 2006, p. 195). By Emerson's (1962) conception, participating in exchange networks is a method of reducing the power that any one organization may have over another because such participation provides alternative avenues for resource acquisition. For many urban high schools, participating in multiple academic outreach programs through multiple colleges and universities could be interpreted as an attempt to reduce their dependency on any one resource provider. However, the results of this study indicate that school partners do not want less engagement with their higher education partners. Rather, because of their positive experiences collaborating, they desire more support from each of their local colleges and universities.

For example, many of the counselors who participate in University Outreach discussed how thankful they are for what the program provides to them and their students. Olivia was satisfied with the support that she has received from the program so far, but she would love to get more:

I've been very happy with the program. It is one of the best programs that we have on our campus to offer the students.... I just hope that we're able to maintain as an office and we're able to work with them and if we have them twice a week next year that would be amazing. But if we have them once a week then I will deal with what we have.

Rather than lament their reliance on an outside source to provide the level of advising that their school needs, the college counselors were profuse in their praise for University Outreach and what it has meant for them as educators. Susan, a veteran college counselor who has worked with various university-based programs, put it

concisely: "I mean, the partnership is just really second to none.... I don't know where I would be without UP University Outreach."

The teachers and counselors who participate in Science and Math Outreach were less adamant in expressing their aspirations to continue their affiliation with University of the Public, a difference that may reflect the nature of the respective programs rather than a lesser desire to carry on as SMO coordinators. In other words, UO provides support for what the counselors do on a daily basis, which represents a thick level of partnership. The counselors' comments indicated that if the program were eliminated altogether, it would be exceptionally damaging to their abilities to provide the level of college advising that they want for their schools. Science and Math Outreach, on the other hand, represents a thinner level of partnership, largely because it is an extracurricular activity for both the students and the teachers, which means that the teachers can still perform their "day jobs" without this added resource. In fact, to a certain degree, SMO represents what might be better seen as a *delegation* of responsibilities from the university to the school partners than a true collaborative partnership. If SMO were to be eliminated, it would be missed by the program coordinators in the schools and the students who participate in the competitions, but the teachers and counselors would still be able to tend to their regular jobs much as they did before they agreed to participate. That said, the findings in this study do reveal that the SMO participants see the program as a significant and important supplement to their work. Consequently, like their UO counterparts, the SMO coordinators expressed a general sense that they would like to continue, and perhaps even extend, their association.

For instance, one teacher, Robert, who has worked with various constituencies at the University of the Public campus to help him in teaching his science classes, expressed interest in bringing in more UP students to serve as tutors. Robert understands the challenge of navigating the university bureaucracy to take advantage of the resources available and considers the benefits worth the trouble. As he put it, he would like to "harness that energy" that the UP students provide.

Discussion

Academic outreach of various types is ubiquitous within higher education, particularly at public institutions. At UP, University Outreach and Science and Math Outreach are only two of dozens of efforts by faculty, staff, and students to improve the educational tra-

jectories of underrepresented students. The findings presented here are linked specifically to the cases examined, but we can reasonably project that the school personnel would welcome multiple associations with UP as long as they provide quality assistance. School personnel see the university as a valuable partner in helping prepare their students to gain admission to college and for them, these programs represent a reliance that the school partners are happy to have. Moreover, they believe that their higher education counterparts share this reliance. Thus, instead of being defined by resource dependence on the part of the schools, these associations appear to be better characterized as instances of true interdependence.

The modification of resource dependence theory that this study put forward provides insight into why high school college counselors and teachers collaborate with university personnel to provide academic preparation. Staff in urban public high schools face steep odds in preparing their students to become college eligible and to be competitive applicants to universities in the state and across the country. However, the school partners revealed that they work with their local universities not merely to gain needed resources, but because they believe that higher education has a responsibility to address the access gap, and therefore the university needs the school collaborators in order to perform its civic duties. Thus, the idea of a civic interdependence emerges as a more accurate understanding of these partnerships than a simple rationale that the schools will take whatever help they can get.

Extending this framework beyond college preparation outreach, this idea of reciprocity in the benefits received and the assets shared between the partners is vital to our understanding of the ways colleges and universities interact with their local communities. It is not sufficient that those on campus analyze their programs solely in terms of the outcomes produced within the community. The findings here suggest that greater emphasis needs to be placed on how such collaborations affect the university itself. If, for example, these counselors and teachers believe that they are helping the university reach its diversity goals with respect to student enrollment, how might we analyze other civic engagement efforts happening in higher education? This model suggests that these collaborations are just as necessary for the achievement of the university's priorities as they are for realizing change in the community.

The school partners' belief that colleges and universities, particularly public institutions, share their own social responsibility to address the postsecondary access gap among underrepresented

students may come as a surprise to those on campus not connected to such work. In an era of one-off community service trips and a growing interest in teaching philanthropy as civic engagement, particularly to undergraduates, the findings here place greater emphasis on commitment and accountability over charity. Collaborations with community are about more than allowing the university constituency to feel good about itself, or providing positive public relations stories. They are, as has emerged here, a measure of the institution's social responsibility. They are essential.

Future Research and Limitations

The two cases examined here represent just two of the many variations of academic outreach emanating from higher education. And the findings presented, although significant, represent the opinions of a small number of school personnel who work with the university on a daily basis. To better understand the scope of partners' perspectives on academic outreach, further research should be conducted on the motivations of school personnel who work with programs not represented here, such as the federal initiatives Upward Bound and GEAR UP. In addition, further research is needed on school partners' motivation to collaborate with other institutional types. Moving beyond the social responsibility of public campuses for broad educational outcomes, more needs to be known about counselors' and teachers' perspectives on the schools' relationships with private institutions. Since both programs studied here seek to get underrepresented students into 4-year institutions, further research is similarly needed regarding school partners' views on collaborations with community colleges.

This is ultimately a study about institutional civic engagement. Although we have a good sense of why colleges and universities undertake such efforts (*Astin, 1999; Benson, Harkavy, & Puckett, 2000; Brukaradt, Holland, Percy, & Zimpher, 2004; Markus, Howard, & King, 1993*), our understanding of the motivations among community partners is limited (*Cruz & Giles, 2000; Leiderman, Furco, Zapf, & Goss, 2003; Sandy, 2007; Stoecker, Tryon, & Hilgendorf, 2009; Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2000*). Therefore, the civic interdependence framework that has emerged here provides a lens through which we can examine the motives behind all types of community collaboration. Although the framework applies to an initiative like academic outreach in which the community partner receives a tangible benefit, more research needs to be undertaken to test the theory in different contexts. For example, would this same framework apply to relationships with sites that accept students as interns? Could we incor-

porate it into our examinations of service-learning or community-based research? As further inquiry brings the community partner perspective into focus, it will be critical to the success and sustainability of such efforts to comprehend not only the community members' practical reasons for connecting with higher education, but their philosophical motives as well.

Conclusion

As outlined here, academic outreach, particularly college preparation programs, can serve a great purpose in our urban schools when performed correctly and when those responsible for the programs demonstrate a shared commitment with their school counterparts to address the college access gap. Clearly, persistent efforts like these can overcome the substantial barriers to achieving some amount of social justice by helping to produce more equity in educational access. Those in higher education need not only reflect on the reasons they engage but explore why those in the community want to participate. Rather than simply being born out of a mutual interest in collaborating, often these efforts reflect the participants' belief that the university and the community need to collaborate to address some of our most pressing social issues, on campus and beyond.

If we accept such assertions, then we begin to reevaluate how colleges and universities are responsible to our local communities. The hierarchical perspective typically applied to relationships between postsecondary institutions and their local communities, with the institution seen as resource rich and the community viewed in terms of deficiencies, begins to break down, yielding a perspective in which the power dynamic between the two is more balanced. The results of this study reflect such a view: Community members do not express a desire to level the playing field between the institutions, but rather operate from the standpoint that the field is already level, at least in terms of the obligation to address the issue at hand.

When those in the university take ownership of issues like college access, it shifts the approach because it shifts the priorities. No longer do such efforts represent initiatives undertaken because they look or feel good. Rather, they reflect a belief in the university's shared responsibility with its neighbors, and they become an essential component of the postsecondary institution's strategy to realize its purpose. At a time of increased calls for colleges and universities to be accountable, it is vital that this perspective be understood. If

we are to argue for the social and democratic necessity of higher education, the culture must turn toward a belief in our interdependence with our local communities.

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Community Engagement in a Neoliberal Paradigm

Sarah M. Brackmann

Abstract

Studying community engagement provides another lens for examining how neoliberal universities collaborate with external organizations to move closer to the market, often in the hope of promoting the public good. This study examined the tension between the public and private aspects of university–community partnerships by studying the impact of neoliberal policies and logic on the design and implementation of these partnerships at two land-grant universities. Findings suggest that community engagement scholars and practitioners need to be sensitive to pressures from declining resources and their influences on higher education, including their impacts on community partnerships. In response to pressures to generate revenue and capture external resources, scholars and practitioners must balance reproducing dominant paradigms, developing quasi-market partnerships, and promoting public good through engagement practices.

Introduction

Since the 1990s, higher education has responded to neoliberal pressures by making incremental changes to the organization and financing of colleges and universities. As a theory, Harvey (2005) described neoliberalism as

political economic practices that propose that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices. (p. 2)

According to Harvey's framing of neoliberalism, practices such as implementing and regulating social welfare programs (education, health care, public works, etc.) should be the responsibility of the market rather than the state. He recommended that the government should only concern itself with economic matters. Peters (2011) suggested that neoliberalism pits the liberal ideologies of

community and individualism against each other. Just as Harvey recognized that neoliberal market practices promise to provide for the collective, Peters suggested that neoliberalism prioritizes the individual and family over the community. Neoliberal logics, or taken-for-granted cognitive beliefs or practices that shape social action by defining what is normal, emphasize the market and weaken the role of the state. They replace ideals of public interest and democratic responsibility with the ideals of individual responsibility, competition, and efficiency (*Fallis, 2007; Giroux & Giroux, 2004; Newfield, 2008*).

As higher education reacted to neoliberalism by privatizing, raising tuition, and commodifying knowledge production, a group of concerned scholars, practitioners, and administrators sought to renew higher education's contract with the public and pushed for more relevant knowledge production. These educators created community engagement programs that partnered university programs with public and private organizations "to enrich scholarship, research, and creative activity; enhance curriculum, teaching and learning; prepare educated, engaged citizens; strengthen democratic values and civic responsibility; address critical societal issues; and contribute to the public good" (*CIC Committee on Engagement, 2005, p. 2*).

Neoliberalism is a pervasive trend affecting higher education, public policy, and the nonprofit and state organizations involved in community engagement programs. Slaughter and Rhodes (*2004*) suggested that due to various political, economic, and social policies relating to neoliberalism, higher education is shifting from a public good regime characterized by "communalism, universality, the free flow of knowledge, and organized skepticism" (*p. 28*) to an academic capitalism knowledge regime that commodifies knowledge and aligns more closely with the market. Much has been written on neoliberalism and higher education (*Slaughter & Cantwell, 2012; St. John, Daun-Barnett, & Moronski-Chapman, 2013*), and extensive research has promoted community engagement for its potential to produce public good. However, less scholarship has addressed the intersection of community engagement and neoliberal policies, practices, and logics. As scholars and practitioners strive to institutionalize community engagement as a mutual and reciprocal partnership between universities and the public, it is also important to consider how neoliberalism has the potential to produce public and private practices and alternate versions of academic capitalism.

Conceptual Framework

This study analyzed community engagement as a resistance to academic capitalism knowledge regimes that seek private funding and align closer to market goals and activities, or as a new type of public good combining collective and individual benefits. The research examined the tension between public and private aspects of university–community partnerships by interpreting the influence of neoliberal policies in the form of academic capitalism on the design and implementation of these partnerships. The study focused on two specific questions:

1. How do community-engaged partnerships reflect a public good knowledge regime and/or a new extension of the academic capitalism knowledge regime? Alternatively, how do they represent a combination of the two—that is, an academic capitalist regime that promotes the public good?
2. How do community-engaged partnerships engage in the market or market like behaviors (interstitial organizations, new circuits of knowledge, new flows of resources, managerial capacity) in order to promote funding for the university or to promote the public good?

The conceptual framework of this study intersects public good theory with academic capitalism to study the public and private benefits of community engagement. Recent questions regarding accountability, costs of higher education (to the consumer and public), and the production of knowledge have reignited the public good debate within higher education. Institutions and organizations like the Association of Public and Land-grant Universities (APLU) and the American Association of State Colleges and Universities (AASCU) highlight higher education's contributions to the public good while advocating for increased state funding. In exchange for being publicly funded, higher education establishes an educated and trained citizenry, reproduces democratic practices, and produces both social and economic outcomes for the public. The Kellogg Commission on the Future of State and Land-Grant Universities (2000) defined the relationship between the state and higher education as a covenant that “exists to advance the common good” (p. 9). Higher education's commitment to the public is further extended by community engagement's goals:

partnership of college and university knowledge and resources with those of the public and private sectors to enrich scholarship, research, and creative activity; enhance curriculum, teaching and learning; prepare educated, engaged citizens; strengthen democratic values and civic responsibility; address critical societal issues; and contribute to the public good. (*Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 2015, p. 2*)

Although community engagement scholars promise the transformation of higher education and society by promoting the public good, theories relating to the idea of the public good are complicated, conflicting, and sometimes inadequate to study in practice. As a theory, public good is conceptualized and represented as an economic, statist, and philosophical concept. Each of these theories provides some framework to study elements of community engagement; however, they are also problematic and provide an incomplete framework for addressing the questions in this study.

Problematizing Public Good

Economists define public good as something that is nonexcludable, meaning that no one is prevented from accessing the good, and that one person's consumption does not impede consumption by others, as well as something that is nonrivalrous and cannot be owned or commodified (*Samuelson, 1954; Stiglitz, 1999*). Addressing the public good through the lens of economic theory is problematic because almost nothing is a pure public good. Community engagement strives to be inclusive and promote partnerships that share voice in decision-making and solutions (*Jacoby, 2003; Sigmon, 1979*); however, decreased funding and budget cuts have already encouraged higher education extension programs to develop revenue-generating or fee-based partnerships (*Brown, Otto, & Quart, 2006*). Furthermore, Pusser (2006) argued that this economic definition of public good is incomplete because it contextualizes the public good within market forces and demands and does not recognize other public goods such as civic responsibility and the collective good.

The statist perspective (*Calhoun, 2006*) recognizes the public sphere as controlled by the state and the private sector as controlled by the market. Theorists conceptualize public good based on distribution, production, ownership, and governance. However, this definition is as limiting as the neoclassical economic definition because it is too dualistic. Although the statist perspective attempts to distinguish between public and private activities by

asking who pays, who governs, and who benefits, these interests are not mutually exclusive. Thus, the statist perspective provides a limited understanding of community engagement's public good.

Conceptions of higher education as a public sphere attempt to reconcile some of the confusion presented by the statist definition. Pusser (2006) drew upon Habermas's concept of the public sphere to discuss higher education as a public good. Habermas (1991) offered the following description of the public sphere:

Above all ... the sphere of private people come together as a public; they soon claimed the public sphere regulated from above against the public authorities themselves, to engage them in a debate over the general rules governing relations in the basically privatized but publicly relevant sphere of commodity exchange and social labor. (p. 27)

Pusser suggested that higher education institutions provide space for public spheres that are beyond both state control and the reach of private interests. Understanding higher education as a public sphere and site of contest expands individuals' understanding of the university's role in promoting the public good. The civil rights movement and other social movements originating in higher education demonstrate how public spheres promote critical engagement and create spaces for student and faculty activism.

Defining public good is ambitious and challenging given the current political and economic pressures constraining higher education. Pusser and Habermas's public sphere provides another lens to view higher education's public good as both a process and an outcome. However, they assumed a static relationship between the public and private spheres. Given that neoliberal policies and practices have changed higher education's relationship with the public, the economic, statist, and philosophical perspectives do not provide a complete framework for studying community engagement. Academic capitalism offers another way to analyze how the public and private good is interpreted and negotiated within community engagement practices.

Academic Capitalism

Academic capitalism (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004) theory explains that universities respond to neoliberalism by engaging in market-like behaviors or aligning with market activities to make up for funding decreases from the state. Using interstitial partnerships

between the state, private sector, and intermediating organizations, colleges and universities promote the commodification of knowledge through patents and licensing and the privatization of research. They engage in marketlike behaviors by recruiting students through consumer-focused goals and taking advantage of the opportunity to raise tuition and fees through the promise of prestige and credentials. The academic capitalist knowledge regime, a response to neoliberalism, gains legitimacy at the expense of the traditional public good knowledge regime by valuing private interests (human capital) and benefits (degrees and jobs) rather than the promotion of the collective good (educated citizenry, social value).

Community engagement uses some of the same processes as academic capitalism but focuses on the collective benefits to the community and the university. For example, community engagement develops new circuits of knowledge by situating education and research outside the walls of the ivory tower. Boyer (1990), considered one of the framers of community engagement, spoke of new circuits of knowledge when he introduced four interlocking functions of higher education: scholarship of discovery, scholarship of integration, scholarship of application, and scholarship of teaching. Boyer (1996) later added the scholarship of engagement, meaning

connecting the rich resources of the university to our most pressing social, civic, and ethical problems, to our children, to our schools, and to our cities.... What's also needed is not just more programs, but a larger purpose, a larger sense of mission, a larger clarity of direction in the nation's life. (pp. 19–20)

Whereas academic capitalism cautions against the creation of new circuits of knowledge because they threaten the authority of the professoriate, community engagement suggests that new circuits of knowledge strengthen teaching and research by renewing higher education's civic commitment and purpose.

Community engagement also uses intermediary and interstitial organizations to support and develop partnerships. Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) discussed academic capitalism as blurring the boundaries between universities, the state, the nonprofit sector, and the market. Their theory identified intermediary and interstitial organizations that work outside the universities to reshape public/private boundaries in order to move universities closer to the market. Organizations like APLU, AASCU, and Campus Compact

serve as intermediating organizations that bring together different sectors—public, nonprofit, and private—to support community engagement. Similarly, community-engaged partnerships act as interstitial organizations because they occupy the space between the university and the nonprofit. Weerts and Sandmann (2010) identified community engagement partnerships as boundary-spanning activities that act as a bridge between an organization (in this case, the university) and exchange partners.

Although Boyer (1996) cautioned universities about adding more programs to implement his goals, community engagement involves many layers of stakeholders and requires additional managerial capacity. Additional university administrators are needed to operate and manage the partnerships. Academic capitalism suggests that expanded managerial capacity redraws university and corporate sector borders to enable engaging with the market. In many cases, community-engaged partnerships redraw borders between the university and the nonprofit sector. However, normative definitions of community engagement allow for partnerships with other state organizations and corporations. Charging for services and adopting economic development discourses are examples of marketlike behaviors. Traditional public service and outreach programs have already accepted these strategies. Charging for services contrasts with community engagement values of reciprocity and social justice, but it may be an appropriate course of action when programs are underfunded and can be sustained only through additional funding. Community engagement becomes another source of revenue for the public institution.

Slaughter and Rhoades's (2004) research on academic capitalism studied the teaching and research mission of higher education, but the implications for public service programs like community engagement remain unexplored. Mars, Slaughter, and Rhoades (2008) referenced public service through their study of social entrepreneurialism, but they also recognized private benefits to the faculty and institution in the form of patents and funding that result from the social entrepreneurial curriculum. Although their research acknowledged some combination of public and private good, it mostly focused on the exploitation of students through teaching and research as a manifestation of academic capitalism.

Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) recognized that the public good knowledge regime is not perfect and conceded that the academic capitalism knowledge regime does not replace the public good regime completely. Their scholarship also recognized that universities reorient themselves as their environments change. Community

engagement, proclaimed as an important way to renew higher education's commitment to the public, strives to be a pure public good through shared benefits and governance, but in today's political and economic environment, most social welfare programs are a combination of public and private efforts.

As the literature suggests, community engagement is often framed as a public good. However, public good theory is complicated by neoliberalism, and the economic, statist, and philosophic perspectives do not provide a complete conceptual framework. This study used public good theory as a frame for analyzing who benefits, who pays, and who governs to examine how land-grant universities used academic capitalist mechanisms like interstitial and intermediary organizations, new circuits of knowledge, and new flows of resources to implement community engagement programs. More specifically, do community-engaged partnerships use these mechanisms to challenge and resist academic capitalism, or is the narrative shifting to a new type of public good that incorporates neoliberal policies and practices? As both public good and community engagement have been influenced by the neoliberal paradigm, this study used a theoretical framework intersecting academic capitalism and public good theory.

Methods

This study closely examined six community-engagement programs at two land-grant universities to analyze how neoliberal logics, funding constraints, and public good rhetoric impacted the design, implementation, costs, and benefits of these activities. Studying cases at land-grant universities allowed the contextualization of the study at institutions with a historical mission to provide public service. Likewise, both universities have institutionalized community engagement as recognized by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching's (2015) Community Engagement Classification, which has identified the programs under study as exemplary. This suggests the potential presence of the traditional public good knowledge regime. Interstitial and intermediary organizations, new circuits of knowledge, new flows of resources, managerial capacity, and new discourses within these programs were also studied. These emphases highlight the potential presence of elements of the academic capitalist knowledge regime.

As a qualitative study, the research focused on background stories and themes that cannot be captured by quantitative data alone. As an interpretive multicase study (Merriam, 1988), this research

used thick and rich descriptive data to challenge theoretical and conceptual assumptions. Community-engaged partnerships provided the contextual environment bounding the cases, and multiple sources of data collection (document analysis, interviews, etc.) allowed for study on multiple levels and perspectives of analysis to capture a more holistic perspective on the phenomenon of community engagement in the neoliberal era. Data were collected from the multiple layers and networks of stakeholders and organizations involved in the community-engagement programs.

Data collection primarily involved 33 interviews of key stakeholders (university, community, and program participants) affiliated with community–university partnerships. University and community representatives were asked questions about the program’s purpose and goals, development of the partnerships, decision-making processes, funding, and costs/benefits to stakeholders. Program participants were asked similar questions, but they were not asked about the development and decision-making process. Phone interviews included the same questions as face-to-face interviews. Analysis of documents, including annual reports and partnership marketing materials, supplied secondary data. Documents provided the public narrative of the cases, whereas interviews with key stakeholders provided clarification, probing, and a variety of perspectives. Both interviews and documents were purposely selected for the analysis and were collected from March 2011 to August 2011. Approval from the Institutional Review Board was secured to ensure confidentiality of interviewees.

Throughout the data analysis process, dependability and transferability were emphasized. Studying two land-grant institutions in a similar region limited variability between mission and type of institution but provided six community-engagement cases from which to draw inferences based on theory and data. This included looking for disagreements among the participants, assessing negative cases, and identifying alternative explanations for the responses (*Bernard & Ryan, 2010*). Data was triangulated by analyzing multiple perspectives and comparing interviews and documents (*Denzin, 1978; Patton, 1999*). As another method of triangulation, data were compared to theory and the conceptual framework.

Site and Sample Selection

The sites for this study were selected because of their strong public service reputation and allocation of resources and funds dedicated to public service. Institutionalization of these programs

implies that they are embedded into the culture and organization of a college or university and have a sense of legitimacy and sustainability, therefore suggesting that the community engagement and public service narrative is not a new trend within the institution (*Meyer & Rowan, 1977; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983*). Both Flouride University and Easley University (pseudonyms) are land-grant, 4-year research institutions. Flouride is one of the nation's top public research universities, with enrollments of 15,500 undergraduates and 4,000 graduate students. Easley University is slightly larger than Flouride, enrolling 26,000 undergraduates and 8,000 graduate students.

These institutions are not immune to competing narratives of entrepreneurialism or privatization. Like most public higher education institutions, both sites have dealt with substantial budget cuts from the state. Flouride University responded to these budget cuts with a strategy of "divest to invest" in order to conserve funding for areas focusing on teaching, research, and the economy. Priority areas included recruitment of top students and faculty; student engagement and leadership; research targeting areas that stimulate economic growth; and scholarship focusing on health, energy, transportation, and sustainable environment. Service-learning was mentioned as a priority through student leadership and engagement, but investment in other community engagement and public service programs was missing from the discourse. Likewise, when Easley University was asked to cut \$60 million from its budget, many public service and outreach initiatives were at risk of being reduced. Ultimately, most public service and all community-engagement programs survived, but the message still resonates. Programs are now asked to demonstrate their value to the university and state (through income generation or measurable impact) or risk elimination. Both universities utilized public service in their response to state budget cuts; however, Flouride used it as a strategy to divest, whereas Easley stressed its impact on the state through outreach activities.

The six cases were selected based on each university's recommendation, as well as their inclusion in the Carnegie Community Engagement Classification. At each site, community-engagement programs were selected through a two-step process using the university's Carnegie Community Engagement Classification application and consultation with a university informant. This process allowed the comparison of a variety of cases within and across institutions. After interviewing university representatives involved in each case, it became clear that most of the cases included more

than one partnership, and studying one would not provide a holistic perspective of individual cases. To better capture the scope of the cases, two partnerships within each were selected, one deemed exemplary and one considered to have the most value. University stakeholders, typically the directors or faculty members responsible for each partnership, were asked to identify “exemplary” and “most valuable” (financially, symbolically, etc.) partnerships. Table 1 provides an overview of the cases and partnerships.

Table 1. Sample Overview

Site	Case*	Type	Partnership
Flouride University	Youth Development	Exemplary	K-12 Wellness
		Most Value	Fresh Perspectives
	Technical Writing	Exemplary	Adult Education
		Most Value	Historic Foundation
	Design Studio	Exemplary	Redevelopment Authority
		Most Value	Farmer's Market
Easley University	Economic Development	Exemplary	Town-Gown
		Most Value	Urban
	K-12 Science Education	Exemplary	School 1
		Most Value	School 2
	Design Studio	Exemplary	County Redevelopment Authority
		Value	Land Trust

Note. Pseudonyms were used to protect the identity of the university, case, and partnership.

Flouride Youth Development. One of the largest departments of the public service unit, this partnership exemplifies traditional public service and outreach by supporting over 80 programs focusing on youth development and leadership. Youth Development partners with nonprofits, corporations, and other state-operated agencies. As the most valuable partnership, Fresh Perspectives provides residential programming to single mothers in foster programs. The exemplary partnership K-12 Wellness offers wellness education to elementary-aged children.

Flouride Technical Writing. As an award-winning service-learning course, this case places teams in community-based organizations to write, design, and create communication and technical writing products. This program was initiated in 2003 and has since involved 167 sections of the course, 30 different faculty members, 78 different partners, and 3,500 students. Adult Education, the exemplary partnership, matched teams of students with an adult

education center located 30 minutes from Flouride University. The most valuable partnership studies a project constructed for a historical foundation.

Design studios. Both of the universities coordinated a community-based learning program that used students (both graduate and undergraduate) to work on design problems for community organizations. In general, the programs solicit architecture projects from community organizations. If community organizations are able to pay for the services (approximately \$5,000–\$15,000), then students serve as consultants to develop conceptual ideas for them. The structure and design process differs depending on the university site.

Flouride Design Studio. Structured as a studio learning experience, Flouride's Design Studio lets undergraduate and graduate students work as "staff" designers on landscape architecture projects. The professor solicits the partnerships and then coordinates the specific details of the project, which are negotiated based on the organization's needs and available funds. Community partners pay a fee that covers a graduate student stipend, as well as any other costs associated with the negotiated project such as travel, food, and production. The exemplary partnership illustrates the design studio's work on a textile community's revitalization plan. The most valuable partnership consisted of several projects: a safe routes to school design for schoolchildren, a farmer's market, and streetscape design.

Easley Design Studio. Easley's program offers undergraduate and graduate students an opportunity to participate in a real-life planning process with community members and decision makers who do not have the resources to hire private firms. Over the course of a weekend, student design teams participate in a rapid, intensive, and creative work session that focuses on a particular design problem and arrives at a collaborative decision. As an academic program, the project is supported in part by tuition funds, and community partners pay the remaining costs (transportation, food, lodging, etc.). The exemplary partnership highlights a project that addressed a design problem associated with gateways and entrances to the town. The partnership with most value focused on an innovative and efficient affordable housing design for the community immediately surrounding the campus.

Easley Economic Development. This program is connected to a larger network of university-based economic development programs located across the country. Economic Development provides

business consulting to aspirant small business owners and training to newly established and established organizations. Economic Development is responsible for 17 satellite offices throughout the state. Half of Economic Development's budget is funded through the federal government, and the university matches this grant with funding from the state. Additional operating expenses are funded through corporate sponsorships and trainings. The local office provides an exemplary partnership, and the urban office partnership was considered to contribute the most value because of the substantial sponsorship it generates from industry located in the state's primary economic region.

Easley K-12 Science Education. As part of a service-learning course, Easley undergraduate and graduate students (mostly science majors) partner with elementary school teachers to assist with science lesson plans and instruction. K-12 Science Education collaborates with eight different elementary schools in the campus area. The exemplary partnership is the oldest partnership and has tremendous support from seasoned teachers and a record of success. The university partner identified the newest partnership as having the most value because it is well supported and respected by the school's administration.

Limitations

Like most qualitative case studies, this research is limited by the inability to generalize themes beyond the specific cases studied and a positivist critique of subjectivity and bias. Generalizability limitations were mitigated by studying six cases at two different universities. Reliability and validity were stressed in all stages of the research process in order to decrease the potential for subjectivity bias. The research design and conceptual framework were grounded in two opposing theoretical frameworks of higher education, public good and academic capitalism, along with triangulation and constant comparison to limit researcher bias.

Findings

Analysis drew on the conceptual framework of community engagement and neoliberalism, as well as public good and academic capitalism theory. The data were inductively analyzed according to types of partnerships related to each case, purpose and need addressed through partnerships, and partnership development. Analysis of the interviews initially included a coding system based on the theoretical framework and research questions (*Bernard &*

Ryan, 2010). Interview transcripts were categorized according to themes reflecting academic capitalism (relationship to the university, market references, new discourses) and public good (partners, purpose and need, benefits, costs). Document analysis included a parallel structured coding framework. Themes mentioned in over half of the data were included in the final analysis. Lesser themes were subcategorized into the broader concepts when appropriate. Following the metacoding process, themes were further categorized according to subthemes using a constant comparison method that searched for similarities and differences across sites and interviews (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Once this process was completed, themes were interpreted in relation to past literature and the theoretical framework.

Partnerships

Partnerships in this study were initially identified based on the literature's description of a dual exchange of resources between the university and the community. However, as data were collected, it became apparent that the fundamental conceptions of partnerships were not as clear as the literature may suggest and that mutuality and reciprocity were not always the primary motivator for partnerships. Moreover, *community* was not necessarily an entity outside the borders of the university. Instead, community partnerships involved actors representing multiple sectors within and outside the university. The data suggested that the idea of "external" is fluid and varies depending on the perspective of the university program and the space occupied by the partnership. For some programs, partnerships with other university departments were acceptable, whereas other programs positioned themselves as external to the university campus. This highlights the complexity of partnerships intersecting across multiple sectors—nonprofit, government, and private industry. Table 2 provides an overview of the different sectors involved with each case. Both the type and number of partners varied according to the case and the university coordinator's conception of community. They all partnered with other state-sponsored programs and nonprofit organizations, but the design studios were most likely to partner with state-sponsored programs, Youth Development with private business, and Technical Writing and Economic Development with other university programs.

Table 2. *Numbers of Partnership Types Associated With Each Case*

Case	NGOS	State-sponsored organizations	Private business	University
Youth Development	36	44	10	29
Technical Writing	70	26	5	54
Flouride Design Studio	7	15	5	3
Economic Development	0	6	0	12
K-12 Science Education	0	8	0	0
Easley Design Studio	3	69	0	0
Total	116	168	20	98

These partnerships demonstrated elements of community engagement as well as the neoliberal logics that impact best practices of community engagement, such as transformation, reciprocity, and sustainability. Partnerships often exhibited power imbalances resulting from economic and political policies dismantling the state's role in social service delivery. In many cases, for example, the university was reported to be perceived as the wealthier partner, and the community organization was seeking partnership because it faced acute resource shortages. By looking at these partnerships, this study also introduced the concept of quasi-market and state-state partnerships (public and private) that result from decreased state funding for social welfare programs (higher education, nonprofit sector, and other state agencies).

Purpose and Need

Interviewees were asked to identify the purpose or need addressed by the partnership. Responses indicated that funding and the need for expertise were overarching concerns. Subsequently, interviewees discussed strategies to generate funds. The purposes of partnerships included delivering social services, offering charitable pragmatism, transforming communities, and promoting individual student benefits. Many of the partnerships provided more than one type of benefit.

Service delivery partnerships extended university knowledge through consulting and assistance involving contractual obligations and emphasizing transactional exchange (usually economic) rather than transformation. Flouride's Youth Development director described the purpose of the service provider partnership as

You take your best shot at what you think they [community organizations] need and then you learn. And then you respond to it. A service provider who thinks like a service provider only provides what they have been given to provide.

Similarly, charitable partnerships have a low investment in relationships and low concerns for root causes (*Morton, 1995*). They provide practical utility for organizations, but only short-term solutions for complex problems. As an example, service-learning students helped an organization develop projects, but the course did not require students to reflect on the structural problems necessitating the partnership. In these charitable pragmatic partnerships, the university organizations found value by authenticating the public service mission of the land-grant university and accessing real-world experience for students. Flouride's Youth Development director explained it in this way: "I mean we are born of the mission of Flouride. Flouride University wants to support its community. Help kids. And what good is the university if it is not connected to the real world?" In contrast, those involved in transformative partnerships highlighted desires to change society or communities through their programs. They suggested that social change is one of the primary goals of their programs, and they justified costs and decisions based on their hopes for this outcome. The design studios seek to transform the communities that benefit from the conceptual designs created by student consultants. Partnerships in this study held a number of visionary goals: ending childhood obesity, educating future scientists and engineers, transforming community organizations, breaking cycles of poverty, and redeveloping public lands. Partnerships supporting development of individual human capital recognized the need for students to apply university knowledge in real-life situations; doing so contributed to their future career opportunities. In the design studios, Technical Writing, and K-12 Science Education, undergraduate and graduate students sought real-world skills and experiences. In Technical Writing, students translated these skills in job interviews; in the design studios, human capital (in the form of semiskilled graduate students) was exchanged for financial capital to fund the program.

Development of Partnerships

Often, the university coordinator served as a broker who matched the resources of the university with a community organization's needs. The coordinator often utilized a spectrum of strate-

gies (from highly coordinated to loosely coordinated) to develop community-engagement partnerships. Both approaches included mechanisms that potentially limited access to community organizations. Structured processes are implemented to meet community organizational needs in an efficient and appropriate manner; however, these processes can also create exclusivity by screening out community organizations that do not have the financial capital to pay for the services. Universities, under financial constraints imposed by budget cuts, can choose partnerships that generate funding or are not costly. Unstructured processes depend on networks and personal relationships with the university. This type of strategy, however, favors organizations with more social capital and whose members have personal connections with the university programs and are therefore aware of the opportunity. As universities attempt to streamline community partnership development, the public service and democratic ethos of community engagement is replaced by the rhetoric of economy and efficiency.

The partnerships studied in these cases were developed through one of three types of process: structured, semistructured, and unstructured. For cases like Youth Development, Economic Development, and Easley's Design Studio, partnerships were formed through structured processes that involved solicitation of community organizations, matching of expertise and interest, and contracts. In semistructured partnerships like Flouride's Design Studio, the coordination involves some intentionality, but the processes are more fluid. For example, they have agreements with community organizations but rely on alumni networks to recruit partners. Less structured processes like Technical Writing and K-12 Science Education informally recruit partners and rely on word-of-mouth and reputation.

Discussion

Neoliberalism, community engagement, and the public good of higher education intersect and intertwine in the findings. Community engagement practices overlap higher education, state social services, and the nonprofit sector, and they are not immune to the neoliberal paradigm's assault on higher education. The findings suggested new discourses of power imbalances and quasi-market partnerships in relation to community engagement and academic capitalism.

Power Imbalances

Nonprofit and other state social welfare programs were affected by neoliberal policy shifts; to sustain their existence and cover their operating budgets, they were forced to raise money by implementing corporate, competitive, and consumer-based models (Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004). Nonprofits must split their time between fundraising and mission fulfillment in order to supplement their income. They rely on diverse funding streams in the form of government contracts, fees, and private donors in order to survive and operate (Salamon, 2002). Although the nonprofit sector is diverse and includes organizations of many types, some of which generate large assets through fundraising and fees for services (e.g., hospitals, education), the community organizations represented in the partnerships studied here struggled to secure operating funds. For example, when asked about the primary motivation for entering into partnership with the university, one community partner responded,

The relational aspect that Flouride, Youth Development, and Department of Social Services have together, allows our program to sustain and weather the economic downturn that we have recently experienced in our country. So we're not necessarily worried about our doors closing because of the partnerships we have.

For these cases, higher education is another way to diversify their funding because they perceive the university to be resource-rich and seek partnerships to generate operating funds. Funding mostly comes indirectly in the form of services that increase their opportunities to capture additional government grants (the design studios), additional fees for services (Technical Writing), and private donors (Youth Development). This situation poses two concerns: (a) power imbalances and (b) sustainability.

When community organizations are underfunded and dependent on partnerships with the university to secure necessary resources, the resulting resource imbalance interferes with community engagement's ideal of shared voice and participation. Sigmon (1979) predicted this power imbalance between universities and the community and suggested the community (or recipient of services) control the services being provided. Conversely, Honnet and Poulsen (1989) suggested that good partnerships are based on the idea that those with needs define the needs of the relationship. The data demonstrate that this principle of community voice

may be obstructed by the perception that the university has more resources. Technical Writing, and specifically the Adult Education partnership, illustrates the problem of resource imbalance within community-engaged partnerships. In this particular case, the community organization experienced drastic budget cuts from the state and was left with only one full-time staff member. In order to secure more funding from the state, the center needed to increase enrollments or raise money through private support. However, the other remaining teachers taught part-time, so they had limited potential to take on additional projects that would recruit more students. Student assistance from the Technical Writing program was perceived as the center's only option for extra help. A staff member framed the urgency for the partnership this way:

Well we need everything essentially and we don't have a lot of the resources that... because of the budget cuts and the funding problems.... We just said, here is the situation, we would like for this to grow. We would like for this to become something better. If there is anything that you can do to help, we would appreciate it and that is when they started giving us feedback. So basically anything that they do, we wouldn't be able to do without them.

In this relationship, the Adult Education Center was the recipient of the services. Although the Flouride faculty member said that he tried to include the community voice in the partnership, the community organization was so resource-poor that it had little room to be selective. The community partner noted, "So basically anything that they do, we wouldn't be able to do without them." Essentially, the organization will accept any resource offered because state budget cuts have led to a dearth of resources. In this situation, power in the partnership is unbalanced, and the direction of the partnership is determined by need rather than shared decision making.

Likewise, situating the university as the expert and the community organization as the dependent consumer creates a hierarchy of knowledge. This type of reciprocity reflects an exchange perspective (Dostilio *et al.*, 2012) and has the potential to give the university more power, thus subjecting the community organization to the university's goals. Ideally, community engagement scholars strive to achieve transformative partnerships that move away from exchange focus, include community organizations as leaders in

the partnership, transcend individual and private interests, and involve the whole university in the change (Enos & Morton, 2003). Saltmarsh, Hartley, and Clayton (2009) challenged reciprocal partnerships to be more intentional and include democratic (university as a part of an ecosystem of knowledge production addressing public problem-solving) rather than technocratic (university as the center of public problem-solving) epistemologies. The findings suggest that the partnerships studied favored university expertise and accepted exchange-based relationships in contrast to transformative or democratic partnerships that push cultural and systemic change. In the interviews, community organizations did not seem concerned about these power imbalances because the partnership offered them resources and solutions to their immediate needs. For example, a teacher involved in the K-12 Science Education program described the school's benefit in this way: "It [the partnership] allows for extension and it allows for hand-on activities that you normally couldn't do. Gathering materials that you normally don't have time to do."

When higher education takes over the state's former social service role, the university may not be able to sustain the program. K-12 Science Education and Youth Development's K-12 Wellness program both exemplify this problem. They were established to fulfill service roles no longer funded by the state. For example, K-12 Science Education is based on the assumption that public elementary school teachers are not trained well enough to properly teach science lessons. The program therefore provides university science majors who step in and add expertise and assistance. The schools affiliated with the K-12 Science Education partnerships are dependent on university students to supplement their teaching and ensure that the elementary students are receiving an adequate science education. Similarly, as decreased funding forced public school systems to cut budgets, health education was dropped from the curriculum because schools were unable to pay for health teachers. Youth Development's K-12 Wellness initiative stepped in to aid public school systems by placing wellness coaches in schools. In both of these cases, the universities provided public services no longer offered by the state.

Although replacing the state with the university works as a short-term solution, these partnerships raise concerns regarding sustainability because it is not clear how long institutions will be able to fund such activities. Community organizations perceive the university as having more resources (expertise, human resources, financial resources) than other state agencies and non-

profit organizations, but colleges and universities are also at risk of losing their funding. Total educational appropriations per full-time employee (FTE), estimated using 2014 constant dollars, have decreased 24%, from \$8,615 in 1985 to \$6,552 in 2014 (*State Higher Education Executive Officers, 2014*). Universities themselves have looked for alternative funding sources like tuition increases and private donors to make up for lost funds. The states studied experienced, on average, a decrease of more than 32.5% in educational appropriations per FTE from 2008 to 2013 (*State Higher Education Executive Officers, 2013*).

Reflecting national reports showing steep cuts to public higher education institutions, both of the universities involved in this research recently considered cutting different community-based programs. Easley's Economic Development director expressed concerns about sustainability due to decreased funding from the state. Although the federal grant monies were still available, the university could not support the matching 50% required to receive the funds. Consequently, the university downsized staff and limited its service area. Fears regarding continued sustainability and funding for programs were echoed in almost every case. Some programs already had responded by charging fees; however, others were hesitant to drift from their original service missions. In this situation of decreasing funds at all levels, it is not sustainable for nonprofits and other state agencies to depend on higher education to supplement their income.

Quasi-Market Partnerships

Community-engaged partnerships connect public (university) to public (state agency) as well as the private sector. Neoliberal theorists describe this phenomenon as a "third way" of combining the roles of the state and the market (*Peters, 2011*). In the social welfare funding system, the government was both the operator and funder of programs. In the neoliberal system, state-run monopolies of public services were broken up, and it was posited that competition promised efficiency. Quasi-markets, composed of for-profits, nonprofits, and private organizations, took over the operation and responsibility of social service delivery.

The cases in this study fit within the category of private-public partnerships and through this collaboration, community organizations and universities situate themselves at a competitive advantage over other organizations. LeGrand (*1991*) identified quasi-markets as occupying a space between the market and the public sector

because they replace the monopolistic state welfare provider with individual providers competing for funding. In this quasi-market, public sector maintenance and state subsidies gave programs in this study a competitive edge. However, community-engaged partnerships are not just private-public, but include new patterns like university-state, university-nonprofit, university-state-nonprofit, university-nonprofit-private, and university-state-nonprofit-private. Generally, the quasi-market partnerships in this case study can be broken down into categories that intersect the market, state, nonprofit, and university. Table 3 lists these types of complex partnership that bring together multiple sectors and provides examples.

Table 3. Types of Quasi-Market Partnerships

Overlapping partnerships	Examples
University-state agency	K-12 Science Education
University-nonprofit	Technical Writing
University-state agency-nonprofit	Flouride & Easley design studios
University-nonprofit-private	Economic Development
University-state agency-nonprofit-private	Youth Development

These quasi-market partnerships position the university as the center node, with corporations, nonprofits, and other state agencies making up the other nodes. Both community organizations and universities access funding sources and additional resources through engagement in these partnerships.

University-state agency and university-nonprofit. K-12 Science Education and Technical Writing engage in these types of partnerships to exchange human resources. In these two cases, the partnerships reflected Kahkonen's (2004) conception of quasi-markets because they were established and maintained by the public sector (university) that subsidizes, regulates, and purchases the service. In these cases, the community organization consumes the services at no cost to clients or community.

University-state agency-nonprofit. In other cases, like the design studios, the partnership helps individual organizations become more competitive for federal and state contracts. Community partners from both of the design studios mentioned the grants they received as a result of their cross-sector partnerships. In this way, they reflect quasi-market behaviors but add another dimension to Kahkonen's (2004) conception of quasi-markets by including the university as the center node of the partnership.

University–nonprofit–private. These types of partnerships expand collaborations to include the private sector. Economic Development depends on both private and public funds. It accesses private support to fund programmatic activities like scholarships and seminars because they promised increased economic activity for the state. Larger businesses are interested in funding these small business initiatives that serve their market need. Economic Development provides a great example of quasi-market logics that join private and public resources in the anticipation of efficiency.

University–state agency–nonprofit–private. Programs like Youth Development organize complex cross-sector coalitions that enable them to access public and private funds through their collaboration. Youth Development’s K-12 Wellness partnership combines university, for-profit, state agency, and nonprofit resources to capture corporate and federal funding. This case exemplifies a new type of quasi-market relationship because it involves many different sectors, though it relies on the university infrastructure (in terms of human resource processes, social networking, and fund-raising processes) to manage and provide structure.

Even more illustrative is Youth Development’s use of partnership with a local businessperson. The K-12 Wellness program began as a social service offered by residents of a gated community who were interested in wellness issues. The businessperson funded the K-12 Wellness partnership as a nonprofit with a trademarked curriculum. As the program expanded and became more organized, participants sought partnership with Flouride to improve and further expand. The corporate partner described the partnership in this way:

Coming out of a real estate development company background, in reality there is... our credibility even though we knew what we were doing and all the right people connected to us it was only so far that we could really go with it. So we said let’s look for a partner to help us perpetuate the message and expand the program.

The trademarked curriculum and brand image of the program was donated to Flouride because the university promised to use its connections and infrastructure to perpetuate and expand the program. The wellness program uses the university’s credibility and operates as a subsidiary of the institution, but it is dependent on funding from the corporate partner.

The design studios' and Technical Writing's cross-sector partnerships reflect another quasi-market behavior by offering services to the community organization at lower costs than the private sector. In this way, quasi-market partnerships compete unfairly with the private sector because they are subsidized through the state. The design studios and Technical Writing subsidize the quasi-markets by providing free human capital through student labor labeled "student learning." Likewise, the state subsidizes Economic Development's private consultants through direct federal grants and state appropriations. The design studios are aware of this issue, and Flouride's faculty member suggested that students' work actually supports the private sector by producing future projects for architects:

We see ourselves as rainmakers for our profession as well.... We don't compete in any way with landscape architects. In fact the idea is to make things happen so that there will be more work in that vein.

The students produce conceptual designs that the community organization can take to professional architects to implement.

Economic Development takes a different perspective. The Economic Development director posited that their assistance is needed because "at this level of the marketplace, there is nobody selling service to them generally of this nature because you can't make any money at it." He proposed that the small businesses they advise are important to the economy because they provide employment opportunities and innovation, so public assistance is necessary. It is not clear whether any other businesses offer consultant services like those provided by Economic Development; however, if such other businesses existed, they would not be subsidized by the state and thus would be at a disadvantage competing with Economic Development's monopoly of the market.

Previous literature has suggested that cross-sector partnerships are difficult to create, sustain, and implement (*Bryan, Crosby, & Stone, 2006*), but as this discussion shows, these quasi-market partnerships can succeed and also offer below-market-price services to community organizations. Both of the university members' responses provide some validation for their services, but they also reinforce neoliberal logics that support the state's involvement in facilitating economic development that provides for the public good. These partnerships cannot disprove interference with the market through public subsidy. Under the guise of community engagement, these

partnerships combine multisector resources to solve problems created by government and market failure. Stakeholders justify Technical Writing's quasi-market behaviors because the community organizations cannot afford private consultants. However, public subsidy quasi-markets like these do not operate like pure markets to promote efficiency. Instead, they create false competition through state subsidies from grants and public university support (*Taylor, Cantwell, & Slaughter, 2013*). Universities offer office space, administrative support, and student volunteers to implement these partnerships.

Conclusion

Results from this study suggest that practitioners and scholars should consider the ways community engagement is framed, promoted, and studied. Community-engaged partnerships use processes similar to those of academic capitalism but defend them as promoting the public good. For example, community engagement develops new circuits of knowledge by situating education and research outside the walls of the ivory tower and renewing higher education's civic commitment. In contrast, academic capitalism cautions against the creation of new circuits of knowledge because these may shift behavior in ways unintended by policymakers or administrators. Most of the cases studied represent a mixture of both public good and private practice, reflecting that these partnerships have adopted academic capitalist behaviors to make up for lost funding, manage the partnership, and balance the needs of all stakeholders.

Understanding the neoliberal context and influence on community engagement raises practitioner and scholar awareness, complicates the promise of public good, and challenges the means by which universities engage in social change. Market logics and market-like forces impact the ability to build reciprocal partnerships and sustain programs. The rhetoric of social innovation, reform, social movements, or transformation should not be completely abandoned; rather, the neoliberal paradigm and its impact on research and practice should be considered. Sharpening theories and analysis to examine these interwoven logics will help advance theory and practice. Results of this analysis present implications for community organizations, scholars and practitioners, and higher education policy.

Community Organizations

Nonprofit organizations and state agencies have been impacted by neoliberal policies that have changed funding and operations. Community–university partnerships provide nonprofits and state agencies with opportunities to be competitive in quasi-markets and access additional funding. In order to engage in reciprocal partnerships and avoid being exploited, community organizations need to be selective and seek relationships with university programs that provide value to their organization, or that can be converted into financial gains. Technical Writing and K-12 Science Education are examples of these types of partnerships because they provide resources to community organizations without charging for services.

If university programs charge for services, community organizations should identify their potential return on investments. In addition to revenue and other resources generated through the collaboration, community organizations can also use partnerships with the university to access more funding for their programs. Quasi-markets produced through the neoliberal paradigm create competition among organizations for grants and other funding. Therefore, community organizations should engage in relationships that make them more competitive in quasi-markets, thus increasing their long-term return on investments.

Community Engagement Scholars and Practitioners

The Carnegie Community Engagement Classification nationally recognizes colleges and universities for their exemplary community engagement practices, and professional organizations like the International Association for Service-Learning and Community Engagement (IARSLCE) and Campus Compact further institutionalize community engagement within the field of higher education. Community engagement is institutionalized through rhetoric promoting transformation, social movement, reform, and social innovation. For example, community engagement literature appropriately promotes the inclusion of community voice and reciprocity as one of its core values. Enos and Morton (2003) used transformation to describe partnerships that change individuals and organizations. The *Democratic Engagement White Paper* (Saltmarsh et al., 2009) takes this ideal to the next level by promoting partnerships that cocreate knowledge and develop collaborative solutions. All of these ideals are framed within the discourse of public good,

with little attention to the private aspects of community-engaged partnerships.

The rhetoric of community engagement's literature is compelling, but it does not account for neoliberal logics of decreased state support, privatization, and quasi-markets. In these case studies the community engagement discourse was more idealistic than its practice. For example, Technical Writing and K-12 Science Education sought to capture the community organizations' voice in a bilateral planning and implementation process, but the exchange was curbed by the community organization's dependence on the partnership outcomes. Community organizations gained valuable services (human resources, deliverables, products, etc.) that helped them operate and fulfill their missions in the face of scarce resources from the state. In the exchange, universities received private benefits for students entering the neoliberal labor market. In order to compete for jobs after graduation, college graduates need credentials (in the form of degrees) but also benefit from professional skills and experiences. Participation in service-learning classes like Technical Writing, the design studios, and K-12 Science Education allowed students to acquire these skills and use them in graduate school applications and job interviews. University programs are interested in this type of skill development because it provides them value and legitimacy in the academic capitalism knowledge regime. Both community organizations and university programs are affected by the neoliberal paradigm as they design and implement partnerships. Though mutual benefits are achieved, community-engagement ideals like reciprocity are manifested in transactional exchanges that do not in all respects reflect the rhetoric of transformation, cocreation, and bilateral collaboration.

Programs like the design studios challenge community engagement's norm of practice because they are transactional partnerships that charge for services. Community organizations have social power to emphasize their needs because they are paying for their involvement; however, this voice is contained within a provider/client relationship rather than one that focuses on mutual aspirations. Charging for university-community organization exchanges may unintentionally screen out potential partnerships. University programs are forced to balance sustainability through revenue generation with maintaining a public service ethos. The design studios compensate for these different goals by allowing organizations without financial means to nonetheless access the services. Both of the design studios attempt to do this by reserving surplus funds from partnerships that do not cost as much as pre-

dicted and redistributing them to lower-resourced programs. This example demonstrates the impacts of neoliberalism on universities and community organizations, and provides an example of transactional partnerships that creatively promote the public good despite funding restraints.

Focusing on the public good of community engagement while avoiding discussion of private good is neither authentic nor productive. Evidence from this study suggests that community engagement scholars and practitioners should be sensitive to pressures from declining resources and academic capitalism in higher education. It does not suggest that scholars and practitioners should completely abandon the rhetoric of community engagement's potential for social innovation, reform, social movements, or transformation, but rather consider the neoliberal paradigm. In response to pressures to generate revenue and capture external resources, there is a fine line between reproducing the logics of competition and individualism and using logics of privatization and quasi-markets to produce the public good. In order to produce public benefits within the academic capitalist knowledge regime, community engagement must first recognize its impact and become aware of the attendant tensions.

In addition, we must critically examine what types of partnerships fit under the umbrella of community engagement. The 2006, 2008, 2010, and 2015, Community Engagement Classification applications asked universities to identify 15 exemplary partnerships but did not provide guidelines on how to select these partnerships. If we use this classification, and therefore the exemplary partnerships, as indicators of institutionalization, then we risk inadvertently legitimating unilateral academic capitalist programs like Youth Development and Economic Development. These types of partnerships were included in Flouride's and Easley's applications, though data analysis suggested that they do not fit with community engagement's best practices of reciprocity, community voice, and transformation.

Higher Education

Advocates of community engagement correctly situate these initiatives as complementary to and integrative of the teaching, research, and service missions of higher education. Since the Morrill Land-Grant Act of 1862 established land-grant colleges, public service has been embedded and institutionalized as an important function of land-grant universities. The scope of this

function has broadened from its purpose of serving farmers of the state through cooperative extension and agricultural trainings to include engaged teaching, research, and scholarship. However, projects such as Economic Development and Youth Development complicate the idea of integrative community–university partnerships because they are ancillary to these institutions’ core mission and purpose. In addition to falling short of the bilateral reciprocity that is one of community engagement’s best practices, they are not integrative because they have little to no interaction with the academic and research missions of higher education. They instead add a service provider role for higher education institutions.

Higher education is constantly evolving and changing and includes more than teaching and learning responsibilities. Kerr (2001) conceptualized the multiversity as a complex enterprise involved in activities such as teaching, developing research partnerships with corporations, managing income generation, and offering public entertainment through athletics. Critics rightfully question higher education’s incremental drift from its teaching mission and contract with society (Readings, 1996; Washburn, 2005), and community engagement advocates respond with this new model of public service. Although the service-learning programs in this study attempt to balance public service with teaching, Economic Development and Youth Development move the outreach function further from the core. In a neoliberal paradigm of scarce resources, universities must be cautious of developing and implementing partnerships that are peripheral to their core missions.

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PRACTICE STORIES

The Need for Improving Intercultural Collaborative Activities With Structured Institutional Systems of Support

Athanase Gahungu and Karen A. Freeman

Abstract

Evaluation of an international, grant-funded program must communicate the program's value to a variety of stakeholders: the funder, the agency operating the program and its community, and the citizens of the country where the program is implemented. An intercultural research team can achieve that goal only through a thought-out strategy. This article summarizes the challenges that intercultural teams of researchers faced as they crisscrossed a host country while evaluating a teaching and learning materials program. It concludes with three recommendations for effective collaboration: (1) Research coordinators must use rigor in selecting researchers and research assistants. (2) Researchers must receive in-depth and extensive training in both intercultural collaboration and evaluation skills. (3) Institutions involved in intercultural collaborative projects should have an intentional structure for ensuring that orientation curricula are aligned or adjusted to project objectives and that logistical arrangements are coordinated through an intercultural response mechanism.

Introduction

The ultimate purpose of program evaluation is “contributing to the provision of quality services to people in need” (Posavac, 2011, p. 13). In collaborative program evaluation, as well as other community-based research or service-learning activities involving different cultures, accomplishing this purpose can be a challenge. Challenges may include communication (Lin, Chen, & Chiu, 2012; O'Brien, Alfano, & Magnusson, 2007; Oetzel, 2002), ethical issues in program evaluation design and field access (Marshall & Batten, 2003), realities of the context of the partnership (McIntyre, 2008), and the decision-making process among groups (Freeman & Gahungu, 2013). These challenges seem to originate both from visiting evaluators' unfamiliarity with the cultural context of the program being evaluated and the extent to which members of the host community share the same understanding of the purpose of the evaluation. For example, in their evaluation of health programs for Hispanics in rural settings, Aguado Loi and

McDermott (2010) recommended that evaluators be skilled; have experience and training in cultural competence in the population affected by the program; be well versed in techniques of program evaluation, including interpersonal skills; and be able to gain and maintain the trust of key stakeholders of the program (p. 255).

In particular, in projects that employ students as assistant field researchers, Latimore, Dreelin, and Burroughs (2014) recommended that students participating in such outreach and engagement activities “should be provided opportunities to learn effective communication and engagement strategies through coursework and experiences that are integrated into their degree programs” (p. 147). The authors also stressed the dilemma faced by university units in providing guidance and support to faculty advisors and students regarding effective outreach and engagement. On one hand, engagement and outreach activities are expected to be part of the mission of universities in the 21st century. As Ramaley (2014) challenges,

In the 21st century, universities will focus on a number of signature themes that reflect both their academic interests and the characteristics of the communities and regions that they serve. Institutions will build extensive collaborative partnerships with other universities, sectors of society, local communities, and even nations to generate knowledge, address societal challenges, and create learning environments in which to educate their students. Universities will work together to address the needs of a much more diverse student population and to enhance the overall level of persistence and success in the educational environments created both by individual institutions and by networks of cooperating institutions. (p. 18)

On the other hand, however, creating a responsive culture of engagement can be difficult because promotion and tenure systems do not encourage such activities, and they receive inadequate financial support (Demb & Wade, 2012).

Using the case of a cross-cultural collaborative evaluation of a grant-funded learning materials project conducted by a team of researchers from the host country and the United States, this article aimed to explore the extent to which the following factors influenced effective intercultural collaboration on program evaluation: research skills, intercultural competence, establishment of a shared

performance system, and navigation of the institutional bureaucracy maze. The authors propose simple guidelines from the field for effective collaboration on international, intercultural program evaluation, as well as recommendations for providing necessary support for international outreach and engagement activities at the institutional level.

Literature Review

The extent to which collaborative teams, in general, and intercultural teams, in particular, achieve responsive and effective program evaluation can be gauged using the lofty premises of the Joint Committee on Standards for Educational Evaluation's *Program Evaluation Standards* (Yarbrough, Shulha, Hopson, & Caruthers, 2011). The Joint Committee identified 30 standards for program evaluation and grouped them into five categories: utility standards, feasibility standards, propriety standards, accuracy standards, and evaluation accountability standards. Although program evaluators are expected to demonstrate satisfactory skills in all 30 standards, three standards particularly stand out in an intercultural collaborative context. First and foremost is the evaluator credibility standard—the first utility standard—which emphatically prescribes, “Evaluations should be conducted by qualified people who establish and maintain credibility in the evaluation context” (U1 Evaluator Credibility). Equally important is the fifth accuracy standard: “Evaluations should employ systematic information collection, review, verification, and storage methods” (A5 Information Management). The numbering of standards is illustrated below. Most important is the expectation of the second propriety standard (P2 Formal Agreements): “Evaluation agreements should be negotiated to make obligations explicit and take into account the needs, expectations, and cultural contexts of clients and other stakeholders.” All in all, however, satisfactory performance of an evaluation task must be assessed against all five program evaluation categories:

1. Utility: Utility discusses use, usefulness, influence, and misuse.
2. Feasibility: Feasibility discusses the effects of contexts, cultures, costs, politics, power, available resources, and other factors on evaluations.

3. Propriety: Propriety (refers) to the moral, ethical, and legal concerns related to evaluation quality
4. Accuracy: Accuracy discusses reliability, validity, and reduction of error and bias.
5. Accountability: Evaluation accountability... results from balancing utility, feasibility, propriety, and accuracy. (*Yarbrough et al., 2011, p. xxviii*)

Within these expectations, international intercultural collaboration in program evaluation, as part of university-sponsored activities involving faculty, staff, and students, falls within the broader context of international engagement (*DeZure et al., 2012*). In their study of four U.S. university teaching centers in Egypt, Iraq, Singapore, and Thailand, DeZure et al. (2012) indicated that an institution that encourages “international education and intercultural partnerships can expect to broaden the perspectives and enhance the learning of students, staff, faculty, academic leaders, and the broader community it serves” (p. 32). However, this outcome depends on many factors, chief among which are that collaborating institutions know the context of their international partner(s), both parties can benefit from the venture, and both can create a common ground.

Similarly, in a study of U.S. students’ personal challenges in a service-learning project in Tanzania, Nickols, Rothenberg, Moshi, and Tetloff (2013) identified several barriers to the intercultural competence required to function effectively in an international context. These challenges included feelings of being “too American” (p. 106) to understand the context of the project and a recognition of “gaps in expectations” (p. 112) between community participants and visiting students. This lack of mutual understanding could jeopardize, in turn, the best intentions of mixed teams of evaluators to be responsive to the program’s “changes in context, data availability, or their own evolving understanding of the context” (*Wholey, Hatry, & Newcomer, 2010, p. 18*). It could be argued that Aguado Lao and McDermott’s (2010) evaluation of programs for Hispanics in rural settings did not call for skills comparable to the intercultural competency required for cross-border collaborative projects and that Nickols et al.’s (2013) service-learning project in Tanzania was not program evaluation per se. Nonetheless, both activities addressed the “provision of quality services to people in need” in another cul-

ture (Posavac, 2011, p. 13). For both activities, the risk of imposing, or being afraid of imposing, one's ethnocentric value system onto a host community is of paramount concern.

As Schneider and Romberg (2011) cautioned, this lack of mutual understanding will persist as long as cross-cultural teams continue to receive training that emphasizes communication barriers alone. Such training does not provide the foundation for high-performing intercultural teams. According to the authors, intercultural teams must experience three phases to achieve effective performance: intercultural awareness, a shared performance system, and intercultural communication. At the intercultural awareness phase, "the goal is not to fully understand the other culture, but rather to accept that each culture has a valid logic" (p. 46). At the shared awareness phase, team members aim to "negotiate a shared performance system" (p. 46). The authors explain, "If there is little agreement about what performance should look like, it is hard to work together cohesively" (p. 46). After teams have developed a shared performance system, they can learn "skills for communicating effectively in work situations" (p. 47). Otherwise, cross-cultural teams will continue exhibiting "insecurities in interactions with each other" (p. 47).

Although most universities include international community outreach and engagement in their missions, the statements do not always translate into policies or support commitment. According to Demb and Wade's (2012) survey, not only are such activities time consuming, but the current tenure system did not encourage faculty to participate in engagement activities, financial support for such activities was inadequate, and faculty participation lacked a support infrastructure. Rather than sending faculty and students to those culturally sensitive and adventurous activities without a backup infrastructure or a form of extrinsic motivation, Demb and Wade (2012) recommended that

institutions could assist faculty with identifying community partners, and/or developing standard patterns for collaborative agreements, that can support either research partnerships or responsibilities for student internships. This might mean creating a category of "partnership specialists" who offer support across the campus. (p. 362)

Methods

Research Design

This report is a case study in which the authors tell the stories of the collaboration between a group of U.S. faculty, staff, and students on one side and a group of African faculty, staff, and students on the other side. The authors reviewed notes and reflections about the collaboration between and within the two groups from different sources—notes from a preorientation course that the students took, comments from a 1-week predeparture workshop in the United States, comments from a 1-week combined workshop in the host country, field journal reflections, notes from field briefings and debriefings, notes from an unpublished student-created postfield video and pamphlet, and a reflection forum. In addition, the authors asked researchers via e-mail to provide their thoughts about how the African and American researchers worked together within teams, the challenges they faced, and recommendations for future projects. The same questions were asked by telephone for clarification. In this article, the country where the evaluation took place will be referred to as the host country.

The authors chose a method of inquiry that used the voices of the researchers exclusively because, as Savin-Baden and van Niekerk (2007) advocated, “stories are the closest we can come to shared experience” (p. 462). This case study is both a restorying (Creswell, 2007) of the events that happened during 2 months of collaboration between African and American researchers on a federally funded project and a reflection of two key researchers—one American researcher who was born and educated in Africa, who was also the evaluation coordinator, and one American researcher who led one of the research teams. As Creswell clarified, “active participation with the participant is necessary, and researchers need to discuss the participants’ stories as well as be reflective about their own personal and political background, which shapes how they restory the account” (p. 57).

Study Background

In 2005, with a grant from an American agency, a U.S. university embarked on a collaborative project with officials of an African country to produce and disseminate school materials for the country’s early childhood programs. The materials were distributed nationwide to the schools in 2008 and 2009. Toward the end of 2009 and after the first 2 years of the program, a team of

researchers from the university developed a proposal for evaluating the extent of use of the materials and their impact. The proposal was vetted by partners in the host country. The final version of the evaluation proposal and protocols was completed in March 2010 and approved by both the receiving country's ministry of education and the university's institutional review board in May 2010.

In June 2010, after 2 weeks of intensive training in program evaluation methodology, five researchers and six student interns from the university traveled to Africa, where they were joined by three researchers and six students from the host country. On the American side, the researchers, including the evaluation coordinator, were selected because of their involvement in the development of the project and affiliation with the center that administered the project. The African side selected researchers from two education universities, primarily because of the universities' role in the adoption of the teaching and learning materials produced by the project. Both groups received more methodology training together for another week. The evaluation coordinator used the manual *Program Assessment Guidelines for Field Researchers* (Gahungu, 2010), tailoring it to the specific program evaluation project. In order to cover the whole country, researchers and interns were divided into five teams. Each team, composed of host country and American researchers, covered several contiguous school districts where they observed teachers and students using the materials and interviewed teachers and parents. In addition, the researchers also administered and collected surveys from teachers, head teachers, and other high-ranking administrators.

Each day during the fieldwork, researchers were required to keep a journal of their activities and lessons learned from the excursions. The experiences were shared within each of the five groups. After the individual group sessions, the evaluation coordinator hosted a teleconference with all team leaders to review the work progress and challenges met. All of those experiences culminated in a 1-day postevaluation reflection for all groups, where researchers shared their research and intercultural lessons. Key stakeholders of the program—the funding agency director in the host country, representatives from the country's ministry of education, members of the project advisory boards, and other officials—joined the researchers for the discussions. The last 2 hours of the postevaluation day were devoted to a short play in which the researchers portrayed their 2 months on the road, living in unfamiliar conditions, working with people from a different culture, eating different kinds of foods, and (for the first time for some

interns) conducting field research. The activities discussed in this article were approved by the U.S. university's institutional review board, as well as by the ministry of education in the host country.

Stories From the Field

The analyses reported in the following paragraphs summarize both the voices of the participants and the authors' retrospective self-reflections as research coordinators. The following summaries thus serve as an assessment of dispositions, performance, and resources needed for similar intercultural collaborative activities. Analyses are grouped around the following themes: (a) adherence to procedures and professionalism, (b) intercultural competence, (c) establishment of a shared performance system, and (d) navigating the institutional bureaucracy maze. These analyses lay the foundation for the Discussion and Recommendations sections of this article, which address obstacles to readiness for participants as well as requirements for institutional readiness for international outreach and engagement.

Adherence to Procedures and Professionalism

Verifying whether the evaluation teams were composed of qualified people who had the necessary research and evaluation skills was not easy. For the project at hand, the main research activities consisted of interviewing teachers and parents; observing teachers; and administering a survey to teachers, head teachers, district administrators, and national officials in order to ascertain the extent of use and impact of the materials on the end users. For both groups of evaluators, the main task was to verify that the materials had not only been produced and delivered to the schools, but were utilized and were having an impact in the classrooms. Each group also had specific expectations. Each researcher from the host country was assigned to a group and an area reflecting his or her understanding of the communities using the materials coupled with a good knowledge of the languages of communication, the customs of the places, and the physical terrain. Since the Americans' knowledge of the terrain was limited, they were expected to contribute mainly in the execution of the evaluation and analysis procedures.

Consistently, in all teams, team leaders' main task was to facilitate debriefings after each day's work and briefings in the morning about the work ahead. They verified that all instruments were assembled prior to field trips and reviewed the data collected for

thoroughness every evening. Team leaders were the main interviewers of teachers, head teachers, and other higher level officials. Host country team researchers were primarily responsible for interviewing parents. For transportation to field sites, the project had subcontracted drivers. Although the drivers were not part of the research teams and did not participate in orientation sessions, they knew the terrain and the languages and thus served as indispensable guides, translators, and cultural liaisons.

In addition to performing fieldwork, researchers took the time to visit places of cultural interest. Knowledgeable in-country team members and a logistics coordinator for the project were instrumental to these activities. At the conclusion of the summer project, U.S. student researchers were required to complete a survey about these cultural experiences and their fieldwork. Once the survey was completed and returned to the Office of International Programs, the students received a grade for the summer experience. The following paragraphs describe the five teams of researchers in terms of their complementary skills.

Team 1 conducted the evaluation around the host country's capital city. It consisted of four members. The team leader was an assistant professor of reading in the U.S. Although she had not conducted research overseas before, her prior experience as a school principal in the United States, coupled with her reading credentials, enabled her to understand the evaluation tasks at hand, particularly the observations of teachers. There were two U.S. undergraduate students on this team, a physical education major and a business major. The fourth member of the team was an undergraduate education major in the host country. In addition to being a student, the fourth member had been a teacher for several years. She played an essential role as translator, guide, interviewer, and go-to person for any outstanding questions about the local context.

Team 2 conducted research in the eastern, central, and western regions of the country. It consisted of a U.S. team leader, two student interns from the host country, one U.S. student intern, and a driver. The team leader, an assistant professor of elementary education in the United States, had participated in the design of the evaluation project and had been to the host country with the evaluation coordinator to conduct preassessment activities the previous year. The two student interns from the host country were both education majors, one at the undergraduate level and the other at the graduate level. Both were familiar with the languages spoken there. Because the American student intern, a graduate art education major, was a teacher, she was instrumental in interviewing and observations.

Team 3 was in the northern part of the country, the farthest from the capital city. The team leader was the evaluation project coordinator and a professor of educational leadership and administration in the United States. He codesigned the methodology of the evaluation project and developed field research guidelines that he used to train the researchers. His previous experiences included working on international projects. He also had participated in the preassessment of the project the previous year. The team members consisted of a researcher from the host country's university, a student intern majoring in business in the United States, and a driver. Although the host country researcher was not from that region, he was familiar with the region's language and customs. In that capacity, he served as the team's guide, translator, interviewer, and observer. The U.S. student's business skills were very useful in organizing interview and observation transcripts and in returning survey questionnaires. She also helped with taking notes during interviews and class observations.

Team 4 consisted of two team leaders, a co-team leader, two students, and a driver. It conducted the evaluation in part of the northern region of the country. One of the team leaders was a high official from the host country. This official was able to attend only the combined training in field research methodology; however, because of professional obligations, the official was unable to join the team in the field. Because of the official's absence, the U.S. logistics coordinator for the project was selected to act as co-team leader. The researcher on the team was a doctoral student from the host country, as well as an educator and a university-affiliated professional who had previously conducted program evaluations. Although not the leader of the team, he helped with all the aspects of the work including interviewing, observing teachers, and serving as liaison with the community. The U.S. student was a graduate business major who was traveling abroad for the first time.

Team 5 conducted research in the eastern and central regions of the country. It was led by a researcher in the host country's curriculum and research development office. She was assisted by a doctoral student from the United States who was also writing his dissertation on the project. With them were a graduate business major intern from the U.S. and a host country undergraduate education major. As in other teams, the citizens from the host country were primarily responsible for the interviews and translation.

As the description above shows, teams were unequally balanced both in group representation and in skills. The disparity came from several sources. First, some U.S. evaluators asked to

work relatively near the country's capital; they did not want to venture too far. Thus, Team 1 did not have an evaluator who had previously worked on a grant-funded project. Similarly, one of the teams did not have a researcher from the U.S., and its experienced team leader from the host country was unable to participate in activities.

In addition, criticism was expressed regarding the backgrounds of the researchers, and the overall qualification of some U.S. student interns was questioned. Some researchers were concerned that student interns did not have enough background to conduct research in schools, particularly since they had to observe teaching, interview teachers and parents, and assess the worth of teaching materials used in schools. One host country evaluator commented,

However, when education research is being conducted, I think that all of those involved need to be education majors or working in the field of education. Only two of the six students from the U.S. were students majoring in education. All of those participating who were from [the host country] were students majoring in education, teachers and/or working in an area of education. The U.S. students were productive and cooperative, but we were conducting education research in schools. It seemed to show a lack of regard for the field to send people to observe classes and do the research who were not members of the field. I wonder if it sends a message that one's training does not matter when it comes to education; anyone can do whatever is necessary to complete the educational task.

Intercultural Competence

Although the American student interns had taken an entire semester of a study abroad course in which they learned about the culture of the host country, followed by 3 weeks of orientation to field research and evaluation methodologies, some researchers reported that they had had inadequate or incomplete orientation about the research context. They observed that little was done to allay researchers' fears about where they would be going and what they would be doing. One researcher voiced disappointment in the shortcomings of the orientation:

Some field researchers were upset that they were being asked to go to certain areas. Some field researchers were

so afraid of the area they were being posted because the orientation was that such areas were without good drinking water, electricity or internet. A better orientation on the research context is needed in the future.

Other researchers countered the criticism by pointing to the educational nature of the project. Notably, one researcher described the steep learning curve she faced as a result of misinformation about Africa she had acquired through school. According to her, a short orientation course away from the field could not calm her fears of doing research in a foreign culture. The researcher reflected,

Traveling to [the host country] on this research trip gradually dispelled so many of my indoctrinations and beliefs. I was so impressed with the students. In [the host country], education is a prized possession.

Indeed, most student interns from the United States, as well as some seasoned researchers, had not traveled abroad, let alone in the host country. Their thought processes initially revolved around contrasts in the learning and teaching environment. Slowly, those thought processes shifted from misunderstandings to appreciation of the context. Statements by several American researchers illustrate that gradual shift:

The largest class we visited had about 70 students. There was no indoor space for them. The Head Teacher placed benches and a blackboard under the trees to protect the children from the sun and rain. Some children sat on the ground because there was no space on the benches. Those children without a bench seat sat on the ground and completed the assigned exercises in their books [*sic*].

The schools place the students into classes according to their academic ability. There were 8-year olds in the Kindergarten classes. I witnessed a 14 and a 16-year old in a Kindergarten class because this was their first time in school. The older students participated just as the younger members of the class.

Classes were observed with over 50 children in a class with one teacher and sometimes as many as 150 4- and 5-year olds.

Why do we, in the U.S., think that more than 30 children in a class is catastrophe?

The children were amazing. Regardless of their learning environment, they were smiling and seemed happy to be learning.

Some schools did not have the amenities of schools in the U.S. (electricity in the classroom, indoor plumbing for restrooms, computers, smart boards, etc.), but the 5-year-old children were quite capable of reading and able to use phonics in a manner that would challenge 3rd and 4th graders in the U.S.

By the end of the project, because the initial apprehensions had been sufficiently allayed, researchers of both countries were learning from the experiences of working in mixed teams, interviewing parents and teachers, and going to cultural sites such as the slave castles and baths. Interns from both countries offered statements that reflected their new understandings:

[The project] helped me gain a better understanding of the lives and hearts of others. (Host country intern)

[I] visited [a] slave castle again. It had more of an impact because I was with American students. (Host country intern)

I gained an understanding of my own soul. (U.S. intern)

The transformation from curious, fearful interns and researchers was so powerful that these startling assessments were made at the end of the project:

It was a blessing to go. (U.S. intern)

I want to return to [the host country]. I want to return to [the host country], become involved in education and recreation. (U.S. intern)

I want to return to [the host country] and bring my children to live here. (U.S. intern)

There were misconceptions and misinformation of the African students concerning the U.S. "People in the U.S. are rich. They acquire material items without exerting much effort." (Host country intern)

As a matter of fact, one U.S. student intern has returned to the host country and is now considering making it her country. However, beyond adaptation, one must understand the complexity of conducting research in another culture. Researchers, both African and American, observed how difficult it was for members of the visiting culture to be fully accepted. One American researcher shared:

The U.S. members, although treated politely, were considered foreigners. Being in and being seen in a group with those who lived in [host country] gave our group more acceptance.

One host country researcher went further and suggested that interview respondents may have not provided truthful responses to questions, but rather purposely appealed to the foreignness of the interviewers. In other words, the responses may not have reflected the extent of use of the materials provided by the school materials project or whether they had had an impact. Instead, respondents may have purposely depicted inadequate use and negative impact of the materials so that the assistance would continue. One of the researchers then recommended that the report should account for that "social desirability" effect:

What I observed particularly in [location redacted] is that some respondents were purposely giving responses that suggest they had a message for the American group. The responses were not addressing the questions but rather tilted towards expressing "a concern for help". I also think that the foreigner dimensions made some respondents to give fit for purpose

responses to the questions [*sic*]. I believe some of the responses were products of “social desirability effects.” I think the analysis (and the methodology section) should account for that possibility.

Adaptation was made even more challenging by unavoidable incidents among team members. For instance, on the first day of fieldwork, one U.S. team member stopped at a “squatting” toilet. The toilet became a subject of conversations, giggling, and jokes, which almost divided the teams along cultural lines. In retrospect, had the team leaders addressed the issue not only in terms of the functionality of the toilet, but also by drawing attention to the pervasiveness of the technology in the United States and the rest of the world, the rifts would have been avoided. The real issue, it seems, was ignorance and limited instruction prior to the trip, which led such a trivial incident to escalate into a subject of mockery, bashing, teasing, and tensions between the groups.

Finally, successful team leaders were people-to-people ambassadors who truly understood the political and social context of the evaluation. Several had never worked in a system where one had to be chauffeured to research sites. Managing and receiving guidance from the driver was a new learning opportunity. The drivers acted as interpreters and liaisons but were not invited to field orientation meetings and did not participate in briefings and debriefings; the cost of their involvement beyond driving was not included in the project. Consequently, there was little guarantee that drivers conveyed the information on the scripts, which presented potential problems with respect to the ethical conduct of the field research. After all, drivers were not trained researchers. On the other hand, team leaders were aware that overrelying on the good will of sub-contracted drivers was not an easy arrangement; besides, team leaders had no supervisory authority over the drivers.

Similarly, adjusting to the use of the correct etiquette when interacting with host country stakeholders was significant. A number of high-ranking administrators, particularly in the ministry of education, were elected officials and thus were referred to as “Honorable.” Professional counterparts were referred to by socially accepted forms of address to which researchers were not accustomed. Although people seemed to find being called “Mrs.” or “Mr.” acceptable, being conversant with the use of “Auntie,” “Mama,” or “Uncle” made access to the field site easier.

Establishment of a Shared Performance System

Beyond the journey, one must revisit the extent to which the teams accomplished their program evaluation mission and cohesively collaborated. No systematic metaevaluation of the project was conducted to specifically ask the researchers to appraise their performance collectively or in their mixed teams. Therefore, statements taken from all sources of information are used to infer the existence or nonexistence of a shared performance system between the two groups of researchers.

As previously described, both groups of researchers received training in field research in general and in program evaluation in particular. All researchers practiced mock interviews, teaching observations, and survey administration techniques. They also reviewed ethical guidelines in field research in general and program evaluation in particular. For 2 weeks—1 week in the United States and 1 week in the host country—researchers discussed and demonstrated at length the ethical and practical considerations of program evaluation.

This training attempted to establish a mutually agreed-upon and shared purpose for the evaluation. Once in smaller groups, the primary responsibility of team leaders was to continuously reinforce this frame of reference. Each morning before going to the schools, team leaders would speak to their team members about the nonnegotiable items of the evaluation, as well as elements that were flexible. Each evening after fieldwork, the team met again to evaluate their day's work and plan for the following day. The lead researchers set up a teleconference with the other team leaders to discuss their progress and the challenges, if any, they had faced.

Despite the preparation and the cautions, departures from the agreed-upon practices were often observed. For instance, in their reflections, several host country researchers observed that the Americans failed to connect with their interviewees and interlocutors and asked overly redundant questions just to continue with the script. Likewise, the host country researchers were often reported to oversimplify their questioning and note taking to the point that the information collected was incomplete. A host country researcher summarized this discrepancy:

The [host country] students summarized the questions, which allowed the respondents to express themselves freely. The Americans asked all the questions, thus making the interview lengthy. But I noticed it is due to the language barrier and accents of the language in

which the [host country researchers] had the upper hand [*sic*].

Indeed, the language of communication was an issue. However, as it was imparted during the training, following the script was needed to ensure that all the needed information was recorded, and could be analyzed. Simplifying the questions in interviewing is acceptable practice, as long as the needed information is captured; however, oversimplification of protocols that leads to data that partially answers evaluation questions is not productive. Likewise, mechanical adherence to scripts without being attentive to the interlocutors is also unproductive.

To compensate for the linguistic limitations and intercultural shortcomings of the Americans and the disregard for the script by the host country researchers, some team leaders opted for task specialization between host country researchers and Americans. For instance, only one interviewer or one observer was selected in the team, and the other team members would alternate as transcribers and interpreters. One researcher described the arrangement:

In my group, the duties of collecting the information were divided such that we each performed the same duties at each of the sites. The same person was assigned to stay with the children while we interviewed the teacher. The same person interviewed all of the parents, etc. In this way, we each became “experts” in performing our assignments and were able to gather the data in an expedient manner. Everyone took notes on their portion of the data collection.

I assigned the duties hours before we were to have our first meeting. After meeting with my team, the [host country] members of my team asked me to think about the language barrier that might occur even though the [host country] teachers and parents spoke English. Therefore, in collaborating with my team, assignments were changed. One of the [host country] members was assigned to interview all of the parents. The other [host country] member who recorded the number of project

books and materials that were being used was given time to perform that duty so that he could assist the U.S. person who was assigned to interview the teachers.

Data gathering would have been extremely difficult if not impossible (especially with the parents) had there not been [host country] members of the team. There were many times when the [host country] partner needed to translate the English language in the native tongue of the interviewee or reword the sentence to make it easier to understand in interviewing the teachers.

Whether or not these arrangements responded to the aspiration of each researcher and research intern to be conversant about all aspects of the evaluation process is an assessment beyond the scope of this article. However, such arrangements made it possible for team leaders to establish consistency and thus avert dissension among team members on intercultural lines.

The issue of a shared performance system also calls for a fundamental question of intercultural researchers' hidden agenda. When asked to share what they expected from the 2 months in the host country, one American researcher commented,

I expected to do research as it was shared with the team of our assignments with [school materials project]. I was not sure what to expect with the country, yet I was excited and had very little fear about the trip. My major challenge was culture/language barriers. I appreciated the [host country] students being there because we were able to learn from each other. The highlight of my trip were the wonderful people and all the experiences we shared together, i.e., the slave castle, the schools, shopping together, the excursions, etc.

Other American researchers almost exclusively seemed to have drawn their satisfaction from benefits of the trip other than the program evaluation itself. The camaraderie within groups, the "being there," and overcoming those first apprehensions about working with people from another culture seemed to have been the ultimate goal. Researchers made comments as they evaluated their epiphanies experienced on the project well ahead of the evaluation itself. For example:

[I] visited [the] slave castle again. It had more of an impact because I was with American students. (Host country participant)

[I was] eager to show American students my university. (Host country participant)

We traveled through harsh terrain for days, but it was worth it. (U.S. participant)

Wanting the strong bond between U.S. and [host country] to last. (Host country participant)

[Thanks to this project], I want to work with the US Embassy or NGO (USA) on behalf of the women and children of my country. (Host country participant)

Having and using polite manners are very important. (U.S. participant)

Navigating the Institutional Bureaucracy Maze

Conducting a cross-cultural, cross-border program evaluation is a complex undertaking in both planning and execution. In the case of the evaluation at hand, the planning process was slow; nonetheless, by the time the host country ministry of education allowed the activities to proceed, and the university's institutional review board approved the methodology, all parties involved were in agreement about the need for the evaluation and the logistics it required. However, the good intentions of the parties could not overcome some realities of governance of international projects.

First, the lead researcher observed that individuals who participated in the planning and design of the program evaluation in the host country were not the ones who joined the evaluation teams or the training sessions. During the preassessment sessions, a group of researchers were selected to review the methodology of the evaluation, including developing field research instruments, mapping field sites, and finalizing access to the field scripts. When the two groups of researchers met for the training in June 2010, there were subsequent changes. All the researchers from the host

team were replaced by other individuals who, although equally skilled researchers, nonetheless required familiarization with all the procedures from the very beginning. Even the field maps had to be redrawn. At least one key researcher who was to lead one of the field teams participated in the training but was unavailable for the rest of the activities.

Second, because of the shuffles in personnel, most teams, although they had at least one representative who understood the culture of the field sites, did not have the expertise and familiarity with the evaluation procedures that the initial planners would have brought. As a consequence, some teams resorted to drivers as guides and interpreters. Although the drivers' services were invaluable, they were nonetheless unfamiliar with the scripting of the procedures and were not included among the lists of investigators submitted to the institutional review board (IRB).

Third, to support expanding the mission of the project, students were added to the evaluation teams as research trainees. However, because not all team leaders had mentored research trainees in the past, it was not possible to maintain a consistent level of facilitation of team reflections held each evening after fieldwork. Notes from team leaders indicated that as days passed and the volume of data collected increased, some team leaders became more concerned about data storage, data transcription, and redrawing data collection maps than requiring team members to enter field observations and reflections as initially planned. Team leaders also noted that not all trainees had enough background in education to be effective in observing classes and in interviewing teachers and parents. This lack of skills made the work of the lead researcher and team leaders more demanding. Particularly during the middle days, when the excitement of working with the "other culture" had subsided, the main concern of the lead researcher and team leaders was to balance two sets of competing needs: on the one hand, mentoring team members and maintaining harmony among them; on the other, ensuring completion of work assignments and tending to trainees' development needs.

Fourth, and most important, access to the field for performing interviews and observation relied heavily on executing scripts consistently. Team leaders noted that although the scripts were clear and were approved by both the IRB and the host country's officials, the evaluation coordinator and team leaders had to exercise an unexpected amount of flexibility to seek permission to reach the schools and participants. Often, administrators who were initially contacted for field access had been replaced in their positions.

Consequently, communication with the new officials had to be transmitted through the project's in-country office staff. As is customary, all written communication had to bear an official stamp. These new replacements, as reliable as they were, did not participate in the orientation training. When the survey questionnaires and announcements of interviews and class observations reached the parents, teachers, and other participants, they may have been interpreted as administrative obligations as opposed to an invitation to voluntary participation. Furthermore, the teams had no way of ascertaining whether the language used in subsequent interoffice communications adhered to the language level required of the scripts or conveyed the purpose of the evaluation activities about which the initial group of administrators had been briefed.

Finally, team leaders noted that this grant-funded project was implemented as part of a broader national development agenda and that other nationally and internationally-funded projects with similar, supplemental, or complementary objectives were implemented at the same time. However, only officials at the national level seemed to know of the parallel initiatives. The researchers, as well as the end users of produced materials, were not fully informed of the broader policies. In the case of this evaluation, a complementary initiative funded by another agency had started distributing a set of teaching and learning materials to the same schools targeted. In some instances, the end users were not aware of the difference between the two sets. In others, the materials which were to be evaluated had not been distributed and were still stored in a container while the other set was used. In those situations, some teams of researchers were able to explain the differences; others opted to report the discrepancy only. In either case, the confusion distracted the evaluators.

Discussion

The stories and reflections reported above highlight several issues. The first challenge seems to be both with the selection of study abroad students and with the approval process for international research projects. On one hand, spending an academic period in another country, no matter how short or long, is an adventure for researchers and students, and the selection of the country or program may not always be guided by academic criteria alone. Some choose a country because relatives or former students from their majors have gone there before. Others choose a country for adventure or because of the flexibility of their academic assignments. In most of the programs to which this U.S. university sent students—

Europe, several countries in Africa, Mexico, Taiwan—participants engaged in academic and intercultural seminars combined with excursions. However, for the project at hand, a program evaluation component involving classroom observations and interviews of parents and educational professionals was added. Although the work included an academic component in the form of shadowing researchers, it turned out to be more technical and labor intensive than activities conducted in other programs, at least for researchers and students who were expecting some vacation abroad. Indeed, compared to tens of students going to other parts of the world in 2010, only six students selected this project. Because of the small pool of applicants, all six students were accepted to the program. The six students received an orientation to the program, but there was no further screening based on their research and program evaluation backgrounds or intercultural competence.

On the other hand, the approval process for international research is complex. The IRB generally will not approve research procedures until the host country has approved them. However, some host countries may not have a formal process for approving international projects. Thus, in the case of the evaluation project at hand, the final approval was obtained only 2 weeks before the group was to travel overseas. As a consequence of receiving the approval in mid-May with departure in the first week of June, the student interns barely had time to mentally prepare themselves for participating in evaluation activities. In contrast, study abroad students normally prepare for their experience through at least semester-long seminars and several weeks of in-country intercultural excursions.

Adhering to agreed-upon interviewing, observing, and data recording techniques seemed to work during the first days. The training the researchers had received throughout the orientation weeks appeared to work. All team leaders reported that their researchers were conforming to the scripts and that reflection times were very effective in correcting errors made. However, as days passed, members became more complacent. Interns were no longer writing as much in their pads, and some team members found the necessary scripts cumbersome; one member from the host country stopped following the scripts altogether. The researcher criticized the Americans for following the prescribed conventions of interviewing, such as using silence to let the interviewee elaborate, repeating what the interviewee said (i.e., “echoing”), and letting the interviewee talk. The researcher thought those techniques made the interviews too lengthy and reflected the Americans’ limited

communication skills in the host culture. Unfortunately, as a result of interviewers not following the protocols, particularly prodding for responses, sometimes whole interview sessions were sketched in one-word answers that could not be used in the reports.

Similarly, American student interns sometimes failed to read the context. They would make the interviewees uncomfortable by prodding them to expand on their responses when that was not needed, or they awkwardly used silence when that was not appropriate. Such experiences may have inspired pressure from their counterparts and awareness of their foreignness, which in turn caused the American student interns to abbreviate the interviews or the notes from interviews. In the last days of the evaluation, interview transcripts from both groups became incomprehensible, which made writing the final report extremely difficult.

The 3-week training in research procedures was very helpful. However, this training alone did not enable team members to sustain a uniform level of accountability. The teams that produced quality work apparently adhered to three basic principles. First, team leaders reinforced the techniques of program evaluation, particularly those related to interviewing and observing. During debriefing sessions, leaders had members discuss how they allowed participants to speak, echoed what they heard, and transcribed what they heard and saw, as opposed to jumping to interpretations. Second, team members were professional. They accepted and respected other team members. They did not overreact to criticism, and they ensured that their demeanor, attire, and speech—both during fieldwork and after work—were professional. Of particular importance was use of proper academic language; conflicts often arose when host country researchers perceived visitors' English-language slang as uneducated mistakes. Third, team leaders who were effective were those who took the time to continuously reinforce research procedures because, as one team leader reflected, "one can only change or forego a technique if s/he fully understands it."

Teams whose members truly viewed the evaluation as a cooperative activity to enhance understanding between the American people and the citizens of the host country seemed to do well. Those team members were, first and foremost, self-aware. In their intercultural conversations, they did not delve into stereotypes. They had the courage to acknowledge that their knowledge of their own country was limited. The cultural questions they asked their counterparts were genuine.

However, as these field stories highlighted, the teams sometimes needed more support from their campuses. At times, team leaders faced logistical, technical/training, or political issues that involved resources or skills that were not available while traversing the host country. More important, there were times when, several weeks into the project, team leaders started doubting what results the work would yield for them when they returned to their campuses. Would the extra mile put into improvised mentoring have a place in their portfolios, or count toward their promotion and tenure?

Recommendations

Intercultural collaboration on the evaluation of an international, grant-funded project involves several parties of stakeholders. The U.S. university and the country where the project was implemented, as the beneficiaries of the grant, and the funding agency, as the main sponsor of the grant, had signed a cooperative agreement guiding operations. Consequently, all three parties were responsible for executing the project from design to evaluation. Both the university and the officials at the ministry of education in the host country were responsible for the evaluation of the project. With approval from the funding agency, they proposed forming a cross-cultural team representing the two parties. To add to the capacity building of the project, lead researchers were asked to mentor student interns in the activities. Based on the teams' experiences, we offer a number of suggestions for involvement in similar intercultural collaborative activities. We propose that more thorough and appropriate preparation, as outlined in the following sections, could have made the experience more reliably worthwhile for researchers and contributed more to meeting the expectations of the communities involved.

Recommendations for Collaborative Research Coordinators

Coordinators of intercultural collaborative projects involving program evaluation and other engagement activities need to realize that not everybody is a program evaluator, much less an intercultural research collaborator. It is easy to romanticize a trip to another part of the world or hosting guests from other cultures. However, when the trip or the hosting involves an activity as labor intensive and as standard guided as program evaluation, that intrinsic motivation can be short lived. One must not only be ready to embark

on the journey, but also possess the stamina and the skills to stay the course. That is why it is recommended that researchers be carefully selected for their motivation and skills. In particular, student researchers should not just go abroad or be called to work on an international project without an assessment of their character and predisposition to intercultural activity. Therefore, the authors recommend that only researchers who are self-aware, open to other cultures, and true to the “people-to-people” mission of the project should be selected to conduct an international, collaborative program evaluation. Further, researchers should be team leaders only if they know the project from the inside and are informed about the political and social context of the project.

Second, a one-semester course of orientation to study abroad cannot by itself guarantee that students will be ready to function abroad. Such courses are often too generic. For example, this project would have benefited from a more structured, deeper, and longer orientation program once in the host country. Moreover, orientation courses seem to target students only. Faculty and staff also need an orientation. Crash orientation sessions that are organized at the beginning of activities can be cumbersome, particularly if they focus on the logistics of the work, rather than the evaluation skills and awareness. That is why it is recommended that teams be balanced in technical and interpersonal skills as well as in the knowledge of the terrain. Because the evaluation procedures required the teams to crisscross the host country, some teams had more skills than others, which affected the availability of lead evaluators to mentor interns and to consistently monitor field activities. Furthermore, orientation in the evaluation methodology can never be long enough. The 3 weeks that the visiting group spent receiving the training and the 1 week of combined training of the two groups were not enough to ensure that all evaluators, particularly research interns, became interculturally competent and able to fully adhere to all evaluation standards—utility, feasibility, propriety, accuracy, and accountability (Yarbrough *et al.*, 2011).

Third, even a good and fun adventure can be structured. It only took 2 weeks for some groups in this project to become complacent about their mandatory morning briefing and evening debriefing sessions. Team leaders also became more lenient about completion of journal notes and reflections before bedtime, as well as evening calling-in to the research coordinator. Those activities ought to be the fabric of the collaborative experience. Only when team leaders continuously reinforce procedures and facilitate reflections will team members be able to function in a cross-cultural

collaborative program evaluation. Team members must at all times adhere to the procedures and to the highest professional standards. Doing so requires, in turn, that team leaders be well organized and knowledgeable about the whole picture. They also should ensure that negative attitudes, which often result from a combination of tolerating stereotypes, ignorance, and fatigue, do not contaminate the team spirit. For that, team leaders must set boundaries about the types of teasing, jokes, and attitudes to allow.

Fourth, a common purpose must serve both as a reminder to look beyond the immediate and a window to opportunities. Once in the field, it is easy to forget why one is there. Data collection, analysis, and logistical arrangements soon take precedence over the diplomatic and humanitarian purpose of the experience. Very soon, crisscrossing the host country and writing reports become the goal; establishing a shared performance system for the evaluation becomes neglected. It was easy for members of one group to view the significance of the project through their exclusive lenses. As days passed and routines were established, it became difficult for teams to retain a rigorous focus on their mission. Team leaders became preoccupied with ensuring that there were no omissions in the transcriptions or storage of data collected, that the logistics were coordinated within and among teams, and that there was harmony among group members. Consequently, teams devoted less time to reflecting together and writing about the meaning of their experiences. We recommend that team leaders adopt a methodology for continuously maintaining a focus on the common purpose of the evaluation, make it a priority, and never stop instilling in researchers what the evaluation means for the communities involved. In particular, before embarking on an intercultural collaborative project, research coordinators and researchers ought to receive structured training in techniques for gaining and maintaining trust of key stakeholders in the collaborative country.

Recommendations for Selecting and Training Student Researchers, Faculty, and Auxiliary Staff

As discussed above, the selection of student researchers from the U.S. university and matching them with student researchers from the host country was an activity approved and added at the last minute. The student researchers had already signed up for the summer project in the host country and were already attending an intercultural orientation course targeting the host country, but with the understanding that they would do the usual teacher aide work. Once the activity was added, the students received several sessions

of training tailored to technical and ethics issues in program evaluation and design, field access, and intercultural communication. Omitted, however, was another round of one-on-one interviews with the research team to ensure that the students were fully ready for the challenge. Such a screening would have resulted in some students being dropped from the program, replaced on the project, or given more preparation.

However, in retrospect, our experience shows that such last-minute provisions would not have been enough. Students, faculty, and staff who participate in intercultural collaborative activities need to receive preparation that reflects the realities of such work. Students need coursework in effective communication and engagement activities as well as experience in program evaluation and such areas as international and intercultural awareness. Similarly, the faculty and staff performing their first international project evaluation should not be assigned to an international, intercultural collaborative activity. Such projects are appropriate only for faculty and staff skilled and trained in ethical issues of program evaluation and experienced in program evaluation design and field access.

Auxiliary staff such as drivers and office staff need to be more effectively inducted into activities. Project coordinators ought to make drivers part of the teams from the start. Training sessions can be used for sharing drivers' knowledge of the terrain and for familiarizing the drivers with the researchers. At a minimum, the drivers ought to be consistently informed, together with the researchers, about the design of the project, ethical issues in collecting the data, and communicating with the stakeholders. The same ought to be true for office staff who interact with stakeholders and researchers. In this project, office staff were privy to conversations among researchers and drivers, whether directly or indirectly, and were responsible for communication between researchers and stakeholders. Leaving them unaware of ethical issues involved in such critical activities as contacting stakeholders, contacting interviewees, and managing project resources could jeopardize the entire evaluation.

Finally, at the conclusion of the project, a better coordination of efforts is needed for assessment of student researchers' experiences, as well as faculty and staff's experiences. Students' grades for their summer internships should be awarded based on recommendations from their team leaders. Similarly, a more consistent structure for assessing the roles of faculty, drivers, and auxiliary staff, on both the U.S. side and the host country's side, needs to be

carefully created to ensure that the efforts of these individuals are included in participating institutions' accomplishments.

Recommendation for Involving Student Researchers and Auxiliary Staff

For both hosts and visiting teams, navigating the complexities of internationally-funded grant projects can become an added learning task. As this project exemplified, cooperative agreements are sometimes fluid. Whether in response to broader national goals and changing political environments or for diplomatic reasons, projects often request funding for supplementary activities that can divert researchers' attention from their primary focus. The addition of students as research interns from the American and African sides, although a very diplomatic gesture, called for the team leaders to exercise mentorship skills that they may not have had. At the least, the addition stretched the focus and expertise of the team leaders. If this responsibility had been anticipated from the start, only research team leaders with a background of working with and mentoring research/teaching assistants would have been selected for the project. Therefore, we recommend that institutions establish within their international outreach centers (and establish such a center, if the university does not have one) a structure for training faculty in intercultural research mentoring.

Similarly, the drivers, although indispensable in their roles as interpreters and tour guides, required some added *savoir-faire* from researchers. This situation was exacerbated by the drivers' not having participated in the research teams' orientation sessions. Therefore, we recommend that team leaders be versed, in addition to research and intercultural competence, in cooperation rules. They must also be fully informed and prepared to work in the international context and prepared for a variety of exigencies. For example, host country researchers may unexpectedly depart collaborative activities due to the demands of their employment. Team leaders must have the training, technical skills, and networking capability to complete the collaboration with sometimes unpredictable resources.

Recommendation for Participating Institutions: Creating a Comprehensive Center for Global Outreach and Engagement Initiatives

Professionals involved in global outreach and engagement activities, such as those described in this report, may perform their

role thousands of miles away from campus. Even when hosting activities in their own countries, intercultural collaboration can take professionals out of their comfort zone. Because of the sensitive nature of international collaborative activities whose success depends on many factors and many stakeholders, ensuring that activity designs are effectively implemented requires a thought-through system of support. A higher education institution's global outreach and engagement center may give involved stakeholders enough structure and resources to not only plan ahead, but also face unexpected challenges by providing the following eight functions: academic programming; integrated intercultural competence and awareness; study abroad; international grants and research; faculty development and support; logistics, technology, and business operations; communication and dissemination; and linkages with international universities and organizations (see Figure 1).

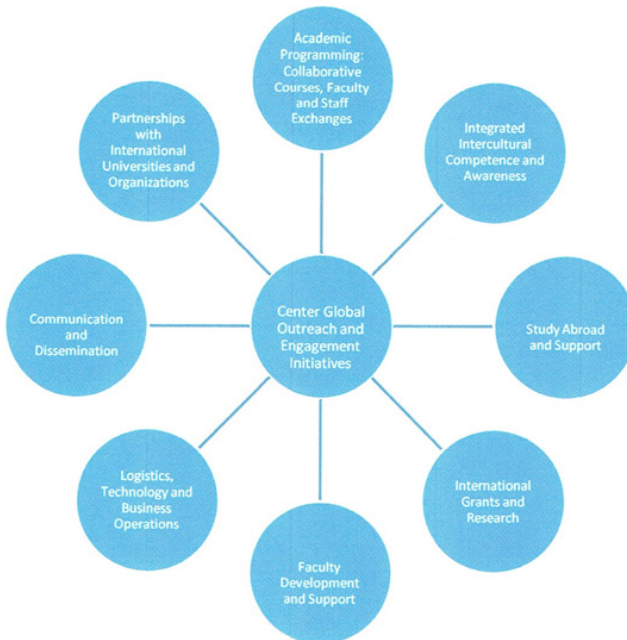


Figure 1. Functions of a comprehensive center for global outreach and engagement.

First and foremost, effective initiatives for global outreach and engagement need to rely on strong academic programming that develops collaborative courses, establishes dual degrees with international universities and institutions, and plans faculty and staff exchanges. Parallel to academic programming must be plans

to infuse integrated intercultural competence and awareness into academic and social programs. This way, students, faculty, and staff who participate in global outreach and engagement would draw from an established culture of globalization.

The study abroad and support unit would be charged with developing courses for all students conducting short- and long-term programs abroad, including summer programs and internships. The unit will also create and schedule orientation courses and screening procedures for students who go abroad, as well as mechanisms for placing students and assessing their experiences. This unit will also be responsible for coordinating with faculty and academic programs in assessing the academic and cultural experiences of students who complete study abroad programs. Adjustments to country placements, cultural experiences, logistics, and pairing of students with faculty would be proposed by this unit as well.

The international grants and research unit will be responsible for coordinating and monitoring global initiatives including assessment and support. The faculty development and support unit will provide continuous development and support to faculty involved in global initiatives. The logistics, technology, and business operations unit will ensure efficiency of center operations. Newsletters, websites, and other promotional services will be sustained through the communication and dissemination unit. This unit will also coordinate discussions among researchers about disseminating their findings and experiences through scholarly publications and presentations. Most of all, this unit will ensure that the correct protocols for disseminating grant-funded work are consistently and properly followed. Finally, the center will continue to initiate and expand partnerships with international universities and organizations. Full development of the concepts outlined here will support increasing thoroughness and professionalism of outreach and engagement initiatives.

Disclaimers

The collaborative activities discussed in this article were funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). However, the views presented in the article are those of the authors, and do not represent the views of USAID or the project.

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PROJECTS WITH PROMISE

Engaging a Developmentally Disabled Community Through Arts-Based Service-Learning

Amanda Alexander

Abstract

This study examined whether teaching in a community arts organization that provides services for people with developmental disabilities enabled preservice art teachers to better understand diverse contexts of art programs and the benefits of teaching the arts to others. Through this activity, the author also examined whether preservice art teachers became more civic-minded individuals. Preservice art teachers applied course concepts in a community setting by teaching art lessons to people with disabilities. Pretest and posttest questionnaires, students' reflections, and observation were used to study changes in preservice art teachers' perceptions by considering variables and indicators from a model proposed by Amy Driscoll et al. (1998) to assess students involved in service-learning. Preservice art teachers showed a reduction in anxiety around this community, leadership development, strong relationship building, and a change in perceptions about community engagement and outreach. However, results revealed shortcomings in realizing concern for social justice implicit in the goals of this study.

Introduction

Many art educators are committed to social justice, whether in the K-12 classroom, higher education, nonprofit arts organizations, museums, or state/federal arts policy organizations. According to Cipolle (2010), adults committed to social justice have common characteristics such as family values, educational environment, and comparable service experiences. Cipolle (2010) explained that early experiences for an individual are the "key ingredients that contribute to forming an action identity committed to justice" (p. 28).

Personally, I can trace my own interest in social justice issues to high school, when I was given the opportunity to participate in a leadership academy program that encouraged high school students to connect with the community. I remember working on Saturdays organizing and preparing boxes of food for delivery at a local food pantry. In my case, community experience planted the seed for my continued interest in social justice issues.

My high school experience guided me into service as an undergraduate student, and then on to joining the Peace Corps and participating in service throughout graduate school. During the years I spent teaching as a graduate teaching assistant and a visiting assistant professor, I provided similar opportunities to my undergraduate students. These opportunities would be considered community service or “light” service-learning. The distinction is that service-learning has an explicit connection to teaching and learning that community service lacks (*Bringler & Hatcher, 1995*). I had yet to fully appreciate the extent of the connections that could be made through service-learning. Exploring service-learning as a vehicle for research had not crossed my mind. Not until I became an assistant professor at the University of Texas at Arlington (UTA) in the Dallas–Fort Worth (DFW) metroplex was I introduced to a more prescribed form of service-learning and its implications for research.

The Beginning: Context and Community Need

As a faculty member, I was selected to be a University Service-Learning Fellow with the Center for Community Service-Learning (CCSL) for the 2012–2013 academic year. The fellowship consisted of participation in monthly seminars with other faculty fellows; learning from readings about service-learning; writing reflections; listening to guest speakers who had conducted successful service-learning projects; discussing service-learning possibilities, relationships, teaching, and research with other faculty across the university; and developing and writing service-learning plans. Faculty fellows were to embrace the mission of the UTA CCSL, which was to enhance learning and civic responsibility through community engagement.

Throughout the Fall 2012 semester, I was dedicated to learning about and planning a service-learning course. I used the Spring 2013 semester to implement my first service-learning course, *Applying and Teaching Art Curricula*. The preservice art teachers in this course worked with a nonprofit organization called Evergreen Life Services, which provides services for people with developmental disabilities. Evergreen serves, provides for, and champions individuals with disabilities in five ways:

1. The organization’s members are committed to the inclusion of people with disabilities in their home communities.

2. They have a basic belief in and assurance to advocacy for human and civil rights.
3. They are dedicated to the highest possible quality of life for disabled individuals.
4. They are devoted to encouraging the spiritual growth and nurturance of all people.
5. They maintain a long-term commitment to provide for people with disabilities by maintaining a stable, viable, principled, and financially healthy organization.

In 2012, Evergreen reached out to local universities in the DFW area looking for faculty in the arts who could provide student partnerships for a new program called the Cultural Arts and Production Center (CAPC). I was aware of and had volunteered for similar programs when I was in graduate school, and I knew the potential benefits to people with developmental disabilities. The program's mission was "dynamic curriculum that include[d] art, music, theater, ceramics, and production in an environment that fosters creativity and inspires self-reliance for those with developmental disabilities" (*Evergreen Life Services, 2015, para. 2*). The idea was to incorporate the arts into the everyday experiences of clients whom Evergreen serves, hoping that clients would not only be able to sell their artwork for profit, but also to use art for self-expression as a therapeutic coping mechanism for emotional highs and lows.

My faculty fellowship and the contact by Evergreen seemed a perfect match. As an art educator, I wanted to provide and encourage my students to build relationships with the community as I had when I was young. Incorporating service-learning with my undergraduate course would enrich and engage preservice art teachers and meet a community need; furthermore, it would provide an opportunity to conduct a pilot research study. My research objective for this study was to explore how preservice art teachers teaching in a community arts organization with people who have developmental disabilities could better understand socially and culturally diverse contexts of art programs and the benefits of teaching the arts to others. I was also curious to learn how these preservice art teachers could become more civic-minded individuals.

The goal of this research was to examine whether or not students could apply and test course concepts from *Developing and Constructing Art Curricula* (the Fall 2012 prerequisite course) in the Spring 2013 course, *Applying and Teaching Art Curricula*, which would include service-learning. The two courses constituted

a curricular sequence in which the first was a prerequisite for the second. In *Developing and Constructing Art Curricula*, students learned strategies, theories, methods, philosophies, and assessments employed in the teaching of art. In the subsequent service-learning course, *Applying and Teaching Art Curricula*, they were able to apply and test the ideas and concepts learned in the first. This research is important for preservice art teachers because in most schools, art teachers will encounter disabled youth in their classrooms; the information presented here has the potential to enhance art teaching skills and to promote a better understanding of adults and children with developmental disabilities.

Service-Learning and Art Education

To understand service-learning's roots, one must look to Dewey's (1938) ideas about experiential education and Freire's (1993) action-oriented, critical consciousness. Dewey, influenced by a profound belief in democracy, considered two fundamental elements—schools and civil society—to be major topics needing attention. He argued for a quality education where people would learn through experience, experimentation, purposeful learning, and freedom. Freire believed education to be a political act that could not be divorced from pedagogy. Both theorists advocated education as a mechanism for social change and laid the foundation for what is today called service-learning (Deans, 1999). Service-learning is similar to and has the same theoretical background as action research, participatory research, popular education, empowerment research, participatory action research, community-based research, and others (Strand, Marullo, Cutforth, Stoecker, & Donohue, 2003).

The National and Community Service Trust Act of 1993 defined service-learning as a method under which participants learn and develop through active participation in thoughtfully organized service that is conducted in and meets the needs of a community. Strand et al. (2003) saw the bases of the method in collaboration, democratization of knowledge, and social change and justice. Cipolle (2010) perceived service-learning and social change in the context of enhanced awareness and critical consciousness, referring to deepening the awareness of self, developing a deeper awareness and broader perspective of others, developing a deeper awareness and broader perspective of social issues, and seeing one's potential to make changes in society.

For some time, art educators have explored community-based art education (*Bastos, 2002; Ulbricht, 2005*), community-based art and community art (*Adejumo, 2000; Bastos & Hutzel, 2004; Congdon, 2004; Hutzel & Cerulean, 2003*), service-learning and the arts (*Buffington, 2007; Hutzel, 2007; Hutzel, Russell, & Gross, 2010; Krensky & Steffen, 2008; Russell & Hutzel, 2007; Taylor, 2002, 2004*), and art gallery spaces and teacher preparation in the context of service-learning (*Innella, 2010; Milbrant, 2006*). Community-based art education approaches share a number of traits with service-learning: collaboration, democratization of knowledge, and social change and justice (*Strand et al., 2003*). Viewed through the theories of Dewey, Freire, and others, engaging students in an art education curriculum or art-based project contextualized by service-learning can have the beneficial effect of supporting their development in various positive learning outcomes across the full spectrum of art content, pedagogy, civil society, and social justice.

The National Youth Leadership Council developed service-learning standards for quality practice. When these standards are linked to the arts, one can better connect art education and service-learning. Brown and Leavitt (*2009*) provided a list of arts-based service-learning (ABSL) standards:

1. "ABSL has sufficient duration and intensity to address community needs, in-depth exploration and experiential learning in the arts, and specified outcomes.
2. ABSL actively engages participants in meaningful and personally relevant arts and service activities.
3. ABSL provides youth with a strong voice in planning, implementing, and evaluating arts-based experiences with guidance from teachers, teaching artists, and community members.
4. ABSL promotes understanding of diversity and mutual respect among all participants.
5. ABSL partnerships are collaborative, mutually beneficial, and address community needs through the arts.

6. ABSL incorporates multiple challenging reflection activities that are ongoing and that prompt deep thinking and analysis about oneself, one's relationship to society, one's relationship to the arts, and the role of the arts in society.

7. ABSL engages participants in an ongoing process to assess the quality of implementation and progress toward meeting specified goals, and uses results for improvement and sustainability" (p. 12).

The goals for service-learning and art education complement each other in ways that make students stronger not only in understanding the arts but also in backing their communities.

Connecting Art Making to Service-Learning

Using the Driscoll et al. (1998) model of student variables and indicators to assess student changes and perceptions while involved in service-learning, measurement tools were developed to capture the existence of an indicator or measure changes in an indicator. Table 1 displays the variables and indicators for measuring student impact in this study.

Table 1. Student Variables and Indicators

Variables	Indicators
Awareness of community	Knowledge of community history, strengths, problems, definition
Involvement with community	Quantity/quality of interactions, attitude toward involvement
Commitment to service	Plans for future service
Career choice	Influence of community placement job opportunities
Self-awareness	Changes in awareness of strengths, limits, direction, role, goals
Personal development	Participation in additional courses, extracurricular activities
Academic achievement	Role of community, experience in understanding and applying content
Sensitivity to diversity	Attitude, understanding of diversity, comfort and confidence
Autonomy/independence	Learner role
Sense of ownership	Learner role
Communication	Class interactions, community interactions

Three methods were employed to measure impact: pretest/posttest questionnaires, student reflections, and observation. The pretest/posttest questionnaires revolved around the variables listed in Table 1. Reflection was used to gather qualitative data in the form of testimonials (Ash & Clayton, 2004; Bringle & Hatcher, 1995). Reflection is an “active, persistent, and careful consideration of any belief or supported form of knowledge in light of the grounds that support it” (Dewey, 1933, p. 146). Experience becomes educative when critical reflective thought creates new meaning and leads to growth and the ability to take informed actions (Bringle & Hatcher, 1999). Reflection prompts were provided based on the widely-used framework: What? So what? Now what? This framework was based on David Kolb’s (1984) “concrete experience, reflective observation, abstract conceptualization, and active experimentation” (p. 41) analytic phases of the reflective process. The first question prompted students to describe their experiences during arts-based service-learning events. To answer the second question, students examined and interpreted their descriptions in terms of their personal development. For the third question, students contemplated the impact of the experience to insights and connections with the future of their teaching and civic engagement. Students turned in one-page reflection responses in the form of printed hard copies or by e-mail. Observations and photographs of students were recorded while the students participated in arts-based service-learning events during class.

Preparation

During the first few weeks of the Spring 2013 semester, students in Applying and Teaching Art Curricula read about art therapy, developmental disability, and service-learning, and they engaged in class discussions. This armed students with an understanding of the people with whom they would work and with the concepts on which service-learning is based.

To improve rapport and augment relationships, the class was split into three groups. These three groups worked with a set of three groups of people at the CAPC for three art-making sessions, each of which was 3 hours in duration. With this structure, it was possible for students to plan one art unit with three lessons, using one lesson for each of the art-making sessions. In groups, the students chose an overall theme or big idea for the unit and developed three lessons that corresponded to that big idea. Used in art education for unit and lesson planning, *big ideas* are themes that reflect big questions about the human experience (Stewart & Walker,

2005). Students planned, developed, applied, and taught their units. Students had learned the process for planning a unit and its lessons during the fall course. As part of the planning process, I instructed students to use the art therapy literature to initiate ideas and to prepare their unit's lessons based on the needs of the developmentally disabled participants. While planning and developing these lessons, they prepared prototypes to test methods and strategies, working through kinks and thinking about how challenging the making of art might be for someone with developmental disabilities.

Art-Making Sessions

Overall, the service-learning project consisted of three art-making sessions with roughly 36 developmentally disabled adults and 18 students over a period of one semester. Students worked in groups of six teaching art to 12 participants. To distinguish between the subjects in the research, student participants will be called "students," and the CAPC participants will be called "participants" throughout this article. Additionally, I required students to volunteer at the CAPC for 10 hours outside of class to support stronger relationship building and understanding of this population. Approval from the Institutional Review Board was received before the semester and research began.

Session 1. Each of the three groups of students planned and tested their art unit and lessons for Sessions 1 through 3 before teaching them to participants. Working from the art therapy literature, Group 1 chose the unit theme music and worked with both fluid and resistive materials. Landgarten (1987) positioned materials along a continuum, using the terms least controlled and more controlled. Materials that have more structure (like collage or wood assemblage) or more solidity (like pencils or firm clay) are described as resistive or *more controlled*. Materials that have less structure, that flow easily, or that can be manipulated more freely are described as being fluid or *less controlled* (Hinz, 2009; Lusebrink, 1990).

For Session 1, Group 1 prepared a lesson based on fluid materials working in 2D with watercolor paints, glue, and salt. They introduced a variety of music as inspiration and to evoke emotion for participants' art making. Each participant was able to experiment with the watercolors and see how the glue and salt interacted with the paint.

Group 2 decided on the unit theme of emotions. Although art therapists share a consensus that fluid materials elicit more

emotional responses than resistive ones, research to confirm such observations definitively is lacking (Malchiodi, 2012). "Emotional or cognitive content is dependent on other aspects of the creative process including the specific process introduced and clients' personal preferences for using art for self-expression" (Malchiodi, 2012, p. 29).

During this first session, Group 2's project was splatter painting. Group members prepared two pieces of paper adhered to cardboard as a diptych and provided different cups or bottles filled with watered-down paint. The focus of their art-making project was to elicit two emotions and work with the participants to express these emotions by splattering color.

Group 3 decided on a unit theme of expression through color and collage. "Images and image formation, whether mental images or those drawn on paper, are important in all art therapy practice because through art making participants are invited to reframe how they feel, respond to an event or experience, and work on emotional and behavioral change" (Malchiodi, 2012, p. 18). Group 3's art-making lesson allowed participants to actively try out, experiment with, respond to, and rehearse a desired emotional and/or behavioral change, event, or experience through collage, which involved a tangible object that was physically altered.

Since Session 1 took place shortly before Valentine's Day, Group 3 based the first lesson on the creation of Valentine boxes and cards made with the collage technique. They provided shoeboxes, a variety of colored paper, scrapbooking stickers, and glue sticks. They began by teaching the history of Valentine's Day and discussing color and collage. Participants were pleased with being able to make the Valentine's Day cards and then give them to one another and family members. They were proud of their accomplishment and showed off their boxes to everyone in the facility.

Session 2. Group 1's lesson for the second session was a mix of both fluid and resistive materials in 2D form. They began by using colored pencils and markers, and then participants used melted crayons to add wax to their artwork. Again, the idea was for participants to be inspired by a mix of music that was playing while they created art.

Group 2's lesson for the second session was called the Tree Bark Project. The group taught color theory and had color theory charts at each table for participants' reference. The lesson was designed to guide participants to make art using colors based on their mood. Participants could use watercolors to paint their paper with any

color based on their mood; then they designed, drew, and cut out trees that were adhered to the painted piece of paper.

Group 3's lesson was another color and collage project but this time, participants wrote their names on transparent paper that adhered to a window or glass pane. Participants used colored tissue paper to collage their name so that when hung on a window, it gave a stained-glass effect.

Session 3. For Session 3, students continued with their unit themes and created different art lessons based on these themes. Group 1 switched from fluid, 2D materials to resistive, 3D materials using clay. In Group 2's project, participants drew their initials over a painted background, outlined their initials with pins, then wove string or yarn around the pins to create a web. Group 3 continued using color and collage but with more traditional media. Participants created collages using images and text from magazines.

Volunteering

In order to build rapport and relationships with participants at the CAPC, students spent 10 hours on volunteer contact outside the course schedule. The three art-making sessions were intended to facilitate interaction, help students test theoretical concepts and strategies, and promote examples of teaching and learning. However, "communities are well-developed, complex entities that must be understood and accepted rather than required to adapt to university culture" (*Kellett & Goldstein, 1999, p. 32*). During the volunteer time, therefore, students were to focus on building relationships in order to better understand participants and the organization and feel the "soul of the community" (*Lima, 2013, p. 88*). It was hoped that they would become deeply involved in the community and that rather than finding the time boring, they would want to repeat the experience outside class.

Initially, students were not enthusiastic about the 10 hours; however, at the end of the semester, the outside-class hours resulted in some of the best work. Without much direction, students collaborated on several projects. Certain students took leadership positions to rally other students together to work on bigger, more collaborative outcomes. The three main projects in which almost all students participated were a quilt project, making paper bag puppets, and a graffiti wall.

The graffiti wall surprised everyone who was involved. It was a massive project that continued for weeks, and the CAPC leadership as well as participants raved about the end result. The graf-

fiti wall was initiated in the facility as a place where participants could openly paint to express emotions, share daily occurrences, or communicate whatever they were feeling. With the assistance of two other students, one student developed the initial concept, but the entire class participated in the project at least once. At first, the students did not believe that the CAPC leadership would allow them to paint on a wall in the facility. However, when the students discussed the idea with them, the leaders were excited about the concept. A group of students collaborated with participants to set up the wall by taping it off, writing rules and inspirational sayings at the top, painting the background with different colors, and initiating the graffiti. After this start, others joined in with their own artwork, text, and ideas. Throughout the semester, different groups of students used their volunteer hours to open the wall and paint with participants. The wall continuously morphed and changed over time.

With the many changes and people painting over the artwork of others, some had difficulty letting go of previously painted sections. One of the CAPC leaders commented many times that she felt sad when something was painted over. The students' intention from the beginning, however, had been for the wall to change, morph, and evolve. The wall was based on the idea of letting go and not becoming attached to any one image or artwork. After some time, CAPC leaders and participants enjoyed the act of painting over past works and made many comments about liking the evolution of the wall (Figure 1).



Figure 1. The graffiti wall, students, and participants who worked together to create the artwork.

Reflections and Questionnaires

Students were required to complete four reflections, one for each art-making session and one for the 10 hours of volunteer time. These reflections offered much information about changes in perception, although the prompts were not directly about perception. All but one student indicated an increase in satisfaction with the service-learning project as time progressed throughout the semester. From the first reflection, which revolved around how fearful, anxious, and nervous students were at the outset, to the final reflection, which described not wanting to stop working at the CAPC, making great friendships, and enjoying the experience immensely, it became apparent that there was strong agreement about the value of the service-learning. Overall, the reflections indicated changes of perception regarding levels of personal anxiety, knowledge about people with developmental disabilities, leadership development, self-confidence, and relationship building. The following student reflection quotes are indicative of these perception changes:

“I was beyond nervous about working with special needs adults the first time we went there... Once we started spending time with the people there and getting to know them, it’s hard to imagine there was ever anything to be afraid of in the first place. Nearly everyone I’ve met there seems to truly enjoy having the opportunity to create art and finding an outlet to express themselves. They’re also just genuinely nice people who [are] always ready to give you a hug and ask how you’re doing. I definitely plan on spending more time volunteering there in the future, because it’s a fantastic way to help enrich the lives of others as well as your own.”

“As scared and nervous as I was at the beginning, the time I spent at the CAPC was refreshing, educational, and fun. The people there were amazing and having made friends with some of them made me feel special. The smiles on their faces when we walked in made me feel like a celebrity. The time I spent at the CAPC was a priceless learning and teaching experience. If I have the chance, I’d like to visit next semester as well and catch up with my new friends Nathan and Maria.”

“Service-learning is a humble experience, and every time we go we get to help our community. It is very rewarding seeing how much they appreciate us being there and having the opportunity working with them. I hope that I will be able to go back and work with them, as well as being able to collaborate with my classmates makes this experience better. I definitely do plan to keep helping out at the CAPC when given the chance, as well as to get more involved in my community.”

“This time has opened up my eyes to another world that I want to take more time to learn about and see what other ways that I can give my time. I have always wanted to do something with the mentally disabled but I don’t know if I would have ever had the courage to pursue this without having spent this time with the people at Evergreen.”

Most responses from the reflections were similar to these four short examples in illustrating an increased awareness about and better knowledge of the developmentally disabled community, expressing an interest in repeating the experience, and continuing to work with people through the arts. All students mentioned their progress in teaching art, understanding concepts, reworking ideas, reflecting and making their practice better throughout the semester, and learning how to better facilitate working with people with disabilities. The majority of responses suggested greater civic-mindedness after the service-learning experience. Many students wrote that they wanted to return, wanted to become more involved in their communities, and wanted the good feelings that came from teaching art in the CAPC community.

Pretest/Posttest Questionnaires

Pretest and posttest questionnaires were administered to the students at the beginning and end of the semester to examine changes in their perceptions regarding service-learning, the socially and culturally diverse contexts of art programs, the benefits of teaching the arts to others, and their civic-mindedness.

Demographics. There were 18 students in the course: 16 females and two males. Eight students were aged 18 to 22, six were aged 23 to 27, two were aged 28 to 32, and two were aged 33 to 42.

Ten students were Caucasian, seven were Hispanic, and one was Asian American.

Pretest/Posttest Comparison. After responding to general demographic questions, students provided responses to a set of questions (Questions 13–28) that were based on agreement levels about perception changes. The questions were drafted to produce responses regarding the students' civic engagement, guided by Driscoll et al.'s (1998) model of student variables and indicators, and to address the overall research goals. The questions were the same for both the pretest and posttest questionnaires except that the latter did not require preassessment demographic information. The questionnaires used a Likert scale where 1 = *strongly disagree*, 2 = *disagree*, 3 = *neutral*, 4 = *agree*, and 5 = *strongly agree*.

One of the questions on the pretest questionnaire inquired, "How would you describe your level of community service/volunteer involvement during the last 4 years?" The majority of students responded "sometimes" or "rarely" involved. One student responded as "very" involved, and three students said they were "never" involved. This question provided insight into the students' amount of community service involvement before taking the course and provided a preassessment of students working in their communities before the project. This, however, did not indicate their level of service-learning experience because the question was inquiring about general community service. In class, most of the students acknowledged that if they were involved at all, it was through their church. Example questions in the form of statements with which students could agree or disagree included the following:

- I know that I can make a difference in the lives of others.
- I have a civic responsibility to become involved in my community.
- I am very likely to participate regularly in community service/volunteer activities in the future.
- I am likely to understand better my preconceived notions of diverse teaching settings (such as stereotypes).
- I will become aware of appropriate art teaching strategies (in diverse contexts) of community arts programs.
- I will very likely have a better understanding of how arts activities benefit others.

- I will very likely feel that I have made a difference for someone else.
- I will very likely become more civically minded and engaged.
- I will very likely better understand the value of the arts to others.

Using the 5-point Likert scale, corresponding numbers of the responses were averaged. Averaged responses were examined to better understand whether agreement levels would change from the beginning of the semester to the end of the semester after completion of the arts-based service-learning project. These averages do not constitute the type of strong evidence produced by statistical analysis to better understand significance; however, this pilot study was performed with limited resources and time. Most agreement levels increased for the posttest, which indicated that students' perceptions had changed positively (see Figure 2). However, for five questions of 15 total, average agreement levels remained the same, reflected decreased interest for the posttest, or interest levels barely increased indicating a small perception change or lessened interest or enthusiasm. Since these five questions were the outliers, where average agreement levels did not increase, a discussion is appropriate.

Comparison between Pretest and Posttest

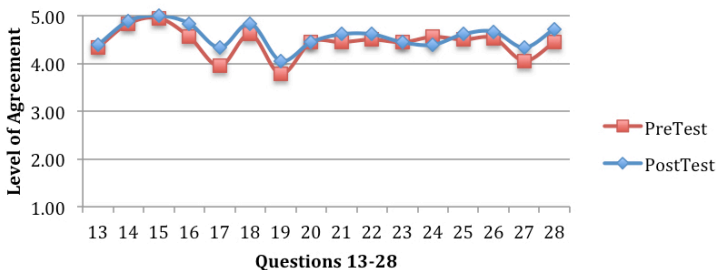


Figure 2. Comparison of pretest and posttest questionnaires.

Two questions probed students' thoughts about their choice of major and their success in college. These were: "I am very certain of my choice for my undergraduate major" and "I am very confident of my ability to succeed in college." The questions were intended to determine whether the service-learning experience might solidify

students' choice of major and confidence in succeeding in school. The agreement levels increased slightly from pretest to posttest. This might mean that the experience did not influence students' feelings about major and success with or without the service-learning experience. Statistical analysis of responses might indicate that there was no effect at all.

Two other questions showed no difference between the pretest and posttest responses. One said, "I will better understand diverse contexts (spaces and environments) while teaching art." The other said, "I will become aware of appropriate art teaching strategies (in diverse contexts) of community arts programs." Although overall agreement level was high, averaging 4.44 out of 5 for both questions, the responses did not change from the beginning of the semester to the end. A fifth said, "I will better understand art education course concepts and theories (those related to service-learning, art therapy, developmental disabilities, and teaching and learning)." Although overall the agreement levels were high, students' average agreement level for this question decreased, averaging 4.5 pretest and 4.39 posttest.

Three of these questions were important indicators for the overall goal of this project, which was to ascertain whether students might consider service-learning an experience that facilitates understanding diverse contexts, awareness of appropriate teaching strategies, and understanding art education course concepts and theories. That these agreement levels remained the same or decreased was disappointing. Even though they did not increase from pretest to posttest, the agreement levels were in the high range, from 4 to 5. Agreement levels for all other questions (of questions 13 through 28) increased on the posttest questionnaire. There was only one question that elicited a decrease in agreement level out of 16 total questions. Although this question on the posttest resulted in a decreased agreement level in regard to a better understanding of course concepts and theories, it is difficult to fully understand why. Perhaps students' experiences did not connect to course concepts and theories as hoped or perhaps, due to not using statistical analysis, a full picture of whether the responses were significant cannot be identified. The reflections suggest another outcome.

Figure 3 shows individual students' overall average responses. All but four students' level of agreement increased throughout the semester, and all students' agreement levels were in the 4 to 5 range. This may indicate that the majority of students had a positive experience and thought that service-learning was valuable in their art

education course. This figure reflects that the majority of students' perceptions changed positively throughout the experience.

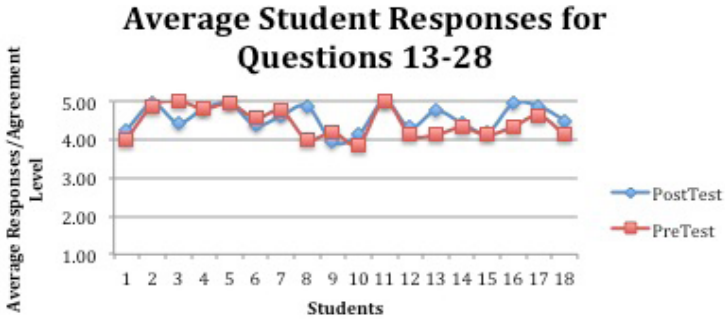


Figure 3. Average agreement level for each student for questions 13–28.

Arts-Based Service-Learning Project Outcomes and Implications

The pretest and posttest questionnaires evolved from Driscoll et al.'s (1998) model of student variables and indicators to assess student changes from, perceptions of, and learning in a service-learning course. The questions were based on the 11 variables in Table 1. Responses to both the questionnaires and reflections can be examined using these variables and indicators. In addition, a large part of my understanding of students' changes and perceptions was achieved through observing and examining the art-making sessions. The points below, which reflect a synthesis of outcomes from questionnaires, reflections, and observations of the art-making sessions, indicate increased civic-mindedness.

Awareness of and Involvement With the Community

Students showed an increase in awareness when working with the developmentally disabled population after coming to terms with their anxiety. They showed knowledge of the community's history, gained a grasp of the participants' strengths and weaknesses, and could better define a range of developmental disabilities. They connected to the population through teaching art, grasped "the soul" of the community, and learned about people whose experiences and backgrounds were different from theirs. Their interactions and attitudes toward this community were predominantly positive.

Commitment to Service

Commitment to service was best observed at the end of the semester, when the majority of students wanted to continue working at the facility teaching art after the semester ended. In the questionnaire, students indicated a more favorable awareness of long-term civic engagement, stating that they were more likely to participate regularly in community service/volunteer work in their communities after having participated in the service-learning project. A couple of students continued art-making workshops at the CAPC after the completion of the course.

Academic Achievement, Career Choice, and Development

Students were able to practice what they had learned in class by reflecting, refining, and (re)teaching the material. It was an invaluable experience for students to learn whether their units/lessons were appropriate for the audience, if their themes were engaging, and if they could make needed adjustments to the curriculum—all part of the theoretical development and strategies that they will use when they have their own art classrooms. Some students developed skills and interests that contributed to a clearer career path. After the arts-based service-learning program, many students inquired about graduate school to study art therapy and working for community nonprofit organizations.

Self-Awareness and Personal Development

Through the project, students learned more about themselves, developing confidence, clarifying their values, and realizing their capacity to give and develop patience and compassion. They could also see how their presence benefited and made a difference for a disabled population. Most students acknowledged a sense of importance in regard to their actions during the experience and discussed understanding that importance with future community connections. By the end of the semester, students also showed an increase in competence and efficacy. A few students took on leadership roles and developed those skills throughout the course. The questionnaires and reflections demonstrated that students were compelled to believe that they could bring about change and become civically responsible, and that they had a moral obligation to their communities.

Sensitivity to Diversity

Working with the developmentally disabled, students had a chance to teach art in a different social and cultural context. The experience opened their eyes to being more sensitive to people's needs and to understanding different learning styles and contexts. At the end of the semester, students showed increased awareness of social issues involving the developmentally disabled as well as more positive attitudes toward this population. Students also evidenced increased comfort and confidence in dealing with the developmentally disabled by the end of the semester.

Autonomy and Independence, Sense of Ownership, and Empowerment

Some students developed leadership skills and confidence when working at the CAPC. The entire class, with little guidance, was able to come together and bring about several art-making projects including the graffiti wall, over which they took full ownership. Many students took on extra duties without being asked and developed future ideas for art making at the CAPC.

Communication Skills

After the initial art-making session, students felt a reduction in anxiety around people with developmental disabilities. Many students had never interacted with people with disabilities and were not sure how to communicate with them. As time progressed, students appeared to become more at ease and were quickly developing their communication skills. Each visit during the art-making sessions brought better preparedness and more capability in teaching art. It is important for art teachers to understand adults and children with developmental disabilities because in most schools, art classes include significant numbers of youth with disabilities.

Critical Thinking and Analysis

The reflections reveal that students were able to adjust and think about their teaching in various ways. However, it was not evident that students thought more critically about issues of social justice. They did not explicitly entertain thoughts that connected the situation of developmentally disabled people with political solutions, nor did they mention taking what they learned to service abroad, an approach that would contribute to developing a global awareness of various social justice issues.

Discussion

A principal limitation of the study was the rather small number of students ($n = 18$) and the limited duration of the experimental treatment. The study was essentially a pilot with limited statistical analysis. The qualitative measures implicit in the reflections supported the goals of the project. However, the statistical design limitations could serve as a starting point for redesigning the research. Overall, more data, replication, and statistical analysis of the project are needed. Another design also might involve reconsidering the mixed method approach.

Moving forward, the arts-based service-learning project will continue, and data will be collected from students. The results of this pilot study allow reflection on how to improve data collection and analysis. First, the topics and goals might lend themselves best to a solely qualitative approach without the quantitative analysis of questionnaires. If the qualitative results strongly indicate that the students perceive their experience as contributing to established goals, that is an important result requiring no additional statistical confirmation.

Creating a dynamic in the course so that students better understand the connections between art education content and the service-learning project is also important. As seen when analyzing questions from the questionnaires, students are not making all the connections the course is meant to convey.

Third, challenging students to an increased awareness of social justice issues in a critical and thorough manner is essential. Although the guiding research goals did not use the term *social justice*, the connections between art education, service-learning, and social justice are vital. The guiding research goals were inherently intertwined with social justice concepts through the variables and indicators used; however, it may be necessary to revise the research goals to indicate a stronger connection to social justice. Understanding social justice is most likely something that students are learning by example—by observing their instructor facilitating community partnerships, posing problem-solving questions, relating content materials, and interacting with and working alongside students in community settings. Exploring ways to capture this information and creating strategies and models will help art teachers and professors in their own classrooms and arts-based service-learning projects.

Data provided examples of ways in which students showed positive perception changes with each variable; however, working

on in-class discussions and pushing the reflection questions to revolve around more in-depth social justice issues may increase students' understanding and perceptions to another level. Cipolle (2010) outlined a set of reflection prompts that she called "navigating the stages of white critical-consciousness development" (p. 58), which encourages students of any race to expand their perspectives of social justice. Cipolle's prompts will be used in further research instead of the widely known service-learning reflection prompts: What? So what? Now what? (Kolb, 1984). Additionally, a more thorough analysis of reflection responses will be explored.

If the pretest and posttest questionnaires remain a part of the research, some questions could be eliminated and others added. This might result in a more fruitful understanding of students' social justice awareness and perception changes. For example, the questions referring to career and choice of degree might not be as useful as those posed in Cipolle's (2010) literature that refer to social justice and political and/or global awareness.

In the future, looking at the benefits to the developmentally disabled population will also paint a clearer picture of the overall project. Ideas to further the research design in this manner include requesting that the CAPC leadership participate in the research. They could observe and document the benefits through photography, testimonials, and visiting our class to discuss happenings after each art-making session. These sessions would be audio recorded. The leaders might collect the photos and vignettes into a scrapbook of sorts showing the stories and information that they acknowledge as important to their clients and organization. Questions that might be put to CAPC leadership include the following: How do the CAPC participants perceive the students? How do they benefit from this project? What is the value of such benefits? What are the pitfalls to participation? What type of assessment is desirable for the long-term adoption of such programs?

Conclusion

Taken as a whole, the data collected through questionnaires, reflection responses, and art-making session observations suggest that the arts-based service-learning project provided a positive experience for preservice art teachers (i.e., the students in this study). The research indicated that most students learned more about teaching art in a socially and culturally different context and could identify the benefits of teaching arts to others. Students also seemed to gain a better understanding of civic-minded issues. In

addition, they demonstrated their ability to apply the course concepts they had learned.

This program with promise and research is presented to stand as a model for other researchers, arts and community leaders, administrators, and educators who would like to implement service-learning with students in an arts-based organization or an agency for people with developmental disabilities. Although based on a limited pilot study, the model provides a starting point for preservice art educators who are eager and could learn much from applying course concepts in various ways within a community setting.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Allan, E. J., Iverson, S.V., & Ropers-Huilman, R. (Eds.). (2010). *Reconstructing policy in higher education: Feminist poststructural perspectives*. New York, NY: Routledge. 250 pp.

Review by Pam L. Gustafson

*R*econstructing Policy in Higher Education: Feminist Poststructural Perspectives thoughtfully illustrates the effect of various theoretical underpinnings on policy-making and policy analysis. Poststructural feminism, the authors argue, supports efforts to dismantle policy and look for embedded assumptions therein that might have unintended results. In rethinking the contexts through which policy takes place, the authors critically review the assumptions of policymakers and analysts and the impact of those perspectives on developing objectives and assessment of policy. Far from presenting a simple exposé of what policy as a whole lacks, the authors use a poststructural feminist theoretical frame to delve into the ways that the assumptions, language, and historical contexts of policymakers and analysts prescribe the trajectories of policy analysis. By using clear examples to illustrate the multiple meanings reflected in a policy, the authors offer a candid and easy-to-read review of policymaking and analysis.

As a whole, the text offers various higher education policy issue examples viewed within the same theoretical framework. This provides readers a review of both feminist poststructural theory and issues of higher education policy that are typically viewed through other theoretical lenses. The authors address a variety of topics: the language of higher education policy, inclusion and diversity policies (such as Title IX and affirmative action), student development and engagement methods, the marketing of higher education to consumers, and research-centered learning policies and foci of universities. Through this theoretical lens, readers are asked to view a varied set of policy issues, the nature of how policies came to be, and how policies are analyzed, as well as how they could be analyzed through a different lens. However, this is not a text about “women’s issues”; rather, this is a text about the ways perspectives inform policy and policy analysis across all issues.

In Chapters 1 and 2, the authors lay the framework for the book, focusing on the empirical studies that are explored in the rest of the text and the way that policy analysis, when viewed through a poststructural feminist perspective, provides insight into such policies. The authors note that the poststructural feminist perspective

does not dichotomize issues, but rather purposefully allows for complexities within policies, discourse, and individuals, thus enabling a review of their complicated relationship. This introduction clearly urges readers to alter their ways of thinking about “the way questions are understood” (p. 9) by questioning the narratives and assumptions built into policies. The remaining three parts of the book are devoted to production of power in policy, objects of policy, and discursive constructions of change within policy.

Part 1 focuses on the role of power and presence in policy-making—that is, the way that policy narrates the lives and needs of individuals as a larger group. The authors of these chapters look at suffrage, the history of higher education, the expressed meanings of higher education for individuals and society, and the roles of female leaders in higher education. They skillfully present examples from the popular discourse on their subject, then use poststructural feminist theory to reenvision the discourse. They also offer methods for questioning the discourse of texts when conducting research in the field to purposefully and thoroughly dismantle dominant narratives rather than simply breaking them apart. For example, a study that recognizes women as vulnerable might focus on enhancing lighting or safety on campus rather than addressing the source of unsafe environments by such means as “naming, challenging, and transforming violent masculinity” (p. 30). The authors make the case for poststructural feminist theory and the ability to put the larger discourse back together in a dynamic and comprehensive manner.

Part 2 of the text focuses on the way the discourse of policy alters the individual’s landscape in terms of positioning within society. The authors of these chapters focus on cases of student development policy, intercollegiate sports policies, and marketing practices in higher education. These authors use poststructural feminist theory to untangle the messages and complications expressed in these policies as they relate to individuals and groups of people. Student development, for instance, often groups like individuals for the purposes of inclusion in student activities. However, these groupings might have nothing to do with the students’ actual identities, but rather reflect established norms regarding “other.” Similarly, Title IX policies that dichotomize men and women oversimplify the issues and thereby offer no dynamic solutions. As an example, policies that posit an equal number of men’s teams and women’s teams conflate a variety of concerns into gender equality as a one-dimensional issue, when in fact larger issues like race, heterosexual norms, culture, and class are involved in access to

sports in school settings. In these chapters, the authors urge policymakers to critically consider the language used when framing the lives and experiences of those their policies are meant to assist. Poststructural feminist theory, as argued throughout the book, offers a varied and innovative approach to issues of equity that focuses on the complexities—rather than the simplifications—of policies and the individuals affected by them.

Part 3 focuses on the way change is constructed in higher education by including the identities and multiple experiences of individuals. The authors of these chapters assert that although individuals have always had their own identities (despite social norms), policy that does not engender and account for those various experiences fails to open up higher education to its potential. Policy that fails to focus on change puts higher education at risk of missing the mark for many individuals whose educational experience must be, on some measure, externally realized rather than inclusive and holistic. That is, their educational experience is lived as an “other” within a system too rigid to include their individual experiences, efforts, and abilities. In these chapters and throughout the book, the authors offer examples as well as possible pathways for changing the narratives of higher education policy. They argue that by missing the complexities in the structures and value system of higher education, stakeholders in the system are drastically underestimating the utility and possibilities of higher education for individuals. The authors focus on the dialogues that have, despite the best efforts to uncover “missing voices,” been overlooked, lumped together, and sectioned off from the norm. This topic is of great importance to those studying the field of higher education because it presents a perspective that is open to multiple experiences and meanings.

This text offers a rich and descriptive review of the interaction of policy and framework through the careful illustration of policy and its larger meanings to individuals and groups. The authors argue that poststructural feminist theory, when applied to higher education, has the ability to disrupt many long-perceived and accepted views of the mission, methods, and outcomes of higher education for the entire populace. Throughout the text, the authors illustrate the ways that issues might be viewed from a poststructural feminist perspective. This frame has the potential to offer innovative and insightful views of work in higher education that expand possible outcomes for students, faculty, administrators, and policymakers. Indeed, using a poststructural feminist perspective may remove many barriers educators face when working to engage

students as well as communities and ultimately, to extend the outreach of a university.

About the Reviewer

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Jacoby, B. (2015). *Service-learning essentials: Questions, answers, and lessons learned*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass. 322 pp.

Review by Glenn A. Bowen

The growth of service-learning in higher education has been phenomenal. Since its full emergence in the mid-1980s, service-learning has found its way into the strategic plans, curricula, and student development programs of colleges and universities across the United States. In fact, 91% of the 434 higher education institutions that responded to a recent national survey offer service-learning courses (*Campus Compact, 2015*); in another national study, approximately 50% of college students reported that they participated in credit-bearing service-learning (*Finley, 2012*). As a pedagogical strategy and civic engagement practice, service-learning has indeed become “part of the permanent landscape of higher education” (*O’Meara, 2011, p. 181*).

Accompanying the growth of service-learning—and perhaps fueling it as well—is a remarkable expansion of the literature produced by practitioners and researchers in the field. A recent contribution is Barbara Jacoby’s *Service-Learning Essentials: Questions, Answers, and Lessons Learned*. Jacoby draws on her extensive experience, and on an ample body of prior research, to produce an informative publication. Organized in a question-and-answer format, *Service-Learning Essentials* provides answers to dozens of questions about service-learning—particularly about its history, nature, purpose, use, scope, and future. In each of the nine chapters, there are six to 13 questions (many with subsidiary questions) and answers, complemented by references to additional information sources and a short summary.

In the introductory chapter, Jacoby distinguishes service-learning from other forms of experiential learning and from the broader concept of civic engagement, and she presents service-learning as a program, pedagogy, and philosophy. Questions about service-learning’s history, theoretical foundations, state of practice, and benefits are answered here. Chapter 2 is all about critical reflection, one of the essential elements of the pedagogy. In addition to identifying various forms of reflection, this chapter outlines steps in designing and facilitating the process. Moreover, it supplies sample reflection questions—some general, others organized by discipline. Service-learning practitioners concerned about the inadequacy of traditional service to achieve social change goals will find an instructive answer to this salient question: “How can

critical reflection empower students to move beyond direct service to other forms of civic and political engagement?” (p. 42)

In Chapter 3, Jacoby explains how to develop and sustain campus–community partnerships as a cornerstone of service-learning. She highlights basic principles that guide authentic, mutually beneficial partnerships; describes various types of partnerships; and delineates nine steps to developing an optimal service-learning partnership. Additionally, the author articulates how such partnerships can lead to broader and deeper institutional engagement with the community.

Chapter 4 goes to the heart of effective service-learning practice among faculty. “Integrating Service-Learning Into the Curriculum” contains answers to 13 questions, more than in any other chapter of the book. For example, there are questions about the appropriateness of service-learning pedagogy for different disciplines and courses, whether service-learning is academically rigorous, assessing and grading service-learning, and the unique elements of a service-learning syllabus. This chapter also offers a rich description of multiple forms of service-learning and a detailed discussion of logistical issues involved in teaching a service-learning course. Furthermore, the chapter addresses the question of service-learning’s place in faculty review, promotion, and tenure.

In Chapter 5 of *Service-Learning Essentials*, Jacoby makes the case for institutions’ design and implementation of cocurricular service-learning. She writes, “Providing a continuum of curricular and co-curricular service-learning experiences contributes to the creation of a seamless learning environment and reinforces the principle that all members of the college community are educators” (p. 153). Student affairs professionals will appreciate the details regarding how service-learning can support student development and contribute to leadership education.

The next chapter covers assessment of service-learning and related partnerships. Given the need to gauge the impact of service-learning on various stakeholders and the challenges inherent in assessment, the author does well to include a whole chapter on this topic. What does service-learning assessment entail? What issues should we consider in choosing assessment methods? How should service-learning be assessed from the community perspective? These are some of the pertinent questions answered. In Chapter 7, the questions and answers focus on administration of service-learning—the institutional infrastructure required, risk-manage-

ment issues, recognition of outstanding work by service-learning participants, and the like.

Chapter 8 provides perspectives on some of the unsettled questions in the service-learning field. Titled “Facing the Complexities and Dilemmas of Service-Learning,” this chapter examines such contentious issues as the appropriateness of service-learning for all students, social justice as the ultimate goal of service-learning, the relationship between service-learning and politics, and disparities between higher education institutions and communities.

In the final chapter, Jacoby presents several strategies for sustaining and advancing service-learning for the benefit of institutions and communities. Questions about institutionalizing service-learning and about service-learning in the online environment are among those answered. Jacoby also emphasizes the need to more fully recognize service-learning alongside community-based research and engaged scholarship in the faculty reward system.

Among the topics covered in more than one chapter is international service-learning. Considering the growing interest in global learning and the attendant challenges (see, for example, *Whitehead, 2015*), this coverage is not surprising. It is difficult enough to handle the details of service-learning administration (including risk management) in domestic settings. Implementing service-learning abroad requires special attention to policies and procedures as well as “pragmatic concerns” (*Jacoby, 2015, p. 218*) usually associated with language and culture, health and safety, and the cost of travel and lodging. Jacoby addresses unintended negative consequences of international service-learning by sharing several examples drawn from the literature (*Crabtree, 2008*). Two examples in particular resonated with me: “service-learning reinforcing for communities that development requires external benefactors” and “members of neighboring communities wondering why no one has come to help them” (*p. 251*).

From the basic to the advanced, from the fundamentals to the complexities, the questions and answers in *Service-Learning Essentials* are stimulating and enlightening. This book is distinguished as much by its comprehensiveness as by its Q&A format. In answering various questions, Jacoby presents a good overview of the defining features of service-learning; salient principles underlying its practice; and tried-and-true procedures in its administration, implementation, and assessment. Administrators and faculty will welcome such practical information at their fingertips at a

time when service-learning has become a mainstay of the college curriculum.

Although drawing heavily on the work of other scholars (as reflected, for example, in the 18 figures/exhibits included in the book), Jacoby infuses a distinct freshness into her responses, offering guidance and support for high-quality service-learning practice. She points to cogent evidence of service-learning's tremendous potential while discouraging an uncritical acceptance of it. Jacoby also notes concomitant challenges and reminds readers that "when not done well, service-learning can have unfortunate effects on students, such as reinforcing their stereotypes and perpetuating the view that service is the most effective means of addressing social issues" (p. xvii).

In the face of the book's many strengths, I would offer one minor criticism. I take issue with the use of the term *service-learners*, as seen repeatedly in this book. *Service-learners* implies that students are simply learning service rather than learning through service. My tongue-in-cheek reaction is that students should not be seen as "service-learners" but rather as "learning servers"!

Almost 20 years after she (as lead author and editor) gave us her first service-learning book (*Jacoby, 1996*), Barbara Jacoby has provided a new resource—and an excellent one, at that. *Service-Learning Essentials* is most suitable for administrators and faculty. Even those who are knowledgeable and experienced in service-learning will benefit from reading this book. It will serve as a refresher, reinvigorating practitioners and practice alike. Although the book will be useful also to graduate students taking service-learning courses or doing research on community-engaged pedagogies, it may be considerably less accessible to community partners who lack a thorough grounding in higher education's approaches to civic engagement. Nevertheless, *Service-Learning Essentials* is a timely resource, especially for practitioners who desire to do service-learning well—or better.

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Frodeman, R. (2013). *Sustainable knowledge: A theory of interdisciplinarity*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan. 128 pp.

Review by Danielle Lake

Sustainable Knowledge: A Theory of Interdisciplinarity is a valuable, compelling, and quick read for current and future academics and administrators committed to engaged scholarship and outreach, as well as those still in need of convincing. A succinct and—at times—radical take on the core problems facing the academy today, the book begins by rejecting the notion that prolific knowledge production is an unqualified good. Robert Frodeman (2013) reminds his reader that knowledge is practically limited by our capacity to understand, by “time and money,” and by “research itself” (p. 55). With this in mind, he calls on academics to carefully consider “the costs—economic, social, and ethical—of such proliferation” (p. 65). Given the plethora of systemic messes we face today, we need a new approach.

With this critique in mind, Frodeman addresses problems with the disciplining of knowledge in Chapter 2. To the extent that *disciplinarity* fosters a separation of knowledge production from its use, he argues, it is a mistake. It tends to dig infinitely down instead of out, setting up narrow frames of expertise that often hamper efforts toward collaborative problem-solving on the ground. *Interdisciplinarity*, assessed in Chapter 3, is—on the other hand—a step in the right direction in that it reminds scholars of the need to address our systemic challenges and to consider the “inherent limitations to knowledge” (p. 42). In practice, however, interdisciplinarity often fails to address real-world problems, privileges and mimics the disciplines, and develops prescriptive formulas and techniques; as a result, it also frequently gets it wrong. Scholars of “wicked problems”—large-scale, interconnected, high-stakes messes—concur with Frodeman’s critique and emphasize these same concerns. They conclude, for instance, that isolation and fragmentation exacerbate the narrow framing of these problems, that idealistic and theoretical expert- or technology-driven solutions will not work, and thus that efforts to ameliorate messy, real-world problems cannot be standardized (Kolb, 2003; Ramaley, 2014; Rittel & Webber, 1973). In such complex situations, amelioration is achieved by collaborative, experiential, and reflective action, through the cocreation of new approaches to long-standing problems.

Ultimately, Frodeman's analysis of the current structures surrounding knowledge production within the academy leads to an examination of the merits of *transdisciplinarity* in Chapter 4. He defines transdisciplinarity as the "co-production of knowledge between academic and nonacademic actors," saying it is the linchpin "marking the end of the era of peer control" (p. 61). It leads us to *sustainable* knowledge production. Aimed more directly at ameliorating our shared problems, sustainable knowledge operates under a collaborative, transdisciplinary model in which knowledge is both coproduced and more directly linked to its application. Because current and impending crises place us in a position of urgency, where we need to act despite serious resource limitations, a focus on sustainable knowledge is key. The preeminent status of prolific knowledge production in the academy creates serious opportunity costs. Frodeman challenges us to ask ourselves what the costs of this system are: What are we seeking to sustain and what are we "going to let go by the wayside" (p. 72)? To answer such questions, we must expand our epistemological and ethical frameworks; we must acknowledge a responsibility not only to our own "disciplinary cohort" but also to the "larger community." Here, sustainable knowledge can and should ultimately operate as a "regulative guide" (p. 74).

Although an incredibly valuable and quick read, *Sustainable Knowledge* could benefit from enacting its call for transdisciplinarity. This volume, in fact, leaves largely unacknowledged a rich well of strategies, tools, and resources for effective bridge-building work, including participatory action research (*Fals Borda, 2001*), systemic engagement practices (*McNall, Barnes-Najor, Brown, Doberneck, & Fitzgerald, 2015*), feminism (*Iverson & James, 2014*), and pragmatism (*Lake, 2014*). Indeed, engaging these tools, processes, and recommendations is what will make Frodeman's call for sustainable knowledge *sustainable*. Although engaged, transdisciplinary scholarship will not automatically yield progress; it will prompt scholars to grapple with the systemic messes society faces. And since the lag between the needs of our time and our dominant institutional responses is still great, our problems still urgent, and our responses still largely inadequate, there is a lot more work to be done.

In the end, Frodeman calls most directly on humanists to take on the task of challenging the barriers posed toward genuinely sustainable and ameliorative knowledge production. We can continue to advance this work by challenging and changing the organizational structures of higher education, reconsidering the expectations within doctoral programs, and shifting the expecta-

tions we place on ourselves. Academics begin to perform this work by stepping into the fray of modern life: as coproducers of knowledge and field practitioners, facilitators and advisors, experts and lay-citizens. In the end, success should be measured “by the extent to which... [we] address the needs of others as they define them,” by the extent to which we literally “change the world” (p. 111).

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About the Reviewer

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Stephenson, M. O., Jr., & Tate, A. S. (Eds.). (2015). *Arts and community change: Exploring cultural development policies, practices, and dilemmas*. New York, NY: Routledge. 242 pp.

Review by C. Kurt Dewhurst

In the last decade, there has been a remarkable revolutionary shift in the paradigm of the role of contemporary arts in American society. The emergence of the value of arts as a vital tool for community economic development has launched a lively new body of studies, publications, and civic dialogue on the role of expressive culture in community life, especially in the realm of urban redevelopment initiatives. The work of economists such as Richard Florida (2002, 2012) has contributed significantly to this shift as city planners, elected officials, and arts organizations have embraced this call and have become advocates for the use of arts and culture not as embellishment, but as central driving forces in their policies and practices related to what constitutes a livable and economically viable 21st-century community.

The higher education sector has embraced this new paradigm as well by fostering scholarship and dialogue across the arts, humanities, and social sciences in meaningful ways. As often occurs with new movements, the initial wave of interest galvanized scholars, civic leaders, and community organizations to examine case studies of “successes”: cultural investments that proved to be catalytic in creating magnets for attracting “young creatives” as well as business and housing investments.

This new collection of essays, *Arts and Community Change: Exploring Cultural Development Policies, Practices, and Dilemmas*, is a most welcome contribution, as it brings together the work of a number of scholars and practitioners in a critical framework to offer a deeper examination of the impact of these policies and practices on communities and the lessons that are being learned. Because many universities are now playing active roles in culturally-engaged work, this volume has particular value for those involved in university outreach and engagement.

The book presents an overview of the growing role of arts in community change initiatives and also raises important questions that need serious attention. Although there is no doubt that the role of the arts in the community is a timely and important topic, the contributors demonstrate that even as cultural development work in arts and cultural heritage has been successful, in some cases these

efforts have contributed to conflicts over neighborhood gentrification and ever-expanding inequality in community life. Adopting arts and culture-based development strategies can sometimes not only foster gentrification but deepen class divisions, increase racial and ethnic conflict, and even intensify neighborhood decay. The contributors also observe that some cultural development efforts divert resources and attention from grassroots endeavors and local cultural organizations.

The contributing authors properly note that various methods are being employed in this area, and explanations of this topic can easily oversimplify the work and its impact. The volume makes a strong case for understanding that cultural economic development involves arts and cultural work with communities that is varied, complex, multifaceted, and difficult.

Arts and Community Change raises an important question: What kind of cities and neighborhoods are being designed—and for whom—when they are created? The attention that Richard Florida has brought to the “creative class” has resulted in a body of scholarship that raises questions about the impact of the way arts and culture are commodified for community development and the resulting impact of this approach in fostering socioeconomic segregation and social distancing.

The authors in this volume collectively convey their concern that the very idea of “cultural development” is a form of cultural intervention in the life of a locale—whether it be a region, city, neighborhood, or block. The underlying argument is that simply “conceiving arts as an economic engine has its limits” (*Stephenson & Tate, 2015, p.*). Having noted the cautions that are apparent throughout this collection of essays about the necessary reconsideration of the way cultural economic development is fostered, the book makes a strong case for the potential for using arts as a tool for building citizen agency and generating greater individual and social capital. The authors present a number of inspiring examples that demonstrate how this potential has been realized—at least on some level.

In many respects, this volume is a call for rethinking how university outreach and engagement frame their community development work. It provides valuable insights into a more community-centered approach to cultural economic development policy and practice. In the past decade, engagement scholarship has embraced the idea of cocreation based on a commitment to values shared by university and community. These shared values include equity,

representation, transparency, and inclusive democratic citizenry. However, there is much room for the engagement field to add to the evaluation of the contributions of arts to community development. Engagement scholarship has much to offer in terms of assessing impacts of cultural economic development, as well as building enlightened social capital in communities. This includes higher education's participation in the placemaking movement, a multidisciplinary effort where the scholarship raises some similar cautions and proposes alternative "local citizen" empowerment approaches to cultural development.

In the introduction to the book, the editors convey their vision for the collected essays in this way:

The framework for the book draws on the concept of imaginaries... multiple and intersecting ideas, images, myths, and stories of place and community in various stages of development and coexistence.... [Focus is on] the difficulties and tensions in evidence among major groups contending to define or redefine their community's imagined geography. (*Stephenson, & Tate, 2015, p. 5*)

Authors include a number of notable scholars who have contributed to a growing, more thoughtful dialogue. This is shown in the contents: Arlene Goldbard, "Making Beauty, Making Meaning, Making Community"; Jon Catherwood-Ginn and Robert H. Leonard, "Rivers and Bridges: Theater in Regional Planning"; Jan Cohen-Cruz, "One New York Rising Together? Arts and Culture in Neighborhood Ecosystems"; Anjali Mishra, "Sustaining Emergent Culture in Montreal's Entertainment District"; Holly Lesko and Thenmozhi Soundararajan, "Digital Storytelling in Appalachia: Gathering and Sharing Community Voices and Values"; A. Scott Tate, "Shaping the Artful City: A Case Study of Urban Economic Reinvention"; Dudley Cocke, "Community Cultural Development as a Site of Joy, Struggle, and Transformation"; Liz Lerman and Jawole Willa Jo Zollar, "A Dialogue on Dance and Community Practice"; Kate Preston Keeny and Pam Korza, "Assessing Arts-Based Social Change Endeavors: Controversies and Complexities"; and Lyusyena Kirakosyan and Max O Stephenson Jr., "Theatre as a Tool for Building Peace and Justice: DAH Teatar and Bond Street Theatre."

Readers will find the volume's focus on arts heavily weighted toward examples from the performing arts rather than from community cultural centers, museums (especially ethnically-specific

museums and those that are sites of conscience or eco-museums), and community arts projects. In addition, there is an absence of the creative community-engagement work that is being led by university-based museums, art centers, and performing arts centers, as well as innovative university-based academic colleges in the arts and humanities that are doing exemplary community-engaged work. However, this foundational volume sets the stage for additional scholarship of engagement by leaders of university-based cultural organizations, as there is real value in contributions to assessment of the cultural economic development and the evolution of community life by those who are both practitioners and scholars.

This volume speaks in many respects to the heart of outreach and engagement theory and practice. The rich potential of creating community vitality and ownership for our work begins with asking essential questions about our practice: Who is involved? How can we foster democratic community participation and realize the goals of shared authority? How do we honor the understanding of the community history and the related cultural assets? How can local values and existing patterns of convening/communicating be recognized? How can we help evolve a viable community identity and contribute to the ever-changing nature of cultural life of our communities? What is often overlooked is the involvement of scholars who can shed light on the ethnographic composition of communities and help “read” the living cultural assets that are often right in front of us. This perspective may help us avoid some of the failures to embrace community resources as powerful indicators of local culture and to recognize that they should be the starting place for community cultural development.

Finally, it is worth noting that this volume will serve as an effective text for those involved in teaching community outreach and civic engagement. The combination of voices represented in the volume—from remarkable dance activists such as Liz Lerman to Imagine America leader Jan Cohen-Cruz—makes this an especially timely contribution. The editors are to be congratulated for assembling and framing contributions from these diverse and thoughtful voices.

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We extend our sincere thanks to our guest peer-reviewers for Volume 19 (2015).

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