

PROJECTS WITH PROMISE

Designing, Implementing, and Evaluating a Department-Wide Service-Learning Program for English Language Learners in Morocco

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Abstract

This article describes the theoretical and pedagogical background and results from the first semester of a service-learning program for English learners at a public Moroccan university and the local high school. This study fills a gap in the literature related to service-learning practice and outcomes in Morocco and the Arab world in general. The results of the program, based on student reflection journals, evaluation surveys, focus groups, and final course outcomes, showed overlap with the impacts predicted by previous studies, with some notable particularities for the Moroccan context. The initial results of the program are promising, and an expansion of the program combined with a long-term study will continue in future semesters. Service-learning's impact on civic education and civic actions are also explored with results that are both positive and troubling for the region.

Introduction

Education in its broadest sense involves guiding a student through a process that begins with acquiring discrete knowledge and culminates in the student being able to apply that knowledge in the “real world” of the home, work, and society. Throughout history, education has evolved from systems that narrowly educated certain segments of society to perform specific tasks to the current system represented in much of the world in which students acquire a broad educational base of core intellectual skills during primary school and then gain greater depth and specificity of study through secondary and tertiary education.

In addition to developing intellectual skills, educators have increasingly become concerned about the educational system's impact on life outside the school's walls and have suggested curricula or pedagogies that focus on social justice, civic awareness, democratic principles, and community development. Service-learning is a pedagogy that takes the framework of traditional education and expands its scope and outcomes through acts of community service connected to academic learning. At the level of the classroom, teachers strive to connect what they are teaching

to service activities that benefit the community. Greater collaboration and cohesion may lead to the coordination of service-learning activities at the level of departments, schools, districts, and even states. Beyond the school environment, organizations such as after-school programs and religious groups seek to apply their particular development theories or beliefs to community action. National governments also often design programs that seek to mobilize and improve the various abilities of the citizenry by designing and implementing large-scale service programs. Across this service-learning spectrum, people learn through their participation in programs that are organized to improve the conditions of both the serving and the served.

In the Arab world (a term used here to describe the 22 countries stretching from Morocco to Yemen while acknowledging that each country is independent and has its own linguistic, religious, cultural, and political specificities), service and connection to others is an important element of social life. Islam, the dominant religion in most of these countries, has zakat, the practice of caring for the poor, as one of its five most important principles, and one of the most commonly repeated lines in the Quran praises those who “Believe and do good works.” In addition, many examples of charity for both fellow Muslims and non-Muslims can be found in the stories of the Prophet Mohamed and his Companions. In addition to the religious background, the cultural and political background of these countries involves centuries of alliances, commerce, and political unity that show the importance of cooperation and dialogue. Unfortunately, many of these countries have experienced years of strife, most recently due to colonialism that, while often unifying Arab citizens against a common foe, led to years of confusion and struggles following independence. The most recent Arab Spring galvanized citizens in the fight against years of dictatorship and stagnation, and, although the results of many of these movements have been positive, much work lies ahead in all sectors, with education being one of the most pressing. Indeed, the prominent scholar Tariq Ramadan (2012) recently called for an “Arab Spring of Ideas” in a New York Times editorial in which he stresses that “Concern for free and critical thought must take the form of educational policies to build schools and universities, revise outdated curriculums and enable women to study, work and become financially independent” (2012).

Arab countries in general, and Morocco specifically, have been developing their systems of education aggressively in the years following independence. In Morocco, for example, these efforts have

produced results across the educational system, particularly at the primary level, where Morocco achieved a 96.2% adjusted net enrollment rate in 2011, up from only 39% in 1970. Funding for these reforms consumes a large portion of the budget, with Morocco spending 5.5% of its gross national income on education in 2005 and, more significantly, 25.7% of all government expenditures in 2008 (*UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2012*). However, quality remains a significant issue, with only 84% of students actually completing primary school in 2006. Enrollments beyond the primary levels are troubling and indicative of a widespread dropout problem. For example, in 2009 gross enrollments at the secondary level were 61.4%, compared to tertiary education's 13.2% (*World Bank, 2013*). Although the educational system in Morocco is improving overall, significant steps to improve access to education and keep students in school are still needed in addition to reforms to improve the quality of education generally.

One of the most significant issues that the recent Arab Spring has highlighted is the necessity of an educated population to build civil society (*Lindsey, 2011*). Unfortunately, manifold and troubling issues exist in these societies' approach to education, including questions of instructional language, urbanization, lack of teachers, the heavy hand of central educational authorities, and so on (*Labi, 2008; Rugh, 2002; Wheeler, 1966*). As a result, civic education and movements such as service-learning often take a back seat to addressing these concerns. On the other hand, the development of religious service organizations, university programs, and local associations has sought to improve the quality of Arab society through community and voluntary action (*Kandil, 2004; Ouamouch, 2012*). However, this field is still developing, and its progress is strongly linked to the success of the educational sector in producing people with the intellectual skills and civic attitudes to improve society.

Al Akhawayn University is a small, public Moroccan university that has adopted the American system of education. It is, however, not an American-managed university like American University in Cairo, Beirut, or Sharjar. Al Akhawayn was founded in 1993 by a royal decree of the late King Hassan II and seeks to graduate students who embody the principles of global understanding, cooperation, ethics, and, most significantly for this article, civic engagement (*Al Akhawayn University, 2012*). The university is unique in Morocco for having adopted a 60-hour community service requirement for graduation and employs a community service coordinator to introduce students to the concept of service, help them find appropriate places to serve, and oversee the writing and

presentation of a final report about their community service. The university also promotes service-learning to its faculty and has the expansion of service-learning as part of the university's strategic plan for 2010–2014 (*Al Akhawayn University, 2010*)

At Al Akhawayn, students whose command of English is not yet at a level commensurate with academic study (approximately 90% of each incoming class) take at least one semester of pre-academic and non-credit English courses in the university's Language Center. In addition to providing support for English learners, the Language Center makes every effort to achieve the principles of the university's mission by applying high academic standards and using a content- and communicative-based curriculum. The Language Center also implemented a service-learning program during the spring 2012 semester, as discussed in this article.

This service-learning program is the product of both Al Akhawayn's general advocacy for community engagement and service-learning and the author's own personal and professional background. The author, a lecturer in the Language Center at Al Akhawayn University since 2010, was also a Peace Corps volunteer in Morocco working in the Youth Development sector from 2005 to 2007 and a service-learning professional for the nonprofit organization Youth Service California from 2008 to 2010. Thus, this article draws on the author's experience working with youth in Morocco and professional experience in the service-learning field and incorporates the voices of youth, other teachers, and service-learning professionals.

This article fills a gap in the literature by exploring service-learning in the Moroccan context as an effective pedagogy for teaching English and engaging in community action through a partnership between Al Akhawayn and the local public high school. Through this program, university and high school students had the opportunity to improve their English through mutual engagement in English-learning activities and project-based group work. This pilot project was built on the foundations of an explicit service-learning curriculum, and the initial results showed predictable and positive gains for students. Thus, the program will be continued, expanded, and subject to more rigorous evaluation techniques in coming semesters. In addition, the program may be a model for other schools in Morocco and the Arab world due to the high need for support of educational reform at all levels, especially secondary and tertiary. Beyond this specific context, English programs worldwide and even in other subject areas may find the program practical and effective for their purposes.

Research Questions

As this program was in a pilot phase during the spring 2012 semester, there are two essential research questions that form the foundation for future research.

1. Can a well-structured service-learning program in Morocco replicate the results predicted by previous studies in terms of academic, social, personal, and civic gain?
2. What culturally specific results might a Moroccan service-learning program produce in these areas?

Answering these research questions expands the service-learning literature since the majority of service-learning studies have been conducted in the United States with only few from the Arab world and none, to the author's knowledge, in the Moroccan context.

Literature Review

Service-Learning Theory

Service-learning as a theory and pedagogy has deep roots, and the 20th century's developments in education specifically provided a milieu of thought and practice that nurtured the development of service-learning. In the early 19th century, American educational reformer John Dewey (1930), laid the groundwork for the emergence of service-learning and other engaging educational practices by urging educators to consider the world outside the classroom as an area ripe for engagement.

In addition to Dewey, (1930) Paulo Freire's book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970), based on Freire's experiences with literacy education among adult populations in Brazil, highlights many of the problems in education that service-learning addresses. Freire, like Dewey, insisted that education's purpose is freedom but that much of the practice of education does the opposite by imbuing learners with feelings of dependence and helplessness. The essential point of Freire's work is that open and equal dialogue in the educational process is the only way for learners to acquire a critical consciousness, which is the prerequisite for true freedom. It is a decidedly anti-colonialist and liberating work, in which Freire critiques the system of "banking education" (pp. 71-86), which regards learners as empty vessels that the educator strives to fill with his or her knowledge. This notion of education reveals the oppressive and

even violent nature of much of the educational enterprise, however well-meaning it might be.

To provide a tangible way out of this dilemma, Freire (1970) describes four dichotomies of cultural action, applying the terms anti-dialogical and dialogical. He could have easily termed these “enemy/friend,” in that the former’s goal is oppression and the latter’s is peaceful coexistence and collaboration. The four opposites are given in Table 1, and the essential point for involvement in cultural action is to not be implicated, either explicitly or implicitly, in anti-dialogical action.

Table 1. Opposing Theories of Cultural Action

Anti-Dialogical Action	Dialogical Action
Conquest	Cooperation
Divide and rule	Unity
Manipulation	Organization
Cultural invasion	Cultural synthesis

Source: Freire, 1970, pp. 125-183

In the context of community service or other charitable activities, Freire (1970) makes clear the dangers and benefits of these two opposite poles of cultural action.

True generosity consists precisely in fighting to destroy the causes which nourish false charity. False charity constrains the fearful and subdued, the “rejects of life,” to extend their trembling hands. True generosity lies in striving so that these hands—whether of individuals or entire peoples—need be extended less and less in supplication, so that more and more they become human hands which work and, working, transform the world.
(p. 45)

One can easily imagine the kind of anti-dialogical service activities Freire (1970) is discussing, in which society’s wealthy and privileged classes engage in service activities to give the poor or uneducated some kind of predetermined benefit. At the end of this experience, the privileged classes feel good for having done something for the poor, whereas the poor feel, in a strange way, even more victimized and vulnerable in their newfound dependence. Although this example may seem hyperbolic, most people involved in service activities know that it does happen and is often

the “default” setting for well-meaning people seeking to make the world a better place. If there is hope in these activities, it is that the well-meaning people may become aware of what is happening and start a process of learning that will lead toward true dialogical action.

Service-Learning Practice

Service-learning as a developed pedagogy evolved as part of a general shift in education, in large part spurred by the insights of Freire (1970) and other educational reformers, from a teacher-centered to a student-centered approach. This was led by a variety of universities, nongovernmental organizations, and governmental initiatives around the world that strove to define and evaluate service-learning. One group, Youth Service California and its seven elements of high-quality service-learning, is important for this article for two reasons: (1) Youth Service California’s service-learning pedagogy provided a model for many practitioners during the rise of service-learning in the United States in the mid-1990s and 2000s, and (2) the author worked for Youth Service California before coming to Al Akhawayn University and incorporated many of these seven elements into the design of the Language Center’s service-learning program. Thus, the seven elements of high-quality service-learning form an important backdrop for service-learning in general as well as for the specific service-learning program described in this article.

Table 2. Youth Service California's Seven Elements of High-Quality Service-Learning

Integrated Learning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The service-learning project has clearly articulated knowledge, skill or value goals that arise from broader academic and/ or developmental learning goals of the program. • The service informs the learning content and the learning content informs the service. • Life skills learned in the community setting are integrated back into program-based learning.
High Quality Service	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The service responds to an actual community need that is recognized by the community. • The service is age-appropriate and well-organized. • The service is designed to achieve significant benefits for students and community.
Collaboration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The service-learning project is a collaboration among as many of these partners as is feasible: students, parents, community-based organization staff, afterschool program staff, school and program administrators, teachers, and recipients of service. • All partners benefit from the project and contribute to its planning.
Student Voice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Students participate actively in: • choosing and planning the service project; • planning and implementing the reflection sessions, evaluation, and celebration; • taking on roles and tasks that are appropriate to their age.
Reflection	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reflection establishes connections between students' service experiences and the academic/developmental learning curriculum. • Reflection occurs before, during, and after the service-learning project.
Evaluation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All the partners, especially students, are involved in evaluating the service-learning project.
Civic Responsibility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The service-learning project promotes students' responsibility to care for others and to contribute to the community

Source: Youth Service California, 2006. Copyright 2006, Reprinted with Permission

One can look at this specific service-learning pedagogy and Freire's (1970) dichotomies to see service-learning's ultimately liberating goals. In the Youth Service California model, there is cooperation and collaboration between multiple partners and, most important, between the beneficiaries and those students engaged in the service. There is unity among all participants, leading to elaborate systems of organization and power-sharing. In addition, there is cultural synthesis as all groups gain insight into new ways of living. Finally, reflection and evaluation offer students the chance to see the fruits of their dialogical action as they gain confidence for further engagement. The Language Center's service-learning program incorporates both Freire's general recommendations about cultural action and Youth Service California's specific recommendations in order to offer Moroccan students a service-learning experience in which they can be heard and valued, have control over the program, and grow personally as well as collectively.

General Service-Learning Results

Service-learning has also generated a field of research to ascertain whether the claims made by theorists and practitioners bear the promised fruit. Indeed, throughout service-learning's development, many educators and researchers have noted with concern that the enthusiasm of practitioners and the implementation of new programs have outstripped the promulgation of evidence for service-learning's effectiveness (Billig, 2000). Some educators and community members expressed skepticism or even opposition to the new approach, claiming that service-learning transgressed traditional roles of education or diluted academic content in favor of service projects (Elwell & Bean, 2001; Koliba, Campbell, & Shapiro, 2006).

In an effort to study the results of service-learning, service-learning researchers and practitioners focused on specific outcomes, which can broadly be categorized as: (a) academic, which includes improvements in grades as well as general cognitive abilities; (b) personal, which addresses changes in the individual's feelings about him/herself; (c) social, which covers changes in the individual's ability to work with others; and (d) citizenship, which speaks to changes in the individual's knowledge of and orientation toward his or her role as a citizen (Conway, Amel, & Gerwien, 2009; Koliba, 2000).

In order to widely assess service-learning's effectiveness, Conway, et. al (2009) conducted a meta-analysis of 103 service-learning samples and found that service-learning did produce gains in each of the four categories listed. Gains were strongest for academic improvements, small for personal and citizenship changes, and moderate for social outcomes. In addition, this study showed that structured reflection activities had a positive relationship with improving these outcomes, but the study was not able to determine the relationship between duration and intensity of the program and the outcomes. Thus, taken as a whole, Conway et. al's study shows that service-learning did have positive effects on students, but those effects may not have been as strong or as clear-cut as advocates of service-learning claim. This result dovetails well with previous studies that showed overall benefits for service-learning but stressed that the results depend highly on the quality of the service-learning experience (Billig, Root, & Jesse, 2005).

One of the most exciting studies for the service-learning field was Civic Enterprises's 2008 study, *Engaged for Success*, which focused on the effect of service-learning on dropout or at-risk students. This study showed that service-learning programs increased students' interest in and attachment to school. Thus, this study gave more legitimacy to the claim that service-learning can benefit all youth, not just those who choose to join a service-learning program (Civic Enterprises, 2008).

In the field of international comparative education, service-learning has been addressed indirectly through the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement's civic education survey (Amadeo, Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Husfeldt, & Nikolova, 2002), which analyzed students' attitudes toward civic engagement through surveys of students, teachers, and administrators in 16 countries. One of the key findings of this survey that was positive for service-learning was that students across these countries felt strong preferences for community action, even if they were somewhat cynical about political parties and the political process in general.

Service-Learning for Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages and Other Fields

Teaching English to speakers of other languages (TESOL) is a rich area in which service-learning comes to fruition. Theory and practice in this field, starting in the 1970s, experienced a pedagogical shift from behaviorist and cognitive learning principles that

favored highly controlled and evaluated learning environments to the socio-cultural or communicative approaches that stressed the ability of students to not only master a language's grammar and vocabulary, but also be able to use the language through the four skills (writing, reading, listening, and speaking) to connect with others and society with relative ease. Service-learning fits well with this approach, and a number of studies emphasize the application of service-learning in the TESOL classroom, including business English for ESL learners (*Crossman & Kite, 2007*), foreign language learning in universities and high schools (*Elwell & Bean, 2001; Gonsalves, 2011; Hellebrandt, 2008*), and international service-learning (*Perren, 2007*). Related to the TESOL field are countless other areas in which service-learning has been applied, including but not limited to traditional business education (*Flannery & Pragman, 2010; Wittmer, 2004*), teacher education (*McBrien, 2008*), international schools (*Dunne & Edwards, 2010*), and nursing (*Sedlak, Doheny, Panthof, & Anaya, 2003*). Thus, service-learning theory manifests itself across the educational landscape by connecting the academic content that a student is striving to master to community service activities.

Service-Learning in the Arab World and the Moroccan Context

In the Arab world in general and in Morocco specifically, civic education and service-learning are gaining traction in the educational system, but few studies about these fields exist. In the wider Arab world, the majority of academic studies found for this literature review involved programs in the Gulf States. However, these studies have little to say about service-learning specifically and are instead focused on a variety of related issues such as women's education (*Bristol-Rhys, 2008; Findlow, 2007*), educational reform efforts (*Luomi, 2008*), Islamic education (*Herrera, 2006*), and so on. This lack of research about service-learning in the Arab world may reflect that much of the discourse about and funding for educational reform in the Arab world is driven by external groups such as the World Bank, the U.S. Agency for International Development, the United Nations, and so on (*Mazawi, 2010*) that have an economic focus. This trend led Mazawi (1999) to remark that educational research in the Arab world

reveals a significant imbalance in the comparative literature between the more extensive study of the formal aspects of schooling and the less researched commu-

nity-based and conflict-laden processes underlying the expansion of schooling systems in the Arab states. (p. 350)

Despite this tension, there is deep concern in the Arab world about the role of education in forming a civil society, and some scholars are striving to push for the development of the socio-cultural, democratic, and social justice elements of education in addition to (or perhaps in opposition to) education for economic development (*Torres, 2006*). This is a welcome development for the service-learning field, but educational development at the school or community level is also fraught with issues, including the quality of teachers (*Maugith, 2006*), overloading of the curriculum (*Ofori-Attah, 2008*), and the aforementioned problem of dropouts.

In the Moroccan context, the educational system has undergone many reforms since independence from France in the 1950s. The country's leadership is acutely aware of the deficiencies of the educational system and has taken many steps to improve its quality (*Ezzaki, 2007*). As a result, the government's 2009–2012 Emergency Plan emphasizes compulsory education up to age 15, stimulating excellence in high school and college, improving educational administration and oversight, and providing adequate funding for the effort (*Royaume du Maroc, 2008*). Although these reforms are necessary and admirable, they do not mention service-learning or even community service specifically. Nonetheless, King Mohammed VI may have some of service-learning's promise in mind when he says: "Our collective aim is to restore the image of and establish the culture of confidence in the public school as an institution of collective socialization, cultivating the values of committed citizenship and establishing equal opportunities" (*Royaume du Maroc, 2009, para. 3*).

Indeed, the national educational curriculum embraces civic education and has created a 6-year series of lessons about this topic, "civic education" or, more literally, "education about citizenship" as part of the social studies curriculum. This curriculum starts in the fourth year of elementary school and extends to the third year of preparatory classes (Moroccan education has, roughly speaking, three phases: primary for six years, preparatory for three years, and high school for three years). The social studies curriculum covers three broad topics: history, geography, and the aforementioned civic education. This curriculum is implemented across the nation in essentially the same form for all Moroccan public schools, allowing for some variation in other systems, such as the French

or American systems. It must be stressed that the vast majority of Moroccan students attend public schools, so this curriculum acts as a barometer of the civic knowledge that Moroccan students receive as part of their educational journey.

The civic education curriculum is a good example of the way knowledge is both created and adapted in the Moroccan context. The curriculum begins with core civic knowledge concepts such as “knowing yourself and others,” “protecting yourself from danger,” and “principles about how to live in society,” which are presented in a way attractive to younger students using pictures, simple text, and sample dialogues. These concepts are built on and expanded throughout the 6-year sequence, ending with chapters in the last year that address, as two broad themes, “civic practice: rights and responsibilities” and “civic practice: how to deal with issues of patrimony, the environment, and getting along with the other.” Naturally, the presentation of the material gains in complexity in terms of language use, schematic charts, and discussion topics as students progress. The curriculum also focuses on building the students’ civic knowledge of their country’s legal and administrative systems and how to exist as a citizen in a constitutional monarchy. Finally, the curriculum also encourages civic action, either directly or indirectly; for example, by asking students to respond to a picture of homeless children in the street or to start a school newspaper. Also, this program is culturally specific, exposing students to uniquely Moroccan problems such as the stark urban-rural divide, youth drug abuse (particularly glue sniffing), and the diversity or friction between different Moroccan social groups and classes.

However, as is the case with many curricula, there is a disparity between what is on the page and what is actually practiced. For example, the author of this article recently sat with a student from the local high school and asked him about his experience with the civic education curriculum. This student described how the curriculum did provide useful information about the Moroccan administrative system and an understanding of a citizen’s rights and responsibilities, but the student, when asked about opportunities to practice civic action, admitted that the course remained theoretical and did not offer concrete opportunities for civic action, even though the curriculum called for these. When asked why this was the case, the student mentioned that the majority of students he knew did not attach much importance to social studies in general and that teachers did not have the financial resources to engage students in civic action projects. Although this is only one student’s

perspective from one school in Morocco, it provides a window into the challenges of implementing an engaging civic education program, even when the existing curriculum is locally created, filled with relevant cultural examples, and calls for the active application of civic knowledge. Indeed, this area would be ripe for the application of a service-learning pedagogy, but such a prospect seems to be still in development.

Despite this lack of focus on service-learning in Morocco or the Arab world, it is clear that service-learning does happen in the country and region in different ways. A simple Google search for “service-learning,” “Arab,” and “Morocco” brings up a number of links to programs and opportunities. However, the majority of these programs are for foreigners (mostly Americans or Europeans) who wish to participate in various service-learning projects in the Arab world. Although this is generally positive, these are partnerships between external agents and the Arab world (Lengel, Cassara, & El Bour, 2008), not home-grown opportunities. On the other hand, opportunities for Arabs or Moroccans themselves to be engaged in service-learning or community service exist in a variety of ways and involve programs organized by international schools, nongovernmental organizations, and religious groups (Kandil, 2004; Poirier, Wooldridge, Mayers, Sonleitner, & Coughlin, 2011) in addition to local networks of service. Among the most prominent programs and networks are the Ma’an (“together” in Arabic) Network for Civic Engagement and the Gerhart Center at the American University in Cairo, which includes American and national universities in Egypt, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Palestine, the United Arab Emirates, and Kuwait (note that Al Akhawayn is not a member) that work to promote civic engagement in their universities and regions (American University in Cairo, 2012). In Lebanon, the Learning to CARE Institute (previously the Association for Volunteer Services) seeks to grow the civic sector through volunteerism (Learning to CARE Institute, 2012). In addition, the Ruwwad (“pioneers” in Arabic) program in Palestine has become prominent for its efforts to use service-learning to harness the power of Palestinian youth to improve Palestine in general and, as a long-term goal, to solve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (Stewart, 2011). In Morocco, the website Tanmia (“development” in Arabic) acts as a clearinghouse of Moroccan nongovernmental organizations and opportunities for work and volunteerism (Tanmia, 2012). At Al Akhawayn University itself, two service clubs, Hand-in-Hand and Rotaract, are national and international organizations designed to engage students in community service activities. Other Moroccan universities also

have chapters of these clubs or others that serve a similar purpose. In conclusion, the Arab and Moroccan context reveals a variety of service opportunities for Moroccans and non-Moroccans, ranging from charity-based programs to service-learning programs linking academic content and community action.

However, despite these promising developments and opportunities, academic knowledge about service-learning and civic engagement is still developing. Kandil (2004) remarks with dismay, “In the Arab world, systematic knowledge of civic service in this sense does not yet exist. There have been no comprehensive studies, which limits our ability to summarize overall patterns and draw conclusions about the forms and nature of service” (p. 41).

In an attempt to better understand the Moroccan context, the author has striven to reach out to other service-learning advocates in the country. One professor of English at Hassan II University, Halima Ouamouch, wrote an article on the website Morocco World News about civic education that advocated for service-learning (Ouamouch, 2012). Thus, the author contacted Dr. Ouamouch directly and learned that she is part of a grant program organized through Syracuse University’s Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs that is creating a corps of Moroccan educational leaders to develop civic education in Morocco. Dr. Ouamouch also put the author in contact with another professor, Larbi Touaf, at Mohammed I University in Oujda, who had recently given a presentation about service-learning at a conference organized by Dr. Ouamouch. However, when the author asked Dr. Touaf whether he had actually implemented a service-learning project, he responded that his program was still in the design phase and was suffering from a lack of support from his university’s administration. Dr. Touaf also mentioned that he did not know of any service-learning program in higher education in Morocco and hypothesized that the main reason for the absence of such courses is structural: specifically, excessively large classes and a rigid curriculum (L. Touaf, personal communication, October 2, 2012). Indeed, Dr. Ouamouch has organized a conference on civic education in the Middle East and North Africa (<http://www.nrcs-center.org/scientific-events/nrcs-aeif-conference/>) intended to share practices and push this field forward in Morocco and the region. Thus, the evidence at the ground level in Morocco from professionals engaged in civic education and service-learning indicates that service-learning is a relatively new phenomenon that, despite challenges to adoption, is growing.

In sum, an analysis of civic education and the service-learning field in the region clearly indicates that a variety of projects and movements exist in the Arab world and in Morocco specifically. The knowledge about these areas draws inspiration from both inside and outside the region and is adapted to local contexts in the form of national curricula, conferences, and service-learning projects for a variety of participants. This article is an attempt to contribute to the literature in this area. Although it is not intended to reach the level of a comprehensive study of the entire service-learning field in Morocco or other Arab countries, this study does provide evidence of the effectiveness of service-learning for Moroccan students working together to improve their own academic, personal, social, and civic outcomes. In addition, the study sheds light on some of the particular challenges of service-learning in the Arab world and Morocco, as indicated previously.

Language Center Service-Learning Program Design at Al Akhawayn

The service-learning program studied was a partnership between Al Akhawayn and the local public high school. University students who were enrolled in one or more of the Language Center's pre-academic English courses—academic writing, academic reading, academic listening and speaking, and grammar in an academic context—were invited to volunteer for the service-learning program during the spring 2012 semester. Of the 228 total Language Center students, 20 students committed to and completed the program. At the local high school, where students study English for 3 years, the high school teachers invited 17 students to participate, creating a final group of 37 Al Akhawayn and high school students.

The service-learning program was designed to take place throughout the 16-week semester, with nine individual, hour-long sessions. This extended duration with an equal number of Al Akhawayn and high school students was designed explicitly to mitigate the risk of anti-dialogical action as described by Freire (1970) and to open both groups to each other in a spirit of open communication. In addition, a clear service-learning framework was built on the seven elements of high-quality service learning model (*Youth Service California, 2006*) to ensure a high-quality service-learning experience.

1. Integrated learning. The service-learning program improved the four language skills—writing, reading,

listening, and speaking—as well as students’ understanding of grammar and command of vocabulary. Half of each session was devoted to English learning activities led by an experienced Al Akhawayn or high school teacher.

2. **High-quality service.** In addition to the challenges in Arab and Moroccan education listed above, the local high school suffers from overcrowding. The four English teachers at the high school reported having more than 40 students in their classrooms. One high school teacher had six classes with an average of 45 students in each class. This teacher, who has been teaching for 17 years, reported that the best job that the teacher can do in this environment is actively teach the first few rows of the classroom; the number of the students is simply too large to engage with all the students.
3. **Collaboration.** The partnership between the university and the high school involved teachers from both schools, high-level administrators, and students.
4. **Student voice.** A student co-leader volunteered to organize the project in collaboration with the author. This student helped with all levels of organization and collaboration with the student group. In addition, the participating students formed groups to decide on and implement a final presentation to the university and high school community.
5. **Reflection.** The university students met each week for a structured reflection session. These students also wrote a reflection journal.
6. **Evaluation.** The university and high school students completed a survey about the experience at the end of the program. These students also participated in a focus group about their reactions to the program. Final course grades for the university students were also measured as an external validation of their English level.
7. **Civic responsibility.** The university students read an article about civic education and discussed the impact of the program on their ideas about citizenship.

Questions about citizenship were also included in the final evaluation survey of the university students.

In addition to student participants, the author worked closely with a team of four other Al Akhawayn teachers as well as the four English teachers (two American, two Moroccan) at the high school, two of whom were the lead organizers at the high school. The program had the support of the Language Center director, Al Akhawayn's vice-president for student affairs, the community service coordinator, and the director and general overseer of the high school.

Methods

The program was designed, implemented, and evaluated in large part by the author in partnership with the collaborating students and teachers. Thus, it is possible that bias could occur in the reading of the results. In addition, the students may not have been completely honest in their responses to the reflection and evaluation questions due to a perceived fear of offending the author. However, steps were taken to mitigate these factors by (1) acquiring students' permission to read the reflection journals after they had already written in them, thus, students were more likely to be honest in their writing and were not compelled to share their thoughts with the author; (2) administering the evaluation surveys anonymously either online or on paper; and (3) using final grades that were available from Al Akhawayn's administration.

Al Akhawayn does not have an institutional review board, so approval for this study was not required. However, the program did require the support of the Language Center director and other teachers as well as a formal agreement between Al Akhawayn and the high school. This program took place in full transparency with administration, teachers, and students.

Participants

There were 20 university and 17 Moroccan high school student participants. In terms of gender, there were seven males and 13 females in the Al Akhawayn group and seven males and 10 females from the high school. Students varied in their exposure to English from novice to advanced learners.

These students came from a wide range of socioeconomic and educational backgrounds. Al Akhawayn is a public university, but it does charge tuition following the American model of education. This tuition (approximately \$5,000/semester), while reasonable on

an international scale, is well beyond the means of the majority of Moroccans (median income in Morocco is around \$3,000/year), giving Al Akhawayn a reputation for being a school only for wealthy students from large Moroccan cities such as Fes, Meknes, Casablanca, Rabat, Marrakesh, Tangiers, or Agadir. On the other hand, Moroccan public high schools do not charge tuition, and other charges are usually minimal and affordable. In contrast to large cities, most small-to-medium-sized cities have only public schools, which, as mentioned above, struggle with overcrowding and substandard materials and facilities. In addition, most of the rural areas of Morocco do not have high schools, so rural students who wish to advance past primary school live in dormitories, sometimes with hundreds of students. The local high school has, for example, about 400 young girls ages 13–20 living in the dormitories, and another facility, the Dar Talib (“student house” in Arabic), holds the male students. Students in Morocco usually have one of three languages—Arabic, French, or Tamazight/Berber—as their native language. Thus, through this confluence of Al Akhawayn and high school students, the service-learning program represented a cross-section of Moroccan society.

Data Collection

Several methods were used to collect data about the students’ reflection and evaluation of the program. For ongoing reflection, journals were used by the Al Akhawayn students. For evaluation, an online survey was administered to the university students and a paper survey to the high school students. In addition, the Al Akhawayn students’ final grades were used. Despite the author’s efforts, the high school students’ grades could not be obtained due to year-end exams and administrative difficulties. These methods were chosen for their combination of quantitative and qualitative measures as well as practical considerations due to the program being in a pilot phase.

Data Analysis

The author read through the reflection journals and evaluated the responses based on the academic, personal, social, and civic areas. The author collected and analyzed the results of the online and paper surveys. For the final grades, the author compared the final grades (A, B, C, D, or F) of the service-learning group to those of the overall population of Language Center students.

Limitations of the Study

Limitations of this study reflect that it was a pilot program focused on creating the circumstances for success in terms of program delivery, student commitment, and outcomes. The first limitation is that the students either self-selected or were selected by teachers for the program. This may have attracted a specific group of students who would be responsive to the service-learning program. Second, the response rate to the surveys was only 55% for the Al Akhawayn group and 65% for the high school. Third, no pre-tests were performed to assess the students' prior academic, personal, social, or civic levels or attitudes. Future research will better support these areas to provide a more robust evaluation of the program.

Research Question 1 Findings

Research Question 1 asked: Can a well-structured service-learning program in Morocco replicate the results predicted by previous studies in terms of academic, personal, social, and civic outcomes? Reflection and evaluation are key in service-learning pedagogy. Thus, the university students were asked to reflect on their experience throughout the program during weekly reflection sessions and in reflection journals. In addition, at the end of the program, the students were asked to perform a final reflection and evaluation on the program through student surveys. These two measures give some indication of the success of the program.

Student Qualitative Reflection Journals

The students' reflection journals were collected by the teacher coordinator and analyzed to determine some key patterns to the students' experience. These patterns can be summarized in the following way and are illustrated with pertinent examples from the students' reflection journals. The texts are reproduced exactly as written except that student names have been changed.

1. First day confusion and fears. Before going on the first day, many students said that they were excited about the program but were also confused or scared about their role at the school and also because it was, for many, their first time doing service. One student wrote:

I am afraid because I don't have information about the student's. I don't know how can I present the program to them. In the same time,

I'm enthusiast to know how it will be this experience.

2. Comfort and clarity. After the first session day, the students realized that the program was not going to be focused on tutoring or on teaching but on co-learning and group projects. This put the students' minds at ease, especially when they also observed that the high school students had a foundation in English and that collaboration would be relatively easy. One student wrote:

At the beganing, I was stressed, but when I met "Mohamed" the students whom I am going to help, I felt comfortable, he's kind, and he was listening all the very carefully all the things I was telling him,. He tell me that he wanted to improve his skills,. I'm going to do all the best of my ability to help him.

3. Civic awareness and growth. The students read Dr. Ouamouch's article calling for increased civic education and service-learning in Moroccan schools (Ouamouch, 2012). Their reflections on the article indicated that they felt that this program helped them put their learning into practice and gave them a real opportunity to give back to the community. One student wrote:

I totally agree that an educated citizens must understand and accept their obligations to all humonity and also the curriculum isn't enough we have to join it with extracurricular which permit us to use our knowledge in the world in a more practical way.

4. Personal growth. The students commented on how they had gained confidence and communication skills through the program. One student wrote:

Through this program I think I'm developping many skills such as communication because I used to be shy and I couldn't do the step towards

other people to get to know them; however, now I meet new people, talk with them, and share with them informations. . . . Besides this, I'm developing the way I talk and my abilities for speaking.

5. Final program concerns. As the final program approached, some groups felt more prepared than others to perform the final projects. The well-organized groups had chosen their projects early and made consistent progress toward that goal, whereas some groups had changed their projects and even group members several times, leading to confusion and uncertainty. One student wrote:

It's 2 weeks until the final presentation on May 7th; we aren't ready yet, but we finish our notes on powerpoint; it still just to agree about a video. Personally, I'm a little bit nervous.

6. Overall satisfaction. After the final projects, the students expressed satisfaction with the program and pride in their work. They exceeded their own expectations for the most part and impressed themselves and their peers. One student wrote:

I'm so glad and happy that we achieve such a remarkable success. I think this journey was beyond amazing and I'm very thrilled that I had the chance to be part of it.

7. Constructive criticism. One student, in the middle of the semester, expressed frustration that there was not enough direct teaching or helping of the high school students. This student felt that the university students could have done more to help the students learn English through tutorial sessions or direct teaching. This student wrote:

Well well! I am a little bit disappointed. I honestly do not feel that I am helping the high school students in any kind of way. It is litterally frustrating to spend all this time and effort knowing that we are doing nothing but having fun with

the students. There is something missing and I do believe that we can do so much thing other than what are we doing right now. I do believe in this project and this is the reason behind the fact that I am motivated. We do need to share things a little bit, take it to the next level, and focus on the main goal.

Student Evaluation Surveys

The university and high school students were asked to complete surveys at the end of the program. The university students completed an online survey that focused on their perceptions of their academic, personal, social, and citizenship outcomes, whereas the high school students completed a paper version of the survey that focused on their academic gains and overall impression of the program.

University Student Evaluation Survey Responses

Overall satisfaction. Out of the 20 university students, 11 completed the online survey. Students were asked to give an overall impression of the program and their impression of the program's impact on them academically, personally, socially, and civically. When asked, "In general, how much did you like participating in the program?", 73% chose *strongly like* and 27% chose *like*. When asked to identify their favorite element of the program, six students chose the final project presentation, three chose learning activities, and two chose project planning. When asked to choose what element they enjoyed the least, seven students chose the reflection and planning sessions at the university, three chose the extra time spent preparing the projects, and one chose the learning activities at the high school. Thus, students enjoyed the program a great deal and particularly the final project presentation but felt unsatisfied with the reflection and planning sessions.

Academic outcomes. Seven students felt that the program improved their English, whereas four did not. When asked to be more specific about what academic area or areas they felt were affected by the program, seven students said that they were more motivated to study English, and six indicated a general increase in motivation to study. In terms of communicative skills, six felt their speaking improved, four felt an improvement in writing and listening, and three indicated an improvement in reading. Finally, three students indicated that they got a better grade on a Language

Center test or quiz as a result of the program. Thus, the majority of student respondents did feel that their English improved as a result of the program and identified general motivation and speaking as two key areas of improvement.

Personal outcomes. Ten students said they had fun, nine said they were more motivated to do volunteer work in the future, eight learned something new about themselves and felt good about themselves. In addition, seven developed the desire to fix something wrong in society, and three did something related to their future career. Thus, the personal outcomes were strong, with the majority of the students seeing a change in themselves, ranging from simply having fun to learning something new about themselves.

Social outcomes. In terms of social outcomes, eight reported making new friends, seven learned to work with somebody different from themselves, seven learned to work in a group and to work through challenges, five changed their attitude about people different from them, five learned more about the conditions at the high school, and five learned more about an important social issue in Morocco. Thus, the social outcomes were strongest on the interpersonal level as students learned to work with others more effectively, and some students, though not the majority, reported gaining a broader social perspective about their country.

Citizenship outcomes. Finally, in terms of citizenship outcomes, seven students indicated that they were more likely to join an organization working on some social issue, five would choose to give up a personal benefit in order to make conditions better for another person, three felt more likely to work to address the underlying issues of social inequalities, and two learned more about being a citizen in general. One question was included about whether the program influenced the likelihood of voting, because this measure has been used to gauge civic participation attitudes (*Billig, et. al, 2005*), but no students indicated that they felt more likely to vote as a result of the program. Thus, the majority of students felt that the program encouraged them to join an organization that works to address a social problem, but none felt motivated to vote.

High School Student Evaluation Survey Responses

Academic outcomes. Eleven of the 17 participating high school students met to complete a survey and discuss the program overall and its impact on their academic lives. When asked whether the program helped improve the student's English, seven said, "Yes,"

three said, “Maybe,” and one did not answer the question. When asked to elaborate on their answer, the “Yes” students said that the program increased their confidence with English with some focus on vocabulary, speaking (especially pronunciation), reading, and writing. The “Maybe” and “No response” students said that they were unsure about their level overall, and commented that they would have liked more grammar and listening activities. Thus, the majority of the students did feel that they experienced an improvement to their English level and their confidence with using the language.

Overall evaluation: Most liked parts of the program. When asked about what part or parts of the program were their favorite, eight students selected “Presenting final projects at the university,” three chose “Preparing for final project,” two chose “Group work for half of each meeting,” one chose “English activities for half of each meeting,” and one student chose “Other” and wrote in “Meeting new people from the university.” Thus, the high school students felt that the opportunity to present in front of their peers and family members in a university setting was highly rewarding.

Overall evaluation: Least liked parts of the program. However, when asked what part or parts of the program they liked least, five students chose “Preparing for final project,” two chose “Presenting at Al Akhawayn,” two chose “Group work for half of each meeting,” and one chose “English activities for half of each meeting.” Elaborating on the answer “Preparing for final project,” one student indicated having had some problems with the group members. This result shows the other side of the previous finding: Although the final product presentation may be highly enjoyable, the process of actually forming groups, working together, solving problems, and developing a final product can be challenging for students. These two findings confirm the strength of student-centered pedagogies for group-based work but also show that students require a great deal of support to navigate through these projects effectively.

Overall evaluation: Recommendations for change. When asked how the program could be improved in the future, two students mentioned that they would recommend more sessions per week to improve contact with other students and plan for projects. Four students suggested some other activities like theater or film. Three students mentioned that the students should speak only English in class, not French or Arabic. Two students felt the program was good as is, and two gave no comment. Thus, the students did not mention major complaints or changes to the program

but rather focused on creating more diverse activities, insisting on English as the language of interaction, and increasing the contact hours of the program.

Validation of Academic Gains: University Student Grades

As the majority of the university students indicated that they had experienced an improvement in their level of English, a strong point of comparison is their final grades in their academic English coursework.

There were 592 classes for 228 Language Center students in spring 2012. The total pass rate (grades above 70%) for all students was 79.1%. The pass rate for university students in the service-learning program was 81.5%. In addition, the percentage of all students who failed their courses was 20.1%, whereas that for the service-learning group was 18.5%. Although these overall differences are not particularly striking, the percentage of all students earning an “A” grade (above 90%) was only 3.2%, whereas the percentage of service-learning students earning an “A” was 13.8%.

In order to evaluate whether the difference between service-learning and non-service-learning groups was statistically significant, an independent *t*-test was run on the two groups, yielding the results shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Results of *t*-test for Service-Learning and Non-Service-Learning Groups

	S-L Students	Non S-L Students
M	71.16	65.83
SD	15.39	19.06
Standard Error of the Mean	1.85	0.82
<i>n</i>	69	537
<i>p</i> -value	.025	
Cohen's <i>d</i>	3.1	
effect size <i>r</i>	.15	

Note: The *p*-value indicates that the difference between the two groups is statistically significant at the .05 significance level. The effect size indicators of Cohen's *d* and effect size *r* also indicate a medium-sized effect occurring.

Thus, by comparing the service-learning group to the overall population of students, one can see that a statistically significant improvement occurred in the overall grades for service-learning students. In addition, the number of students receiving an A grade

is much higher for service-learning students. Thus, the service-learning group was slightly better than the average overall and had a much larger percentage of high achievers.

In sum, the answer to the first research question is “yes”: The students did show the predicted academic, personal, social, and civic improvements. The academic gains for the university students were validated by their overall grades. The personal, social, and civic gains were shown through the reflection journals and the final surveys.

Research Question 2 Findings

In assessing what culturally specific results might a Moroccan service-learning program produce, the second research question, the majority of the responses ran parallel to the results predicted by the literature review in the academic, personal, social, and civic areas. In the Moroccan context, these results may be particularly striking because the majority of the Al Akhawayn students had never previously taken part in a service program. The novelty of collaborating with people from a different social class in a program of extended duration may have pushed the students toward a new conception of service in Morocco and higher rates of commitment and satisfaction. However, as mentioned previously, at least one Al Akhawayn student questioned whether the activity was doing enough to “help” the high school students. This might be viewed positively in that the student simply wanted to do as much as he could for the students; on the other hand, this view may betray this student’s sense of superiority over the high school students. This is a complex issue that, returning to Freire (1970), is in the background of all cultural action.

For the high school students, their satisfaction may trace back to the serious issues of overcrowding and lack of engagement in their classes. The higher contact with native and proficient English speakers and the opportunity to present their skills in the final project stands in contrast to their own classes in which, as the high school teacher mentioned, only the first few rows get adequate instruction. In addition, getting to engage with students from another social class as equals and visit Al Akhawayn several times may have given the high school students more confidence in their own abilities. In sum, this experience may have helped the high school students to see past issues of class and gain a greater appreciation of their own self-worth as members of Moroccan society.

One of the surprising findings is in the civic area with regard to voting, because none of the Al Akhawayn students felt that they would vote more as a result of the program. Although increasing voting participation was not a goal of the program, the finding is in direct contrast to results in the United States (*Billig, et. al, 2005*), where service-learning students said that they were more likely to vote as a result of the service-learning experience. However, the Moroccan students did say that they were likely to join an organization working on a social cause. This finding in the Moroccan and Arab context may show that citizens, especially youth, have lost faith in the democratic process and feel that their time is best spent working for change rather than participating in voting. This research question needs to be explored more deeply in future studies of the relationship between service-learning and civic outcomes in the Arab world.

Discussion

The results of the reflection journals, evaluation surveys, and final grades for university students dovetailed with the results predicted by the literature review. Service-learning students do report and show academic gains in their final grades. They also report feeling empowered personally, engaged socially, and having a stronger sense of civic duty and engagement, even if the program did not lead them to want to vote more.

From the author's perspective, the program exceeded expectations in terms of student commitment, satisfaction, and final outcomes. Simply starting the program took a great deal of energy and, at the beginning, it was unclear how many students would commit to the program. Having 20 students complete the program with only three students dropping out throughout the semester was a welcome surprise. In addition, the level of student satisfaction as reflected in the journals, surveys, and week-by-week discussions validated the author's attempts to design a high-quality service-learning program in the Moroccan context. Finally, the final presentation of the student projects as well as the modest increases in final grades for Al Akhawayn students impressed and surprised the author. In sum, the amount of time that the author put into the program (typically up to 5 hours per week) was validated by the program's success and the students' motivation to continue the program in coming semesters.

Next Steps for Program Improvement: Program Design

The positive outcomes in this program open the door for repetition and improvement in the coming year. The teachers and students made a number of recommendations for program expansion and improvement.

1. Expand the number of participants in the program.
2. Increase the number of participants at the high school, with a focus on inviting more students who are struggling with English. For example, there are approximately 400 students in the high school dormitories who could benefit from the program.
3. Increase responsibility leadership group of 12 students from Al Akhawayn and five from the high school that has been formed and provide greater student direction of the program in the coming year. University students create an official club on campus, which would further legitimize the program and even provide a budget for program activities.

Next Steps for Program Improvement: Reflection and Evaluation

Because the university students identified the reflection sessions as one of their least favorite parts of the program, some reforms to this part of the program must be undertaken. The leadership group will offer some ideas for this area, but the general consensus is that the reflection should be more dynamic and interesting for the students overall.

The evaluation of the program will also be improved by implementing a more detailed and longer study that maintains the positive elements of the evaluation and adds the following:

1. pre- and post-tests for both groups that assess the four evaluation areas: academic, personal, social, and citizenship outcomes;
2. comparison to high school students' academic grades; and
3. long-term commitment to studying the students' academic, personal, social, and civic actions. For example, it would be ideal to maintain contact with the students over a long period to see if, beyond the

Language Center or high school period, they actually perform well academically, have positive attitudes about themselves, join social organizations, or even vote more or less than the general population.

Most of these reforms to the program will not be difficult to implement, especially with the increased number of student leaders. However, maintaining overall organization and vision of the program will remain a challenge and require the oversight of Al Akhawayn and high school teachers and administrators to ensure the program's long-term success.

Conclusions

Based on the service-learning theory, practice, and research previously described, this service-learning program conforms well to the expected outcomes because it was designed according to an established framework for high-quality service-learning that is, to use Freire's (1970) terminology, an example of cultural action that is dialogical. In addition, the service-learning program was implemented under conditions highly conducive to success. As a result, the service-learning students reported and demonstrated gains in their academic abilities and even showed excellence compared to other students. Service-learning students also reported improvements in the personal, social, and civic areas. However, confirming these perceptions in a reliable and objective way will require a longitudinal study of specific indicators. Continuation of this program beyond the spring 2012 semester will present ample opportunities to build on its successes by implementing the reforms suggested by students and teachers. The program design will be shared within Al Akhawayn, the high school, and also the Moroccan and Arab context through workshops and presentations, with the hope that service-learning can make a positive impact on the educational system by encouraging students to be more connected to their schools and communities.

This study shows that service-learning is a viable pedagogical tool in the Moroccan and Arab context. The literature review revealed few studies about service-learning in the Arab world in general and none about Morocco. This is a growing field in Morocco, but the author's discussions with other educational professionals indicate that significant challenges exist to implementing service-learning. Despite this lack of service-learning in Morocco and the Arab world, this study shows that students respond well to a high-quality service-learning program in terms of academic,

personal, social, and civic gains. It is hoped that some of the other service-learning or community service activity happening in the Arab world will attract the attention of other researchers to further evaluate and promote this field.

Service-learning is an exciting opportunity for faculty members, particularly those in the Arab or developing world. Through service-learning programs, faculty members engage with the community outside the campus, work with committed students, and make a difference in the larger society. However, a few caveats or suggestions for success remain, based on this study and the author's experience:

1. Using an established service-learning pedagogy such as Youth Service California's can help ground the project and give it legitimacy in the eyes of administrators and other stakeholders.
2. Attracting student leadership lays the foundation to create a sustainable, student-run program.
3. Avoiding anti-dialogical action on the part of participants is necessary, and one must be prepared to discuss this openly with students if necessary.
4. Considering from the beginning how to incorporate reflection and evaluation into the program is essential because, although these items are the easiest to eliminate, they are also the most essential to high-quality programming.

Final, "Take Away" Message

The promise of a more open, engaged, and democratic world is possible, and for the Arab world, this process has just been accelerated with the Arab Spring. The educational sector is ripe for reform, and service-learning is well positioned to be part of this process. Indeed, this pedagogy may be even more successful in developing nations such as Morocco where young people are frequently ignored or marginalized in school and in broader society. Finally, service-learning offers students and instructors an ideal opportunity to take more ownership of their societies while meeting their own goals for academic, personal, social, and civic growth.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Etienne, H. F. (2012). *Pushing back the gates: Neighborhood perspectives on university-driven revitalization in West Philadelphia*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press. 170 pp.

Review by Lakshman Yapa

It is a curious fact of geography that many large urban universities in the United States are located within or adjacent to very poor neighborhoods largely occupied by racial minorities. Mutual distrust, fear, and tension are too often abiding themes of this “town and gown” dual economy and spatial pattern. Long-time residents of the surrounding neighborhoods fear displacement through academic gentrification; the resource-rich universities, although massive engines of economic growth, have not provided an education for their children nor good jobs for the parents. Residents also feel a deep sense of exclusion from “university space,” carrying, as they do, markers of their class and racial identity. On the other side, the university is responsible for the safety of its students. Local newspapers frequently report muggings, theft, and even murder. The growth of the university requires real estate and lots of it: for building classrooms and research facilities, for housing students and for nearby homes for faculty and staff, for providing walking-access retail space, and for beautifying and landscaping the campus. This is the context in which “town and gown” relations play out at the University of Pennsylvania, Temple University, Drexel University, Columbia University, the University of Chicago, Yale, and a host of other urban universities.

The University of Pennsylvania (Penn) is often singled out as a model of an institution that has navigated these rugged shoals rather successfully. The history of Penn’s community outreach—called the West Philadelphia Initiative—is the subject of Harley Etienne’s *Pushing Back the Gates: Neighborhood Perspectives on University-Driven Revitalization in West Philadelphia*, a short book with 130 pages of text and another 40 pages of endnotes and bibliography. The notes and bibliography alone reveal the author’s deep knowledge of and passion for the subject. Etienne is a professor of urban planning at the University of Michigan. His Ph.D. is from Cornell. The book grew out of his master’s research at Temple University, yet surprisingly, the book makes no mention of Temple, which, located as it is in North Philadelphia, faces a situation almost identical to that of Penn in West Philadelphia.

To begin, I am a little puzzled by the title “Pushing Back the Gates.” The reference to a gate implies, figuratively speaking, that

the university is enclosed by a wall or a fence, and that there is some pressure being applied from the outside to get in by “pushing back the gates.” I have not seen anything in or around Penn that evokes that image. University City is an administrative unit carved out of West Philadelphia and is home to Penn, Drexel, and the University of the Sciences, along with a few hospitals and medical complexes. Penn is by far the dominant player in University City, which is the “gown” part of the larger West Philadelphia “town.” It is possible to drive unimpeded through University City along any of the east–west or north–south streets. I have no personal knowledge of any community movement in which residents from Parkside or Belmont-Mantua neighborhoods tried to enter Penn by “pushing back the gates.” If anything, the pressure is the other way around, with Penn expanding its facilities into neighborhood spaces. The most egregious instance of such expansion entails the story of the Black Bottom from the 1960s, when a large number of Blacks living around 40th and Chestnut were displaced and the area subsequently transferred to Penn control. The expansion referred to as “Penntification” by local cynics goes on to this day. Drexel for its part is expanding into the northern neighborhoods of Belmont and Mantua.

Chapter 1 of the book is titled “Cities and Their Universities: Logical Places to Search for Hope.” The idea of hope comes from viewing the university as a public place serving a public purpose, along the lines of John Dewey’s (1970) concepts of democracy, education, and public service. However, Dewey is not invoked in the chapter. Etienne’s skepticism of Dewey’s notion of a public service university is already evident in the opening chapter when he asks, “For whom did Penn save West Philadelphia?” (p. 6). However, rather than a Deweyan notion of a public university serving a universal public good, Etienne advances a political economy perspective of his subject. He claims that impoverished neighborhoods cannot be revitalized without recognizing the role of such larger issues as economic restructuring, jobs, class, and race in America.

Chapters 2 and 3 make a detailed presentation of the history of Penn and its community outreach. Etienne reports on his case study of Penn, the creation of University City, Penn community outreach, and the West Philadelphia Initiative. Here he recounts events beginning in the 1950s when, with national economic restructuring and the massive loss of blue-collar industrial jobs, Penn found itself in the midst of an economically distressed area. Places like West Philadelphia underwent profound economic and demographic changes with the double migrations of southern

Blacks seeking jobs in the industrial north and White flight from the city to suburbs.

In the 1990s, under the presidential leadership of Judith Rodin (1994–2004), and later, under Amy Gutman (2004–), there was a period of unprecedented growth in the university. At the same time, however, a series of well-publicized crimes on university grounds helped to push the issue of the town and gown divide to a prominent place on Penn's agenda. The university made a strong commitment to community development in West Philadelphia. Under the leadership of Ira Harkavy, a professor of history and urban studies, the Netter Center for Community Partnerships played a vital role in linking undergraduate education to the needs of the community. Service-learning courses, participatory action research, and internships were all part of the plan, and today the Netter Center is considered a national model for university service-learning.

Chapter 4 reviews the literature on neighborhood revitalization with a focus on three texts: Elijah's Anderson's *Streetwise*, Brett Williams's *Upscaling Downtown*, and Julius Wilson and Richard Taub's *There Goes the Neighborhood*. Etienne concludes the chapter by expressing his support for a political economy perspective, arguing that it best explains the dual nature of revitalization wherein low-income communities become increasingly removed from affordable housing and marginalized from affordable services that are primarily geared toward affluent university faculty and students. The Fresh Grocer, the grocery store at the corner of 40th and Walnut, with its pricey groceries, is certainly a case that illustrates Etienne's point.

Chapter 5 is a rapid survey of several other notable universities facing situations similar to that of Penn: Columbia University, Northeastern University, University of Southern California, and Harvard University. After comparing similarities and differences in their approaches to the community, Etienne points to the importance of university leadership as a driver in community relations. He closes the chapter with an ambitious hope:

university's decision makers . . . should consider what the long-term impacts of university-driven real estate development might be. If successful, programs to support public education, affordable housing and housing enhancement programs, historic preservation of neighborhood institutions, and workforce development can have transformative effects on places. (p. 108)

This wish list, both ambitious and unrealistic, is, however, inconsistent with a political economy analysis. Etienne states that a modern urban university like Penn is not in the practice of producing public citizens, à la John Dewey, but rather in the business of the commodification of Penn products—its degrees, its research, its outreach, and its reputation. It even produces the physical landscape and surrounding space to serve those needs; witness, for instance, the branding of “University City,” with the Penn logo appearing on street signs, bridges, and landmarks.

Chapter 6, which concludes the book with “Lessons from West Philadelphia,” is a disappointing chapter. First, it is not at all a chapter on “lessons learned,” but rather a summary of the pressures and competing goals that face modern urban universities, namely: (1) to promote the profitable knowledge-driven growth technologies; (2) to retain “star power” in both faculty and administration; (3) to meet the demands of student clientele; (4) to respond to the urban crisis of deindustrialization and its impact on local communities; and (5) to act as a driver of national and regional economic growth and to serve as a responsible real estate developer. Second, although Etienne began by using a political economy framework, in this concluding chapter he does not relate the pressures faced by a modern urban university to the framework he had invoked so approvingly in earlier chapters. On page 127, he says that the ecology of why urban universities are located near poverty areas has not received enough attention in the planning literature and needs further study. This is certainly true and potentially the subject for a large number of doctoral dissertations. Nevertheless, I had hoped to discover—in a chapter titled “Lessons”—what we could learn from Etienne’s analysis of Penn’s outreach initiatives for improving the lives of poor people in West Philadelphia. In that sense the book disappointed me.

Regarding Etienne’s methodology, his account of Penn’s West Philadelphia Initiative is based on library research and several interviews he conducted with Penn staff and community residents. I believe an assessment of Penn’s impact on the community should begin with a listing of indicators (variables that measure impact) and follow that up with statistical and cartographic analyses using a technique such as Geographic Information System (GIS). In the absence of any metrics, we are left with subjective claims that may simply reflect the respondents’ standpoints, as the total number of interviews was quite small. A Penn staff member seems unlikely to say anything negative about Penn’s impact. Similarly, it would not be surprising if the views of a displaced resident were very dif-

ferent from those of a landlord who benefited from neighborhood revitalization. As part of this book review, I did a very preliminary GIS analysis of poverty levels and household income from 2010 in the census tracts in and around University City. This analysis, showed a pattern of roughly concentric rings around the core of University City. Poverty rates were low in core areas of Census Tract 369 in University City and also in an inner-ring neighborhood that contained Spruce Hill, Woodland Terrace, Cedar Park, and Powelton Village, but they reached values exceeding 40% or even 60% in some census tracts in an outer ring of neighborhoods that included East Parkside, Belmont-Mantua, Haddington, and Mill Creek. To comprehend the geographical impact of Penn on West Philadelphia, it would have been instructive to map data for poverty, household incomes, employment, rents, real estate values, and grocery costs at the level of census blocks for several years going back to about 1970. In the absence of such an analysis it is difficult to make an objective assessment of Penn on its surroundings.

My next observation regards the theoretical framework of the book. A political economy analysis would have revealed that the production of space by a university requires a program of massive real-estate development for classes, research, housing, retail, sports, recreation, and entertainment. Invariably that space will come from the university's surroundings, a space that will also need to be carefully controlled and policed. It follows that the university can more readily expand if the residents of that space are poor, politically weak, dependent, and powerless. No amount of community sensitivity, sophisticated thinking, service-learning, and student internships can overcome that stark basic contradiction.

This work of Etienne, amplified by my own experience when I ran a Penn State service-learning course in West Philadelphia titled "The Philadelphia Field Project" (1998 and 2010), leads to fundamental questions. What role can the urban university play in developing a service-learning curriculum that is not about helping to expand the middle class (which cannot be done) but rather focuses on helping communities meet their basic needs so people can live their lives in health and dignity? Can universities like Penn serve such a vision? Would that simply be a matter of enlightened leaders being in the right place at the right time? Or is there an irreconcilable contradiction between the two missions—producing "knowledge" as a commodity in a capitalist economy and producing knowledge to serve a basic needs economy of the poor?

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About the Reviewer

Lakshman Yapa is currently serving as professor of geography at Pennsylvania State University. His research interests focus on poverty, economic development, and service-learning. He earned his Ph.D. from Syracuse University in New York.

Fried, Jane, et al. (2012). *Transformative learning through engagement*. Sterling, VA: Stylus. 200 pp.

Review by Tracy S. Hoover

*T*ransformative Learning Through Engagement reinforces the value associated with engaging students in learning inside and outside the classroom, a principle that has been recognized since the development of student-based organizations on college campuses. The benefits of engaging young adults in prosocial activities and events, such as clubs, service-learning, and community engagement, have been documented by numerous professionals in adolescent development. Fried references numerous examples of opportunities for student growth and development at the curricular and cocurricular level in institutions of higher education.

This book provides student affairs professionals several perspectives along a continuum of student learning and engagement in higher education. Some examples portray a disconnect between academic (classroom/laboratory) and extracurricular (student clubs, organizations, and events) learning; others provide a collaborative and contextual approach to student development, learning, and engagement. Fried supports an experiential learning approach to the collegiate experience and student development, one that requires a reexamination of traditional academic and student affairs cultures. She speaks to the development of a “border pedagogy” that encourages traditional academics and student affairs professionals to collaborate and create meaningful engaged learning opportunities for students.

One of the high points of the book is the last section, which contains several examples of successful engaged learning programs in mentorship, first-year experience, service-learning, and civic engagement. These real case studies provide the reader with a view of institutional commitment, examples of student affairs professionals and faculty working toward a shared goal, process and execution of the program, and measurable learning outcomes of these successful programs.

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Gilvin, A., Roberts, G. M., & Martin, C. (Eds.). (2012). *Collaborative futures: Critical reflections on publicly active graduate education*. Syracuse, NY: The Graduate School Press, Syracuse University. 442 pp.

Review by Michael Rios and Janet Boulware

In the spirit of *Collaborative Futures: Critical Reflections on Publicly Active Graduate Education*, we reviewed this book to reflect the perspectives of two individuals at different stages of their academic careers: one a tenured professor and one a graduate student, both of whom have considerable experience working as community practitioners and collaborators with numerous faculty and students. Admittedly, *Collaborative Futures* is geared to a graduate student readership exploring, participating in, and/or struggling to carry out meaningful work in the public realm. However, this collection of essays is also a good read for faculty reflecting on their own relationships to publicly engaged scholarship. It is a reminder of both the challenges and prospects of legitimizing and fostering public scholarship in the academy, as well as in nonacademic careers beyond graduate education. After providing a brief overview, we identify issues that the book raises as a launching point to discuss publicly engaged scholarship more broadly.

The coeditors, who appear to be graduate students when the book project began, are beneficiaries of prior efforts to create institutional spaces where this type of scholarship continues to flourish. These efforts have included the work of groups such as the Kellogg Commission on the Future of State and Land-Grant Universities, Campus Compact, and, more recently, Imagining America, whose Publicly Active Graduate Education (PAGE) program has helped over 100 graduate students come together annually to discuss their work in a supportive environment. Not surprisingly, many of the book's contributors have been involved with Imagining America in some way, and many of the essays reflect its imprint. At times the book offers an inspiring chronicle of the public contributions universities and colleges have made over the past 100 years. However, the essays also offer reminders of the lack of progress toward integrating the goals of publicly engaged scholarship into many institutions of higher education.

The book begins with some historical context to illustrate the ways public engagement has evolved alongside and within institu-

tions of higher education. It concludes with a number of reflections by individual students, which provide a more nuanced and personal reading of public engagement from different disciplinary perspectives. The historical essays and interchapters sprinkled throughout are less effective than the critical reflections from personal perspectives. Some of the non-authored additions would have been more effective as an appendix, and the historical passages tangential to publicly engaged scholarship do nothing to strengthen the book and should have been omitted.

Many of the essays reflect the struggle for institutional legitimacy as experienced by faculty and students alike. The perennial divide between teaching, research, and service that structures most universities and colleges presents one of the biggest challenges because of the nature of publicly engaged scholarship as a continuum that bridges these three areas. The conflicts that surface during merit and promotion and tenure processes may lead faculty to express negative attitudes that can dampen students' desire to engage in publicly meaningful work. For example, both of us have heard individuals disparage community-engaged research as "lacking rigor" in comparison to the norms of disciplinary research. Although some faculty members may readily articulate the importance of public scholarship as part of their dossier, they often deter graduate students from this type of inquiry because of its professional and ethical consequences for early-career academics. In contrast, the essays in *Collaborative Futures* affirm the desire for public engagement in the academy by demonstrating how it can be done as well as identifying many of the challenges that can be overcome, especially during graduate education and while conducting fieldwork. The book also catalogues a number of summaries and historical writings, such as Ernest L. Boyer's famous essay "The Scholarship of Engagement", (1996) which collectively help to institutionally ground and avow publicly active graduate education.

Collaborative Futures would have benefited from a chapter on the public scholarship movement, including its victories and challenges, as well as the actors that have shaped its development. In keeping with the writing style of the book, such a chapter would have provided a more nuanced and personalized narrative celebrating the organizations, programs, and figures that have been instrumental in developing public engagement as a community of interest. It would also have demonstrated that public scholarship has been woven together by a number of disciplinary threads and institutions outside the arts and humanities. Among others, the social sciences and numerous professional graduate programs have

been contributing to public engagement efforts for over 40 years. For example, such efforts go back to the 1960s in the fields of architecture, landscape architecture, and planning and are reflected in participatory action research in both urban and rural settings.

Because it focuses primarily on the Ph.D. level, the book also omits the experiences of master's-level students. An essay or two from this perspective would be helpful, especially given that many master's students are not pursuing academic careers and often find employment with the community partners they engage while in graduate school.

Since many contributors mention the importance of nonacademic knowledge and reciprocity, there is a surprising lack of representation of community partners among the book's essays. Such partner perspectives would be valuable to readers and complement many of the book's insights. For example, contrasting "academic time" with "community time" would reveal a different set of challenges in publicly engaged scholarship and highlight the importance of communicating mutual expectations regarding project milestones and deadlines, as well as coming to agreement about project goals and expected outcomes. Sincere engagement often takes years to develop and centers around individual relationships built on reciprocity, trust, and respect. Such relationships are critical to accessing community knowledge as well as to ensuring that accurate accounts of information and data are collected. Conversely, inherent tensions characterize the "in and out" research that occurs when students cannot devote time to community requests due to their own academic pressures. One of the biggest disappointments for community partners can occur when students enter into a research relationship where the academic partner has determined goals and expectations in advance. In contrast, participatory methods of public scholarship engage community interlocutors at the outset and thus have greater potential for mutual benefit. This methodology facilitates greater engagement with community collaborators leery of spending inordinate amounts of time with graduate students with little to no gain for themselves or their organizations. Articulating how communities or the public accrue benefits from public scholarship or the pitfalls of aestheticizing engagement would offer useful insights and advance discussions of self-reflexivity, active listening, and relational thinking. These and other concerns raise critical questions about the benefits of public scholarship beyond the academy. Evaluating the public impact of various community-university partnerships, initiatives, and projects, as well as measuring the quality of citizen participa-

tion, capacity building, and policy change, are areas warranting greater attention.

The authors' focus on different academic disciplines and the reciprocity of community knowledge draws attention to crossing boundaries as a recurring theme of publicly engaged scholarship. This type of "collaborative future" is taking place today at the intersections between scholars, professionals, and citizens. Foundational to this transdisciplinary inquiry is collaboration—among scholars from different disciplinary backgrounds; with civic organizations, practitioners, and members; and at local, regional, national, and international scales. Also critical is a focus on action, whether personal or interpersonal, individual or collective. This methodological orientation is one of the field's most important scholarly contributions, especially given the growing acknowledgment that no single discipline or field of practice can adequately address society's most pressing social and environmental problems. Closer engagement with these types of transdisciplinary collaborations would also address some of the institutional challenges identified in the book. Expanding the boundaries and scales of action amplifies the work of scholars and can further demonstrate societal benefit at the core of public scholarship. As part of the growing literature on public scholarship, *Collaborative Futures: Critical Reflections on Publicly Active Graduate Education* is an important contribution to laying an educational foundation for emerging and future generations of scholars committed to addressing complex public issues we face today and still others we will confront in the future.

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About the Reviewers

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Van de Ven, A. H. (2007). *Engaged scholarship: A guide for organizational and social research*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press. 330 pp.

Review by James R. Cook

The author describes this book in the preface as “written primarily for doctoral students and faculty who wish to know how to engage others to obtain a deeper understanding of their research problem and question” and as a book that provides a guide “for involving stakeholders in each step of the research process.”

The author provides a model for engaged scholarship, with a significant focus on the development of research questions that are of importance to key stakeholders. He then proceeds to point out the importance of involving different people, with divergent perspectives, in multiple aspects of the research process, in order to create a richer process that can enable the complexity of important problems to be examined more fully. Clearly these are critical hallmarks of engaged scholarship and deserve discussion. An important point made is that, although researchers often think about multiple inputs as ways to gain convergence, the lack of agreement is equally or even more important for understanding the complexity of the issues under study. Finding the lack of agreement, or the discordant perspectives, can provide particular illumination when addressing complex processes.

The author is critical of research that does not engage practitioners or other researchers. He often blurs the two together, seeming to view engagement of other researchers versus engagement of practitioners or community members as functionally equivalent. This may warrant more separation in his discussions, since the types of benefits from involving the two types of stakeholders may be quite different. Furthermore, although involving researchers from different disciplines and backgrounds can be challenging, collaborative efforts with nonresearchers are often more difficult to undertake and relatively neglected by academic scholars.

The author provides an extensive discussion of the philosophy of science and the rationale behind engaged research. This is a very thoroughly developed discussion, providing background for why engaged research might be important and useful and how it fits in the broader context of science. This is interesting academic reading and may help those who are not convinced of the utility of engaged research to accept it as “legitimate science”; however, this part clearly did not contribute to the goal of understanding

“how to” engage others, nor provide a useful “guide” for involving stakeholders.

One of the strongest chapters (chapter 3, “Formulating the Research Problem”) addresses the ways that engaged researchers conceptualize the problem to be studied: the need to clearly understand the problem and narrow it down to a series of research questions. Some key techniques and strategies are identified for formulating the problem in a way that is clear, and for addressing issues of importance to both researchers and community practitioners. An emphasis is placed on attending to context, becoming very clear about the level of analysis of the problem of interest, and deciding on the scope of the problem. These are critical points, and Van de Ven addresses them well.

A second strong chapter (chapter 8, “Communicating and Using Research Knowledge”) points out the importance of communicating research in a manner that enables the intended audience to effectively understand and utilize the findings and their implications. Of course, without a clear, understandable, and important problem, there may not be an audience that cares much about the findings. But assuming that the research problem is important (as outlined in chapter 3) and the findings have potential utility, it is still necessary to develop effective communication strategies if the findings are to be used. Van de Ven points out the need for the communication to include logos, a clear and logical message; pathos, the power to emotionally touch the audience; and ethos, credibility of the messenger, in order to be sufficiently persuasive that the findings may be utilized. Unfortunately, much of the recent writing about the utilization of research findings is couched in “translation” language. The notion of translational research generally implies that the researchers are the authorities, and they must convert their knowledge to something that practitioners can understand. This approach may fit some types of science, but for many disciplines in the social sciences, a better conceptualization of knowledge utilization is through the development and implementation of collaborative research in which knowledge is co-created. If research is developed that recognizes and utilizes the knowledge of the researcher and the practitioner or community member, with each contributing to the development of research questions, methods, analysis, and interpretation, then the “translation” is not of the findings by the “researchers.” The translation occurs much earlier in the process. It is through better engagement of multiple stakeholders in the earlier stages of research that translation can and

should occur, which then facilitates the utilization of the research by multiple parties.

Perhaps my favorite chapter is the last one, in which the author provides tangible examples of how he developed relationships with stakeholders to conduct research. These examples are rich and useful. Here the book truly becomes a guide or “how to” book that graduate students or academic researchers can use to see how they can build relationships that lead to engaged scholarship. Van de Ven shows, in these examples, how others might engage with community practitioners. The book would be stronger and better accomplish its stated purposes if the author’s examples were liberally sprinkled throughout the book. Although the author is correct in stating that research methods textbooks omit discussion of the social aspects of research design, it is a shame that the social aspects are truly brought to life most clearly only in the last chapter.

In sum, if the reader wants to understand why engaged research can be useful, the book provides multiple chapters that speak to that. The author’s philosophical examination of science and scientific methodology provides some good perspective regarding the “why” of engaged research. Additional chapters on research design do not go much beyond other texts on quasi-experimental research or applied research design, although they do help provide an understanding of some of the difficulties in conducting applied research. However, if a graduate student or faculty member wants to find some helpful guidance regarding approaches to conducting engaged research, then they should attend to the chapter on problem formulation to help identify strategies for engaging community members in the formulation of meaningful research questions; the chapter on communication of findings (although with the caveat that translation should occur early in the process); and the final chapter, to see how social interactions are critical for the “engaged scholar.”

About the Author

James R. Cook is a professor and community psychology program coordinator in the Psychology Department, University of North Carolina at Charlotte. Dr. Cook’s area of research is community psychology, which focuses on changing systems and settings to better meet the needs of individuals and families. Most of his work focuses on using community-based participatory research to effect change in social systems and programs serving disenfranchised members of the community, including those served by mental health, public housing, and social service agencies. He earned a Ph.D. in psychology from Indiana University in 1980.

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