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challenges related to data collection structures and resources, institution-wide understanding and involvement, and matching data to the application itself; and (4) Both performing the application process and receiving the Classification yielded institutional and cultural shifts: new or improved collaborations, greater institutionalization of community engagement, new or improved data-reporting structures, and better alignment of the institution's mission with the goals of community engagement. This article also offers respondents' recommendations to future Classification applicants.

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work is often not valued or rewarded by promotional bodies, and a gap is appearing between the career development opportunities, promotion, and probation outcomes of engaged scholars and those who focus on more traditionally recognized scholarly outcomes. To combat this, the University of Wollongong has undertaken a project that aims to embed the scholarship of engagement as a scholarly *method of doing*. This approach involves applying new and reformulated promotions guidelines to traditional scholarships in a way intended to remove barriers to promotion for “engaged scholars.”

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Lessons from the Wright Brothers... Start With the Right Questions

This summer, having read McCullough's (2015) *The Wright Brothers* and traced the paths of the historic first heavier-than-air human flights at the Wright Brothers National Memorial in Kill Devil Hills, North Carolina, I was truly inspired not only by what the brothers did, but how they did it. Through focus, tenacity, and teamwork applied to the scientific process and through their remarkable ability to repeatedly reframe conventional understandings, Wilbur and Orville accomplished their world-changing innovation. However, most essential was their starting with the right questions. How can birds fly? Why doesn't a powerful engine ensure successful flight? What will enable an aircraft to maintain equilibrium?

In this issue of *JHEOE*, engagement and outreach scholars have asked important "why," "how," and "to what end" questions. In studying the "to what end" question to understand the impact of community-campus collaboration, Nichols, Gaetz, and Phipps found that tracking routes of interactivity or the "process of interaction" beyond the original collaboration may be the most effective way to document and account for collaborative impact. Taking a unique perspective, Noel and Earwicker asked the applicants of the 2010 round of the Carnegie Community Engagement Classification questions about why they applied, what strategies and methods they used, and the important "to what end" question—what happened as a result of their successful application?

In their research, Tal, Fenster, and Kulka sought to answer a "how" question: "How does a multidisciplinary community-based clinic work with an urban community to regenerate its deteriorating real estate?" To investigate this question, they had to follow a complex set of actors from different faculties at Tel-Aviv University, the limited-resource residents, the municipality, and private developers. One set of outcomes they documented over a 3-year period of the project related to the students as social change agents and their resulting critical, self-conscious professional identity. Similarly, Torres-Harding, Diaz, Schamberger, and Carollo in their work asked whether a psychological sense of community, agreeing with the institution's mission statement, and taking diversity or service-learning courses impacted university students' social justice atti-

tude and student activism. In another study, Carpenter asked a “to what end” question: What were “undergraduates’ perceived gains and ideas about teaching and learning science from participating in science education outreach programs”?

How do you embed the scholarship of engagement institution-wide? This was the question explored by the University of Wollongong, an Australian regional university. Authors Crookes, Else, and Smith relate how framing the scholarship of engagement as a scholarly method of doing, as part of the creation of an academic performance framework, involved applying new and reformulated promotion guidelines to traditional scholarship to facilitate acknowledgment and promotion of engaged scholars.

The books reviewed in this issue ask far-reaching questions. Asking about the place of political science in civic engagement education and higher education is the focus of *Teaching Civic Engagement: From Student to Active Citizen*, published by the American Political Science Association and reviewed by Brandon Klierer, himself a political science engaged scholar. Shaker and 23 contributors in *Faculty Work and the Public Good* explore questions related to the role of higher education faculty who use philanthropy as a framework. In his review, David Weerts raises additional questions that this book launches for continued dialogue on the future of the professoriate.

Considering the future of higher education more broadly, *Democracy’s Education: Public Work, Citizenship, and the Future of Colleges and Universities* ask a fundamental question: “Will higher education leaders and constituents be the architects of change, or will they be its objects?” (Boyte et al., 2015, p. 28). Reviewers Tami Moore and Jon Horinek summarize the responses to this question that members of the American Commonwealth Partnership have provided, addressing why and how scholars, higher education leaders, and community builders need to bring change to current practices.

To perfect the art of soaring and controlling an aircraft, the Wright brothers doggedly made more than 1,000 glides during one month in 1902 alone. The articles in this issue present important questions and contribute to the growing literature on outreach and community engagement, but we need to continually challenge ourselves:

Are we asking the right questions? Are we courageously, rigorously, and tenaciously seeking answers to those “right” questions? We encourage and anticipate submissions that question and challenge for future issues.

With best regards,
Lorilee R. Sandmann
Editor

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RESEARCH ARTICLES

Generating Social Change Through Community–Campus Collaboration

Naomi Nichols, Stephen Gaetz, and David Phipps

Abstract

In this article, a qualitative case study approach was used to explore the changes that community–campus collaborations stimulate. The authors document the “processes of interaction” (Spaapen & van Drooge, 2011) through which collaborations seek to contribute to positive social change, highlighting the outputs, outcomes, and innovations that have resulted from these collaborative endeavors. This article focuses on improving efforts to track the changes or innovations that are influenced by community–campus interactions. Findings suggest that researchers should focus on the broad field of activity through which collaborations contribute to change. Specifically, there is utility in tracking the “processes of interaction” that extend beyond the initial site of collaboration into the communities where a partnership seeks to make change.

Introduction

There is a growing interest in community–campus collaborations as a means to enhance the impact of social science research. Although impact is difficult to measure and assess, our research has identified a range of outcomes associated with collaborative work including increased knowledge exchange among stakeholders, the production of usable research content, and the creation of sustained research-to-action networks. Other studies suggest that interdisciplinary and interinstitutional collaborations represent an effective way to address complex problems while maximizing resources, reducing interinstitutional fragmentation and service duplication, creating conceptual and organizational synergies, building community capacity, and engaging people in research (Baler & Volkow, 2011; Emschoff et al., 2007; Henderson, MacKay, & Peterson-Badali, 2010; Huzzard, Ahlberg, & Ekman, 2010; Lowe & Philipson, 2009). This article examines the processes of interaction through which community–campus research collaborations seek to make change and inspire innovation. With a better understanding of the ways that such collaborations contribute to social change, collaborators can enhance the effects of their interactions.

Data were collected as part of a larger national initiative to create and sustain links between Canada's community and postsecondary education sectors. In this article, we offer a point-in-time description of four community-campus collaborations across Canada: (1) the Pension Plan project; (2) the Alternative Community Investment Strategy; (3) Employment Uncertainty, Poverty, and Well-Being; and (4) the Policy Mobilization project. We point to specific changes these collaborations have stimulated and describe our efforts to understand how community-campus collaborations contribute to the public good. The case studies represent collaborations at different stages of the collaborative enterprise, but all of the collaborations are ongoing. Because the case studies reflect a single period of data collection, we have insufficient evidence to assess the degree to which the collaborations stimulate sustained social impact. Instead, we used qualitative research methods to document and analyze the activities of collaboration. Our goal is to contribute to the development of reflexive strategies for studying the impacts of community-campus collaborations.

Our study illuminates specific institutional conditions, methodological strategies, and conceptual frames that enable systematic tracking and accounting for the changes that community-campus collaborations effect. Our research suggests that tracking routes of interactivity beyond the original collaboration may be the most effective way to document and account for collaborative impacts. Because *people* experience social impact, tracking forward through the networks of collaborators is one way to illuminate changes (i.e., impacts or innovations) that register downstream from the original collaboration.

We begin this article with a discussion of social science research impact and the significance of the Community Campus Collaborations project. We describe the project's research activities and conceptual framework and move from here into an exploration of our findings. In the Findings section, people's experiences of collaboration ground an analysis of the relationship between collaborative process and outcomes. Our findings allowed us to investigate the web of interactions through which collaborative activities contribute to social change and/or innovation. Drawing on case study data, we explored how different strategic interactions (e.g., networking, media engagement, granting relations, and capacity building) stimulate policy and practice innovation.

Tracking the Impacts of Community–Academic Interactions

A review of the literature on assessing and supporting university–community engagement reveals a number of studies that describe evaluations of community–academic partnership activities and collaborative processes (e.g., *Carlton, Whiting, Bradford, Hyjer Dyk, & Vail, 2009; Eckerle Curwood, Munger, Mitchell, MacKeigan, & Farrar, 2011; Hart & Northmore, 2012; Lantz, Viruell-Fuentes, Israel, Softley, & Guzman, 2001; Wright et al., 2011*). Although process evaluations are common, Hart and Northmore (2012) noted that there are few standardized assessment tools or outcomes–focused evaluation strategies for assessing the impacts of engaged scholarship. Where university benchmarks and performance indicators exist, these have not been linked to a systematic evaluation of community engagement strategies/activities, and they do not adequately capture community perspectives on partnership activities (*Hart & Northmore, 2012*).

Assessing impact is even more challenging than measuring outcomes because the concept of impact is variously defined and used in a diversity of contexts (*Brewer, 2011*). Brewer suggested that impact is conditional, serendipitous, and varies over time; impact measures must acknowledge that impact is “displayed in as broad a space as possible, so that no domain is privileged above another” (p. 256). Any attempt to capture and assess impact must attend to the multiple processes through which change is continuously being made. From a research perspective, the challenge is providing an impact “snapshot” that is sufficiently comprehensive *and* attentive to the emergent or evolving properties of the change-making process.

The case studies in this article represent interorganizational collaborations between people who work in postsecondary educational institutions and those who work in community-based organizations, government, nonprofit organizations, and charitable foundations. In this article, we sought insight into the processes through which these multi-institutional collaborations influence change. We describe interactions between people in the context of various and evolving social and institutional conditions in an attempt to understand the effects of this interactivity (*Spaapen & van Drooge, 2011*). With a better understanding of how and where community–campus collaborations contribute to positive social change, collaborators can maximize the effects of their interactions.

Understanding Impact from a Community Perspective

Organizations that participate in collaborative work, particularly those in the charitable or nonprofit sectors, are concerned with understanding whether and how these collaborative ventures make a difference. Ben, one of the study participants, is a director of strategic priorities for a regional United Way, one of over 100 United Way/Centraide nonprofit organizations across Canada. He explains that he has to regularly

justify and rationalise why it's important for us to be in partnership with [a university research institute]...because it's not an investment in direct service delivery...the role that [my colleague] and I will play is to be part of this [partnership] and monitor it and be able to convey back what I expect to be positive and significant change from year to year.

People who work in the charitable and nonprofit sectors are under pressure to convey the impacts of their work to donors, boards of directors, and the general public. Juxtaposed with the imperative to demonstrate that their work makes a tangible difference, there is increasing recognition that social change is difficult to attribute to a specific set of collaborative activities. Consequently, it is challenging to “convey positive and significant change from year to year.”

Understanding Impact From an Academic Perspective

The institutional pressure to demonstrate change is not experienced in the same way in academic settings, where performance evaluation processes traditionally privilege the use of research findings to produce peer-reviewed publication, develop future proposals, and secure ongoing funding. Historically, there have been few incentives for academic researchers to track broad social impacts of their research, particularly when these impacts cannot be unequivocally attributed to the researcher's work. The attribution of research impact is one of the key challenges facing those who hope to understand the effects of research and research use (Bell, Shaw, & Boaz, 2011; Boaz, Fitzpatrick, & Shaw, 2009; Molas-Gallart & Tang, 2011; Spaapen & van Drooge, 2011).

Even though institutions of higher education are increasingly interested in understanding the role that research plays in stimu-

lating change, the field of research evaluation has seen few attempts to systematically address the diffusion of impact across temporal and geographic locales (Davies, Nutley, & Walter, 2005; Nutley, Walter, & Davis, 2007). Spaapen and van Drooge (2011) identified temporality (i.e., the time between research activities and the use of findings) as a key factor that makes it challenging to link a particular social impact to a specific research endeavor. They proposed looking at social impact as a process rather than an outcome. In order to understand how particular activities contribute to potential or actual impact, Spaapen and van Drooge studied processes of interaction (between researchers and research users) so as to capture interactivity between knowledge domains. This interactivity is a prerequisite for generating academic and community impact.

Creating Impact Through Collaboration

Some scholars suggest that the use of research knowledge increases when research “users” are involved in research activities. For example, Bell, Shaw, and Boaz (2011) noted that research is more likely to influence policy when it is conducted with the input of policymakers. By the same logic, the involvement of community professionals in the development of research creation, dissemination, and use strategies has the potential to increase research use by people who work in the community or charitable sectors.

Our research is guided by a *systems model* for assessing research impact, in which knowledge translation is viewed as occurring in the interconnected and iterative activities of knowledge exchange, adaptation, and use, which are in turn shaped by social, political, cultural, and institutional relations (Best & Holmes, 2010). Like Spaapen and van Drooge (2011), we see social impact as arising through processes of interaction “in which knowledge and expertise circulates [*sic*] to achieve certain goals that are deemed relevant for the development of society” (p. 212).

Methods

From a scan of 88 community-campus collaborations across Canada (One World, 2011), four collaborations were selected for ethnographic investigation. These four “cases” were selected by the project’s advisory committee, which was composed of leaders in nonprofit, research funding, and academic settings. These four collaborations were chosen because they represent French- and English-speaking participants in eastern and western Canada. Additionally, all four collaborations reported some form of measur-

able change (e.g., a new policy, service, or initiative) during the initial scan. Before fieldwork began, the research design was approved by York University's Human Participants Review Committee. The description of the four cases under investigation reflects a commitment to protecting the identities of research subjects. Pseudonyms are used to refer to project titles and the names of participants.

The project utilized a qualitative case study approach (*Patton, 2002*). The objective was to capture the processes of interaction that shape relations between collaborators and influence the effects of their partnership activities. In order to complete the case studies, interviews were sought with academic (e.g., students, faculty, and research staff) and nonacademic (e.g., community-based researchers, community practitioners, foundation chief executive officers) project partners and project stakeholders for the four selected collaborations. In addition, we examined project documents (e.g., reports, toolkits, communication updates, and governance documents), visited project sites, observed partnership meetings, and engaged in ongoing informal conversations with a number of project partners. Researchers requested copies of project documents during interviews or site visits when project participants referenced particular texts. Field notes were recorded, and the field researchers engaged in ongoing discussions and reflection on research data as these were generated.

A central community organization from each partnership was asked to recruit interviewees. Instead of compensating individual participants, we compensated each project for recruitment efforts. The selection of key informants was thus determined by the respective projects. Although we recognize the limitations of this approach (e.g., researchers may be less likely to hear about a project's struggles or challenges), we were cognizant that people might be wary of the involvement of key research and nonprofit funders on our advisory committee. We invited the projects to handle recruitment so that they had a degree of control over the development of the case studies. Prior to submitting the report to the advisory committee, participants reviewed the case studies and provided comments and points of clarification.

A total of 25 people participated in formal interviews. Ten participants are described as academic partners because they work in academic settings as graduate student researchers ($n = 3$), knowledge mobilizers ($n = 2$), research/administrative staff ($n = 2$), or faculty members ($n = 3$). Twelve participants are described as community partners because they work in community settings as researchers ($n = 3$), organizational leaders ($n = 6$),

organizational staff ($n = 2$), or municipal government employees ($n = 1$). Three participants are described as stakeholders because they were recipients of pilot funding that was the direct result of a community-campus collaboration. These stakeholders were not directly involved in partnership activities.

All interviewers used a standard set of interview prompts to ensure that data were commensurable across projects. To retain a conversational tone, interviewers were advised to use the interview questions as a guide rather than a script. The first author of this article reviewed all of the transcripts as they were produced to ensure fidelity to the standard set of interview topics. Interviews were conducted face-to-face ($n = 23$) or via telephone ($n = 3$) when a face-to-face interview could not be arranged. Most of the interviews took place in community organizations or on university campuses. Interviews were conducted in French or English. They ranged in length between 35 and 80 minutes. All interviews were recorded using a digital recorder. The audio files were transcribed verbatim and in the case of interviews conducted in French, the recordings were translated into English.

Data Analysis

Analytic codes emerged from the interview, observational, and text-based data that were gathered during fieldwork. Because each interviewer used a standard set of interview prompts, interview data corresponded with the general areas of inquiry outlined in the project design. Data were broadly categorized into four areas that warranted further analysis: social and historical factors that influence community-campus collaboration, institutional and infrastructural factors that influence community-campus collaboration, making change through collaboration, and community-based research. Data in each of these broad thematic categories were further coded to enable analysis.

The foci of analysis were the processes of interaction (*Molas-Gallart & Tang, 2011; Spaapen & van Drooge, 2011*) through which collaborations made, or sought to make, change. We wanted to not only capture the impacts of community-campus collaboration but to understand *how* collaborative activities create shifts in understanding or dialogue, influence policy, result in program changes, or produce innovations. In this article, we have focused our analysis on the activities that people link to their collective ability to influence positive social change. The result is a less critical piece of work than other articles we have produced from this study

(e.g., *Nichols, Phipps, Gaetz, Fisher, & Tanguay, 2014*). The goal for the present article is to offer an improved understanding of the processes through which collaborations contribute to the public good. In doing so, we also hope to improve researchers' efforts to track collaborative impacts.

Brief Description of Four Case Studies

In this section, the community–campus collaborations that informed the case study analyses are briefly described. The description highlights the types of institutions involved in each collaboration, identifies collaborative objectives, and points to some collaborative outcomes to date. A fuller explication of each collaboration's strategic activities is provided in the Findings section.

Pension Plan project. This project was spearheaded by two institutes that are dedicated to supporting collaboration between community and academic organizations: (1) an independent feminist nonprofit connector organization (composed of 90 local, regional, and provincial membership organizations) that supports joint work between women's community groups and university researchers and (2) a community services unit in a comprehensive public French-language university. Both of these organizations are located in a large city. The pension plan represents one of a number of collaborations between this nonprofit organization and the university community services unit.

The Pension Plan itself has a provincewide focus. People who work in community-based organizations often retire into poverty. The Pension Plan project aims to support economic stability among people who work in the province's community and not-for-profit sectors. An individual in the university community services unit (Simon) provided the research and pension planning expertise, and the community practitioners, led by a woman named Agathe, collectively determined the pension planning strategy and tools, as well as their training and recruitment approach. The creation and conception of the plan by representatives of the community sector for the community sector distinguishes this pension plan from others that exist. Since its inception, the plan has grown to 10 million dollars and 2,700 employees and has won awards for innovation. In addition, it contributes to labor consistencies in the nonprofit sector: people who work in organizations that offer employee access to the Pension Plan cite the plan as an important factor shaping their decisions to continue working in the nonprofit sector.

Alternative Community Investment Strategy. This initiative arose out of a series of discussions between the director of a university knowledge mobilization unit (Jonathan) and the chief executive officer (CEO) of a United Way (Francesco). The large public research university where Jonathan is employed is located in the northwest quadrant of a large urban center. The United Way represents a region north of the urban center composed of small rural towns, cities, and fast-growing suburban developments, linking the smaller municipalities to each other and the larger urban center where the university is located.

Jonathan and Francesco's discussions focused on the United Way's desire to increase its impact by facilitating the use of local resources to support place-based community development. The university and the United Way jointly funded three graduate student research interns to develop a strengths-based community toolkit, carry out a literature review, and conduct preliminary social assets mapping. These resources were used to create an evidence-based report. The report shaped the United Way board of directors' approval of a pilot funding strategy to support locally driven community development initiatives. Two years after the internship, this funding program continues, and the United Way has awarded \$300,000 in funding to 11 strengths-based community development initiatives.

Employment Uncertainty, Poverty, and Well-Being: A Community-Academic Research Partnership. This large-scale research project is exploring employment patterns that relate to poverty and well-being among Canadians. The project partners include regional United Way organizations; multiple labor, community health, social planning, and community research organizations; and a number of universities across Canada and internationally. The project is producing multiple case studies to investigate relations between employment precariousness and individual, family, and community well-being. Although many of the current partners collaborated on earlier research that aimed to understand the localization of poverty in specific regions of a large urban area, this particular project is early in its life cycle.

Receiving 5 years of Community Academic Research Alliance (CURA) funding from Canada's Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) is a significant accomplishment of this multistakeholder community-academic partnership. Ultimately the partnership aims to mobilize research findings to influence policy debate.

Table 1. Community–Campus Collaboration Case Studies at a Glance

Community-Campus Collaboration	Partners	Desired Change	Partnership Activities	Key Progress to Date
Pension Plan Project	1. Feminist nonprofit connector organization (composed of 90 local, regional, and provincial membership organizations) 2. University community services unit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improve economic stability during retirement for people who work in community-based organizations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research, knowledge exchange, and planning activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Developed and implemented a \$10 million pension plan with a membership of 2,300 individuals and 365 organizations
Alternative Community Investment Strategy	1. United Way 2. University knowledge mobilization unit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improve use of United Way funds to support community capacity-building and collective action 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conducted a literature review and social assets mapping exercise • Coproduced strengths-based community toolkit and an evidence-based report 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Developed, piloted, and implemented a funding strategy to support locally driven community development initiatives • Supported 11 strengths-based community development initiatives
Employment Uncertainty, Poverty, and Well-Being	A number of: 1. United Way organizations 2. Labor organizations 3. Community based organizations 4. Health organizations 5. Social planning and research councils 6. Universities across Canada and internationally	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Generate new knowledge on the relationship between employment precarity, health, and well-being • Mobilize this knowledge in support of policy debate and change 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Design, implementation, and discussion of survey and case study research to investigate relations between employment precarity and individual, family, and community well-being 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Secured 5 years of federal research funds • Survey research complete • Case study research ongoing
Policy Mobilization Project	1. United Way 2. Municipal Foundation 3. Young Woman's Christian Association (YWCA) 4. University Research Institute	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase public engagement in issues related to early childhood well-being • Increase evidence-based provincial policy decision-making 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic analysis of childhood vulnerability and production of report for board of trade • Use of blogging and print media • Creation and implementation of knowledge mobilization and learning opportunities • Market research with target populations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Developed and implemented evidence-based funding priorities and service delivery targets • Learning and service delivery changes among service delivery organizations • Increased media engagement with issue

Policy Mobilization project. This is a partnership between an institute for research and knowledge mobilization at a large public research university and three large community organizations: a United Way, a municipal foundation, and a Young Woman's Christian Association (YWCA). The partnership team is composed of one or two people from each of these organizations, all of which are located in a large urban center. The partnership team also works with a network of smaller grassroots and community-sector agencies across the province where it is located.

The Policy Mobilization project aims to increase government, policymaker, practitioner, and public engagement with early childhood development research. Partnering organizations share a desire to stimulate public dialogue and policy change to support early childhood and family well-being. Research participants link a number of changes in the delivery of local programs and services to the partnership's efforts to support communities' use of research evidence in their planning and program implementation. They note that online blogging and weekly columns in a major newspaper have generated considerable interest in, and public debate about, issues of family and early childhood well-being.

The participants, goals, activities, and progress of the four collaborations studied are summarized in Table 1.

Findings

Interview participants from all four case studies clearly link the outcomes of their collective work to the distinctive contributions offered by differently positioned project partners. Broad social changes cannot be attributed to a single interaction or a single activity on the part of academic or community partners; rather, change results from processes of interaction that directly and indirectly connect people across time and space. Collaborations undertake a diversity of activities to engage people in research and knowledge exchange processes as a way to stimulate change in policy and practice. Each of the partners participates in social networks that extend beyond the collaborations we studied. These extended and interconnected networks have the potential to significantly extend the reach of collaborative activities. By focusing attention on the processes through which these collaborations nurture interorganizational learning and engagement, our research reveals the complex social interactions through which the partnerships influence change.

Adequately accounting for the impacts of community–academic collaboration requires a study design that enables the tracking of smaller-scale collaborative outcomes over time and across geographic locales. Institutional interest in understanding the relationship between collaboration and impact must be accompanied by sufficient infrastructural and human resource supports to enable the assessment of collaborative impacts longitudinally. Otherwise, the broad social changes that collaborations stimulate are likely to remain unacknowledged.

The Process–Outcome Relation

Study participants highlighted the importance of network building through collaboration; however, they also emphasized that partnerships must be able to produce instrumental or tangible returns. The process–outcomes relation operates like a feedback loop: A productive collaborative process leads to and is sustained by the generation of collaborative outcomes. The Pension Plan project exemplifies this process–outcome relation. The processes of interaction between the university community services unit and the feminist nonprofit connector organization were characterized by considerable reciprocity and knowledge exchange. Ongoing interactions have led to the creation of an award-winning pension plan, which provides the impetus for continued collaboration between the university and this collective of community organizations.

The university community services unit and one individual in particular (Simon, a community services unit coordinator) provided “the expertise with pension plans...[and] the knowledge of submissions for actuaries,” and the collective of feminist nonprofit organizations provided “the knowledge of the field that the pension plan targets, our capacity to rally people working in this field, [and] our capacity to seek financial resources” (Agathe, nonprofit connector organization). The Pension Plan project combined Simon’s pension planning expertise with the community professionals’ tacit knowledge of the sector and ability to engage people in dialogue. The university and the community were also able to access and contribute different financial resources. The community had access to grants that the university was not eligible for, and the university contributed Simon’s expertise as an in-kind donation to the effort.

Simon explained that his contribution to the project

was more about preparing materials to explain the different options that exist...make sure that through the discussion, the participants take [the planning process]

over, but moreover answer the question “What fits best the constraints and needs of their community group?”

The process of devising a community pension plan was characterized by interactivity and deliberation. Simon offered the group some foundational knowledge in the field of pension planning, but the group had full rein to determine an approach that best fit the constraints and needs of their diverse professional network.

According to Simon, this iterative process took place over “a series of meetings during which we came closer and closer to what the plan would look like.” These face-to-face meetings were a chance to recall the group’s progress to date (its process and its outcomes) and consider steps for moving forward. Simon explained that these meetings centralized debate, as community professionals

literally “drew the camel” (*déssiné le chameau*)...they traced a plan that would fit their needs and through this all, I was giving them options. They would put some options aside, saying “this is not going to work because—”...it is the participants’ knowledge of the community sector that brought them to design a plan, which is very unique.

Here it is possible to see how a process was created that enabled recognition and combination of people’s tacit and explicit knowledge. As people’s experiential knowledge about working in the community sector was brought into conversation with an explicit body of knowledge about economics and pensions, the group produced a pension-planning innovation.

By creating conditions for interactivity and mutual learning, the Pension Plan project produced a viable and original pension plan for people who work in community-based organizations. People remain committed to the collaborative process because it led to the development of an award-winning plan to supplement the retirement income of an entire sector. Since its inception in 2008, the plan has grown from zero to 10 million dollars. It now has 2,300 members from 365 different community and women’s groups. In addition, it has received two prestigious awards for innovation—one from Benefits Canada and another from the Committee of Labour and Social Economy Community Action.

With each new indication of success, the plan is growing in membership and economic support. The plan is also gaining considerable attention among people with pension-planning expertise

and those who are part of other labor collectives. The provincial Fédération des Travailleurs et Travailleuses (FTQ) “modeled the design of its [own] pension plan after the same regulations as ours; they essentially copied our model” (Simon, university community services unit).

Perhaps most significantly, the existence of the plan has improved the sector’s ability to recruit and retain talented professionals. Riley, who works for the FTQ, explained that the development of the pension plan itself represents a “major change,” but he added that changes within the workforce as a result of the plan are equally significant. Riley observed increased dialogue about the importance of pension options. He also observed people who are leaving their current positions to be part of organizations that offer membership in the plan. The creation of the pension plan has enabled the workforce to drive changes in labor conditions.

The Pension Plan case illustrates how an interactive and reciprocal process creates conditions for knowledge exchange, innovation, and ultimately impact. A productive relationship between a university community services unit and a community connector organization led to the production of an innovative pension plan that has subsequently been adapted by a provincial labor organization. Study participants clearly indicated that they continue to be involved in this project because it has created tangible benefits (or outcomes) for the community—namely, an award-winning pension plan that continues to grow in membership and economic strength. Participants also clearly indicated that the existence of the pension plan has led to increased economic stability among members and changes in labor relations across the province. These changes in labor relations are the type of broad effects that this article describes as impacts. Although many factors influence changes in provincial labor relations, the existence of viable pension plans where none had existed before is a key precipitating factor.

Attribution and Temporality

In some interactions—particularly those that span considerable lengths of time—a series of small shifts may set the stage for considerable impact downstream from the site of the original collaboration. Research or engagement impacts may register at a considerable physical and temporal distance from particular community–campus collaborations. The Alternative Community Investment Strategy exemplifies this pattern. The first point of contact between the university and the United Way—a relation-

ship between Jonathan, a director of knowledge mobilization and research, and Francesco, the United Way CEO—was not the site of most significant change. The university and the United Way jointly resourced a three-pronged research initiative to support the development of a new community investment strategy for the United Way.

Because it supports a number of community agencies through its considerable fundraising, distribution, and management practices, the United Way was interested in amplifying its impact on complex, systemic social issues such as poverty. Three graduate student research interns (cofunded by the university and the United Way) conducted a series of studies that were used to stimulate a new way of thinking about investing in community activities among the United Way's board of directors. The change in perspective among the board of directors led to the creation of a community-development strategy that aims to “harness civic muscle” (Julie, United Way) for place-based community development. The Alternative Community Investment Strategy has since distributed 2 years of funding (totaling \$300,000) for local community-driven projects. The United Way's development and implementation of the new investment strategy was significant, but the most dramatic changes have occurred in the community settings where these funds have been invested.

Predetermined, funder-driven targets make a lot of sense for the transparent distribution of funds and the management of resources, but they stifle organizational learning, adaptation, and innovation. Sue, a professional who works for a large mental health agency, has had a long history of receiving program funds through the United Way to support community development work. In the past, the funds have come tied to specific funder-driven project outcomes. Development work has had to be brought in line with these predefined objectives, rather than responding to the evolving needs of the community. In contrast, the Alternative Community Investment funding model has allowed the project to actualize development as a cyclical and reflexive process: As one participant expressed, “you can go in with a framework, but your outcomes—you have no idea of what things could look like—there is flexibility built in.”

The grant allowed the mental health agency to hire a community development worker (Nancy) who helped the community mobilize local and external resources in support of collective development goals. The funding supports development in a local cooperative housing project. The cooperative housing project is

highly stigmatized within the larger community, and cooperative members were concerned about the effects of this stigma on youth residents.

A woman named Krista, who sits on the housing cooperative's board of directors, linked improved communication and self-esteem among the "the Co-op's" youth to the development activities that were enabled by Alternative Community Investment funding. Krista shared a story that exemplifies the changes she observed:

We have a swing, a solo swing, and everybody fights over it. At one point the little kids no longer played at the playground because the older kids always took over. Well, now these children can voice, "I've been waiting, and I would like a turn." And the older kids are respectful and they are actually starting to shift and say, "Okay, you know what, yes, you were standing there for a while. Come and have a turn." So that's huge.

A previously stigmatized housing cooperative with no youth or adult programming and few opportunities for cooperative members to interact now offers an activity for neighborhood children and/or their families most days of the week. Parents like Krista have become certified leaders of youth engagement programs. The housing cooperative's central offices host regular after-school homework and recreational activities that parents facilitate. Remarkably, other youth in the region now come to this housing cooperative to engage in its youth programs. Sue explained that the community has been able to identify its

assets, identify where they want to grow, and actually go about filling that gap...connecting with Big Brothers, Big Sisters, or Girls Inc., or the Women's Support Network...it's making linkages between the community and those other agencies so that they can... be connected beyond the [major intersection where the housing co-op is located].

In the Alternative Community Investment case study, one sees the role that funders like the United Way can play in shaping the landscape of community development. It is also possible to see that the impacts of an interaction between a community organization and an academic institution may actually register quite a distance from the original collaboration. Sue, Krista, and Nancy are not

likely to meet Jonathan or the graduate students who worked on the Alternative Community Investment Strategy project, but their work has clearly been shaped by this prior interaction between the university and the United Way.

Favorable Outlook for Impact

In the first two case studies, we linked specific changes and innovations to particular collaborative activities without much difficulty. In the remaining two case studies, our point-in-time methodology does not allow us to sufficiently convey historical outcomes or capture the downstream impacts of collaborative research and knowledge exchange activities. Because a leading organization in each of the four community–campus collaborations was invited to identify interview participants, researchers did not seek out interviews with downstream beneficiaries—that is, people who use or interact with particular collaborative outcomes for each project but were not directly involved in the collaboration itself. Our inability to link the projects to specific and significant changes in these cases may thus reveal more about the limitations of our methodological approach than a particular collaboration’s ability to influence change.

At the time of this study, the Employment Uncertainty, Poverty, and Well-Being project had yet to stimulate the changes it hopes to make long-term. While researchers were in the field, collaborators were creating research case studies and deliberating how to best use these to stimulate equitable changes to provincial labor relations. Collaborators’ current project builds on a history of research among many members of the collaboration’s steering committee. Their prior research revealed considerable economic disparity across one of Canada’s largest urban centers. This research was used to shape the United Way’s designation of “priority neighbourhoods” across the city. The priority designation makes neighborhood programs and services eligible to apply for additional funding. The United Way’s equity-based funding strategy has shaped the redistribution of resources across its catchment area. This earlier research led to considerable media attention as well as changes in fund distribution and employment opportunities (e.g., the creation of a number of youth outreach positions). Collectively, these outcomes have stimulated broader changes in community services and public discourse. Although the collaboration’s current project has yet to stimulate impact, collaborators have a track record of using research findings to influence broad social change. Researchers’ inability to find evidence of impact at this stage in the current collaboration’s

life cycle is not an indication that the project will not lead to impact in the long term.

It is similarly plausible that the Policy Mobilization project has already reduced early childhood vulnerability in particular regions, despite researchers' inability to find evidence of this broad social trend. Given that researchers were able to trace social impacts back to the Alternative Community Investment Strategy project (where downstream research beneficiaries were identified for researchers) and the outcomes the Policy Mobilization project *has* generated, it is expected that evidence of impact is likely to be found in the communities where changes to services and programs have been initiated. In the sections that follow, the Policy Mobilization project's processes of interaction and the outcomes these have produced are described.

Networking, Capacity Building, and Knowledge Exchange

Drawing on the United Way's extensive funding relationships, the Policy Mobilization project tapped into a network of early childhood coalitions, organized regionally across the province. The coalitions include "people from local government, service providers, parks and recreation departments, libraries, people from school districts, all who come together and they actually develop plans around setting priorities for early childhood in their community" (Ben, United Way). The university research institute staff reached out to these coalitions, providing seminars and offering community toolkits to support the coalitions' use of early childhood research in local practice and policy settings. In this way, several of the Policy Mobilization recommendations have been taken up by regional coalitions and applied in practice settings.

The dissemination of research-use toolkits to early childhood coalitions represents an important collaborative output. The coalitions' use of research findings to inform changes in local policy and practice serves as an outcome. On their own, neither is indicative of the broader social shifts one associates with impact but taken together, these smaller shifts in knowledge use and practice illuminate the processes of interaction (in this case, strategic networking and knowledge mobilization activities) that lead to the broader changes—or impacts—that collaborations seek to make.

The process of mobilizing research knowledge through the coalitions supports the community's engagement with research knowledge. These interactions also influence the university

research institute's engagement with coalition members' experiential and practice-based expertise. On an ongoing basis, these interactions shape the institute's evolving approach to knowledge mobilization. Rebecca, an employee of the research institute, explained that she and her colleagues regularly give presentations to a group of coalition leaders: "[We] get their feedback and then we revise the presentation based on that. And from there... [the community professionals] were also comfortable in taking the presentation and using it at work."

Coalition members are given opportunities to interact with and critique the research institute's presentation. Later, they bring the revised presentation into their own professional circles and share the knowledge there. Through the process of knowledge exchange, the community professionals take ownership of the presentation and the knowledge it conveys and adapt it for dissemination in their own professional networks.

In order to increase research engagement and promote evidence-based policy change, the Policy Mobilization project tapped into the extensive networks of the project partners, targeted knowledge-sharing techniques to the needs and interests of particular groups, and engaged in discussion with stakeholders about the information they were sharing as well as the strategies the project used to share the research. Most importantly, the team invited research users to share the research findings in their own professional and advocacy networks, opening the research to adaptation, contestation, and implementation in multiple contexts.

The Policy Mobilization case study illuminates how studying instances of knowledge exchange can provide insight into small-scale changes (e.g., learning, increased engagement with research, changes in perspective) within the collaboration and their broader networks. The collaboration has yet to see evidence of reduced early childhood vulnerability, which is the collaboration's desired impact. Nevertheless, analysis of the processes of interaction shaping this particular collaboration provides a deepened understanding of the routes of interactivity through which collaborations stimulate change. Ultimately, the Policy Mobilization project aims to influence policy in order to improve early childhood well-being. The project's current goal is to engage a diversity of stakeholders in research findings in order to create the "groundswell" necessary to influence policy.

Policy Interactions

Because community–academic research collaborations privilege relationship building and interactivity throughout research creation and dissemination processes, these partnerships represent a viable opportunity for creating research–policy links when policy decision makers are part of the collaboration. For example, the Policy Mobilization project’s multipronged knowledge mobilization strategy reflects a focus on learning, knowledge exchange, and public dialogue. The project works at a number of levels—using research instrumentally to shift policy (e.g., the creation and dissemination of a report on the economic impacts of early childhood vulnerability) and also engaging in more strategic efforts to market the research in ways that generate public debate. An example is the team’s more recent foray into market research, part of its efforts to rebrand the issue of early childhood well-being so that people engage differently with research findings.

The Policy Mobilization team recognizes that robust evidence is unlikely to affect policy decisions without a strategic effort to engage practitioners, decision makers, and the general public in the issue of early childhood well-being. Although their efforts to engage local communities are leading to changes, they struggle to engage provincial decision makers in evidence-based conversations about early childhood health and development: “Despite the mountain of evidence that we’ve got... [data] hasn’t actually moved the needle on policy change very far” (Brad, municipal foundation). Collaborators have seen considerable uptake of research at the local level, but they remain concerned that their influence at a provincial level is less tangible:

[One region] has taken this information and their coalition has really strong relationships with the school district, with the local municipality, and with their Board of Trade. And so they’ve actually—they’ve established these local leaders or local champions and they’ve actually held two events now to engage the Board of Trade on things like these policy recommendations... they’ve actually translated this new knowledge into getting people more engaged. They’ve pushed the decision makers there at the table to at least make changes at that level for kids in that community... I would say that the barrier so far has been at a provincial level, and that’s been a real struggle for us. (Ben, United Way)

In the region where the United Way is active, the Policy Mobilization project has directly engaged the Board of Trade and other local decision makers, who have then made evidence-based policy changes in support of early childhood well-being. In this particular region, the uptake of research findings by local decision makers depended on considerable networking and community organizing. It was also supported by the United Way's influence in the region as a funder of charitable and nonprofit organizations.

By working collaboratively with academic researchers, government, and community groups (e.g., professional and/or citizen coalitions, agencies, and other organizations), United Way organizations and other funding bodies are actively shifting public dialogue in the hope of nudging public policy in new and more equitable directions. Charitable foundations and nonprofit funders play a significant role in stimulating systems-level change. Their funding frameworks and strategies shape how nonprofit and charitable agencies describe, conduct, and report on their work (*Nichols, 2008*).

A United Way representative involved in the Policy Mobilization project described how his organization is working to trigger large-scale systemic change by aligning funding priorities and policy recommendations:

We have an opportunity to start to mold funding streams to support policy recommendations...within the zero to six [years of age] priority, which is a whole section in here [the 3-year Community Impact Plan], there are three new granting streams... one is specifically around ECD [early childhood development], which will support local [early years] coalitions to do their work. The second one is around ECD public policy... and the third area, it's called ECD Place and Promise, which means that we will be devoting intense resources into specific neighbourhoods... all three of those funding streams have to demonstrate how they contribute to policy recommendations [around family health and well-being].

By actively supporting community agencies to articulate the impacts of their work in relation to the United Way's policy recommendations, the United Way hopes to "contribute to that groundswell that we need to influence the policymakers.... So that, to me is real, tangible change that this [project] is contributing to" (Ben, United Way).

In order to encourage public conversation and ultimately policy reform, research findings need to be communicated in a way that makes people feel compelled to act. On its own, research evidence is not persuasive enough to change public discourse or influence policy:

We've known about the high rate of child vulnerability for the last decade and public policy scholarship is starting to show that Canada has ranked very poorly by international standards... but knowing that has done relatively little to shift public policy priorities. (Matt, university research institute)

The Policy Mobilization team's efforts to "change public dialogue, in order to change public policy, in order to change outcomes" (Matt, university research institute) represent a strategic thinking-through of the research impact process.

Conclusion

This article examined the processes of interaction through which community-academic research collaborations endeavor to make change. The four collaborations described in this article established or extended professional, advocacy, and practice-based networks; created and disseminated innovative products; generated and deployed new funding frameworks; created idea-generation laboratories (e.g., social change labs); engaged open-access media outlets; and created and shared usable content.

In order to deepen our understanding of the relationship between collaborative process and outcomes, we adapted elements of the research impact evaluation approach proposed by Spaapen and van Drooge (2011) and adopted by Molas-Gallart and Tang (2011). Spaapen and van Drooge proposed the Social Impact Assessment Method (SIAMPI) that is grounded in the study of productive interactions between science and society. Although we have not endeavored to employ SIAMPI, Spaapen and van Drooge's conceptual frame guided our work analytically. With SIAMPI, the unit of analysis is the interaction between academic researchers and nonacademic stakeholders, and the general area of inquiry is the impact of scientific research beyond academic settings. In contrast, our research explored the processes of interactivity between social science researchers and people who work in community organizations, nonprofit and charitable foundations, labor organizations, and government. It also described spin-off interactions that evolved

from an initial point of contact between university researchers and community professionals (e.g., interactions between nonprofit granting officers, community workers, and community volunteers). The adaptation of the SIAMPI model—the elaborated definition of productive interactions that attends to the principles of community academic partnership and the efforts to track through spin-off or related interactions—illustrates its potential usefulness as a model for assessing the impacts of community–campus collaborations.

Our research suggests that using an ethnographic framework to study processes of interaction allows researchers to capture the web of interactivity through which partnerships stimulate change. In some instances, it is easy to see how a community–campus collaboration resulted in a novel solution to a complex social problem (e.g., the Pension Plan project). In other instances, tracking the impacts of a collaboration required that researchers follow paths of interactivity a considerable distance from an initial interaction (e.g., the Alternative Community Investment Strategy project). Our research proposes that the impacts of collaborative work are revealed when researchers document interactions between collaborators, tracking these into the sites where collaborations seek to have, or have historically had, an impact. Future work will build an emergent, ethnographic “tracking forward” and “tracking backward” (Nutley *et al.*, 2007) approach directly into the research framework.

A key finding from this study is that assessing the broad effects of community–academic partnerships requires a research framework that enables researchers to follow pathways of interactivity emanating from the initial source of collaboration. Serendipitously, this is precisely what occurred in the Alternative Community Investment case study for this research. University–community bridging or engagement units can facilitate the identification of key stakeholders (i.e., participants in particular collaborations) who can support the initial stages of an investigation (Nichols *et al.*, 2014). In fact, connecting organizations or university engagement units may be well positioned to track the changes that result from community–campus interactions. A university researcher’s program of research is dependent on securing ongoing funding for future activities. Many academic researchers with expertise in community-based or engaged research are already balancing participation in collaborative projects with their teaching and service portfolios. On the other hand, people who work in university knowledge mobilization, engagement, or research offices have a stable funding base, which allows them to track collaborative out-

puts over the long term. Because they work with academic and community stakeholders, these individuals might be well positioned to capture the extensive webs of interactivity through which community–academic collaborations stimulate change.

Another key finding of this research is that a reciprocal relationship exists between a collaborative process and its effects (i.e., outcomes, outputs, or impacts). An interactive and reciprocal collaborative process creates conditions for knowledge exchange and ultimately mutually beneficial outcomes, innovations, and/or impact. In turn, these effects solidify people’s faith in and commitment to the collaborative process.

The following are key suggestions for capturing these positive social impacts:

- Work collaboratively with stakeholders to identify key informants to participate in interviews and ensure that interviews are sought with people who are indirectly connected to a particular project.
- Trace collaborative impacts as far away from the original point of collaboration (or productive interaction) as possible—that is, into community spaces where the products of collaboration are hoped to have an effect.
- Where possible, conduct a systems-level investigation—that is, an approach that conveys interactivity among social, institutional, political, and economic factors.
- Consider producing multiple “snapshots” of a particular case over time in order to capture broader systemic shifts and track the processes of collaboration that lead to impact.

With a better understanding of how and where community–campus collaborations contribute to social change, collaborators can maximize the effects of their interactions. This article suggests that social change is stimulated by processes of interaction that directly and indirectly connect people across time and space.

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Documenting Community Engagement Practices and Outcomes: Insights From Recipients of the 2010 Carnegie Community Engagement Classification

Jana Noel and David P. Earwicker

Abstract

This study was performed to document the strategies and methods used by successful applicants for the 2010 Carnegie Community Engagement Classification and to document the cultural shifts connected with the application process and receipt of the Classification. Four major findings emerged: (1) Applicants benefited from a team approach; (2) Evidence of community engagement often already exists within an institution, but additional data will likely need to be gathered; (3) Successful applicants encountered obstacles or challenges related to data collection structures and resources, institution-wide understanding and involvement, and matching data to the application itself; and (4) Both performing the application process and receiving the Classification yielded institutional and cultural shifts: new or improved collaborations, greater institutionalization of community engagement, new or improved data-reporting structures, and better alignment of the institution's mission with the goals of community engagement. This article also offers respondents' recommendations to future Classification applicants.

Introduction

Since Ernest Boyer addressed reconsidering the purpose of scholarship, proposing “the scholarship of application” in 1990, and later “the scholarship of engagement,” institutions of higher education have reconsidered their purpose. In his 1996 article, Boyer proclaimed that American colleges and universities are “one of the greatest hopes for intellectual and civic progress in this country” (p. 19). Former University of California president Clark Kerr (1958–1967) proposed a similar purpose for higher education, noting that the key challenge is “to help find a new set of urgent priorities in service to society” (*Kerr & Munitz, 1998, p. 10*). This perspective built on Kerr's (1991) earlier writings regarding the role of the “multiversity” in society and his belief, based on the pursuit of rankings by most universities but especially research institutions, that extensive turnover within the professoriate and

changing national and regional demographics would lead universities to consider new models of interaction with stakeholders.

Describing the long-term response to these calls for reconsidering higher education's purpose, Sandmann, Thornton, and Jaeger (2009a) wrote:

As institutions of higher education entered the twenty-first century, they moved to respond to this challenge. Colleges and universities in the United States increasingly turned to community engagement as a natural evolution of their traditional missions of service to recognize ties to their communities along with their commitments to the social contract between society and higher education. (p. 1)

There is some question as to the discretionary (voluntary) or mandatory nature of institutional engagement, given that it can be seen as both a component of institutional mission and a means of raising the university's profile in the eyes and opinions of a critical stakeholder, whether that stakeholder is an external funding or oversight agency, a prospective donor, or another organization with the capacity to affect the campus or its operational environment. However, echoing arguments in Dewey's (1916) *Democracy and Education*, Ehrlich (2000) noted that civic engagement can be seen in the context of individual or institutional activities oriented toward making "a difference in the civic life of...communities and developing the combination of knowledge, skills, values and motivation to make that difference. It means promoting the quality of life in a community, through both political and non-political processes" (p. vi). Brukardt, Holland, Percy, and Zimpher (2004) went so far as to pronounce that "engagement is higher education's larger purpose" (p. iii).

Carnegie Community Engagement Classification

As community engagement became a more valued, or at least more recognized, component of higher education's mission, momentum built toward developing a system to recognize institutions that included community engagement as part of their core. Several major national groups and organizations led in the early development of such a system, including National Campus Compact, the Kellogg Commission on the Future of State and Land-Grant Universities, Community-Campus Partnerships for Health, the Defining and Benchmarking Engagement Project of

the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges' Committee on Engagement, and the Wingspread Conference in 2004 (Brukardt *et al.*, 2004; Driscoll, 2009; Weerts & Hudson, 2009). With this increasing focus on community engagement, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching developed its first entirely elective classification—the Carnegie Community Engagement Classification (hereafter the Classification)—beginning with a pilot of 14 institutions and eventually resulting in rounds in 2006, 2008, and 2010. After the first two rounds, 195 institutions of higher education had received the Carnegie Community Engagement Classification. In the 2010 round, 121 additional institutions received the Classification. Since this research, there has been an additional classification round in 2015; however, this research focused on data from the 2010 round.

The literature is largely silent on the perspectives of those applying for and receiving the Carnegie Classification, in particular with regard to lessons learned from and benefits of the application process. This work was undertaken in part to address that gap in the literature and also to respond to a request by affiliates of the Carnegie Foundation to provide guidance from past applicants for those considering a future Classification submission.

Application Process: Documenting Community Engagement

The Carnegie Foundation defines the purpose of community engagement as

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

The Classification is intended to capture the wide-ranging set of practices that fulfill these purposes of community engagement across diverse types of institutions (Weerts & Hudson, 2009). Applicants are required to submit evidence of community engagement within institutional foundational indicators (mission, public speeches, strategic planning, funding, promotion and tenure poli-

cies), curriculum, partnerships, and outreach. Clearly, no single database or data warehouse captures these wide-ranging components of community engagement (Noel & Earwicker, 2014). Therefore, the application allows for multiple self-identified methods of gathering this documentation.

The Classification is “intended to provide flexibility, closer match of data with purpose, and a multidimensional approach for better representing institutional identity” (Sandmann, Thornton, & Jaeger, 2009b, p. 5). Furco and Miller (2009) explained that “[the] process offers both a universal framework for assessing community engagement that can be applied across institutions and a flexibility to be adapted to different kinds of institutions in ways that capture their individual contexts” (p. 51). They also noted that preparing to submit an application to receive the Community Engagement Classification

provides the means to conduct a status check of the campus’s overall current level of community engagement institutionalization by offering a structure and framework for collecting and reviewing information so that informed decisions can be made about an institution’s engagement strengths and weaknesses. (Furco & Miller, 2009, p. 48)

The key is that “campuses that pursue the Carnegie Community Engagement Classification will in some form take full inventory of their engagement efforts in order to address the range of questions posed by the Carnegie Foundation” (Thornton & Zuiches, 2009, p. 75).

The “first wave” of institutions that received the Carnegie Community Engagement Classification was studied as part of a larger project examining the classification itself as well as 56 of the institutions that received the Classification in 2006. The entire Autumn 2009 issue of *New Directions for Higher Education* was devoted to the findings in a special issue titled *Institutionalizing Community Engagement in Higher Education: The First Wave of Carnegie Classified Institutions*. Additional sources’ research related to the Carnegie Community Engagement Classification are published throughout the higher education literature.

Methods

This mixed methods two-part study sought to discover how institutions that received the Carnegie Classification in 2010 went about their application process, and what the results were. How did

Carnegie Classified institutions undertake a “full inventory” of their community engagement efforts, and what were the outcomes of undertaking such an inventory? The study had two purposes: (a) to document the strategies and methods used by successful applicants for the 2010 Carnegie Community Engagement Classification and (b) to document the cultural shifts experienced by institutions as they developed their successful applications for this Classification. The authors’ IRB determined this study to be exempt.

Phase I

Using a list of the 121 institutions that received the Classification in 2010, the first author undertook Phase I of the study as a pilot phase to refine the survey approach and instrument. The pilot was undertaken by interviewing a sampling of applicants regarding their experiences in applying for the Classification. The interview sample was a purposively selected set of nine applicants, representing a range of student body size, Carnegie institution type, and geographic area. In order to be assured of representation from the multiple types and sizes of institutions receiving the Classification, certain geographic regions were more heavily sampled in the interviews. The 30-minute, semistructured, 11-question interviews focused on strategies for data collection, involvement of various stakeholder groups in the application process, support received for the process, challenges or obstacles, and recommendations for future applicants. The interviews also gathered information on whether the applicants’ institutions had previously considered applying for the Classification and if so, what changes needed to be made before commencing the 2010 application process. Finally, applicants were asked to describe any changes in institutional culture that resulted from applying for and receiving the Classification. In this study, institutional culture includes the commitments of the institution as a whole—administration, faculty, staff, students—that define and shape the institution’s actions, in this case actions involving community engagement. An analysis of the interview responses led to the fine-tuning of a survey instrument that was distributed to the full set of 2010 Classified institutions.

Phase II

In Phase II of the study, the authors prepared a more robust survey with both structured and semistructured elements in order to more effectively map institutional characteristics against the processes, participants, and motivations discovered through

the interviews. The survey instrument is available upon request of the authors. The authors e-mailed the entire set of 121 newly Classified institution applicants, and 52 agreed to participate (a 43% response rate). The 21-question survey was conducted through SurveyMonkey, and the 52 institutions completing the survey represented a balanced cross-section and diversity of institutional types and sizes.

The authors used basic statistical analysis, tabulating numbers and calculating percentages. They analyzed patterns in both the quantitative and qualitative results. Using a grounded theory framework (*Glaser & Strauss, 1967*), they applied an iterative method of testing their initial understanding of motivation and process against what the analysis of coded interview transcripts revealed, then used the data and patterns to further refine their theory of institutional intent and motivation. Further, influenced by Strauss and Corbin (*1990*), they sought to infuse issues of context, institutional interactional strategies, and consequences into the analytic process via open coding, axial coding, and selective coding.

Institutions participating in the study represented a full range of Carnegie Classifications and institution types: 64% were public and 36% were private. Nearly half were classified as master's level (42%), 20% of the institutions were research (high/very high level of research), 16% were doctoral/research institutions, 16% were at the baccalaureate level, and 6% were classified as associate's. Finally, in examining student enrollment at participating institutions, 33% had fewer than 5,000 students, 20% had 5,001-10,000 students, 27% had 10,001-20,000 students, and 20% had more than 20,000 students.

Limitations

The study design allowed a self-selected sampling. Although all 121 institutions that received the Classification in 2010 were invited to participate, each also had the option of declining to complete the survey. This design resulted in an oversampling of certain types of institutions—that is, the percentage of applicants from each category (master's, research, associate's, etc.) did not equal the actual percentage of institutions from that category that received the 2010 Classification.

This study focused entirely on the application process and perceptions of institutional change that occurred as a result of applying for the 2010 Classification. Since the study was conducted through interviews and surveys, all data were self-reported. No attempts

were made to verify or confirm the applicants' responses, and the results do not demonstrate the quality of community engagement at these institutions. Further, although the study gives a snapshot of the 2010 Classified institutions, it does not chart the institutions' longitudinal community engagement. Finally, due to the brevity required by a survey process of this nature, the type of in-depth answers and explorations that would have broadened and enriched the fundamental conclusions in this article were necessarily limited.

Results of Phase I: Interviews

With the initial coding of interviews, a chronological pattern emerged in which themes and subthemes occurred in each of the three main chronological activities: (a) preapplication preparation; (b) application process; and (c) postclassification, or "Now what?" The responses were coded into thematic components following both the linear process pursued for the application and the broad contextual data that described or captured the rationale behind the pursuit. The results from these interviews helped to shape and fine-tune the survey used in Phase II of the study. Table 1 lays out the themes and subthemes found in the analysis.

Table 1. Interviews: Themes and Subthemes

Chronological Layout	Major Themes	Subthemes
Preapplication preparation	Conversion of Already Operating Systems	
	Intentional Development of Systems	
Application process	Who Involved	<i>Active or Passive Involvement</i>
		<i>Who Selected the Team</i>
Chronological Layout	Major Themes	Subthemes
	Steps in Process	
	Length of Time to Prepare Application	
	Support Received for Work	
	Challenges or Obstacles Faced	<i>Data Collection or Documentation Strategy Not in Place</i>
		<i>Ensuring Institution-Wide Involvement</i>
Postclassification, or Now What?	Changes in Institutional Culture	<i>Alignment of Community Engagement with Mission</i>
		<i>Learned More About Institution and Colleagues</i>

Chronological Layout	Major Themes	Subthemes
	Identification of What More Needs to be Done	
	Difficulties in Utilizing Classification	
Recommendation to Future Classification Applicants	Start Early	
	Formalize the Data Collection Process	
	Use the Application Itself as a Guide to Gathering Data	
	Use a Team Approach	
	Make a Plan for What Will be Done with the Information Upon Completion	

Results of Phase II: Surveys

Leadership of Community Engagement: Lead Applicants

The literature does not evidence any published study focusing on the authors of Carnegie Community Engagement Classification applications, or their motivations, in any of the three cycles of the Classification. As a proxy of sorts, however, there is research on who leads community engagement in institutions of higher education, and the survey respondents who authored the applications were often campus leaders in community engagement practices.

Leadership is multilayered and often consists of four types of leaders: champions, appointed designees, operational leaders, and executive leaders. Sandmann and Plater (2009) described, "Initially engagement was led by faculty champions, civic minded students, and strident community partners. However, now stakeholder numbers are increasing" (p. 16). Sandmann and Plater also related that there is often "an appointed engagement designee" (p. 17) with a title such as Vice Provost for Community Engagement or Assistant to the President for Community Engagement. These titles provide weight to the institution's community engagement efforts, indicating buy-in from the highest administrative levels. The third type of community engagement leader is called an "operational leader" (Sandmann & Plater, 2009, p. 17), with a title such as a Director of the Center for Public and Community Service or Coordinator for the Office of Service-Learning and Community Outreach. These

leaders are most often the day-to-day managers of much of an institution's community engagement activities (Welch & Saltmarsh, 2013). Sandmann and Plater (2009) added the final piece to institutional community engagement: upper level administrative or executive leaders. They wrote, "The classification documentation indicates that leadership is multilayered and executive leadership, consisting of chancellors, presidents, and provosts, is the dominant layer" (p. 16). Brukaradt et al. (2004) agreed, explaining that although there must be "champions" across institutions and within communities; "[P]residents, chancellors and provosts have an important role in championing engagement" (p. 14). This requirement for both horizontal and vertical integration of the engagement mission, whether interpreted through the lens of engagement within the research mission or through the service-learning aspects of teaching and the pedagogical process, underscores the criticality of institutional coherence on the importance of engagement and its role in interpreting the university's mission. Moore and Ward (2010) noted that "a culture of good work may emerge under the influence of a single champion, but ultimately depends on wider commitments across the institution" (p. 55).

This study confirmed that these champions, appointed designees, and operational leaders indeed served as leaders by acting as lead applicants in the Carnegie Classification effort. In the 52 institutions included in the study, applicants held 28 different positions/titles. There were 21 directors/coordinators at the institutional level (e.g., Director of Outreach and Engagement): 16 were directors of centers, and the remainder were faculty, project directors, and so on.

The term *community engagement* is not the only acceptable and popularly used term to describe how an institution engages with its community. In fact, there are unique histories to terms such as *service-learning* or *civic engagement*, which the term *community engagement* tries to encompass, and service-learning can be seen as a bridge to extend the teaching and research models of the institution into the community. Indeed, in the 28 different positions/titles held by applicants in this study, a number of terms were repeated across multiple positions/titles:

- civic engagement,
- community engagement,
- community partnerships,
- community-based learning,

- institutional effectiveness,
- outreach and engagement, and
- service-learning.

Adding to this complexity, 28% of application authors held a different position or title 3 years following the 2010 Classification application cycle. Some of the changes came from retirement; some reflected movement into different positions. In other cases, the application author held a new title while performing the same work. A 28% turnover rate could be seen as high—imagine an entire institution having a 28% turnover in staff. Conversely, it could be seen as low, indicating that the majority of these positions do not serve as springboards for moving into new positions at an institution. This fits the champion model, which describes a group of people who champion the usage of community involvement, regardless of their position or title.

Sandmann and Plater (2009) also discussed various types of “organizational structures to support engagement” (p. 20). They suggested that community engagement leadership tends to come from three different divisions within an institution: academic affairs, public or government relations or institutional advancement, and student affairs. However, the results of this study challenge these findings regarding which divisions usually contain community engagement leadership. The study found that the unit in which the application authors are housed is primarily academic affairs (53.2%), with student affairs second (10.6%). Nearly one quarter of applicant authors indicated that they were part of a center or institute, and it is not possible to determine to which (if any) units those centers and institutes are attached. However, none of the 52 applicants who responded to the survey came from public affairs. Further, despite the need to gather a wide array of data from across multiple institutional and community contexts, only 4.3% of the application authors indicated an affiliation with institutional research. The 4.3% of application authors who identified as part of a president’s office most likely fall into the category of “appointed” community engagement expert.

In summary, the study found that leadership of community engagement is complex and multilayered. Findings common across many institutions indicated that applicants mainly held positions in academic affairs, at a center or institute, or in student affairs. Applicants can be described as champions, appointed designees, and operational leaders, confirming the importance of institutional

commitment across the spectrum of organizational structures within higher education. The study found that Classified institutions have multiple ways of recognizing the role of community engagement advocates, as there were 28 different titles to identify the positions and roles of the lead applicants. Finally, with 28% of the lead applicants moving to different positions within 3 years of the application, institutions may need to reconsider how community engagement can be maintained over time.

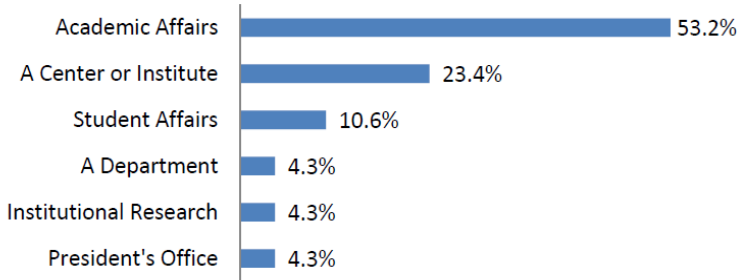


Figure 1. Institutional unit of application lead authors.

Application Teams

Individual lead applicants were not the only ones involved in the application process. Sandmann et al. (2009a) explained, “The documentation process is intensive and requires the collaboration of many institutional and community participants” (p. 7). Application authors often worked with a team of varying numbers of staff, faculty, administrators, students, and community members. The average number of application team members was 6.1. Again confirming the champion and appointed designee models, the application teams were developed by a campus champion, appointed by administration, or composed of already operational teams.

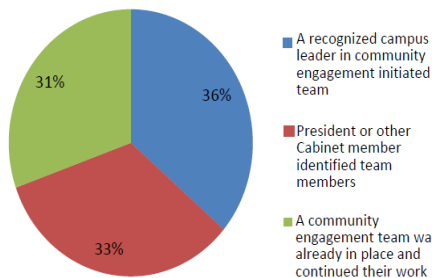


Figure 2. Selection of application team.

Roles of Institutional and Community Stakeholders

Clearly, leadership of community engagement within institutions of higher education is wide-ranging and complex. When working to document such a cross-institutional practice as community engagement, the perspectives of many groups must be considered. The survey asked applicants to indicate which group of stakeholders was involved in the four key steps of the application process: (a) completed surveys or served as interviewees or members of focus groups, (b) served as part of data-gathering team, (c) helped write the application, and (d) provided feedback on drafts of application.

Although most groups participated in multiple steps of the application process, certain roles were prominent for each group:

- Completed surveys or served as interviewees or focus group members
 - Primary role for faculty, students, department chairs, deans, and community partners
- Served as part of data-gathering team
 - Primary role for staff
- Helped write the application
 - No group had this as its primary role, although several stakeholders participated in this writing process.
 - Secondary role for staff
- Provided feedback on drafts of application
 - Primary role for upper level administrators

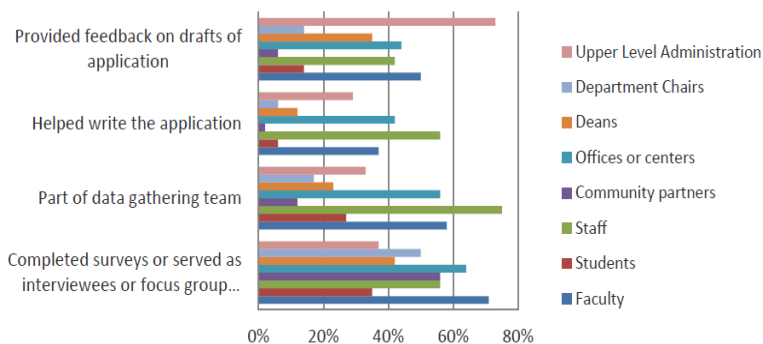


Figure 3. Roles of stakeholders.

Staff members were the most commonly identified as members of data-gathering teams (75% of the responses) and as helping to write the application (56% of responses). Faculty members were the group most commonly identified as completing surveys or serving as interviewees or focus group members (71% of responses). Upper level administrators were the most commonly identified group to provide feedback on drafts of the applications (73% of responses).

It should be noted that although many of the efforts in community engagement revolve around connecting with community and increasing student engagement, participants from these two groups were the least likely to assist in writing the application. The issue of student involvement in the organizational patterns of community engagement has been addressed since 1999, when Holland wrote that the students “were often an afterthought in the coordination process, with few institutions having explicitly defined expectations and roles for students in terms of engagement” (*Thornton & Zuiches, 2009, p. 76*).

Interview responses gathered in Phase I of the study help to explain the low level of involvement of students in the application effort. One respondent explained that he did not talk with students themselves but did speak with the faculty advisors for student clubs and organizations. This respondent posited a reason for the lack of active student participation, stating that students who are involved in community engagement are often scattered throughout a city or region, making it difficult to contact them.

Community members were reported as having varied involvement in the application process, from active participation to passive involvement to reports of difficulties getting community members involved. Three interviewees described gathering information from community partners through surveys or by talking to them. One institution involved community members on the application team. Another brought community partners onto campus for a meeting, provided lunch, and asked for input on the institution’s community engagement efforts. Another respondent stated that he did not need to call community partners since he already knew the required information. One respondent explained that there was not strong involvement from community members, and another described difficulty in getting community members involved, stating, “We tried.”

Data Sources Used to Prepare Applications

The application for the Classification requires a wide range of data regarding community engagement across multiple units and constituencies. In some cases, the data needed to complete the Carnegie application already exist, having been gathered previously for other purposes. However, new data sometimes need to be gathered to complete all of the questions on the application. Applicants indicated that, on average, 62% of the data required to complete the application were found already existing on their campuses. The remaining 38% of the data were newly gathered specifically for the application process.

Previously gathered data. Respondents described 22 sources of data that they drew upon to complete the Classification application, including data gathered prior to the time of application. Some was directly related to community engagement; for other data, applicants referred to larger institutional datasets containing only pieces of information about the institution's community engagement.

Institutional self-studies were the most commonly utilized preexisting source of data, mentioned by three times as many respondents as any other data sets ($n = 9$). Multiple respondents also described using information from their institution's websites ($n = 3$), their center or office of community or civic engagement ($n = 2$), lists of faculty publications ($n = 2$), and National Survey of Student Engagement/Faculty Survey of Student Engagement reports ($n = 2$). Several respondents described the use of preexisting data that had at least some relevance to the Classification application. One respondent described, "Much of the data called for already existed in the institution; it needed to be gathered from various sources and on some occasions, separated from larger data sets."

Newly gathered data. Respondents described 17 sources or methods of gathering new data for the Classification application. Overall, the newly gathered data involved having conversations or conducting surveys with a variety of participants, as opposed to analyzing previously prepared written documents. Two thirds of the respondents who indicated that they gathered new data conducted interviews ($n = 30$), and approximately half conducted surveys ($n = 24$). Interviews and surveys were conducted with faculty, students, staff, administrators, department chairs, center directors, office directors, and community members. Additionally, the need to gather new data allowed the strategies to be aimed very directly, or "targeted" as expressed by two respondents, at completing the

Classification application.

As noted above, some data was described as already existing by some respondents and newly gathered by others (e.g., websites). This confirms the flexible nature behind the Classification process, which allows for multiple self-identified methods of gathering this documentation in an organic manner that best meets applicants' structure and capacity as well as their organizational patterns of community engagement.

Table 2. Data Sources: Existing and Newly Collected

Existing Data Sources Utilized (62% of application data)	Newly Collected Data Sources (38% of application data)
<i>Reported by Multiple Applicants</i>	<i>Reported by Multiple Applicants</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Self-studies • Colleges (including their web sites) • Center or Office for Community or Civic Engagement • Faculty publications • NSSE/FSSE reports 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviews and one-on-one conversations • Surveys • E-mail request • University web sites • Community members • Created new database (i.e., Banner) • Existing data recollected • Focus groups
<i>Reported by Single Applicants</i>	<i>Reported by Single Applicants</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Advisory groups and councils • Annual reports • Campus Compact surveys • Cooperative Extension • Departments • Extended university data • Fact Books • Grand-funded programs • Historical documents • Institutional Research • Library database • Main student service and volunteerism unit • Previous applications for awards and grants • Previous application for President's Honor Rolls • Registrar data • Student services administrative offices • "Researched and gathered information on existing commitments, policies, procedures, and documented philosophy." 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Annual Reports • Data base (new data gathered) • Departments and units - personal contact • Financial records • Focus groups • Handbooks and policy manuals • Institutional Research • Press releases • University publications

Length of Time to Prepare Application

The survey allowed respondents to indicate the length of time it took to prepare the application in months, years, and/or percentage of time spent on the process. Most respondents completed this question in terms of months spent on the application process. Responses in the form of years were recalculated into months. Some respondents included both months and percentage of time spent during those months, and both approaches were incorporated in the methodology. Overall, the average amount of time reported as spent on the application was 6.6 months. For those who did report percentage of their time on the application process, the average was 29%.

As seen in Table 3, there appears to be a direct correlation between institutional size, measured in number of students, and months spent on the application. Two interviewees from Phase I of the study posited that the smaller the institution, the less time is needed to complete the application. One interviewee stated that it is easier at a small institution because “[w]e know who does what, who is motivated.” The other indicated that at the smaller institution, they “know everyone who does this work,” and the institution is “compact enough to keep track of.” Alternative explanations for the length of time needed at different-sized institutions may be availability of resources for the task or robustness of an institution’s designated community engagement center. Further research is needed to advance our understanding of this particular issue.

Table 3. Length of Time to Prepare Application

Months Spent on Application (<i>M</i> = 6.6)	# of Students
5.8	Fewer than 5,000
7	5,001 - 10,000
7.5	10,000-20,000
9.1	More than 20,000

Additional Support Received for Work

As previously discussed, the applicants described leading a team of individuals representing multiple institutional and community stakeholders, over an average of 6.6 months, in the data-gathering and application process. To undertake such an effort, support in various forms is critical. Applicants were asked to indicate the types of support they received to facilitate the application process. The majority of respondents received support from already existing

units, documents, or workshops. In particular, respondents indicated the benefits of seeing the applications of previously successful Carnegie Classified institutions as well as attending webinars or workshops provided by the Carnegie Foundation. A very small percentage received support in the form of additional funding, such as additional staff, students, payment, or release time. A few respondents expressed concern over a lack of support for the work:

- “We pretty much did this out of hide [no additional resources].”
- “Much of the writing took place after completion of the academic year; while no additional compensation was provided, the amount of work involved during ‘off contract time’ would have warranted a stipend or compensation of some sort.”

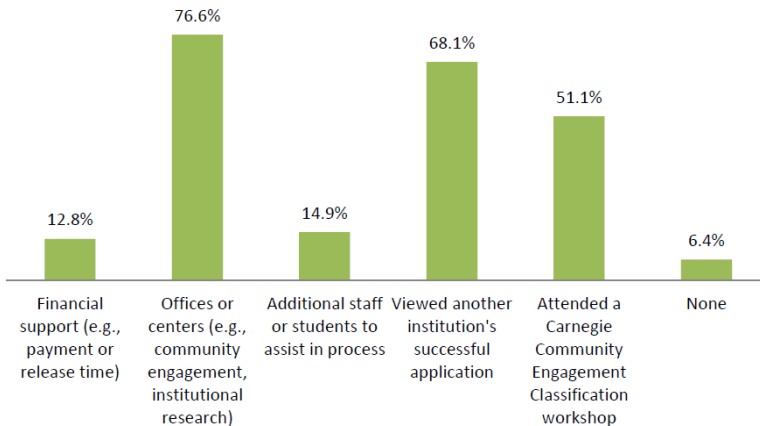


Figure 4. Additional support received for work on application.

Upper-Level Administrator Involvement

Although every respondent indicated involvement from upper-level administration, involvement from administrators tended to be focused on two tasks: communicating and planning. A large majority of respondents indicated that their upper-level administration was involved in communicating about the Classification, either about the importance of participating in the process or about receiving the Classification. Just under half of the respondents indicated that the upper-level administration helped develop the plan for data gathering. Less than 15% responded that upper level administration either authored the application, provided monetary

or release time support for the author, or created a new position or filled a vacant position to facilitate completing the application. In their further written comments, some respondents credited a supportive administration, and others felt they had to push to initiate the process.

- “Upper level administration was very supportive of the application process.... They were also very congratulatory and supportive when we received the recognition.”
- “To be honest, our application would not have happened if I had not pushed it.”
- “In all honesty, I was the tail wagging the dog in trying to convince administrators that this application was worth pursuing.”

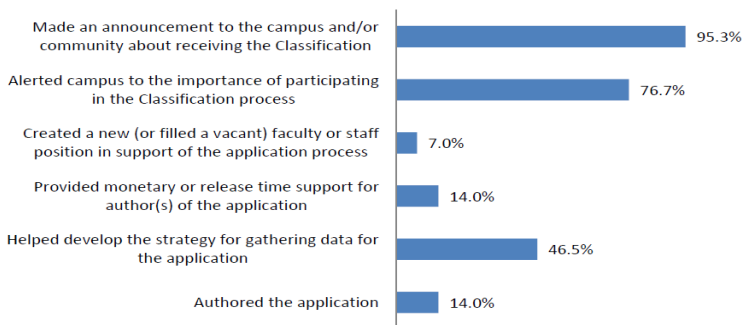


Figure 5. Upper-level administrative support.

Based on the applicants' responses, upper-level administration seems to be most involved at the outset and conclusion of the application process. Nearly half of the administrators helped develop the data-gathering strategy while the application plan was being developed, and just over 75% helped initiate the process by alerting campus to the upcoming data-gathering and application efforts. At the conclusion of the process, 95% of upper level administrators made the celebratory announcement that the institution had received the Classification.

Challenges or Obstacles Faced

In their analysis of the 2006 Classification recipients, Sandmann et al. (2009a) found that “even the simple tracking and recording

of engagement activities appeared to be difficult to maintain with a systematic institution-wide process” (p. 10). Respondents in this study would likely concur, as they encountered a number of challenges during application preparation, ranging from macro-level issues such as the need for new institutional leadership to difficulty with the application itself that “made it difficult to write responses that were clear and complete.” Also reported were problems with writing time, minimal staff support, and “a short timeframe for completing the application.”

More pervasive were issues concerning data and documentation required for the process and ensuring institution-wide involvement. As Furco and Miller (2009) highlighted, assessment of service-learning and community engagement efforts has long been a difficult process. Interviewees reported that data collection systems were not in place beyond department or program levels; there were definitional issues; “surrogate” information had to be identified when some data was not available; and one campus office of institutional research simply responded, “We don’t collect any of that data.”

The most commonly indicated challenge was “no structure for data collection prior to beginning application process.” However, as five respondents elaborated, the problem confronting them was not *no* structure, but rather “minimal” structure; that is, data had been collected but not through a formalized structure. As one described, the institution’s data collection was not “comprehensive” prior to the application process; another described relevant data collection as “spotty.”

The second most commonly identified challenge confirms a problem documented in the literature, namely, “difficulty ensuring institution-wide involvement.” Examples of this difficulty included reports that key administrators “grumbled” or showed “indifference” to the Classification itself. As one respondent described,

It was a challenge to learn what was going on outside the Academic Affairs reporting line (i.e. units reporting to the Provost). Units reporting through other VP lines also do a great job of engaging the community (e.g. student affairs, athletics). Once we figured out who to talk to, people were very helpful. It was just a question of venturing beyond reporting lines to see what was going on across the entire campus.

The third most commonly marked challenge was “difficulty matching responses to wording on application.” This included difficulties in aligning institutional characteristics with the questions on the application as well as technical issues such as adhering to the character limits on the application.

The remaining items listed in the survey as challenges were “insufficient resources/time” and “definition of community engagement unclear at my institution.” One third of respondents indicated they needed more time, Classification training courses, and support to complete their application. One third of respondents addressed the definitional issues related to community engagement. Responses ranged from an interviewee who indicated that colleagues did not see how community engagement was part of the institution’s mission to a survey respondent who explained that many units wanted to have their work counted as community engagement, even if that work did not fit the Carnegie definition.

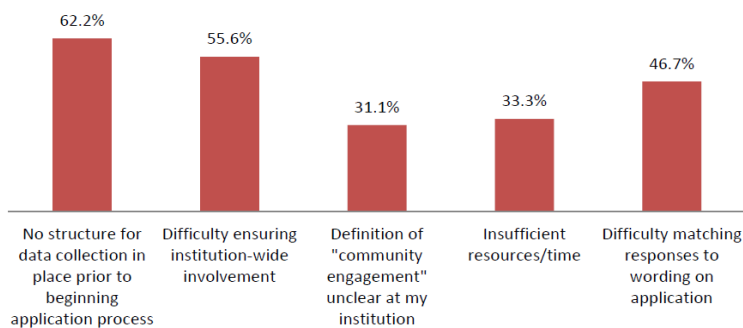


Figure 6. Challenges or obstacles reported.

With each challenge selected by 30% or more of the respondents, it is apparent that these are fairly common challenges faced by institutions applying for the Classification.

Considered Applying in Previous Round but Waited—and Why

Exactly one half ($n = 26$) of the respondents reported that their institution had considered applying for the Classification in a previous round (2006 or 2008) but had waited because the institution was not yet ready to apply. Several respondents reported multiple concerns driving the decision to wait, and the reasons for waiting can be grouped into eight categories, which are listed below.

1. Needed to institutionalize community engagement and/or obtain greater buy-in ($n = 8$). Example responses: (a) “[We were waiting until] new campus initiatives were in place to provide more support for the application.” (b) “[I] was asked to institutionalize service learning.”
2. Data collection procedures not ready ($n = 6$). Example responses: (a) “[We needed to work on] improving data gathering process.” (b) “Developed a centralized database (repository) to collect and store necessary information.”
3. Needed an individual or an office/center dedicated to community engagement ($n = 5$). Example responses: (a) “In 2008, there was a staffing change in the Center for Service Learning leaving it without a director for four months. This prevented us from applying for the classification at that time.” (b) “Instituted a new office (Institutional and Community Engagement).”
4. No clear campus definition of community engagement ($n = 3$). Example response: “The definitions of community and the concept of engagement were broader than we recognized initially.”
5. Needed more time ($n = 3$). Example response: “[We] just couldn’t manage to get the information together for the previous cycle.”
6. Could not commit the time due to other pressing initiatives ($n = 2$). Example response: “We were engaged in the 2008 self study process for the Higher Learning Commission reaccreditation. Needed to focus energy in that data collection process.”
7. Needed new leadership that valued community engagement ($n = 2$). Example response: “We were helped by the arrival of a new provost in 2010 who was more eager than his predecessor to promote service, service-learning, and community engagement.”
8. Needed to strengthen community partner connections ($n = 2$). Example response: “[We needed] growth in community partner and student participation.”

Postclassification, or Now What?

Since one intended function of the Classification process is a better understanding of an institution's commitment to engagement, possible outcomes include changes in practice that either highlight or improve that level of commitment. One way to describe such changes is through shifts in institutional culture. As Thornton and Zuiches (2009) described, "Research shows that institutional culture plays a significant role in a university's commitment to public service and engagement" (p. 81). Accordingly, the current study examined the changes in institutional culture reported by respondents. Interestingly, a number of changes were recorded during the process of applying for the Classification as well as upon receiving it. This means that merely the process of applying resulted in institutions' considering and implementing changes to their practices and/or philosophies of community engagement.

Changes in Institutional Culture as a Result of Applying for the Classification

Most respondents indicated progress on institutionalizing community engagement during the application process, ranging from improved collaborations and greater involvement of more groups to aligning mission with community engagement goals to improved data structures to increased support of community engagement. Respondents indicated attempts to align community engagement with the mission of the university and the converse, "trying to transform into the Engaged University." These findings are consistent with Sandmann et al. (2009b), who noted that "[t]he Carnegie community engagement process and its data can also serve as a vehicle for institutionalizing engagement" (p. 4).

Overall, there was no clear, singular change in institutional culture as a result of applying for the Classification. Rather, the following four changes were shared by over 50% of respondents:

1. New, increased, or improved cross-campus collaborations (61%)
2. Greater involvement by administration/faculty/staff/students/community in institutionalizing community engagement (58%)
3. Better alignment of institution's mission with goals of community engagement (58%)
4. New or improved data-reporting structures for community engagement (56%)

These changes are in line with and address the concerns and challenges previously identified by respondents. In particular, responses to previously identified needs—for better data-collection structures and for greater institutionalization of community engagement—were reflected in changes reported by over half of respondents. The changes occurred during the application process, suggesting that the mere act of preparing an application can result in institutional-level improvements.

Another key cultural shift reported by participants was “better alignment of institution’s mission with goals of community engagement” as a result of applying for the Classification. In order to complete the application, 58% of the institutions made at least some shift in institutional mission to incorporate community engagement. This is clear evidence of institutional change as a result of applying for the Classification.

Additional areas of change were also noted: new, increased, or improved partnership with community (41%) and structural changes in university to support community engagement (i.e., new positions or assignments of faculty/staff/administration in order to support campuswide community engagement; 32%). These institutional, cultural changes address the challenges identified in previous questions.

Changes in Institutional Culture as a Result of Receiving the Classification

The survey data revealed that, in general, more respondents felt there was change in the aspects of institutional culture addressed in the survey as a result of receiving the Classification than of applying for it. Several items reflected an increase of approximately 10 percentage points, including the following:

- New, increased, or improved cross-campus collaborations (71% on receiving vs. 61% on applying)
- Greater involvement by administration/faculty/staff/students/community in institutionalizing community engagement (69% on receiving vs. 58% on applying)
- new, increased, or improved partnership with community (52% on receiving vs. 41% on applying)

The percentage of respondents who marked change in the following two items is nearly identical for applying for and receiving the Classification:

- New or improved data-reporting structures for community engagement (56%)
- Structural changes in university to support community engagement (i.e., new positions or assignments of faculty/staff/administration in order to support campuswide community engagement; 36% on receiving vs. 32% on applying)

Curiously, there was a decrease of 10 percentage points in the number of respondents who marked “better alignment of institution’s mission with goals of community engagement,” from 58% on applying for the Classification to 48% on receiving the Classification. We surmise that once the institution’s mission had been aligned during the application process, that change was viewed as sufficient or complete and therefore did not need to be shifted again upon receiving the Classification.

Plan for Announcing the Classification

Forty-four percent of survey respondents indicated that they had planned how to announce and celebrate the receipt of the Classification. Responses from interviewees in Phase I of the study testify to the sense of energy felt by those who had developed such a plan. One respondent related being “catalyzed by this process,” and another stated, “We never miss the opportunity to tell people we got it.” On the other hand, over half of the survey respondents (56%) indicated that they had no plan for the announcement. Several interviewees in Phase I of the study described difficulties in utilizing the Classification for change, noting a lackluster response to receiving the Classification, with statements indicating that it “didn’t really make much of a difference for us” and that “you just get shrugged shoulders.”

Seven of the respondents who did have a plan described the particular marketing unit within their institution that developed the announcement, typically an office of communications, public relations, or marketing. A number of platforms were put forward for announcing the news of the Classification:

- announcements in local media
- announcements to various stakeholder groups
- award-related events
- banner on website
- campus announcements

- campus celebration
- Facebook
- internal publications (university magazine, etc.)
- newspaper articles
- president's newsletter
- press releases
- websites

Respondents commented on the variety of ways the Classification award process was communicated and/or celebrated within their campus communities:

- “We held a reception in which community partners, faculty, students, and the college community was invited to celebrate with us. There was media attention as well.”
- “We printed announcements and sent them out to colleagues, peer institutions, and sister institutions.”
- “Sent mailers to *US News and World Report* rankers.”
- “Banners placed on campus and at campus entrances.”
- “We were ready to send press releases to media outlets and to announce it to campus.”
- “Our Chancellor made the announcement.”

Respondent Recommendations to Future Classification Applicants

Respondents offered many recommendations for future applicants, with most respondents offering three to five recommendations. These recommendations can be loosely grouped into 13 categories, with the number of respondents noting each option in parentheses:

1. Form a team ($n = 25$).
2. Utilize or develop a data-gathering structure ($n = 12$).
3. Obtain administrator involvement and/or support ($n = 11$).
4. Institutionalize or centralize service-learning, community engagement, or research ($n = 9$).

5. Generate awareness of the Classification ($n = 8$).
6. Use multiple sources of data and resources ($n = 8$).
7. Start early ($n = 7$).
8. Obtain agreement on a campuswide definition of community engagement and service-learning ($n = 5$).
9. Identify a single lead author ($n = 4$).
10. Tie data gathering directly to application ($n = 4$).
11. Use previously gathered data or tie to other initiatives ($n = 4$).
12. Attend workshops or work with successfully Classified institutions ($n = 3$).
13. Tie mission to service ($n = 3$).

In addition, applicants held in common a number of key observations and strategies related to the application process. Specifically, the respondent data revealed these commonalities:

- Successful applicants utilized a team approach to gathering the data and completing the application.
- Evidence of community engagement often already exists within an institution (62% of the data needed for Classification applications came from preexisting sources), but some new data will likely need to be gathered (38% of data utilized was newly gathered).
- Successful applicants encountered a number of obstacles or challenges related to data collection structures and resources, institution-wide understanding and involvement, and matching data to the application itself.
- Institutional and cultural shifts were identified by over half of the applicants, not only upon receipt of the Classification, but also from engaging in the application process. Cultural shifts included new or improved collaborations, greater institutionalization of community engagement, new or improved data-reporting structures, and better alignment of the institution's mission with the goals of community engagement.

Conclusions and Recommended Future Research

Community engagement has become a valued practice in higher education, but it remains diffuse, with evidence of the practice and its impacts often spread throughout an institution in varied ways that reflect no strategy or coordination. The Carnegie Community Engagement Classification provides a convenient and compelling opportunity for institutions to gather data and present evidence of their institutional commitment to community engagement. In this study of 52 U.S. institutions that applied for and received the 2010 Classification, many of the fundamental conclusions in the literature regarding the importance of community engagement to the core academic mission were confirmed. There are community engagement champions that come from a wide range of participating groups, and there are appointed or designated community engagement experts across the nation, including many at Carnegie Classified institutions. What is clear from the data, however, is an institutional paradox of community engagement: Students and community members, the groups that are often at the heart of the learning environment within community engagement, had a relatively low level of involvement as the teams gathered their data to apply for the Classification.

Community engagement as a campus practice overall, and the Carnegie Community Engagement Classification specifically, are fruitful fields for study when considering the scope of impact a campus has on its surrounding community and vice versa. We suggest several avenues of future research: (a) a longitudinal study of any long-lasting effects of applying for or receiving the Carnegie Community Engagement Classification; (b) a study of the quality of community engagement at Carnegie-Classified institutions, using such measurement tools as self-reports on scales or rubrics; and (c) a comparison of successful and unsuccessful Classification applications with a focus on identifying any clear strategies that enable successful applications or notable gaps that frequently lead to an unsuccessful submission.

Applicants at the 52 institutions in this study reported a number of institutional and cultural shifts as a result of applying for and receiving the Carnegie Community Engagement Classification. Cultural shifts included new or improved collaborations, greater institutionalization of community engagement, new or improved data-reporting structures, and better alignment of the institution's mission with the goals of community engagement. These changes represent the types of institutional and cultural shifts that can lead

higher education toward realizing the promise of its service mission through community engagement.

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Note:

The authors have used the term *applicants* to describe the interviewees and respondents. Individuals identified as contacts on the Carnegie Community Engagement Classification applications sometimes are not the authors of the applications but rather administrators to whom general questions might be directed. For this study, each interviewee or respondent confirmed that he or she was indeed the author, a role that we termed *applicant*.

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Academy–Community Partnerships: Challenges and Changes in Israeli Urban Regeneration Projects

Rinat Botbol Tal, Tovi Fenster, and Tal Kulka

Abstract

Students worked with low-income Jaffa residents on a 3-year building renewal project as part of a multidisciplinary clinic operated through the collaboration of the Faculty of Law, the Department of Geography at the Faculty of Humanities, and the Faculty of Management at Tel-Aviv University. Alternative models in the legal and planning literature inspired clinic participants to seek more equal power relations between the actors in this project, thus serving as social change agents. In light of the clinic's primary task—teaching and training—the authors analyzed its potentials and limitations as an agent of social change, focusing on how to cultivate (a) an intimate relationship between students and residents, (b) constructive collaborations between disciplines, and (c) linkage between academic theoretical material and fieldwork. These measures are key for enabling students to develop an empowering approach toward residents and a critical, self-conscious professional identity.

Introduction

How does a multidisciplinary community-based clinic work with an urban community to regenerate its deteriorating real estate? This article reports on research that analyzed a 3-year experience of students working with residents of the Jewish neighborhood Yaffo Gimel (“Jaffa C”) located in the mixed Jewish-Arab city in the south of Jaffa. What started as an initiative by Tel-Aviv University’s Legal Clinic to help residents with legal orders from the municipality continued as a joint work of a multidisciplinary clinic supported by three entities: planning (based in the Department of Geography, Faculty of Humanities), law (based in the Faculty of Law), and real estate (based in the Real Estate Institute, Faculty of Management). This clinic became involved in an urban regeneration project in which three additional actors played key roles: the limited-resource residents, the municipality, and the private developer that became involved later on.

Through this endeavor, the project became one of many local/global urban regeneration approaches aimed at reviving deteriorated urban districts. These approaches to remaking cities have a

long and continuous history, although the terminology has undergone constant revision (Lees, 2003). It started with postwar British reconstruction that was later termed redevelopment, regeneration, and renaissance—all describe “ways in which the ‘take’ on what to do with our cities have been subject to political and policy change over the past 60 years” (Butler, 2009, p. 130). Policy change may indicate failure to deal with the problem of urban stress and its manifestations in terms of crime and social dislocation or a new understanding of how urban and social problems have become entwined in new ways.

This article aims to take the next step in existing research on academic involvement with residents in urban regeneration projects by critically analyzing three aspects of this joint work. The first issue under examination was the relationship between university staff members and students with the residents, a community whose members are involved in the various stages of the project. Indeed, there are an abundance of academic activities in the community. However, studies have not analyzed these activities nor offered recommendations on how to make them sustainable (see Hart, Northmore, Gerhardt, & Rodriguez, 2009 and Golan-Agnon et al., 2005 for Israeli cases).

The second major issue we explored was the relationship between the two academic disciplinary entities (planning and law) and the implications of this relationship for the project. These two entities are specifically highlighted because the real estate institute took on more of an advisory role rather than focusing on active teaching. This is especially related to introducing issues of policy change and empowerment. Policy change has historically implied a new approach to social inequalities that ultimately leads to a better society. Most of the literature, however, has not addressed the practicalities of promoting such a goal, particularly the effects of such practicalities on residents. This article presents a unique perspective, identifying aspects of the practice that have empowerment potential in the community with the goal of assisting both cases: courses involving students and planning projects.

The third aspect we examined was the linkage between theory learned and discussed in class and its implications for practice. Thus, this study included a critical self-reflective inspection by the academy, offering practical recommendations to improve courses engaging students in the community.

The article begins with a brief review of the existing literature on the academy’s role as an agent of social change. It then provides

the necessary background for the project before discussion of the research methodology and analysis of the three main themes. The article ends with findings and discussion, as well as conclusions and recommendations intended to serve those who practice university–community engagement and those who practice planning with communities.

The Academy as an Agent of Community Change

In this section, we explore the unique characteristics of clinical academic work as a training and research framework, highlighting its differences from the work of civil society organizations involved in an urban regeneration project when they seek to play a similar role as social agent of change. As a counter to theoretical criticism, with its elitist tendencies and distance from society, a vibrant debate exists in Israel and throughout the world on the issue of promoting academic social involvement in various areas, including urban regeneration. Between the positivist approach of research seeking to “discover” reality and new approaches such as participatory action research, which challenges the science/social activism dichotomy (Kesby, Kinson, & Pain, 2007), there are diverse forms of academic social involvement, including clinics with practices that are in many ways similar to those of civil society organizations. Moreover, they represent the most direct manifestation of the theory–practice dialectics.

Hart et al. (2009) found evidence of abundant academic activities in the community, in particular in planning and urban regeneration. However, they also noted the lack of studies analyzing these activities and offering recommendations on how to make them sustainable (see Golan-Agnon et al., 2005 for the Israeli experience). Offering another point of view, Katz, Dor-Haim, Matzliach, and Ya’acov (2007) asked how discourse could avoid being about the community and instead be more tuned into dialogue with it. They concluded that academia does not require its partners to be of equal status; decisions are not made jointly, but there are attempts at a more complete partnership. Wiewel, Gaffikin, and Morrissey (2000) also suggested the presence of inequality between residents and the academic actors involved in campus–community projects, arguing that although it cannot be completely avoided, we must be aware of it and acknowledge the differential interests of actors involved to ensure sustainable partnerships. What, then, are academia’s interests in such joint projects? Hart et al. (2009) argued that community partnership helps academia redefine itself and become more socially relevant. Katz et al.’s (2007) field study

showed that one of the benefits of community partnership for students and faculty is the opportunity for activism and research in areas unavailable to them, areas that “shattering the ivory tower image” can offer. Innovation is seen as an academic need with the potential to be satisfied by practice that involves contact with the community. However, Hart et al. (2009) warned that clinging to the research agenda or curriculum, or obeying the dictates of funders, may clash with the community’s interests. Collaboration with the community also provides opportunities for training the next generation of practitioners. According to Harlev and Choshen (2005), this is a key role of academia that differentiates it from civil society organizations. Golan-Agnon et al. (2005) posited that in clinics, key decisions are above all motivated by the students’ need to experience fieldwork, which takes precedence over the needs of the community.

In our analysis, we found that this academic need to educate and train entails both benefits and disadvantages for the community. The students are a significant human resource, contributing to the clinic’s self-reflection through class discussions and students’ papers. Civil society organizations rarely engage in this ongoing process of rethinking practice for internal critical evaluation. However, as suggested by the planning academic supervisor, the educational cause requires many resources, some of which may not be available for this type of use, to ensure a profound process of “bottom-up planning.” Moreover, as emphasized by the legal academic supervisor, clients sometimes do not want interns, but full-fledged legal or planning experts. Students can offer empowerment in that they share the clients’ ignorance, as opposed to holding the position of experts and exclusive bearers of knowledge. However, it is also possible that the more empowering the clinic’s approach becomes, the more it is perceived as forced on the clients against their own preference. Nevertheless, it is important to note that academia’s motivations of training and research are completely transparent, and the community is aware of them in a way that enables a relationship of give and take by both parties.

The inherent inequalities in power relations between the academy and the community reflect the broader political aspect of this partnership. Kahne and Westheimer (2001) suggested a conceptual distinction between change and charity as two ideological perspectives guiding curricula that combine social activism. Charity stresses the experience of giving and altruism, whereas social change promotes a meaningful relationship that acts to

weaken the sense of otherness that often separates the giver and receiver and prevents them from acting jointly for change.

Interestingly, Katz et al. (2007) found that senior academic leaders tend to talk in terms of *charity*, but faculty and students prefer using *change* terms. Golan-Agnon et al. (2005) found that several hours a week was not sufficient for students to form reliable relationships with members of the target community; the fragmented schedule of the academic year is another obstacle. In Katz et al.'s study (2007), the students reported that their daily activities tended to focus on urgent problems and the need to resolve them immediately, which often led them to miss the broader context.

Kahne and Westheimer (2001) argued that in order to make the most of the transformative potential of the academic experience and promote social reconstruction, critical theory and practice must be combined with ongoing discussion of student experiences. Golan-Agnon et al. (2005) suggested using these experiences as material for working through conflicts, but found that the professors' desire to maintain a high academic level clashed with the space occupied by dialogue. The solution proposed was to offer two teaching programs, one focused on theory and the other on practice. Katz et al. (2007) found that the more practically relevant the theoretical content, the greater the significance students attached to the course and to their activism. Similarly, Kahne and Westheimer (2001) argued that a process that integrates theory and personal experience can change students' understanding of disciplinary knowledge and encourage them to think outside the hegemonic box and find new solutions. Such activity is inevitably political, an aspect further explored in the analysis of the three issues presented in the beginning of this article. First, however, we describe the context of the neighborhood and clinic.

Yaffo Gimel and Academic Engagement

Our intervention took place on a dead-end street at the very south of the mixed Jewish-Arab Jaffa. This small street—six residential buildings and one hill—contains almost the entire social-spatial-political (hi)story of Jaffa over the past decades, a reflection of Israeli planning's transformation from social-democratic policy to neoliberal policy, from modernism to postmodernism, and from public housing and national master plans to private ownership/resources and urban regeneration leading to gentrification processes.

The neighborhood community consists of a typical peripheral low-income population and a mix of old and new Jewish immigrants from North Africa, the Balkans, the former USSR, and Ethiopia; one Arab family from Galilee; and a few young families born and raised in Jaffa. The six residential buildings were built in the 1970s as public housing with the aim of Judaizing what is perceived as Arab Jaffa. Most of the earliest residents arrived after being displaced from their houses in Tel-Aviv's lower-income neighborhoods. During the 1980s and the 1990s, many of them managed to purchase their flats from Halamish, the governmental municipal company for housing, rehabilitation, and neighborhood renewal in Tel-Aviv–Jaffa. In 2007, after 13 years, the government decided to suspend the Neighborhood Upgrading Program in Tel-Aviv–Jaffa. Unlike adjacent buildings, our buildings had not been lucky enough to be renovated as part of this project.

In 2006, the municipality declared these buildings dangerous. The owners suddenly found themselves under court order to repair damaged property. At that time, the legal clinic at Tel-Aviv University was already engaged in the neighborhood, so it became involved in the new complex situation. After several years of legal action designed to delay and dismiss the orders but with no strong case, the legal clinic realized that the solution might be found in another field. The clinic looked to TAMA 38, a national outline plan approved in 2005, which was aimed at seismic strengthening of buildings; the plan also called for the addition of one or two floors, thereby promoting urban regeneration initiatives. At that point, the Department of Geography—specifically Planning for the Environment with Communities Laboratory (PECLAB)—became involved, as did the Real Estate Institute. For 3 years (2009–2011), a multidisciplinary clinic consisting of the fields of planning, law, and real estate worked together on teaching, studying, and working with the community. The teaching team included five women: two planning and law academic supervisors, one real estate academic advisor, and two in-field supervisors (an architect and a lawyer).

In those 3 years, we developed TAMA 38 in our buildings from a generic economic-planning perspective into a specific physical and social tailor-made plan that would add two floors and an elevator to the buildings, as well as extend the existing apartments with a room to serve as the legally mandated security room. One idea was to bring in a private entrepreneur who would implement the plan. Another suggestion was to dedicate these two new housing units to residential use by students of the nearby Academic College

of Tel-Aviv–Yaffo. The long (and ongoing) process included translating residents' needs and wishes into detailed architectural plans.

As part of the clinic's work, three graduate students prepared a social sustainability appendix for the plan and submitted it to the District Planning and Building Commission along with the plan. At the time, the plan was finally "approved subject to specific provisions" that required adding another floor on top of the original addition. This condition reopened the contract and sent us back to the negotiation stage. Meanwhile, the developer agreed to repair the buildings in order to solve the legal problem faced by owners as a trust-building act prior to signing the extended plan based on TAMA 38.

The planning process was long and complicated, as it involved multiple stakeholders, and most discussions tended to be oriented toward professionals in the relevant field. Throughout this prolonged struggle, we tried hard not only to interact with the residents, but also to use this process to empower the community. In classes, we dealt with a variety of questions: Is our involvement empowering or paralyzing the community? How can we give the community tools to decide for it? When and how do we take a stand or step back? These questions represent some of the dilemmas inherent in every social-planning act aimed at empowerment and strategic changes (*Fenster, 2009*) and were the focus of this investigation.

Methods

This field research aimed to assess the impacts of the project on the community and students in terms of empowerment. Under this qualitative research design, in-depth interviews were held from August 2010 to September 2011, with 23 residents of the four buildings (25% of the residents) and 10 clinic members: six students (two law students and four planning students) and four supervisors. Other materials included students' papers (written as part of their academic tasks); protocols of classes, meetings, letters, e-mails, and residents' assemblies; planning papers and legal protocols; and newspaper and Internet articles. The quotations cited in this article are mainly from interviews with the students and supervisors and from students' papers, as they are most relevant for the three issues under examination. Findings related to this analysis follow.

The Relationship Between Clinic Students and Community Members

In this section, we elaborate on the opportunities and obstacles we encountered during our 3 years of work with the community. Kahne and Westheimer (2001) proposed that in such projects, deep and close sentiments should develop between the students and the residents. Was this the case in Yaffo Gimel?

At the beginning of each academic year, the students expressed their fears of meeting with the “different” population, based on various stereotypes of the lower class residents. In their interviews at the end of the year, however, they spoke about the residents in more relative terms, as being “not all that different from the people I know.” Further, the consensus among the students and supervisors was that the potential for the relationship “was not exhausted” and that their acquaintance with the residents was not “personal and intimate enough.” The legal in-field supervisor summed it up by saying that “the students experienced a certain encounter which undoubtedly taught them much, but largely missed out on the more emotional aspect.”

This “missing out on the emotional aspect” occurred because few personal meetings took place at eye level in the residents’ homes. Instead, most meetings with the residents were in general assemblies of the four buildings. In some of these meetings, the plans were presented to the residents, or legal issues were discussed. Moreover, the various stages of the project dictated the nature of the activity. Tasks often involved formulating contracts or appendices, leading to long periods of disconnectedness from the community. Academic summer leaves disrupted continuity, and student turnover made it even more difficult to form relations. One student expressed, “The students need a whole semester just to get their bearings... [so there is] not enough energy to form a long-term personal relationship.”

The meaning that the students attached to their activities was affected by the extent of their involvement. “It is only one, not very significant part of their studies and life in general,” said the planning in-field supervisor. As described by a planning student, this promoted a task-oriented approach: “When we came there, we did so to complete a course-related task.” The residents concurred: “They were in the background, taking notes... asking some questions, looking over the contract.”

The students suggested that including another program as part of the curriculum, such as an internship or final project, would

allow them to dedicate more weekly hours to the project. They also recommended a special program for those students who continued with the project in their second year. To improve the existing program, they suggested that pairs of students maintain ongoing contact with at least some of the residents beyond the general assemblies and also during academic leaves. Accordingly, beyond the technical tasks dictated by the project, forming personal relationships would be designated in advance as an objective in its own right, enabling the students to prepare for it.

The students' limited relationships with the residents did not enable them to deconstruct their concept of the "disadvantaged population." A similar approach was reflected in the terminology used in the courts, planning commissions, and academic papers. "The defendants, most of whom are underprivileged, old and sick, welfare beneficiaries and new immigrants" (*State of Israel v. Boris Abramov & Co, 2009, p. 1*). The law students' summary work described "residents from disadvantaged sectors evacuated by the municipality from other urban areas and who had no other housing option." Additionally, "studies show that people of lower socioeconomic background are characterized by a low degree of control over their lives.... We also found the residents to be despaired and resigned to the existing situation" (*Ratner, Terem, & Haruvi, 2011, p. 17, 29*).

One planning student believed that the emphasis on "helping the weak" augmented the ability to "mobilize the students and the municipality in the neighborhood and devote the course to it." Critical discourse, however, reminds us how litigation reinforces the clients' sense of inferiority by expropriating their personal narratives and positioning them at the margins of the legal struggle (*Ziv, 2008*). The critical planning discourse has long recognized the way narratives can shape space and reproduce societal power relations (*Fenster, 2007*). Even in the field, outside the courts and planning institutions, we again risk expropriating the neighborhood's narrative.

The strengths perspective in social work (*Cohen, 2000*) proposes treating clients according to their own strengths rather than their pathologies and distresses. To do so, rhetoric often necessary to mobilize external support (in this case by the courts, municipality, and planning committees) must be kept separate from the internal rhetoric (i.e., the clinic). The students must also be encouraged to leave theory behind and face the actual community, rethink it in more relative terms, and discover its strengths. One planning student acknowledged that all he could say about the community was

couched in “slogans” and explained, “Any approach which would not involve personal relations on community and individual level would be patronizing.”

Interdisciplinary: The Relationship Between the Two Academic Units

One of academia’s great advantages as an agent of change is in the availability of multiple disciplines to provide solutions for the community’s needs—in our case, planning and law. However, interdisciplinary integration, both in theory and in practice, is never easy, particularly when attempted in conjunction with training students in their chosen discipline. In order to elaborate on these issues, we offer a brief background on the parallel epistemological development of the disciplines of planning and law as agents of social change.

Critics on the Role of Modern Planning and Alternative Approaches

The modern planning discipline emerged in the mid-19th century. Sandercock (1998) characterized the modernist planning paradigm in terms of rationalization of the decision-making process, with the planner’s authority derived from his or her knowledge and expertise. In recent decades, critical approaches have grown out of the crisis of modernity, which highlights the role of planning as an agent of social change. The first alternative was Davidoff’s (1965) advocacy model, which suggested recognizing the community’s right to take part in the planning process. This was followed by Aronstein’s (1969) participatory model, which suggested preliminary participation tools. In the 1980s, the planning literature referred to the idea of participation as a practical measure for enhancing plans’ feasibility and sustainability potential (Churchman & Alterman, 1997; Paul, 1986), as well as their sociopolitical potential, by balancing the influence of strong interest groups and real-locating power among stakeholders (Arnstein, 1969). However, as argued by Fainstein (2000), resource gaps are liable to exclude from the participatory process those who have been excluded in the first place. In a similar vein, Bailey (2010) claimed that participatory space is also shaped by the power relations around it and can be co-opted.

The 1970s and 1980s saw the continued development of approaches emphasizing the subjective dimension of space as a reflection of social power relations among individuals and com-

munities, and between them and the planning establishment, as well as the nature of planning as a hegemonic tool that constructed and reproduced societal power relations (Yiftachel, 2006). Grounded in this subjective conception of space, planning began to deal with the way memory, identity, and daily practices (uses of space) shape feelings like comfort, belonging, and commitment (Fenster, 2007), emphasizing the importance of local intuitive knowledge in informing alternative planning models. These models, including the participatory, transactive, or radical economic-political models, view planning as not merely a technical tool, but rather as laden with political and socioeconomic significance (Fenster, 2009; Sandercock, 1998).

In recent years, alternative community-based models have become more central in planning discourse. However, in the transition to planning practice, they must overcome barriers such as the time and resources required by community processes and the complex ethical issues involved (Fainstein, 2000). For example, although the term *empowerment* has become part of the government vocabulary, it is used interchangeably with *public participation*, even though participation in itself does not necessarily imply empowerment, and its transformative potential can easily be co-opted by local power relations (Bailey, 2010).

Israeli research reflects these trends. Alfas and Portugali (2009) argued that even today, the planning establishment assumes that planning is a professional-technical area where decision-making should be left to the experts. Fenster (2009) further noted that even when participation is explicitly referred to in formal planning procedures, the various types of knowledge involved are not equally powerful. Even alternatives proposed by civil society organizations are guided by the same modernist approach, which views planning as a government service rather than a mechanism for social change.

Inspired by Laclau and Mouffe's (1985/2004) radical model, positing that new discourse is possible only when the community recognizes subordinated relations as repressive and antagonism, should be considered as a legitimate alternative, Fenster (2009) suggested planning as a means for strategic rather than practical change. When the planning process enables such an approach, planning may facilitate social processes informed by greater awareness of power relations. If this happens, the planning process can become a democratic struggle for designing space—a daily political struggle emphasizing the power dimension in social and spatial relations.

Social Lawyering as Community Organizing and Empowerment

Following the rise of the civil rights discourse in the 1950s, the legal discipline has become a key element in social struggles. The accompanying changes in legal discourse ran parallel to those discussed in the field of planning. At that time, legal discourse began exploring how the very act of litigation reinforced clients' sense of inferiority by expropriating their personal narratives, excluding them from the processes of problem definition and strategy selection, and generally marginalizing them. This realization led to a more critical view of legal processes as means of social change (Lobel, 2008) and for several decades now, critical theorists have been suggesting avenues of "radical" litigation (Aharoni & Feit, 2008; Ziv, 2008).

In the past 20 years, social change litigation has become more common in Israel, mainly among civil society organizations (Ziv, 2008). Critics of this trend argue that it repackages injustices in professional jargon, denying subaltern groups their most powerful means of resistance: the power to (illegally) challenge the existing order (Lobel, 2008; Svirski, 2009; Ziv, 2008). All alternatives suggested focusing on reconceptualizing the role of the professional, the clients, and their partnership. One alternative practice suggested in the 1990s, law and organization, placed lawyers in the role of community organizers, encouraging them to act with the community in search of local, nonlegal solutions (Ziv, 2008).

Eisenstadt and Mundlak (2008) argued that empowerment has become an umbrella term that needs to be defined as a process enabling a group to define itself and act so that its preferences are internalized by society. This kind of empowerment does not refer to the content of change but rather to how others can be engaged in promoting it. Like others, they warned that the paternalistic overtones of empowerment often make it another means for social control (see also Boehm & Staples, 2002; Friedman, 1992; Gore, 2003; Rubin & Rubin, 2001; Sadan, 1996).

Planning and Law in Practice: The Yaffo Gimel Project

The clinical involvement in the Yaffo Gimel project was informed by the belief that radical approaches should be a major part of the academic training of future planners and lawyers, and that this training must include not only theoretical background but also immediate encounters with real-life people and situations.

The first major concern that the planning students encountered during the project's first year was the ambiguity of their role as opposed to the clarity of the legal profession's role.

The general public is [more] familiar with the legal language.... When it came to planning and social questions, things were not as clear—the information we sought to collect was not as concrete, direct and quantifiable as the legal information, and could therefore be misconceived as less essential. (Students of Planning summary work).

Planning students found the legal students' approach task-oriented rather than people-oriented but also found their own professional background too narrow to abandon, particularly in relation to the law students: "We go there as if we are planning students and they are law students. So I explain what I have been explained, but have I truly learned something about planning?"

In the course of their work, some students thought that the approach of "giving up the expert role" adopted by the clinic had made the students miss opportunities to learn from some concrete professional planning issues encountered in this project. However, as the interdisciplinary work became more cohesive, the students came to recognize its value, as shared by a law student:

At first I had this idea...that we were here to provide a solution for a legal problem.... With time... I began to feel that geography [students] placed much greater emphasis on the need to listen to the residents and empower them.

The legal in-field supervisor described the gap that existed in practice more than in theory:

If you read the theoretical writings on these things you see that issues are pretty similar, but...you [the planners] came with this idea of working with people... which made me reflect the entire time...whether this was the plan I wanted, or the plan the residents wanted.

The clinic's interdisciplinary approach thus contributed mainly to the exposure to multiple perspectives; a chance for critical reflection; and ultimately to a complementary, balanced relationship between the disciplines. As described by the legal in-field super-

visor, “In the academic world there’s this clear separation between disciplines....You have to understand that your discipline...may not be the most important...and that other things should also be considered. This is not something our students study on campus.” As suggested by Svirski (2009), the clinic’s multidisciplinary work may reduce the centrality of the professional and her tools so that she acknowledges her place among a range of social change agents. Thus, multidisciplinary clinical work contributes to the education of students as future professionals attentive to nonprofessional agendas and partners.

To conclude, even when seen as beneficial, interdisciplinary work was experienced as challenging by both students and supervisors, even to the point of taking up resources that could have been devoted to other ends. Moreover, it is possible that for students still struggling to establish their professional identity and status, this experience might have been too demanding.

The Links Between Theory, Practice, and Critical Awareness

This section discusses the links between theoretical studies in classes and community activism in the field and its meanings for the students’ learning process as change agents. Kahne and Westheimer (2001) argued that in order to maximize the transformative potential of the academic experience, action must be combined with ongoing discussion of student experience and a critical study of the specific social issues involved. How well did the clinical framework meet this challenge?

“They sent us to the field to explain all the latest innovations to them...it was out of touch with reality,” said one planning student. Another was disappointed by the gap between models studied in the theoretical teaching part of the course and real life: “The entire issue of bottom-up planning was not realized in our field work.” He recommended that in the future, “it would perhaps be better to be involved in less urgent projects.” On the other hand, he was not at all sure whether theoretical models could be applied and suggested a little less “forcing theory on reality.”

Many students also pointed to the lack of background and tools for community empowerment, and they suggested that collaboration with a social work clinic and additional background in this area or involving the local worker in their fieldwork could have helped. The academic supervisors explained that the lessons were not designed to provide practical fieldwork tools but rather to

educate the students in a “social worldview” and understanding of structural social problems. Did this worldview indeed contribute to the students’ critical perspective on the specific social issues involved?

Although students in the clinic proved capable of formulating an eloquent critical stance toward the authorities in the defense statement submitted to court, in the interviews they seemed much less clear on questions of justice and legal versus moral or social responsibility. One planning student said, “You’re asking me now [who is responsible], and I say Halamish [the building and housing company], but we didn’t discuss the responsibility it has shirked, and who’s responsible for that.” In response to the same question, a legal student said, “It seems a very, very interesting question to me...I haven’t thought it through. But I think we did discuss it quite a bit...if only indirectly and in the background.”

According to the planning academic supervisor, “I don’t know whether it was discussed very deeply...although in the theoretical studies we did talk about...these concepts.” The legal academic supervisor also felt that although the lessons emphasized abstract concepts, not every lesson devoted time to discussing their practical application in Yaffo Gimel, and it seemed that the students did not have enough opportunities to formulate a critical approach in that specific context.

The legal in-field supervisor, who had been active in the neighborhood for several years, referred to early attempts to organize protests in the neighborhood or litigate in an attempt to demand that the government acknowledge its responsibility:

I remember that right at the beginning of the year [a planning student] suddenly asked [why we didn’t do it], and I answered heatedly that...we had already tried everything.... And this was a mistake on my part, because from his point of view he was here, starting everything from the top. And sometimes, even when you do feel that you have tried everything, why not rethink on what had failed three years ago?

Campus, Community, and... Capital?

One of the key issues the clinic has dealt with, both in theory and in practice, over the last 2 years of activity is the option of joining forces with the private sector. The clinic arrived at that point after years of trying other solutions and struggles that failed

to produce results for the residents. How does theory meet practice around this issue, from the point of view of the clinic's students and supervisors?

In the papers submitted by law students, one student wrote: "The clinic, which in a certain sense abandons the public struggle for the right to housing, act as a social entrepreneur leading to social change through market forces, and in the process harnesses these forces to desirable social norms." This approach is akin to the community economic development (CED) model (*Aharoni & Feit, 2008*). However, CED involves emphasizing economic empowerment of the community and economic growth from within the community—an element missing in this project. Similarly, it was missing in the first attempt to apply the model in Israel through the Neighborhood Upgrading Program initiated in the late 1970s, and this is why Carmon (*1997*) believed that it failed. Critics continue to warn against the repercussions of market partnerships on the local community (*Moor, 2009*) and point to the limited potential of CED as an agent of societal change (*Cummings, 2001; McFarlane, 1999*). Was the clinic aware of these caveats?

In their interviews, the academic supervisors talk about the prices not discussed by the students. The planning academic supervisor said, "It is like...surrendering or accepting capitalism in its entirety... But I'm not sure that if everyone had started struggling it would have been resolved." With the advantage of historic perspective not shared by the students, she continued: "We have been acting in a neoliberal climate in this country for many years now, so that suggesting an alternative here seems a bit unreal... I'm not sure things can be changed by this kind of social struggle." In a similar vein, the legal academic supervisor said, "We are constantly trying to ventilate this tension... understand that we have now entered the neoliberal capitalist discourse, in a softened form." Indeed, by the 3rd year, a planning student referred to the tension between principles and practical solutions: "It wasn't so relevant that year, not part of the discourse... Because we joined in after the renovation, and were not so involved in what had gone on before."

How, then, should the clinic raise the residents' critical awareness, a recurrent theme in the literature as the first stage on the way to empowerment (e.g., *Sadan, 1996*)? In the legal discourse, it is argued that one of the socially-oriented lawyer's roles is to direct the marginalized community to identify oppression (*Ziv, 2008*). Discourse in the field of planning has suggested fostering antagonism as a legitimate alternative to the hegemonic discourse (*Fenster, 2009*). It has also recognized that joining forces with the private

sector is liable to repress critical awareness as “unfriendly” to investors (Aharoni & Feit, 2008). As the legal academic supervisor phrased it, “It wasn’t difficult to persuade the Yaffo Gimel residents to make that switch... from expecting the government to solve the problem to turning to the private contractor... It was hardly an issue.”

In sum, the supervisors sought to educate the students on their social worldview, whereas the students expected to acquire practical fieldwork tools. Students were left with a sense of injustice regarding the situation on the ground, but this reaction failed to coalesce into a critical stance even though the students had found real-life opportunities to which they could apply the critical concepts discussed in their studies. Students’ own lack of well-formed critical awareness prevented them from leading the residents to develop such awareness. Moreover, the new students joining the clinic each year were not as aware of past dilemmas or the cost of past decisions as their more experienced supervisors were.

Discussion and Recommendations

This work contributes to the understanding of academic involvement with residents as a way of promoting urban regeneration projects by critically analyzing three aspects: (a) relationships between the students and the community, (b) interdisciplinary relationships between two academic entities (planning and law) and their implications for the project, and (c) links between theory (campus studies) and practice (fieldwork). The project analyzed in this article took place in Yaffo Gimel, a neighborhood whose story is representative of the Judaization of “mixed” cities in Israel using public housing and subsequent privatization. Its residents had experienced the first wave of urban regeneration (massive evacuation and construction), missed the second one of the Neighborhood Upgrading Program, and are now facing the third: market-based urban regeneration. Will the market solve their environmental deterioration problem, or will it exacerbate their lack of control over their environment? In this project, the clinic in effect acted as a third-sector organization, an agent seeking to change power relations between the actors. Inspired by alternative legal and planning models, the clinic sought to realize the market-based strategy and community-oriented approach simultaneously. How do we measure the success of this endeavor?

The project enabled the repair of structural problems that made the building unsafe, resulting in termination of the criminal proceedings against the flat owners. Moreover, should the expanded

TAMA 38 plan be implemented, this would improve the residents' quality of life by providing renovated buildings, expanded flats, and the addition of an elevator. However, the project also carries the potential for reducing quality of life by making the neighborhood more crowded. In the long term, it carries the risk of making these buildings unaffordable for the existing lower class residents (due to the expected increase in costs of rent for renters and maintenance for landlords), a well-known challenge in urban regeneration. These and other potential impacts on the residents were taken into consideration by the clinic, and some suggestions were made in the plan's Social Sustainability Appendix; however, time constraints prevented their implementation. The power to address and resolve the major problems was in the hands of the municipality and the state rather than the clinic.

In this particular project, two main factors restricted further empowerment of the residents. The first restriction was the urgency of the circumstances, as threats (legal and physical) to the community were too pressing to permit a process-oriented approach. In a study by Katz et al. (2007), many participants in academic service-learning courses reported a similar tendency to focus on solving immediate problems. The second restriction, which lies at the heart of this article, reflected the nature of the academy when it acts as an agent of change. Fenster's (2009) distinction between practical and strategic changes in planning may be useful at this point. In practical terms, the project had already brought significant relief to the residents, and it may be expected to bring about further major improvements in their physical environment and quality of life. The residents will continue to benefit from these improvements as long as they can afford them. Strategically, the clinic succeeded in balancing the power relations with the entrepreneur and his architects in the negotiations so that the community and its needs were at the heart of the planning process. However, the authority, initiative, and control, although on the side of the residents, were in the hands of the clinic, with members acting as representatives of the community. These forms of empowerment had not been further handed to the community, so this process of shifting power to the community remained limited. The students and the academic and in-field supervisors were well aware of this result being limited in light of the bottom-up planning theories learned in class.

Beyond their benefits to the community and apart from obstacles due to the project's urgency, clinics have some inherent limitations. A significant part of the clinics' resources are invested in teaching and learning, which may occur at the expense of invest-

ment in the community. As Golan-Agnon et al. (2005) expressed, the educational cause has the highest priority for members of academia. Given this context, we tried to analyze students' potentials and limitations as agents of change, addressing the discussed limitations, as follows.

Recommendations for Student Learning Outcomes

First, we have found that the encounters with the residents enabled students to alter the image of “disadvantaged communities” they had previously held. Nevertheless, a significant relationship did not develop beyond that due to restricted opportunities for interaction, a challenge that Golan-Agnon et al. (2005) found to be common in similar courses. The students' perception of the residents as “people in need” did not change, and they continued to view themselves as the “supporters” of “dependent” community members. This relates to Kahne and Westheimer's (2001) conception of charity, a service-learning experience based on altruism and a sense of otherness, as opposed to the experience of acting jointly for change. To address this, we suggest fostering the strengths perspective from social work discourse (Cohen, 2000), focusing on the possibilities and capacities of the community rather than its problems and poverties. At the discourse level, we recommend separating the “disadvantaged community” rhetoric often required to recruit the support of external actors (in this case, the court and planning committees) from the rhetoric used within the clinic. Students should be encouraged to leave theory (e.g., of disadvantaged communities and power relations) behind and face the actual community to find that it is composed of people and relationships not so different from their own. At the level of practice, based on our student interviewees' insights and suggestions, we recommend setting the development of personal relationships as an objective in its own right, committing students to this in advance, and creating a consistent setting for interaction that is not strictly task-oriented.

Recommendations for Transdisciplinary Collaborations

As for the second key issue, we found that the two components of the interdisciplinary clinic have different orientations. Although the lawyers' task-oriented approach risks disempowering the community, the planners' process-oriented approach alone could come at the expense of practical results, which are also essential to

empowerment. The constructive complementarity of the partnership benefitted the community greatly. We found that this more comprehensive collaborative framework contributed to mutual understanding among the students of the two disciplines and to the development of their critical, self-conscious professional identities. Finally, we found that interdisciplinary action can also promote the adoption of an approach currently neglected in the two disciplines, one that views the planner and lawyer as less central among other change agents as opposed to the exclusive bearers of knowledge, as Svirski (2009) suggested. That shift in the practitioner's perception has the potential to alter their relationship with clients, resulting in greater empowerment for clients.

Recommendations for Theory–Practice Links

The linkage between theory and practice appeared to be central to the development of critical awareness among the students. Although the academic supervisors emphasized a social worldview in the theoretical part of the course, the students expected to acquire practical tools for working with the community and were sometimes disappointed by the gap between theoretical bottom-up models and the project's real-life top-down compromises. They did not have the opportunity to work through their worldview to arrive at a coherent critical awareness regarding the specific situation in which they were involved. To address this issue, we recommend dedicating time for discussion apart from theoretical teachings, as Golan-Agnon et al. (2005) suggested. This can be used not only to create an immediate link between broader social theories and the students' specific questions, but also to inform or involve the students in the faculty's perspectives, dilemmas, and real-time decision-making. The students also suggested that in order to experience real, in-depth bottom-up planning, the clinic should not get involved in urgent cases which do not allow time for such processes. At the same time, they were not sure whether the desired theoretical models could be optimally applied on the ground and suggested not "forcing" theory (process and expected results) on a reality for which it was inadequate.

Conclusion

The impact of the project on the community must be evaluated in the general context of urban regeneration. The Yaffo Gimel project has the potential to achieve broad social impact by acting as a successful model for realizing the construction rights incorpo-

rated in urban regeneration plans through an economically sound entrepreneurial initiative coupled with community-centered planning work. In the words of the planning academic supervisor, this was a “groundbreaking project, also from the point of view of the planning institutions.” Moreover, the very act of submitting a social sustainability appendix to the plan directs the authorities’ attention to social considerations in planning, which may lead to the establishment of new formal criteria in future plans. Although written on the community’s behalf rather than with it and although it has no formal power to minimize the potential negative effects that it identifies, its existence reinforces the critical discourse on the privatization of urban planning, which can lead to negotiations between actors who are unequal in terms of knowledge and resources (see *Carmon, 1997; Eres & Carmon, 1996; Moor, 2009; Rotbard, 2005*). In the specific case described here, the clinic supported the residents, but its efforts could not replace state support in all cases. By themselves, even the most knowledgeable and well-connected clinics cannot generate mechanisms that will ensure affordable housing over the long term in this or in other urban regeneration projects. Increased public involvement is therefore essential to monitor urban regeneration processes and ensure socially oriented regulatory mechanisms.

For the students, our focus in this article, the significance of their experience in the clinic (whether they will work with private sector entrepreneurs, in planning or legal institutions, or with communities) lay in the exposure to the social complexities of the project and to the in-field encounter with communities. As for the academician, when one becomes an active actor while still maintaining the position of observer, there is the risk of losing one’s own critical awareness. Our position in this research was participatory, and we have come to the conclusion that the greatest benefit of this position lies in the opportunity to retrospectively examine the dilemmas encountered throughout the project and to formulate a critical perspective regarding our own activism. This process of self-reflection is crucial for students, supervisors, and researchers. The students, with their critical thoughts, participation in class discussions, and writing of papers as part of their academic tasks in the course, are a valuable human resource, an advantage of the academy over civil society organizations. We suggest capitalizing on this resource to carry out internal evaluations and actively encouraging students to critically reflect on their involvement. To this end, it is recommended that the students’ evaluation of the project include the voice of its target group: the community.

As we described, the academy has advantages and limitations when acting as an agent of change through community–academy partnership courses. We argued that dealing with the three main challenges discussed here is crucial for the fulfillment of the two objectives in such courses: the pedagogic (for the students) and the social (for the community). We conclude with three practical recommendations: (a) encourage a more intimate relationship between students and community members, (b) enhance constructive collaborations between disciplines, and (c) deepen the immediate link between academic material discussed in class and the students' activities in the field.

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Psychological Sense of Community and University Mission as Predictors of Student Social Justice Engagement

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Abstract

Psychological sense of community (PSOC) is a construct that may facilitate social action in university students. Similarly, a social justice-focused university mission statement might also facilitate social action and interest. The current study investigated whether psychological sense of community, agreeing with the mission statement, and taking diversity courses or service-learning courses impacted university students' social justice attitudes and student activism. Results indicated that students with higher PSOC were more likely to agree with the university's social justice-related mission statement, and agreement with the mission was strongly associated with favorable social justice attitudes and activism. Taking service-learning courses was also associated with favorable social justice attitudes and a greater likelihood of engaging in activism.

Introduction

Social activism is an important goal for social justice education. Given that social activism occurs in a social context on behalf of people from underserved social groups and can often involve collective action, it is possible that one's psychological sense of community within a setting might facilitate social justice engagement and social activism. The purpose of the current study was to examine whether university students' psychological sense of community, agreement with a university social justice mission, and previous coursework were associated with increased social justice engagement and social activism.

Social Justice in Higher Education

Social justice has been defined as distributing societal resources, human rights, bargaining powers, obligations, and opportunities fairly and equitably across dominant and subordinate social groups in consideration of differential power, needs, abilities, and wishes (Cook, 1990; Fouad, Gerstein, & Toporek, 2006; Prilleltensky, 2001; Torres-Harding, Siers, & Olson, 2012). Social justice has also been described

as the process of working toward societal equity and engaging societal members, especially those from subordinate social groups, as coparticipants in decision making around societal issues (*Fouad et al., 2006; Toporek & Williams, 2006*). Universities have frequently included a civic mission and civic engagement as important outcomes for their students (*Barnhardt, 2015; Reason, Ryder, & Kee, 2013*), and the goals of social justice fit well within traditional university missions to promote student civic engagement beyond graduation. Additionally, college campuses have been places where young people have taken a lead in developing social justice movements (*Rhoads, 2009*), so universities may have particular characteristics that facilitate student social engagement.

Universities' civic mission may include many key principles that can facilitate student social engagement. Universities can work to prepare students to actively engage in community life; to work across social groups in the community, including individuals from marginalized or disadvantaged groups; and to effectively address social issues in a multicultural society (*Reason et al., 2013*). Others have proposed that expanding individual and social knowledge about social policies; teaching social justice-related knowledge, skills, and attitudes; and encouraging students' self-efficacy and willingness to engage in society are important ways for universities to promote democratic participation and to help students engage as global citizens (*Bull, 2012; Rhoads, 2009; Storms, 2012*). Teaching civic-mindedness to university students often includes encouraging students to become involved in their communities; teaching contemporary social issues in local and global societies; and helping students develop listening skills, multicultural respect, self-efficacy, and sensitivity skills. It can also include encouraging a commitment to engage in community service and promote community wellness (*Bringle & Steinberg, 2010*). Thus, these goals of promoting student civic engagement overlap substantially with the social justice goal of working for a more fair, equitable, and just society.

Researchers have discussed several strategies to help students become more socially engaged. Critical pedagogies have been developed to enhance student empowerment and activism, with the ultimate goal of promoting social justice and social change (*McArthur, 2010*). Social justice-focused pedagogies include a strong emphasis on student participation and dialogue within the classroom (*Freire, 1970; Goodman, 2001; Sakamoto & Pitner, 2005; Storms, 2012*). This is achieved through promoting a racial-cultural dialogue in the classroom that is inclusive and respectful of all students' lived experiences, diverse perspectives, and viewpoints (*Goodman,*

2001; Sakamoto & Pitner, 2005). Critical pedagogies emphasize the need to listen to and accept multiple voices and to embrace dissent and disagreement as important aspects of creating a productive dialogue and deepening interpersonal understanding and collaboration (Mayhew & DeLuca Fernández, 2007; McArthur, 2010). Diversity-related and social justice-related courses can help foster the ability to take on multiple perspectives and promote respect for diverse others, which ultimately can facilitate collective student action and student engagement (Barnhardt, 2015; Bringle & Steinberg, 2010; Mayhew & DeLuca Fernández, 2007; Storms, 2012).

Additionally, service-learning and training/development opportunities are important methods for helping students connect their academic studies to larger social problems (Einfeld & Collins, 2008; Mayhew & DeLuca Fernández, 2007). Service-learning involves student engagement in structured activities outside the classroom within community organizations in a manner consistent with the course material. Students then reflect on their service work through class discussion and written assignments (Cuban & Anderson, 2007; Torres-Harding & Meyers, 2013). Service-learning approaches may help students meet social justice goals because they help promote student self-awareness of their own identity and perspectives; deepen knowledge about the worldviews, perspectives, and lives of diverse others; and actively address real needs in the community through university–community partnerships (Bringle, Phillips, & Hudson, 2004). Service-learning courses therefore exemplify *praxis*, or putting theory into action (Prilleltensky, 2001). Thus, it might be expected that participating in service-learning courses could facilitate favorable student attitudes toward social justice and student social engagement.

Institutional-Level Impacts on Student Engagement

Psychological sense of community (PSOC) might also be an important construct in understanding students' motivations to work for social justice. In recent years, researchers have focused on PSOC to find ways of bolstering individuals' sense of community in an effort to increase community members' responsibility to work on behalf of social justice ideals. PSOC is defined as a "feeling that members have of belonging, a feeling that members matter to one another and to the group, and a shared faith that members' needs will be met through their commitment to be together" (McMillan & Chavis, 1986, p. 9). McMillan and Chavis described PSOC as including (a) membership, or an individual's feeling of belonging-

ness to a group; (b) influence, whereby the individual perceives a sense of bidirectional or mutual influence between the self and the group; (c) integration and fulfillment of needs, or the idea that an individual's association with the group is rewarding and beneficial; and (d) shared emotional connection, or the sense that the group members have a common history and shared experiences. Similarly, Lounsbury and DeNeui (1996) found that their construct of collegiate sense of community included "feelings of belongingness, togetherness, attachment, investment, commitment to the setting, positive affect, concern for the welfare of the community, and... an overall sense of community" (p. 390).

PSOC has been linked to many favorable outcomes for community members such as enhanced social well-being, social and community connectedness, and psychological well-being (Albanesi, Cicognani, & Zani, 2007; Nowell & Boyd, 2010; Sonn & Fisher, 1996). Some researchers have proposed that PSOC might also facilitate social justice work and social engagement. Members of a community can mutually influence each other in a number of ways, and this might include recruiting an individual to work for social justice or to become socially active. Someone with a strong sense of community might respond more empathically to members of their community who are also members of disempowered social groups (e.g., people of color, LGBTQ individuals, and people with disabilities). These individuals may also experience a sense of responsibility toward others and facilitate social justice efforts if they recognize that injustices affect their community. Likewise, a community that values social justice may provide a history, context, or rationale for encouraging members to work for social justice. Finally, the connectedness that individuals experience as community members may serve as an important resource for social justice work, as this connection with others may help provide rest, respite, or encouragement if one finds social action work draining, difficult, intensive, or demanding (Omoto & Malsch, 2005).

Many researchers have found that PSOC and community connectedness can facilitate volunteerism, helping others, or social and political action. PSOC has been linked with higher political and civic participation, activism, prosocial actions, volunteerism, favorable attitudes toward social justice, and stated intentions to engage in public service (Davidson & Cotter, 1989; Hellman, Hoppes, & Ellison, 2006; McAuliff, Williams, & Ferrari, 2013; Omoto & Malsch, 2005; Rosenthal, Feiring, & Lewis, 1998). Interestingly, Rosenthal, Feiring, and Lewis (1998) found that structural variables, such as belonging to organizations that emphasized prosocial actions, were

more important in predicting volunteerism in young adults than dispositional or developmental factors, which had relatively weak relationships to volunteerism. Similarly, Hellman, Hoppes, and Ellison (2006) found that in a sample of 403 students enrolled in a graduate health degree program at a public state university, community connectedness most strongly predicted intention to engage in public service.

Researchers have also found that related constructs, such as social support and community involvement, might also facilitate social justice interest and activism. Research suggests that embeddedness in formal social networks, such as belonging to university student organizations and being recruited by others for activism, impacts interest in activism, social justice, and individual and collective perceived efficacy around social activism (McAuliff et al., 2013; Passy & Giugni, 2001). However, others have found that social support might have a negative relationship with volunteerism duration (Omoto & Snyder, 1995). Although the results of research in this area have been mixed, these findings highlight the importance of examining how one's social and organizational context might impact social activism.

PSOC and University Values and Mission

PSOC might be particularly helpful to facilitate social action in university settings that explicitly endorse social justice values. Individuals who have a strong sense of community might be more likely to endorse organizational values and goals. Often, an institution's purpose, objectives, expectations, and values are exemplified through a university mission statement (Ferrari, Cowman, Milner, Gutierrez, & Drake, 2009). Ferrari et al. (2009) examined the impact of sense of community on one's perceptions of the salience of the university's overall mission-driven activities and goals. Their sample included 901 university faculty and administrative staff. In their study, the mission of the university included values of innovativeness, inclusion and respect for all people, and an emphasis on religious values consistent with the university's Catholic heritage. They found that faculty and staff's sense of community was associated with their perception that the university was engaging in values-driven activities consistent with the university mission.

The university mission statement can be thought of as a values statement. It embodies the ultimate goals, values, and activities that are expected within the setting. It is possible that organizational or collective values, as embodied in the mission statement,

might facilitate social justice work if they include social justice-related values such as emphasis on diversity, service toward others, humanitarian concerns, and a universalistic or pluralistic perspective. A mission statement might serve as an important resource for an individual who holds congruent goals. The goals and values of a university's mission might be more likely to influence those students who have a strong sense of community (McAuliff *et al.*, 2013). Thus, it is expected that a university mission statement that explicitly endorses social justice might also facilitate social action.

The current study examined whether PSOC, the organizational mission of a university setting, and the student's diversity or service-learning coursework were associated with social justice attitudes and social action. First, we hypothesized that students who reported a greater psychological sense of community, who agreed more fully with the university mission, and who had taken more service-learning and multicultural courses would also report more favorable attitudes toward social justice, more perceived control around social justice, more perceived community support around social justice issues, and a stronger intention or commitment to work for social justice in the future. Second, we hypothesized that students who reported a greater psychological sense of community, who agreed more fully with the university mission, and who had taken more service-learning and multicultural courses would also report having engaged in social action and be more likely to report integrating social justice issues into their everyday lives and career choices.

Method

Procedure

All study participants were recruited from a midsize private, secular university (Roosevelt University) in a large Midwestern city. Students were recruited into the study using the psychological research online subject pool website, which provided information about various research study opportunities, including this study, to students enrolled in psychology courses. Students who chose to complete the online study received either extra credit or course credit for their participation. The questionnaire was administered via an online survey link. Students read an implied consent statement and then completed the study questionnaires. Only students (full-time or part-time) attending the university were invited to participate in the survey. Completion of the surveys took approxi-

mately 20 minutes. All the responses were anonymous, with no direct link between an individual's study signup and participation record and the survey itself. All study procedures were reviewed and approved by the university's Institutional Review Board.

Sample

A total of 213 students chose to participate in this study. Of these, 185 (86.9%) indicated that they were full-time students, and 27 (12.7%) were part-time students, with one student not indicating their student status. The ages of the participants ranged from 18 to 55, and the mean age of the entire sample was 23.78 years ($SD = 5.99$). Regarding gender, 187 (87.8%) were female, and 25 (11.7%) were male (with one person not reporting gender). Regarding race/ethnicity, 112 students (52.6%) were Caucasian/European American; 35 (16.4%) were African American; 29 (13.6%) were Latino; 20 (9.4%) were Asian American, Middle Eastern, or South Asian; one (0.5%) was American Indian/Native American; and nine (4.2%) were multiracial (with seven students [3.3%] not indicating their ethnicity). Regarding sexual orientation, 21 (9.9%) students indicated that they identified as either lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, or questioning, and 187 (88.79%) identified as heterosexual (with five students preferring not to answer). Nine individuals (4.2%) identified as having a disability.

Measures

Demographic questionnaire. All participants completed a demographic questionnaire. This questionnaire assessed the students' age, gender, sexual orientation status, disability status, race/ethnicity, religious preference, and student status (full-time or part-time student).

Diversity courses and service-learning courses. As part of the study survey, students were asked, "How many classes have you taken that focus on diversity or multicultural issues?" and "How many service learning or experiential learning courses have you taken?" Responses to each item were entered as separate variables (diversity courses and service-learning courses) in the study analysis.

Social Justice Scale (SJS). The Social Justice Scale (SJS; Torres-Harding *et al.*, 2012) includes 24 items that assess four components of social justice engagement: general attitudes toward social justice, perceived behavioral control for engaging in social justice activities, perceived social norms regarding social justice, and intentions

to engage in social justice work or activism. An example item from the attitudes toward social justice subscale is “I believe it is important to help individuals and groups to pursue their chosen goals in life.” An example item from the perceived behavioral control subscale is “I am certain that if I try, I can have a positive impact on my community.” An example item from the perceived social norms subscale is “Other people around me are supportive of efforts that promote social justice.” An example item from the intentions to engage in social justice work or activism subscale is “In the future, I intend to engage in activities that will promote social justice.” All items were measured on a 7-point Likert-type scale. The subscales on this measure evidenced good internal consistency reliability as measured using Cronbach’s alpha: attitudes, $\alpha = .95$; subjective norms, $\alpha = .82$; perceived behavioral control, $\alpha = .84$; and intentions, $\alpha = .88$ (Torres-Harding et al., 2012).

Collegiate Psychological Sense of Community Scale. The Collegiate Psychological Sense of Community Scale (Lounsbury & DeNeui, 1996) measures psychological sense of community as experienced in a collegiate/university setting. This scale consists of 14 items (for example, “I feel very attached to this college”) answered using a 5-point Likert-type scale. Factor analyses using a principal components method found a single factor of PSOC, and the factor analysis was successfully replicated in a second sample of 98 students. The internal consistency of the scale was very good, as evidenced by high Cronbach’s alpha scores in both original standardization samples: .88 and .90, respectively.

Social activism. The degree of engagement in social justice-related activities was assessed in several ways. First, students were asked, “Are you currently doing anything to work for social justice, either now or in the past six months?” and answered either *yes* or *no*. This single item was entered as the *social activism* variable in the study analyses.

Next, participants were asked to rate the degree to which they engaged in everyday social justice or social activism-related activities. The following were the three items assessing everyday activism: “To what extent do you try to change the way friends, family members, and acquaintances feel about social or community injustices?”; “To what extent do you try to work for social change in your academic or workplace environment?”; and “Have social justice principles influenced your choice of profession/career or your future career plans?” Each item was answered on a 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = *not at all*, 2 = *a little*, 3 = *somewhat*, 4 = *a lot*, 5 = *a*

great deal). The items were combined to create an *everyday activism* variable, as described below in the Preliminary Analysis section.

University mission. Participants were asked about their perceptions of the university mission. The Roosevelt University mission includes statements regarding goals of educating students to be socially conscious citizens and to take on leadership positions in their community and also emphasizes that the mission of the university is “guided by... core values that are grounded in social consciousness and action that create a just society, offer opportunity, and develop individuals” (*Roosevelt University, n.d., para. 5*). The mission statement of the university was reproduced in its entirety, and then students were asked to indicate (1) how familiar they were with the mission statement (10-point Likert-type scale where 1 = *no familiarity* and 10 = *very familiar*); (2) how much they agreed with the mission statement (10-point Likert-type scale where 1 = *no agreement* and 10 = *strongly agree with mission*); and (3) whether the mission statement influenced their initial decision to enroll in the university (10-point Likert-type scale where 1 = *no influence* and 10 = *strongly influenced enrollment decision*). The second question, which assessed how much the student agreed with the university mission, was entered into the study analysis as *agreement with the social justice mission*. Additionally, the question assessing whether social justice influenced their initial decision to enroll in the university was entered as a control variable, *preexisting social justice interest*, in the study analyses.

The Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale—Short Form. The short form of the Social Desirability Scale (*Crowne & Marlowe, 1960*) was used to measure social desirability, the degree to which an individual engages in socially desirable responses. An example item from this scale is “I have never deliberately said something that hurt someone’s feelings.” Fischer and Fick (1993) tested six alternate short forms using structural equation modeling, and this specific short form, X1, evidenced very good internal reliability ($\alpha = .88$) and was highly correlated with the original standard form. This scale included 10 items, answered dichotomously (*yes/no*). Results from this scale were summed to create a *social desirability* variable, which was entered as a control variable in subsequent analyses.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Everyday activism. First, the three questions assessing how much individuals might integrate social justice work into their daily life activities were examined to determine whether these items could be combined into a single variable or scale. It was expected that these items might be associated with each other, since each measures a way that individuals integrate social justice into either their daily life or their work or academic career choices. These items were combined into a single scale in order to help reduce the possibility of Type 1 error in subsequent analyses. The internal reliability was computed using the Cronbach’s alpha test, and the reliability of the three items was found to be very good, $\alpha = .80$. Therefore, these three items were combined in the subsequent analyses and were labeled *everyday activism*.

Table 1. Pearson r Intercorrelation Coefficients for Study Variables

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	10	11	12
1.	Collegiate Sense of Community	1.0										
2.	Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability--Short Form	.18**	1.0									
3.	Did social justice mission influence initial enrollment?	.32***	.06	1.0								
4.	Number social justice and diversity courses taken	.06	.05	.02	1.0							
5.	Number of service-learning courses taken	-.06	-.20**	.02	-.03	1.0						
6.	Agreement with university social justice mission	.36***	.10	.31***	-.10	.07	1.0					
7.	Social justice attitudes	.19**	.07	.12	.03	.12	.49***	1.0				
8.	Social justice perceived behavioral control	.34***	.16*	.10	-.02	.12	.48***	.64***	1.0			
9.	Social justice norms	.09	.03	.14*	-.03	.13	.30***	.42**	.43***			
10.	Social justice intentions	.30**	.11	.17*	.06	.13	.49***	.58***	.64***	.50***	1.0	
11.	Everyday activism	.19**	.11	.40***	.01	.26***	.44***	.30***	.38***	.28***	.47***	1.0
12.	Currently working for social justice?	.08	-.12	.24***	.04	.35***	.22**	.18**	.27***	.29***	.29***	

Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Intercorrelations. Next, correlational coefficients for the items were computed. The correlation matrix can be found in Table 1. These preliminary analyses indicated that PSOC was significantly associated with social justice attitudes, social justice perceived behavioral control, social justice intentions, everyday activism, social desirability, agreement with the social justice mission, and initial decision to enroll because of the social justice mission.

Control variables. The Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Short Form subscale was entered into each of the study analyses in order to control for the potential effects of social desirability in responding. In addition, we included a control variable of whether the participant manifested preexisting social justice interest. This variable was taken from an item assessing the degree to which the university's social justice mission influenced the participant's decision to enroll in the university. We included this as a control variable because we anticipated that if an individual had social justice interest prior to coming to campus, then this individual might be very likely to become socially active regardless of the influence of the other environmental variables. Therefore, this variable was included to control for the effects of participants' preexisting social justice motivation.

Main Analyses

Hypothesis 1: Association between independent variables and social justice-related attitudes. First, five separate linear regression analyses were conducted to test the influence of the independent variables on the four attitudinal social justice variables: social justice attitudes, social justice perceived behavioral control, social justice norms, and social justice intentions. In these analyses, the independent variables were psychological sense of community, agreement with the social justice mission, diversity courses, and service-learning courses taken. Social desirability and preexisting social justice interest were entered as covariates.

Through multiple regression analyses, the impact of the variables on social justice attitudes was found to be significant, $F(6, 206) = 12.08, p < .001, R^2 = .26$. In examining the main effects, only agreeing with the social justice mission was significant related to attitudes, $t(206) = 7.44, p < .001$. Individuals who agreed more strongly with the social justice mission were more likely to have favorable attitudes toward social justice.

The impact of the study variables on social justice norms was also significant, $F(6, 206) = 4.10, p = .001, R^2 = .11$. A significant

main effect was found for agreeing with the social justice mission, $t(206) = 3.87, p < .001$. This means that individuals who agreed more strongly with the social justice mission were more likely to perceive that people around them were supportive of social justice endeavors.

The effect of study variables on social justice perceived behavioral control was found to be statistically significant, $F(6, 205) = 13.90, p < .001, R^2 = .29$. In examining the main effects, service-learning courses ($t[205] = 2.14, p = .03$), psychological sense of community ($t[205] = 3.17, p = .001$), and agreeing with the social justice mission ($t[205] = 6.23, p < .001$) were each uniquely associated with behavioral control. Individuals who reported a strong sense of community, agreed to a greater extent with the social justice mission, and had taken more service-learning courses were more likely to view themselves as capable of engaging in social justice work.

Next, the impact of the variables on social justice intentions was significant, $F(6, 206) = 17.68, p < .001, R^2 = .28$. In these analyses, agreeing with the social justice mission ($t[206] = 6.70, p < .001$); psychological sense of community ($t[206] = 2.10, p = .04$); and service-learning courses ($t[206] = 2.10, p = .04$) were all associated with social justice intentions. Individuals who more strongly believed in the social justice mission, had a stronger sense of community, and took more service-learning courses were more likely to report a stated commitment to engaging in social justice work.

Hypothesis 2. Impact of study variables on social activism.

Next, we ran a multiple regression with psychological sense of community, agreement with the social justice mission, diversity courses taken, and service-learning courses as the independent variables. Everyday activism, the degree to which students reported integrating social justice concerns into their everyday lives and career choices, was entered as the dependent variable. Social desirability and preexisting social justice interest were entered as covariates. These variables had significant effects, $F[6, 206] = 17.65, p < .001; R^2 = .34$. Main effects were found for service-learning courses ($t[206] = 4.38, p < .001$) and agreeing with the social justice mission ($t[206] = 5.38, p < .001$). This meant that individuals who agreed more strongly with the social justice mission and who had taken more service-learning courses were more likely to actively address social justice concerns in their interpersonal relationships, academic studies, and career-related choices.

Next, we conducted an analysis with psychological sense of community, agreement with the social justice mission, social justice/diversity courses taken, and service-learning courses as the independent variables, and self-reported social activism as the dependent variable. Social activism was a dichotomous variable; therefore, a logistic regression analysis was conducted. Social desirability and preexisting social justice interest were entered as covariates. The effects of these variables were found to be statistically significant, $\chi^2(6) = 50.73, p < .000$. In examining the main effects, number of service-learning courses (Wald $\chi^2 [1] = 20.49, p < .000$) and agreeing with the social justice mission (Wald $\chi^2 [1] = 7.00, p = .008$) was significantly related to whether someone was currently engaged in social justice-related work or activism.

Supplementary Analyses

Next, we conducted several post hoc analyses to examine whether agreeing with the social justice mission mediated the relationship between PSOC and the social justice engagement variables. After examining correlation coefficients and the linear regression analyses from the main analyses, we suspected that agreement with the social justice mission might mediate the observed associations between sense of community and the social justice-related variables. To conduct these analyses, guidelines provided by Baron and Kenny (1986) and Frazier, Tix, and Barron (2004) were used. First, the predictor (psychological sense of community) must predict the presumed outcome variable (social justice attitudes and behavioral variables). Second, the predictor variable (psychological sense of community) should have a statistically significant relationship with the presumed mediator (agreeing with the social justice mission). Third, the presumed mediator (agreeing with the social justice mission) must predict the outcome variable (social justice attitudinal and behavioral variables). Finally, the analyses must demonstrate that the relationship between the predictor (psychological sense of community) and outcome (social justice attitudinal and behavioral variables) is nonsignificant/equivalent to zero when the mediator is added to the model (Frazier et al., 2004). As recommended by Frazier et al. (2004), the effects of additional variables were entered as covariates in order to control for their effects within the subsequent models and to isolate the potential mediational effects.

Step 1. First, we tested whether PSOC (the variable psychological sense of community) might predict any of the dependent variables, as suggested by the initial correlational analyses: social justice attitudes, social justice norms, social justice perceived

behavioral control, social justice intentions, everyday activism, and social activism. Six hierarchical regression analyses were conducted to regress these six variables onto PSOC. In these analyses, all covariates (preexisting social justice interest, social desirability, diversity courses, service-learning courses) were entered on Step 1, and PSOC was entered on Step 2. Because social activism is a dichotomous variable, this relationship was tested using a logistic regression analysis rather than a linear multiple regression analysis. We present the results of the omnibus *F*-test, followed by the *t*-test results for each variable. In these analyses, PSOC was significantly associated with social justice attitudes ($F[5, 207] = 2.72, p = .021, R^2 = .062$; PSOC, $t = 2.304, p = .022$). PSOC was also significantly related to perceived behavioral control ($F[5, 206] = 7.42, p < .001, R^2 = .153$; PSOC, $t = 4.775, p < .001$). Finally, PSOC was associated with social justice intentions ($F[5, 207] = 5.951, p < .001, R^2 = .126$; PSOC, $t = 3.813, p < .001$). In these analyses, PSOC was not significantly related to social norms, everyday activism, or social activism. Thus, only social justice attitudes, perceived behavioral control, and social justice intentions were considered in the subsequent analyses.

Step 2. Next, we regressed agreeing with the social justice mission onto PSOC, with the additional variables (preexisting social justice interest, social desirability, social justice coursework, service-learning courses) entered as covariates. The effect of this variable was significant, $F[5, 207] = 9.817, p < .001, R^2 = .192$. PSOC significantly related to agreeing with the social justice mission, $t = 4.317, p < .001$.

Step 3. Finally, for all of the variables with which PSOC had a significant relationship, we reran the analyses with agreeing with the social justice mission entered on a third step. The results are presented in Table 2. The statistical significance change (ΔR^2) for the addition of the final step for each variable was statistically significant, indicating that in each case, the full model accounted for a significant increase in the explained variance.

For social justice attitudes, the standardized beta weight of the PSOC variable decreased so that in the final step, this variable was no longer significant. This suggested that agreeing with the social justice mission was likely mediating the relationship between PSOC and social justice attitudes.

Table 2. Linear Regression Analyses Examining the Conditional Effects of Psychological Sense of Community (PSOC) and Meditational Effect of Social Justice Mission Agreement on the Social Justice Variables

		<u>Social Justice Attitudes</u>				
		<u>B</u>	<u>SE B</u>	<u>β</u>	<u>R²</u>	<u>ΔR²</u>
Step 1.	Covariates				.038	
Step 2.					.062	.024*
	Sense of Community	.020	.009	.167*		
Step 3.					.260	.199***
	Sense of Community	.030	.008	.023		
	Social Justice Mission Agreement	4.17	.056	.496***		
		<u>Social Justice Perceived Behavioral Control</u>				
		<u>B</u>	<u>SE B</u>	<u>β</u>	<u>R²</u>	<u>ΔR²</u>
Step 1.	Covariates				.059	
Step 2.					.153	.094***
	Sense of Community	.037	.008	.329***		
Step 3					.289	.137***
	Sense of Community	.024	.007	.210**		
	Social Justice Mission Agreement	.334	.053	.412***		
		<u>Social Justice Intentions</u>				
		<u>B</u>	<u>SE B</u>	<u>β</u>	<u>R²</u>	<u>ΔR²</u>
Step 1.	Covariates				.046	
Step 2.					.105	.061***
	Sense of Community	.032	.008	.266***		
Step 3.					.261	.157***
	Sense of Community	.107	.008	.139*		
	Social Justice Mission Agreement	.375	.056	.440***		

Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

For social justice perceived behavioral control, the standardized beta weight continued to be statistically significant in the final step, but this value decreased from Step 2 to Step 3. This suggests that agreeing with the social justice mission partially mediated the relationship between sense of community and social justice perceived behavioral control. The social justice agreement variable appeared to explain some of the variance that was initially

accounted for by the PSOC variable, but the PSOC variable continued to exert a unique influence on the social justice perceived behavioral control in the final model.

For social justice intentions, the standardized beta weight continued to be statistically significant, but the value of β decreased substantially. Even though it was statistically significant, the p -value increased to .037 in the final model. This suggests that the agreeing with the social justice mission variable partially and almost completely mediated the relationship between psychological sense of community and social justice intentions. With the addition of this final variable in Step 3, psychological sense of community continued to exert a small influence on the social justice intentions variable. However, given the small size of this remaining effect, the results suggest that agreeing with the mission is likely a full mediator of this relationship.

Discussion

Social justice education strongly emphasizes the importance of critical awareness, and critical awareness is viewed by many social justice theorists and educators as a key process of empowerment and social action (Freire, 1970; Goodman, 2001; Prilleltensky, 2001). Similarly, Goodman (2001) and Prilleltensky (2001) contend that an examination and exploration of values relevant to social justice are key activities when working to promote social justice interest and social action. The results here are consistent with these assumptions. Agreeing with the social justice mission required that the individual develop an awareness of historical and social inequalities and acknowledge that we should work to help marginalized people, a values proposition. Agreement with the social justice mission was most strongly associated (with a medium effect size) with all of the social justice interest and behavioral measures, which suggests that the university can positively influence the development of these values in its students.

The purpose of the current study was to examine the impact of PSOC, agreement with the university social justice mission, diversity-related coursework, and service-learning courses on social justice attitudes and social activism. It appears that PSOC did have an impact on several dimensions of social justice attitudes. However, the results also suggest that PSOC may exert effects on social engagement largely through contributing to one's agreement with the larger university social justice mission. Participants with a stronger sense of community were more likely to endorse the

larger university mission of social justice. Endorsing the university mission, in turn, was related to having favorable social justice attitudes and stated intentions to engage in social activism. This fits with the idea that PSOC can enhance connectedness through shared or common values and that these shared values can serve as important resources for action (McMillan & Chavis, 1986; Nowell & Boyd, 2010). These findings are consistent with those of McAuliff et al. (2013), who also found a relationship between PSOC and social justice attitudes in a sample of students attending a large, urban, faith-based university with a similar social justice mission.

Additionally, PSOC appeared to positively impact one's perceived behavioral control both directly and indirectly through agreement with the university social justice mission. Social justice perceived behavioral control describes the degree to which individuals believe they have the capability to work for social justice and positively impact larger social problems. It is possible PSOC might serve as an important resource because this community connection might positively impact self-efficacy, which is an important outcome for promoting civic engagement (Bringle & Steinberg, 2010). Perhaps feeling connected with others allows individuals to feel more confident in their abilities to engage in social activism.

In this study, the association between PSOC and social justice perceived behavioral control also appeared to be partially mediated by agreement with the social justice mission. This suggests that agreement with the social justice mission, which involves sharing common social justice values, was also important for increasing self-confidence and perceived ability to work for social justice. Thus, sense of community might have a positive impact both by serving as a resource or support for encouraging self-efficacy and by enhancing a sense of shared community values around social justice.

In contrast, PSOC did not display a direct or indirect impact on social justice norms nor on the social activism variables. This suggests that different pathways may exist when explaining social justice attitudes (self-reported interest, attitudes, and commitment toward social justice ideas) and actual behavioral performance of social justice activities or social action. In contrast, prior service-learning and social justice-related training opportunities were important for the performance of social action and activism. Even though service-learning activities vary in terms of the degree to which social justice concerns are integrated into the coursework and student reflection (Cuban & Anderson, 2007), these kinds of

activities may enhance interpersonal skill development across social groups.

The results indicate that intervention and interpersonal skill development may be particularly important for fostering ongoing social action outside the classroom. This connection is consistent with results obtained by Einfeld and Collins (2008) in their qualitative investigation of the perceptions and experiences of AmeriCorps volunteers regarding their own community service. They found that service engagement enhanced participants' understanding of social inequities and systemic inequalities. Additionally, engaging in service enhanced many participants' sense of empowerment and self-efficacy around being able to work for change. The participants also reported enhancement of their multicultural interpersonal skills and increased empathy, patience, attachment, trust, and respect for the individuals with whom they worked.

The results of this study show that service-learning courses may have advantages over diversity-related or more traditional courses. Students may have more opportunities to develop intervention skills and may have more hands-on interactions with individuals from traditionally marginalized groups, as opposed to simply reading about theory or engaging in class discussion or dialogue with peers. Developing more intervention and interpersonal skills within a community context may be key to facilitating commitment to working for social justice in the future as well as confidence in one's ability to work for social justice; further, development of such skills may facilitate their actual behavioral performance outside the classroom.

Study Implications

This study has important implications for educators and university administrators who wish to promote social justice engagement in their students. The current study suggests that emphasizing or promoting a sense of community may enhance students' ability to recognize common, shared values of social justice as important within their university community. Promoting a sense of community may also serve as an important resource for students wishing to engage in social activism, as it may enhance their confidence or self-efficacy around whether they will actually be able to make a difference by engaging in social activism. However, given the importance of agreeing with the mission for predicting student engagement, results of the study suggest that educators and administrators should work to develop a strong university mission

and identity that emphasizes social justice as a shared collective institutional value. Universities might encourage this sharing of institutional values by explicitly posting this information on study websites, by including information about institutional values of service and social learning at student orientations, by developing community service activities that are implemented university-wide or “community service” days, or by encouraging faculty to integrate discussion of shared community or university values in class discussions and coursework. These strategies might all help promote a university climate that is favorable to students’ social justice interests and values.

Additionally, the results indicate that educators should develop and utilize service-learning courses, as this was consistently related to participants’ stated intentions to work for social justice and social activism. Service-learning courses can include action-oriented opportunities for students to gain real-world experience working on behalf of marginalized community members or opportunities to engage in political activism or social activism. This can be accomplished through assignments that require the student to go outside the classroom into community-based organizations that work on behalf of marginalized social groups. Ideally, these opportunities should move beyond “charity” models of helping without consideration of context, to social change models where students reflect on the political and social implications of their work and question existing societal inequities (*Cuban & Anderson, 2007*). Universities can encourage faculty to develop and teach these kinds of courses or may consider requiring a community learning or service-learning requirement in the curriculum. Universities might also develop community–university partnerships in order to facilitate opportunities for student engagement outside the classroom, and might work to develop pedagogical resources to assist with faculty development of such opportunities. Finally, universities might provide spaces and resources for campus activities and student organizations with a social justice focus, such as gay-straight alliances, Students for a Sensible Drug Policy, or student groups working on political issues that directly impact students, such as immigration reform or student loan regulations.

The study results also have important implications for future research in this area. Although much scholarship has focused on the impact of social justice education on social justice attitudes and commitment, relatively few researchers have examined what factors may predict the behavioral manifestations of student activism outside the classroom (*Rhoads, 2009*). This is particularly important

given that activism or social justice work may be difficult or challenging because it requires going against the status quo. Some have noted that physically intense or emotionally difficult work might cause otherwise motivated individuals to drop out from volunteering to help people from marginalized groups (Omoto & Malsch, 2005). Future research should be conducted to understand which specific components of service-learning courses (such as the development of specific intervention skills, direct contact with community members, or the opportunity to engage in self-reflection) might be more influential in promoting a strong commitment to working for social justice.

Additionally, this study examined the potential impact of only one type of university mission statement. Although this mission statement emphasized social justice as a main component, it is unclear whether the students might be responding to the social justice component or other components of the mission statement. Future research should examine what aspects of the mission statement might be most beneficial to the students to facilitate student activism or measure the extent to which students feel that the mission statement is relevant to their own social justice-related skill development.

Limitations

One limitation of this study is that it was confined to one university setting with a specific mission of social justice. Although we attempted to control for other variables that may have also accounted for participants' social justice interest or engagement, such as preexisting social justice motivation, other variables unique to our setting may have accounted for the results. Therefore, generalizability of these results to other settings is unclear. In addition, the study was cross-sectional in nature, so the directionality of effects cannot be assumed. For instance, it is possible that engaging in social activism caused students to become more interested in the social justice mission or caused a student to be more likely to sign up for service-learning courses. Therefore, the validity of these results should be tested in other samples. Ideally, a longitudinal study assessing changes in attitudes and decisions to engage in social action would help determine whether differing levels of community connectedness and support might be more or less influential at different stages of a student's development. Also, use of a single item to measure agreement with the mission may be problematic in that reliability of this measure could not be established. Finally, we have assumed that agreement with the university

social justice mission, which so heavily emphasizes social justice, reflects the degree to which individuals endorse this organizational value. However, such assumed agreement may not reflect participants' actual values. Therefore, these results should be viewed as preliminary and in need of replication in other settings.

Summary

In this study, agreeing with the university's social justice mission, a shared value, were most strongly associated with all of the social justice variables. This confirms the importance of organizational values in facilitating both social justice interest and social action. Additionally, the service-learning and experiential learning experiences were associated with commitment to engage in social justice, social action, and integrating social justice concerns into one's interpersonal and career experiences. This suggests that developing skills in social action and intervention is a critical component of facilitating social justice work. PSOC appeared to exert influence on social justice attitudes, perceived behavioral control, and intentions, but it appeared to do so largely through its ability to enhance one's agreement with the larger university mission of social justice. Additionally, PSOC may positively impact one's self-efficacy around social justice because the social connectedness and feeling of belonging may be an important resource for confidence in one's own intervention abilities. Educators and university administrators who wish to facilitate social justice awareness and action should explicitly emphasize collective goals and institutional values of social justice and action. Institutionalizing service-learning courses and direct skills training experience into educational efforts may also enhance student commitment, confidence, and knowledge of how to effectively engage in social action and social justice work.

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Undergraduates' Perceived Gains and Ideas About Teaching and Learning Science From Participating in Science Education Outreach Programs

Stacey L. Carpenter

Abstract

This study examined what undergraduate students gain and the ideas about science teaching and learning they develop from participating in K-12 science education outreach programs. Eleven undergraduates from seven outreach programs were interviewed individually about their experiences with outreach and what they learned about science teaching and learning. Emergent themes were identified from a content analysis of transcript data. Undergraduates reported career, academic, and personal gains. Undergraduates also recognized that understanding students, the nature of science and scientific practices, active learning, and student interest are important for science teaching and learning. These results were compared across outreach programs to determine how the type of program may affect undergraduate outcomes. This analysis indicated that although there were commonalities in undergraduates' experiences independent of the type of program, program elements that may affect outcomes included corresponding coursework or additional duties and the degree of focus on scientific practices.

Introduction

Increasingly, university science departments are developing partnerships with local K-12 schools to advance mutual goals related to improving science education (James et al., 2006; Tanner, Chatman, & Allen, 2003; Williams, 2002). University and K-12 partnerships not only have the potential to improve K-12 education, but can improve university education as well. According to Tanner et al. (2003), these partnerships have the potential to improve teaching practices at all levels and increase the coherency of science education across the K-12-to-university continuum. The term *partnership* underscores the bidirectional, reciprocal nature of these programs that are formed on common goals and provide learning opportunities for both sides (James et al., 2006; Laursen, Thiry, & Liston, 2012; Williams, 2002).

University partnerships with K-12 schools often take the form of outreach programs. University science outreach programs vary

greatly in duration, content, and format. Outreach programs may, for example, include short- or long-duration after-school programs, classroom interventions, research experiences for teachers, or university excursions for children (Laursen, Liston, Thiry, & Graf, 2007; Moskal & Skokan, 2011; Williams, 2002). Studies have documented positive impacts of outreach on K-12 students and teachers such as increased interest in science for students and improved content knowledge for teachers (Laursen et al., 2007; Williams, 2002). More research is needed not only on the impacts of outreach on K-12 students, but on the learning opportunities for participants on the other side of the partnership—the university participants providing the outreach. This study investigated what undergraduate students gained from participating in K-12 science education outreach programs, the ideas about science teaching and learning they developed, and how the type of outreach program affected these outcomes.

Literature Review

University Outreach Participants

Much of the research on university outreach participants has focused on graduate students, highlighting a need for more research on undergraduate participants. However, the literature on graduate students is useful to establish a baseline understanding of how participating in outreach impacts university student participants. The prevalence of research on graduate students (in comparison to undergraduates) may be due in part to the former NSF Graduate Teaching Fellows in K-12 Education (GK-12) Program that partnered graduate students in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) fields with K-12 classrooms and teachers (Ufnar, Kuner, & Shepherd, 2012). Thus, several studies documented the impacts of participation in GK-12 funded outreach programs on the graduate student fellows. Other studies have examined the impacts on graduate students who participate in outreach programs not affiliated with GK-12. The findings of these latter studies confirm those of the GK-12 studies.

Findings indicate that science education outreach had several positive impacts on graduate student participants. For example, participating in outreach had positive impacts on graduate students' career-related skills such as communication, teamwork, and collaboration (deKoven & Trumbull, 2002; Laursen et al., 2007; Page, Wilhelm, & Regens, 2011; Stamp & O'Brien, 2005). In addition to career

skills, many graduate students also gained a better understanding of career options and clarified their career interests, especially regarding careers in education (Laurson et al., 2007; Laurson et al., 2012; Page et al., 2011).

Across studies, graduate students experienced gains in science content knowledge and improved their science teaching skills (Laurson et al., 2007; Stamp & O'Brien, 2005; Thompson, Collins, Metzgar, Joeston, & Shepherd, 2002). Laurson et al. (2007) described several gains in graduate student teaching skills, such as quickly adapting teaching to different audiences, managing classrooms, and developing individual teaching styles. Moreover, graduate students reported gaining a greater awareness of issues such as culture and learning, diversity and equity, the limited amount of time and resources allocated to science instruction, and the importance of university–K-12 outreach (Laurson et al., 2007; Moskal et al., 2007; Page et al., 2011).

Although the identified benefits of participating in science education outreach are extensive, studies also document negative impacts and obstacles to graduate student participation. Graduate students experienced various professional risks such as loss of standing in their research groups, setbacks in their own research, and lack of support from advisors (Laurson et al., 2007; Laurson et al., 2012; Thompson et al., 2002). The amount of time required by outreach and the difficulty of scheduling outreach activities around their research were considerable barriers to participation (deKoven & Trumbull, 2002).

However, these challenges are specific to the academic demands of graduate students. The benefits and risks of participating in science education outreach may differ for undergraduates. For example, undergraduates do not have the research demands that graduate students have. Undergraduates who participate in science education outreach may face different obstacles and reap different benefits. Consequently, examining the impacts of participating in outreach on undergraduate participants is important. However, research about the impacts of outreach on undergraduate participants specifically is lacking (Rao, Shamah, & Collay, 2007).

From the sparse literature on undergraduates, impacts on science content knowledge and career skills have been identified. Rao et al. (2007) found that undergraduates from three outreach programs learned to integrate scientific information across disciplines, increased their understanding of science concepts, and increased their confidence in sharing scientific knowledge. Undergraduates

also developed transferable professional skills such as communication, leadership, teamwork, and organization (*Grant, Liu, & Gardella, 2015; Gutstein, Smith, & Manahan, 2006; Rao et al., 2007*). Increased exposure and access to faculty and university resources and the opportunities to work with children and undergraduate students from different science disciplines were also cited as positive impacts (*Rao et al., 2007*).

Most of these studies on science education outreach have been evaluations of specific programs rather than systematic studies across multiple programs. However, outreach programs vary, and different types of outreach programs may yield different effects. Possible outcomes of these differences have remained largely unexplored. Determining what elements result in positive and negative outcomes is important for developing programs that maximize benefits and minimize risks for all groups involved.

Experiential Learning and Service-Learning

As shown with graduate students, K-12 science outreach can result in meaningful learning outside the university. This makes sense in light of experiential learning theory and research on service-learning. Experiential learning theory considers the central role of experience in learning (*Kolb, 1984*). From an experiential perspective, learning is viewed as a continuous process in which learners build knowledge, understanding, and skills from direct experiences (*Kolb, 1984; Wissehr, 2014*). Learners participate in authentic situations and actively build understanding by thinking about what they have experienced. What they learn is relevant and useful to their future experiences (*Carver, 1996*).

Science outreach programs can provide undergraduates with the authentic experience of working and interacting with K-12 students. As undergraduates participate in the outreach experience, they can build knowledge, understanding, and skills that are personal and relevant to their futures. More research is needed to better understand outreach as an experiential learning opportunity for science undergraduates. Through such improved understanding, outreach program leaders will be able to maximize the learning opportunities for undergraduates and to recruit more undergraduates into outreach. Undergraduates who are made aware of the learning potential of outreach may be more interested in participating.

Science outreach and service-learning offer similar participation experiences. Service-learning in higher education typically

refers to courses that have a specific service component (*Bringle & Hatcher, 1996*). The outreach programs included in the present study were largely extracurricular service activities, although some did offer course credit or had associated coursework. However, the literature on service-learning, particularly in teacher education, is useful in informing this study.

Increasingly, teacher education programs are including service-learning courses to provide preservice teachers with alternative field experiences, particularly experiences of working with diverse students (*Brannon, 2013; Cone, 2012; Vavasaur, Hebert, & Naquin, 2013; Wallace, 2013*). Service-learning provides meaningful opportunities for preservice teachers to interact with K-12 students outside typical classroom situations. Several studies have shown that by participating in service-learning, preservice teachers can develop their knowledge of teaching and learning. For example, *Wallace (2013)* investigated the outcomes of including service-learning and action research in a course for preservice science teachers and found that the preservice teachers increased their knowledge about children as diverse learners and the importance of children's prior knowledge. Similarly, *Harlow (2012)* found that preservice elementary teachers developed their understanding of children's science ideas by facilitating family science night activities.

As with preservice teachers participating in service-learning, when undergraduates interact with K-12 students and teachers through outreach, they are likely formulating ideas about how students learn science and how to best teach science. However, the ideas that undergraduates develop about science teaching and learning from participating in outreach have not been studied.

To address the gaps in the literature, three research questions guided this project: (1) What do undergraduates report gaining from participating in science education outreach programs? (2) What ideas about science teaching and learning do undergraduates develop from participating in such programs? (3) How does the type of outreach program affect undergraduate outcomes?

Study Design

Data were collected from open-ended interviews of undergraduate science students involved in science education outreach. This approach was taken because the goal of the study was to understand the undergraduates' own perspectives on what they gained from outreach. According to *Brenner (2006)*, qualitative interviews attempt to "understand informants on their own terms" (*p. 357*) and

the meaning they make out of their experiences. The interviews were designed to elicit the informants' perceptions of their experiences with outreach and what they learned about science teaching and learning from those experiences.

Table 1. Summary of Informant Data

Pseudonym	Outreach program(s)	Year at university	Major	Approx. amount of time participating (Hours)
Lana	Chemistry Outreach	4th (graduating)	Chemistry	>100
Larry	Chemistry Outreach	1st	Microbiology	10-50
Javan	Chemistry Outreach	4th (not graduating)	Chemistry	10-50
Beth	Let's Do Science	4th (graduating)	Biochemistry	>100
Saraf	Let's Do Science	4th (not graduating)	Biochemistry	10-50
Janelle	Physics Is Fun	1st	Biology	<10
Wilson	Physics is Fun	2nd	Pharmacology	<10
Susan	Materials research Outreach	4th (graduating)	Chemistry	<10
Andy	Materials Research Outreach/Family Science Night	4th (not graduating)	Chemistry	10-50 (MRO) 10-50 (FSN)
Amanda	Nature for Kids	3rd	Environmental Studies	>100
Cameron	Marine Research and Education Program	4th (graduating)	Aquatic Biology	>100

Informants

Participants included undergraduates who participated in science outreach programs at a large research-intensive university in California. The university has approximately 40 STEM outreach programs that serve local K-14 students, teachers, and community members. These outreach programs are housed in various science departments across campus and operate largely in isolation from each other. For this study, I contacted only outreach programs that provided opportunities for undergraduates to work with K-12 students. I sent a recruitment e-mail through program electronic mailing lists or by contacting program coordinators. Eleven respondents from seven outreach programs volunteered for this study. Informants represented a variety of majors, outreach pro-

grams, amounts of time involved with outreach, and number of years at the university. Three undergraduates were enrolled in a science and mathematics education minor—a minor for students who are interested in becoming mathematics and science teachers. See Table 1 for a summary of informant data. Human subjects approval was obtained from the university's institutional review board.

Study Context

University and surrounding community. As mentioned, the outreach programs were housed at the research-intensive university where the undergraduates were students. The university is located in an urbanized area with a large Hispanic population. The university is recognized as a Hispanic-Serving Institution by the Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities. The main school district of the surrounding community is a high-need school district serving a student body that is approximately 35% English language learners and 60% socioeconomically disadvantaged.

Table 2. Outreach Program Descriptions

Outreach program (Pseudonym)	Description of outreach program	Grade levels served
Chemistry Outreach	Stations of chemistry demonstrations in a laboratory on the university campus	5th
Family Science Night (FSN)	Science demonstrations and activities presented in 30-minute sessions at school and community science events	Middle School
Let's Do Science	Inquiry-based modules in elementary school classrooms where elementary students design their own experiments	2nd, 5th
Marine Research and Education Program (MREP)	Hands-on marine science education consisting of tours of a research and educational facility on the university campus with touch tanks and outdoor components	K-12
Materials Research Outreach (MRO)	Materials research activities in middle school classrooms and demonstrations in booths at community science events	Middle School
Nature for Kids (NFK)	Long-duration outdoor environmental education for 5th graders	5th
Physics Is Fun	Physics demonstrations at large school assemblies and booths at school science events	Elementary and Middle School

Chemistry Outreach. In this program, classes of fifth-grade students take a field trip to the local research university, where they rotate through a series of stations with hands-on activities, demonstrations, and discussion of basic chemistry concepts. The undergraduate volunteers work in pairs or small groups to lead the stations. The undergraduates perform demonstrations, lead the activities, and ask and answer questions with small groups of students. The program occurs approximately once a week, serving 25–30 fifth graders each week. More experienced volunteers can become group leaders for a station.

Family Science Night. In this program, undergraduate and graduate student volunteers present 30-minute science activities at various school and community science events (e.g., school science fairs). Volunteers present the activities to small groups of students and families who rotate through the activities.

Let's Do Science. Let's Do Science presents inquiry-based modules that focus on learning the scientific process in local elementary school classrooms. Undergraduate and graduate student volunteers work with small groups of children to help them develop their own experiments. Volunteers participate in approximately five to seven 1-hour sessions per module. Undergraduates are able to receive course credits for participation. Experienced volunteers can become classroom leaders who present to the whole classroom and organize other volunteers.

Marine Research and Education Program. Undergraduates lead tours and hands-on activities at an aquarium facility on the university campus. The program serves all grade levels. Undergraduates begin as unpaid volunteers and work up to paid positions. Unpaid volunteers assist more experienced participants with tours and maintaining aquaria. Paid participants' duties include leading tours, developing content for tours, coordinating tours, and being in charge of specific aquaria.

Materials Research Outreach. In this program, undergraduate volunteers and university faculty travel to local middle school classrooms to lead students in hands-on activities. Middle school students build and test their own toy solar cars and/or build buckyball models. The program also provides interactive booths at community science events where volunteers interact with children and adults.

Nature for Kids. Undergraduates lead environmental science activities for fifth-grade students on field trips to various native habitats. Undergraduates take a corresponding course associated

with a science and mathematics education minor. Undergraduates can return to the program as interns to assist less experienced undergraduates in addition to working with the children. The program serves three fifth-grade classes continuously throughout the school year.

Physics Is Fun. This program brings undergraduate and graduate student volunteers to local schools to perform physics demonstrations for large audiences (e.g., school assemblies). The program also brings interactive booths to local science events where volunteers perform demonstrations for smaller groups. Volunteers are able to receive course credits.

Data Collection

A semistructured interview protocol was developed so that the questions were consistent among informants but flexible enough to adapt for each informant and as each interview progressed. According to Brenner (2006), a semistructured protocol involves “asking all informants the same core questions with the freedom to ask follow-up questions that build on the responses received” (p. 362). The protocol was designed using a funnel approach, asking general questions about the outreach program first to establish context and then progressing to more specific questions (Brenner, 2006; Spradley, 1979; Werner & Schoepfle, 1987). Potentially sensitive or evaluative questions about the program were asked last, after rapport had been established (Patton, 1990; Werner & Schoepfle, 1987). The resulting protocol had three sections: questions about the program, questions about what the informant gained from the program, and questions about the informant’s thoughts on the program. Direct prefatory statements were used to introduce each section to the informant (Patton, 1990).

Each informant was interviewed once individually, and interviews lasted for 30 to 60 minutes. The interviews took place in a graduate student research office at the university. This location was convenient, private, and quiet. Each interview was audio recorded, and extensive notes were taken throughout the interviews. All audio recordings were transcribed verbatim, but aspects of conversation such as pauses, overlaps, and intonation were deemed unimportant for transcription (Kvale, 2009; Mishler, 1986; Poland, 2002).

Data Analysis

A content analysis approach was used to analyze the transcript data. Content analysis focuses on meaning-based patterns

in the data and can be quantitative, qualitative, or both (Huckin, 2004). As Mostyn (1985) described, the purpose of content analysis is to understand both the manifest and latent meaning of the response within the respondent's frame of reference. According to Huckin (2004), in a conceptual content analysis, concepts are selected (either deductively or inductively), coded, and counted. The researcher then tries to identify patterns and reasons for such patterns while keeping the context in mind.

To organize the coding process, a coding scheme was developed with the following types of codes: attribute codes, structural codes, and descriptive codes. According to Saldana (2009), attribute codes relate to specific characteristics such as demographic information. Attribute codes were used to identify basic information about each outreach program and demographic information for each informant. For the outreach programs, transcripts were coded for descriptions of the outreach program, number and level of K-12 students the program served, and incentives given to participants. For each informant, transcripts were also coded for demographic information including major, year at the university, role in the outreach program, enrollment in science and mathematics minor, and time spent participating in the outreach program. The attribute codes were used to provide context for discussing the programs and informants, and for addressing Research Question 3.

Structural codes are content-based words or short phrases that relate to the research questions (Saldana, 2009). Structural codes relating to Research Questions 1 and 2 were developed (see Table 3). The structural codes were determined a priori as a way to organize the inductive descriptive codes.

Table 3. Research Questions and Descriptions of Structural Codes

Research Question	Structural code	Description of code
What do undergraduates report gaining from participating in science education outreach programs?	Gains	Instances where informant was directly discussing gains from participating in the programs or indirectly discussing benefits, improvements in skills or understandings
What ideas about science teaching and learning do undergraduates develop from participating in such programs?	Ideas— Teach/Learn	Informants describe or discuss ideas relating to teaching or learning science that they developed from outreach

Descriptive codes are words or short phrases that describe the topic of the text segment (Saldana, 2009). As a text segment was assigned a structural code, a descriptive code was also assigned to the segment to describe the topic of the segment. The descriptive codes were determined inductively (data-driven) and refined through successive rounds of coding (Huckin, 2004; Kvale, 2009). After the first complete round of coding, the descriptive codes were organized (separated) by structural code and reviewed for similarity and frequency. These first descriptive codes were collapsed into fewer, more discrete codes. Codes that were similar were combined, and infrequently occurring codes were eliminated. The data were recoded using the new set of descriptive codes. Themes were determined from clusters of related descriptive codes and given categorical names (see Tables 4 and 5).

Findings

Research Question 1: What Do Undergraduates Report Gaining From Participating in Science Education Outreach Programs?

The emergent themes related to gains were career gains, academic gains, and personal gains. The number of undergraduates who discussed each code subject and relevant examples are provided in Table 4. Descriptions of the codes describe what informants discussed. Each theme is discussed below.

Table 4. Themes and Codes Related to Participant Gains

Themes/Codes	Description	n	Example Quotes
Theme 1: Career Gains			
Career—options	Outreach shows options for careers or refines/clarifies/changes ideas about a certain career path; includes careers in education	4	"You can kind of learn whether you do like teaching... and whether that's really the path you want."
Career—development	Networking, resume enhancement, professional growth; describe experience as useful for career advancement	7	"I believe this is what got me into the teacher ed[ucation] program."

Career—skills	Improved career-related skills such as communication and management skills; transferability of skills	7	“I’ve gained communication skills, presentation skills.”
Explain science concepts	Improved abilities to explain science concepts to general audiences	5	“It’s been really helpful to learn how to explain science concepts on a really basic level.”

Theme 2: Academic Gains

Faculty	Unique opportunity to work with university faculty	4	“I think it’s nice to have that setting with a graduate student and a professor... [it’s] a learning experience.”
Interest—outreach	Interest in participating in more outreach or other outreach programs	6	“Science outreach is something that I really would like to do, incorporate somehow in my future.”
Reflect—own learning	Reflect on own learning or education in relation to outreach experience	5	“Talking a lot about education has given me a lot of new opinions on how fortunate I was to have the background in science that I had growing up.”
Understand—education	Increased understanding of education, educational system, discipline of teaching, working with kids	7	“I think my understanding of education has changed more than anything.”
Science content knowledge	Increased science content knowledge and understanding of the nature of science	10	“I gained a better concept of angular momentum.”

Theme 3: Personal Gains

Break	Legitimate break from schoolwork; exposure to different age groups and populations	5	“Seriously, it is a nice break in the day, makes me forget about quantum mechanics and other things that don’t need to be thought of.”
Fun	Experience fun or enjoyable	8	“It was a lot of fun.”
Rewarding	Experience rewarding; sense of giving back	8	“It’s rewarding knowing you’re making a difference and you’re actually helping people out.”

Note. *n* = Number of participants who discussed code topic.

Career gains. Undergraduates reported gains related to career development. Four undergraduates found that outreach helped them learn about career options and refine their ideas about careers in education. For example, Cameron, who had been accepted into a postgraduate teacher education program, strengthened his interest in becoming a secondary science teacher. He joined the Marine Research and Education Program (MREP) because it “was like bridging the two gaps between research and education,” and “as I developed more into leading the tours and stuff, I really, really enjoyed it... that’s really what got me into teaching.”

Seven undergraduates also found outreach to be useful for networking, resume enhancement, or advancement on a career path. Susan, a senior who was accepted to graduate school, felt that outreach “looks really good if you want to go to grad school, like to put that on your resume.” Saraf thought networking was “obviously the most beneficial thing to me, and that’s why I joined [outreach].” Janelle felt her experience in outreach would be beneficial for her career path: “Now I feel more comfortable about the role I would play as a doctor, like I guess I could see myself as a doctor as teaching people instead of just like advising people.”

Finally, seven undergraduates reported gains in career-related skills such as public speaking, general communication, responsibility, and management. When asked about skills she developed from outreach, Beth reported, “Let’s Do Science gives you the opportunity to lead, which I think is a great skill... it gives you organizational skills, people skills, both adult and children... but I would say leadership is the biggest, being a Let’s Do Science lead is a lot of responsibility.” Performing physics demonstrations in front of large school assemblies in outreach helped another student, Wilson, with public speaking and helped lower his fear of speaking in front of large groups.

Undergraduates also noted the transferability of skills learned in outreach. For example, Javan reported:

I won’t be nervous about taking on a leadership role, I think that’s really important, or even if I’m just working with colleagues, the idea of communication and explanation of certain concepts... and seeing different viewpoints... maybe when I’m working with a lab partner or something, maybe... taking a back seat and seeing what they know and then putting together with what I know... what you can take from it is really just dealing with how other people view things, communicating,

and then be able to collaborate and orchestrate like a team... that's pretty pervasive in any aspect or job.

Javan felt that the leadership, communication, and collaboration skills he learned in outreach would be useful in his undergraduate classes and future jobs.

In addition to general communication skills, five undergraduates found that outreach increased their science communication skills, including improved abilities to explain scientific concepts to general audiences. For example, Lana thought that outreach made her a better science communicator and felt "that's a really valuable skill for a scientist to have, and I don't think many scientists appreciate how important communication can be." When asked about skills he improved, Andy replied:

Relating the science at all levels... I definitely got better at that, and quickly I realized how hard that was, and how not good, well, my lack of experience in that, I realized that very fast. Probably the first two events I was like, "Wow, I really need to be able to explain this to a little kid and then quickly to an adult."

In the Family Science Night outreach program, Andy gained experience explaining science concepts to children as well as adults. This improved his ability to communicate scientific concepts to different audiences.

Academic gains. Undergraduates also reported gains related to their academic lives. Four undergraduates indicated that outreach allowed unique opportunities to work with university faculty. Amanda described the opportunity she had:

[The professor who leads the outreach program] has really been opening a lot of doors for me and that's really been awesome, because not a lot of people talk to their professors and really know them and have a relationship with them... I really have that access to those people which is huge in professional and educational growth.

However, not all undergraduates reported opportunities to work directly with the university faculty who run outreach programs. As Wilson described, "There's a person in charge... he's my physics professor but I've never seen him at an event."

Five undergraduates reflected on their own learning and undergraduate experience based on their outreach participation. For example, from her experience teaching fifth graders in Chemistry Outreach, Lana realized:

If you put in the time and... you have teachers that support you and are willing to work with your learning methods, like really anyone can learn science, it just might take some people longer than others. That's been really helpful, kind of in my approach to work and to school science classes just because if I get stuck like I don't think, "Oh, I'm not smart enough to finish this." I just think, "Well, I haven't thought about this in the right way or I should try and get someone else to explain this to me and maybe it'll click using the words they're using." And not really approaching it with the mindset of like, "I'm just never going to get this or I'm never going to understand it."

Lana's ideas about learning that she developed in outreach helped prevent her from getting discouraged in her own learning.

Six undergraduates expressed interest in doing more university outreach, including two graduating participants who said they wanted to be involved in outreach during graduate school. Susan said, "I'll really want to join a group [in graduate school] who does some form of their own outreach." Although not specific to science outreach, for Wilson, outreach made him want "to do a lot more volunteer stuff."

Seven undergraduates reported that participating in outreach improved their understanding of the K-12 education system. Andy said that he "got to know more about the school system... because you're out there at the school and you meet teachers and stuff." He was able to see what classroom teachers "were focusing on" in terms of science content. Lana became aware of disparities in education because of the variety of schools served by Chemistry Outreach. She explained further:

We see private schools, we see schools from wealthy areas, we see schools from disadvantaged areas, we see schools where all the kids are White, schools where all the kids are Hispanic, and it's so evident when some classrooms just haven't had the same resources as others.

The undergraduates gained a better understanding of factors affecting K-12 teaching, such as standards, curriculum, and diversity issues.

In addition to gains related to their overall academic experience, 10 undergraduates discussed improvements in their science content knowledge. For some undergraduates, outreach helped them better understand what they were learning in their undergraduate courses. Larry reported:

I'm learning about a lot of stuff [in class] that's also done in the [outreach] program and a lot of our example experiments or whatever, they're actually performed by our professors in lecture. So they actually reflect stuff that I'm learning about. And I guess it kind of helps to see it, especially if you're performing it, you get a lot better understanding of what you're doing than if somebody else is doing it.

For others, working in outreach helped refresh and improve their knowledge of basic concepts. For example, Amanda said, "I used to think that I was pretty knowledgeable in basic science, but I found out pretty quickly that I had lost a lot of that basic science content." She also found that by "teaching these kids so much basic science content, I'm starting to draw connections between things."

Furthermore, three of those undergraduates felt that outreach increased their interest in science (and desire to remain a science major). As Lana said, "I think I just gained more enthusiasm for science or at least like retained it, I think it's really easy to get burnt out as a science major in college." After describing a time when she felt particularly burnt out, Lana said that "being able to stay passionate about science just using outreach as an outlet was incredibly important at that time."

Personal gains. Participating in outreach also led to personal gains for the undergraduates. Eight undergraduates reflected on how much they enjoyed working with outreach. They felt their experiences were fun. Undergraduates made statements such as "I can't explain how fun it's been," "It's just really fun for me," and "This is actually pretty fun and I just continued doing it whenever I had free time." Some undergraduates found doing science demonstrations and activities to be enjoyable. For example, Javan described:

The experiments are really cool.... I know the chemistry behind every single experiment, but some of them, they're just so cool. Like who doesn't want to ignite a methane bubble and see a big fire, like they're just exciting and the fact that you're the instructor and you actually get to be the one handling it... you get to be the one doing it, that's like ten times more fun.

As Saraf said, "I'm a little kid at heart, I think [that's] why I like Let's Do Science so much... I just want to play, I just want to have fun."

Furthermore, eight undergraduates reflected on the rewarding nature of outreach. Larry remembered being on the other side of similar types of programs when he was younger. As he explained why he joined outreach, he said, "I felt kind of bad not giving back and giving the same opportunity for others that I had." He further said, "It's rewarding knowing you're making a difference and you're actually helping people out." Wilson found that "knowing that there are actually a couple kids that really, really, really enjoyed it, like it actually kind of made an impact on them, that's one of the best feelings in the world."

Undergraduates also reported that outreach was a nice break from their studies. Beth described outreach as "a great break from school... it's just a nice break in the day where you don't have to be writing a paper or studying for a midterm." Lana said, "It's really nice... especially in the middle of kind of your harder years as a chemistry major where you're overwhelmed with physics and math and [organic] chem[istry]... it was really nice to kind of take a break." Outreach also provided them with an opportunity to interact with different age groups and populations. For Susan, outreach was an opportunity to work with "a more diverse populace" because, as she described, "in college you're in this bubble with your peers... like who you live with, who you eat with... just surrounded by 18- to 23-year-olds almost all the time." Outreach provided her with the opportunity to work with children and adults outside her normal age demographic.

Research Question 2: What Ideas About Science Teaching and Learning Do Undergraduates Develop From Participating in Outreach Programs?

The four themes that emerged related to undergraduates' ideas about teaching and learning science were understanding students,

the nature of science and scientific practices, active learning, and student interest. The number of undergraduates who discussed each code subject and relevant examples are provided in Table 5. Each theme is discussed below.

Table 5. Themes and Codes Related to Undergraduates' Ideas About Teaching and Learning Science

Themes/Codes	Description	<i>n</i>	Example quotes
Theme 1: Understanding Students			
Levels—assess	Assess, determine, gauge students' level (of understanding) from where they're starting	7	"You have to know where your students are starting from before you can even convey any information."
Adapt	Adapt or adjust, tailor explanations/teaching to students' level of understanding	7	"When people don't get it the first time, just like trying to come up with a new way to look at it and motivate them to keep trying."
Students differ	Understand when teaching that students are different, differ in levels of understanding, background, context (even at same grade level)	8	"Some of the kids are more visual, some of them are more hands-on."
Theme 2: Scientific Practices/Nature of Science			
Science practices	Importance of teaching or including inquiry, experiments, scientific thinking, science process/methods in teaching; students learn better by doing science (science practices)	5	"I think that one's really effective because not only are they seeing what's going on... they're also experiencing the scientific method."
About science/science unique	Importance of teaching about science as a discipline, including addressing perceptions of science & scientists; learning science is different than learning other subjects	4	"Science really is not this thing where it's just White guys in lab coats."
Theme 3: Active Learning			
Hands-on	Students learn better by doing activities/hands-on work; important to include hands-on activities in teaching	7	"You get to play with the cool thing, and then after doing that for ten minutes you have a better understanding... you can recall those memories from when you were playing around with something physically."

Demo	Demonstrations of scientific phenomena concepts are effective for teaching and learning	7	"Show a quick demonstration on how it actually works."
Student participation	Important that students participate, are involved with lesson (e.g., asking questions, making predictions); interactive	8	"I used to think that teaching was more like, 'Oh let me stand here and tell you about it' instead of really having them really interactive with the guide [instructor]."
Theme 4: Student Interest			
Engage/excited	Important to get students' attention, make them curious, interested; for students' attention, make them curious, interested; for students to learn, important that students are excited/interested	8	"I think they definitely learn it better if you make it interesting."

Note. *n* = Number of participants who discussed code topic.

Understanding students. Through participating in outreach programs, the undergraduates realized the necessity of understanding the K-12 students' prior knowledge and how to adapt their teaching to meet students' prior knowledge and needs. They also recognized that students learn differently and come from many different contexts.

While working with K-12 students in outreach, undergraduates found that they needed to choose appropriate explanations for the level of their students. For example, Wilson acknowledged that "working with kids kind of helps me to understand them a little bit better, so I can kind of gauge how intricate or what level of an explanation I can give them and they'll still understand it." Likewise, Janelle said, "I can understand now why teaching is so hard because there's such a broad range of understandings in one subject; you have to tailor your explanations to fit everyone's needs." Wilson, Janelle, and others recognized that they needed to choose their explanations based on student levels of understanding.

Undergraduates also spoke of the need to first assess what students already know about a concept to determine the appropriate level of explanation. Javan realized that "you have to know where your students are starting from before you can even convey any information." Similarly, Lana noted that when she first started Chemistry Outreach, she felt frustrated that students did not seem

to know “basic concepts that they were kind of expected to know,” but for her, “now it’s kind of more my attitude to just try and assess where the students are at as early as possible and teach them as much as I can.”

In accordance with determining students’ current levels of knowledge, undergraduates also found they often needed to adapt their explanations or teaching strategies. Javan described how he had to adapt during his outreach experience:

I feel you really have to think about how they’re seeing things and that’s the most difficult part, I kind of found that out the hard way because in the beginning, the overseeing professor kept telling me that I’m explaining things too difficult, like I’m going way over their heads, I think it’s because I’m explaining things the way I know them now but not how I knew them in fifth grade. I think that one thing is really taking a step back and seeing how your students are going to look at you and you have to be able to take that view and be able to alter your explanation so it’s understandable by them.

Undergraduates, like Javan, learned how to change their instruction so the K-12 students could better understand their explanations.

Eight undergraduates discussed the importance of understanding how students differ. Several of these undergraduates thought that students learn differently and witnessed different types of learners during their outreach experiences. Susan explained:

[I] just kind of realized that there’s a diversity of learning types... I mean I’ve heard that before and so I recognized it maybe in myself some, but just having, witnessing a whole class of students trying to build something you really see the diversity, it’s not just something they say, it’s really true.

Susan observed the different ways middle school students approached a building task and developed the idea that students differ in how they work and learn.

Furthermore, the undergraduates recognized the need to consider students’ backgrounds and differences when teaching. For example, Cameron said:

You have to understand the context that the kids are in.... So knowing where they come from as well, so if they're more inland, you know they won't have that much familiarity with the beach, so just knowing those kinds of things, where they come from, how far they come from, those are really, really important things to know.

Susan experienced how students bring their unique backgrounds and interests into their learning. She described, "At the end of the solar car workshop they're asking ways to improve the car and some kid said some term... some like injection thing that they have on race cars or something... that's just like kids bring their own knowledge to it."

Scientific practices/nature of science. Undergraduates discussed the importance of teaching inquiry, scientific thinking, and scientific processes or methods. Undergraduates felt that students learn better by "doing science" or by participating in scientific practices. They also discussed the importance of teaching about science as a discipline to address misconceptions about science and scientists, and that learning science is unique because of the nature of science.

Four undergraduates noticed that aspects of their outreach programs that allowed K-12 students to engage in scientific practices were particularly effective. For example, in describing an effective station from her outreach program, Amanda said:

We ask them to make a hypothesis about where these beach hoppers [insects] live, and they each have to write down a hypothesis and then we do a full experiment and we try to catch the beach hoppers and they love it, they're pulling up the rack and they're counting the beach hoppers in the sand and it's, I think that one's really effective because they're like, not only are they seeing what's going on and they're learning about it, but they're also experiencing the scientific method.

She found that having the fifth graders participate in scientific practices such as making hypotheses and collecting data added to their overall learning experience. Lana stressed the importance and value of teaching scientific thinking skills, which are useful beyond science. She explained, "Teaching them the scientific method and

how to approach problems like scientists is going to be a valuable skill no matter what kids want to do.”

Undergraduates also emphasized the importance of addressing student misconceptions about scientists and science as a discipline. For example, Cameron explained how the MREP outreach program addresses these misconceptions:

Well, one thing for me is that science is not a standalone subject. It is like so mixed in with every other subject that you can think, and a lot of the misconceptions that students come in with, like it's the really unobtainable concept-based subject that you can't really get into, when really what we try to do is to show them that science really is not this thing where it's just White guys in lab coats, so it's everything from things with engineering and biology and that kind of stuff. So it's not just something that is science in a lab, it's everything out there.

Cameron hoped that students participating in the outreach program would recognize that science was all around them and that anyone could be a scientist.

Undergraduates also described the uniqueness of science as a discipline and as an academic subject. Javan commented on the unique characteristics of science and science education: “I don't think that there's any other subject that particularly incorporates that idea of curiosity and inquiry as the forefront of how you learn, so I think that's what's characteristic of science education.” Saraf also commented that the empirical nature of science separates it from other disciplines and thus affects how to teach science. He felt that the nature of the Let's Do Science outreach program “reinforces the fact that it [science] is a process and it shows that it's different than any other type of learning.”

Active learning. In addition to thinking that engaging in the practices of science is important for learning science, undergraduates also frequently discussed the importance of active learning in general. They felt that students learn better by performing hands-on activities, watching and interacting with teacher demonstrations of scientific phenomena, and actively participating in more lecture-style lessons.

Seven undergraduates cited the effectiveness of student participation in “hands-on” activities—activities such as building solar cars, collecting organisms outdoors, or dissecting fruits. Janelle

noted, "Kids really love hands-on things, like if they can touch it, if they can see, if they can smell it, and be like 'Eww, it's so gross,' they love it." She further commented, "We're very touchy beings, but it's kind of interesting as we grow older we learn not to be as hands-on about things, like that's kind of a strange education system."

Furthermore, Amanda compared the effectiveness of an active hands-on station to a less active, "hands-off" station in Nature for Kids:

One of their [fifth graders'] favorite, favorite stations is the invertebrate station, and we, what we do at that station is we literally give them nets and give them a little bucket and say go find stuff in the creek, and they go crazy, they're so excited and they're scooping up all these things, they want to know what they've caught... I literally don't think I've had one student that didn't like doing that.... Then an example that definitely wasn't as effective, we had a plant adaptation station and all it was was a blue tarp on the ground and they would sit on it and we would show them different plants, and they just did not absorb it at all.

After comparing the fifth graders' reactions to the hands-on and hands-off stations, Amanda felt that they were more enthusiastic about the hands-on station and did not retain as much information from the hands-off station.

Seven undergraduates indicated that demonstrations of scientific phenomena were important for student learning and getting students' attention. For example, Susan explained,

Demos and stuff really get kids involved; I think that's a better way to do it. Because like, when you're just talking at the beginning, maybe not everyone's paying attention, then if you do a cool demo you get their attention and they're more interested in it.

Wilson commented that "it's always a good idea to show what you're doing, like you can't just explain it to them."

Besides being actively involved with hands-on activities and demonstrations, eight undergraduates discussed the importance of interactive lessons where students participate by asking and answering questions, making predictions, and deducing concepts on their own. For example, Cameron described how MREP encour-

ages student participation through questioning: “So what we try to do is we’re really into questioning, so we don’t just lecture... as the tour goes on, all of the stuff that we’re teaching, we’re teaching it through questions.” Lana explained how she encouraged student participation in Chemistry Outreach by “asking the kids to yell out kind of the key points of the stations.” In the same outreach program, Javan tried to get students to make predictions. Wilson also described how they have students make predictions and involve students in demonstrations in Physics Is Fun.

Student interest. The undergraduates also noted that K-12 student interest is important for learning science. From a learning perspective, undergraduates thought that K-12 students needed to be excited about or interested in what they are learning. According to Saraf, “When they’re excited, that’s when the learning happens.” Similarly, from a teaching perspective, undergraduates thought that engaging students (stimulating their curiosity, getting them interested in the subject matter) was an effective teaching strategy. Javan explained, “The more curious they are, the more willing they are to learn and the better they’re going to learn from me.” Larry described how a teacher’s excitement can foster student excitement: “I think it’s like if you yourself get excited about what you’re teaching, that’ll get them also focused... and then the students kind of like tune in on it and they get excited about it too.”

One way the undergraduates piqued the K-12 students’ interest was by relating concepts to “real life.” Seven undergraduates discussed the effectiveness of relating material to the K-12 students’ lives for both teaching and learning. From her outreach experience, Beth learned that “kids stick to something that they can relate to and something that they can own and that they come up with themselves.” Undergraduates also felt that analogies and metaphors were useful for explaining concepts. Javan said, “Analogies work really well, I’ve gotten a lot better with creating analogies, it’s kind of the easiest way to explain anything actually.”

Table 6. Number of Undergraduates From Each Outreach Program Who Discussed Each Code Topic Related to Reported Gains (RQ 1)

	Theme 1 Codes			Theme 2 Codes				Theme 3 codes			Theme 4 codes		
	Career—options	Career—development	Career—skills	Faculty	Interest—outreach	Reflect—own learning	Understand—education	Content	Explain science concepts	Break	Fun	Rewarding	
Outreach Program (Pseudonym)													
Chemistry Outreach (N=3)	1	1	3	1	1	1	2	3	1	1	3	3	
Let's Do Science (N=2)	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	3	1	1	3	3	
Marine Research and Education Program (MREP; N=1)	1	1	1				1	1					
Materials Research Outreach (N=1)	1	1			1			1	1	1	1	1	
Nature for Kids (N=1)	1	1		1	1	1	1	1			1	1	
Physics Is Fun (N=2)	1	1	1		1	2	1	2	1	1	2	1	
Family Science Night == MRO (N=1)	1	1	1		1		1	1				1	

Table 7. Number of Undergraduates From Each Outreach Program Who Discussed Each Code Topic related to Ideas About Teaching and Learning (RQ 2)

Outreach Program (Pseudonym)	Theme 1 Codes			Theme 2 Codes			Theme 3 Codes			Theme 4 Codes	
	Levels— assess	Adapt	Students differ	Science Practices	About Science/sci- ence unique	Hands-on	Demo	Student participa- tion	Engage/ excited	Relate	
Chemistry Outreach (N=3)	3	3	1	2	2	2	1	2	3	2	
Let's Do Science (N=2)			1	2	1	2	1	1	1	2	
Marine Research and Education Program (MREP; N=1)	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	2	
Materials Research Outreach (N=1)		1	1			1	1	1		1	
Nature for Kids (N=1)			1	1		1	1	1	1		
Physics Is Fun (N=2)	2	1	2			1	1	1	2	1	
Family Science Night + MRO (N=1)	1	1	1				1	1	1		

Research Question 3: How Does the Type of Outreach Program Affect Undergraduate Outcomes?

For Research Question 3, to examine how different programs resulted in the above outcomes, I separated the themes and underlying codes by outreach program. The frequency counts for each code (from Tables 4 and 5) were broken down by outreach program. Since Andy participated in two outreach programs, there is a program category that combines these two programs (Family Science Night and Materials Research Outreach). Table 6 shows the codes related to participant gains by outreach program, and Table 7 shows the codes related to ideas about teaching and learning by outreach program.

Overall, as seen in Tables 6 and 7, undergraduates from different programs discussed each code. In other words, the occurrences of a single code did not all fall into one outreach program. This provides further support for the results of Research Questions 1 and 2 in that participation in outreach, regardless of program, can result in these outcomes. Thus, there are commonalities in undergraduates' experiences of science education outreach independent of the type of program.

The sample size is too small to establish specific relationships between the type of program and outcome. Furthermore, the differing numbers of informants per outreach program made it difficult to determine patterns. However, this breakdown indicates potential variables associated with the type of program and possible relationships to further investigate in future research. For example, undergraduates from Chemistry Outreach reported nearly all of the same gains as respondents from Let's Do Science, except for knowledge of career options. The purposes and operation of these programs are quite different, but the programs are overseen by the same department at the university. Perhaps program administration is an important variable to explore further.

These data indicate that other characteristics of the programs may affect undergraduate outcomes, such as whether the program has corresponding coursework or employment opportunities. Outreach programs can have components beyond the direct interaction with K-12 students in which the undergraduates participate. For example, participating in outreach can have accompanying coursework, be a form of employment, or involve concomitant duties.

Comparing the responses from the undergraduates in Nature for Kids (NFK) and the Marine Research and Education Program (MREP) shows that a program's associated coursework, employment, or other duties may be factors that affect certain undergraduate gains. NFK has a related class and MREP is more like a job with duties (e.g., maintaining the aquaria) other than educational outreach programs. As shown in Table 6, the two undergraduates from these programs did not discuss gaining improved abilities to explain science concepts to general audiences (the "explain science concepts" code), whereas undergraduates from all the other programs did. With coursework and job duties, perhaps there are not as many opportunities to develop this skill.

Neither undergraduate from NFK or MREP described outreach as providing a break from school (the "break" code), whereas undergraduates from other programs did. NFK and MREP are both long-term programs with expected long-term commitments from the participants. Amanda (from NFK) and Cameron (from MREP) both participated in their respective programs over multiple years and for over 100 hours (see Table 1). This might indicate that the amount of time spent participating in outreach contributes to how much undergraduates perceive outreach as a break from school; however, Lana (from Chemistry Outreach) and Beth (from Let's Do Science) also participated in their programs over multiple years for well over 100 hours (see Table 1), and both discussed outreach as providing a break from school. Thus, perhaps a program's associated coursework, employment, or other duties (rather than the number of hours spent participating in outreach) contribute to whether or not outreach provides a break from school. Undergraduates may not feel that outreach is a break from schoolwork if they participate in programs like NFK that have a coursework component or programs like MREP that require duties beyond educational outreach.

Interestingly, the undergraduate from MREP, a program with employment opportunities and other duties beyond outreach, discussed all the career-related codes but none of the personal gain codes ("break," "fun," and "rewarding"). It makes sense that a program like this would foster career gains and possibly be less likely to foster personal gains.

The degree to which a program focuses on scientific content versus scientific practices or inquiry is another factor that may affect the ideas undergraduates develop about science teaching and

learning. As shown in Table 7, no undergraduates from Let's Do Science or Nature for Kids mentioned the importance of assessing the K-12 students' prior knowledge or adapting instruction to meet student levels and needs ("levels—assess" and "adapt" codes). Let's Do Science is focused more on scientific practices (e.g., designing experiments) than on scientific content. Overall, the undergraduates who discussed these topics seemed to focus on assessing or adapting to student levels of content knowledge rather than knowledge about scientific practices. Undergraduates participating in a program like Let's Do Science may not develop ideas about assessing and adapting to students' prior knowledge since they do not recognize the need to do so with student knowledge of scientific practices, and they do not need to assess or adapt to levels of student content knowledge. Other programs, such as Chemistry Outreach and Physics Is Fun, do aim to convey specific scientific content, and undergraduates in these programs did report the need to assess and adapt their teaching to meet the K-12 students' prior knowledge. In contrast, Nature for Kids is content-based but also emphasizes student involvement in scientific practices, so perhaps the degree to which a program focuses on content versus scientific practices affects the ideas that undergraduates develop.

Additionally, no undergraduates from Materials Research Outreach, Physics Is Fun, nor the undergraduate from FSN+MRO discussed the codes related to the Scientific Practices/Nature of Science theme. This makes sense since these programs do not have a strong focus on scientific practices or inquiry. However, undergraduates from Chemistry Outreach did discuss these topics, although this program does not seem to have a strong focus on scientific practices. Again, it is important to further investigate how a program's degree of focus on content versus scientific practices affects the ideas about teaching and learning that undergraduates develop.

Discussion

This study provides evidence of important impacts on undergraduate participants in science education outreach to K-12 schools. The undergraduates in this study participated in various outreach programs and reported career gains, academic gains, gains in scientific knowledge, and personal gains. The undergraduates also developed ideas about learning and teaching science, including ideas about understanding students, scientific practices, active learning, and student interest. These outcomes were fairly consistent across outreach programs; however, this research also

points to programmatic elements that may affect undergraduate outcomes. Further research is needed to explore these elements.

Limitations

This research has limitations. The sample of undergraduates interviewed was a self-selecting group. All the interviewees reported positive experiences with outreach. Undergraduates who have had negative or neutral experiences with outreach may be less likely to respond to a request to be interviewed about their experience. By conducting interviews, I examined undergraduates' perceptions of what they gained and learned from outreach programs. This was not a rigorous assessment of their knowledge or of particular pre-post changes in knowledge. Also, although they were specifically asked what they gained or learned from their experiences with the particular outreach program, the undergraduates' ideas on teaching and learning science could have been influenced by factors outside their outreach experience.

Additionally, if an informant did not talk about a certain code, this does not necessarily mean the informant would disagree with the code or not have ideas on the topic. The interview questions were open-ended and broad, allowing informants to freely discuss any ideas they had in response to the questions. The codes and themes were generated from the data, and codes were not specifically linked to certain interview questions. For example, informants were asked broad questions, such as "What did you gain from your experience?" and "What have been the most beneficial experiences for you?" Although four informants discussed the unique opportunity to work with university faculty, this does not mean that other informants did not have the opportunity to work with faculty or that they did not find working with faculty important. The informants were not specifically asked if they had opportunities to work with faculty or if that was an important part of working in outreach. However, these findings indicate that working with faculty may be an important outcome of participating in outreach programs and that examining faculty involvement is something to consider in future research.

This research examined only one side of university-K-12 outreach partnerships. These partnerships are reciprocal, meaning that both sides are benefiting (*James et al., 2006; Williams, 2002*). How university K-12 science outreach impacts K-12 participants and how these partnership systems function as a whole was beyond the scope of this study. More research is needed on these topics.

Implications

The results of this study promote the research-based development, refinement, and dissemination of effective university outreach programs. For example, program administrators can use the findings of this study to provide rationales for including more undergraduates in science outreach as well as to recruit more undergraduates to their programs. This study shows that K-12 science outreach is an effective experiential learning opportunity for undergraduate science majors. Participating in K-12 science outreach can enhance undergraduate science majors' university experiences by providing enjoyable and rewarding opportunities to increase their understanding of science, work with university faculty, reflect on their own learning, and have positive breaks from regular schoolwork. In addition, outreach experiences can expose undergraduates to diverse populations and increase their awareness of and interest in education and other careers. They can also develop important ideas about teaching and learning science.

As mentioned, much of the previous research on university outreach has focused on graduate students. Findings from this study on undergraduates (such as career-related skill development, clarification of career options and interests, enhanced content knowledge, and increased understanding of educational issues) are consistent with research on graduate students (*deKoven & Trumbull, 2002; Laursen et al., 2007; Moskal et al., 2007; Page et al., 2011; Stamp & O'Brien, 2005; Thompson et al., 2002*). For program administrators, these convergent findings elucidate how university-K-12 science outreach programs benefit the university participants. However, other findings in this study are particularly pertinent to undergraduates. For example, the opportunity to work with faculty is significant for undergraduates who typically may not have that opportunity, particularly at large research universities.

This study also examined ideas about teaching and learning science that undergraduates develop from participating in science outreach. Previous studies have not included this element. Undergraduates in this study recognized the importance of understanding students' prior knowledge and how students differ. They also became familiar with teaching scientific practices, active learning, and the importance of student interest. Whether the undergraduates who participate in science outreach become K-12 teachers or university faculty, or just continue educating through outreach, they represent future science educators. Findings from this study are evidence that K-12 outreach can play an important role in preparing science educators. This is similar to how service-

learning has been used in teacher education programs (Brannon, 2013; Cone, 2012; Harlow, 2012; Vavasseur et al., 2013; Wallace, 2013).

Some programmatic elements may affect undergraduates' outcomes, such as corresponding coursework or employment and the degree to which a program focuses on content versus scientific practices or inquiry. Identifying elements of outreach programs with beneficial outcomes for undergraduate participants can lead to the development of programs that utilize those elements. More research is needed to further identify these elements and their effect on undergraduate outcomes. Likewise, further research is needed on factors other than programmatic elements: for example, factors related to the undergraduate participants themselves, such as the number of hours they have participated in outreach, their reasons for participating (goals and interests), and their specific roles in the programs. Furthermore, the long-term impacts of participation need to be investigated. Laursen et al. (2012) demonstrated that participating in outreach can have lasting impacts on graduate student career choices. However, the long-term effects of outcomes for undergraduates have not been explored.

Currently, outreach programs are typically peripheral programs with only a minority of undergraduate science majors participating. Williams (2002) suggested that research should focus on measuring the impacts of outreach on university participants, and that measurable positive impacts "could move these outreach activities from peripheral programs to integral components of the university" (p. xxi). Thus, studies such as this one that document the benefits of participation in outreach could help outreach become an integral component of undergraduate science education.

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PROJECTS WITH PROMISE

Embedding the Scholarship of Engagement at a Regional University

Patrick A. Crookes, Fabienne C. Else, and Kylie M. Smith

Abstract

Despite receiving growing international recognition and regard, the scholarship of engagement remains undervalued internally at academic institutions, especially in relation to career development and academic promotion. This form of scholarship presents difficulties relating to evaluation, assessment, and evidencing that are not generally present in the traditional scholarships of learning and teaching, research, and governance and service. Thus, scholarly engagement work is often not valued or rewarded by promotional bodies, and a gap is appearing between the career development opportunities, promotion, and probation outcomes of engaged scholars and those who focus on more traditionally recognized scholarly outcomes. To combat this, the University of Wollongong has undertaken a project that aims to embed the scholarship of engagement as a scholarly *method of doing*. This approach involves applying new and reformulated promotions guidelines to traditional scholarships in a way intended to remove barriers to promotion for “engaged scholars.”

Introduction

The scholarship of engagement (“engagement”) entails many recognized benefits generally unachievable through more traditional scholarly methods (Boyer, 1996; Kellett & Goldstein, 1999; McCormack, 2011). Yet engagement continues to have a slow take-up as an esteemed area of academic work within higher education institutions, being consistently overlooked, undervalued, and unrewarded as an area of scholarship (Jaeger & Thornton, 2006; Macfarlane, 2007; Maurana, Wolff, Beck, & Simpson, 2001; Rudd, 2007; Ward, 2005). This has certainly been the case at the University of Wollongong (a large regional Australian university), where a recent review of existing promotion and probation documentation and practices revealed a perceived lack of recognition and understanding surrounding this form of scholarship. Discussions between the authors and academics at other Australian universities, as well as a perusal of relevant documentation regarding reward and recognition across the nation, suggested that this is not an isolated issue.

These findings led to an undertaking by a project team within the University of Wollongong's then Faculty of Health and Behavioural Science (now known as Science, Medicine, and Health) to attempt to change the way that engagement was regarded and understood institutionally, both by the academics that utilized it and the probations and promotions committees that assessed its value. An important aspect of this process was developing higher levels of internal recognition of engagement that would promote it as a legitimate form of scholarship instead of a conception of service or volunteerism. Not only would the work of engaged scholars receive recognition, it would be further advanced by the creation of promotional equality with work in the more traditionally recognized areas of learning and teaching, research, and governance and service. By promoting such equality, the project team aimed for the only criteria for assessing the credibility of applications for probation or promotion to be excellence, creativity, innovation, and impact.

Through research and consultation, the path to academic legitimacy for engagement was ultimately determined to be in embedding the scholarship in new promotions documents as a *scholarly method of doing* the more traditional scholarships of learning and teaching, research, and governance and service. Thus, engagement ceased to be an isolated fourth scholarship and became a scholarly and esteemed method of performing the three traditionally recognized areas of scholarship. This acknowledges that engagement is not a restrictive, separate form of scholarship but instead cuts across other areas, involving different aspects of learning and teaching, research, and governance and service but with a focus on reciprocal and mutually beneficial community relationships and partnerships. This revised approach to the recognition and role of engagement at the University of Wollongong was undertaken during and in conjunction with the creation of an academic performance framework (APF). After an extensive process of research and consultation, the newly implemented APF now articulates engagement as a way of doing scholarly work, thus encouraging engaged scholars to seek acknowledgment of their engaged activities without a sense of disadvantage.

This article describes the process undertaken by the project team, illustrates the format with which engagement has been embedded into the promotions documentation, and identifies useful future areas for improvement and research. It is intended to inform and support like-minded people at other universities who may seek improved recognition for engagement at their institutions.

Background to the “Scholarship of Engagement”

After the initial discovery of the issues facing engaged scholars at the university, a project team was developed to review the scholarship and initiate necessary changes to enhance the legitimacy and recognition of their work. The team’s ultimate aim was to increase and expand understanding of engagement at the university—moving away from philosophies of volunteerism, for example, and instead recognizing it as scholarly work, capable of providing demonstrable impact and outcomes. The goal was increasing the likelihood that the work of engaged academics would be recognized formally via reward and recognition systems. As a first step, the project team undertook a broad literature review with the aim of capturing the current philosophies and approaches to engagement and any successful approaches that had been taken to foster recognition and reward for such work (Smith, Else, & Crookes, 2013). This literature review would act as the groundwork for later internal consultations and discussions relating to engagement and its role within the university.

Because a broad base of literature has emerged since Boyer’s definitive work *Scholarship Reconsidered: The Priorities of the Professoriate* (Boyer, 1990) and his later article “The Scholarship of Engagement” (Boyer, 1996), which has in many ways defined the current view of scholarly engagement, it was important that the literature review cover as many perspectives as possible. An initial search yielded 295 sources, which a subsequent review process reduced to 66 that were examined and utilized. Recurring themes in the literature that reflected the issues apparent at the university included concerns that surrounded understanding the actual purpose and concept of engagement, ensuring the availability of mechanisms to achieve legitimate evidencing and assessment of the scholarship, and establishing that engagement work is valued and rewarded.

There has been a great disparity among universities and academics internationally as to what definition of *engagement* should be used in a university’s mission. Although different definitions of *engaged scholarship* abound throughout the literature (Bloomfield, 2005; Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 2015; Holland, 2005; Le Clus, 2011; Maurana et al., 2001; Wise, Retzleff, & Reilly, 2002), it is important that an institution be able to settle on a single definition that reflects its particular context and needs in order to build upon it in a meaningful and structured way. Some authors have also noted that standardizing the definition would benefit the field of engagement more widely (O’Meara, Sandmann, Saltmarsh, & Giles,

2011). As a result of the review, the project team eventually settled upon the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching's (2015) definition of engagement as "[T]he collaboration between institutions of higher education and their larger communities ... for the mutually beneficial exchange of knowledge and resources in a context of partnership and reciprocity" (p. 2). This is a simpler definition of engagement than many of those currently employed, and its strength lies in its emphasis on organic partnerships between communities and the university for mutual benefit rather than a top-down (from the university) approach. This definition resonates with the type of engagement work the University of Wollongong already undertakes as an engaged local partner, and it reflects the value the university places on knowledge partnerships that help communities (local and beyond) solve their own problems.

The literature identified another significant issue: the hurdles that engaged scholars encounter in relation to measuring, assessing, and tracking their work. As an area of scholarship that is inherently collaborative and based on reciprocal community partnerships, engagement does not generally produce the same recognized outcomes and outputs as more conventional scholarships. This issue has generated substantial barriers regarding promotions for engaged scholars as they struggle to produce the measurable forms of evidence (such as publication and revenue generation) that are widely accepted and valued by recognition and promotions committees (Lunsford & Omae, 2011). Many measurement tools and processes have been proposed to help foster academic legitimacy through evidencing (Boyer, 1996; Furco, 2002; Garlick & Langworthy, 2008; Gelmon, Seifer, Kaiper Brown, & Mikkelsen, 2005; B. Holland, 1997; Rudd, 2007) and have even been put into practice at institutions (Adams, Badenhorst, & Berman, 2005; Arden, Cooper, & McLachlan, 2007; Bringle, Hatcher, Hamilton, & Young, 2001; Garlick & Langworthy, 2008; Holland, 2001a, 2001b; Wise et al., 2002). However, no one system has emerged that appears to definitively provide a recognizable process of measuring, tracking, and assessing engaged work. Without any effective, recognized system in place, universities have tended not to acknowledge such work in their promotion processes, leaving engaged scholarship to go unrewarded and in many cases discouraged by senior staff (Jaeger & Thornton, 2006), even though the community expects public universities to engage in this type of activity.

This literature review revealed to the project team that if universities cannot reward those who choose to engage with their communities, these institutions will soon be unable to employ such practitioners or encourage any of the existing faculty into engaged

work. Even if they have an interest in engagement, faculty must pay attention to their own career paths and pursue rewarded areas (Maurana et al., 2001). Ward (2003) suggests that in order to make engagement a more legitimate academic pathway and a viable academic activity, it must be treated “in the same way that research always has been and teaching is increasingly being” (p. 2). However, before engaged work can be recognized and rewarded, it must be institutionalized (Holland, 2009) and “embedded as a core institutional value” (Saltmarsh, Giles, Ward, & Buglione, 2009, p. 25) so that there is an explicit and irrefutable career path for those who wish to engage with their communities in meaningful scholarly ways. This institutionalization can occur in a variety of ways, and this regional university adopted the approach that has been championed by Professor Barbara Holland—embedding engagement *as a method of doing scholarship* (Holland, 2009).

Institutional Context

The University of Wollongong is a public research university located in one of Australia’s largest regional city centers. There are over 2,000 academic staff and as of 2015, there were 31,464 students enrolled, including 12,811 international students representing 143 nationalities (University of Wollongong, 2015). The University of Wollongong is ranked in the top 2% of universities in the world, has a five-star QS World University Ranking, and is also ranked as one of Australia’s best modern universities (University of Wollongong, 2014a). There are five primary “super-faculties” in the institution: Business; Engineering and Information Sciences; Law, Humanities, and the Arts; Science, Medicine, and Health; and Social Sciences. Until recently, probation and promotion processes were centralized at the university. Devolved systems were instituted in 2014, with five faculty-based committees being set up to make decisions about probation and promotion up to the level of senior lecturer and to make recommendations to a central committee regarding promotions to associate professor and full professor.

In terms of engagement, the university has a community engagement team that primarily supports engagement activities across the university. This support includes running the Community Engagement Grants Scheme (which has granted \$450,000 across 50 projects since 2005) and the Community Engagement Awards (University of Wollongong, 2014b). The university also runs the Collaborative Communities Network (CCN), which is an online community for members to connect with the university “to share ideas, request feedback and engage with issues

of importance to our community” (*University of Wollongong, 2014c, “Collaborative Communities Network,” para. 1*). The university’s focus of engagement at present is thus essentially on business linkages, its alumni, and the environment, not “engaged academia” more broadly.

Methodology

Discovering the Issue

The issues surrounding engagement at this university did not become fully apparent until the probation and promotion review project was initiated in early 2011. This early project was not based around engagement specifically but had been set up to review wider promotions processes at the university to ascertain what aspects of the documentation and process needed to be revised. Although the interviews undertaken in relation to this review project were not expressly aimed at engagement, they nevertheless captured a stark need for internal review into the issues that emerged around that scholarship.

Initially, 28 academic, professional, and administrative staff at the university were interviewed, including the director of the Dubai campus and the deputy vice chancellor (academic). All of those interviewed had been involved in the central probation and/or promotion committees of the university for some years, and thus were expected to have useful insights into what the university values as a basis for probation or promotion. For consistency, all the interviews were conducted by one of the project leaders. The interviews revolved around a series of open-ended questions regarding the interviewee’s expectations and ideas of scholarly performance within each of the four areas of scholarly activity that existed at the university at that time: research, learning and teaching, governance and service, and community engagement (CE). The interviews were recorded and transcribed. Each interview was subsequently listened to several times and then analyzed by a pair of people from the project team. In this way, themes and key points of data emerged and were agreed upon collectively. The data was then taken back to groups of the interviewees, wherein they were asked if they felt their views had been represented correctly. They confirmed that this was so. Thus, although this process was not in the strictest sense a research project, it was undertaken in a scholarly and rigorous fashion. This article relays how research can be conducted as part of an organic institutional process, in

this case reviewing promotions and probation guidelines. These moments are organic and important as a means to advance the cause of engaged academia. We chose to seize the moment offered by the probation and promotions review to do this.

It is important to note that at the time, this university structured its promotions processes around a ranking system, which meant that every academic applying for probation or promotion had to assign their work foci a rank of 1–4 based on their level of involvement with each area of work. For example, a heavily research-focused academic would typically rank their work as research (1), learning and teaching (2), governance and service (3), and community engagement (4). As will be seen, engagement was almost always ranked 4 (the lowest).

Based on this promotions structure, the interview questions given to the academics were related to what references to scholarly activities they would generally expect to see from someone who wanted to rank a particular area of their work as a 1 or 2 (meaning this was one of their primary foci). Despite the endemic understanding at the university that engagement would never be ranked higher than 3 or 4 in a promotional bid, each interviewee was asked, “What sort of scholarly and professional activity would you expect to see if someone wanted to rank engagement as 1 or 2 at the various levels?” The responses to this question alerted the promotions review team to the serious issues that needed to be considered around the role of the scholarship of engagement and how it was regarded, understood, assessed, and ultimately rewarded at the university.

Although some of the interviewees expressed an interest in making engagement “more than just a mention at the end of a career development form or promotion application,” they exhibited a significantly negative response regarding the likelihood of promotional success for an individual with an engagement focus. Out of the 28 interviewees, 15 openly expressed a belief that there was a “scholarship of research bias” within the university (expressing opinions that research, as it is traditionally conceptualized—i.e., original discovery and related outputs—was most highly valued in promotions), and 13 participants also stated that non-traditional scholars, such as those who would consider ranking engagement higher than a 3 or 4, struggle to get promoted. One of the higher level management academics stated that engagement “is not recognized or rewarded; it is appreciated, which is not the same thing.” Another eight participants revealed a belief that engagement was not internally recognized by probation or promotion committees,

with three individuals stating that they felt engagement work was not encouraged in the university by senior staff.

Six participants explained the lack of support for engaged scholars by arguing that both the probation and promotion committees and those attempting to base their own promotions case on engagement manifested a general misunderstanding of the actual purpose and function of the scholarship. One interviewee stated, "I think it is nonsense how it is described. You know, it is really the filler, I mean some people put that they are members of the Guide Dog Association." There was also the perception that the scholarship of governance and service overlapped with engagement, with six participants stating that this made it difficult to understand either as an area of scholarship. Another eight interviewees acknowledged "evidence" as a key concern related to engagement work, stating that they felt engaged scholarship needed to produce visible impact and outcomes, with one individual claiming that engagement needs to provide "some hard evidence."

Despite these issues, the general attitude toward actual engagement work was positive, with six participants arguing that engagement should be encouraged because of the benefits that it produces in relation to the community, staff, and students. One academic interviewed argued that a greater involvement in engagement created "better teaching academics"; another stated that engagement is in fact "why staff are at the University."

From the results of these interviews, it was starkly apparent that the scholarship of engagement at the university was perceived as unclear, undervalued, unrewarded, and lacking esteem. Lack of clarity also appeared to compound the latter three issues as it led to poor evidence being generated by individuals, which in turn led to reduced promotional outcomes and low academic esteem. Drawing on the evidence from these interviews and the literature review, the project team decided to develop an "embedded" approach to engagement for academic promotion as a way to overcome the existing tokenistic approach and to demonstrate the real value with which the university should regard this work.

Embedding Engagement

An internationally recognized engaged scholar, Barbara Holland, was a major contributor to the project surrounding the reinvigoration of engagement at the University of Wollongong. Her institutionalization approach was chosen in view of the extensive literature highlighting its effectiveness (*Smith et al., 2013*). This

method, which involved bringing the work of engaged scholars into the core of university work, was highly applicable to the University of Wollongong, as the evidence had shown that engagement was often sidelined due to being seen as an extraneous or “add-on” activity. Acting as a consultant, Holland illustrated that the clearest path to the institutionalization of engagement was through embedding it within the other three existing scholarships. She stressed that engagement is not a third-stream activity and is instead *a way of performing* such existing university activities as research, learning and teaching, and governance and service. In her published work, she argues that when engagement becomes successfully embedded within research, teaching, and service, it is an indication of the successful diffusion of an idea, which shows that it “has moved from the margins of the institution to its core” (Holland, 2009, p. 85). In relation to achieving institutionalization, Holland has recognized the need for intentionality within already existing university documents and processes, both formal and informal, that embeds engagement within core academic work. She has stated that “recognition of the role of engagement in both teaching and research is important to faculty achievement and professional recognition and therefore would be valuable in advancing institutionalization” (p. 95).

In order to achieve this at the University of Wollongong, engagement had to be explicitly and clearly embedded in the new APF—the university guideline document that expressly lays out the expectations of scholarly activities and performance by academic staff at different career levels. This document is now used by staff as the basis for probation or promotion applications and thus is intimately related to the way they structure and evidence their work, as well as the way that they understand how the areas of scholarship are recognized and valued by the university. Embedding engagement in the APF documentation consequently involved extensive consultation and drafting in order to achieve an outcome that upheld the academic legitimacy of the scholarship and maintained it as *a method of doing* that could be usefully employed by engaged scholars at the university.

As a first step in the embedding process, the project team had to decide on a definition of engagement and (as discussed previously) settled on that created by the Carnegie Foundation (*Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching*, 2015). This decision was based on the clarity of the definition and its applicability to the university and its existing mission statement, which asserts an inten-

tion to “enrich all our regional communities through a strong and connected presence” (UOW, 2012, “*Our Purpose*”).

To come to a greater understanding of how engagement could be embedded within the existing scholarships, it was necessary to establish what sort of work and activities (within the different areas of scholarship) are considered as employing an *engaged* method directly relatable to the definition of engagement. Articulating and outlining such activities was considered necessary to support faculty in differentiating between engaged work and non-engaged work, as a lack of clear articulation would compound the confusion that already generally abounded around engagement. The following are some of the activities that were identified as scholarly engaged work through a process of internal consultation with selected faculty in a workshop with Professor Holland (along with input from the existing literature):

- *Engaged learning and teaching*: Structured learning activities that help students develop skills of the discipline/profession; teaching and learning activities that meet identified community needs; the creation and/or maintenance of sustainable community partnerships; the creation of teaching resources and curriculum design related to local issues and communities; student involvement in the education experience; publishing on issues, outcomes, and research related to engaged teaching and learning.
- *Engaged research*: Engaged research on topics and questions related to community needs and opportunities (local, national, international); the creation and/or maintenance of sustainable community research partnerships; the involvement of students in research projects; disseminating information on issues, outcomes, and impact of community-based research.
- *Engaged governance and service*: Engaged leadership within the university, external engagement representing the university, representation and organizational work (both internal and external) in the discipline and profession, external communication such as public lectures and interaction with the media, clinical placement coordination, service to the discipline through engaged partnerships, collaborative project administration, and engaged program and initiative development.

These scholarly activities were used to inform the changes to the APF that have now been implemented. These changes in the fields of research, learning and teaching, and governance and service have embedded engagement within the format of each remaining scholarship, effectively moving engagement from an isolated fourth stream to *a method of doing*.

Results

The Academic Performance Framework

The new and revised APF was approved by the vice chancellor on January 30, 2014. Within the new APF are several specific changes regarding embedding engagement that aim to increase promotional equality of outcomes among scholars at the university and address key barriers in promotions for “engaged academics.”

The first and most obvious change relating to engagement is that the rankings methodology (as discussed previously) was amended to include three options instead of four, thus removing engagement as a separate fourth scholarship. In the new documentation, engagement has been embedded as *a method of doing* within the Performance Evidence outlines of the three remaining scholarships. The introduction to the APF states:

Embedded within each of the core areas of academic work is the dimension of engagement. Staff should provide evidence of how their work in each area connects actively with industry, professional groups, or community partners for their mutual benefit. (*UOW Senior Deputy Vice Chancellor, 2014, p. 2*)

In this new framework, there are three core scholarship areas: *research, learning and teaching*, and *governance and service*. Within each of these sections, the expectations of performance for academics, from Level 1 to Level 4, are outlined individually. In this new system, applicants for probation or promotion no longer rank their activities; instead, they are expected to demonstrate that they meet criteria commensurate with the grade in which they are seeking confirmation or the one to which they are seeking promotion. Within each level, there are a number of expectations that illustrate the types of activities that should be undertaken within that scholarship, as well as explicit expectations that applicants demonstrate the impact of their engaged work. This is where the scholarship of engagement can effectively be found to have been

embedded. Engagement is now embedded across all four levels in *research, learning and teaching, and governance and service*. Figure 1 illustrates where engagement can be found within the APF for a promotion applicant at a certain level.

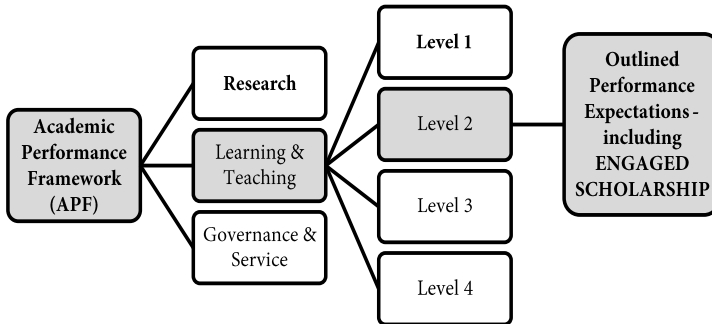


Figure 1. Relational hierarchy position of embedded engagement in APF. Darker gray tones outline a pathway example for a scholar applying for promotion at Level 2 based on learning and teaching/engaged learning and teaching focus.

The performance expectations within the APF illustrate a non-restrictive range of engaged activities and work, as well as claims regarding the impact of that work that could be reflected upon by an engaged scholar in their field at different career levels. Below is a reproduction of the “embedded engagement” portion of the outlined performance expectations across Level 1 (lecturer).

Research—Level 1

Demonstrated evidence of active participation in the facilitation of research projects and research-related activities in collaboration with the wider community for the mutually beneficial exchange of knowledge and resources in a context of partnership and reciprocity, for example:

- Local or regional collaborative relationships and opportunities developed regarding research
- Participation in collaborative local or regional research projects
- External networks of contacts around the interests of the school/discipline have been built
- Involved in activities designed to ensure that appropriate impact of the research (particularly outside academia) has been achieved

Learning & Teaching—Level 1

Evidence of active participation in collaborative learning and teaching related activities with the wider community, for mutual benefit in a context of partnership and reciprocity, for example:

- Facilitating input from external stakeholders regarding the conduct and content of educational programmes
- Participating in partnerships that contribute to improving learning and teaching practices and student outcomes
- Assisting with running service learning, work-integrated learning and/or placement programs and processes
- Active involvement in programs aimed at improving student experiences of learning, teaching and assessment
- Active involvement in collaborative internationalisation projects regarding learning and teaching

Governance & Service—Level 1

Demonstrated evidence of active participation in the governance of collaborative projects or activities with the wider community for the mutually beneficial exchange of knowledge and resources in a context of partnership and reciprocity, for example:

- Participation in work integrated learning/placement activities
- Active participant in school and/or faculty level community engagement, marketing and recruitment activities
- Active involvement in relevant projects with community/industry/professional bodies
- Active membership of committees within the University and of relevant professional bodies
- Maintenance of personal professional accreditation appropriate to the discipline and the PD (*UOW Senior Deputy Vice Chancellor, 2014*)

The length of the APF document prohibits a full reproduction of all engagement sections across all the levels. Nevertheless, these

examples show the nature and scope of the engaged activities that the promotions and probations committees may consider esteemed and valuable. The chosen definition of engagement is embedded in the statement that precedes the description of performance evidence.

Discussion

Functional Embedded Engagement

The APF documentation stresses that any claim to performance at any level must be supported by reliable and auditable evidence as outlined in the *Impact Catalogue*, a document that the project team developed after a substantial review of the literature on impact and promotion (Smith, Crookes, & Crookes, 2013). This emphasis on evidence was viewed as integral because although claims for promotion reliant on more traditional scholarship areas at the university have always been relatively successful, claims with a heavy reliance on engaged activity have often been considered weak due to lack of sufficient credible evidence. This was a fault heavily criticized in the initial interviews and was therefore a significant consideration in the development of the APF. It was also imperative to stress that staff must be able to share reliable evidence of the impact of their work without being prescriptive as to the form that evidence should take.

It is important to note that in all of the embedded engagement sections in the APF (including the Level 1 performance expectations quoted above), the term “expectations” is not meant to indicate “requirements.” These are not checklists that must be religiously followed; rather, they are intended to act as a guide representative of the kinds of achievement expected at the different levels of academia. Due to the unique and constantly evolving variety of engaged scholarly work and the complex nature of engaged scholars themselves (O’Meara et al., 2011), it was important that the APF encourage academic creativity and innovation, with the only boundary being scholarly excellence. The APF states:

The criteria highlighted within the APF are viewed as reasonable expectations of performance for an academic staff member. However, these should not be used as an absolute but rather as an indication of performance that

must be contextualised based on relative opportunity.
(UOW Senior Deputy Vice Chancellor, 2014)

Clearly, individuals in different faculties will follow different career paths, with different foci and opportunities, and this is to be accounted for in all cases. The APF outlines that the achievement of outcomes and measures in each category will be subject to relative opportunity based on the discipline and/or organizational context in which academic work is carried out.

The guidelines contained within the APF are intended to set the bar of expectation from which individuals must measure their own achievements in order to make an informed decision as to whether they wish to submit an application for promotion. Due to the intellectual and emotional effort that goes into these applications, it is important that faculty understand what sort of work is expected in order to apply for promotion to a certain level. By clearly setting out expectations, disappointment and distress may be avoided in some cases where promotion was never achievable, both for traditional and non-traditional scholars.

The APF was formally introduced as the basis for applications for probation and promotion at the university in 2014 and has been used in one round of promotions hearings to date. It is thus too early to say whether the APF truly supports the work of engaged academics being recognized and valued. However, supervisors and academics are already giving feedback suggesting that the APF is indeed making discussions about whether someone is ready for promotion more transparent and evidence-based. The project team has also been centrally involved in rolling out the APF via staff training for applicants and assessors alike. Participation in these sessions gives a clear sense that the APF is seen as a way of expanding the range of useful scholarly activities for which staff can receive recognition, including (but not limited to) “engaged academia.”

Future Directions

Though the APF documentation with a newly embedded scholarship of engagement has only recently been implemented, it is already apparent that some issues related to engaged scholarly work will need to be addressed at this university in the near future. Core among these will be the collecting and collating of data that can be shared with staff, many of whom believe that the only form of scholarship that is valued is the “scholarship of discovery” (i.e.,

research). Only data to the contrary will contradict that view. Time will tell, but as a university, we have a track record of changing perceptions in other areas—most notably with respect to staff being promoted for their excellence in teaching.

It should also be noted that the university has for some time assisted its staff in documenting their research outputs via its Research Information System (RIS). Thus, there is a mismatch between the quality of support available when comparing non-traditional and traditional scholarly activities in the university. This extends to systems that help staff document evidence of the effectiveness of their engaged scholarly activities.

Although the APF textually recognizes equality between engaged scholarly work and other areas, it requires (and refers explicitly to) evidence of “outputs and outcomes (impact)” produced by activities for a successful outcome. Promotion and probation committees’ reliance on traditional outputs such as journal publications, awards, grants, and peer reviews will undoubtedly continue to cause difficulty for engaged scholars who do not produce the same standardized evidence. Due to the unique nature of engaged activities, the success of such work often lies in the collaborative benefit achieved through the successful development of a community–university partnership, making traditional evidencing practices problematic. Some scholars in the literature have even gone so far as to say that engagement is overlooked in promotion because its proper evaluation is more difficult than mere counting (*McDowell, 2001*). Despite stressing the need for legitimate evidence, the new APF does not specifically advise scholars how to effectively collect evidence of engaged scholarly work or how different evidence forms will be measured or assessed by probation or promotion committees. Such insight was never the task of this form of documentation. Nevertheless, these remain significant questions that may affect promotional accessibility for engaged scholars. Therefore, for this APF to effectively achieve the aim of increasing recognition and reward of engaged scholarly work (with a view to overcoming promotional barriers), it must be combined with other new initiatives that address these identified evidencing issues.

One such initiative has already progressed at the university via the creation (and hoped-for future university-wide promotion) of an online tool that will facilitate the collection and collation of engaged activity evidence. The Measuring and Tracking Engagement (MaTE) tool (*Crookes, 2014*) affords university faculty members the opportunity to enter details of their engaged projects and partnerships and link this work to scholarly outputs via an

online data-entry portal. Not only can this tool generate an evidence portfolio for the individual scholar, but it also allows the level and types of engaged projects and partnerships currently being undertaken at the university to be monitored and reported on centrally. One of the key benefits of such a program would be its application across the university to create a system of uniformity of evidence produced by engaged scholars that would offer reward and recognition bodies reliable, accessible, and assessable portfolios of evidence.

Another aim of the MaTE tool is to enable the monitoring of partnerships between the university and the community, creating a greater understanding of the relationships held by the university and promoting continued reciprocity and mutual opportunities. One of the greatest failings by universities in relation to their engaged community partners is the frequent lack of care to nurture these relationships in a sustainable manner, especially after the conclusion of a project. As stated by Holland and Gelmon (1998), "This 'one-sided' approach to linking the academy and the community is a deep-seated tradition that has, in fact, led to much of the estrangement of universities and colleges from their communities" (p. 105). One way to avoid this estrangement is to ensure that there is adequate infrastructure to support the partnership and to maintain a focus on sustainability (Holland & Gelmon, 1998). A key to sustainability of engaged partnerships by the university is an understanding of what relationships exist, along with their goals, size, duration, and key contact points. The MaTE tool will ensure that partnerships can be monitored and accounted for university-wide, while simultaneously promoting the collection of legitimate engaged activity evidence and indicators of demonstrable outputs and impact. Another activity that is central to the intent of the team is to promote a broader sense of what academic work is, what academic work is valuable, how the university recognizes its breadth, and how such work can be effectively disseminated. The MaTE system will obviously facilitate this.

Conclusion

Although these changes to the concept of engagement at the university will not solve all equality issues surrounding this unique form of scholarly work, this process has been a notable step forward by the university in recognizing its engaged scholars. With some arguing that engagement is critical for the future of the university as an institution (Watson, 2004), this promotional documentation review and implementation is an important statement by the

University of Wollongong that engagement has an essential future embedded within its core work.

As with all approaches to change, this university's adoption of Holland's (2009) institutionalization approach to engagement has both strengths and weaknesses. By incorporating engagement into the core work of the university, the executives of this institution are making a statement that engagement work is considered both vital and valuable. This approach allows those engaged scholars whose work previously fell on the periphery of traditional performance expectations to be rewarded through the same frameworks and at the same level as more traditionally focused scholars. This approach is not without faults, as it fails to address the problematic issue of effectively providing evidence of engaged activities; however, with the support of future projects such as the MaTE tool, addressing these issues continues to be a key aim of the project team.

In undertaking this process, the authors have learned a great deal about embedding engagement in university policies and can make some brief recommendations for those wishing to adopt a similar approach. First, ensure there is executive support behind the initiative. Without adequate support from high levels, any promotion of engagement or alternative forms of scholarship is likely to encounter significant difficulties at the implementation stage. Second, establish that there are adequate support policies and documentation in place for the initiative. There is likely to be little value in embedding engagement in one set of policies if they sit in opposition to wider promotional or probation documentation or policies. Third, ensure there is clarity around engagement at your institution. If you do not have a definition, seek one that supports the work of the university and its constitution. Finally, think ahead as to how scholars at the institution may be able to evidence their engagement work once equalized reward frameworks are implemented. The value of any of these recommendations will obviously be restricted on the basis of institutional context.

Even this early in the implementation period, there is good reason to hope that this new approach to engagement as a method of doing will help to shed light on the work being performed by engaged scholars and further facilitate equality in promotions and reward structures. Breaking out of old debates about the importance of one scholarship over another, the new APF aims to enhance the original views of Boyer (1990) by defining in more creative ways what it means to be a scholar. Through widening the formerly superficial and narrow conceptions of engagement, it is anticipated that the APF will provide engaged scholars with oppor-

tunities to present their work for recognition without the barriers that existed previously, although future research will be required to establish the degree to which these changes ultimately achieve this. Other universities in Australia and overseas are already showing an interest in the APF, including (but not limited to) what it offers to “engaged academics.” It is slowly dawning on universities that if they want their staff to engage in certain types of activity, they need to incentivize those activities, including the valuable work performed by engaged scholars.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Shaker, G. G. (Ed.). (2015). *Faculty work and the public good: Philanthropy, engagement, and academic professionalism*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press. 304 pp.

Review by David J. Weerts

Even casual observers of American higher education would note that the scrutiny of the academic profession has reached new heights. As I write this review, Wisconsin politicians continue to challenge tenure laws and shared governance throughout the University of Wisconsin system. At stake are traditional views about academic work that have underpinned U.S. higher education for nearly a century. Many educators see the standoff in Wisconsin as a bellwether for public universities across the country. The narrative remains familiar: Faculty are not teaching enough, their research may not be worth the public investment, and lifetime appointments through tenure may be a thing of the past.

It is in this stormy context that Genevieve Shaker's thought-provoking book, *Faculty Work and the Public Good*, invites readers to contemplate the role of college and university faculty in society. The edited volume features a cadre of 23 distinguished higher education scholars who wrestle with the concept of "philanthropy" as a framework to understand faculty commitments beyond their traditionally understood roles of teaching, research, and service. The authors are guided by a common definition of philanthropy as "voluntary action for the public good" (Payton, 1988, p. 3). This definition provides a conceptual platform to discuss faculty work that goes above and beyond contractual obligations. The book's 17 chapters are divided into five sections: "Conceptualizing Philanthropy in Faculty Work," "Purposes and Motivation for Faculty Work," "Philanthropy and Academic Professionalism," "Faculty Leadership and Community Engagement," and "The Public Good and Future of Academic Work."

The book's primary contribution is unearthing diverse perspectives about faculty work and ways in which the public contributions of faculty might be understood in a larger societal context. An underlying subtext is that neoliberal policies are reshaping views of faculty as a managed workforce. Pushing back against this perspective, the authors promote a broader view of the professoriate as a profession, a vocation, or even a "calling." In this book, written almost entirely by faculty, some authors provide accounts of their

own acts of philanthropy, and others rely on philosophical or empirical approaches to discuss philanthropic behaviors of faculty.

A discussion topic common to multiple chapters was the use of faculty time. Freedom of time was typically viewed by the authors as the primary resource through which faculty could provide voluntary action for the public good. Time was conceptualized as a zero-sum resource and, for some, the primary “gift” within Payton’s definition of philanthropy. An inherent challenge in the discussion is the task of disentangling faculty work into discrete categories of duty or philanthropy. Since faculty are paid for a broad set of activities, segregating these categories is not an easy task. Thus, the chapters raise several questions for readers to consider: What are the criteria by which we might understand philanthropic acts among faculty? Must “gifted time” be purely sacrificial, or can it retain some level of self-interest and still be considered philanthropic? Should philanthropic actions be promoted as shared norms of behavior across the professoriate? These are some of the complex issues that merit further debate.

What remains elusive in this book is a shared definition of “the public good” that is embedded within Payton’s definition of philanthropy. Often, contributors use broad phrases such as “faculty are guardians of the public interest” or “faculty attend to the greater good” in describing faculty roles that do not fit squarely into their contractual obligations. One contributor discusses the freedom of faculty to pursue the truth, and having the opportunity to work on things viewed as “best serving society.” However, the authors are reluctant to consider how such views may be contested in the current political landscape. For example, a growing number of lawmakers may argue that the most compelling public interests for colleges and universities include reducing costs, increasing graduation rates, and better serving workforce needs. Such a view of the “public good” would call on faculty to devote their time more fully to activities that promote student success, yet this alternative perspective ignores the scholarly contributions of faculty that promote social and economic progress. How do we reconcile these competing ideas of the public good?

William Plater provides some perspective on this issue in his concluding reflections with R. Eugene Rice and John Saltmarsh in Chapter 17. Plater suggests that a new social contract must be formed among faculty, the public, and institutions. He suggests that each of these entities has a stake in understanding faculty contributions, and whether such contributions are “voluntary, an expectation of employment, or the duty of the profession” (*p.*

259). He concludes by asking, “How do we make the discussion of the public good public?” (p. 259). From this reviewer’s perspective, Plater makes an important point: The dialogue about higher education public good is seemingly confined to elite circles. The discussion must be broadened among constituents who have an important stake in the future of higher education and more broadly, the nation.

Of particular interest to readers of the *Journal of Higher Education Outreach and Engagement* is the discussion about faculty work in the context of community engagement. The contributions in this area demonstrate how adoption of and understandings about engagement remain uneven across the academy. For example, one author discusses *scholarship of engagement* as a nuanced term to describe service to society, without unpacking it as a distinct methodology to conduct academic work. Another contributor discusses K-12 schools as labs to do research, implying that knowledge generated from such scholarship constitutes a service or gift to society. These perspectives likely vary from those of many readers of this journal who view community-based scholarship through the lens of reciprocity and mutual benefit (e.g., the Carnegie definition of engagement; *Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching*, 2015). One group of scholars, Liang, Sandmann, and Jaeger (Chapter 16), write from this perspective and outline the complexities of conflating the terms philanthropy and engagement. These authors suggest that philanthropy is often viewed as an act of charity, which may diminish the view of community members as equal partners with those of the university. However, Payton’s (1988) full definition of philanthropy focuses on community, compassion, and mutually common values, which capture the spirit of the community engagement movement. This broader definition is compatible with contemporary understandings of engagement, and making this connection helps to knit the concepts together in a more cohesive way.

Overall, *Faculty Work and the Public Good* is an insightful book for readers who seek to understand academic perspectives on faculty work as it contributes to society. One limitation of the volume is that it almost exclusively reflects the voices of faculty. In consequence, it does not provide a broader view about how important stakeholders such as legislators and community/industry leaders may conceptualize faculty work and the public good. As Plater suggests, it is important to invite these stakeholders into this conversation as they shape understandings about the academy in the new century. Despite this limitation, the volume provides useful

perspectives on higher education for the public good from an academic point of view. As with any good book, the work raises a number of questions that merit additional consideration. For example, some authors discuss the changing academic workforce that increasingly relies on contingent faculty to replace tenured faculty. Given this important shift, how might we think about faculty work for the public good through nontenured appointments? In a period of rapid change in the academy, this book provides a compelling basis for launching a much-needed dialogue about the future of the professoriate.

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Rios, A., McCartney, M., Bennion, E. A., & Simpson, D. W. (Eds.) (2013). *Teaching civic engagement: From student to active citizen*. Washington, DC: American Political Science Association. 536 pp.

Review by Brandon W. Kliewer

The relationship between the discipline of political science and the field of civic engagement education has historically been contentious. As scholars consider the position and relevance of political science in the 21st century, civic engagement education seems to be expanding into this discipline. The effort to create a space for civic engagement education in political science can be seen in the American Political Science Association's recent release of *Teaching Civic Engagement: From Student to Active Citizen*. Editors Rios, McCartney, Bennion, and Simpson position the research and examples of innovative teaching practice included in the volume as a call to create "a more prominent place for civic engagement education in higher education and demonstrate why political scientists should be more active in fostering students' abilities to be civically engaged" (p. 3). The editorial team is made up of political science faculty members from a representative cross-section of higher education institutions. The work of civic engagement education is presented as a possibility for political scientists teaching across higher education.

Citing the National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement's *A Crucible Moment: College Learning and Democracy's Future* (2012), the editors suggest that educational standards and societal expectations for higher education have changed. Higher education, and in the context of this volume, political science, is now expected to be more involved in helping to create the conditions for democracy and increase the capacity of society to make progress on tough challenges. The volume begins from the assumption that political scientists should not only be more involved in creating spaces for civic engagement education in the discipline, but also take greater responsibility for creating the space to support the types of civic learning that prepare and motivate students to be active citizens. The editors are careful to position civic engagement education in ways that do not displace traditional research tracks in political science. Instead, the argument to advance civic engagement education within the discipline is a call to elevate civic engagement education to the same level of importance as other subfields. Overall, the editors successfully articulate a normative argument and outline an intellectual space

for the scholarship of teaching to flourish in the discipline of political science and around civic engagement education.

The editors have designed the volume to cover a wide range of activity associated with civic engagement education. The first section provides contextual features, important concepts, and the state of civic engagement education in political science. The longest of the four sections, Section 2, surfaces strategies associated with implementing civic engagement education programs, providing a series of examples and models of how civic engagement education is currently being practiced in political science. The third section explores curricular and cocurricular programming that advances civic engagement education. The final section shares assessment and evaluation techniques. Collectively, the sections and chapters that make up *Teaching Civic Engagement* provide a thorough account of essential skills and knowledge necessary for political scientists to redefine their teaching scholarship to align with the objectives of civic engagement education.

The volume is a powerful one-stop shop for political scientists interested in conceiving, implementing, and assessing new civic engagement education programs. It is well written and likely to be easily understood by political scientists just beginning to consider forms of community-engaged scholarship and civic engagement education practices. Readers can expect to gain tangible and practical understandings of how civic engagement education can intersect with their own work. The strength of the volume rests in its general applicability. Political scientists interested in civic engagement education and forms of community-engaged scholarship will gain a clear sense of how the field is realized across different institutional types and subfields within political science. The content of the volume also holds relevancy for community-engaged scholars who work in areas of advocacy, indigent legal defense, electoral politics, human rights, and a range of other public participation and policy issues.

Although the chapters in the volume shed light on important dimensions of civic engagement education, there is limited attention to how community-engaged scholarship and civic engagement education affect community. Some of the chapters highlight elements associated with community-campus partnerships but for the most part, discussions of partnership are limited in scope. Readers wishing to better understand the complexity of supporting successful community-campus partnerships might be interested in Michelle Lorenzini's chapter, "From Active Service to Civic and Political Engagement: Fighting the Problem of Poverty" (p.

119–135). However, most readers will likely be left with additional questions related to how civic engagement education intersects with topics related to community–campus partnerships. Readers wishing to explore this area would benefit from the book *Unheard Voices: Community Organizations and Service Learning* (Stoecker & Tryon, 2009).

The chapters in the volume also fail to articulate a conception of community–campus partnership that moves beyond providing technical or expert service to the community. The majority of examples included in this volume uphold students as service providers or as having a unique ability to provide technical assistance that extends from relevant course learning outcomes. The volume fails to highlight partnerships in which faculty, students, administrators, and community partners cocreate types of learning that are multidirectional and lead to civic action that is mutually beneficial to larger stakeholder groups. Examples offered in the volume are inherently student-centered and fail to reflect the potential impact of civic engagement education in the community. Some of the assumptions that inform the civic engagement education examples could be explained by the emphasis on the study of social and political institutions in the discipline of political science. Regardless, the general field of academic service-learning, community engagement, and civic studies provides partnership examples manifesting values and processes that more explicitly support democratization, political association, and interventions at the systems and organizational level.

Political scientists new to civic engagement education might be left with questions related to the ethical implications associated with community–campus partnership building, practices associated with cocreated learning spaces, and ways that community–campus partnerships shape content, course design, and elements associated with classroom management. Even so, this volume represents a significant step toward creating a legitimate space for civic engagement education in the discipline of political science. As higher education shifts in the 21st century, it is important to recognize ways that the discipline of political science can reimagine itself to include a coherent civic engagement education subfield within the larger disciplinary structure.

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Boyte, H. C. (Ed.). (2015). *Democracy's education: Public work, citizenship, and the future of colleges and universities*. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press. 288 pp.

Review by Tami L. Moore and Jon B. Horinek

In 2012, the White House Office of Public Engagement (OPE) convened the American Commonwealth Partnership (ACP) with Harry Boyte as facilitator. OPE charged the group to “revitalize the democratic story of higher education, [itself] in danger of being replaced with the story that higher education is mainly a ticket to individual success and achievement” (Boyte, 2015, p. xi). ACP partners worried that global and market forces were separating civic work and civic activity. As a result, they argued, civic work has been relegated to voting, and thereby citizens are forgetting their power to act as community problem solvers. This is true in communities facing issues such as violence, poverty, or underperforming schools. In the professions, individuals have lost their sense of responsibility. Going forward, colleges and universities must recognize their capacity as “crucial anchoring institution[s] of citizenship,” in that

[higher education] spreads conceptual frameworks that structure work and social practices of all kinds[,] socializes people in professional identities, shapes students’ plans for their careers and lives, and helps to define the meaning of “success” in society. (p. 3)

In short, ACP members suggested, colleges and universities in the United States are facing two challenges: (a) Colleges/universities must accept the role of anchor institution, and (b) colleges/universities must socialize toward a collective rather than individualized notion of accomplishment and good.

Boyte and his collaborators analyze these challenges in *Democracy's Education*, and they offer potential blueprints for the change they seek. The narrative about the role of the academy in society is neither permanent nor irreversible and for the authors, the mantra is simple: Higher education leaders/constituents “will either be the architects of change, or they will be its objects” (p. 28). Faculty and administrators, the contributors presume, are simultaneously scholars and citizens, capable of engaging in public problem solving. As citizen-scholars, they have a role to play in “the collective labors of solving public problems and building shared

resources” through “careers filled with public purpose; and...work that deepens and expands democracy” (p. 15). Citizen-scholars can, Boyte argues, facilitate change in the guiding values and in the way the academy actually functions in order to meet the challenges identified by the American Commonwealth Partnership.

Contributors to Part 1 of this volume use common narratives to relay higher education’s democratic story. David Mathews’s opening chapter describes a “looming” (p. 37) battle for the soul of higher education. The author argues that neither ignoring current criticisms nor disengaging with constituents offers a way forward, as pressure mounts to do more with less and prepare job-ready graduates. In Chapter 2, Scott Peters reminds readers that the fruits of higher education labor are both “liberal and practical... support[ing] the development of civic and democratic professionalism” (p. 46). The results of this commitment have thus far been mixed because, in his assessment, institutions “are not always democratic in their behaviors and attitudes” (p. 48). Extending this idea in Chapter 3, political philosopher Albert Dzur calls democracy “counternormative on today’s campuses” (p. 53). Peters and Dzur agree that the difficulty of addressing the challenges facing higher education should not be underestimated. Academic politics can be bitter, Dzur notes, and such squabbles can blind faculty and other stakeholders to the real costs of the undemocratic status quo and block the way to a more democratic professionalism among academics.

Parts 2 through 5 draw out ideas from college and university presidents (Part 2), faculty (Part 3), students/alumni (Part 4), and community organizers (Part 5) to be incorporated into blueprints for changing higher education. College and university presidents past and present consider senior administrators as “architects of change” (p. 63). Martha Kanter opens Part 2 by articulating a shared responsibility among K-20 institutions, other partners, and the federal government to continue to support civic learning in the college curriculum. Chapters by Nancy Cantor and Robert Bruininks and their coauthors highlight indicators that public work principles are taking root in promising practices among citizen-scholars and receiving institutional support. Judith Ramaley focuses more specifically on the college curriculum, emphasizing the capacity of a liberal education to motivate active citizens and inculcate civic virtues in college graduates headed to the workforce. In the final chapter of Part 2, Adam Weinberg offers a snapshot from his institution, Denison University, where emphasis is on preparing stu-

dents for the workforce by, among other things, encouraging them to pursue “careers that matter” (p. 104).

Essays in Part 3 situate the faculty experience vis-à-vis changing attitudes toward scholarly work. Maria Avila offers a realistic portrait of “engaged faculty” who sometimes depart the civic engagement discussion jaded and tired, possibly without the energy to engage in the strategic, collective work necessary to transform the academy. Romand Coles and Blase Scarnati respond, encouraging faculty to embrace a “craftsmanship ethos” (p. 115) to escape the cynicism Avila describes. Kerry Ann O’Meara frames the struggles of faculty in terms of the conflict among, and unequal valuation of, the public work of engaged scholarship, research, and service. These are the conflicts that mark colleges and universities as what Timothy Eatman calls “inhuman places” (p. 137). Publicly engaged scholarship, he argues, can humanize higher education for citizen-scholars who place high value on civic work.

Authors of the chapters in Part 4 challenge what it means to be a student, graduate, and alumnus/alumna in an increasingly disengaged world. Jamie Haft describes an immersion experience for New York University arts students. Participants gained new understandings of possible careers as “citizen-artists”; however, the program provides no academic credit for this experience and exhibits elements of the inhumanity Eatman described in Part 3 by remaining focused on cultivating individual artistic genius rather than art as a public good. Cecilia Orphan takes a critical look at the role graduate education plays in socializing future faculty and administrators toward or away from the citizen-scholar identity. In his chapter, David Hoffman advocates for instilling civic agency among students and provides programmatic examples for doing so. He argues, “Students must be involved in the process as agents rather than objects” (p. 159) of change. In this way, they are well served by the curriculum and mentored into their responsibilities as citizen-professionals. Through Citizen Alum initiatives described by Julie Ellison, alumni citizen-professionals mentor civically engaged students, preparing them for public work.

Part 5 features essays by three community organizers reflecting on their work with higher education institutions. Collectively, the trio offers useful insights into partnering with, rather than trying to fix, communities. Jenny Whitcher writes as a self-described citizen-scholar whose career spans the university/community boundary. She integrates a commitment to public problem solving into her faculty work. Reflecting on experiences as a community organizer, Whitcher reminds readers to move carefully with atten-

tion to building strong relationships because careless scholarship and rushed associations can do great harm. The next chapter complements Whitcher's cautionary essay, as long-time community organizer Robert Woodson points to the importance of intellectual humility and a proper understanding of one's status as insider/outsider for engaged scholars. Finally, activist and author Sam Daley-Harris brings excerpts from his classic *Reclaiming Our Democracy* (Daley-Harris, 2013), translating concepts developed through citizen-led public work in the antipoverty movement to higher education. The tone of these three chapters contrasts with that of Parts 1 through 4 and may seem out of place if this book is approached strictly as a traditional academic text. In addition to the difference in tone, this inclusion of popular authors in Part 5 provides the diversity of perspectives regularly called for in the scholarship as well as the practice of community engagement. This contrast bears out points made in Adriana Kezar's (2011) discussion of the cultural and operational differences between community organizations and university administration and serves as a reminder of the disconnect between higher education and public work that will need to be addressed intentionally if community–university partnerships are to be part of the solution to the problems that Boyte and his colleagues raise for our consideration.

The essayists in Part 6 consider what could be if scholars and administrators reconnected to the public purposes of higher education as a foundation for their professional practice. Benjamin Barber sees a departure from the classic liberal arts curriculum that he blames on a digital market ideology which “leaves educators out in the cold” (p. 202). Peter Levine suggests that colleges and universities can help the economy if they produce graduates who do civic work, and John Spencer asks faculty to reconsider expertise and to discover how civic science can create new partnerships for meaningful work. Chapters by Shigeo Kodama and Xolela Mangcu translate public work as citizenship to the contexts of Japan and South Africa, countries also in need of a new awareness of democracy and citizenship. Lisa Clarke encourages faculty to include public work in course learning outcomes, to think of their students as emerging professionals who might also bring a strong commitment to public work to their new place of employment, and to intentionally prepare students as what Boyte and others refer to as “citizen-professionals.” The essays in Parts 5 and 6 are fundamentally different from those in the rest of the volume because they attempt to tell a story that is still being written. This is where the real work necessary to realize the vision of *Democracy's*

Education is found. These are dispatches from the front lines. Their content may be less seasoned, but nonetheless they provide a frame for the scope and urgency of the task ahead.

Realizing the democratic futures suggested in Part 6 requires addressing the interlocking problems presented by greater demands on the academy for workforce development in a context of narrowing definitions of democracy, politics, and citizenship. In Part 7, chapters by Paul Markham and Harry Boyte summarize the volume's key ideas. The fight for the soul of the university described by David Mathews in the first chapter is linked to a call for embracing democratic practice. Fortunately, infrastructure and resources exist to support engagement. The problem, the authors suggest, is one of perspective: Administrators continue to think of public work as a program, when in actuality it is central to institutional survival itself. Further, the challenges facing higher education cannot be resolved by individual action alone. The authors call on readers to understand that "revitalizing the democratic purposes of higher education" calls for efforts from all constituents.

The first three parts of this book offer an artful, impassioned assessment of what the authors see as the slow decoupling of higher education from its democratic purposes, followed by thoughtful discussions about how university leaders and citizen-scholars might respond. In subsequent parts, contributors position faculty and university leaders as architects of change and offer wisdom for effecting this change. Boyte et al. have not presented a collection of best practices, nor is this a book about community-university engagement per se. Rather, the authors pull together four decades of thought about building democratic communities. Their collection invites readers to embrace intentionally the public purposes of the academic profession. New in this volume is the idea of academics and administrators as citizen-scholars who have the opportunity and the responsibility to engage with one another and our stakeholders in remaking higher education in the tradition of citizenship and public work.

With *Democracy's Education*, Boyte and associates contribute to the discussion of democratic engagement started by John Saltmarsh, Matt Hartley, and their colleagues (2011) in "*To Serve a Larger Purpose*": *Engagement for Democracy and the Transformation of Higher Education*. All of these voices are taking up a central set of questions: What would it mean to remake higher education in a different vein, one more capable of and inclined toward a return to its original democratic purposes? How might an institution's leaders do this? Why would they choose to do so? To what end?

As it addresses this last question, *Democracy's Education* also has a place in the anchor institution movement literature (Hodges & Dubb, 2012; Taylor & Luter, 2013). On this point, Boyte is emphatic: "Higher education is, in short, a crucial anchoring institution of citizenship" (p. 3). Where architects of that movement emphasize more traditional notions of community economic development led by universities in partnership with community organizations, Boyte is talking about the role that institutions play in educating citizens and preparing students/graduates to participate in the life of their communities.

The volume is simultaneously inspiring and somewhat depressing. The movement's philosophers paint a beautiful picture of the possibilities even as their colleagues present a fair assessment of the challenges—many daunting—facing those willing to engage in the work required to realize that vision. Boyte and his associates have presented the field with a purposeful compendium, full of important ideas about why, and to some extent how, scholars and community builders need to bring change to their professional practice. *Democracy's Education* is well worth reading by anyone thinking about the future of higher education and interested in the possibilities inherent in a public work approach to the inevitable changes.

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